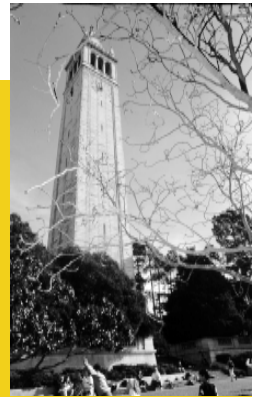




Center for Latin American Studies

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY



WINTER 2001

Exploring the Mexican Transition

by Angelina Snodgrass Godoy

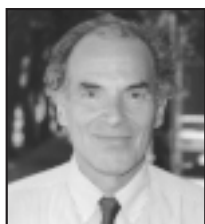
On December 1, 2000, amid a climate of exuberation, expectation, and apprehension, Vicente Fox assumed the presidency of Mexico. His dramatic victory in the elections some six months before had announced to the world that change was imminent — for the first time since the Revolution, the country would be governed by a party other than the PRI, and it was clear that a historic transformation was underway. Yet for many Mexicans, the months that followed brought a mixture of uncertainty and elation as the country struggled to come to terms with the magnitude of the change. Was Mexico undergoing its own democratic transition? Would the new president alter the entrenched structures of political and social power in Mexico, or merely mask them behind a different face? How far would the changes go?

In fall 2000, as Mexicans and observers pondered these and other questions, CLAS hosted a timely lecture series entitled “New Directions for Mexico.” As part of this series, four key political actors from Mexico visited Berkeley to share their views of the political, economic, and social dimensions of the transition with faculty, students, and community members. These guests included Victor Lichtinger, co-chair of Vicente Fox’s transition team on the



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President Vicente Fox with his current Minister of the Interior, Santiago Creel, during the campaign
(AP/Wide World Photos)



Letter from the Chair

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On December 1, 2000 Mexico entered a new political era with the inauguration of Vicente Fox as president. Throughout the fall semester, the Center for Latin American Studies (CLAS) explored the tangle of issues and forces this new administration will face in a series entitled "New Directions for Mexico," which we feature in this issue of the Newsletter. All 4 speakers in the series now play key roles in shaping Mexico's political future: Adolfo Aguilar Zinser heads the National Security Council in the Fox administration and Victor Lichtinger is secretary of the environment; Pablo Salazar has assumed office as governor of Chiapas, the first opposition candidate to hold that post in over 70 years; and Amalia García continues as president of the PRD, the largest center-left opposition party. We look forward to continuing the dialogue on the issues raised in their presentations in the coming months and years.

This Newsletter also includes coverage of 3 other series. The program on "Conflict, Memory, and Transitions" reflects on the process of coming to terms with the past as countries move to more democratic futures; "Development, Labor Standards, and Economic Integration in the Americas" explores the role of labor in the process of globalization; and "Guatemala: Perspectives" examines the legacy of war and the prospects for the future in that troubled country.

Our upcoming spring program includes two special highlights: "Cuba 2001," a series of events offering perspectives on Cuba and observations on the future of Cuba-U.S. relations; and "Colombia in Context," a major conference of scholars and policymakers that seeks to provide a broader analytical framework for the contemporary policy discussion on Colombia.

— Harley Shaiken

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Adolfo Aguilar Zinser on Change and its Challenges

by Dwight Dyer

Mexico is living through an unprecedented period of political change, according to Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, a former Senator and key adviser to President Vicente Fox. Prior to assuming his current responsibilities as head of Mexico's National Security Council, Aguilar Zinser visited CLAS on October 20 as part of the "New Directions for Mexico" series. As the country awaited the end of the Zedillo administration, Aguilar discussed some of the large questions looming over its political horizon: What policies will the new government pursue? How will the opposition — which has a majority in both houses of Congress — react? Which social forces will shape the creation of a governing coalition?

Whatever the answers to these questions may be, Aguilar said, the one constant will be change. The Fox administration has pledged to renew the methods of government, to revise the way society and the government interact, and to alter the way the country relates to its neighbors and the world at large. It will be the "Administration of Change."

Aguilar, the first independently-elected senator in Mexican history and a close adviser to the Fox campaign since 1999, began his talk with an overview of the monumental change that characterized the general elections on July 2, 2000. Not only a change for Mexico, these events defy regional patterns: unlike many other Latin American transitions to democracy, the Mexican transition was not the result of a pact between authoritarian rulers and opposition leaders. In Mexico, coordination problems between and within opposition parties precluded the formation of a common strategy. As a result, negotiations of a potential common candidacy broke down over the method to choose the presidential candidate, even after an electoral platform had been painstakingly discussed and agreed upon.

The ruling PRI, assuming these divisions would derail any serious challenge to its dominance, did not prepare for the possibility of handing over power. Even after the presidential race got under way, Aguilar explained, the governing elite failed to recognize and respond to signs that their regime was crumbling, striving instead to maintain an appearance of internal party stability and unity. Most in the PRI seemed to believe that "the system" (the unique symbiosis between the ruling party and the state apparatus) would take care of itself, and were sadly surprised when it did not.

What produced this historic event? Aguilar

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**Adolfo Aguilar Zinser
on the Transition**

"If it was not the organized opposition, if it was not the system preparing itself for a transition of power, as other regimes have done, what was it that produced this change?"

"It was the voters, the citizens, who with great determination decided it. And they decided it under very peculiar conditions, because every day through the propaganda both of the government and the opposition that was against Vicente Fox — which was a big block of the opposition — we heard about them saying, 'Don't elect Vicente Fox president.'

"That was the most important message at the end. 'He is ineligible to be president, he has all the characteristics of an individual that should never govern Mexico.' And they would describe a doomsday scenario if Mexicans thought that Vicente Fox could be president. How could a man that wears cowboy boots govern the

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Adolfo Aguilar Zinser

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credited the Fox campaign's broad focus on "change." Vicente Fox managed to craft a successful bid building on the general population's dissatisfaction with years of economic hardship and its hopes for a better tomorrow. The campaign was able to overcome media attacks that played on the electorate's fears of political and economic instability stemming from change, seeking to portray Fox as an uncultured, rough-shod man unworthy of trust.

For Aguilar, two processes must occur for real change to come to Mexican politics and society. First is what he called "out with the old." Losing the presidency means that the ruling party will no longer be able to use (and abuse) public resources to garner votes. The traditional practice of bending the law to suit the president's wishes will no longer be tolerated, and arbitrary control of government posts to satisfy personal ambitions and sectoral interests will be abolished. Finally, the collapse of the state-party system implies the end of a political culture of "negotiation of rights," where the few rule the many in predictable, yet unfair ways.

Then comes "in with the new." Aguilar described this process as a two-pronged phenomenon. First, civic associations must be activated. Given the end of the culture of "negotiation of rights," social demands will have to find new channels to be satisfied. Aguilar hopes this process will invigorate the nascent pluralism of Mexican politics.

Many challenges await the new administration, Aguilar explained. The political strategy of the new administration will be one of consensus-building, focusing on compromise, dialogue, mutual understanding, and recognition of diversity. This is no small task, as successful democratic pluralism is without precedent in Mexican political history.

Aguilar also detailed some of the complex reforms required to ensure governability without trampling pluralism. First, he argued, transparency of government actions and the end of impunity are necessary for the country to develop a true rule of law. Governmental corruption may be impossible to fully eradicate, he acknowledged, but it must be made punishable. Under Fox, this will be accomplished through a restructuring of the main bureaucracies dealing with internal politics and the administration of justice. Also, the new administration will propose the creation of a "Truth Commission" under legislative control, to investigate the crimes and excesses of the country's authoritarian past and lay the groundwork for a more transparent future.

Second, Aguilar said, economic and social reforms are needed. The new administration will focus on job creation and income redistribution by assisting small to medium producers. Social policy will privilege education, to help create the conditions for the insertion of the country's young and growing population into the global economy. New forms of grassroots political participation will be encouraged to enhance the checks and balances necessary in a democracy.

Lastly, the administration plans to reconfigure the country's foreign relations and its role in world affairs. According to Aguilar, there are a series of issues that must be addressed as "international responsibilities." These include human rights protection, economic development, and addressing such scourges as environmental degradation, organized crime, and international drug trafficking. In his view, national sovereignty cannot be separated from respect for basic human rights. In order to guarantee the rights of its citizens, Mexico must promote respect for international law, multilateralism, and the participation of civil society in monitoring and sanctioning efforts. These responsibilities also affect foreign policy: the Fox administration will actively promote democratic principles and international monitoring of human rights across the globe. n

Dwight Dyer is a graduate student in the department of political science with interests in comparative political parties and formal methods.

President Vicente Fox at his inauguration (AP/Wide World Photos)



Amalia García: An Opposition View of the Transition

by Annelise Wunderlich

For Amalia García Medina, the 20th century ended in Mexico on July 2, 2000. García, the president of Mexico's left-leaning PRD, echoes the views of millions of Mexicans who saw the election of Vicente Fox last summer as the end of one political era and the start of a more authentic democracy in the next. Yet the ousted PRI is far from dead, and the path of the new president is paved with many uncertainties, García warned the audience when she spoke at UC Berkeley on October 18. If the PRD and PAN fail to work together to plan Mexico's political future, she said, the lingering PRI influences could have devastating effects upon the country.

"The PRI is in a terrible crisis," she declared. "But if we don't come to an agreement soon, the old regime will do a great deal of damage to the country."

García sees Vicente Fox as the key player in Mexico's transition to democracy. When the Mexican people flocked to the voting booths last summer, they were voting not only for Fox, García said, but for change itself. Yet despite promises of sweeping institutional reforms, Fox has yet to prove himself as a leader capable of making those changes happen.

According to García, the odds are stacked against him. Fox must confront Mexico's long history of electoral fraud and corruption at every level of the country's bureaucratic infrastructure. She said that because most of the federal budget is already tied up in ongoing expenditures, Fox will have to find other economic resources to fund his proposals for new projects.

Furthermore, Fox is the country's first president to govern without a majority in either the House or the Senate. Federal representatives are split evenly between the three major parties, García explained, which means that Fox will have to negotiate with all in order to get any of his initiatives approved.

His job will be further complicated by the enduring presence of the PRI, a party which, according to García, has engaged in questionable campaign strategies to win power in several states. She was particularly concerned about the hotly contested

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Amalia García on the Transition

"The analysis that we must do is, what did the people really want when they voted on July 2nd? Some believe that what they wanted was to vote for the PAN and for Vicente Fox. I think that although this may be true, on the other hand the people went and voted for change. This was the motive and the principal reason for their vote.

"We can see it in the people's demands as well as in Vicente Fox's own discourse during the campaign. In his campaign, he decided to incarnate that desire for change, [featuring it in] all the themes that he discussed.

"For example, his platform for government cannot be qualified as a rightist platform; he gathered the proposals of the people and in the end culminated saying that he was a candidate of the right, of the left, and

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Amalia García

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gubernatorial elections in oil-rich Tabasco state, where PRI candidate Manuel Andrade recently edged out the PRD's César Ojeda by a narrow margin.

Speaking at Berkeley just a few hours before her return to Tabasco for a recount of votes from the October 15 elections, García charged that the incumbent governor, Roberto Madrazo of the PRI, used his influence to cheat Ojeda out of a victory that rightly belonged to the PRD. These elections held large national implications in a country where electoral fraud has been common and the political stakes are high.

"The governor [Roberto Madrazo] is one of the most important figures in the PRI, and he belongs to that part of his party that wants the past to return," García explained. "They will not give up until they have done everything possible to get back into Congress in two years."

"Along with change, [Fox] needs to prove his ability to govern," she said. "He wants to look for common ground politically." According to García, her party is uniquely positioned to mediate political tensions and to pressure Fox to institute major reforms. "The party was formed to fight for democracy and to challenge the PRI," she said. "We have to ask ourselves: what are our objectives now?"

Some of the PRD's main priorities include addressing Mexico's growing inequality. This inequality, García explained, is the largest source of instability in Mexico, having spawned armed resistance movements in the poorest states of the country, such as Chiapas and Guerrero.

"The new government and all political forces have the challenge of making sure that change centers not only around Vicente Fox and the parties, but also

around rebuilding the country," she said, indicating that conflict will continue as long as the majority of the population lives in conditions of poverty.

She also proposed forming a truth commission to investigate corruption and crimes against humanity that have so far gone unpunished, such as the 1997 killings of indigenous farmers in Acteal, Chiapas, and the 1968 student massacre in Mexico City. In response to a question about the wisdom of uncovering the past during this time of tension and change, García replied that while she recognized the need to focus on the future, some form of punishment for past wrongdoings is necessary. "In the clearest cases, we should show that we will never again allow such gross violations of human rights," García insisted. She added that Mexico "shouldn't ignore the obvious links" between the government and the drug trade in the country.

While admitting that the future is uncertain, García remains optimistic. She said that since the elections she has met with representatives of all the parties to build a foundation for the future, and that the discussions have been productive. At the same time, many challenges lie ahead. She won't feel at peace, she said, until the day arrives when an indigenous girl from Chiapas may be guaranteed a decent life. "Only then," she declared, "can we say that things have really changed in Mexico." n

Annelise Wunderlich is pursuing an M.A. in Latin American studies and an M.J. in journalism. Her interests include human rights, immigration, and refugee issues.

Exploring the Mexican Transition

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environment; Amalia García, president of the PRD; Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, senior adviser and coordinator for foreign policy to President-elect Fox; and Pablo Salazar, recently-elected governor of Chiapas, with coalition support from both the PAN and PRD.

Since visiting Berkeley, two of the series participants have been appointed to positions in the new government. Aguilar Zinser currently heads the Fox administration's National Security Council, and Lichtinger serves as secretary of the environment. Pablo Salazar has assumed office in Chiapas, and Amalia García remains active as president of the PRD — the first woman in Mexican history to head a major political

party. In this way, all four actors remain deeply engaged in the process of democratic transition. This Newsletter features extensive coverage of their remarks at Berkeley, enabling readers to gain unique perspective on the events and issues shaping Mexican history during these exciting times. n

Angelina Snodgrass Godoy is a Ph.D. candidate in sociology whose dissertation focuses on democratization and criminal violence in Latin America.

Chiapas' Pablo Salazar Promises State Of Tolerance

by Andrew Paxman

Flush from his unprecedented defeat of the ruling party for the governorship of Chiapas, the impoverished Mexican state that witnessed the 1994 Zapatista uprising, Pablo Salazar brought a message of tolerance and a promise of change to the closing lecture in CLAS's New Directions for Mexico series on October 26.

Speaking to a large crowd of close to 200 students, faculty and Bay Area rights activists, Salazar denounced a "monumental tradition of oppression" in Mexico's southernmost state, where one-third of the 4 million population is indigenous. In the wake of the Zapatista rebellion, the state is also known for internal armed conflict. "The absence of peace has to do with poverty," he said. "In the past, bad government has generated conflict. Now we will have good government, a government of reconciliation and peace."

Despite Chiapas' history of marginality, Salazar stressed the unique importance of the state in the Mexican transition and the key role its politics will play in the success, or failure, of the Fox administration. "The policies of Vicente Fox will be judged, throughout the world, by what he does in Chiapas: his social policy, his military policy, his economic policy," Salazar said.

Backed by an 8-party opposition coalition known as the Alliance for Chiapas, Salazar posted a narrow victory on August 20 over the perennially-incumbent PRI in what was widely deemed to be one of its bastion states, dealing the party another stunning blow in the wake of Fox's presidential victory of July 2. Like many opposition politicians, 46-year old Salazar was formerly a member of the PRI. Having practiced law for 15 years, specializing in getting victimized Mayans out of jail, Salazar became a PRI senator in 1994. Three years later, growing disillusioned with the government's commitment to justice in his state, he co-founded a dissident group within the party, and in early 1999 he abandoned the PRI altogether, announcing his candidacy for governor of Chiapas as an independent.

Salazar emphasized tolerance and education in his

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Pablo Salazar on the Transition

"My country owes a great deal to Zapatismo. I don't favor armed struggle; I'm a man of peace. But I think we have to value the positive effects that Zapatismo has achieved. To be frank, I'm not looking for an open dialogue with the Zapatistas. What I would not want to do is substitute the Zapatistas' true counterpart, the federal government [in such a dialogue]. I would like to see the initiative here be Fox's; let him seek that dialogue.

"...As governor, there are many things that I would like to be and others that I would not like to be. First, I don't want to be an obstacle for peace, like the current governor and other past governors of Chiapas have been. I don't want to apply the people's money in counterinsurgency policies, for example. And I want to be a

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Chiapas' Pablo Salazar

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Prof. Harley Shaiken, CLAS Chair,
with Governor-elect Salazar on the
UC Berkeley campus

lecture at Berkeley, as he outlined the task he faces to bring peace and alleviation of poverty to Chiapas. In an example of his 20-year-horizon planning, the governor said local kindergarten textbooks should be revised to encourage religious tolerance between Catholic and Protestant children, lest they grow up to continue the sectarian violence that has been plaguing the state. Salazar estimates that some 30% of *chiapanecos* are Protestants; his own election is noteworthy as the first time a Protestant has won the governorship of a Mexican state in recent decades.

For Salazar, tolerance also means accommodation of indigenous customs. Bilingual education exists in Chiapas, he explained, but too often teachers trained in Spanish and (for example) Tzotzil have been dispatched to villages where the native tongue is Chol — a kind of mix-up, the governor implied, that owes to deliberate attempts by the ruling elite to keep the state's indigenous population undereducated and marginalized. To help improve Chiapas' primary-school completion rate of just 35% — sinking to 16% in indigenous communities — Salazar is looking at having the school calendar reorganized so that children who help their families during the harvest season can do so without having to drop out.

Education tops a 6-point list that Salazar itemized for immediate attention once assuming the governor's seat in Tuxtla Gutierrez. Between his

afternoon lecture and a lunchtime meeting with students and faculty affiliated with CLAS, Salazar discussed the other 5 points:

- Health policy: according to one survey Salazar quoted, 90% of *chiapanecos* live in extreme poverty. Many fall victim to diseases that have been fully eradicated elsewhere.
- Economic reactivation: areas of promise include tourism, notably Costa Rican-style eco-tourism, and fishing, as the state's coastal waters are warm enough to yield a year-round shrimp harvest. Further, since oil and electricity monopolies Pemex and the CFE both source substantially from Chiapas, Salazar is exploring local taxation of their activities.
- Environmental policy: Chiapas is Mexico's leading state for biodiversity, but since the late 19th century two-thirds of the Lacandon rainforest have disappeared, much of it cleared by displaced campesinos seeking to grow corn.
- Justice and an end to impunity: the state's jails are exclusively filled with the very poor, while caciques (community strongmen) and paramilitary groups go unpunished for crimes ranging from land usurpation to killings.

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Toward an Effective Environmental Policy for Mexico

by Ezequiel Minaya and Jim Downing

Mexico's most urgent environmental need, clean and sustainable sources of water, will require \$100 billion to address, according to Victor Lichtinger. In an October 2 talk at CLAS, Lichtinger, who served as co-chair of Fox's transition team for the environment and has since been appointed secretary of the environment in the new administration, estimated that an annual investment of \$5 billion for the next twenty years would be needed to improve water supply and waste water treatment systems.

Lichtinger argued that water lies at the heart of Mexico's environmental crisis. Dry and degraded land, he said, has driven countless Mexicans off their farms. "They either go to the United States or come to the big cities," he said, increasing both illegal immigration and unsustainable urban growth. This growing environmental crisis threatens to derail his nation's hopes for economic prosperity.

Sustainable management of Mexico's water resources is critical to the country's ability to attract

foreign investment and feed its citizens. "Where trade, industry and agriculture are growing [in Mexico], water is becoming an obstacle to development," said Lichtinger. "And at the same time, the small amount of water we do have, we waste."

Lichtinger identified two principal causes of this waste: the misallocation of water as a result of entrenched subsidy programs, and the decaying water supply and treatment infrastructure. According to Lichtinger, the current subsidy structure favors the rich. Large farms receive highly subsidized irrigation water, and municipal water prices (for industries and residents connected to the water distribution network) are so low that the public water companies recoup from ratepayers only one-tenth of the cost of water delivery. The poor, who often don't have a tap from which to draw water and instead depend on water trucks or communal pumps, pay the highest rates of all.

Less than 16% of sewage from Mexico's cities and towns receives any sort of treatment; the rest runs directly into waterways. Many towns have wastewater treatment plants which were constructed through development programs but have now fallen into disrepair. As a result, said Lichtinger, the water is too contaminated to be used for domestic purposes by downstream communities. Instead, farmers often divert untreated wastewater flows to irrigate their fields, exposing both farm workers and consumers to a host of health risks.

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Above left: Victor Lichtinger during his presentation at CLAS

Left: An irrigation ditch with untreated water on the outskirts of Ciudad Juárez. Photo by Megan Lardner

Victor Lichtinger

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In addition to these water management problems, Mexico faces a geographic mismatch between water and people. The dry central highlands have 75% of the nation's citizens, 70% of its industry, and 75% of its irrigated agriculture, but only 25% of its rainfall. The majority of rainfall is in the country's tropical south where cities and industry are comparatively scarce. Population pressures in the highlands have compounded Mexico's water problems, Lichtinger noted. Land reform

programs that encouraged the clearing of hillside forests for agriculture have left Mexico the most deforested country in the hemisphere. Subsequent farming on these marginal lands reduces ground water recharge because the hard-baked land is less able to absorb rainfall. Increased runoff leads to erosion and flooding. These trends, in turn, render land unsuitable for farming, driving rural populations to the cities and the northern border.

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Victor Lichtinger on the Transition

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"[One] big problem is that environmental policy, which is very new, is very marginalized from economic decisions. Environmental policy does not have any influence at the moment on all the big economic decisions that are happening. ... We need to change [this] situation drastically. The most important thing... is to have an environmental policy that impacts and constrains development, because what really creates the environmental pressures is economic growth — or the lack of economic growth, to look at it from another standpoint.

"But the most important thing for policy in a country like Mexico — and I would dare say in any country — is to be able to influence economic decisions. What do you do to do that? First of all, you need to have political strength. You need to have somebody in the institution that has that political strength. And you need to construct and build institutions that give you the chance to talk and to negotiate and to reach agreement with all the sectors before they make their decisions. If you come after they make their decisions, it will only be something that will change what they decided a little bit.

"So the idea now... is first of all, to have some kind of an institution in the Mexican White House that would coordinate and make sure that the environment issues are considered in economic decisions. Some kind of a coordinating board that would make sure that when you are... before you are putting in place a program for energy policy, you would make sure that that program is the least costly for society in what comes to environmental costs. That is one of the big changes that the new administration is going to try to do."

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"Now... there are around two billion dollars of resources to fight poverty. But they give the money to the poor because they are poor. So you can imagine what's the incentive there. Let's keep being poor so they give us money, right?

"Right now the idea that we have brought to the table is that they are going to get money so they protect the forests. Why? Because the forests have a social value that is not in the market. That's also a part of the problem. The forests do not have a commercial value in themselves, and they don't have, as economists say, the clear property rights so they're seen as public goods; nobody owns them, so... [it is assumed that] nobody loses because they are being cut, but actually the one that is losing out is society. Society has a clear benefit in keeping those forests as they are. So society has to pay for that. There has to be a mechanism of transferring wealth and income to those people so they protect the forests and they save the forests for the rest of the society.

"The idea now is to have those social programs that were giving money to the poor because [they were] poor, now they will give [them] money because they have a very special thing to do for society. That means that those people will have an incentive to become part of society, to be inclusive. These programs will be inclusive and will not have an incentive of keeping the people poor. So it is an integral view of including environment into poverty alleviation."

Rosalina Tuyuc Addresses Women's Rights in Guatemala

by Annelise Wunderlich

In the world of Guatemalan politics, long dominated by the country's light-skinned ruling elite, Rosalina Tuyuc stands out. A diminutive woman clothed in the vibrant colors of her Mayan culture, Tuyuc does not look like someone likely to intimidate military generals and other high-ranking government officials. But as the former congresswoman revealed in an October visit to CLAS, she is a lot tougher than she looks.

After experiencing the devastation of war firsthand — both her father and husband were “disappeared” in the early 1980's — Tuyuc decided to take action. Since then, she has been fighting to include Guatemala's women and indigenous majority on the country's political agenda — first as the founder and director of a national organization for widows and their families, and later as one of the first women to sit in Congress.

“We need more direct participation in the big decisions that are made by central government,” she told the audience at CLAS. She explained that although political consciousness has grown among indigenous Guatemalans, their representation in the upper echelons of government is still “very weak.” Although nearly 70% of the Guatemalan population is indigenous, Tuyuc said, there is only one indigenous delegate to the executive council of Congress; of 130 Congressional representatives, only 9 are indigenous.

“There is a problem of exclusion, not only social and economic, but also political,” she declared. “Every time we've tried to take action, we've been repressed.” She added that indigenous women often face the greatest discrimination. Despite the vocal leadership of women like Tuyuc and her colleague, Nobel laureate Rigoberta Menchú, Guatemala remains a male-dominated society that has all but ignored the concerns of Mayan women — nearly 90% of whom are illiterate, and almost all of whom live in extreme poverty.

In an effort to call attention to the plight of women survivors of state violence, in 1988 Tuyuc formed CONAVIGUA, the National Coordinator of Widows in Guatemala, a grassroots organization working to help the thousands of women who lost husbands and loved ones during the 36-year civil war. Today the group has more than 13,000 members and continues to grow, despite a severe lack of funding and no government support. With the help of Tuyuc's energetic leadership, CONAVIGUA has brought human rights issues to the forefront of political debate in Guatemala, even though only a small

portion of its members can read and write.

A Congressional representative for the left-leaning FDNG party from 1996 to 2000, Tuyuc had to struggle to be heard. Despite having little formal education and few connections, she endeavored to bring social justice into the debate. Among other things, she advocated creating a war crimes tribunal and holding military leaders accountable for war atrocities. She also condemned the death penalty in Guatemala, and earned the army's wrath for her efforts to abolish the forced recruitment of young Mayan males.

“We women are the ones who have joined together to fight against impunity and militarization,” she said. “But so far we have received very few responses to our proposals.”

Part of the problem, Tuyuc said, is that the forces in power rarely listen to her people. The 1996 peace accords mandated greater Mayan participation in government, but most indigenous leaders are chosen by local civic committees with no ties to national political parties. They are then left without a coalition to speak as a single, national-level voice for Mayan rights. To make matters worse, more than one million indigenous people are unable to vote because they lack identification documents; in many cases, these

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Rosalina Tuyuc

Rosalina Tuyuc Addresses Women's Rights in Guatemala

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were destroyed during the war. CONAVIGUA has succeeded in registering more than 5,000 Mayan women to vote, but many who live in remote areas remain disenfranchised.

At Berkeley, Tuyuc said that the best way to empower Mayans in Guatemala is through foreign investment — but not in the military. “We think it is very important to have international support for education, not just to fight the drug war,” she said, referring to American aid money that has been funneled into the defense budget. “A country that has no education is a country that cannot develop.”

In Guatemala, where despite the war's end, violent reprisals against activists and human rights advocates continue, Tuyuc has been threatened numerous times for speaking her mind. But she considers the menacing phone calls and acts of harassment as just part of the job. While acknowledging the dangers, she said that she feels motivated to continue. “The future will be much more difficult for our children if we don't take risks now,” she explained.

According to Tuyuc, the new administration under President Portillo has done little to advance indigenous or women's rights, and she found it too difficult to be both an activist and a politician. She turned down another term in Congress to work on strengthening CONAVIGUA and to push international investigation of war crimes in Guatemala. But she said she still wants to see more women active in government. While many challenges loom in the future, Tuyuc affirmed her optimism that with the support of the international community, Guatemalan women can benefit from important changes. “This will be a new millennium for women,” she said. “We have a lot of strength, but only through international solidarity can we truly advance.” n

Annelise Wunderlich is pursuing an M.A. in Latin American studies and an M.J. in journalism. Her interests include human rights, immigration and refugee issues.

Prof. Beatriz Manz, of Berkeley's departments of ethnic studies and geography, listens while Rosalina Tuyuc speaks at CLAS



“When the Bones Speak Out”: Clyde Snow and the Science of Forensic Anthropology

by Rachael Post

A photo shows a beautiful young Argentine woman in her twenties. But it was the late 1970’s in Argentina, and the military junta considered her a threat. The next photo shows her skull recovered from a mass grave.

One by one, these images and the painstaking labor of the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team trace the fate of *los “desaparecidos”* — the “disappeared.” “Almost as soon as the sun touched them, the bones started telling their stories,” explained Clyde Snow, noted forensic anthropologist and member of the U.N. Human Rights Commission, in a November 17 presentation at the American Anthropological Association’s annual meeting. “Notice the bullet hole in her head. [It] tells us she was shot.”

Dr. Snow and two members of his team spoke in San Francisco at a presentation, “Uncovering the ‘Disappeared’: Clyde Snow and Forensic Anthropologists’ Work for Justice,” which was co-sponsored by CLAS. The presentation was attended by hundreds of anthropologists, researchers, and local human rights activists, and was accompanied by an exhibit of photography by Vince Heptig, who has documented the exhumations process in Guatemala.

“Our work helps in the historic reconstruction that is often hidden by the authorities and the governments that took part in them,” said Mercedes Doretti, a founding member of the Argentine forensic team. “Even though we talk about bones, they represent faces and histories.”

The histories they tell are grim. From 1976 to 1983 Argentina underwent the period now known as the Dirty War. Any opposition to the military junta in power was eradicated by the notorious death squads, resulting in the disappearance of more than 20,000 citizens, most of them young men and women. Dr. Snow described the birth of the Argentine team — and of forensic anthropology as a science at the service of human rights — in his presentation, explaining that it began when a group of students approached him in the early 1980’s, asking for his help in uncovering the remnants of the past. In 1984, the team started carefully exhuming remains, measuring bones, and reconstructing skeletons, despite death threats and fears of becoming what they were exposing — the “disappeared,” Dr. Snow said. In 1985, Dr. Snow and others — including Eric Stover, Director of UC Berkeley’s Human Rights Center — presented evidence and testimony in the Argentine

courts which eventually helped convict members of the military junta.

Dr. Snow explained that forensic anthropologists identify remains in four ways: visual identification, matching dental and/or medical records, measuring the bones and skeleton, and matching DNA. The use of DNA is a relatively new and costly method that started in 1990. DNA samples from the bones are compared to blood samples taken from family members. The team also gathers information from relatives and eyewitnesses about the missing person to help with burial location and identification.

Taking what they learned in Argentina, the team began unearthing massacre victims in Guatemala in 1996. Here, they found new challenges. Fredy Peccerelli, a former student of Dr. Snow and current president of the Guatemala Forensic Anthropology Foundation, explained that identification of remains is more difficult in Guatemala because many of the victims lived in remote mountain regions where birth certificates, medical or dental records, and other forms of identification are scarce or nonexistent. “First we have to prove that people were alive before we can prove they are dead,” Peccerelli said.

Peccerelli has testified in several trials to bring murderers to justice in Guatemala, where a majority of the country’s indigenous population has traditionally been excluded from participation in the legal system. The efforts of the Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Foundation provide one way they can seek justice for wartime atrocities. While the U.N.-sponsored truth commission estimated that the armed forces participated in over 600 massacres and thousands of extrajudicial executions, leaving more than 200,000 dead after 36 years of war, the

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A photograph from the identification document of a disappeared Argentine woman. Courtesy of Eric Stover



Clyde Snow and the Science of Forensic Anthropology

Continued from page 13



Above:
A partially exhumed grave

Right:
Professor Clyde Snow
Photos courtesy of Eric Stover



exhumations process has only begun to probe these crimes. In the aftermath of the 1996 peace accords, “we’re barely getting started,” Peccerelli affirmed.

Peccerelli’s team has found victims buried in churches, villages, and fields. He told the story of the village of San Andrés Sajcabajá, in the highlands province of El Quiché. In San Andrés, people remember hearing screams coming from the church where armed men killed villagers. Survivors told investigators that dogs would sometimes show up in the plaza with human body parts in their mouths, Peccerelli said. The soldiers did not bury the bodies well, he explained. Today, exhumations have confirmed villagers’ accounts of the terror that befell them.

In some cases, the anthropologists’ work can bring peace to long-grieving families. In a different village, Peccerelli recalled an older Mayan man who would come to the exhumation site day after day, asking if anyone had found a brass belt buckle. After weeks of work, one morning Peccerelli cleared away the dirt and pulled out a buckle. He showed it to the old man, who pulled up his shirt to reveal an identical buckle around his own waist. Deeply moved, the man explained that he had finally found what he wanted: his son. The handwrought buckle provided the key to identifying the slain man’s remains, which his father carried away in a cardboard box. “This is when you notice how important it is, and how a person’s life can be changed by anthropology,” Peccerelli said.

Dr. Snow and his students have led exhumations in some 22 countries worldwide. Most recently, they have uncovered human rights abuses in Kosovo, Bosnia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, and Iraqi Kurdistan. As a member of the 12-person Argentine team, Doretti explained that despite the religious, ethnic, and cultural differences among the communities in which she has worked, some experiences are common to all exhumations. She said that all families grieve and have their own religious funeral rites for the recovered dead. “When we identify them, there is a big relief and healing comes with that,” she explained. “But it’s also the end of the search and the end of the hope. There is tremendous sorrow.”

Peccerelli added, “You never get used to it — never. It’s still somebody who died who shouldn’t have been killed.” n

Rachael Post is a graduate student in journalism and Latin American studies who is interested in media coverage of diversity and women’s issues.

New Working Group Explores Memory in Post-Conflict Societies

by Krisjon Olson

In 1970, two-thirds of Latin America's population lived under military dictatorship. Some thirty years later, democratic transitions have swept the continent, bringing with them the cessation of armed conflicts in most countries and the opening — albeit tentative — of public discussions of past atrocities. In the wake of authoritarianism, individuals and communities in many countries of the region have begun to rethink their recent histories. Such developments, of course, are not limited to Latin America: following episodes of ethnic cleansing, state violence, and gross violations of human rights, many societies around the world struggle to confront these difficult and divisive legacies. In the context of such changes, CLAS recently convened a working group on Conflict, Memory, and Transitions to encourage interdisciplinary exchange and reflection on these themes.

Under the guidance of Prof. Beatriz Manz of the departments of ethnic studies and geography, and with the support of an interdisciplinary group of



A graveyard in Argentina.
Courtesy of Eric Stover

faculty and the financial backing of the Hewlett Foundation, the group aims to draw insights from scholarship in a broad range of disciplines and regional contexts. Its members include students in the social sciences, humanities, and professional schools who are interested in various manifestations of memory, as embodied in truth commissions, migration patterns and policies, communications, and literary works. By bringing together scholars engaging these issues in diverse areas, from Argentina to South Africa, the group initiated intensive discussions of the different intellectual frameworks that can be used to examine the past.

In its first semester, the group set out to identify and compile a set of existing scholarship in this emergent field of inquiry. Its initial readings aimed to address such questions as: who authors the accounts inscribed in war archives? Which accounts of violence are forgotten, and why? What is the purpose of remembering, if possibilities for justice are denied?

A series of invited speakers also touched on related themes. Professor Elizabeth Lira, a psychologist who has worked on the reconciliation process in Chile as both an active participant and an academic observer, visited CLAS in September 2000. She discussed the ways in which individual lives intersect with historical memory. Explaining the relationship between reconciliation and forgiveness in the Chilean context, Lira suggested that in the post-dictatorship period, previously marginalized members of society have

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Children look on as a skull is exhumed from a clandestine cemetery in Guatemala.
Photo by Vince Heptig

New Working Group Explores Memory in Post-Conflict Societies

Continued from page 15



A Guatemalan woman holds an identification photograph of one of the “disappeared.”
Photo by Vince Heptig

been asked to forgive the powerful for past transgressions. This was particularly evidenced in the *Mesa de Diálogo*, an institution created by the Chilean government to negotiate reconciliation between the military and victims of human rights violations. Because the Chilean truth commission and its subsequent institutional developments became a model for reconciling the past in other countries, among them South Africa and Guatemala, Professor Lira provided a strong foundation for the group’s later discussions of memory in other post-conflict societies.

In November, a seminar discussion with Professors Charles Hale and Elizabeth Jelin probed the question of collective memory. Jelin, who serves as professor and senior researcher at the Institute of Social Research of the University of Buenos Aires, and at the Argentina’s National Council of Scientific Research (CONICET), described the critical role of the human rights movement in contesting the official history of repression in Argentina. She was joined by Charles Hale, associate professor of anthropology at the University of Texas, Austin, who agreed that memories are fluid and transformed over time, often shaped by fear of repeated violence. The “Never Again” campaign spearheaded by activists in Argentina stood as a salient example of the ways in which the human rights movement can provide counter-memories in the face of hegemonic discourse.

Prof. Amy Ross, a recent graduate of UC Berkeley’s geography department currently teaching in the University of Georgia’s department of geography, also joined the group to discuss her work comparing narratives of past violence in Guatemala and South Africa. In particular, Prof. Ross explored the role of truth commissions in the post-conflict period. While truth commissions are new and important tools for challenging impunity, she argued, they are limited in their ability to make perpetrators accountable for violence and most often do not provide needed reparations to victims.

The group plans to continue and expand its program of activities in spring 2001.

Upcoming guest speakers include Rachel Seider, lecturer in politics at the University of London’s Institute of Latin American Studies, and Judith Zur, director of a project on mental health and reconciliation among Mayan war survivors at the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture. For information about how to join the group’s discussions, please visit the CLAS Web site at www.clas.berkeley.edu/clas. ■

Krisjon Olson is a graduate student in the department of anthropology.

Reporting the Border

by Sandy Tolan



Left:
A barbed-wire fence in
the colonia of Panfilo
Natera, on the Texas side
of the border

Seven years after the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, which officials promised would ease breakneck growth along the 2,000-mile U.S.-Mexico border, pressure on border infrastructure is unprecedented. More than two million people live without running water. At least three million are without proper wastewater treatment. With more than 3,000 maquiladora assembly plants dotting the border, and more projected, toxic waste remains a potentially grave problem. So far the institutions created by Nafta to address these problems have been unable to do so, even as the need grows: within 25 years, the border population of 16 million is expected to double.

In the fall of 2000, nine reporters from the Graduate School of Journalism at UC Berkeley set out on a three-month project to document the tremendous challenges to life on the border. Their series, "Close to the Breaking Point," includes the following features:

1) Portrait of the Texas Colonias: On the Texas side of the border, some 400,000 people live in the



Below:
At the U.S.-Mexico border,
vehicles wait to cross.

ramshackle, unincorporated settlements called colonias: homes of scrap wood and tin, usually without running water, sewage, or sanitation. In El Paso County, 80,000 live in colonias; an estimated half are families of workers displaced by Nafta, which exported hundreds of thousands of jobs to Mexico.

2) NADBANK: A Solution Overwhelmed. The

Continued on page 23

Photos by Megan Lardner

Chiapas' Pablo Salazar

Continued from page 8

- Investment in communications infrastructure: Chiapas has 20,000 km (12,500 miles) of roads, but only 4,000 km are paved.

Absent from the list is the demilitarization of Chiapas, which only Fox can mandate. Though the army presence in the state was strengthened yet again before the gubernatorial election, reaching a reported total of 80,000 troops, Salazar's own position is moderate: there should be a withdrawal, he said, but over a period of months, and the regular army bases that predated the 1994 uprising should remain. Indeed, since Fox assumed power on December 1, a substantial portion of that force has been withdrawn, and a Zapatista delegation is now scheduled to meet with lawmakers in Mexico City on March 11 to discuss a bill of indigenous rights.

Salazar won plaudits in the mid-1990's for his independent stance as a negotiator between the government — with which, as a member of the PRI, he was ostensibly aligned — and the Zapatistas. (He now describes the official attitude towards negotiation as having been “a culture of deceit, lies and non-compliance.”) Today, Salazar promises pluralism in his administration, pledging to add both women and indigenous representatives to the senior ranks of state government.

Salazar concluded his talk with an invitation to the international community — whose observers and delegates have frequently been subjected to harassment and expulsion while working in PRI-ruled Chiapas — to continue to monitor events in the state, build bridges with its peoples, and express solidarity with efforts towards peace. He added: “Chiapas is an open wound in Latin America. Help us close that wound. Our arms and our hearts are open to the international community.” n

Andrew Paxman is an M.A. student in Latin American studies whose principal interest is 20th-century Mexican history.

Amalia García on the Transition

Continued from page 5

of the center. What does this mean? It means the challenge is to define what this government proposes to do, and what we can expect from it.

“...Fox should propose himself as the president of the democratic transition. But what would it mean to be the president of the transition? I think that above all, [it means to] set out to lay the groundwork, from a great democratic reform of the state, reforming the institutions in our country in order to abandon that authoritarian characteristic that has concentrated all power in the President of the Republic.

“And for this reason, today, one of the fundamental goals toward this end of being the administration of the transition, is to try to achieve the agreement of all political forces, in order to lay the groundwork for a different way of governing: a new relation among the powers, and between the powers and the society as a whole.”

—
“I do believe strongly that institutional reform [to ensure that] we have a democratic state, a democratic government, is fundamental. Why am I so insistent about this? Because the old regime, although it was defeated the 2nd of July, is still alive. You can see many of its expressions in present-day Mexico. The PRI was defeated in the presidency, but many of the members of the PRI have economic power, political power, and they do not believe the end of the regime [has come], they do not believe the transition to democracy is what people want. ...So for them, the aim of a political transition, a democratic transition, is not an issue. But for the rest of the people, for the PRD, for the PAN, it is very important.

“...What I am observing is a great resistance of those who had power to accept that politics in Mexico must be made in a different way. At the same time, the PRI... is in a terrible crisis. I am worried that if we do not make agreements soon for these reforms, the crisis and the decomposition of the old regime is going to make a lot of damage in my country.”

Development, Labor Standards, and Economic Integration: CLAS Program Seeks to Deepen the Debate

by Catha Worthman



The momentum generated by mass demonstrations outside the 1999 World Trade Organization meetings in Seattle converted free trade debates into front-page news. In the aftermath of this upheaval, sustained activism against global sweatshops and renewed organizing by the U.S. labor movement have also concentrated public and political attention on the issue of international labor rights. In light of President Bush's pledge to expand free trade relationships in Latin America, these debates are deeply relevant and likely to continue.

In the context of such discussions and the often-contentious politics that surrounds them, the Center for Latin American Studies has launched a new program that seeks to redefine contemporary debates around labor standards and international trade. Funded by the Ford Foundation and entitled "Development, Labor Standards, and Economic Integration," the idea for the project began in discussions between CLAS Chair, Prof. Harley Shaiken, and Latin American political and labor leaders. They wondered how the discussion of international labor standards might be reconceived

in broader terms as a means to promote mutually beneficial economic development. The project seeks to establish a network of scholars, labor leaders, and policy makers, initially from the United States, Mexico, Brazil, and Chile, to examine global forces and national contexts, and perhaps propose new approaches to economic integration itself. The program will also enable participants to build intellectual and practical bridges between labor leaders in the Americas.

With support from the Ford Foundation, the project took the first step towards this vision this past fall. A series of five speakers visited Berkeley to discuss labor economics and policies, economic restructuring, and labor union politics in the United States, Mexico, and Brazil. While the speakers identified areas of common ground between labor movements in the Americas, they also discussed details of each national situation that can help scholars and policymakers carefully delineate differences, thus facilitating the development of more informed and appropriate international labor policies.

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Detail from a Diego Rivera mural entitled *Pan-American Unity*

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Development, Labor Standards, and Economic Integration

Continued from page 19

One of the speakers, Owen Herrnstadt, Director of International Affairs for the 720,000-member International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM), emphasized the importance of gathering such specific information to construct effective international labor solidarity. Labor laws, systems of labor-management relationships, and internal union structures vary from country to country. Unions must understand conflicting ideologies and immediate needs, and must develop connections to facilitate quick and regular communication. Although the Machinists have pioneered involvement in international labor issues, huge challenges remain. Corporate attitudes like those of former General Electric C.E.O. Jack Welch are part of the problem, Herrnstadt explained. Welch has said “the ideal factory would be built on a barge,” so it could be hauled around the world to low-wage areas where it could operate without labor rules, environmental protections or other standards. Herrnstadt estimates that more than 400,000 U.S. workers have lost their jobs as a result of Nafta, and others have seen their jobs disappear as a result of the process known as “lean manufacturing,” whereby manufacturers contract out everything but their core jobs in order to lower

labor costs. In the wake of such developments, Herrnstadt declared job security the “number one issue” for members of his union.

Subcontracting has also challenged workers in the Mexican auto industry, as Huberto Juárez Núñez, Professor of Economics at the University of Puebla and advisor to the Mexican Volkswagen Workers Union, explained at CLAS this fall. Workers at the highest-paid plants like Volkswagen might receive \$120 a week for 48 hours of work, while those at subcontracted manufacturers like Dina earn just \$42 to \$44 a week. Thus, while Nafta has increased employment in the automobile industry in Mexico, Nafta’s promise to provide dignified, stable work that improves the quality of life remains unfulfilled, according to Juárez.

During their visit to CLAS this fall, Professors Enrique de la Garza and Nestor de Buen argued that union alliances with the United States combined with increased union activism in Mexico provided the best hope for improving labor conditions in Mexico. According to de la Garza, a professor of sociology at the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (Iztapalapa) and the director of *Trabajo* magazine, market liberalization and privatization have caused a crisis for the Mexican corporatist model, which historically allowed rising wages and benefits for Mexican workers. The shift to a contractual model of labor relations also threatens the existing Mexican labor movement. Prof. de la Garza concluded that the prospects for a more democratic labor movement in Mexico are uncertain.

On the other hand, de Buen, a professor of law at UNAM and a councilmember of Mexico City’s Human Rights Commission, described the deep foundations of the Mexican corporatist model of labor relations and the difficulties involved in trying to reform it. Mexico’s first labor law, approved in 1931, was copied from the fascist Italian *Carta di Lavoro*. Labor law has been only minimally changed since then. To this day, the government largely controls unions, selects leaders, and represses strikes and effective collective bargaining. Ninety-two percent of collective contracts are signed without the consent of the workers involved. De Buen also noted that recent proposals for labor law reform by both the PAN and the PRD were turned down in Congress. The emergent labor culture, like the old one it seeks to replace, rests on an understanding between government, corporate unions and management and leads to the exploitation of workers.

Prof. Juárez provided a more optimistic vision, describing how workers have developed innovative forms of union activism to avoid or mitigate

Detail from
Pan-American Unity
by Diego Rivera





government involvement in the face of continued repression. Workers at Ford's Hermosillo plant, for example, developed a strategy of "collective absenteeism" to avoid going through the government approval process for strikes. They took advantage of the few days each worker is allowed to be absent each year, congregating outside the plant gates without signs or banners, simply refusing to work. In these and other examples, Prof. Juárez said he sees signs of a renewed labor activism in Mexico that adapts itself to the conditions of free trade and industrial restructuring in the auto industry. Nonetheless, huge obstacles for workers in Mexico remain. In particular, Juárez fears that the Mexican government under President Fox may be hostile to labor.

In a related discussion, Jeffrey Sluyter-Beltrão, Ph.D. candidate in Berkeley's political science department, explored the politics of the Brazilian labor movement. His analysis of the democratic processes between 1978 and 1995 within the labor movement and in the country as a whole identify an inverse relationship between the two currents: as democracy at a societal level evolved and "consolidated," labor organizations became progressively less democratic. Focusing on internal political struggle within the Brazilian "new

unionism," Sluyter-Beltrão concluded that factions formed around particular strategic and ideological viewpoints have become irreconcilable over time, dividing the labor movement at a time when it most needs unity. Especially from 1990 to 1995, new production processes and hiring arrangements undermined labor movement power in Brazil, as economic liberalization and globalization sapped labor union strength more broadly. In response, the labor federations have pursued mass media strategies and moderated their political and ideological views, seeking increased government and employer negotiations. Although these strategies have permitted them to recapture some influence, the federations are increasingly divided. Moreover, they have shut out participation by the mass membership and by organized minority constituencies.

The program will continue in spring 2001 with additional speakers, building further toward its long-term goals. Consult the CLAS Web site for further coverage of the presentations of the five speakers this fall, as well as information on upcoming events. ■

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

Latin American studies
graduate student
Alejandra Torres, Prof.
Nestor de Buen, Prof.
Marcela Hernández, Prof.
Enrique de la Garza, and
Stephen Herzenberg,
Director of the Keystone
Research Center, at UC
Berkeley's Sproul Plaza

Adolfo Aguilar Zinser on the Transition

Continued from page 3

country? That's completely foreign to our national character. Much worse, how could a man that had been president of the Coca-Cola company run Mexico?

"Well, somehow the voters made their choice, confronted with all of these arguments. And they chose Vicente Fox. ... People were not scared by the Coca-Cola, they were not scared by the boots, and they were not scared by the language of Vicente Fox. ... And they were not scared by the way that he approached issues. Because all of this signaled something that the electorate was waiting to hear: change.

"So both the PRD and the PRI and all of the opponents of Mr. Fox reinforced the notion that Fox represented change. ... With the assault on the character of Mr. Fox from the part of official circles, it became very clear to all voters in Mexico that this man was serious, and that they took him seriously, and that he was going to mean change for Mexico. And this is what the people voted for: change."

—
"... There is one change that is of far-reaching consequences, and over which there is no control that can be exercised by any single actor, not by any president of Mexico. That is the change brought about by the election itself to the core of the traditional political system in Mexico.

"[On] the 2nd of July the electorate conducted a massive surgery into the political system by extracting the spinal cord of the regime, which is the president, the institution of the president. Which is connected in its nervous system to the rest of the body, to the liver, to the digestive organs, and even to the reproductive organs of power. The spinal cord was removed, so that the body of the system now lacks this central cohesion.

"That's the only thing that has happened, or that will happen, in effect, the 1st of December. Because the governors that are governors for

the PRI are still governors, and enjoy the same powers as governors; the bureaucracies have the same core; the unions are headed by the same people; and all of the structures of power that traditionally belong to the PRI are virtually there. But they have no cohesion any more because the communications of the central nervous system have been removed. Which means that they cannot resort now to the executive power.

"... This is very important to understand because the central characteristic of the traditional presidency in Mexico has been the headquarters of Mexico's impunity, based on the discretionary powers of the president to apply the law. It has been up to the president to determine when, how, and under which circumstances the law is applied... the president decided who [went] to jail, who was accountable to the citizens and who not. And this created a system of complicity. Regardless of who was the president and what was the involvement of the president in acts of corruption — he could be a completely honest president, but he would still be the center of impunity because it would be in his hands to determine if accountability would take place or not.

"... So the fact that this spinal cord has been removed is a change in itself no matter who would have won the presidency. It's a change. The lines of communication between the old cacique structures of power and the presidency have been broken, have been lost, so there will be no answer to those calls because the lines have all been shattered. ... These are fundamental changes that have dislocated the whole authoritarian system of Mexico."

Reporting the Border

Continued from page 17

North American Development Bank was created under Nafta to address the needs of growing numbers of border residents without access to potable water, sewage or sanitation. So far, NADBANK has proved ineffective, loaning out less than 3% of its capacity, and leaving border residents frustrated in the wake of growing infrastructure problems.

3) The Draining of the Hueco Bolson: The aquifer beneath El Paso and Ciudad Juárez is being sucked dry by exploding populations on both sides of the border. Some experts say the aquifer has less than five years of productive capacity left. This could prove disastrous for Juárez, which relies entirely on the Hueco Bolson for its municipal water.

4) Hazwaste Mystery: In the early 1990's, Matamoros and Brownsville along the eastern border were the focus of intense scrutiny following cases of anencephaly (babies born without brains), which some linked to hazardous waste from border maquiladoras. Now, industry officials say they have kicked out the polluters, installed new wastewater treatment facilities, and put the problems in the past. Local officials and community activists aren't so sure.

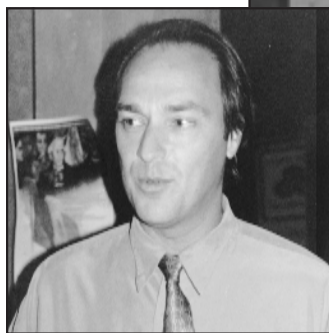
5) When the Land No Longer Gives: Growing environmental pressures on lands in Mexico, combined with fallout in the rural sector from changes brought by Nafta, have helped create huge new waves of migration north. The new migrants, facing falling corn prices, lack of access to credit, and increased erosion and deforestation on their *ejidos*, are moving north, creating additional pressure on the borderlands.

6) The All-American Canal: Every year, billions of gallons of Colorado River water seep through the porous soil of the All-American Canal, just north of the border between California and Baja California. Now, under pressure to conserve its share of the desert river, California plans to line the canal with concrete. But for years, 30,000 people south of the border have relied on the water, which seeps through the ground and into their wells. Now, their way of life may come to an end.

7) El Puerto del Atún: For decades, Ensenada was known as the Tuna Port. That was before the international tuna embargo imposed on Mexico and other Latin American countries because of the annual deaths of tens of thousands of dolphins. Now, the dolphin kills are way down, but Mexico still does not have access to the U.S. market. And Ensenada's port remains quiet.

The students' articles were featured in a Sunday edition of the *San José Mercury News* in mid-December 2000. Later this spring they will be featured in *La Opinión*, the largest Spanish-language daily newspaper in the United States. The complete text of the articles is available on the CLAS Web site, www.clas.berkeley.edu/clas. n

Sandy Tolan was a visiting fellow at the Center for Environmental Journalism at UC Berkeley's Graduate School of Journalism in Fall 2000. Tolan has reported along the border for National Public Radio, *The New York Times Magazine*, and many other publications.



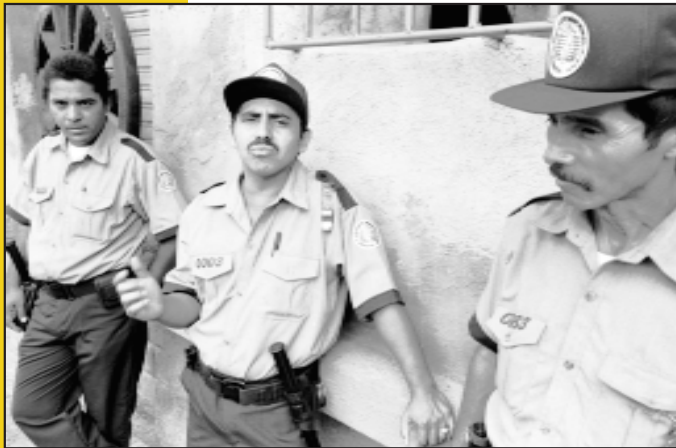
Far left:
Prof. Sandy Tolan

Left:
Children of farmworkers in a home in Ejido Merida, one of Mexicali Valley's farming communities.
Photo by Lina Katz

Images of Contemporary Central America at CLAS



From September through December 2000, the CLAS gallery featured an exhibit of photography by James Lerager, entitled "Central America After the Wars." Lerager's photographs and stories have appeared in magazines and newspapers in over twenty countries. His first book, *In The Shadow Of The Cloud: Photographs and Histories of America's Atomic Veterans*, was published by Fulcrum Press. His forthcoming book, *Nuclear History: Nuclear Destiny*, is planned for publication in the spring of 2001. He is currently working on an extensive photo-documentary project in Mexico.



Above left: Alonso Márquez is from El Mozote, and was a young guerilla fighter in the civil war. During the massacre at El Mozote, 41 members of his extended family were killed. His life is still haunted by nightmares and flashbacks.

Center left: Municipal police, Santa Ana, El Salvador. These officers report that violence resulting from poverty (the city has a poverty rate of 80%) is the city's biggest problem.

Lower left: Children playing in the street.

Cuba 2001

Cuba 2001 is a special graduate seminar in which internationally recognized scholars and policy makers who have long studied Cuba will lecture on the island's present economic, social and political situation. The series will be moderated by Professor Lydia Chávez of the UC Berkeley Graduate School of Journalism. All events will be held in the CLAS conference room unless otherwise noted.

Monday, February 5, 2001

Cuba in Transition

Professor Susan Eckstein,
Boston University

Note location:

The Library at North Gate Hall

Monday, February 12

U.S. Cuba Policy 2001:

**Where We Are, How We Got Here,
and Where We Ought to Be**

Professor Richard Nuccio,
Salve Regina University

Monday, February 26

Cuban Immigrants in the U.S.

Professor María Cristina García,
Cornell University

Friday, March 9

American Foreign Policy in Cuba

Professor Piero Gleijeses,
Johns Hopkins University

Monday, March 12

Race Relations in Cuba's Current Political Climate

Professor Tiffany Mitchell,
Georgetown University



Berkeley Anthropologists Honored

At the November 2000 American Anthropological Association conference in San Francisco, special awards were presented to two members of UC Berkeley's faculty, both of whom have conducted extensive research in Latin America. Professor Laura Nader received the Distinguished Lecture Award, presenting a lecture entitled "Anthropology!" Professor Nancy Scheper-Hughes, a former Chair of CLAS, received the J.I. Staley Prize from the School of American Research. The prize honors the best writing in anthropology,

and was awarded in recognition of the book *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*, widely regarded as a classic in Latin Americanist anthropology. Reproduced below is an excerpt from Prof. Scheper-Hughes' acceptance speech.

...This was obviously not an easy book to research or write and often in the process of doing so, I preferred not to. I would have preferred to find that Brazilian carnival was a transgressive and liberatory ritual for women as well as men. Or that my friends and key informants Biu, Tonieta, Black Irene and Lourdes were not fooled by the debt peonage system that trapped them like so many rabbits in bonds of dependency on "bosses" who would eventually eat them. Or that hungry and angry sugar cane workers were not willing to swallow the tranquilizers provided in bad faith by "false" doctors to silence their "*dilirios de fome*" — their hunger madness. I would have preferred to find that Alto mothers did not have to make



Above:
Prof. Nancy Scheper-Hughes with Dona Biu, one of the founders of UPAC, Union for the People of Alto do Cruzeiro. Biu's life was cut short during the cholera epidemic of 1993.

Right:
Prof. Scheper-Hughes with Irene, field assistant and another founding member of UPAC, the association of squatters in the Alto do Cruzeiro, Brazil



the mortal choices they did so that a few of their children and so they themselves could survive. I would have preferred to find that the dual processes of democratization and the economic globalization had opened up new spaces of citizenship and participation rather than released one of the worst phases of “social hygiene” in virulent death squad attacks on local street children in the small market town I call Bom Jesus da Mata. And I would have preferred to find that the “liberation theology” Church was not mired in its own contradictions about sexuality, gender, and reproduction.

In short, I would have preferred to write happier, or at least more uplifting narratives about love and death in the sugar plantation zone of Pernambuco, Northeast Brazil. But critical medical anthropologists are pathologists of the human condition, and we tend to see and to interpret society through the fevered lens of sickness, social suffering, and death, of which there has always been a surfeit in the Brazilian Nordeste. And so, *Death without Weeping* followed the tangled paths through which a vulnerable population of rural wage laborers, subjected to both local and global “institutions of violence,” were sometimes forced into playing the role of their own executioners. Identifying such terrible links is risky business for it can be easily (mis-) construed as “victim blaming” rather than seen as a primary task of the “negative intellectual worker” in the Gramscian and (Paulo) Freirian senses. And, in the end I had to accept that survival itself was enough to celebrate with those in the shantytown of Alto do Cruzeiro who could still dance in the face of death.

...I have often quoted Sir Raymond Firth's dictum that anthropology is an “uncomfortable science” for, I fear that I have made a great many people “uncomfortable” with what I have written. Obviously, writing about the other should never be taken lightly, and our writings should also “trouble” the author, make her uncomfortable, and open to salutary criticism and to bouts of existential doubt and to what my brother George likes to call hermeneutic pain.

Ethnography is a subversive practice both in the field and “after the facts” of fieldwork as

we struggle to speak truth to power and to violence and to foster respect for human dignity in difficult spaces. One always dares to hope that ethnography is good for something. And, I was pleased to learn just a few weeks ago that my research and my book were useful to a broad group of local human rights activists in Bom Jesus who have just succeeded in the identification and arrest of several prominent, powerful, and wealthy local figures who are being charged with the deaths of more than 100 local street children, all of them poor, and most of them Black. Local activists now refer to the killings as a localized form of “ethnic cleansing,” though I have used the terms “small wars and invisible genocides” to describe these same activities.

...Anthropologists are a restless and nomadic tribe, hunters and gatherers of human values. Often we go to a-far in search of better ways to live. And despite the difficult topics I have dealt with, I have so often found spaces of intense conviviality and solidarity that nourish and sustain long after the active phase of fieldwork is over.

Finally — a frank admission. Though I have lived and worked as a politically engaged anthropologist in many communities — Gees Bend, Alabama, “Ballybran” rural Ireland, Chris Hani squatter camp in South Africa, “Los Cocos” AIDS sanatorium in Havana — it is always to the Brazilian shantytown of Alto do Cruzeiro that I return, as if tethered to a long, invisible, but tough piece of string, with me the errant and wandering red balloon, inevitably tugged and pulled back down to earth by the people I know and love best in the sugar fields of Northeast Brazil.

So, on behalf of the *moradores* and survivors of the Alto do Cruzeiro, who have shared their lives and a great many stories with me, and to whom my family and I will return this summer, applying the Staley prize to the new human rights ventures there and to a project they have long hoped to realize, a rehabilitation of the meeting hall and cooperative day nursery of UPAC, the Union of the People of Alto do Cruzeiro, Crucifix Hill, thank you.

— Nancy Scheper-Hughes

Francisco Leal Discusses Colombia's Conflict

by Leah Carroll

Civil wars and internal armed conflicts, once common across Latin America, appear on the wane today — everywhere except Colombia, that is, where the decades-long violent confrontation between government forces, guerrillas, and paramilitary groups shows no signs of abating. Indeed, the situation in that country does not fit neatly into any pre-established model of violent armed conflict in Latin America. It also defies easy solutions, as Colombian scholar Francisco Leal emphasized in his December presentation at CLAS.

A professor of political science and sociology at the University of the Andes in Bogotá, Leal is widely respected as a voice for moderation in a conflict that has increasingly polarized Colombian society. After 7 years of education and training within the Colombian military, Leal spent 11 years studying sociology at the National University of Colombia and then at the University of Wisconsin-Madison — precisely in the tumultuous years between 1963 and 1974. His varied background makes him uniquely qualified to present a balanced account of this conflict that so frequently defies categorization.

At CLAS, Prof. Leal presented a careful and nuanced analysis entitled “Plan Colombia: Origin and Evolution.” While offering no easy solutions nor identifying clear heroes — because there are none of either in Colombia — he presented a lucid explanation

of why Plan Colombia arose when it did, which interests have shaped it, and why it is, in his view, bound to fail. Overall, Leal explained that he is pessimistic about Plan Colombia's ability to resolve the problems of insurgency and drug trafficking in Colombia largely because it has been crafted in response to U.S., rather than Colombian, interests. He suggested that these problems might best be addressed by addressing consumer-country demand for drugs, as the drug economy is the lifeblood of both the guerrilla movement and the paramilitaries.

Grappling with the problems in contemporary Colombia requires some understanding of their complex history. The country's guerrilla movement now holds the dubious honor of being the oldest in the hemisphere, having begun in the mid-1960's as an offshoot of a bloody civil war known simply as *La Violencia* and grown steadily since. The early 1980's witnessed a moment of optimism, as the largest guerrilla group, the FARC, began to engage in efforts to build political space through the tools of liberal democracy, and some smaller guerrilla groups demobilized entirely. Despite these early successes, however, the panorama soon darkened. Fed largely by the rapidly growing ranks of cocaine traffickers aiming to legitimize themselves by investing in cattle-ranching land, paramilitary activity escalated against

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Colombian army soldiers secure a tarp on their cannon ship to protect against rain during a weeklong operation on the Putumayo River. Photo by Julie Plasencia, *San Francisco Chronicle*



Francisco Leal Discusses Colombia's Conflict

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the insurgents and their liberal democratic experiment. As Prof. Leal explained, this led to two major negative consequences. First, some of the guerrilla groups — the ELN and especially the FARC — soon withdrew from politics, adopting a purely militaristic strategy. Second, by 1989-1991 the emergent “narco-paramilitary” groups had acquired sufficient strength and autonomy to enter into direct conflict with the state, bringing the situation to the verge of crisis.

The 1990's saw a steady strengthening of the ELN and especially the FARC guerrilla groups. Meanwhile, paramilitary activity also expanded. Both the insurgency and the paramilitary began to receive funds from the burgeoning cocaine economy — the guerrillas from taxes on production in the coca-growing zones, and the paramilitary from trafficker support. The guerrillas also derived funds from the kidnapping and extortion of landowners, while the paramilitary relied on the support of large landowners and business owners.

As the violence deepened, so too did calls for its resolution: in Colombia's most recent presidential election, peace was the central issue and Plan Colombia the main promise. Yet as Prof. Leal explained, the early versions of Plan Colombia were something like a Colombian Marshall Plan. The idea first espoused by President Pastrana emphasized dialogue and the peace process, political reform, the strengthening of the judiciary, and the modernization of the military. It also sought to substitute the growth of illegal drug crops with legitimate ones by supporting the legal peasant economy, providing campesinos a way to feed their families without becoming enmeshed in the drug trade.

Yet according to Leal, these early understandings of what would eventually become Plan Colombia fell rapidly under the influence of the United States, which exercised “coercive diplomacy” to influence the program's content and objectives. By mid-1999, the first written version of Plan Colombia was drafted — in English, it appears. In addition to the original elements, a new one had been added: an anti-drug strategy that went beyond crop substitution. In early 2000, over the objections of the U.S. and international human rights community, Plan Colombia was overwhelmingly approved by the U.S. Senate. A total of \$1.3 billion was allocated to the Plan, about 70-80% of which was for military aid, despite the Colombian Army's dismal record on human rights and its history of complicity in paramilitary abuses.

Leal explained that the original negotiations had called for other nations, especially the European countries and Japan, to supply another \$3.5 million in aid. Yet Europe had envisioned a peace plan rather

than a plan for war, and became increasingly critical of the Plan's military emphasis — especially since the U.S. aid is earmarked largely for the purchase of U.S.-made arms and chemical defoliants. As Leal noted, Plan Colombia has become a way to advance U.S. interests rather than solving Colombia's problems: “The strategy adopted by [the U.S. participation in] Plan Colombia is part of the concept of National Security for the American Hemisphere, in which drug trafficking is considered the main threat since the Cold War ended. In this way, the urgencies and necessities of the U.S. have been imposed, and they will continue to be imposed, given the enormous capacity of the U.S. to put its own priorities forward.”

Prof. Leal is deeply pessimistic about the effects of Plan Colombia on all aspects of the current Colombian crisis. In particular, he argued that the aerial spraying of crops with chemical defoliants — described as the “central axis” of the plan — was bound to fail. According to official statistics cited by Leal, chemical eradication has been used since the early 1980's. Despite extensive aerial spraying, coca production has increased dramatically during this period, from 25,000 hectares in 1981 to 120,000 hectares in 1999. Not only has the spraying failed to deter the growth of illegal drugs, it has wreaked havoc on the environment and caused damage and disease among the civilian population in the affected areas. Its expansion only promises to deepen these negative effects.

The future of the peace process is uncertain, Leal argued, yet a number of signs point to an intensification of the conflict, a context in which drug trafficking is bound to thrive. Pastrana's peace overtures have merely strengthened the guerrilla forces. Meanwhile, the paramilitary groups have continued to expand, supported by drug traffickers and large landowners who see them as a way to compensate for the ineffectiveness of the Army. Rather than poised for peace, Leal said, the country braces itself for the next outbreak of lethal violence.

While few things are clear about the Colombian conflict, the immense human suffering it has caused is undeniable. U.S. press accounts cite a total of 35,000 dead and 1.5 million displaced. A steady string of massacres has occurred, the majority of them at the hands of paramilitary groups, and Plan Colombia offers virtually no solution to such problems. Rather, Leal argued, by making Colombia the stage for anti-drug efforts designed in Washington, the Plan will continue to force Colombians to bear the burden of the bloodletting, instead of addressing the crucial element of U.S. demand for drugs. **n**

Leah Carroll earned her Ph.D. from Berkeley's sociology department, where her dissertation focused on political reform and social conflict in rural Colombia.



Many farms like this one in Mexicali Valley, Mexico, face problems with water treatment.
Photo by Lina Katz

Pablo Salazar on the Transition

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collaborator of peace, a facilitator. My affirmation is that war came to Chiapas because of bad governments. I want the peace to come because of a good one. That's my job."

— — —
"What is happening with indigenous culture? Well, the culture is more alive than ever. The indigenous people are assuming a more participatory dimension in my country and in the world. In fact, there is a whole international movement that has established that given the disappearance of the old paradigms, the new subject of history today is the Indian.

"...The challenge is how to effectively combine the force of tradition with modernity. In my opinion, modernity should not alter identity. In my opinion to modernize is to be ourselves, but part of a new reality. This is the way to preserve our identity... the challenge is to conduct globalization, a globalization from the rural communities. To incorporate our communities with what they know how to do, with their artisanry, their abilities, their work in the fields, their production, so that they can share with the world what they're making."

Victor Lichtinger

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To remedy these problems, Lichtinger proposed two major water policy changes. He would first reduce government support for irrigation water. This action would have two effects: a reduction of farmers' demand for water, which would free up water for urban areas, and an increase in funding available for new municipal water projects to serve poor areas. Changing the subsidy status quo is likely to be politically difficult. But, as Lichtinger noted, "there are ways to do it — and now, during Fox's honeymoon with the Mexican people, is the time to do it."

The second water management change that Lichtinger hopes to see is increased private investment in the construction and operation of Mexico's water infrastructure. "We do not want to give up control over water, but water supply and waste water treatment can be done more efficiently by the private sector," he said. Water supply privatization programs and their subsequent rate increases have prompted riots in several Latin American cities this year. Yet Lichtinger is optimistic that Mexican citizens will see the benefits. "We do not have [potable] water, so it is easy to understand that you need to pay for good quality water." ■

Ezequiel Minaya is pursuing a joint master's degree in journalism and Latin American studies. His interests include Mexican labor and environmental politics. Jim Downing is a Ph.D. student in the Energy and Resources Group who studies water development in the Americas.



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