



Center for Latin American Studies

University of California, Berkeley



Winter 2000

Brazil 2000 at CLAS

Cardoso Explores Challenges for Brazil's Youth

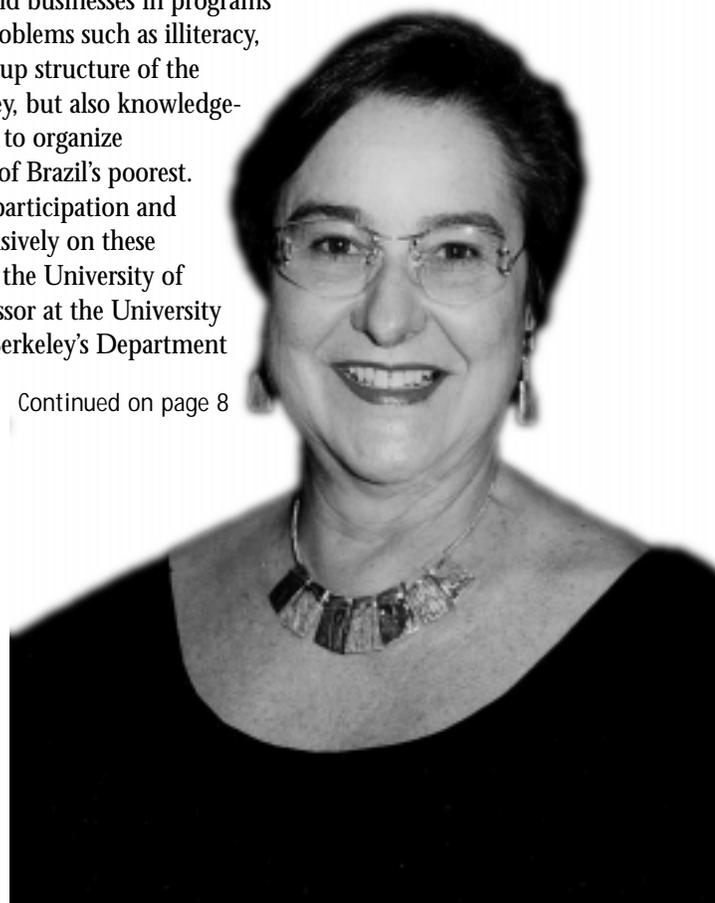
by Fabrizio C. Rigout

Combining a strong record of scholarship with hands-on policymaking experience, anthropologist Ruth Cardoso brings an unusual array of experiences and approaches to the classroom. A visiting professor at UC Berkeley this spring, Cardoso will draw on her expertise in both academic and political spheres while teaching an intensive seminar on youth in Brazil at the Center for Latin American Studies.

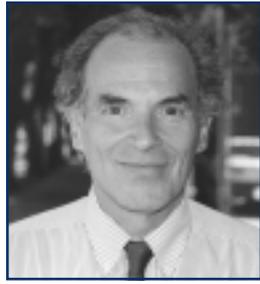
In addition to serving as Brazil's First Lady, Cardoso heads the Conselho da Comunidade Solidária, an innovative antipoverty initiative that brings together government, civil society, universities and businesses in programs aimed at the alleviation of fundamental social problems such as illiteracy, hunger, and poverty. The decentralized, bottom-up structure of the programs it sponsors ensures that not only money, but also knowledgeable people, are sent to the country's hinterlands to organize communities and improve the living conditions of Brazil's poorest.

Cardoso's scholarly work focuses on political participation and youth in Latin America. She has published extensively on these themes during her career as an anthropologist at the University of São Paulo, and has also served as a visiting professor at the University of Santiago, Cambridge University, and at UC Berkeley's Department

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Dr. Ruth Cardoso



Letter from the Chair

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While continuing our tradition of broad regional coverage, CLAS devotes particular attention this spring to current developments in Brazil and Mexico, offering a series of activities entitled “Brazil 2000” and “Mexican Transitions.” As part of our focus on Brazil, we are especially pleased to welcome Dr. Ruth Cardoso back to Berkeley — where she last taught in 1981 — to teach a month-long graduate seminar and engage in the life of the campus. Prof. Lourdes Sola, President of the Brazilian Political Science Association, will also teach at Berkeley this semester as the holder of the Rio Branco Chair, a partnership between UC Berkeley and the Rio Branco Institute in Brazil. And we are once again delighted to offer “Leituras Brasileiras,” an intensive seminar on Brazilian social thought and literature.

The Brazil 2000 program culminates with what promises to be a historic conference on February 25: “Challenges for Brazil: A Dialogue.” This conference will explore the country’s social problems, labor issues, and political alternatives in the context of Brazil’s evolving relation to the global economy — an especially timely theme in the aftermath of the WTO meetings in Seattle. The discussion will bring together political leaders and scholars from across the political spectrum in Brazil, including Minister of Health José Serra, Minister of Education Paulo Renato Souza, and Senators Marina Silva (PT) and Roberto Freire

(PPS). The Brazilians will be joined by members of the UC Berkeley faculty, including Manuel Castells and Peter Evans, and key U.S. Congressional leaders such as Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and David Bonior (D-MI), the second ranking Democrat in the U.S. House of Representatives. The goal is to foster dialogue among the Brazilians, and between the Brazilian and U.S. participants, framing public policy approaches in innovative ways and charting new research directions. Our hope is that the conference will inspire a more informed discourse about Brazil.

In addition, CLAS has organized Mexican Transitions, a series of seminars that aims to place the upcoming Mexican presidential elections in a larger social, political, and historical context. The series will feature the participation of important political actors and highly regarded scholars, including Ambassador Santiago Oñate, Adolfo Gilly, Denise Dresser, Lorenzo Meyer, Senator Adolfo Aguilar Zinser and Sergio Aguayo.

Throughout the semester, we plan to deepen our emphasis on human rights issues in the Americas. Important highlights include a series of activities with Guatemalan lawyer Mynor Melgar, a new visiting scholar at CLAS, and the exhibit of Claudia Bernardi’s artwork beginning in March.

We are looking forward to an engaging semester!
—Harley Shaiken

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An Insider's Analysis of the Chilean Elections

by Jorge Arrate

Jorge Arrate, a visiting professor at CLAS in 1999, was involved with the campaign of Ricardo Lagos, the candidate of the center-left Concertación coalition for the Chilean presidency. An accomplished scholar and important political actor, Arrate has served as Minister of Education, Labor, and Government in the last two administrations. Here, on the eve of the final runoff for the Chilean presidency, he shares his reflections on the first round of elections with CLAS. [This article was translated from Spanish by Angelina Snodgrass Godoy.]

The December 12 vote provoked surprise. First, many voters who had abstained, cast blank votes, or intentionally annulled their votes in the 1997 parliamentary elections now expressed their preference. Second, support for the four candidates representing parties that do not form part of the two large coalitions was less than expected. Third, the vote for the rightist opposition candidate exceeded the expectations of surveys and analysts.

Certain aspects of these results may appear paradoxical. For example: the governing coalition of the *Concertación* appears defeated after ten years in power, when its candidate obtains the majority of votes, falling only two points short of attaining an absolute majority. There is also something paradoxical in the frustration of the socialists who hoped to triumph in the first round, if one takes into account the fact that Ricardo Lagos garnered the strongest support ever obtained by a socialist in a presidential election.

It also appears paradoxical that after ten years of *Concertación* governments — internationally considered successful in economic and social terms, and with considerable (although declining over the past year) citizen support — the right, defeated in the last eight elections since the Pinochet dictatorship, has achieved its highest levels of electoral support in the postwar decades.

Yet electoral victories are sealed or stolen according to expectations prior to the elections. And in Chile, with its highly competitive and



Ricardo Lagos addresses a crowd of over 200,000 supporters at the last rally in Santiago before the December elections. Photos by Beatriz Manz



minimally regulated market model, administrations do not measure their success by the magnitude of their works: they are instead outmatched by the rapidly growing aspirations of their citizens.

The second round pits two surprising candidates against one another: Lagos, the socialist who gained the candidacy of his coalition, breaking the prior hegemony of the Christian Democrats; and Lavín, the right-wing admirer of Pinochet and member of the Opus Dei, with boldly defined populist tendencies and blind faith in marketing, the most potent and atypical candidate the right has raised since the 1930s.

The two candidates share the characteristic of having defined the political center as their principal objective. From opposite flanks, both have advanced

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An Interview with Ruth Cardoso

by Fabrizio C. Rigout

Q: What are the main themes you will cover in your course at the Center for Latin American Studies this semester?

A: This course will be an opportunity to discuss the youth question in Brazil and Latin America as a whole. I propose the examination of aspects such as the demographic situation in our countries, that is, the pressures on the labor market and on educational institutions. There exist analyses that correlate the size of the young population and moments of rebellion, such as 1968 and other moments of youth activism. I'd like to begin a discussion of the conditions under which this activism appears. For that it is necessary to aggregate other analytic perspectives that include the socioeconomic situation of this segment, the variety of living conditions in our country, limitations and opportunities that are not equally distributed among youth. It is also necessary to include the cultural perspective. The main feature of young people in the contemporary world is their capacity to create and consume a culture of their own. These are the themes to be presented in the course.

“...Our formula is a partnership with civil society, which in turn strengthens it.”

Q: One of the founding principles of the Conselho da Comunidade Solidária, the community service council you helped organize, is the diffusion of citizenship, encouraging the participation of poor people in the advocacy of their rights, and also helping them intervene directly to better their living conditions. How much resistance has the program encountered in trying to break with the tradition of assistance-based policies in the fight against poverty? What is the recipe for creating lasting programs that continue to be run democratically at the local level?

A: Indeed the Conselho da Comunidade Solidária has as its main objective promoting participation and the development of communities. We are trying to achieve results by means of programs especially tailored to these objectives.

Since we regularly evaluate the performance of the programs we sponsor, I can affirm that we were able to organize the communities and support local leadership.

Resistance to this type of work was once stronger. Today we have conquered legitimacy because of the results achieved, and because of the partnerships we established with several actors who, on local and national levels, support our initiatives.

Aid-based policies had already been subject to much criticism in Brazilian society, and the institutions that supported them are no longer legitimate. For that reason, one of the first acts of this administration was to close down LBA [Brazilian Assistance Legion], a prototype of social assistance whose policy guidelines were marked by very little objectivity. Its extinction did not elicit significant reaction: society expected it.

In order for the model introduced by Comunidade Solidária to achieve sustainability, we have based it on partnerships with all sectors (businesses, universities, NGOs and local, state, and federal governments). All programs are carried out through civil associations created for the purpose of ensuring the autonomy of each project. In sum, our formula is a partnership with civil society, which in turn strengthens it.

Q: In rural areas and small townships in the countryside of Brazil one would expect local power to oppose community mobilization. Would you say that the tradition of participation is weak in those areas? What have been the challenges and achievements of Comunidade Solidária's programs in the backlands?

A: The challenges we face in the rural areas are not so different as those of the urban areas. Municipal governments are strong because of the power of local politicians, but they also face, in different degrees, communities in which mobilization has occurred (such as the spreading grassroots associations), and many embrace them. One must remember that these municipalities are very poor and that any program that treats them with dignity instead of arrogance will find support. When they realize that the criteria for selection and implementation of a program are objective rather than political, legitimacy and cooperation are guaranteed.

Q: Urban violence affects especially the poorer population residing the outskirts of Brazilian

metropolises, where infrastructure is precarious, recreational possibilities restricted, and where organized crime, particularly drug trafficking, has the upper hand. In the case of these communities, the state, be it in its role as executor of social policy, be it as a guarantor of public order, is oftentimes absent. For the people living in these areas, "citizenship" is quite an abstract concept. Do you agree with this portrait of the way poor urban dwellers see the state in Brazil? To what extent can the organization of these communities break the structure of oppression without the state also taking the initiative of changing its posture?

A: I take urban violence to be one of the main problems of our country and of many other countries as well. Whereas well-known social problems such as education, health, housing, etc., benefit from a large stock of intellectual reflection and many proposals for their solution, the action against violence is still a challenge. A complex and multifaceted phenomenon does not admit simple solutions. I agree that the absence of police control or its abuse are fundamental causes of the dissemination of violence. Moreover, this results from a long period of authoritarianism and from the posture of a society that, in the face of violence, requires even more penalization and toughness towards those whom it considers criminals. The state's task is to impose more control over police, but it is up to society to disseminate a less bellicose, more tolerant vision.

There is no doubt that the expansion of drug trafficking had an active role in the increase of violence, and that it must be repressed; however, we all know how difficult and ineffective this has been. In Brazil, the federal government created a new institution for the repression of drug-related crime working in coordination with the Federal Police, which also underwent changes. But this is a long-term task that may begin with gun control, a proposal that is met with much resistance in civil society. I hope the proposed gun control law currently debated in Congress is approved so we may see a reduction in violent offenses. But even this first step, albeit extremely important, is hard to take. And the risk of indiscriminate use of weapons affects especially the poorest strata, as you stated.

I believe that the institutions entrusted with the control of violence (police, judiciary, etc.) are failing or functioning erratically, which leaves all social classes devoid of protection, since violent acts affect all. Impunity and the expansion of illegal activities affect all of society. A joint action between government and society can impact this situation, which must be fought urgently.

The improvement of public policy and the betterment of living conditions among the poor is imperative so that Brazil may develop, but it won't have immediate effect on the statistics of violence because one cannot, and should not, establish mechanical relations between poverty and violence. If poverty actually caused violence, we would have had higher rates of violence in the past. Blaming the poor for illegal acts, from my point of view, is a

"The state's task is to impose more control over police, but it is up to society to disseminate a less bellicose, more tolerant vision."

violence against them. If some join criminal networks, thousands of others fight for a decent life and do not want to be taken for bandits. The uncontrolled expansion of cities, the precarious conditions of living are realities that cannot be ignored and must be transformed so that those who are now excluded may have access to the benefits to which they are entitled for their work.

To what extent is the organization of local communities able to break through this situation? This is a hard question because it points to a process rather than to a univocal relation. Some conditions are necessary for the organization of communities and they are increasingly present in the country, as a result of the actions of NGOs, the churches, and public institutions that created popular councils and other forms of participation. Nonetheless, whereas this communitarianism is an important weapon for claiming better living conditions, it has limited power to control violence because its enemy is hidden behind illegality. To achieve this objective, without a doubt we need a partnership between state and society, in a convergence of actions. Each one has its task and cannot shy away from it, because the disruptive power of violence threatens us all.

Q: Brazilian youth bear the burden of the new competitive social order in Brazil, in which schooling is a prerequisite to obtaining quality jobs. The country is undergoing educational reform and evaluation of

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Probing the Membrane between Horror and Hope: Artist Claudia Bernardi

by Angelina Snodgrass Godoy

Claudia Bernardi's artwork is inspired by suffering, yet infused with life. Drawing upon experiences of state terror, such as the exhumation of mass graves in Central America, she works to resurrect beauty amid the bloodshed and in so doing, to refuse to succumb to the silencing embrace of political repression. An exhibit of her work will open in the CLAS gallery on March 8.

A native of Argentina, Bernardi's work as both an artist and a human rights activist has carried her to many unexpected destinations, including Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia; El Mozote, El Salvador; and a remote village in El Petén, Guatemala, where she helped recover the remains of over one hundred victims — mostly children — killed in a 1982 massacre by army forces. Forensic examination of the skeletal remains Bernardi helped unearth successfully confirmed the grim horrors first suggested in survivors' testimonies: in order to save ammunition, most children were beaten against the sides of a well, and then thrown down it to die. Gathering the fragmented remnants of their brief lives changed Bernardi forever. "Something really



major happens," she explains, "when you go down a well to find over one hundred children murdered. At that point... the membrane which divides lucidity from madness... is stretched."

Through her artwork, Bernardi probes that pliable membrane, that space in which we remain human in the face of atrocity. She describes her art as an "antidote for the solitude," a liaison between that state of intense suffering and the larger world. Furthermore, and all the more remarkably, she uses her art to communicate the unique knowledges which her experiences have opened to her. There is a tenderness, she affirms, in knowing death intimately, in cradling the tattered clothing of children in her hands and perceiving, through it, the immense vulnerability of human life. Her work is a visual testimony of sorts, yet it transcends the mere representation of tragic events. "I create art in that very vulnerable state of aperture where everything merges — the good and the bad, the sorrowful and the joyful," Bernardi says.

Her technique mirrors this conceptual complexity. She calls it "fresco on paper," a method she developed herself, whereby layer after layer of pure pigments are applied to wet paper and run repeatedly — sometimes hundreds of times — through a printmaker's press. There are no solvents or binders to shape the pigments' flow across the paper; Bernardi describes her creative process as one of constant negotiation with headstrong reds, obsti-

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*Timeless, the Clear
Instant of Remembrance,
1999*



*The Sun Extracts from its
Light the Shadows, 1998*

CHALLENGES FOR BRAZIL

A DIALOGUE



February 25, 2000

9:00 am - 6:00 pm

The Lipman Room

8th Floor, Barrows Hall

University of California, Berkeley

- 9:00 AM Welcoming: Chancellor Robert M. Berdahl
Moderator: Harley Shaiken, Chair, CLAS
- 9:15 AM Opening Remarks: Ruth Cardoso,
President, Conselho da Comunidade Solidária
Panel I
Brazil in the Global Economy
-
- 1:30 PM *Panel II*
Labor in the Americas, Brazil and the U.S.
Panel III
Social Problems, Political Alternatives

Antonio Barros de Castro

Economist, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ),
Brazil

David Bonior

Representative, U.S. Congress, Michigan. Second
Ranking Democrat in the U.S. House of Representatives

Cristovam Buarque

Former Governor of the Federal District, Workers'
Party (PT), Brazil

R. Thomas Buffenbarger

International President, International Association of
Machinists (IAM), U.S.

Andrea Calabi

President, National Development Bank (BNDES),
Brazil

Ruth Cardoso

President, Conselho da Comunidade Solidária, Brazil

Vilmar E. Faria

Chief Adviser on Social Policy to President Cardoso,
Brazil

Roberto Freire

Senator, President, Socialist Popular Party (PPS), Brazil

Nancy Pelosi

Representative, U.S. Congress, California (D)

Paulo Pereira da Silva

President, Força Sindical (Labor Federation), Brazil

José Serra

Minister of Health, Brazil

Marina Silva

Senator, Workers' Party (PT), Brazil

Vicente Paulo da Silva *

President, Central Única dos Trabalhadores, (Central
Workers' Federation, CUT), Brazil

Lourdes Sola

Political Scientist, President, Brazilian Political Science
Association (ABCP)

Paulo Renato Souza *

Minister of Education, Brazil

Maria Hermínia Tavares

Political Scientist, University of São Paulo (USP), Brazil

Jorge Wilhelm

Urbanist, Brazil

*invited

For information and updates, visit the CLAS Web site at:

www.clas.berkeley.edu/clas

Cardoso explores challenges for Brazil's youth

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of City and Regional Planning, where she taught for a semester in 1981. Her course at CLAS, "Youth in Brazil: Social Situation, Culture and Public Policies," will revisit many of the concepts she elaborated as an academic, enriched by added insights from her more recent experiences with Comunidade Solidária.

Aiming to change the way anti-poverty policy is carried out in Brazil, Comunidade Solidária shifts the paradigm from state aid-based initiatives to community empowerment, engagement and self-sustenance. Alfabetização Solidária, for example, is one of the programs Cardoso oversees, a unique 5-month course that currently provides an estimated 200,000 students with scholarships and literacy training in 581 Brazilian municipalities. Funds for teachers' salaries and scholarships, costing a total of approximately \$13 million over the past two years, are provided by businesses; schools and learning aids are supplied by the public sector, and local universities assist in teacher training. Success rates ranged from 70 to 74 percent at the end of 1998, an impressive outcome considering that the program is targeted at areas like the rural northeast, where economic pressures often forestall students' abilities to continue their education.

The Comunidade Solidária program has also reshaped the relationship between higher education and local communities in Brazil. Brazilian universities have traditionally been weak at incorporating students into community involvement activities. Although youth are active in progressive politics, enthusiasm for change is usually channeled into party and union politics rather than hands-on intervention as students. Working to change this pattern, the Universidade Solidária program mobilized some 2,200 students to work in impoverished areas of northern Brazil in 1998. These volunteers have implemented projects that range from STD prevention to environmental education, from basic notions of health and efficient food processing to leadership formation and NGO management. More than 100 universities are

affiliated with the program, which is sponsored by the government as well as by private firms. This partnership with the private sector helps to circumvent tight control on federal social spending in a time of draconian fiscal adjustment.

The contemporary challenges facing Brazilian society, and particularly its youth, invite considerations of creative policy solutions. Among the many concerns are the widely disparate income levels into which the population is divided. Last December, IBGE, the Brazilian census bureau, announced the results of a broad survey of social and economic indicators pertinent to the country's youth. A quarter of the population under age 18 is considered poor, living in households with an income of half a minimum wage per capita or less.

Among school age children (ages 7-14) approximately 35 percent are estimated to live in poverty. Figures double in the rural northeast, the country's poorest region and a key target of Comunidade Solidária's programs. The IBGE survey also shows that homicide is the main cause of death in the 15-19 age group, increasing

in urban areas, where adolescents are more susceptible to networks of organized crime.

On the other hand, Brazilian youth have historically shown a high degree of engagement in social movements. Demonstrations and underground activities against the military government in the 1960s and 70s cost the lives of hundreds of middle-class youth in the country. In 1993, student-led street protests put pressure on Congress to impeach former President Fernando Collor on charges of appropriation of public funds. In times of deregulation and expanded trade, however, the central preoccupation of many young people has become finding jobs in an increasingly competitive labor market. A Unicef survey published in December 1999 showed that 69 percent of Brazilian youth and children believe the future will be the same as or worse than the present. Employment anxiety is exacerbated by the fact that the proportion of young adults in the total Brazilian

Comunidade Solidária shifts the paradigm from state aid-based initiatives to community empowerment, engagement and self-sustenance.

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Chilean Ambassador Addresses the Ongoing Transition

by Javier A. Couso

As part of its program on Chile, the Center for Latin American Studies recently hosted Mario Artaza, Chile's Ambassador to the United States, as the featured speaker at the biannual Bay Area Faculty Colloquium. In an hour-long presentation, Ambassador Artaza discussed key aspects of the consolidation of democracy in Chile since 1990. He reviewed the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, the inauguration of a transitional regime after the plebiscite of 1988, and the major events of the last decade, including the October 1998 arrest of General Pinochet in London.

Ambassador Artaza's talk adopted a point of departure fundamentally different from that of some of his predecessors: his frank acknowledgment of the incomplete nature of Chile's transition to democracy. Dismissing the statements of other Chilean officials solemnly announcing the "end of the democratic transition" in 1993, Artaza highlighted the obstacles to democratic governance imposed by "authoritarian enclaves" such as the National Security Council, the "designated" senators, and the peculiar electoral system inherited from the Pinochet regime.

After detailing how such mechanisms have impaired his country's nascent democracy, Ambassador Artaza commented on the role of the so-called "factual powers." This notion refers to the overwhelming power enjoyed in Chile by the business associations, the right-wing newspaper *El Mercurio*, the Catholic Church, and the military. It was first introduced by a prominent member of the Chilean right, Andrés Allamand, whose political career was all but destroyed after he publicly recognized the existence of these political networks. According to Ambassador Artaza, these entities continue to exercise tremendous political power in



Chile, effectively distorting the country's democratic system. The ambassador suggested that until they are controlled and held accountable to the people, democracy in Chile will remain severely compromised.

Many members of the public were greatly interested in the ambassador's assessment of the upcoming presidential elections in Chile. At the time of his presentation, the race between the ruling party candidate, Ricardo Lagos, and the challenger from the right, Joaquín Lavín, was hotly contested and entering its final weeks. Ambassador Artaza explained that the *Concertación*, the center-left party coalition which has held the presidency since 1990, was surprised by Lavín's populist appeal. Lavín has led a carefully planned campaign, in which he has distanced himself from his allies on the right and from politics altogether, presenting himself as a practical man who promises to solve Chile's social problems through technocratic means. Although Ambassador Artaza conceded that this innovative approach presented a challenge to the official party's candidate, he expressed confidence in Lagos' eventual triumph.

An inquiry from the public led the ambassador to reflect further upon the legacy of General Pinochet. Despite having regarded Pinochet as his political enemy for decades, the ambassador explained his support for the Chilean government's official response to the arrest of Pinochet in London. Specifically, he expressed his deep conviction that the trial of Pinochet in Europe would have negative effects upon democracy in Chile. Reminding the audience of the Chilean military's considerable political clout, Artaza argued that the only viable path for the Chilean government was to insist that



Ambassador
Mario Artaza

Professor Walter Goldfrank, of UC Santa Cruz's Department of Sociology, with Professors Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, of UC Berkeley's Department of Political Science, during the Bay Area Faculty Colloquium

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Insider's Analysis of Chilean Elections

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and conquered the center, even at the expense of a blurring of the right and left. Nonetheless, it would seem that changing profiles — or covering them up — cost the right, organized in relation to powerful economic interests, less than it did the left. The right, its parties, and most enthusiastically the business leaders, have applauded Lavín's shift to the center. They know that, if he is successful, they will have attained almost total control of the country: in addition to economic power, an uncontested domination of the media, and the strong authoritarian influence of the armed forces, they will have occupied the political apparatus and its spaces.

For Lagos and his followers the task has been more difficult, and their ranks have not been exempt from internal divisions. The Chilean left was a very significant cultural phenomenon with potent signs of identity. The movement toward the center has produced undeniable — although not definitive — electoral results, but it has been costly among a segment of voters which, without the old referents or an effective substitute for them, slips away on the slick surface of a politics which functions with ever greater resemblance to the market.

There are those — on both sides, but much more on the right — who would celebrate these changes. We find ourselves, they say, faced with the advance of the modernization process; the endless transition has been brought to a close by the will of the voters. The citizenry, increasingly, is said to reject attributions to signs from the past or to closed political organizations; driven by more individualistic motives, the public has chosen among the various electoral options based upon its most immediate interests, and most particularly the possibilities for social mobility. Some say that this sector of the Chilean population is the protagonist of this election.

Within governmental circles, one can confirm that the tenth year of the *Concertación's* government has been a particularly complex period. Three crises developed, beyond the control of the authorities. First, a two-year drought made severe electric rationing necessary during the winter months. Then, the unexpected arrest of Pinochet in London embroiled the governing elites in a closed circuit of accusations and suspicions, which the administration resolved to confront through an uncomfortable position based on the defense of juridical principles. When this failed, a political-diplomatic offensive was undertaken to achieve the

return of the dictator to the Chilean courts which supposedly were to try him. Last but not least, the delayed impact of the Asian crisis affected economic growth and doubled unemployment. In this way, the *Concertación* was forced to face the challenge of the December elections under adverse conditions. The high rates of support for the right can, in part, be explained by these factors.

Other analyses emphasize the administration's poor perception of the country's complex and changing cultural reality. In the municipal elections of 1996, analysts suggest, symptoms of a popular disaffection with politics in general, as well as with the administration and its parties in particular, had already begun to emerge. These signs were evident in the 1997 parliamentary elections, when the sum of those citizens who were able to vote but did not register, those who abstained, and those who cast null or invalid votes, reached almost 40 percent of the potential electorate. Although the *Concertación* achieved victory, they did so with their lowest levels of support in the decade. In 1997, the country was split into approximately three groups: those who supported the *Concertación*; those who favored the opposition, mainly on the right, but also on the left; and those who were indifferent — this last group being the largest. In the most recent election, a significant portion of this group has taken an additional step, not only to distance itself from the *Concertación* but also to cross the border which, ever since Pinochet's defeat in the 1988 plebiscite, has defined the political territories of the dictatorship's adherents and its opponents. This migration was stimulated by the crisis of the past year, and by a new dynamic fueled by the aspirations of members of the middle and lower-middle classes; anxious for rapidly increased material well-being, these forces promote the model of growth as their anthem.

The second round will tell who is to be the new president of a Chile shaken by globalization. Whatever its outcome, the political penury is clear: the forces which fought against the dictatorship have been weakened, lacking a strategy which allows citizens to participate in the defense or reconstruction of identities that are increasingly being enslaved by the potent mandates of the market. ■

A Conversation with Horacio Salinas of Inti-Illimani

On October 6, Horacio Salinas, founder and leader of the renowned Chilean musical ensemble Inti-Illimani, visited CLAS for a discussion with students, faculty, and community members. Noted for its combination of traditional Latin American rhythms and sounds with influences from popular music around the world, Inti-Illimani creates a unique musical experience which has earned the group a devoted following around the world. Also integral to Inti-Illimani's work is its commitment to politics and social justice. A selection of exchanges from the discussion, touching on these themes, is reproduced here.

CLAS: Can you discuss the relationship between art and politics, particularly in regard to Violeta Parra, who became a popular political hero? Also, can you discuss memory — what it is, looked at as personal history and also national history?

HS: Clearly with Violeta Parra *la canción nueva* [the Chilean new song] was born. But the problem of *la canción nueva* was also born, because she created a music of very high quality — and that sometimes sets a complicated precedent. As an artist on the vanguard, Violeta Parra rapidly became something of a myth. And her political songs were songs that were very clear and direct, that made a very precise x-ray of people's lives. She pushed for justice, against inequity, she attacked very strongly moral relativity and ethical problems. And she did this above all by creating stories with art. But within any movement there is an easy path an artist can take — one that is often not very artistic. I say this because we discussed it a lot in those years, the difficulty in making social justice compatible with song, linking it to appropriate art. One could naively think that it is enough to mention “the people” in order to give a song value. And this is a problem because maybe bad taste reigns on the radio in Chile, and reigns in television — this is normal — but if you are representing the people, making bad songs is very sad.

I think that the political song was an extraordinary event in the history of music in Chile because it was overall an artistic product of very high quality. Not only was it music of denunciation, but also of extraordinary artistic value. I also think that it stayed in the memory of Chile as something new and something very revolutionary and very beautiful. This is the phenomenon of political song. There is Violeta Parra who is very important, Víctor Jara, Patricio Manns. They are three of the most important creators of songs and music — something completely new, which has stayed in the memory of Chile — as a notable event, perhaps the most important in this century in Chile in musical terms.

And just as Violeta Parra set the bar very high...



Horacio Salinas with Professor Jocelyne Guilbault of UC Berkeley's Music department

there are different depths that one can get into with this music. Given that music is very abstract, given that it is very difficult to understand and discuss, it is a complicated problem... The people who work with popular music have to understand things other than just the music — the problems of the people, the food of the people — they have to always be curious. And here is another point that I think is very important, which is for those who play and those who observe the phenomenon to have a political position, an ethical position. Because if not, if you don't achieve this, you can only understand one level. You'll never be able to completely understand the music because to have a political position and an ethical position facilitates an effective relationship with the music, without which it is very difficult to understand.

CLAS: Does this mean that your music is directed at a certain population or a group?

HS: No, no, no. What we can assume is that certain segments of society understand our music in a distinct way, but I think that we are not artists who favor a certain audience. Nor do we choose a

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Horacio Salinas at CLAS

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determined direction for our music — I think that one more often aspires to be understood by everyone. Music is a language, a language that communicates certain things. Our music when taken from the point of view of a university professor or that of a Nicaraguan farmer has a significance and can be understood following the theory of relativity. If you look at [our music] from different vantage points, you're going to see very distinct things. I think ... that art — and the necessity to communicate through music in this case — is the need to make a bridge of affection with people. And it is testimony to the fragility of a person. I believe strongly in this, that in art there is a testimony — a feeling of how ephemeral life is and the fragility of being human — transmitted through a message, which impacts us greatly when it's a message of tenderness, of love, of affection.

CLAS: Many of the artists integrated with the nueva canción movement in Chile left the country or were forced into exile during the tragedy of the 1970s. As a result, the music became very popular in the countries of Western Europe. Did this mean that there was a certain alienation from the audience in Chile?

HS: The movement ended, in a way, with the military coup. It ended for practical reasons, because the majority of the artists left the country. Many of them died outside of the country. It was one of the policies of the military dictatorship to produce a rupture in cultural and political development. For example, the university in which we

formed, which was a focal point of university reforms in 1968, changed names. They had to invent a new country. There was a government decree which prohibited the use of the *charango* because it was a sound associated with a phenomenon that was, for them, terrible. With the coup, everyone disbanded and it crushed something interesting that was happening, which was the collaboration between the musical academic world — the music conservatory and composers — and the popular movement. Perhaps if the coup never had happened, this movement would have had a very interesting and broad development.

Exile produces two types of problems for artists. It causes a strong uprooting of the artists and a certain incomprehension by the new audience. Artists have a key or a code that was difficult for some countries to understand, so some artists stopped producing. The other problem is that for many the reason to create art was rooted in the land, the country and the history where they had been producing. So there were some people that continued to play the same music. But in another country with another history and also in a new epoch, there was a terrific shift which left many of those involved in this music removed from artistic reality. Exile also produced the collapse of the paradigm which for many was an oasis that they had aspired to, the socialist world. And this collapse was like an earthquake, which had great repercussions in artistic creation. We discussed this problem extensively in these years because we realized that we had two alternatives: to be very conservative and follow closely what we had done, without betraying our roots — to keep the flags of struggle very high — or to open our ears a little and the windows of our house to understand what was happening in what was our second house. We opted for the second choice.

CLAS: Does the song "Por una Ventana Abierta" ["Through an Open Window"] refer to this?

HS: Yes. But we lived many years — from 1973 to 1978 — perplexed, without putting curtains on the windows, with our bags always ready to return. Until the famous referendum of the constitution in 1980, when we realized that in reality we had to prepare ourselves for a long period of time. And also in a way we didn't want to contradict something that was in the origins of *la nueva canción chilena*, which was to pay attention to and try to

Horacio Salinas with former CLAS Chair Prof. Beatriz Manz during his presentation



understand and try to love the popular music that we were listening to. Understanding a little of it, including understanding how to play some of it, made us realize that there was not that much difference between Mediterranean music, Celtic music, Andean music, Arabian music. We tried to understand what they had in common. Because in the end, the problems that people have and the pains that they have are similar. But this, which is easy to say, is a little difficult to do.

CLAS: You recently played in the National Stadium of Chile that was renamed the Víctor Jara Stadium. What was that moment like?

HS: It was extraordinary... In Chile, there is an extensive conflict in the country, among people, of a catharsis that has not happened regarding the problem of memory and the military coup. I think that there is confusion; an observer who is not aware of the Chilean reality could think that it relates to a lack of memory. More clearly it's a problem of silence. This problem of silence was born during a mass experience within a terrifying period. There was a study done by the Catholic Church and the medical school that found that in Chile — a country of 13 million inhabitants — between 250,000 and 500,000 people experienced physical torture, such as torture with electricity. If you think of the extensiveness of this... And so today when the theater, the movies, the music speak about this problem, it's a big conflict for people. It's not that art in this case is a vehicle of knowledge, but of refreshing the memory of something that is still underneath the skin. This is the problem, of addressing something that is in silence because it is still very painful. It's going to be a long time before we can — we still can't liberate ourselves from this.

CLAS: What is Inti-Illimani doing to open these wounds, to communicate this pain?

HS: This is a daily preoccupation, because it means taking a step in the growth of dignity in Chile and its people, like a civilized country. And this is a battle; luckily the majority of artists in Chile are on the side of democracy. All of this occurred to me in the stadium in Chile. It is a place where there are boxing matches, it is a place that holds close to 5,000 people. It has many dressing rooms in the structure, it's a stadium that's very ugly, but with many dressing rooms and these were used immediately after the coup to hold prisoners. They were there some 10 days, 15 days. And the prisoner Víctor Jara was there, some of my sisters



also, and many people. And from there he was taken, when they identified him among others, they took him, they tortured him in one of those dressing rooms, where there were many people, and they carried him outside and then shot him with a machine gun; his body was hit by 70 bullets, they broke his hands, etc. This was normal in those days. So recently there has been a struggle by artists to change the stadium's name to Víctor Jara. It's a way to remember him, even though it is a very ugly place. We were booked for two shows, the 3rd and 4th of September, and we publicized it using the name the Víctor Jara Stadium to force the change. We hope to continue doing it until they officially change the name.

It was very beautiful, full of people with more waiting outside; it was a success. On a giant screen we projected a video about the life of Víctor Jara. People came at 8:00 at night, watched the movie (which was two hours long), and afterward was the show, for about four hours. It was impressive; the majority of the people were young, between 15 and 25 years old. And this is a video that narrates the life of Víctor Jara and is put together with clips of songs, which Víctor himself sings. It was amazing to see people, when he finished a song, applaud, as if he was performing there. ■

CLAS Chair, Prof. Harley Shaiken, with Horacio Salinas

Earthquake Damages to Colonial Buildings Reveal Their History

by Stephen Tobriner

In 1999 two major earthquakes struck Mexico, causing immense damage to historic masonry buildings in the states of Puebla and Oaxaca. A few months ago, I visited Mexico, as a representative of the Earthquake Engineering Research Institute and Center, to examine firsthand the effects of these natural disasters on some of the country's most beautiful colonial buildings. My research was supported in part by the Center for Latin American Studies.

These earthquakes struck at the very heart of the most beautiful colonial religious structures and vernacular buildings of Mexico. The June 15 Puebla earthquake (with its epicenter at Tehuacán) ranked 7 on the Richter scale, while the September 30 Oaxaca earthquake (with its epicenter near Puerto Escondido on the coast) was estimated at 7.4. Between them, they destroyed or damaged approximately 1,380 churches and more than 6,000 adobe dwellings and commercial structures. They compromised or destroyed buildings that had survived for centuries as the focus of community in villages and towns, buildings of enormous social and cultural significance.

Crucial lessons about earthquake damage in the context of cultural history as well as engineering

can be learned by studying the construction and seismic performance of historic masonry buildings in the Oaxaca and Puebla earthquakes. Too often researchers assess performance without considering a building's history or social context. For example, the study of these two earthquakes illustrates how adjoining regions in the same country evolve widely divergent attitudes towards natural disasters — attitudes that, in turn, directly affect seismic resistance in buildings. In Oaxaca, where earthquakes were frequent in the 17th and 18th centuries, major structures like the Cathedral were often damaged and rebuilt. Gradually a strategy emerged to confront the problem, sometimes in the initial design and sometimes through retrofits after earthquakes. Buildings were designed with thick, squat walls, low towers, and heavy buttresses.

By contrast, few earthquakes of the same intensity struck the adjoining state of Puebla, so its architects constructed buildings with taller walls and towers, and fewer buttresses. In the city of Puebla this strategy eventually proved costly to buildings like the magnificent Jesuit church, La Iglesia de la Compañía. Here the architect built a tall church without buttressing on one side, with its other side braced by the adjoining monastery. As



The Cathedral of Oaxaca.
Photo by
Stephen Tobriner

a result, as the church rocked back and forth the unbuttressed side wall was pushed outward, causing the nave vaults to lose compression and begin to fail. The tall towers rocked as well, cracking at several levels. In order to repair and strengthen the church of the Compañía, present-day engineers have to face the seismic problem that the original builders chose to ignore.

Each damaged building in Oaxaca and Puebla has a unique history, calling for a special understanding of its performance in earthquakes. In some cases, the initial construction decisions were faulty. The right tower of Cathedral of Puebla, for example, embodies a fatal flaw. Toward one corner of the tower, a circular stairway leading to the uppermost levels was constructed, encased in massive walls. During the earthquake, this stairway attracted the forces acting on the tower; its asymmetrical placement caused the tower to twist in torsion, threatening to collapse. In other structures, chance accidents and earlier retrofits cause fatal weaknesses. The tower of the church of San Agustín was used as an observation post by the Mexican army as it fought the French in the 19th century. The tower was bombarded, damaged and later fixed. But the retrofit was faulty and the tower collapsed.

Like thousands of other buildings in the earthquake zone, San Agustín has a unique story to tell; in this case, it is a story of war, damage, retrofit and seismic failure. Buildings are the memory of the past. If we can read the story of their construction and reconstruction over time, we can better understand the culture in

which they were built, the responses of architects, builders and their clients to earthquakes over time, and the rationale for the underlying decisions that so strongly influence the performance of historic structures in earthquakes. For these and a host of other reasons, the study of the damage to historic buildings caused by the Puebla and Oaxaca earthquakes is extremely important. ■



The tower of the Church of San Agustín in Puebla. Photo by Stephen Tobriner

La Iglesia de la Compañía in Puebla. Photo by Stephen Tobriner

Stephen Tobriner is Professor of Architecture in the College of Environmental Design at UC Berkeley, and Curator for the College of Environmental Design Documents Collection. He has written more than forty articles about Mesoamerican cities, Baroque architecture and cities in Italy, the history of engineering, and reconstruction after earthquakes in Europe, the Americas, and Asia.

Spring Calendar of Events

- January 28 **Amos Megged: “Demarcating Memories: Indians’ Hidden Voices in Early-Colonial Settings”**
This talk examines the ways in which ordinary Indians, who had once belonged to the former city-states around the Valley of Mexico, reshaped and reconstructed their own conception of time, space, and authority right after the Spanish conquest. The talk is first in a series of meetings held by the working group on Early-Colonial Endeavors. Amos Megged, Associate Professor at the University of Haifa and visiting scholar at CLAS, co-chairs the working group with Professor William B. Taylor of the History department. 2-4 pm, CLAS Conference Room.
- January 31-February 4 **Maria Angelica Madeira and Mariza Veloso: “Leituras Brasileiras: Pensamento Social e Literatura no Brasil”**
An intensive seminar on Brazilian social thought and literature with Profs. Maria Angelica Madeira, Professor of Literature and Sociology, and Mariza Velozo, Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, at the Universidade de Brasília and the Instituto Rio Branco. Cosponsored with the Consulate General of Brazil and the Department of Spanish and Portuguese. 2-4 pm, CLAS Conference Room.
- February 10 **Research Reports from the Field**
María Elena Martínez-Torres, Latin American Studies: “Organic Coffee and Organizational Membership in Chiapas, Mexico,” and Adrienne Pine, Anthropology and Demography: “Mitch, Maquiladoras y Mujeres: An Examination of Recent Demographic Trends in the Female Population of Honduras.” 12-1 pm, CLAS Conference Room.
- February 17 **Research Reports from the Field**
Isabelle Fauconnier, Agricultural and Resource Economics: “Equity, Efficiency and Environment: The Private Provision of Public Services to Low-income Households in Latin American Cities — A Case in Urban Argentina,” and Misha Klein, Anthropology: “Creating Community: Jewish Identity in Contemporary Brazil.” 12-1 pm, CLAS Conference Room.
- February 17 **Ruth Cardoso: A Public Talk and Discussion**
4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.
- February 25 **“Challenges for Brazil: A Dialogue”**
Focusing on global economic integration in the Americas, this conference will feature dialogue among Brazilians, and between Brazilian and U.S. participants. Topics will include the impact of globalization on Brazil, perspectives on labor in the Americas, and social problems and political alternatives. For a list of participants, see page 7.
9 am to 6 pm, Lipman Room, 8th Floor Barrows Hall.
- March 8 **Claudia Bernardi: Opening Reception**
Bernardi, an Argentine artist whose work focuses on human rights themes, has exhibited her “frescoes on paper” internationally. This reception marks the opening of her exhibit at CLAS. For more information on her work, please see p. 6 of this newsletter. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.
- March 9 **Mynor Melgar: “Human Rights Challenges in Contemporary Latin America”**
Guatemalan lawyer Mynor Melgar, a visiting scholar at the Center for Latin American Studies in 2000, has led the prosecution of a number of prominent human rights cases, including those of assassinated anthropologist Myrna Mack, the massacre at Dos Erres, and the murder of Bishop Juan José Gerardi following the Church’s release of its human rights report.
4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

Santiago Oñate: Mexican Transitions

Santiago Oñate is the Ambassador of Mexico to the United Kingdom. In the last decade, he has held several positions in the Mexican government, including Head of the President's Coordination Office, Secretary of State for Labor, and Ambassador of Mexico to the Organization of American States. The first in a six-part series on Mexican Transitions. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

March 14

Adolfo Gilly: Mexican Transitions

Adolfo Gilly is a professor of political science at the Universidad Autónoma de México. From 1997 to 1999 he served as adviser to Mexico City Mayor Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas in various capacities, including Evaluation Coordinator. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

March 22

Memorial for Woodrow Borah

Woodrow Borah, an expert in Latin American history and Professor Emeritus at UC Berkeley, recently passed away. Chair of CLAS from 1973 to 1979, Prof. Borah was for decades one of the most influential and active scholars working to reconstruct the colonial experience in Spanish America. Prof. Eric Van Young, of UC San Diego's Department of History, Prof. Borah's former student, will speak at CLAS on Borah's scholarly legacy. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

March 24

Denise Dresser: Mexican Transitions. "Blood Sport: The Politics of Mexico's Presidential Elections"

Professor Dresser teaches political science at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM). Prof. Dresser is currently a visiting fellow at the Pacific Council, a research institution affiliated with the University of Southern California focusing on policy issues in the Pacific Rim. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

April 5

Lorenzo Meyer: Mexican Transitions

A leading scholar on U.S. - Mexico relations, Professor Meyer is affiliated with the Centro de Estudios Internacionales at El Colegio de México. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

April 12

Adolfo Aguilar Zinser: Mexican Transitions

Senator Aguilar Zinser is the first Independent to be elected to the Mexican Congress and a former visiting professor at CLAS. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

April 19

International Reporting: Mexico

Students from Prof. Francis Pisani's International Reporting class will present their work following their in-depth reporting trip to Mexico. The ten-day trip culminates a year-long international reporting course focusing on Mexico. Some students plan to report on concerns along the border between Mexico and the U.S., and others will focus on issues affecting Mexico's southern states. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

April 20

Sergio Aguayo: Mexican Transitions

Affiliated with the Centro de Estudios Internacionales at El Colegio de México, Prof. Aguayo is a leading commentator on human rights in Mexico. Among other publications, he is the author of 1968: Archives of Violence. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

April 26

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

Interview with Ruth Cardoso

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school performance across the board, trying to improve the public schooling system, which suffered from serious lack of investment in the past, especially during the authoritarian period. What are, in your opinion, the public policies that affect most directly the Brazilian youth today?

A: For the reasons indicated in the question, I consider the most important public policies aimed at the Brazilian youth to be those that offer them training and new skills. I include among them governmental and non-governmental policies, but all of them policies that offer from minimal skills such as literacy (which many lack) to computer skills (there are several initiatives in this area, by the way). These initiatives are numerous, but still insufficient. The programs for educational acceleration [aimed at students that fall behind or return to school at an older age], carried out primarily by the governments but also by the third sector (non-profits) are examples of youth-targeted programs that cater to the needs of the majority. Obviously young people also need programs in the areas of health, culture, sports, work. Some of these policies already exist, some must be modified, and others must be created with the help of youth themselves.

Q: You taught at UC Berkeley in the early 80s for a semester. What memories do you have of those days?

A: My recollections of the time I spent at Berkeley are excellent, and I am very happy to have had the opportunity to return. The University welcomed me warmly, and I left behind good friends I hope to see again. It was great to teach Latin American themes having to adapt the bibliography to an English-speaking readership; I learned a lot, and I hope to learn more this time, from my colleagues, students, and friends.

Q: What lessons have you learned from your experience as wife of a head of state?

A: I wouldn't say I have learned lessons while living the role of wife of a head of state. I'd say I have been living new and unforeseen experiences, but these are fleeting. Rather, the opportunity to put into practice some ideas emanating from my previous research, and which already had a political aspect to them, is what this rich learning process has been about. All new and unexpected situations are difficult, but are opportunities for renewal as well. ■

Cardoso Explores Challenges for Brazil's Youth

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population has expanded, in part due to a drop in fertility rates in recent years when unemployment reached an all-time high. These and other concerns will be highlighted in Cardoso's seminar at CLAS.

They are also issues that have informed her work as President of the Comunidade Solidária, where she has sought to implement key ideas from her scholarly analysis while helping transform social policy in Brazil. "The opportunity to put into practice some ideas emanating from my previous research, and which already had a political aspect to them, is what this rich learning process has been about," Cardoso reflected during a recent interview with CLAS (see page 4). After four years of involvement with social policy and welfare issues in Brazil,

Cardoso has adopted a stronger political stance in the advocacy of those programs. During President Fernando Henrique Cardoso's 1998 campaign for reelection, she spoke out on such issues, citing the achievements of Comunidade Solidária and supporting reforms that would make social spending more efficient. She has also worked to influence the administration towards a greater emphasis on the quality of public services and region-specific social programs, and (in keeping with Comunidade Solidária's hallmark) towards increased partnerships between the state and civil society. ■

Fabrizio C. Rigout is a graduate student in the Department of Sociology.

Lourdes Sola Focuses on Democratization and Economic Restructuring in Brazil

by Zachary Elkins

This semester, CLAS' program provides an unusual window of insight into the contemporary policy dilemmas confronting Brazil. Not only do course offerings feature in-depth analysis of these issues through two seminars taught by leading Brazilian scholars, but students and faculty will also witness these policy debates firsthand through discussions among participants in the "Challenges for Brazil" conference. As part of this "Brazil 2000" series, Professor Lourdes Sola, president of the Brazilian Political Science Association and current holder of the Rio Branco Chair in Brazilian Studies at UC Berkeley, will teach a semester-long course entitled "Democratization and Economic Restructuring in Brazil," providing an opportunity for sustained engagement with these issues under the guidance of one of their most noted observers.

Professor Sola's seminar will examine the relationship between democratization and economic transformation in contemporary Brazil. Compared to other nation-states in the region, Brazil has experienced economic and political liberalization only fairly recently. A set of important and divisive public policy questions have accompanied this transition. For example, Brazilian decisionmakers are grappling with the decentralization of many government responsibilities as well as the new forms and modes of political participation. While the course will concentrate on these current policy challenges, the syllabus

includes a look at historical trends starting in the 1940s with special emphasis on the external shocks in the early 1970s and the crisis in the 1980s. Two important themes run through the course: (1) the constraints and opportunities for state reform imposed by democratization, and (2) changes in the international climate, in particular the changes in U.S.-Latin American relations in the post-Cold War period.

A specialist in political economy and comparative politics, Professor Sola brings formidable expertise to the analysis of these issues. Her studies of fiscal reform in Brazil integrate an incisive policy component along with a solid grounding in political and economic theory. In addition to her position as professor at the Universidade de São Paulo (USP), Sola is a research associate at the prestigious Institute of Economic, Social and Political Development of São Paulo (IDESP), and currently serves as president of the Brazilian Political Science Association (ABCP), placing her among the most distinguished political scientists in Brazil. Professor Sola received her doctorate in political science at Oxford University, and holds Master's degrees in economics and sociology from the University of Chile and USP respectively. ■

Zachary Elkins is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science currently completing a dissertation on the democratization process in Brazil.

Chilean Ambassador

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neither Spain nor any other foreign nation has jurisdiction to try Pinochet. This, he argued, should not be mistaken for support of the General or advocacy for continued impunity, but rather a reasoned approach to consolidating democracy within Chile's sovereign state.

Given the contemporary controversy surrounding General Pinochet and the excitement generated by the final weeks of the Chilean presidential campaign, Ambassador Artaza's comments were particularly timely. His willingness to discuss

polemical issues, such as the government's response to Pinochet's detention and the crude reality of the factual powers' dominance of Chilean politics, provided a valuable opportunity for those present to interact with Chile's highest-ranking diplomatic official in the United States. ■

Javier Couso is a Ph.D. candidate in Jurisprudence and Social Policy. He is writing a dissertation on the emergence of judicial politics in Chile.

Exhibit by Mayan Women Photographers Portrays Life in Chiapas

by Monica López

The uniqueness of the most recent photography exhibit at CLAS may be elusive at first glance. Most observers of Latin America are familiar with the brightly colored images of Mayan women making tortillas, caring for children, and carrying out the routines of daily life; so it is not the images themselves, but the unseen activity of which they are a product, which make this exhibit so unusual. The photography featured is by Mayan women from the communities of Chiapas, Mexico, engaged in an endeavor that allows them the opportunity to redefine the realities of their daily lives through art.

The photographs form part of the Chiapas Photography Project, which began in 1992 as an educational program for indigenous people in the highlands of Chiapas. The Project itself was the creation of Carlota Duarte, an artist affiliated with *Sna Itz'ibajom* (House of the Writer), an indigenous

theater and writer's association based in San Cristóbal de las Casas, and CIESAS-Sureste (The Center of Research and Higher Studies in Social Anthropology of Southeastern Mexico). The program has provided individuals and communities with a way of recording their daily lives and creating their own visual history. Trained in camera use and darkroom procedures, its artists have complete freedom in choosing themes, subjects, and titles. This freedom of expression is evident in the range of subjects selected by individual artists in the CLAS exhibit. Many photographs depict daily life in indigenous Chiapas, while others feature more elusive representations, accompanied by poems or sayings that give the viewer a glimpse into each photographer's artistic purpose and psyche.

As photographers, the Mayan women participants in this project actively define and redefine their realities through visual representations. Their

Xyaket ta smeltzanik bin, xchi'uk ta xchik' sbin li me'jtzobtajalatlake (The Amatenango women are making clay jugs and firing griddles), Maruch Sántiz Gómez, 1997



photographs are not only images seen through a lens, but bits and pieces of life laden with a meaning that the viewer can only guess. We see what the photographers want to show us, what they think is significant for us to know and remember. In a sense, this constitutes the most important aspect of the exhibit: the power exercised by its artists over their own artistic volition and representation.

The photographs in the exhibit were chosen by two of the project's participants. They form part of the Indigenous Photography Archive, the only archive of its kind featuring work by Mayan artists. Begun by Carlota Duarte in 1995, the Archive is currently housed at CIESAS and has received funding from the Ford Foundation. It serves as a unique cultural space, bringing together the interests of the academic community and the indigenous societies of southeastern Mexico. The project attempts to keep these images in Chiapas for the use of the region's indigenous peoples, for present and future research on the region, and for the use of the general public. In the future, the Archive hopes to incorporate photographic work by outside researchers and journalists who have worked in the region and to continue its educational mission of reaching increasingly diverse audiences through publications and exhibitions. ■

Monica López is a graduate student in the School of Social Welfare.



Tey va'al xchi'uk stzeb li antze (The Woman is Standing with her Daughter), Maruch Sántiz Gómez, 1994



Xyaket ta smeltzanik bin, xchi'uk ta xchik' sbin li me'jtzobtajalatlake (The Amatenango women are making clay jugs and firing griddles), Maruch Sántiz Gómez, 1997

Amelia Barili Opens Latin Americanist Faculty Book Presentation Series

by Marny Requa

■ naugurating a new series of faculty book presentations at CLAS, Amelia Barili discussed her book, *Jorge Luis Borges y Alfonso Reyes: La Cuestión de la Identidad del Escritor Latinoamericano*, in a public talk on December 2. With an introduction by Elena Poniatowska, the book was recently published by Fondo de Cultura Económica (1999). Barili, currently a lecturer in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, received her doctorate in Romance Languages from UC Berkeley in 1997, and has contributed to the edition of *Jorge Luis Borges: Conversations*. Her book was introduced by Professor José Rabasa of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese. The event was co-sponsored by Doe Library and the Department of Spanish and Portuguese.

In her talk, Barili described the book's beginnings: her first meeting with Borges in 1981, when she interviewed him for *La Prensa*, and her initial idea of looking at the classics' influence on his writing. She was struck by an article Borges had written, in which he commented on having received criticism for being too abstract and not dealing with Argentine interests, and its similarity to a notion expressed by Reyes in relation to Mexico. The idea that a writer can represent his or her country without clearly writing about that country led Barili to shift her focus. She began to research the connection between Reyes and Borges, Reyes' concept of *la inteligencia americana*, and both writers' relationship with their identity as Latin American writers.

Barili first looked at Borges' development as a writer. She focused on his interest in expressionism and society's margins. Having spent his childhood in Buenos Aires, moved to Europe at 13, and then returned to Argentina in his 20s, Borges romanticized the city of his youth. As a young writer in the 1920s, he identified with those who lived in the suburbs of Buenos Aires — *compadritos*, mostly descendants of immigrants. Barili makes a link between Borges at that stage of his life and the later, well-known Borges; while his more famous

works are not overtly about Argentina, the essence of them may be.

Barili moved on to discuss Reyes and *la inteligencia americana*, a term that celebrates the "freeing" aspect of Latin American identity. As a culture at the crossroads — between European and Indian, in the case of Argentina — Latin Americans inherit a mixture of two legacies, from which they can pull different elements, at times working with them more irreverently than descendants of a single cultural legacy. Barili examines the influence of this concept on Borges and on Reyes' later career.

"Writing in the twenties and thirties, in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution," Rabasa explained in his introductory remarks, "Reyes invents an identity for the Latin American writer that is no longer bound by nationalist themes, folklore or *costumbrismo*. The new writer and artist can now claim Western culture as his or her own without being bound to revere a European legacy. Indeed, *la inteligencia americana* is also free to explore other traditions in other regions of the world. Moreover, Reyes also prepares the ground for reading the pre-Columbian period with new eyes, as well as for feeling the Mexican landscape with a genuine sensibility. Having grown up reading Borges, Cortázar, Carpentier, García Márquez, Neruda, and Paz, just to name a few major male writers of the twentieth century, it is very easy to take Reyes' invention for granted."

Rabasa praised Barili's accomplishments in this book, stating that "Borges is one of Amelia's passions, with whom she worked closely during the last six years of his life. There is probably no one more suited to write [this] book... than Amelia — maybe, perhaps, Elena Poniatowska who wrote the prologue and speaks fondly of the first time she interviewed *el regordete* Alfonso Reyes. Amelia never met Reyes, but she provides an intimate and generous portrait of the many Reyes that comprised a young man involved in politics, a professional writer, the founder of the Colegio de México and the Colegio Nacional, and above all the inventor of the concept of *la inteligencia americana*." ■

Marny Requa is a graduate student in Latin American Studies.

Professor José Rabasa of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese and Amelia Barili at her book presentation



Claudia Bernardi

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nate blues, and other colors, each blending with an apparent will of its own, mediated by the artist's careful influence. Upon and between the layers of pigmentation, Bernardi uses a porcupine quill to engrave images, sometimes words. The final effect is one of multiple sheaths, partially submerged forms, fragile human figures suspended between layers of rich pigment — like the shifting, dream-like, imprecise character of many survivors' memories. "It is beautiful," Bernardi explains, "but not without pain."

Finding this beauty is itself an act of resistance. Reflecting on her own experiences of life under military rule in Argentina, Bernardi says, "What they wanted was not to kill so many thousand people... it was to create an atmosphere to last into the future, an atmosphere of bleak individuality, of hopelessness, ugliness, a lack of even remembering what integrity is about. And they *almost* succeeded." Artists, she affirmed, played a pivotal role in resisting the regime. In the face of state abuses and intense personal suffering, Bernardi explains, "there is an enormous temptation to become ugly, dry in the heart... for artists to continue doing their work in that context is nothing short of monumental."

For an entire generation of Argentines who grew up during this period, the events of the dirty war structured their lives, leaving them no choice about whether to be political. Art, for Bernardi, is a way of reflecting on these events. But Bernardi does not speak of healing; she explicitly denies the applicability of the term. "It has dangerous ramifications," she insists, "because from certain things there is no



Claudia Bernardi working in the Kala Art Institute studio in Berkeley. Photo by Jan Wilson Kaufman

healing possible." Out of respect for the extraordinary nature of people's loss, there can and should be no attempt to smooth it over with an unblemished exterior. "I know where the wound is," she says of her own experience, "and I don't want to forget it, to make it less." The challenge is finding a way to live with it without causing further harm — identifying that space in the delicate membrane between horror and hope, where memories of terror meld with compassion and even give way to a painful sense of peace. Bernardi's artwork transports us to precisely this place, providing a unique glimpse of its complex and fragile beauty. ■

Angelina Snodgrass Godoy is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology, working on a dissertation about human rights and criminal justice in postwar Central America.

In Our Next Issue

Our next newsletter will feature complete coverage of the conference "Challenges for Brazil: A Dialogue," including summaries of each panel discussion and extensive excerpts of the participants' comments and contributions. For complete coverage of the conference, visit the CLAS Web site at www.clas.berkeley.edu/clas. ■

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