



Alternatives for the Americas: A Dialogue



Center for Latin American Studies

University of California Berkeley

Special Issue 1999

Panel I

Integration in the Americas: Rethinking Mexico–U.S. Relations

The historic conference “Alternatives for the Americas: A Dialogue” brought together leaders from the United States and Latin America for an engaging series of discussions, challenging participants and audience alike to question their assumptions about economic integration and globalization. As Chancellor Robert Berdahl noted in his welcoming remarks, the event provided “a rare and important opportunity for those of you shaping the future of the Americas, and for those of you in the academic world examining that future.”

The first panel of the conference, entitled “U.S.–Mexican Economic Integration: What Works, What Doesn’t, What to Fix,” addressed the complicated, contradictory, and often conflictive relationship between the United States and Mexico. As Professor Harley Shaiken, Chair of the Center for Latin American Studies and the panel’s moderator, noted, “We...are linked inextricably by immigration, by culture, by trade and by history. And we are also divided, often as deeply, by immigration, by culture, by trade and by history.” The participants focused on these and other themes in their comments, which explored both positive and negative aspects of integration and suggested some tentative starting points for an innovative dialogue around issues of common concern. They also responded to questions from a panel of Berkeley faculty, comprised of Professor Lydia Chávez from the Graduate School of Journalism, Professor José Canela from the School of Public Policy, and Professor Alex Saragoza from the Department of Ethnic Studies.

U.S. Congressman David Bonior (D-MI), the second-ranking Democrat in the House of Representatives, posed several core questions for trade debates to address. “How can we use

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Conference participants, from left to right: Harley Shaiken, Jaime Esteves, Nancy Pelosi, Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, Luis Maira Aguirre, Amalia García, Jorge Castañeda, David Bonior, Sherrod Brown, Vicente Fox Quesada, Roberto Mangabeira Unger and Ciro Gomes. Not pictured: Xavier Becerra.



Letter from the Chair

Much of this issue of the newsletter is devoted to a conference held at Berkeley on December 4, 1998, "Alternatives for the Americas: A Dialogue." The conference brought together key policymakers and scholars from throughout the Americas for an exploration of economic integration and political transformation in the hemisphere. We sought to link two debates: conflicting perspectives over neoliberal reform that are central to political discussions in Latin America, and concerns over the rules governing expanded trade that have become increasingly important in the debate over globalization in the United States. Our goal was to explore areas of agreement and disagreement, frame issues in fresh and innovative ways, and interject new concerns and perspectives into both debates.

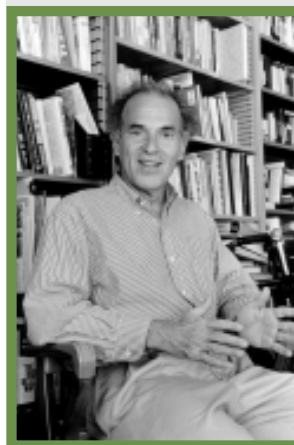
We feel that the conference was an intellectually exciting, at times electric, event. In each of the two plenary panels, short opening statements were followed by probing, insightful questions from a group of UC Berkeley faculty. The questions were always directed to at least one U.S. and one Latin American participant, and sought to advance the dialogue. After the public program, the speakers spent two days in private discussions — at times intense exchanges about policy, at times personal interactions. The last event was an exploration of the impact of globalization on urban areas with a discussion and tour of Oakland, California hosted by Mayor Jerry Brown, followed by an impromptu pizza dinner at my house.

We at the Center were exceptionally pleased with the overwhelming public response to the conference, reflected in an overflowing auditorium the day of the

event as well as in the sustained interest it has continued to generate on our campus and beyond. The dialogue begun at the conference is continuing in our ongoing activities, including discussions with many of the conference participants and other visitors at CLAS. As we will report in more detail in our Spring Newsletter, the Center organized a month-long seminar in February on the Transition to Democracy in Chile with Chilean Minister of Government Jorge Arrate. Currently, Professor Vilmar Faria, a distinguished Brazilian Sociologist and Advisor on Social Policy to President Cardoso, is teaching at CLAS as holder of the Rio Branco Chair for the Spring semester.

At the same time, we are continuing an unusually active program of events as indicated by our Spring Calendar in this issue. The calendar includes a discussion of the Guatemalan peace accords with Congresswoman Nineth Montenegro, a performance piece on samba with Alma Guillermoprieto (with the Graduate School of Journalism) and the noted Mexican cultural critic Carlos Monsiváis in late April (with the Department of Spanish and Portuguese). We hope that events such as these will continue to generate the remarkable enthusiasm we experienced as a result of the Alternatives conference. CLAS is especially appreciative to the Hewlett Foundation for its generous support to the Center and its activities.

Harley Shaiken



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international trade to promote not just broad prosperity but democratic values?," he asked. "And how can we harness economic growth so that it will lift the standards of living for everyone?" As the economies of the world shift in focus from national to global, he emphasized, workers' rights are often undermined by fierce competitive pressures. Rather than acting to protect workers, governments have too often stood idly by while decades of accomplishments in the realm of labor rights are weakened or destroyed. "The global trade economy is here to stay," Bonior commented, "the question has become what are the rules going to be and who is going to benefit?" He criticized NAFTA's failure to incorporate meaningful protections for workers and the environment, remarking, "I don't want to go forward with any further agreements in the Americas that are patterned after NAFTA until we fix these basic flaws on the environment and on worker rights."

Vicente Fox Quesada, Governor of Guanajuato and the likely PAN candidate for president in 2000, offered a different perspective, maintaining that "NAFTA has been good." Although citing economic gains, he nonetheless suggested that increased dialogue is needed to address the areas in which NAFTA has been less successful. Fox agreed that unchecked market forces cannot be relied upon to improve living standards, and pointed out that under NAFTA these forces have exacerbated the gap in human capital between the two countries. He noted that while investments in Mexico resulting from NAFTA have benefited Mexico's economy, wages in Mexico have been kept too low in the name of maintaining competitiveness. Fox, too,

stated that it is not fair to attempt to reduce drug trafficking without addressing demand as well as supply.

Amalia García, a Senator from Mexico's PRD, began her remarks with the observation that while Mexico and the U.S. share a common history, it has not been equally beneficial to both. NAFTA, furthermore, has given Mexico new reason to reflect on this relationship. She argued that while NAFTA had initially seemed to many to be Mexico's opportunity to enter the first world, the question of how to confront the challenges of integration among unequal partners was never adequately addressed. As a result, the implementation of NAFTA has produced disastrous effects for much of the Mexican population, including the failure of many small and medium enterprises, a profound agrarian crisis, and other social dislocations. The increasing power and decreasing permanence of speculative capital has also produced deleterious effects for the Mexican economy. If integration is to be mutually beneficial, García argued, the relationship between the two countries must be reconceptualized. A strong partnership requires two strong partners; inequalities and injustices inherent in the relationship between the United States and Mexico must be addressed, rather than avoided, in the trade instruments and policy decisions which link the two countries.

U.S. Rep. Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Chair of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, echoed these concerns, pointing to contradictions in U.S. policy. On the one hand, the vast difference between migration monitoring procedures implemented along our



called for a reshaping of NAFTA, suggesting the European Union as an example of a model which more equitably distributes the rewards of economic integration among member states.

Fox also challenged U.S. policy on migration and drugs. Migration, he argued, is an asset to both Mexico and the United States; Mexican emigrants to the United States should be admired for their courage and resourcefulness and the key role they play in the economies of both nations. Addressing drug policy, Fox urged the U.S. to take responsibility for its role in the international drug trade. "Every time you consume a drug here," he argued, "you corrupt a Mexican." He

northern and southern borders underscores the deep reservations which underlie our purported integration. And the one-sided certification process speaks volumes about the seriousness of our effort to combat drug trafficking, a problem which clearly has roots — and results — on both sides of the border. Yet Mexico's policies are also rife with contradictions, Becerra argued. Although Mexico complains of the human rights violations committed against its citizens migrating northward, the treatment of undocumented Central Americans in Mexico has led to similar accusations, and little response from the Mexican government. Becerra characterized Mexican economic

[continued on page 18]

The first panel discussion. Left, Lydia Chávez, Alex Saragoza and José Canela. Right, David Bonior, Vicente Fox Quesada, Amalia García and Xavier Becerra. Not pictured: Adolfo Aguilar Zinser.

Panel II

Challenging Economic Orthodoxy: Policies for a New Social Agenda

In the wake of globalization and its discontents, a recent discussion at UC Berkeley brought together leaders from Latin America and the United States to explore ways in which economic priorities can be brought into harmony with social well-being in the Americas. As Luis Maira, Chile's Ambassador to Mexico, explained, "the new social agenda... [must] understand the nexus between social problems and productivity," and identify ways to foster growth without forestalling fairness.

The Dec. 4 panel discussion, "Policies for a New Social Agenda," part of the conference "Alternatives for the Americas: A Dialogue," focused on a range of issues facing the region, including poverty, inequality, and basic rights. While calling for immediate attention to these pressing social concerns, the participants at this meeting did not question the importance of a continued commitment to economic development. The challenge, as Chile's Jaime Esteves put it, is finding a balance.

Professor Harley Shaiken, Chair of the Center for Latin American Studies and moderator of the event, opened the discussion by suggesting two key questions underlying the current debate on these issues: first,

(Ambassador to Mexico) and Jaime Esteves (former Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies). They were joined by two distinguished members of the U.S. House of Representatives, Rep. Sherrod Brown (D-OH) and Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA).

After a series of opening statements, the panelists shared their views in response to questions posed by a three-person panel of UC Berkeley faculty experts: Professors Peter Evans (Chair, Department of Sociology), Ruth Berins Collier (Political Science), and Manuel Castells (Departments of Sociology and City and Regional Planning). The session concluded with closing statements from each panelist, incorporating themes and ideas raised during the discussion.

A number of participants called attention to the interdependence of the United States and Latin America, not only in trade and economic relations, but in social and political terms as well. Professor Jorge Castañeda suggested that critical to such a process will be recognition of the fact that inequality, more than any other single characteristic, constitutes the point of encounter between the United States and Latin America. He explained that inequality characterizes the domestic distribution of wealth in both the United



The second panel. From left to right, Harley Shaiken, Nancy Pelosi, Jaime Esteves, Luis Maira Aguirre, Ciro Gomes, Sherrod Brown, Jorge Castañeda. Not pictured: Roberto Mangabeira Unger.

what domestic policies can be designed to spur growth while equalizing income distribution, protecting the environment and ensuring full political participation from all sectors of society? Second, what globalization strategies support these aims, and how can they be implemented?

The Latin American panelists included, from Mexico, Jorge Castañeda (Professor of Political Science at NYU and UNAM); from Brazil, Ciro Gomes (former Minister of Finance and 1998 presidential candidate) and Roberto Mangabeira Unger (Professor at Harvard Law School); and from Chile, Luis Maira

States and the countries of Latin America, but it also characterizes the relationship between them, and its effects are overwhelmingly negative on both sides; combating inequality in Latin America would improve conditions in the United States as well.

Similarly, Rep. Sherrod Brown remarked upon the interrelationship of workers' rights in his home district near Cleveland, which has been heavily affected by developments in international trade, and labor protection in Latin America. As Brown emphasized, the interests of working families in the United States need not be counterposed against those of labor in

Latin America; the two can be mutually complementary when fair structures are in place to shape trade agreements. Without guarantees of basic rights for all workers, protections for the environment we all share, and provisions for the health and safety of laborers and their families, “NAFTA and other free trade agreements are a threat to all of us...[nothing more than] a corporation-assisted race to the bottom,” Brown said.

The destructive divisions not only among and between nations, but within them were also mentioned by participants. Ambassador Maira, Professor Unger, and Rep. Esteves all called for an end to the policies which propel select economic enclaves into the competitive vanguard while leaving behind the majority of the continent’s population. As Ambassador Maira said, in the wake of globalization areas of Northeast Brazil, for example, “...bear no relationship with Rio de Janeiro or Santa Catalina... we must have one single Brazil, one single Mexico, one single Chile.”

Another theme which resonated through the participants’ remarks was the need to challenge assumptions that society should be structured to maximize insertion into the market economy rather than to ensure well-being for all its members. Professor Roberto Mangabeira Unger criticized approaches to governance which limit government intervention in the economy to the mere management of investor confidence, promote a “hyper-dualism” between advanced and backward sectors of the same national economy, and condemn democracies to political impasse with low-energy citizen involvement. Within a structure of such limited expectations, possibilities for real social change are stunted, and, according to Unger, “progressive politics is left wingless and armless, to watch unmoving as injustice reigns.” Jaime Esteves agreed that the evaluation of social needs in purely economic terms is misconceived, arguing that key programs such as education should not be based on the model of an unregulated market. And Rep. Nancy Pelosi criticized U.S. foreign policy’s misplaced focus on free markets rather than free peoples. “If we know trickle-down economics doesn’t work... let’s not be satisfied with trickle-down liberty either,” she said. Towards this end, she insisted, U.S. foreign assistance should focus on measures — such as helping to establish independent judiciaries — which would sustain democracy in Latin America, rather than misconceived counter-narcotics operations. “More energy in the U.S. Congress has gone to trade and drugs than the alleviation of poverty, even though we all say that’s our goal,” Pelosi said.

Yet as was to be expected, participants’ views differed on many important points. While Pelosi welcomed the

globalization of human rights as represented in the current controversy over the extradition of Chile’s Augusto Pinochet, Esteves suggested that reconciliation and respect for human rights, while undeniably important, are complex processes which need both national and international resolutions. While Unger, Maira, and Castañeda agreed that the key actors in civil society have shifted away from traditional opposition groups of workers, peasants, and students, their visions for the future were distinct. Castañeda pointed to the organization of the economically disadvantaged as the central challenge, whereas Maira suggested that today’s effective blocs were emerging around more specific, result-oriented aims rather than traditional identity issues, and Unger attacked the very premise that progressive politics should be guided by organized minority interest groups placing demands on a social-democratic corporatist state.

Given the diversity of affiliations and activities represented on the panel, what was perhaps most striking was the depth of the shared commitment to continuing dialogue on these issues. The panel represented an important step in an emerging dialogue between and among Latin American and U.S. policymakers, as well as a conversation between academics and practitioners. Its participants concurred on many points, and differed on others, but in all of their remarks, one conviction remained constant: although the challenge ahead is formidable, the necessity of its undertaking could not be more



apparent.

Indeed, all participants agreed that the future of social and economic well-being in this hemisphere depends on the construction of a meaningful dialogue across national and ideological borders. The discussions in Berkeley did not aim to create a consensus overnight, but rather to contribute to this vital process of constructing dialogue.

— *Angelina Snodgrass*

Faculty members of the second panel, from left to right, Peter Evans, Ruth Berins Collier and Manuel Castells.

Alternatives for the

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A DIALOGUE

Center for Latin American Studies,
University of California, Berkeley:
Friday, December 4, 1998 9 am to 2 pm

Panel I:
**U.S.-Mexican Economic Integration:
What works, what doesn't, what to fix**

Welcome by **Robert M. Berdahl**
Chancellor, University of California, Berkeley

Introductory Remarks by **Harley Shaiken**
Chair, Center for Latin American Studies;
Professor, Department of Geography and
Graduate School of Education

Panelists:

Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, Mexico
Senator, Independent

Xavier Becerra, U.S.
Member of Congress, California (D)

Amalia García, Mexico
Senator, PRD

Vicente Fox Quesada, Mexico
Governor of Guanajuato, PAN; Candidate for
President

David E. Bonior, U.S.
Democratic Whip; Second Ranking Democrat in
the House of Representatives

Faculty:

Lydia Chávez, School of Journalism
Alex Saragoza, Department of Ethnic Studies
José Canela, School of Public Policy

Panel II:
Policies for a New Social Agenda

Panelists:

Jorge G. Castañeda, Mexico
Professor of Political Science, UNAM and NYU

Sherrod Brown, U.S.
Member of Congress, Ohio (D)

Ciro Ferreira Gomes, Brazil
Former Governor of Ceara; Former Minister of Finance;
Candidate for President in 1998

Luis Maira Aguirre, Chile
Ambassador to Mexico

Roberto Mangabeira Unger, Brazil
Professor of Law, Harvard University

Jaime Esteves, Chile
Economist, Former Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies

Nancy Pelosi, U.S.
Member of Congress, California (D)

Faculty:

Peter Evans, Chair, Department of Sociology
Ruth Berins Collier, Department of Political Science
Manuel Castells, Departments of Sociology and
Urban and Regional Planning

Conference Selections

Due to space limitations, we are unable to print a complete transcript of participants' remarks. The following excerpts include portions of opening remarks, responses to faculty questions, and closing statements. For a more detailed account of conference proceedings, please visit the Center's web site at: <http://www.clas.berkeley.edu/clas>

PANEL I

Harley Shaiken **Chair, Center for Latin American Studies;** **Professor, Department of Geography and Graduate School of Education**



A very important debate has begun, sparked by the general realization that you cannot leave people unprotected in the face of a global market. The realization that you can't leave people unprotected is a growing one, whether in Washington, in San Francisco, in Sao Paulo or in Mexico City. There are no easy answers. What is the role of the market to be? What should be the role of the state? What rules of the game should govern global economic integration? These tough questions are the underlying themes with which we are going to be grappling today. Latin America and the United States stand at a critical turning point. Democratization and economic integration continue to unfold throughout the region. Yet these possibilities are clearly threatened and often overshadowed by current economic crisis and by deeper rooted problems of

inequality and exclusion that could undermine these gains.

But the public policy and even the scholarly debates around markets, states and globalization in Latin America and in the United States have been conducted largely separately. We at the Center for Latin American Studies and, I know, many of our colleagues who are speaking today feel that separation of the debates is no longer really tenable. And one of our central goals is to bring these questions together, to bring these agreements and disagreements together to conduct a mutual dialogue exploring the alternatives for the Americas.

We hope today to begin this dialogue to seek points of agreement, to better understand areas of disagreement and, possibly, to try to define issues in a new way. Our goal out of these discussions is not a common position, but rather a common understanding.

Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, Mexico **Senator, Independent**



I think that the question of immigration is the center of all of the contradictions of the relationship between Mexico and the United States. Congressman Becerra began... by saying that the assumptions of the relationship were based on politically conflicted and contradictory assumptions. First of all, I think that Mexican political leaders assume, and some of them have explicitly stated, that the process of Mexican development has to factor in the United States as a recipient of immigrants as the only escape valve to address the question of unemployment that will never be addressed internally with development processes that are not conceived to address this question. In the past forty years, developers of Mexico have assumed that Mexicans will cross the border to the United States... the basic assumption [has been] a development process where you leave behind one third of your population, and then you expect that at least some portion of at least one third of your population will have the ability, the right or the conditions to cross the border to the United States has been a major flaw of our development process and conception. And we need to modify that notion.

States will also have to come to terms with its own contradictions. In [a recent] inter-parliamentary meeting, we raised the issue of immigration laws of the United States [as] specifically targeted in a discriminatory way against Mexicans or against Latin immigrants crossing the Mexican border of the United States. Members of the U.S. Congress [refused] to accept this in the public meetings as truly discriminatory. But in the private discussions, there was a lot of acknowledgment that immigration laws in the United States were now fixed, conceived and crafted to contain specifically Mexican immigration.

... It's not a question of labor markets anymore. It's a question of two societies that are overlapping already. So unless we begin to address these questions beyond the political issues of our respective elections or our respective handicaps, and we make this the true matter of political dialogue between leaders of countries that want to build a future, I think we are going to continue to go in the same way. We will do as much as possible to get Mexicans to cross the border however they can make it, and you will do as much as possible to stop them. And more people are going to die, because conditions are going to be more harsh and more profound.



Xavier Becerra, U.S. Member of Congress, California

Let me first begin by saying that I believe that our countries, at least [their] leaders, are living in a dream when it comes to U.S.-Mexico integration. I believe that reality is far ahead of the thinking of most of the leaders in Washington and Mexico City when it comes to the whole issue of integration ... I believe that, for the most part, U.S. policy is still framed by a notion that we can stop U.S.-Mexico integration, whether it be with people or economically. And I believe, in Mexico, that there is still this notion that it could enter the first world while leaving two-thirds of its population still in the third world. And because of that contradiction in both countries, it makes it very difficult for us to have rational policy making in either Washington or in Mexico City.

...We have an opportunity to let go of the dream and start talking reality, but it will take us to understanding that on the U.S. side, we are going to

live with our southern neighbor and on the Mexican side, recognizing that the southern neighbor includes everyone in Mexico, and not just those few who have been privileged enough to get to the first world.

...I believe that [the presumption exists] that we can somehow control or tame globalization and integration. I don't believe that we can. I think we can try to direct it, but I don't think we can stop it or tame it or control it. Free trade, NAFTA, simply accelerates an economic integration that's already occurring. And the question becomes do we try to make it a fair integration versus just a simply free integration. And I think most people on this panel would agree that to allow it to be just a free integration would cause extreme havoc for the environment and certainly injustice for people, consumers and workers. It's a matter of making it a fair integration.



Amalia García, Mexico Senator, PRD

What was it that the Mexican government wished to introduce as the objective with the Free Trade Agreement? Essentially, what was promised was that we would enter the first world, the best of all possible worlds. However, the first day of January 1994, which was the day on which the Free Trade Agreement so vigorously began, a guerilla movement appeared in our country in Chiapas. Some say that instead of crossing the Rio Grande, we crossed the River Suchiapa.

We found ourselves before this reality, a reality of great disparity, of misery, of wants, of racism, of underdevelopment. In other words, what was present that first day of January 1994 were the symmetries and differences, not only within Mexico, but between Mexico and the United States. How, then, to face the challenge of a Free Trade Agreement between Mexico and the United States? My opinion is that it was undertaken in the least adequate manner, because these asymmetries and differences were not taken into account.

One of the essential elements of this agreement was the opening of the markets. And the result we have today is the bankruptcies of thousands and thousands and thousands of small and medium sized businesses in our country, because they were not prepared to compete in this market. Considering one of the most important elements of any country is agricultural self-

sufficiency, what we now have is a withdrawal of government support of agricultural production, and one of the deepest and most serious crises in the history of Mexico; I would say one the deepest crises in any country. And to this one must add the substantial element that has predominated in the world in recent years, but in a marked manner in Mexico; and that is the predomination of speculative capital, that in Mexico took on the distinctive term called "*capital golondrina*" (swallow capital), like those birds that constantly migrate because they do not settle.

...The other area of globalization, and of the relationship between Mexico and the United States, is that of the globalization of rights, the globalization of justice.... And I would emphasize, because it is a topic which has been mentioned here, that of the rights of migrant workers. We cannot speak of globalization if we do not place the accent on rights. ...The relationship between Mexico and the United States must not be based in underdevelopment, in cheap labor, in the violation of human rights.... It must be based in mutually beneficial relationships that guarantee the development of all, and fundamentally in the possibility of governing our present so that the lives of men and women on both sides of the border be one of dignity.

Vicente Fox Quesada, Mexico Governor of Guanajuato, PAN; Candidate for President



NAFTA has been good. Trade has been raised up over and above five hundred billion U.S. dollars, the largest trading in the world in these three countries, Canada, United States and Mexico. So we have got our share in this which is building up jobs for trading through exporting and through attracting investment. But very, very unfortunately, in order to keep increasing in that direction, we must keep salaries and wages way, way below any human standard of living. And this is what [suggests] a pessimistic future for NAFTA. And this is where the common market in Europe becomes quite an example. The wisdom they have had, the commanding force they have used on the management and development of the system whereby countries that were lagging way, way behind were raised up and the gap was closed — countries like Spain, like Greece, like Portugal. Today, they enjoy a standard of living very close to what Germany or France have. But that was not left to the market forces. Market forces will never, in underdeveloped countries, be the guiding, positive force we need. What the European Common Market has done is dedicate one-third of the total budget, thirty-five billion U.S. dollars a year to narrow that gap, so that the commanding force comes from intelligence, from human actions and not from the market. And this is something that we have to think about. We believe that in underdeveloped countries, the development process has to be conducted from the state in harmony with the market. And this formula of harmony and conducting force would be the one to carry us into better stages of development. The gap is human capital, and as long as we don't build up human capital in Latin America and Mexico, we cannot

compete in that very difficult competitive technological arena that we have [entered].

... This is why we have to differentiate very, very clearly what is a trade agreement and what is a common market agreement. A trade agreement is an agreement to compete, and he who has the best technology, he who has the best resources, he who is more competitive will take advantage of a trade agreement. And this is why in Mexico, the only thing we have to compete with among the three countries that have agreed on this trade agreement is cheap labor. That — and natural resources — are the only things we have to offer against technology, knowledge, information, communications, [and] economic resources.... So it's a very uneven competitive agreement. The common market agreement is an association agreement where you join forces, where you make an agreement to compete as a block in front of the world — a very, very different philosophy, as different as that in the trade agreement traffic is the name of the game, and winning individually is the name of the game. In the common market agreement, human development, prosperity for all is the name of the game.

... Mexico being a loser is the United States being a loser, because you don't make agreements, you don't compete with a loser. You don't do it in tennis. You don't do it in football. You don't do it in a country to country relationship. So we are failing both of us if we are not able to meet the objective of this NAFTA agreement, which at the very end is to improve people's quality of life, improve people's standard of living and

David E. Bonior, U.S. Democratic Whip, Second Ranking Democrat in the United States House of Representatives



I come here today in a spirit of hope and renewed optimism. It wasn't so long ago at the peak of the NAFTA debate that people dismissed our concerns about wages, labor rights, protecting the environment and promoting the democratic processes and freedoms. These issues are fundamental to developing good trade relationships, and they are essential to promoting broad prosperity for working families throughout the Americas and not just for the economic elite.

... Capital no longer stops at our borders. The labor market no longer stops at the borders. So why should there be an exception for worker rights? Why should

there be an exception for environmental standards? Why should we protect the intellectual property of Disney and Microsoft but fail to protect the rights of consumers who produce and buy the actual products? And, of course, this is a matter of fairness. But it is also a matter of common sense. Many years ago in this country, when Henry Ford from my state of Michigan looked at his industry and saw that his workers couldn't buy the products that they were making, he increased dramatically their salaries back then to five dollars a day and it made a difference. And today in the wake of NAFTA's failure and recent economic turmoil in

Asia, our ideas ... enjoy renewed currency.

... At the core of these debates is a basic question. How can we use international trade to promote not just broad prosperity but democratic values? How can we foster more political democracy and economic democracy throughout the Americas while respecting the great differences between countries and cultures? And how can we harness economic growth so that it will lift the standards of living for everyone?

Now, there are plenty of people who will tell you that this doesn't matter, that the market sets the wages and that is that. Well, they miss the point. With a lot of talk about the Twenty-first Century they are pulling us back I believe to Nineteenth Century conditions, lower wages, weaker consumer protections and a dirtier environment. And they will pursue failed policies that take us backwards. As my friend Harley [Shaiken] has said, that is the past masquerading as the future. We have to remember that in the United States the middle class standards of living didn't just magically appear. We know from our history that the standards we enjoy, the consumer protections we rely on, the freedom that we cherish, the rights that we claim, these came as a result of very hard struggles on the part of our parents and our grandparents and our great grandparents.

A century ago in the United States, we had to struggle through the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society. And, today, the world is struggling to adapt from what was an essentially a collection of national economies to one that is global, from authoritarianism to democracy. This is true in varying degrees throughout the Americas. In the United States

as elsewhere. And it isn't easy. Looking backward, we can see that it wasn't easy a century ago, either. As we approach a new century, historic gains are being undermined. They are being undermined by a system that rewards powerful multinationals with no allegiance to this country or any other, only to the bottom line on their quarterly reports. Think about it — the eight hour day, work safety, food safety, consumer protection. None of these have been automatic in this country. The weekend that you will enjoy — *some* of you will enjoy this weekend — that wasn't automatic. Unemployment comp, worker insurance, maternity leave, I could go on for three or four minutes, that came at a huge price and a huge struggle. And that struggle put people in jail. That struggle resulted in people marching and people protesting and people getting beat up and people dying. And that occurred for a century in this country in order that we may have the benefits that we have today.

This should be telling us something. The similar progress outside this country will not be automatic either. Unchecked market forces alone didn't generate safer food or better wages or a cleaner environment here. And unchecked market forces alone won't generate them abroad either. The global trade economy is here to stay. The question has become what are the rules going to be and who is going to benefit? And it has always taken some instructive countervailing pressure to ensure that free markets benefit the broad majority and not just the economic elite. This is our challenge, and we must go on the offensive promoting constructive innovative solutions.

PANEL II



Jorge Castañeda, Mexico Professor of Political Science, UNAM and NYU

The center point, the most important aspect that could establish this conceptual framework for a beginning of a common social agenda in the Americas, is the fundamental notion of inequality. This is really the single issue that is not only most common across the Americas but that is also the single factor most negatively affecting societies within Latin America, in the United States and between the United States and Latin America.

Latin America is the most unequal region in the world today, and it probably has been so since the Sixteenth Century. But we know it is the most unequal one today. That does not mean that there are not poorer regions in the world. It means that this is the most unequal region in the world. It's got the worst distribution of income, of assets, of opportunities of any region in the world. The United States is the most unequal industrialized country in the world by far... I

think that if we place inequality at the main point of encounter between Latin America and the United States in terms of a social agenda, we can begin to move towards a construction of a common agenda.

...But my sense is that in Latin America, the central political task is the organization of the poor. The poor are essentially the people who will most benefit from the social agenda, and they're the least organized, able to do anything about it and to work for it. It's easier said than done. It sounds easy. Just organize the poor. Well, one of the reasons they're poor is because they're not organized. And the reason they're not organized is because they're poor. That's tautological enough. I think that the scattered, isolated, sporadic attempts that have taken place in this direction are also encouraging. But they also show the magnitude of the task.

Sherrod Brown, U.S. Member of Congress, Ohio



No issue in front of the American public gets more one-sided coverage from our nation's media than does trade. All serious-minded people, the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times* tell us, support free trade. It's hardly debatable. ... The media assures us, our former presidents, former secretaries of state, distinguished academics, major newspapers and every American major corporation... tell us that the best way to protect democracy and promote democracy and increase the standard of living around the world is to engage in free trade and unregulated global commerce. The global captains of industry tell us that if they can operate without interference from Government, without environmental rules and without labor standards, that they will provide the capital and jobs to lift tens of millions, hundreds of millions of people around the world out of poverty. ... Yet even in the face of this unrelenting media and elite support for free trade, even in the face of all of that, the American public still has major, *major* reservations about American trade policy. That's because the American public is right, and the elite are wrong. If the leaders of our institutions would take time to hear from the people who work with their hands. If they'd take time to listen to the American public in general, they might learn something about worker's anxieties, about hopelessness with which many look to the future, and, most importantly, about social justice.

This Congress arrested, certainly, and perhaps halted what appeared to be unstoppable momentum behind

the free trade agenda. The White House predicted economic disaster. Main stream economists warned of a stock market crash. The Speaker of the House told us there would be a recession. Yet Congress defeated Fast Track not once last November, but twice this October. It was the first major defeat of a White House trade initiative since the end of the Second World War, and the first bit of blue sky that workers in the United States and workers in Latin America have seen in U.S. trade policy in many years. I believe that as Congress debated trade this year and for the first time broadened the trade debate beyond the people that usually decided trade, that more and more of us in Congress, and more and more of us in the American public understand that any trade agreement must include a meaningful social contract that protects health, protects wages, protects the environment and protects all of us.

... If we as a country believe that trickle down doesn't work in our domestic economy, why should we want to export trickle down economics around the world? That's the lesson I take from this. That we [are] ... a country that generally believes in free markets, but believes that you need rules to run that country to protect the environment, to protect wages, to protect worker safety, to protect food quality and consumer protections. We should practice that same kind of trade policy internationally as we do domestically in our own country.

Ciro Ferreira Gomes, Brazil Former Governor of Ceara; former Minister of Finance; Candidate for President in 1998



Observing things in Brazil and Latin America today, one must recognize that poverty, social inequalities and exclusion are on the rise at an alarming rate. I believe that very soon, and Chiapas in Mexico is just a preview, there will be social disturbances in Latin America as a result of the tensions caused by this model of political economy. From the financial standpoint, the idea of liberalization of the financial flow for us from Latin America and, especially from Brazil, was a very useful tool that helped us control chronic high inflation. Following this — and we should remember that this control caused an improvement in consumer standards — we saw a change and an inclusion, once and for all, of segments of the population that used to lose with the transference of income provoked by the high inflation rates. This phenomenon eventually ended and is already regressing. At present, however, the free flows

of financial transference have caused a very serious instability in our country. I would say that it creates a political economy that is absolutely unsustainable, insofar as we have established an artificial exchange standard that has lead our countries — and this is absolutely true in Brazil — to live far beyond their means.

... In a place like this, in one of the most respected academic institutions in the world, and, among those that deal with Latin America, perhaps the most respected in the world, I believe that the challenge posed by the dialogue we are engaging in here is: is it possible to build institutions (and the theoretical model offers great doubts, great questions) that from the international point of view try to understand that we cannot support this financial liberalism and this practice of a fiscal economy that is thoroughly divorced from the real economy? We believe that it is possible to build

such institutions. We believe we can take it even further towards a new multilateral agency and an international juridical order that is somehow able to regulate those financial flows. Maybe we can go so far as to dare imagine an international tax that might provide a fund in order to finance currency-exchange collapses in those countries. From an internal point of view, the task for

each one of those countries to perform is the attempt to build another matrix of political economy - one that avoids the temptation of a closed populist economy, apart from the market, and affirms the necessity of national projects that are founded upon the elevation of the internal level of savings. I believe this is the Brazilian challenge.



Luis Maira Aguirre, Chile Ambassador to Mexico

It has been said here, and rightly so, that Latin America has long been a continent of poverty and inequality. It is very important to note that since the crisis of 1982, the poverty and inequality have increased. According to the figures, in 1980, Latin America has 130 million poor. In 1990, the number had increased to 190 million, and when we met for the social summit in Copenhagen, we announced that Latin America then had 205 million poor, almost 50% of the population. As regards inequality, in recent years we have arrived at a portrait in which a third of the countries of the region have disparities which compare the richest 10% against the poorest 10% by a factor of 25-45. At the same time, we announced that in Latin America there is a widening gap between the three poorest

countries and the three richest countries measured by a factor of 15 to 20 according to per capita income.

I think that the most disturbing phenomenon, that which must inform the public agenda in days to come, especially in the social field, has to do with the growing internal social and productive heterogeneity in the countries of Latin America. Thirty years ago, we used notions of progress and underdevelopment as global notions, the North and the South. Fifteen years ago these were regional and continental notions. Nowadays, in most relevant countries these are endogenous notions. There is a notoriously modern and new area and segment, but there are also the rank and file poor who are not brought into the loop. ...We cannot continue to build different countries in the same territory.



Roberto Mangabeira Unger, Brazil Professor of Law, Harvard University

Almost everyone politically active in Latin America today claims to be some sort of social liberal or social democrat. And yet social reform appears to go nowhere. Why? We cannot understand this persistent defeat as merely the consequence of a coalition of powerful interests, unless we also fail to grasp the structure of ideas and arrangements through which these interests enjoy their ascendancy. ...In Latin America today, the progress of a social agenda defined in this form is constrained by the super imposition of three kinds of limits. The first limit I want to call paleo-orthodoxy, a form of economic policy that makes government management of the economy strictly dependent upon the level of business confidence. And I call it paleo-orthodoxy because it is pre-Keynesian. It is a form of economic policy that the rich countries long ago abandoned. We see it in one form when the currency is strictly tied to the dollar. And we see it in another form when there is an extreme one-sided and divisive form of economic integration — of integration into a rich economy like the American economy that does less to multiply linkages between the advanced and backward sectors of the economy than to disorganize the national economy and demoralize the

local spirit of initiative.

The second limit is hyper-dualism, extreme division between advanced and backward sectors of the economy. The world economy is being organized today. It's a kind of confederation of vanguards, and the rear guards are left behind. In Latin America, this division takes an extreme form.

And the third limit is low energy democracy, a kind of democracy in which the arrangements keep society at a low level of civic engagement and facilitate political impasse or divided government. Within this framework, no real advance of a social agenda is possible. The low energy democracy will make the funding of a social agenda improbable. If we do manage to fund it, there will be capital flight and disinvestment economic crisis. And if we cross that second hurdle, we'll then face an economic structure so divided that it is incapable of absorbing this help. Either the structure is broken or it breaks the progressive policy.

...The world economy is being organized now as a system in which things and money are free to roam around the world, and labor remains imprisoned in

Conference Selections

the nation state or in blocks of relatively homogeneous nation states like the European community. To this system they give the mendacious label economic freedom. There is nothing in liberal political theory or in economic theory that can justify such a contrast.

It makes no sense to compare NAFTA to the European community. The European community is a zone for the free movement of labor, goods and capital. NAFTA is a device to make money out of the contrast between the mobility of capital and the immobility of labor.

Jaime Esteves, Chile Former Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies

The transition from an industrial society to a society of knowledge is what presents us the principal challenges for the next century and what gives us new opportunities to combat poverty. ...Therefore, the essential task of a new social politics is to better distribute the capacity to innovate, to better distribute the capacity to undertake, to create new worlds and new possibilities to assume new challenges: education.

...And finally, I would like to briefly make mention of the matter of combining growth with equity. We need a public sector that is of high quality, efficient, and honest. This is the problem we need to tackle, primarily the Left or the Progressives who defend ... the public sector which in Latin America is often inefficient and corrupt. We need a high-quality, innovative private sector as well for this reason we also need an open market, because an open market can be a source of debate in a small economy like Chile's. We are too small to allow ourselves to have a closed economy and to allow ourselves to have an

entrepreneurial class that does not compete, privileged and outdated. Finally, we need a participatory community. We will not succeed in developing nor in overcoming poverty if there is not a participatory community.

The Right understands that the principal freedom to ensure is the freedom to consume. We understand that respect for the individual must not depend upon the amount of money one has to spend. It must reflect a consideration for individuals, for the diversity of their interests and concerns. The society of neoliberalism does not function according to values, but rather according to the vicissitudes of disposable income and of the market. Success is its only compass. They would like to take from us our sense of comfort, our sense of belonging. For sure, the people want to consume, and have the right to do it. We will defend that right, but they still want to be valued as human beings. They want their civil rights to be respected, as well as their capacity to be wholly equal in society.



Nancy Pelosi, U.S. Member of Congress, California

The budget cutting fervor that is... going on in Congress in terms of bilateral assistance and foreign aid has taken a serious toll on foreign aid, particularly on U.S. assistance programs — a commitment to helping the poorest of the poor help themselves whether its in the leadership of women in these communities through economic development, community development, health care, international family planning, [or] basic human needs — has taken a beating. Latin America has not been immune from this trend in terms of our foreign assistance. For example, overall U.S. assistance to Latin America has fallen from over one billion dollars in 1988 to 570 million dollars in 1998. ...This is just about Latin America, excluding the Caribbean. As a percentage of foreign aid to Latin America and Central America after the cold war, it fell from 8.5% of all of our foreign aid to 4.2% of our foreign aid now. But the important thing to note, I think, is that the emphasis has shifted. In 1988, 5% of all U.S. aid to the area was for counter-narcotics. In 1998 it was 21%

and for 1999, [aid for counter-narcotics] will be about a third of our foreign assistance.

I'm just going to take a second to say [that] another area where the U.S. assistance could be helpful — and I think is essential — is in the area of establishing an independent judiciary. If we're ever going to get free of this narcotics domination in certain areas of Latin America, we have to have an independent judiciary. And, may I say, it's important throughout Latin America. ...I think all of these things are important to sustain democracy, to alleviate poverty and to... spur growth, protect the environment and equalize income in these countries. I think that Pope Paul VI must have been talking about Latin America when he said, "If you want peace, work for justice." And I think that we as a country in the United States, in our relationship with Latin America, have to work with Latin America with its own solutions for justice, and make better spending decisions in how we participate in that.



Spring Program

- January 25-29** **Profs. Maria Angelica Madeira and Mariza Veloso: “Leituras Brasileiras: Pensamento Social e Literatura no Brasil”**
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 Brasilia 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.
- January 28** **Congresswoman Nineth Montenegro: “Will the Guatemalan Government enact the constitutional changes mandated by the 1996 Peace Accords?”**
Congresswoman Montenegro was recently honored by the Human Rights Ombudsman of Guatemala for her continued work to promote the rights of women and children. As chair of the Committee for the Rights of Women and Children, she has brought the case of Guatemala before the Inter-American Human Rights Court of the Organization of American States for failing to implement congressional reforms to properly protect the rights of women and children. 5:15-6:30 pm, CLAS Conference Room.
- February 17** **Fernando Flores: “Commitment, Trust, and the Nature of Work”**
Fernando Flores, founder and president of Business Design Associates, is author of *Disclosing New Worlds: Entrepreneurship, Democratic Action, and the Cultivation of Solidarity* (with Charles Spinosa and Hubert L. Dreyfus), MIT Press, 1997. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.
- February 18** **Alma Guillermoprieto: “Samba”**
Alma Guillermoprieto has written extensively about Latin America for *The New York Review of Books* and *The New Yorker*. A former dancer, her first book, *Samba*, was nominated for the National Book Critics Circle Award. It was described in *The Washington Post* as the “single best book ever written about the central place of music in the life of the Third World.” Guillermoprieto will combine selections from her writings with a vibrant live performance based on her experiences living and dancing with Rio’s Sambistas in Brazil. 6 pm, Graduate School of Journalism.
- February 19** **Lynn Stephen: “Chiapas: Militarization, Paramilitarization and the Closing of Social and Political Space”**
Anthropologist Lynn Stephen’s latest book, *Women and Social Movements in Latin America*, brings particular insight into issues of women’s rights and human rights. Drawing on her considerable fieldwork, Dr. Stephen will present her observations of the current situation in Oaxaca and Chiapas. 12-2 pm, CLAS Conference Room.
- February 22** **Diamela Eltit: “Conversaciones con Diamela Eltit”**
Diamela Eltit, one of Chile’s most important contemporary writers, is the author of six novels and numerous essays and critical studies. She has secured a place in Latin American culture for her avant-garde experimentalism in literature, performance, and interdisciplinary projects. Her most recent novel is *Los Trabajadores de la Muerte* (1998). Cosponsored with the Departments of Spanish and Portuguese and Comparative Literature. Noon, 370 Dwinelle. In Spanish.
- February 25** **Vilmar E. Faria and Antonio Barros de Castro: “Brazil Today: Social and Economic Impacts of the Crisis”**
Vilmar E. Faria, Special Advisor on Social Policy to Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, is a Harvard-trained sociologist who currently holds Berkeley’s Rio Branco Chair. Professor Faria has worked for many years as a researcher, teacher, and policy-maker in Brazil and is internationally known as an expert on social issues in Latin America. Antonio Barros de Castro is a professor of economic policy at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and a member of the Council of the Instituto Nacional de Altos Estudos. He received his Ph.D. in Economics from UNICAMP in Brazil. 1-3 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

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March 4 **El Físgón: “Humor and the Politics of Information: Jokes and Politicians—A Redundancy”**
 Rafael Barajas, also known as El Físgón, is a political cartoonist for the Mexico City daily *La Jornada*. He has published illustrated essays and books on topics such as the role of the press in politics, President Salinas’ administration, the North American Free Trade Agreement, and Mexican cartoons and cartoonists in the 19th Century. El Físgón will speak about the importance of cartoons and humor in political discourse and the relationship between alternative media and politics. Cosponsored with the Graduate School of Journalism. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

March 11 **Lecture Series: Vilmar E. Faria, “Exclusion and the Welfare System”**
 First in a series of two lectures titled: “Poverty and Inequality in a Global Economy: A Brazilian Perspective.” (see February 25 for profile) 2-4 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

March 16 **Roundtable: “The Implications of the Pinochet Case”**
 Four human rights specialists discuss the Pinochet extradition case, its legal implications as well as its impact on the victims of the Pinochet dictatorship. Participants include: **Naomi Roht-Arriaza**, Professor, University of California Hastings College of the Law; **Margarita Lacabe**, Executive Director, Derechos Human Rights; **Patty Blum**, Director, International Human Rights Law Clinic and Lecturer, University of California, Berkeley, Boalt Hall School of Law; **Eric Stover**, Director, Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley. 4:30-6:30 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

April 1 **Ana González Montes: “Genocide in Guatemala: Results of the Commission on Historical Clarification”**
 Anthropologist Ana González Montes has served as an Observer for Human Rights of the United Nations Mission for Guatemala (MINUGUA) for the past three years. She is an international consultant of the Oficina de Apoyo a la Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico, and a member of the team that wrote the recommendations for the final report of the Commission on Historical Clarification. 12-1pm, CLAS Conference Room.

April 1 **Vilmar E. Faria: “The Brazilian Crisis and the Politics of Welfare Reform”**
 Second in a series of two lectures titled: “Poverty and Inequality in a Global Economy: A Brazilian Perspective.” (See February 25 for profile) 2-4pm, CLAS Conference Room.

April 2 **Symposium: “Urban and Regional Links in the Global Age: Development and Integration in Latin America”**
 Five regional and urban development specialists will address issues of decentralization, sustainability, social equity, citizen participation, emerging institutions, and government restructuring. Their studies aim to improve planning practices and strengthen policy-making in Latin America. This symposium will also provide an opportunity to foster an exchange of information and experiences among cities and regions in the continent. Participants include: **Prof. Harley Shaiken, Gilberto Buenaño, Cecilia Collados, Clara Irázabal, Saúl Pineda, Miriam Chion and Prof. Manuel Castells**. Cosponsored with The Institute for Urban and Regional Development and The Berkeley Environmental Design Association. 9:15-1:30 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

April 5 **Hilda Sabato: “Recent Perspectives on Political Citizenship in 19th Century Latin American Studies”**
 Hilda Sabato is a prominent Argentine historian from the Universidad de Buenos Aires. Prof. Sabato is a former Visiting Fellow at the Princeton Center for Advanced Study, and is currently a Visiting Scholar at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. A prolific writer, she is well known for her volumes on: *Los Trabajadores de Buenos Aires: La Experiencia del Mercado*, and most recently, *La Política en Las Calles: Entre el Voto y la Movilización, Buenos Aires 1862-1890*. 12-1pm, CLAS Conference Room.

April 7 **Myrna García-Calderón: “Lecturas desde el Fragmento: Escritura Contemporánea e Imaginario Cultural en Puerto Rico”**
 Comments by Francine Masiello, Catherine Marsh and Francine A’Ness. Cosponsored with the Department of Spanish and Portuguese and The Library. 5-7 pm, 370 Dwinelle Hall.

- April 8 Carlos F. Chamorro: "Hurricane Mitch: The Politics of Reconstruction in Central America"**
 Carlos F. Chamorro is a Nicaraguan television and print journalist specializing in issues of media and democracy. He is teaching a course on International Reporting at the Graduate School of Journalism and is conducting research on issues of media and democracy in Central America. From 1980 to 1994, Chamorro was the Editor-in-Chief of the Sandinista newspaper *Barricada* and a member of the Sandinista Assembly. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.
- April 13 Symposium: "Truth, Human Rights, and History: The Case of Rigoberta Menchú"**
José Rabasa, Moderator, Spanish and Portuguese, UC Berkeley
Robin Kirk, Human Rights Watch
Victor Montejo, Native American Studies, UC Davis
David Stoll, Anthropology, Middlebury College
Beatriz Manz, Ethnic Studies and Geography, UC Berkeley
 Cosponsored with the Human Rights Center, UC Berkeley. 4-6 pm, Geballe Room, Townsend Center.
- April 14 Mark Danner: "Haiti's Twin Legacies: Duvalier and Aristide"**
 Danner, a staff writer at *The New Yorker*, is currently working on a book about Haiti, titled *Beyond the Mountains: Haiti and The Legacy of Duvalier*. In 1990, Danner won the Magazine Award for Reporting for his coverage of the island nation. In 1993, he won an Overseas Press Club award for his investigative reporting of the notorious massacre in the Salvadoran town El Mozote, and published his first book, *The Massacre at El Mozote: A Parable of the Cold War* in 1994. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room. Cosponsored with the Human Rights Center, UC Berkeley.
- April 15 Michael Kearney: "The Anthropology of Migration across the Mexican-U.S. and the U.S.-Mexican Borders"**
 Michael Kearney, Professor of Anthropology at UC Riverside, has worked with transnational Zapotec and Mixtec communities. His research takes him from cloud forests of Oaxaca, to the deserts of Baja California, to *colonias* of border cities, to fields, orchards, and labor camps in the San Joaquin Valley of California, and to Latino *barrios* in Los Angeles and Riverside. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.
- April 19 Carlos Monsiváis: "Mexico: A Social and Cultural Commentary"**
 Carlos Monsiváis is one of Mexico's most influential and prolific writers. As a columnist for *La Jornada* and other newspapers, he writes about and documents social and political change. He is the author of numerous publications including *Lost Love; Scenes of Frivolity and Shame; The Rituals of Chaos*, and his most recent *Mexican Postcards*. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.
- April 22 Roundtable: "Latin America: The Future of the State, the State of the Future"**
Jose Murilo de Carvalho, Fundação Casa De Rui Barbosa, Rio de Janeiro; **Hilda Sábato**, Historian, Universidad de Buenos Aires and **Carlos Marichal**, El Centro de Estudios Históricos, El Colegio de México. These three professors will be presenting a Latin American History Roundtable moderated by Professor Linda Lewin, History, UC Berkeley. Cosponsored with the History Department. 4-6 pm, 3335 Dwinelle Hall.
- April 26 Susan Eckstein: "The Strength of Weak States/Weak Societies: Cuba in the 1990s"**
 Susan Eckstein, Professor of Sociology at Boston University, and former President of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), will be speaking about her recent research on Cuba. Prof. Eckstein is author of *Back from the Future: Cuba under Castro; The Poverty of Revolution: The State and Urban Poor in Mexico; The Impact of Revolution: Analysis of Mexico and Bolivia*, and the editor of *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*. 4-6 pm, CLAS Conference Room.
- May 3 Jose Gregori and Eric Stover: "A Roundtable Discussion on Human Rights in the Americas"**
 Jose Gregori, who was awarded the United Nations Human Rights prize in 1998, is the Brazilian Secretary of State for Human Rights. A lawyer with a notable record in protecting human rights of victims of political persecution, Minister Gregori crafted the laws establishing compensation for the families of the disappeared during Brazil's military regime. Eric Stover is the Director of University of California, Berkeley Human Rights Center. 4 pm, CLAS Conference Room.

With Reform, School Enrollment Improves, Brazilian Education Minister Says

Educational reform in Brazil has boosted enrollment nationwide, according to Brazilian Education Minister Paolo Renato Souza who spoke at UC Berkeley in December.

During his presentation, entitled “Recent Trends in Brazilian Education,” Souza provided a broad overview of the sweeping reforms in his country’s education system, which have been implemented by the government of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso. His talk was sponsored jointly by CLAS and the Center for Studies in Higher Education.

Directing its efforts largely at primary schools, the government has moved to rationalize educational funding at the municipal, state and federal levels in order to provide more complete and equitable education across the nation, he said.

In 1996, the government passed a constitutional reform designed to equalize per-student expenditures nationwide. The reform reallocated more than \$2.3 billion annually. Much of this money was directed towards the poorer northeastern portion of the country. As a result, primary school enrollment rates have

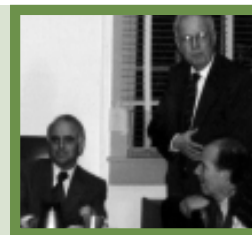
improved from 92 to 96 percent in the last two years, he said.

The government has also developed new procedures for evaluating and distributing textbooks, which has had the effect of providing better quality books to students in time for the beginning of each school year, Souza noted.

Other projects implemented by the Ministry of Education include a set of new parameters for primary school curricula and the creation of a federally-funded television station that is beamed into schools for both teacher training and other pedagogical activities, he said. The station reaches 1.6 million primary school teachers nationwide.

Besides the improvements in primary school policy and administration, a number of reforms aimed at technical and secondary schools have boosted enrollment by 40 percent over the past four years. At the University level, enrollment is also up 25 percent since 1995, he said.

— *Avri Gabrielle Beard*



Brazilian Education Minister Paolo Renato Souza (left), who spoke at UC Berkeley in December, introduced by Prof. Richard Buxbaum, former Dean of International and Area Studies.

Library Cooperative Agreements and Budget Increase Support Latin American Studies

In addition to the regular purchases of new books, journals and other resources, the UC Berkeley Libraries have established a number of cooperative agreements with leading university libraries nationwide. These agreements enable faster access to other libraries’ collections and in some cases allow free photocopies of journal articles to be sent directly to researchers’ homes.

The Research Library Cooperative Program is the most recently updated of these agreements. Originally a collaborative project between UC Berkeley and Stanford University, the project has been expanded to include the University of Texas at Austin.

This agreement provides UC Berkeley faculty and graduate students with the same privileges that participating institutions’ libraries offer their own faculty and graduate students. It also enables faster interlibrary loan service by establishing a system so that borrowers can request materials directly through electronic mail, rather than being forced to request items through the libraries’ interlibrary loan departments.

For Latin American studies, the agreement allows each library to pursue more depth in their respective collections, according to Carlos Delgado, the Librarian for UC Berkeley’s Latin American Collection.

Under the agreement, each library is focusing

resources on particular countries and geographical regions in Latin America. UC Berkeley agreed to specialize in materials on Peru, Puerto Rico, Ecuador, Argentina and the northern states of Mexico. Stanford agreed to focus resources on Chile, the Caribbean excluding Puerto Rico, Colombia, French Guiana, Guyana, Surinam and Venezuela. UT-Austin provides expertise in Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay and the northeastern states of Mexico.

Another element adding to the strength of UC Berkeley’s Latin American Collection is the recent decision by UC Berkeley’s Doe Library to increase the annual funding for Latin American acquisitions by \$28,000, bringing Doe Library’s annual base budget to purchase new materials related to Latin America to \$87,000.

“It’s not a one time addition,” said Delgado, noting that this budget increase stands to reinforce the strength of the collection by allowing the library to seek regional volumes as well as those published by larger presses in major Latin American cities. “It is a permanent increase which positively impacts the future quality of the collection.”

— *Greig Guthey*



["Integration in the Americas," continued from page 3]

policy as an attempt to enter the first world while leaving most of its population behind in the third world, and criticized the assumption that integration on such terms was possible. He argued that both countries have premised their relationship on these contradictory assumptions, and until such notions are reexamined both nations will be "living in a dream when it comes to the U.S. and Mexico integration," rather than facing the realities of its mixed results.

Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, Independent Senator from Mexico, also called on both countries to reexamine their basic approaches to issues of integration. For decades, Aguilar explained, Mexican economic development designs have counted on an "escape valve" of undocumented migration to the United States, affecting up to a third of the population. At the same time, the U.S. has struggled to maintain policies premised on the illusion that Mexican immigration can be effectively halted. In this way, both countries have been locked into a struggle which casts migration as among the most contentious and contradictory issues of all those confronted in the relationship. "Unless we begin to address these questions beyond the political issues of our respective elections or our respective handicaps, and we make this the true matter of political dialogue between leaders of countries that want to build a future, I think we are going to continue in the same way," Aguilar warned.

And yet the directions for such a dialogue are still unclear. While most participants concurred on several critiques of current policy, the discussions revealed a lack of shared vision as to how such policy should be rewritten. For example, Senator Aguilar reminded participants in his closing remarks that although most agreed that NAFTA needed to be reexamined, important questions remained surrounding who would do the reexamination, and on what terms. "If [NAFTA] is going to be fixed in the U.S. Congress, it's going to be fixed by U.S. laws, not by shared responsibilities on both sides," Aguilar emphasized. "And ... it's going to be fixed ...according to issues conceived and portrayed in the United States political debate. I think that trade agreements can truly be instruments to fix these things, but we have to fix these with the understanding that it is a shared effort."

Clearly, the challenge of crafting alternatives is formidable, and the dialogue has yet to completely unfold. But the conference itself represents a meaningful step towards that goal. As Professor Shaiken stated in his opening remarks, "We may not wind up, when all is said and done, with a Berkeley consensus to replace the Washington consensus, but we hope to begin a Berkeley exploration — an exploration that begins today and that will continue in the future."

— *Adrienne Pine*

In Our Next Issue . . .



Photos: Chilean Secretary General of Government Jorge Arrate at a reception following his seminar "Transition to Democracy" February 1999, with Emeritus Professor Tulio Halperin; Vilmar Faria, Special Advisor to President Cardoso, with a student.

Our Spring semester program brings together a unique array of visitors, including Jorge Arrate, Chilean Secretary General of Government; Vilmar Faria, Special Advisor on Social Policy to Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso; Carlos Monsiváis, the noted Mexican social critic and Jose Gregori, Brazilian Secretary of State for Human Rights, among others. Our next newsletter will feature interviews and articles highlighting these visitors.

Minister Arrate taught a four-week seminar in February on Chile's continuing transition to democracy. The course examined dimensions of this transition, including antecedents in the Allende government, the Pinochet dictatorship, and the transition to electoral politics. Discussions also included recent developments and challenges related to institutional change, political coalitions, and human rights.

Sociologist Vilmar Faria holds the Rio Branco Chair in Brazilian Studies at UC Berkeley for Spring 1999. Prof. Faria's seminar explored dilemmas of the welfare state at the periphery of the world system, with a special focus on Brazil. Prof. Faria also provided an unusual "insider" perspective on Brazil's unfolding financial crisis.

Mexican author and social critic Carlos Monsiváis writes on topics ranging from popular music and dance to political developments in Chiapas. Mr. Monsiváis plans to speak on how economic integration in North America affects Mexican culture and society.

Jose Gregori, recipient of the United Nations Human Rights prize in 1998 on the 50th Anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, is the Brazilian Secretary of State for Human Rights. Secretary Gregori will participate in a roundtable with Eric Stover, the Director of UC Berkeley's Human Rights Center.

Many Thanks to Conference Staff

The “Alternatives for the Americas” conference was organized by an outstanding team of highly dedicated staff and volunteers to whom the Center for Latin American Studies would like to extend its warmest thanks.

The Conference’s Coordinator, Joshua Bloom, deserves special recognition for his immeasurable contributions to the event’s success.

A number of graduate students also played key roles, including Shannon Nuttall, Ingrid Perry-Houts, and Angelina Snodgrass. Other graduate students and recent graduates who contributed significantly to the event include Autumn Alvarez, Kirstie Dorr, Dwight Dyer, Flavio Feferman, Misha Klein, Adrienne Pine, Sandy Nichols, Leah Rosenbloom, Chris Selig, Abelardo Rodriguez, and Tse Sung Wu. A dedicated team of undergraduate interns also contributed immensely, especially Cari Bower, Natali Clarke, Elizabeth Guzman, Michele Joyce, Benji Paradedwalai, Julie Rodriguez, Todd Selby, Nich Thompson, and Keely Wachs. In addition, Neia Banks, John Gonsalves, Shoshona Mauro-Sachs, Lakshmi Nair, Jennifer Shaw, Jennifer Torres and Ronit Treves provided invaluable support.

CLAS regular staff and consultants played a critical role in pulling the conference together. Isaac Mankita, CLAS’ acting vice-chair, spearheaded the effort, assisted



by Jessamy Town, Mark Edstrom, Greig Guthey, Hector Hernandez, Melinda Peraza, Mary Ann Priester, Margaret Lamb, Dionicia Ramos, and Yingzhao Liu.

Finally, several vendors went out of their way to provide key services for the event. These are Lincoln Cushing at Inkworks, Jan Douglass and Mollie Drake at the Claremont Hotel, Gary Gerard at Accent on Languages, Ana Herreira at STA travel, and last but not least, the staff at the International House.

Class of 1930

CLAS has always had a special relationship with the Class of 1930. The support of the class in general, and the generosity and valued input of members such as Robert Bridges and William Power in particular, have been vital to our activities and enriched all who have had contact with them personally. Chancellor Berdahl addressed the 68th reunion of the Class on November 20, 1998 at the World Trade Club in San Francisco. Professor Harley Shaiken, CLAS Chair, and Professor Beatriz Manz, former CLAS Chair, were both honored and very pleased to speak at the event representing the Center. As Professor Shaiken stated, reflecting on the Center’s unique relationship to the Class of 1930, “We are inspired by their example and friendship.”



CLAS Chair Prof. Harley Shaiken, Class of 1930 President Robert Bridges and Former CLAS Chair Prof. Beatriz Manz.



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In addition to highlighting up-to-date events, the CLAS website provides informative details about Latin Americanist faculty, current visiting scholars, and a list of courses with Latin American content.

To get our weekly e-mail of Latin American events on the Berkeley campus and in the Bay Area, send a message to majordomo@listlink.berkeley.edu. 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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