"Você entende, né, companheiro?"

Notes on the 2002 election in Brazil
By Michael Jensen, Masters student in Political Science

"Lula will turn Brazil into a nuclear power!" The National Post (Canada) was way off the mark and several months later with this extreme statement, made the day after the historic election of Luiz Ignácio Lula da Silva as President of Brazil. Such hyperbolic alarm was common in the period before the first round of elections held on October 6. But in the intervening three weeks before the runoff on October 27, a broad and unprecedented alliance rallied behind Lula and provided the socialist Workers Party (PT) candidate with the largest vote in Brazilian history.

Lula’s vote was the largest for a Presidential candidate in Brazil’s history and was nearly twice the vote of his opponent, José Serra (PSDB). In both the first and second rounds, Lula lost only in the state of Alagoas. In the state of Rio de Janeiro, he gained 79% of the vote (and 81% in the capital). However, Lula’s vote was also twice the vote that PT candidates for governor received, with the party winning only 3 of 24 contested states. Analysts saw this as a case of "Lulismo" or the "onda Lula"; his image carried him at the same time that voters disagreed with specific PT proposals or viewed some PT-led state administrations as flawed. Still, the party did well in Congressional elections, becoming the largest party in the House and moving past the PSDB in the Senate.

Lula’s allies were exultant. Party members flooded the streets, especially in São Paulo and Rio. Two “elder statesmen” among leftist economists, Celso Furtado and Maria do Conceição Tavares, met with Lula to pass along their congratulations.

Holiday for Cesar Chávez
By Coralee Anderson
Masters student in Latin American Studies and Business Management

On the morning of Wednesday November 6th, I was, for the first time, ashamed to be a New Mexican. The very state that has the notoriety of predicting the winning presidential candidate had failed to honor a champion of the oppressed. City Councilor Miguel Gomez, from Albuquerque’s Westside District 1, shared my grief. “I couldn’t believe it! Cesar Chávez is one of our great hero’s.”

Cesar was a man who spoke for those with no voice and no political power. Every farm worker who has ever suffered from back pain from a short handled hoe; those who have worked without food, water or restroom facilities for little or no pay; every man, woman and child who has gotten cancer from

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Letter From The President

Dear Las Noticias Estudiantiles
Readers,

This semester has been full of activities and events that SOLAS has been involved with. In October SOLAS participated in the MODEL OAS (organization of American States) conference in San Antonio Texas, (read more about the conference on page13) SOLAS has also sponsored and co-sponsored several events with El Centro de la Raza, and will continue to do so with other organizations on campus.

The Brown Bag Lecture Series this year has hosted some very interesting and prestigious speakers that have covered differing areas of Latin America. SOLAS will continue to host speakers, who will cover different and unique issues dealing with Latin America. Upcoming speakers include: Dr. Randy Thornhill, who will be giving a presentation on his research concerning issues of beauty in Dominica, and Andrea Heckman who will be giving a slide presentation on Trekking in Peru. I would also like to give special thanks to the film committee for showing some great film this year, and I would like to recognize our SOLAS soccer team for a great season. I look forward to next season.

One of the new things SOLAS has started is our Readers Club. This semester we have read and discussed articles on religion, politics, and history. Next semester we will start off by reading and discussing an article entitled, “The Role of Islam in World History.” After that, we will enter our philosophy phase and discuss four articles that deal with philosophical issues, followed by works of literature.

Finally, I would like to thank all those who have supported SOLAS throughout the year.

Ignacio Martinez
SOLAS President

LATIN AMERICAN AND IBERIAN INSTITUTE
STUDY ABROAD OPPORTUNITIES

The Latin American and Iberian Institute announces various options for studying in Latin America and Iberia. Students may attend either a One-on-One Exchange Program and pay UNM tuition before they go (scholarships may apply), or may attend Short-Term programs lasting between 2-6 weeks and pay tuition directly to the program. Students are responsible for all travel, housing (approximately $400 per month, with a family), medical insurance, books, and incidental expenses. Tuition fellowships are available for Short-Term Summer sessions. Spanish fluency required for One-on-One Exchange programs unless noted. One-on-One exchange students must have a GPA of 3.0 and completed 50 credit hours. All students may receive UNM credit for most courses by means of a credit transfer, unless noted.

For additional information contact Robyn Côté or Mia Chávez at the Latin American and Iberian Institute, 801 Yale NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131-1016. Tel. 277-2961 or 277-6843, FAX 277-5989.
E-mail: rcmote@unm.edu. Web: http://laii.unm.edu
tions and offer advice. Tavares came out of the meeting saying she was filled with “great hope” for the new administration and that they had discussed the need to create a close relationship among the Banco do Brasil, BNDES (the Brazilian development bank), and the administration in order to improve Brazil’s trade performance. Eduardo Suplicy, PT Senator from São Paulo, said he thought Lula was like Juscelino Kubitschek, who defied his critics to create the new capital of Brasília in five years, as promised. Suplicy said Lula would rid Brazil of hunger and poverty in the same way, but to do this, the main issue would be governability. On a humbler (and wiser) level, some of Lula’s compañheiros in the metalworkers union said that Lula the unionist was not the same as Lula the President. The PT could not run things by itself or for itself; Lula would have to negotiate, especially with international actors—“but without submitting to imperialism.”

The political fallout from the elections is still settling. In the immediate aftermath, some analysts suggested that the PSDB might make significant changes. The party was founded by Cardoso, Serra and the former governor of São Paulo, Covas, who died last year. There was some brief speculation that with the passing of the founders the party might rejoin the PMDB, from which it had split off. However, the party seems to have collected itself. Party leaders claim that the election was actually a victory for social democracy, not socialism, because Lula campaigned using PSDB rhetoric. They are now speaking of the need to form an opposition bloc in the Congress, made up of the four coalition members of the Cardoso administration—the PSDB, PMDB, PFL, and PPR—despite some serious breach with the PFL and some lesser disagreements with the PMDB during the campaign.

The Cardoso coalition partners still have a majority in Congress, with 288 House seats and 60 in the Senate. So far, they have stressed that they want to cooperate in order to maintain governability. They are also quick to assert that they will stand firm on issues important to them. Antônio Carlos Magalhães, a dominant figure in both Northeastern and national politics, said that no one can afford to oppose Lula just to be in opposition, but the opposition won’t simply go along with everything he wants, either. What is clear is that the PT and the PMDB have decided how to divide the Congressional leadership, with the PT getting the presidency of the House and the PMDB the Senate.

Given the situation in the Congress, one of the overriding concerns for Lula and the PT is “governability.” Lula quickly focused much of his post-election talks around this issue, saying that he wanted to create a broad alliance that would ensure the calm management of the country. He stressed that he wanted strong institutional support, rather than ad hoc agreements, and seemed to offer an opening toward working closely with the PMDB, the party with the most seats in Congress. One transition member said that the Lula admin-

Letter From the Editor

Dear Las Noticias Readers,

Sahudos! I hope that everyone has had a smooth semester and that finals have not been too stressful.

I hope that you will enjoy reading this issue of Las Noticias. For many of us watching the news, Lula’s victory in Brazil is hopeful and exciting. Make sure to read Michael Jensen’s article, “Você entende, né, companheiro?” on the cover page. Locally, the vote not to make Cesar Chávez Day an official New Mexico Holiday was a disappointment for many. Read Coralee Anderson’s article, “Holiday for Cesar Chávez” on the front page.

SOLAS members had some interesting debates this semester. Check out Charles Hardy’s article on his talk on Venezuela at UNM this Fall (page 10) and my article on Cultural Appropriation and the Día de los Muertos Debate. (page 7).

Take note of the art submissions by Dylan Miner and poetry by James M. Aranda. Thank you to everyone who submitted works to make this issue of Las Noticias a success. A special thanks to Las Noticias co-editors Rachel Archer and Sue Taylor.

Have a great break and a wonderful holiday season!

Sandra Ortsman
“Você entende, né, companheiro?” Notes on the 2002 election in Brazil
By Michael Jensen, Masters student in Political Science

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...estratification will follow a two-phase voting process that will first pursue projects with a common interest between the PT and the PSDB, following these votes with votes on projects of particular interest to the PT itself.

One of the most striking aspects of the election was the role of the business and finance sectors. Whatever alarm and opposition that existed in Brazil before the first round disappeared after Lula overwhelmed José Serra. Everyone, it seemed, “knew” that Lula was going to win and everyone was eager to offer advice and, if possible, participate in the transition. The head of CST (steel) gave a vote of confidence and support and noted that the election was important for the democratic process in Brazil. The finance director of Sadia, the leading agribusiness firm, said that the food industry hopes it has a “companheiro on our side who defends a hunger program.” The head of CNI (National Industrial Confederation) said it was “positive” towards Lula and wanted “open dialog.” The president of CVRD (another steel firm) said things will improve under Lula because, “Lula is a leader. The country supports him. He has a vision of what needs to be done.” Febraban (banking federation) said it is working with the PT transition team on the proposed Economic and Social Development Council. Summing up this love-fest in the business community for Lula, the president of Fiesp (São Paulo Industry Federation) said that the election had provided a “moment of national unity,” in which all sectors of society had to give Lula a vote of confidence in order to create credibility for his government, both domestically and internationally. He defended Lula’s idea of a “social pact” and said that if government, business, and labor all give up a little, the plan could work: “It appears to me,” he said, “that we are mature enough to do this.”

Internationally, the response was similar. The IMF’s president, Kohler, said the election showed how “vibrant” Brazil’s democracy was and that the strong numbers gave Lula a “historic opportunity” to meet Brazil’s social and economic demands. The World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank both said they want to discuss new spending on social programs with Lula and the PT leadership. Latifex, the group of investors in Latin American stocks on the Macrod stock exchange, sent an invitation for a PT representative to attend their November meeting. And Klaus Schwartz, one of the founders of the World Economic Forum, also invited Lula to the next meeting in January saying that Lula’s victory will help create a more just globalization. Even US Trade Representative Robert Zoellick was gracious, saying that the Bush administration would be “patient;” of course, Treasury Secretary O’Neill said he wanted to wait and see whether Lula was “crazy” or not.

One of the statements made repeatedly before the election was that a Lula victory would signal the end of the neo-liberal orthodoxy that has reigned in the region for nearly 20 years. However, one of the leaders of the PSDB aid that the election was not about voters being tired of the model; rather, politicians need to reflect on the model and revise it where necessary. An analyst for Standard and Poor argued that Lula needed to continue the austerity measures of the PSDB to complete the structural reforms. Although this would require a strong coalition, she did not believe it would be unpopular because the reforms are already improving things and because Lula has immense political capital. As already noted, the PSDB leadership believes that Lula won by campaigning on their themes. An eminent sociologist, Anthony Giddens (from the British socialist school), wrote after the election that Lula needed to follow a “Third Way,” neither populist nor statist, and respect investor interests since Brazil will need international help to solve its problems, most immediately its debt problem. Still, the governor-elect of São Paulo, Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB), declared that the election had created a “new moment” and immediately announced the dissolution of the State Program of Privatization (“Desestatização”) and its replacement with the State Program for Development, a partnership among municípios, the federal government, NGOs, and civil society.

Lula has proposed a “social offensive” while at the same time keeping expenses under control. The main components of the “Projeto Lula” are reforming the tax system (a perennially divisive goal), increasing access to credit, creating jobs, raising the minimum wage, going on the “political offensive” to increase Brazil’s trade surplus by pushing exports and “judiciously” applying “competitive” import substitution, and ending hunger through the Fome Zero program. He has also talked about strengthening Mercosur’s role as well as bilateral and multilateral arrangements. He is withholding judgment about the FTAA, although a PT representative at the Quito meeting said he was impressed by the opening remarks of the Venezuelan Secretary-General of the OAS, who spoke about “globalization with solidarity” and an “FTAA with solidarity,” which presumably is not the way the Bush administration envisions these things. One very significant fact is that Lula will be able to name five Supreme Court justices (almost half) in his four-year term, four in the first year. Combined with an announced plan to reorganize the Federal (Military) Police, this could have a deep impact on the impunity that surrounds so much organized and informal crime and injustice.

At the heart of Lula’s message is the “social pact.” He has warned his followers that his goals will have to be reached “sem mágica nem milagre”: (without magic or miracle). In his first speech following the election, he praised those “heroes” who died defending their rights and called the election a victory for the millions outside the party who voted for

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him from the popular class, the middle class, some important parts of business, social movements, and unions. "Hope conquered fear," he declared, and said that all these millions can join to combat poverty and defend the national interest." He defended the fact that the PT sought broad alliances with both the left and the right during the campaign in order to win and said that his administration will also seek broad consensus. He said that while he, as President, will have to learn how to say "I" instead of "we" when making decisions, the party will have to learn to share power and decision-making with others if it wants to get its program through.

The main Portuguese paper said that carrying out his program would be like "squeezing the circle"—because everyone from poor to rich, big business to civil servants, will demand something from the new government. Some pressure will clearly come from business, which is why they all jumped on the bandwagon in the three weeks after the first round election. The food industry, for example, while declaring Lula a "companheiro" said it would be good if he reduced taxes on the industry (at almost 35% while the EU's rates run from 0-8%) and enforced quality and health provisions against (most) informal sector competition. And many claims will likely be made in the name of "investor confidence." The states and major cities also see a change in government as an opportunity to push for a renegotiation of the debt owed by sub-national units to the federal government. Lula has said he wants to declare a "peace accord" with the states after the heated relationship some state governors had with the Cardoso government. This may have eased tensions. Marta Supliche (PT mayor of São Paulo), who was once a leading proponent of renegotiation, has now said that there are other ways to deal with the problem. Others have also said the issue is not so intractable, but Lula's VP, from the rightist PL party, stated that some reform of state-federal finances is needed.

However, the strongest pressure is likely to come from allies of the PT, or from factions within the party. Radicals within the PT, the Força Socialista, which has about 30% of the party and 26 of the 91 PT seats in the House, has already announced that it will no longer hold back the way it did in the campaign. They want a break with the current political economy and argue that Lula will have to choose very soon between meeting pent up social demands and honoring the contracts with the IMF. More specifically, they want increased pay for public servants and a huge increase in the minimum wage. Lula has already said that the 2003 budget, which is set by the Cardoso government, will not allow for such increases, despite campaign pledges to raise pay. This position has led the Força Sindical to declare that Lula will face "fierce opposition" if he does not raise the minimum wage significantly. The MST (landless movement) has said that it will slow the pace of occupations, but expects Lula's government to change the agrarian model away from exports and to undertake a major redistribution of land. The education union, Fasubra, also wants a large increase in its wages during current negotiations, stating, "Our relationship with Lula is institutional. The election is over and we have our demands."

In general, social movements are faced with a dilemma, caught between traditional support for the PT and Lula and wanting to make demands on the new government. They will likely have a difficult time finding a balance in dealing with the Lula government for this reason. On his side, Lula has some advantages. Public servants belong to the CUT (the Worker Central Union), as do 60% of all unions allied with a central union. This also includes petroleum workers, who handed Cardoso a major defeat in his first administration. The PT runs the CUT. Lula also won with a decisive majority—mandate by any measure. And he is closely identified with those making social demands. This provides the possibility that a Lula-PT government could lay the ground for a new way of governing in Brazil that is based on alliances between civil society and the State. Certainly Lula talks in these terms. There may be more strikes and land occupations in the beginning as pent up demands explode. But the tendency under Lula may well be to seek to broaden the partnerships participating in the debates and finding ways to negotiate solutions. The PT has successfully used inclusion and participation at the urban and state level across Brazil. This means that while the social movements are looking for a balanced approach to Lula's government, Lula also faces a balancing act: for him, "governability" means dealing not just with Congress, but also with "the streets," where the social movements get their strength.

In the end, what is at stake in Brazil is not, as everyone says, the neo-liberal model or whether Brazil will confront the IMF. What I think is at stake is whether a government from the Left can succeed in integrating the legacy of structural reforms with programs based on social inclusion and social justice. It rests on Lula's shoulders to define what a New Left might look like in Latin America (and elsewhere: Europe's Left lost much ground in this year's elections). That is a much tougher, but a far more worthy, goal.
Holiday for Cesar Chávez
By Coralee Anderson
Masters student in Latin American Studies and Business Management

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The pesticides in the fields knows who Cesar is. He was their voice, their hero, and their champion. He brought the plight of those who pick our food, to the forefront of the American media with his 25-day fast in 1968 and their slogans echoed: “Boycott Grapes,” “Boycott Lettuce,” and “Boycott Gallo Wine.” How is it that the New Mexican voters do not know who he is or why he deserves to be celebrated?

Many New Mexicans have great grandparents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, or parents who toiled picking fruit, vegetables, and cotton to support their families. Our elders tell how they would pack up for months at a time, leave their homes, schoolmates, and other loved ones to work in the fields during the different harvests. They tell of their degrading treatment by the farm owners, and the subhuman working and living conditions. Cesar Chávez came often to New Mexico, up until the year he died, to speak out for the rights not only of farm workers, but also of all workers. Union Vice President Dolores Huerta was born and spent part of her childhood in Northern New Mexico. She continues to return to New Mexico to speak on important issues just as Cesar would have.

Every now and then I ask people if they know who Cesar Chávez is and I’m always surprised when, despite New Mexico’s heritage, they respond “Oh the boxer they named the street after.” The irony in their wrong mistaken association is that Cesar Estrada Chávez was a man who spoke out for nonviolent resistance. He was in agreement with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Mahatma Gandhi on the power of non-violence. How revealing that many relate the name Cesar Chávez with the Mexican boxing champ, and not the champion for peace and justice. Given that New Mexico is the third most violent state in the nation, according to the 1999 U.S. Census, perhaps it is too much of a stretch to ask the voters to honor a hero of nonviolence.

The recent elections may serve as a wake up call to New Mexicans that there is much work to be done, particularly in the area of education. The original education bill vetoed by Governor Johnson mandated that the State Board of education adopt curriculum to be used in public schools commemorating and teaching about Cesar Chávez and farm workers’ nonviolent struggles for basic rights. The curriculum would educate our children about how Cesar Chávez brought people of all colors together to overcome racism, exploitation, violence, and injustice. We should want our children to learn these values that moved people to action with tolerance, patience, and humor.

The League of Women Voters’ online election guide listed government costs as reasons for why people might vote against a Cesar Chávez holiday. “It became a matter of money, more than the right person to honor. I think that’s where we lost it in the voters’ eyes,” noted State Representative Rick Miera from Albuquerque’s eleventh district, “People didn’t understand what it [the vote] really meant.”

So I have to ask, “Is giving our children a time to honor and learn about a national hero that demanded equality not a good investment of our tax dollars?” On the contrary, our children desperately need a role model of non-violence, of someone willing to fight for justice.

The Cesar Chávez Holiday is not dead, nor are the people who believe in it. New Mexican’s may not have voted for the amendment, but they did vote for a new governor. Richardson is a New Mexican that grew up in Mexico for the first part of his life. Danny Hernandez, Director of District 1, Albuquerque Metropolitan Arroyo Flood Control Authority asked now Lieutenant Governor Elect Diane Denish, “What’s Bill Richardson’s position on signing a bill for a Cesar Chávez Holiday?” She replied that he is very much in favor of it.
Congratulations

December 2002

Latin American Studies Graduates

BA/LAS
Christi Fernandez
Kent Sandelin
Amanda Solter

Graduates:
Deborah Davidson, MA/LAS/LAW
Justin Delacour, MA/LAS
Augken Ingraham, MA/LAS-LAW
Monique Jonaitis, MA/LAS
Kevin Gick, MA/LAS
Adam Kiss, MA/LAS
Ana Mora, MA/LAS-Nursing
Chandria Slaughter, MA/LAS-LAW

CAPOEIRA CLUB

UNM Capoeira Club has been extremely busy. They hosted a weekend long Capoeira event featuring world renowned Mestre Acordeon among many other Mestres, professors, instructors, and students.

The Capoeira Club offers free classes to UNM students of all levels every Thursday night in the aerobics room of the Johnson Center gym, from 8:00 pm to 9:30 pm.

Holiday Jingle for Lula
by Justin Delacour, Masters student in LAS

You better watch out,
You better not try,
You better sell out,
I'm telling you why:
George's spooks are coming to town

They got a black-list, they're checkin' it twice,
They're gonna find out who scorns their advice,
George's spooks are coming to town

They see your peasants squatting,
they want you on the take,
They know when you've moved left or right,
so be a fake for your life's sake

Oh, you better watch out,
you better not try,
You better sell out,
I'm telling you why:
George's spooks are coming to town

SOLAS FUTBOL UPDATE

The fall soccer season came to a close and SOLAS was well represented in the UNM intramural tournament. The team went 2-2 before bowing out in the first round of the playoffs. **Mas allá de los resultados, fue una oportunidad para compartir con nuevos compañeros/as y disfrutar del deporte.** Thanks to all of you who came out and played, and to those showed their support at our games. We are excited for the spring season and are looking into acquiring uniforms, so please submit ideas for a team name, logo and uniform colors. Also, please contact me if you are interested in playing - new players are always welcome. --Gulliver Scott (gulliver@unm.edu)
Cultural Appropriation: SOLAS members plan a Halloween and Day of the Dead Party in One
By Sandra Ortsman, Masters student in Latin American Studies and Community and Regional Planning

The liveliest SOLAS dialogue this semester has been the Day of the Dead - *Día de los Muertos* - conversation. What was intended as a friendly inquiry about whether SOLAS members were interested in a Halloween/Day of the Dead Party turned into a discussion about how the dominant macro-culture appropriates from marginalized and colonized cultures. Although I was not initially very interested in the party one way or another, the discussion became an engaging and thought-provoking opportunity. What are the ethical considerations involved in predominantly Anglo students planning a party for *Día de los Muertos*?

As many SOLAS students of color responded, *Día de los Muertos* is not a holiday intended for parties and beer drinking. It is irresponsible to conflate *Día de los Muertos* with Halloween. Enrique Cardiel, UNM Political Science alumni and representative of Partido Nacional La Raza Unida said, “There’s a difference between dressing up as a muerto/calavera and Halloween costumes.” For those who were not involved in the list serve discussion, some background information is necessary: The initial SOLAS email was sent out announcing a Halloween/Day of the Dead Party and inviting people to work with SOLAS members to plan the party. Miguel Acosta, Community and Regional Planning Graduate Student and staff person at UNM wrote back simply stating that he hoped that *Día de los Muertos did not “turn into a 5 de Mayo style desecration.” It was at this moment that I personally decided to involve myself. I wrote to Miguel encouraging him to get involved with the planning of the event, since he felt so invested or to hold back. Miguel wrote back. He was troubled by my logic and felt that SOLAS has a responsibility to act in a just manner. As he saw it, my logic was elitist and exclusive, suggesting a lack of respect for people’s beliefs. Miguel ended by asking if SOLAS’s position was that “cultural traditions are all worthy objects for appropriation”?

My first response was to feel defensive. After all, I have participated in lots of anti-racist work, have progressive politics, and identify as a Jewish woman in solidarity with people of color. I certainly did not intend to be elitist. And, after all, I had lived in Mexico for almost four years. It freaked me out that I had suddenly found myself on the opposite side of the fence than I am used to being on in relation to issues of social justice. As a new student at UNM, I was particularly worried that people would not see me as an ally. Thankfully, (before replying) I realized that Miguel was providing an opportunity to engage in dialogue about important issues around the responsibilities that Anglo American students who choose to study Latin American studies have. I humbled up and apologized for being insensitive and looked forward to the discussion that SOLAS needed to pursue: Can Anglo American students study Latin American Studies without constant evaluation of the institutional privileges that our subject position provides us?

Some Anglo students, like me, felt that we had not considered this before (at least in this context) and apologized. Yet, there were various types of responses: One Anglo student rushed to my defense and became angry with Miguel. At first I felt relieved to know that not everyone considered me to be saying elitist things, yet this reaction seems to fall into the same pattern of white feelings of entitlement. Miguel was not calling me elitist. He felt that my logic was elitist, and quite frankly, I believe that he was right.

Other students responded by commenting on the history of Day of the Dead and their European claims to legitimacy of *Día de los Muertos*. Political Science Graduate Student, Michael Jenson wrote, “The Catholic Church encountered celebrations of the harvest and of death as it moved into Northern Europe. These took place in the fall and so the Church created first (700s) All Saints Day and then All Souls Day (around 1000) – these were on the 1st and 2nd of November.” I see the issue as bigger than whether or not Christian Anglos can in fact make a legitimate claim to *Día de los Muertos* or All Souls Day. It is not a question of right or wrong. For me, the question is why some students of color feel that their holiday traditions would be poorly celebrated and observed by Anglo students. LAS Graduate Student, Dylan Miner added to the discussion, “Often times, especially in academia, we forget that culture and knowledge are not open for the use of anyone. The idea that Indigenous spiritual celebrations are at ‘our’ disposal extends from a colonial mentality of owning all that is ‘foreign.’”

The discussion made me look at my own power. In the past, when I lived in the Northeast, or when I volunteered in Mexico, people were often putting my back for “taking an interest” in Latin America. I believe that studying Latin American Studies in New Mexico is an incredible opportunity and privilege. However, I believe that its physical proximity to Mexico and its large indigenous and Chicano/a population demand that I evaluate and re-evaluate my relationship to power and my subject identity. Would we as SOLAS members take this opportunity to look in the mirror and hear fellow students cau-

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Cultural Appropriation: SOLAS members plan a Halloween and Day of the Dead Party in One
By Sandra Ortsman, Masters student in Latin American Studies and Community and Regional Planning

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... tion us about continuing a pattern of cultural appropriation? As Enrique Cardiel wrote, "There is a white/assimilated perspective that says 'I have the right to...’ fill in the blank. That right comes at whatever discomfort to others and is supposedly unchallengeable.'"

For students who became angry at Miguel's comments or other fragments of the dialogue that supported his view, we have a responsibility to question our anger and reactionary responses. Why aren't students of color, in this case a Chicano, allowed to get angry without being perceived and judged as irrational? This aspect of the dialogue made me reflect on the words written by black activist, poet, lesbian, warrior and mother Audre Lorde:

Whenever a conscious Black woman raises her voice on issues central to her existence, somebody is going to call her strident, because they don't want to hear about it, nor us. I refuse to be silenced and I refuse to be trivialized, even if I do not say what I have to say perfectly. What I write is important, and I insist that you feel out what you have to say on the subject, and then maybe you can say it better. But it must be heard. I refuse to be silenced, that's right. And I will not allow my work to be trivialized because what I am writing is not only about me; it is about the lives of many voiceless people, and the life of the planet that we share. You can't get rid of me just by saying I'm strident, or I'm too intense, or I'm silly, or I'm crazy, or morbid, or melodramatic: hey, listen, I can be all of those things, and you still must open yourself to what I am talking about, in the interests of our common future... .

In the interest of our common future, it is imperative that we reflect on our responses to the dialogue. One student asked to be removed from the list serve so that he could "concentrate on what is important." People on all sides of the issue were feeling tired of the discussion and I was afraid that we would let this opportunity pass us by without responsibly responding to Miguel's challenge. I felt unsettled. Though we were having this active email discussion, we as an organization never decided what SOLAS should do about the pending party idea.

As part of the list-serve discussion, I suggested that interested parties meet in a Brown Bag forum to engage in an open dialogue about Dia de los Muertos and SOLAS's attitude towards cultural appropriation. I was hoping that we would reach an agreement about what SOLAS should do for Dia de los Muertos. I also hoped that this would be a forum for some bridge building and real listening on the part of Anglo students in Latin American Studies to Chicana/o and Latina/o students in Latin American Studies and other disciplines.

Maybe my expectations were too high, but I was personally disappointed with the meeting. As I perceived it, Anglo students did the majority of the talking. It became a theoretical discussion about the history of Day of the Dead and about whether or not Miguel had overreacted. I felt that there was never a general acknowledgement on the behalf of Anglo-American students present that there are major institutional power imbalances between students of color and non-students of color. While nearly the entire debate focused on Miguel's comments, I wondered why it was even relevant to debate Miguel's personal tactics. The point for me was not about his personal protocol, but the issues he brought to light and a discussion that needs to take place within Latin American Studies on an ongoing basis.

Louie Garcia, an undergraduate Biology major and representative from El Centro de La Raza, came to the meeting and made the suggestion that SOLAS have a Halloween Party since we were really envisioning that anyway. In addition, he suggested that we, as members of SOLAS, attend El Centro's Dia de los Muertos events. El Centro hosted a talk on Dia de los Muertos, an ofrenda, Aztec Dances and other events. Everyone at the meeting agreed that Louie's suggestions were great and I quickly sent out an email updating the list serve on the meeting. I went to El Centro's building of the ofrenda and it was beautiful. It showed me that I clearly had not been considering the spiritual aspects of Dia de los Muertos when I first replied to Miguel. I am grateful to be in an environment where my peers chose to raise awareness about this issue. They could have opted to simply write SOLAS members off as insensitive and racist.

Yet, I still feel somewhat disappointed. I believe that I was the only SOLAS member at that event and to my knowledge very few SOLAS members, Anglo or Latina/o, attended the other El Centro events. Very few people also attended the SOLAS Halloween party and it is hard to speculate if that had to do with general lack of interest, or a frustration with the long dialogue on the list serve. While I did not attend the Halloween party, I was disappointed to see so few SOLAS members attend El Centro's activities. I think it is important that in the future we actively support groups like El Centro de la Raza and other Chicana/o and Latina/o organizations in their campus events. On a personal note, I learned that it is extremely important how I choose to respond to people when they challenge my privilege and my blindness. I hope that this article will motivate Latin American Studies students to continue to think about cultural appropriation and the ethical issues that surround studying Latin American Studies.
SOLAS Speaker on Venezuela Responds to Criticism

On Tuesday, October 28, Charles Hardy gave a presentation at the University of New Mexico about the political standoff in Venezuela between the government of Hugo Chávez and the business-led opposition. Hardy, a former priest who has lived in Venezuela for 17 years, is a Chávez sympathizer. The talk was criticized by some students as being too biased. Charles Hardy later wrote a piece about his experiences at the University of New Mexico. The article is reprinted, with permission from author.

VHeadline.com editorial commentary © by Charles Hardy
VHeadline.com : Monday, November 11, 2002 –

Ten years ago we were all living in cardboard and tin shacks. A few days before leaving Caracas for my speaking engagements at the University of New Mexico, I looked at these three young men, their wives and children, and I couldn't help but feel proud of them. One of them began his computer science studies at the Jesuit's San Jose Obrero technical school in Caracas and then went on, paying his own way, to further his studies. Today he is drawing a good salary. Another owns his own bus with which he provides public transportation. The third is owner of his own small business. They have come a long way in spite of great odds against them. I still see them as barrio kids, but they are really young men and women. It was a privilege to spend a day with them and their families at the beach, recalling old times together and talking about the present and future.

Before we left for the beach, they read my recent editorials that bore the title, A Love (and Hate) Story, Part I, Part II, Part III and Part IV. In those articles I talked about the racism and the abuse of the working class that exists in Venezuela. When they finished, one of the young men said, "Charlie, you are asking for problems. They're not going to like what you are saying." I, in turn, asked him: "But is what I have written true?" He responded immediately, "Yes ... but they are going to say that you are a gringo and will try to discredit what you are saying because of that." I replied, "If it is true, then it should be said."

Little did I realize how quickly his words would come to pass ... I had not even begun my presentation at the University of New Mexico when, I was told afterwards, a small group of young women began raising their hands. Fortunately, they were sitting in the front rows to my far right and I didn't see them. My peripheral vision which was such a help playing basketball as a youth, evidently isn't as good as it used to be and so I gave my presentation without paying attention to them.

When I concluded, however, and looked around the audience for questions, I saw their hands immediately ... they were Venezuelans, studying at the University of New Mexico, who were not in agreement with what I had said, even before I said it. rst, they were upset that an opposition speaker had not been invited also. The young man who organized the event said that he felt news coverage in the United States had been very one-sided against the Chavez Frias government and it was for that reason that I had been invited to present a different perspective. He also said that they, too, could sponsor such an event. One mentioned that education and health services in Venezuela were free long before Chavez Frias became president. They didn't hear me when I mentioned that an elementary school in the barrio where I lived didn't function for two full years in the early 90s or that I knew of expectant mothers who had to share the same bed in a public hospital. Those children and mothers were all beneficiaries of the free public services they spoke about.

One said that not all barrio dwellers were Chavez Frias supporters ... it was difficult to get her to let me agree with her as she held in her hands a list of questions that had been drawn up before they came to the presentation. The fact that I have spent the greater part of 17 years of my adult life in Venezuela didn't seem to count for much ... they were born there ... and yet, in fact, I have lived in Venezuela as an adult for more years than any of them.

(Continued on page 11)
SOLAS Speaker on Venezuela Responds to Criticism

(Continued from page 10)

At the same time, I never felt intimidated by the group. What happened was this: it was the audience that took exception to their demeanor, especially when one of the Venezuelans said that they had prepared the list of questions for me in Spanish. "Why in Spanish?" was the question someone shouted. A good question since all of the Venezuelans spoke English and were studying at an English-speaking university. Was it to try to embarrass me? I don't know, but I did translate one of her questions into English so that the audience could understand it.

Talking to them afterwards, I discovered one had graduated from the public Simon Bolivar university, but anyone who lives in Caracas knows that, while the university is public, the student population is almost entirely made up of graduates of private schools. Recently, since Chavez' election, the university has made an effort to get more students from the public high schools.

Another mentioned that her father is a petroleum engineer who works for PDVSA (the national oil company). Needless to say, PDVSA employees are known for their good salaries and the young lady could hardly be considered as one of the poor struggling Venezuelans that the group tried to represent in their remarks.

One of the students told me that I should read more about what was happening in Venezuela and wrote down an Internet site for me to visit. She had already left when I read her annotation: el-nacional.com. I didn't have the opportunity to tell her that I do regularly take note of what El Nacional is saying... I think it is important to keep up on what is happening in all the political parties in Venezuela: Accion Democratica, COPEI, El Nacional, El Universal, Primero Justicia, etc.

All in all it was a good exchange of ideas and was a small reflection of the different perspectives that exist in Venezuela. Through it all, I was thinking of the young barrio families on the beach last week, whose members have never had the opportunity to study at the Simon Bolivar University or the University of New Mexico.

But is it true, I had asked. Yes, they had replied. But they're not going to like what you are saying.

Editors Note: I put a request on the SOLAS list serve for students who were upset with Hardy's talk to write an article for Las Noticias, and I personally invited one of the students who openly expressed her opposition at the talk to write an article. She declined saying that she felt Las Noticias was not an appropriate forum for her to write.

The Angry Brown Poets Just Got Angrier: Raw Pulls their Funding from Event

By Sandra Ortsman, Masters student in Latin American Studies and Community and Regional Planning

The plans were made and the agreements were sealed. Friday, November 1st at the 4th Street Mall, The Angry Brown Poets were to host "Día de Los Muertos Celebration 2002." The event was to be co-sponsored by Raw Cocktail and Sushi and the Downtown Action Team. Admission to the event was free and organizers were to receive donations of non-perishable food items, toiletries and winter clothes to benefit Healthcare for the Homeless.

What a cool idea. The schedule of events included: Danza Azteca, traditional and contemporary Mexican and Latin American music, poetry, a short play about Día de los Muertos, and music by popular Albuquerque band, Concepto Tambor.

So what happened? At 4pm on the day of the event, Raw withdrew their funding. At the last minute, Raw management decided that they would not make enough money from the event and therefore they did not want to hold up their end of the agreement. I arrived at the event around 6pm and was confused when I saw that nothing was going on. One of the event organizers, James M. Aranda, explained that after all the agreements had been made, Raw decided against funding the event.

Several of us went inside to ask Raw why they pulled their support, and to express our disappointment. The manager was extremely aloof and said that he "preferred to donate his money directly to the homeless organizations." When I asked if that was what he planned to do, he did not answer. This raises for me the issue of responsibility. Raw had an obligation to fulfill their agreement, not just to the event organizers but also to the community who looked forward to the event. This would have been an incredible mix of cultural content, fun and benefit for people who are homeless.

I am someone who chooses to support local businesses and I know that they struggle to make profits, but local businesses have a responsibility to keep their word and also play a role in making downtown Albuquerque a diverse and vibrant place. I feel that Raw owes us an apology and I for one, will not be eating any of their sushi for a long time to come. If you feel the same way, let the owners of Raw know how you feel: 405 Central Ave NW or Call: 505-242-5389. As Albuquerque residents, it is our responsibility to hold businesses accountable for what they agree to.
“La Extradición” de Carlos Castaño y “Negociaciones de Paz” con los Paramilitares en Colombia: Preludio a Otro Gran Sainete Colombiano
Por Juan Carlos Vallejo, Latin American and Iberian Institute

Era de esperarse. Una vez puesto el Señor Oscurro de Colombia en su trono –me refiero al Presidente Uribe-, las cosas no tardarían en tomar ese tenuebroso matiz virulento con que están rodeadas todas sus actuaciones, desde tiempos no muy lejanos, como cuando siendo Gobernador de Antioquia, patentó las “CONVIVIR”, grupos paramilitares de justicia privada, similares a los que operaron en Guatemala y El Salvador.

Ahora, el Señor Oscurro de Colombia, actuando con un poder casi omnimundo, otorgado por el establecimiento y su gran prensa, ha restringido las libertades civiles declarando la Conmoción Interior e invirtiendo el principio de la presunción de inocencia en presunción de sospecha: afirma de esperarse. Una vez puesto el Señor Oscurro de Colombia en su trono –me refiero al Presidente Uribe-, las cosas no tardarían en tomar ese tenuebroso matiz virulento con que están rodeadas todas sus actuaciones, desde tiempos no muy lejanos, como cuando siendo Gobernador de Antioquia, patentó las “CONVIVIR”, grupos paramilitares de justicia privada, similares a los que operaron en Guatemala y El Salvador.

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No era entonces de extrañar, que en esta espiral de sangre y muerte, se inventaran el sainete de “la extradición a Estados Unidos” del sanguinario Carlos Castaño, psicopata y aventajado alumno del mercenario israelí Jair Klein, prófugo de “la justicia” colombiana, en donde aprendió, con hujo de detalles, el uso de la motosierra para “poner a cantar” a inermes personas que mutiló mientras las interrogaba. Inmediatamente, el gobierno y el sector más militarista de la Iglesia Católica, en cabeza del cardenal Pedro Rubiano, corrieron a iniciar “diálogos de paz” con los paramilitares. Un diálogo entre amigos.

Esa “extradicción”, que huele más a impunidad, al igual que esos “diálogos de paz”, ahogaría el grito de miles de familias que clamaban justicia, en un país que, como Colombia, esa palabra hace parte del ritual circense de “democracia”, en que unas pocas familias, distribuidas en dos partidos, se reparten las riquezas y los puestos, hacen las leyes a su amáño, para luego preguntar: “¿Y por qué salieron los narcotraficantes de Cali y Carlos Arturo Marulanda?”, y terminan por echarle el agua sucia al más débil: ¡Un Juez de la República! Que desde la escuela de derecho le enseñan: “La Ley no tiene corazón y el que se lo pone, prevaricó”. Así que el pobre funcionario queda en la picota pública por fallar “en derecho” con las leyes que hicieron los mismos que hoy lo juzgan.

Extraditar a los Estados Unidos a Carlos Castaño, le ofrecería la posibilidad de ser juzgado sólo por narcotráfico y nunca por los crímenes de lesa humanidad que durante tanto años –con la benevolencia del establecimiento colombiano-cometió y comete a diario, contra profesores, defensores de derechos humanos, sindicalistas, periodistas, estudiantes, luchadores populares, campesinos, indígenas, dirigentes políticos de izquierda, entre muchos otros. Los diálogos de paz entre el establecimiento y los paramilitares, son diálogos entre amigos, cómplices, con la única urgencia de “legalizar” a los informantes encapuchados y soldados campesinos. Y evitar, de igual manera, que Carlos Castaño pueda ser juzgado, tarde que temprano, por la Corte Penal Internacional. Corte con la cual, con sólo escuchar su nombre, los grandes criminales palidecen.

7. “Sigue en su cargo el general Rodrigo Quiñones, agregado militar en Israel, quien fue despedido de su visa de ingreso a E. U.” El Tiempo, 26 Noviembre, 2002. p 1
8. Zafata, Felipe. “¿Dónde está el Fisco?” El Espectador, 24 Noviembre 2002
SOLAS Students Attend Model Organization of American States (OAS) Conference
By Laura Fausto, Masters student in Latin American Studies

On November 7, 2002, a group of 6 SOLAS graduate students packed themselves into a (small) van to begin the long trip to San Antonio, Texas, for the 2002 Model OAS conference. Students involved were: Ignacio Martinez, our fearless leader; Glenn Butler, our vivacious Ambassador; David Stout, strong and silent; Coralee Anderson, a most impressive networking queen; Lana Ludwig, cool and collected; and me, Laura Fausto, research and parli-pro junkie. The journey down was a great time to get to know each other, and a chance for any last minute prep work for the conference. We arrived at the hotel, just as the first international meeting was to start. Upon receiving our (very official) flags and ID badges, we jumped right into the work of the conference. The weekend was non-stop.

The first night was filled with frantic energy as all of the delegations finished up work for their resolutions to be proposed to one of 5 committees: Human Rights, Judicial, Drug Enforcement, Economics, and Security. Each proposal, based on actual policies of the various nations, needed the support of the other 5 delegations to be submitted. It was time to meet students from other schools and to find out what other delegates thought about our ideas, in the midst of our frantic writing.

Then, the conference truly began. We, the Bolivian Delegates, dressed in our professional best, presented ourselves at the first General Assembly meeting. There, we listened to speeches by Drew Roy, head of SBC International Operations foundation, as well as by Ambassador Peter DeShazo, Deputy US permanent representative to the OAS. We proudly watched our Ambassador, Glenn Butler announce our presence as a voting delegation. After that, we went to the committee meetings. Resolutions were debated for several hours; amendments were made and some were passed. Debates were incredibly heated. “Point of Inquiry” and “Point of Order” objections were flying!

The tension was later washed away when MOAS sponsored a trip to Dave & Busters for good food, Spirit Awards, an opportunity to network, and above all, fun. The UNM Bolivia Delegation ended the night with a tour of San Antonio’s truly rocking club scene.

Sleepy-eyed, we woke up for more committee meetings the next morning. Tiredness did not last long, as debate picked up and final resolutions were passed and taken to the General Assembly. After lunch (and naps), all of the delegations gathered together for a General Assembly meeting, where the Bolivian members all stepped up to help our Ambassador vote for what we felt were the best policies. The meetings went quickly and the voting placards of the various ambassadors were in constant motion. Although we did not finish voting for all of the resolutions, it was a unique experience to see how this governmental organization functions and how policies are in fact passed or rejected. I have to hand it to the Venezuelan and Brazilian delegations for raising the bar for all of the delegations by including aspects of recent political events, such as Lula’s election.

The final event of the conference was a closing speech by the former OAS Ambassador to Nicaragua, O.P. Garza; as well as the presentation of awards for “best delegate” and “best delegation”, amongst others. The Bolivian Delegation was not awarded a prize; however, I think that we did a tremendous job, despite limited preparation time.

To cap off this awesome experience, UNM and UTEP’s delegations went to Riverwalk for a great meal with great company. The consensus was that the conference and the evening were a great success and a great time was had by all.

I encourage everyone to consider going to the conference next year. If you are worried that you may not have the political background, don’t. I study literature and I had a blast. UTEP is organizing next year’s conference and it should be a very unique experience. To those of us who did go to MOAS, I have two things to say: Beware of pulling a Payan, and long live the Marff!
In Search of Aztlan
By James M. Aranda
Masters student in Community and Regional Planning

IN SEARCH OF AZTLAN

AZTLAN

AZTLAN is REALITY
It lies deep within the hearts of all who STRUGGLE

AZTLAN is the DIVINE FIRE that burns within our SOULS
pushing us on DAY after backbreaking DAY.

Its inspiration keeps us staring toward the SUN until our eyes burn tirelessly.

AZTLAN is the FUERZA that keeps us fighting for our future generations.

AZTLAN is NO LONGER MYTH
It NEVER WAS,
It is REALITY
AZTLAN is HOME
of the wretched of the EARTH
There are NO 'BORDERS'
to be CROSSED or EXPLOITED.

NO WALLS or ELECTRIFIED FENCES standing in OUR WAY.

NO drug sniffing K-9's at OUR HEELS.

NO CHOPPERS roving the SKIES above our HEADS.

NO ENEMY TROOPS lying in ambush, SECURING an IMAGINARY BORDER.
and NO PINCHE MIGRA to keep us IN or OUT!!

There is NO admission for the HEARTless and NO exclusion of the morally inclined.

There are NO maps to GUIDE the way or directions to get there.

NO commercials advertising its PRIME LOCATION.

NO big budget ad campaigns SPREADING ITS IMAGE THIN
by selling it back to its original inhabitants --AT MARKET COST
NO!!!

AZTLAN, like the TRUE REVOLUTION will NOT be TELEVISIED!!!

NOT by Action 7 Moment-it-happens coverage,
NOT by Channel 4 EYE witness news
NOT by News 13's BIG LOCAL STORY & Especially NOT by KASA's new news at 9.

AZTLAN is FAR BEYOND the SKewed LOGIC of MEDIA PROPAGANDA
It lies not in the WORLD which WE LIVE

But in the WORLD that WE ENVISION ULTIMATELY. WE cannot FIND it with OUR EYES
or BUILD upon it with our HANDS
or CLOSE its BORDERS to the outside.
The only way we can seek out AZTLAN
is by TRAVELLING DEEP within OUR HEARTS, OUR SOULS, and OUR STRUGGLES.

Only THEN, when understanding the IMPORTANCE of ALL of LIFE'S QUESTIONS becomes our TRUE REASON for LIVING,
Will our QUEST for ANSWERS END.

...And AZTLAN will be our HOME once again.

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Traditional Medicine in Cuba: Essential to the Wealth of Everyone
By Erin Hansbrough
Masters student in Latin American Studies and Community and Regional Planning

Though therapies like acupuncture, yoga, and herbal medicine have been used traditionally in various countries throughout history, in the United States they are often thought of as “new age” or “alternative.” As a result, such practices have become accessible only to those who can pay for them—a big problem in an age of spiraling health care costs and a shrinking economy.

In Cuba, however, acupuncture, yoga, tai chi, herbal medicine and homeopathy have a place in every hospital, and many clinics. Many doctors supplement their eight years of education with an additional two years specializing in an alternative modality; in La Habana 60% of doctors have this extra qualification. These modalities, considered “alternative” in most western nations, are referred to as “traditional medicine” in Cuba—a semantic difference which belies the Cuban perspective about the importance of traditional therapies.

Though traditional remedies have been embraced by Cuban healthcare providers because they are cheap (prescribing yoga to lower a patient’s blood pressure, for example, is far more economical than prescribing pills), monetary cost is not the only consideration. Marta Perez, Director of the Traditional Health Clinics in La Habana, was quoted in an interview with the Cuba-U.S. Yoga Exchange, saying: “Traditional (meaning to us alternative) medicine is not a solution to poverty but essential to the wealth of everyone.”

The Cuban model has been particularly inspiring to many yoga teachers in the United States who want to learn more about how yoga is being used in a medical setting. The International Association of Black Yoga Teachers, based in California, has organized trips to Cuba, bringing well-known U.S. teachers like Rodney Yee to teach groups of students (the majority of whom were doctors or other healthcare providers) in yoga asana, or postures. However, Cubans are leading the way in the area of incorporating yoga into regular health care, a topic of much debate in the United States.

Even as Cuba struggles with the difficulty of getting by day-to-day amidst economic strife (greatly exacerbated by the United States-imposed embargo,) the Cuban medical model—top-notch educational training, free health care, and the incorporation of traditional medicine—offers an important example to the rest of the world.

Zapatista with Acordeón, ‘Burque Style
By Dylan Miner, Latin American Studies

To purchase Dylan’s prints; email him at: miner@unm.edu.
SOLAS—THE STUDENT ORGANIZATION FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

The University of New Mexico
Latin American and Iberian Institute
801 Yale NE
Albuquerque, NM 87131

Phone: 505-277-2961
Fax: 505-277-5909
Email: noticias@umn.edu
www.umn.edu/~noticias

The Student Organization
for Latin American Studies

SIN FRONTERAS FILM FESTIVAL
April 11-13, 2003
www.sinfronterasfilmfestival.org

The Sin Fronteras Film Festival 2003, to take place April 11-13, 2003 at the South Broadway Cultural Center, in Albuquerque, Nuevo Mexico, in the heart of Aztlan, is a media festival created to showcase the works of radical and socially-conscious independent video and filmmakers from across the Americas. In addition to the multiple screenings of new and classic films, the Sin Fronteras Film Festival will host an array of workshops, panels and lectures. There will also be educationally sound childcare at no extra charge for festival patrons.

The framework for Sin Fronteras is to attack the homogenized, corporate-controlled forms of media and replace them with a more independent and community-based alternative. This means that we will attempt, through multiple events during the festival, to deconstruct the divisions of class, race, ethnicity, gender, sex, geography and age, not only in theory, but also in praxis. Community participation is necessary to make Sin Fronteras a success. Please email us to become involved: info@sinfronterasfilmfestival.org. Submissions for films and videos are available on our website: www.sinfronterasfilmfestival.org.