Policymakers, Scholars Examine Accountability

Politicians, journalists, civic leaders, and scholars from all corners of Latin America and from the United States met at the Institute in May to scrutinize the ‘accountability mechanisms’ in the region. Kellogg Fellow Guillermo O’Donnell discussed his notion of ‘horizontal accountability’ in opening remarks to the conference, which was underwritten by a grant from The Coca-Cola Company.

Ford Foundation and Federal Title VI Fund Two Initiatives

The Santiago office of the Ford Foundation awarded major start-up support to the Institute for a three-year project on “Democracy, Human Rights and Peace in Colombia.”

The US Department of Education granted federal Title VI funds to a Notre Dame and Indiana University consortium to establish a National Resource Center in Latin American Studies.

Rev. Timothy Scully, CSC, elected University’s third-ranking officer

The Chair of Kellogg’s Advisory Council, Rev. Timothy Scully, CSC, was named Notre Dame Executive Vice-President by the University’s Board of Trustees in May. “At Notre Dame,” Scully said in acceptance remarks, “we aim to attract, nurture, an inspire students and faculty who are aspiring national and international leaders...”
Apprently, I have survived my first semester as Acting Director of the Institute. I say ‘first’, because my colleague and friend Scott Mainwaring has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship and thereby extended his leave for another semester. I congratulate Scott and salute him for the recognition he deserves, even as I know it means another semester of administration for me. Yet, the challenges of directing an Institute of such size and scope have most assuredly been eased by the support of the world-class Kellogg staff. My gratitude to them is immeasurably greater than I can convey here, but those of you who have had contact with them will know of what I speak!

Among the staff’s hard work this semester—of which I am very proud but for which I can take absolutely no credit—has been the redesign of our newsletter. We hope that you will like our new look and, above all, find it easy to keep abreast of our many accomplishments and activities. This has been such a banner year for Kellogg that I hardly know which of these to highlight in this space. Let me begin with a number of ‘firsts’: We hosted our first reception for Kellogg that I hardly know of these to.Parcel (p. 4) shines a spotlight on Larissa Adler Lomnitz, Latin America’s pioneer female anthropologist and our first occupant of the Garza Chair in Mexican Studies, who graced the Institute with her presence this spring. Meanwhile, our current Fellows continue to publish important work, win prestigious external grants (p. 4), and perform laudable acts of public service that range from advising the Argentine government on political reform to briefing the US Department of State and the World Bank on Russian politics (p. 5).

Finally, one of our most important goals is to bring the Institute to Notre Dame students. I am so pleased to announce that Christopher Welna, our Associate Director, has been named to fill the shoes of Professor Michael Francis, who is stepping down as the Director of the Latin American Area Studies Program. Chris has already worked to increase the number of summer internships and this year we have students going to Brazil, Honduras, Kenya, and Mexico, as well as Arlington, Minneapolis, and Washington (p. 11). We expect great things from Chris, and great new initiatives for LAASP.

Director’s Thoughts

Public Service in Latin America, in conjunction with The Coca-Cola Company, at the conclusion of the international conference on “Institutions, Accountability, and Democratic Governance in Latin America” (pp. 14–15). Our prize committee chose well in naming Enrique Iglesias, president of the Interamerican Development Bank, as the first recipient of this honor.

Remarkably, the Institute continues to grow with external support that will enable us to deepen as well as broaden our initiatives, programs, and missions. We have just learned that we have received federal funding under the Title VI Program to create, together with Indiana University, a consortium on Latin America (p. 17). Students and faculty from both institutions will benefit from instructional programs, library and electronic resources, and interdisciplinary academic exchanges. This award came on the heels of the announcement that we had been granted fellowships under the Foreign Language Area Study program.

Among our most visible new projects is the three-year initiative on “Democracy, Human Rights, and Peace in Colombia” (pp. 16–17). At a defining moment in Colombia’s quest to salvage its democracy, guarantee human rights, and achieve an elusive peace, a major grant from the Ford Foundation’s regional office in Santiago de Chile will enable us, in conjunction with our partner institutions, to provide support for research, training for human rights, and scholarly expertise to inform the policy debate. Under this initiative we will welcome three Visiting Fellows and one Guest Scholar to join us this fall, and we will host a major conference in March 2001.

Photo: University of Notre Dame Office of Information Technologies/Educational Media unless otherwise noted.
Visiting Residential Fellows
Fall 2000
Manuel Alcántara
Universidad de Salamanca, Spain
*Internal Structure and Organization of the Political Parties of Latin America*
Álvaro Camacho
Universidad Nacional de Colombia
*‘Tensions and Obstacles to Democracy and Consolidation in Colombia’*
Kathleen Collins
Stanford University, California
*The Political Sociology of Regime Transition in Central Asia*
Gretchen Helmke
University of Chicago, Illinois
*Judicial Independence and Executive Control in New Democracies*
Guillermo Palacios y Oliva
El Colegio de México, Mexico City
*The Academic Intellectuals and the Sociocultural Construction of the ‘Campesino Problem’ in Mexico, 1920–1940*
Luis Pásara
MINUGUA, Guatemala
*Judicial Reform and Citizenship in Latin America*
Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez
Universidad Nacional de Colombia
*Bogotá: Democracy, Human Rights, and Peace in Colombia*
Nora Segura
Universidad Nacional de Colombia
Bogotá
*Work, Family, and Gender in Displaced Populations in Colombia*

Guest Scholars
Summer 2000
Pedro Hernández
Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, Mexico

Fall 2000
Raquel Abrantes
Instituto Nacional de Salud Pública
Mexico City
Ana María Bejarano
Universidad de los Andes
Bogotá, Colombia
Julia López López
Universidad Pompeu Fabra
Barcelona, Spain
Araceli Mateos Díaz
Universidad de Salamanca, Spain

SPRING 2000 VISITORS

In addition to conducting research and presenting their work in the Institute’s Seminar and Lecture Series, spring 2000 Visiting Fellows and Guest Scholars participated in working groups, taught, attended conferences, organized monthly brown bag lunches, played soccer on an informal faculty team, and held a potluck dinner and a barbecue with Fellows from other Notre Dame centers and institutes. In January Carlos Huneus (CERC and Catholic University of Chile) participated in the Kellogg Institute Current Affairs Panel “Lagos vs. Lavin: Analysis of Chile’s Presidential Elections.” He recently published “Technocrats and Politicians in an Authoritarian Regime: The ‘ODEPLAN Boys’ and the ‘Gremialists’ in Pinochet’s Chile,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* May 2000. Venelin Ganev (University of Chicago) will continue at Notre Dame during the 2000–01 academic year as a Visiting Assistant Professor in the Department of Government where he will teach “Democracy in Eastern Europe” and “Nuts and Bolts of Russian Politics.” His recent publications include “Notes on Postcommunist Networks,” *East European Constitutional Review* 9, (1, winter 2000). Also continuing at Notre Dame is Vibha Pinglé (Rutgers) who has been appointed as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology. This semester she initiated the Africa Working Group (see p. 7). Volker Frank (University of North Carolina, Asheville) recently published “The Chilean Labor Movement in the New Democracy, Views from the Plant Level: Fact, Fiction, or Both?” *Revista Universum*, Universidad de Talca, Chile (forthcoming), and “Growth with Equity: A Marriage that Works? Labor Unions’ Experience during the New Democratic Regime in Chile, 1990–1996” in Peter Winn, ed., *Victims of the Chilean Miracle*: Chilean Workers and the Neoliberal Model 1973–1998. (Duke University Press, forthcoming). Alberto Spektorowski (University of Tel Aviv, Israel) is coeditor, with Y. Peled and S. Ben Ami, of *Challenging Modernity and the State: Ethnic Politics at the Turn of the Century* (The Macmillan Press Ltd., London, in press). His other recent publications include “The New Right and the Question of Ethno-Regional Citizenship,” *The Political Quarterly* (forthcoming). Also in this issue see the interview with Larissa Lomnitz (pp. 8–10).

Notes from Past Visiting Fellows
Margarita López-Maya (Visiting Fellow, spring 1999) has been awarded a visiting fellowship at St. Antony’s College, Oxford University, for the 2000–01 academic year. Since January 2000, she has been director of the journal, *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales* and a member of the faculty of Economy and Social Sciences at the Central University of Venezuela.
Sr. Frances Bernard O’Connor (Guest Scholar 1990–96) celebrates her 50th anniversary as a Sister of the Holy Cross this year.

VISITING RESIDENTIAL FELLOWSHIPS, 2001–02

For the 2001–02 academic year (August–May), the Kellogg Institute will offer up to eight visiting residential fellowships at the University of Notre Dame. The Institute seeks scholars of high accomplishment and promise whose work and presence will contribute creatively to our major research themes. We welcome applications from candidates of any country who hold a PhD or equivalent degree in any discipline of the social sciences or history. For application forms and more information, please see our web page at http://www.nd.edu/~kellogg/guest.html or contact Sharon Schierling, Program Coordinator (Schierling.1@nd.edu; fax 219-631-6717).

Deadline: A complete application, including references and all documentation, must be received by 3 November 2000. Awards will be announced by 1 February 2001.
Kellogg Fellows’ News


Iván Jakšić (History) edited El modelo chileno: Democracia y desarrollo en los noventa (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1999), with Paul W. Drake, and his Andrés Bello: Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Latin America has been accepted by Cambridge University Press.

 Recent publications by Lloyd H. Ketchum, Jr. (Civil Engineering and Geological Sciences) include: “Biobtreatment by Sequencing by Batch Reactors” in David H. F. Liu and Bela G. Liptak, eds., Hazardous Waste and Solid Waste, (Boca Raton, Florida: Lewis Publishers, 2000); “Student Involvement in Water Development/Treatment in Rural Settings,” with Stephen E. Silliman, in E. G. Reichard, F. S. Hauchmann, and A. M. Sancha, eds., Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Drinking Water Risk Assessment and Management (Wallingford, UK: International Association of Hydrological Sciences Press); and “Bench-Scale Biological Nutrient Removal,” with A. K. Umble, Operations Forum, Water Environment Federation 16 (2). Ketchum’s engineering projects in community service have received support from Purdue University (National Science Foundation) and the City of Elkhart, Indiana. Institute Director Scott Mainwaring (Government and International Studies) is currently on sabbatical. With Ernesto López, he edited Democracia: Discusiones y nuevas aproximaciones (Quilmes, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2000) to which he also contributed “La capacidad de supervivencia democrática en América Latina.” Other recent publications include “La durabilidad de la democracia en América Latina, 1940–1998,” Política y Gobierno no 6 (2); “Multipartidismo, federalismo robus- to y presidencialismo en Brazil,” Anacuraria 1 (2); and “Democratic Survivability in Latin America” in Howard Handler and Mark A. Tesler, eds., Democracy and Its Limits: Lessons from Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East (Notre Dame: Kellogg Institute Series with the University of Notre Dame Press, 1999; see newsletter #53 p. 14). Mainwaring has been named a Fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation for the fall 2000 semester.

Garth Meintjes (Center for Civil and Human Rights) received funding from Kellogg’s Small Grant Fund to travel to South Africa for his project “Transitional Justice in South Africa: An Evaluation of the Amnesty Criteria and Decisions in Terms of the Requirements of International Law.” He interviewed staff of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee and attended several amnesty hearings.

Martha Merritt (Government and International Studies) has received a research scholarship for the 2000–01 academic year from the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars) and a National Council research grant for 2000–02 for her project “Imagining the Baltic States: Ethnicity and Apocalyptic in Russian Foreign Policy.”

Carolyn Nordstrom (Anthropology and Director of Graduate Studies, Kroc Institute) received travel and research funding from ISLA to do fieldwork in Angola on war-orphan street children for her book in progress, A Dog Called ‘Remember’. She gave keynote speeches on fieldwork in warzones to conferences at various universities in the United States and the University of Uppsala and the International Peace Research Institute in Sweden. She is completing her book War, Peace, and Shadow Powers and she published “Requiem for the Rational War” in S. Reyna, ed., Deadly Developments: Capitalism, States, and War (Gordon and Breach War and Society series, 1999); “Girls and War Zones” in D. Indra, ed., Engendering Forced Migration (Berghahn Books, 1999); and “Visible Wars and Invisible Girls,” International Feminist Journal of Politics 1 (1). Nordstrom serves on the editorial board of Social Justice, the Beyond Borders Planning Committee of the Social Science Research Council, and in the Teachers as Scholars Program.


Notre Dame’s eighth annual Frank O’Malley Undergraduate Teaching Award was presented to Rev. Robert S. Pelton, CSC (Theology and Latin American/North American Church Concerns) “for exhibiting the ideas of Frank O’Malley by demonstrating a commitment to excellence in undergraduate teaching.” Fr. Pelton co-produced “It’s a Small Church after All” an educational video based on the Third International Consultation on Small Christian Communities (Bolivia, 1999), which he codirected with support from the Koch Foundation. He edited Monseñor Oscar Romero: Human Rights Apostle (LANACC, 2000), which comprises the text of the annual Romero Lecture, cosponsored by LANACC and the Kroc and Kellogg Institutes, and contributions by other participants in a series of events commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the Archbishop’s martyrdom.


Kellogg Fellows in Public Service

The Institute has a long tradition of public service. Fellows are frequently asked to contribute their scholarly expertise to assist policymakers and officials in their decisions and to educate the general public. Here are some recent examples:

At a miniconference on “The New Venezuelan Constitution: A New Political Model for Latin America?” cosponsored by the Center for Latin American Studies and the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, Michael Coppedie spoke on “The Impact of the New Constitution on the Venezuelan Political System.”

President Clinton has reappointed Teresa Ghilarducci, Director of the Higgins Labor Research Center, to the advisory committee to the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation. The committee, on which Ghilarducci has served since 1995, advises the Corporation on its policies and procedures relating to the appointment of trustees in termination proceedings, the investment of monies, and schedules for the liquidation of terminated pension plans, among other issues.

Commissioned by the International Peace Academy and funded by the Government of Canada, George Lopez’s and David Cortright's book, The Sanctions Decade: Assessing United Nations Strategies in the 1990s (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000) premiered in a United Nations symposium entitled “Toward Smarter, More Effective UN Sanctions” in New York City, with opening remarks about the book’s recommendations made by Secretary-General Kofi Annan and then President of the Security Council, Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy of Canada. In Washington, DC, Lopez and Cortright spoke at the “Managing Global Issues” Seminar Series of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Their book was the subject of a New York Times story by Barbara Crossette; stories by Nicole Winfield of Associated Press appeared in 29 US newspapers; various stories appeared in numerous Canadian newspapers; and the Catholic news service ran a story in over 150 newspapers. Lopez and Cortright were interviewed on the CBC, the BBC, and appeared on “All Things Considered.” Lopez has been named by the Board of Directors of Amnesty International–USA as the Ombudsperson for 2000–03 for AIUSA. The Ombudsperson deals with serious, internal disputes within the organization that impair the functioning of AI in executing its mandate.

During a recent visit to Washington Director Scott Mainwaring, Associate Director Christopher Welna, and Program Coordinator Sharon Schierling briefed Indiana Senator Richard Lugar, Congressman Timothy Roemer, and Colombian Ambassador Luis Alberto Moreno on the Institute’s Colombia Project (see story about the Project on pages 16–17).

This summer Garth Meintjes (Center for Civil and Human Rights) will be teaching a seminar at the International Legislative Drafting Institute hosted by the Public Law Center at Tulane University. This training program annually attracts more than 60 participants from the legislative drafting departments of various countries. Meintjes’s seminar introduces the participants to the role and functions of domestic human rights institutions and encourages them to propose the establishment or strengthening of such institutions in their own countries.

Martha Merritt gave a policy briefing on the Russian presidential elections at the US Department of State and a workshop on informal networks in Russian politics at the World Bank. While in Moscow for the presidential elections, Merritt wrote an op. ed. for the Chicago Tribune.

Guillermo O'Donnell has been appointed advisor on “Political and Electoral Reform” to the newly elected government of Argentina. Vice-President Carlos Alvarez, who chairs the reform commission, lauded Dr. O’Donnell as one of the nation’s most internationally recognized political scientists. O’Donnell will carry out his duties for one year as a key advisor of this program, which is intended to evaluate the state of Argentine democracy, pinpoint its shortcomings and work to correct them. The project seeks to ensure that the state’s institutions benefit the people in the true spirit of democracy, and O’Donnell will draw on his experience as a participant in similar programs in Brazil and Costa Rica.

Andrew Reynolds served as an advisor, sponsored by the National Democratic Institute, on questions of electoral system design to the Constitutional Reform Commission of Guyana and the Constitutional Commission in Zimbabwe.
**Kellogg Fellow Advises New Chilean President on Labor Law Reform**

J. Samuel Valenzuela was at the presidential inauguration of Ricardo Lagos in Chile this March, after advising the campaign.

“Participating in the inauguration of President Lagos was great fun,” Valenzuela reported on his return. “A good selection of Santiago’s movers and shakers attended the events,” he added, “including politicians, TV personalities, writers, artists, and Salvador Allende’s widow. We spoke to friends who are in the new government and to the outgoing Minister of Foreign Affairs, a former Kellogg Institute Fellow (Juan Gabriel Valdés) who will be the next Chilean ambassador to the UN.

“After the swearing-in ceremony Lagos flew to Concepción, my home city, where he gave his first speech as President, stressing the need to pay more attention to regional development and to the diversity of Chile’s population—in the second round of the campaign we had stressed an antidiscrimination message directed to the native populations as well as to women.”

“A Gala Performance in the evening began with a solo dance by the Santiago ballet’s star ballerina dancing to the cavernous and drawn-out voice of Pablo Neruda reading some of his best-known poems; a traditional folk group that played cueca, the Chilean national dance; and music by Bach, Vivaldi, and César Frank played by a children’s orchestra (8- to 15-year-olds). This was no ordinary children’s orchestra. It came from Curanilahue, a small, dirt-poor coal-mining town in Southern Chile where the mine has recently been closed. Lagos heard them play while on the campaign trail, and promised to invite them to play at his inaugural if he was elected.”

“In between the celebrations I had interviews with incoming government officials in which I gave ideas regarding how to reform labor law and labor relations. The issue of labor law reform is among the most important for the incoming administration. The problem is how to combine an open-market economy subject to intense competitive pressures with equity in labor relations.”

Before Valenzuela returned to Notre Dame, Lagos personally thanked him for his help during the campaign and sociologist Guillermo Campero, one of the principal presidential advisors, asked him to write a separate memorandum on labor law reform. The Minister of Labor has already made use of this in his comments to the press about reform of the unemployment insurance system and invited Valenzuela to return to Chile in May and June in order to give further advice before the labor reform legislation package goes to Congress.

**Small Grants for Faculty**

The Institute has launched a new Small Grants Fund to support Kellogg Faculty Fellows involved in research overseas (or, if demonstrably appropriate, in the United States) that addresses Kellogg’s thematic priorities. The fund is intended to support research that has the potential to result in a high-quality publication but that may be of a limited scope or supplements projects already in progress. Up to $5,000 is available for a variety of project costs, including research assistance and materials as well as travel.

In the first Small Grants competition, the following projects were selected for awards: Garth Meinjes (Law School) “Transnational Justice in South Africa: An Evaluation of the Amnesty Criteria and Decisions in Terms of the Requirements of International Law”, Layna Mosley (Government) “The Politics of Information: Emerging Market Finance and the IMF’s Data Standards”, and Ashutosh Varshney (Government) “Federalism, States, and Economic Reform in India”.

**CALL FOR WORKING GROUP APPLICATIONS FROM KELLOGG FELLOWS**

The Institute invites proposals for Working Groups from Fellows in order to foster and subsidize interdisciplinary approaches to early research initiatives. For more information, contact Associate Director Christopher Welna (Welna.1@nd.edu).

1. **Applications:** Proposals should include a letter that

- names the focus of the proposed working group;
- identifies its substantive goals;
- explains the nature of its activities aimed at attaining these goals;
- sets out a schedule for planned activities;
- states a budget for the amount of financial support requested;
- identifies a Kellogg Fellow who will chair the group (or cochairs);
- lists two or more faculty participants and at least five participants in all from among the Notre Dame faculty, graduate students, or visitors who would like to participate in the proposed group.

Multiyear proposals are welcome although funding will be awarded for up to two semesters at a time.

2. **Criteria:** Awards will be made to groups whose planned activities are most intellectually exciting and most likely to lead to concrete academic results (conferences, publications, research projects, or outside funding).

3. **Selection Process:** Applications are due by the end of the semester prior to the semester when support would begin.

4. **Follow-up Requirements:** Once a semester, the Institute may organize a roundtable discussion on the Working Group activities. Coordinators may be asked to make brief presentations describing the goals, activities, and results of each group. Following the presentations, the meeting will be open for questions from the Fellows as a whole.

A written summary of the group’s activities and accomplishments should accompany any application for renewed support.
Two new Faculty Fellows won the first support for Working Groups under a program launched this winter by the Institute. Vibha Pinglé formed a Working Group that concentrates on Africa and Layna Mosley organized another that focuses on political economy.

Both women arrived on campus in the fall 1999 semester and immediately sought to convene others whose interests coincided with their main research areas.

Following a second round of applications this spring, two more Fellows also plan to inaugurate Working Groups next fall semester. Michael Coppedge will convene a third group to discuss quality of democracy issues, while A. James McAdams is organizing a fourth group to examine the impact of internet technologies on democracy.

**Fostering Entrepreneurship**

The Institute began offering support to faculty for Working Group activities “with three goals in mind. We wanted to foster research entrepreneurship by Fellows. We also hoped to underwrite the costs of pre-proposal work. And we wanted to capitalize on the research potential inherent in the evolving configurations of new and old Faculty Fellows, their graduate students, Visiting Fellows and Guest Scholars who are at the Institute each year,” according to Associate Director Christopher Welna. The Institute’s Grants Committee now reviews Working Group proposals at the end of each semester. The Committee awarded the first support for Working Groups to the organizers of the Political Economy and Africa groups at the end of the fall semester.

**Political Economy Group**

Mosley reported that “we created the Political Economy Working Group in order to facilitate the formation of an intellectual community interested in political economy issues.” Mosley joined the Government Department at Notre Dame this year after completing her doctoral work in political science at Duke University. where she had participated in a highly successful Working Group on globalization and equity, under the leadership of Robert Keohane and Peter Lange.

The Political Economy Working Group is a reading group. The participants selected readings that included both international political economy and political economy approaches to research.

“Members of the group also have interacted in less formal ways,” reported Mosley, giving advice on materials to read for research projects, inviting another to attend job talks and meet with job candidates.”

Participants include Jaime Ros and Vai-Lam Mui (Economics), Jeffrey Bergstrand, Scott Baier, and Eduardo Zambrano (Finance), and Andrew Gould and Raimo Vayrynen (Government).

“I’ve found this to be rewarding, in general, and basically something that facilitates and improves—by providing money for outside speakers and, more trivially, for meals together—what we probably would do anyway,” Mosley commented. “I’d say it’s been most useful as a way to connect intellectually with others…it’s also helped me to think about my own research.”

**Africa Studies Group**

Pinglé organized the Africa Working Group after coming to Kellogg this year as a Visiting Fellow. She has since accepted an offer from the Sociology Department at Notre Dame. She taught previously at Rutgers University, after coming to Kellogg this year as a Visiting Fellow. She has since accepted an offer from the Sociology Department at Notre Dame. She taught previously at Rutgers University, after completing her doctoral studies at Brown University.

The Africa Working Group includes several Kellogg fellows, among them Kwan Kim (Economics), Garth Meintjes (Law), Carolyn Nordstrom (Anthropology), Andrew Reynolds (Government) and Patrick Gaffney (Anthropology). Kellogg Guest Scholar Alberto Spektorowski also participated, as did a good number of graduate students, including Alexander Odemba (Economics), Margaret M. Munalula (Law), Cheryl Schotten (Government), Christine Venter (Literature), and Mark Massoud, Ismael Muringi, Charles Muwunga, Ojong Odidi, Lawrence Juma, and Marlise Richter, who are all in Peace Studies.

“I’d say it’s been most useful as a way to connect intellectually with others…”

Layna Mosley

“and it certainly has helped us form a ‘community’ at Kellogg. The response from other Africanists on campus—Kellogg and elsewhere—has been stunning.”

Pinglé also said that “the group invited Goran Hyden (former President of the African Studies Association) to present our first talk on ‘Social Capital in Crisis: Challenges to Democracy and Development in Africa’. Kwan Kim was the discussant. The talk was extremely well attended—surpassed my expectations! Goran Hyden met with graduate students working on Africa at a lunch meeting and with faculty over dinner.”

The Africa Working Group includes several Kellogg fellows, among them Kwan Kim (Economics), Garth Meintjes (Law), Carolyn Nordstrom (Anthropology), Andrew Reynolds (Government) and Patrick Gaffney (Anthropology). Kellogg Guest Scholar Alberto Spektorowski also participated, as did a good number of graduate students, including Alexander Odemba (Economics), Margaret M. Munalula (Law), Cheryl Schotten (Government), Christine Venter (Literature), and Mark Massoud, Ismael Muringi, Charles Muwunga, Ojong Odidi, Lawrence Juma, and Marlise Richter, who are all in Peace Studies.
Culture, Networks, and Survival:
An Interview with
Larissa Adler Lomnitz

Larissa, let me begin by saying how happy I am to have you at the Institute as a Visiting Fellow this semester. I'm told the course you are teaching in the Anthropology Department is going very well, and we look forward to welcoming you again in the fall in your capacity as a member of the Kellogg Advisory Council.

Your curriculum vitae is a book in itself! It's difficult to know where to start, but one thing that stands out is your 1998 award, Heroine of Culture at the End of the Millennium.

In 1998 the new center for gender studies at our university wanted to find a way of recognizing women who have done something extraordinary and important in Mexico, so they created this award. The idea of women's studies is finally catching on in Mexico and they wanted to translated from Spanish to English or vice versa.* I have had a successful career in Mexico, and have not done too badly in the United States. So, in that sense, I suppose women could consider me a role model.

How many other female academics do you know in Mexico who have reached comparable positions? I have a number of female friends who have reached full professorship at the highest level as scientists and social scientists in Mexico, but they are younger.

So you were a path breaker. I think so. I am also proud that I had four children and all of them have done well. My oldest son unfortunately passed away with leukemia. He was a very bright physicist, working at the International University in Mexico. He already had a Guggenheim fellowship and everything was predicting a beautiful career for him. My second son is at the University of Chicago where he became a tenured full professor very young. My daughter is a jazz singer, and my third son is head of the national theater company in Mexico.

My children's welfare has always been extremely important to me, and I made up in ‘quality time’ the time I spent studying. I regard the fact that my children are doing so well as part of my curriculum vitae.

Would you consider yourself a feminist? Not in a theoretical or politically active sense, though my own career has certainly been helped by my feminist colleagues in the United States. In my life, in the choices that I’ve made, I would consider myself a feminist in praxis.

What led you to make such unusual decisions? I was always interested in doing something in life but I married very young, just after I finished high school. Then I spent three years in a kibbutz with my husband. At some point early on, I decided: in my twenties I’m going to have my children, in my thirties I’m going to go to school, and in my forties I’m going to reinforce both my career and my children.

My husband took me to Chile, and I became a Chilean citizen and registered at the university for what I call a ‘feminine’ career as a librarian. (Pursuing a ‘feminine’ career today is the worst sin you can commit against the women’s movement, but back then I wouldn’t have dreamed of studying, say, medicine.) When he got an academic position at Berkeley, I didn’t want to move, so he offered to put me through school there as a tradeoff! The department of anthropology accepted my registration for a BA on the basis of my 15-year-old high school record.

I hardly knew English. I didn’t even know how to find a book in the library. So I gave credit to my former husband for helping me a great deal—with his encouragement I managed three years with straight As and a Phi Beta Kappa.

In a foreign language and while taking care of a house and four children! I already had the three boys when I registered, but at the end of my freshman year I discovered I was pregnant. I didn’t know what to do. My husband told me that if I stopped then, I’d never start again. So our daughter was born in Berkeley, and I took her to classes and nursed her. I was reading Margaret Mead’s Male and Female at the time, and it put me off the idea of leaving my baby with anyone else.

Did you ever sleep? When people asked me what my major was, I would tell them I was majoring in ‘Monday, Wednesday, Friday, from 9–1’ because I had a babysitter who could come those mornings and I took whatever courses would fit. In the afternoons I did my housekeeping and stayed home with the children—while they were doing their homework I was doing mine too. I became a two-things-at-a-time machine.

Studying anthropology was a lot of fun because you can tell children about human evolution. I used to take them to some of my classes. We had a professor who was an expert on prehistoric weapons, and he showed the kids how people made stone arrows.

Then we moved to Mexico, and it was easier because I had a maid while I was doing my graduate studies.

Why anthropology? That’s quite a jump from library studies. My family was living in Paris when I was born because my father was studying anthropology there. He never finished his PhD but his heart was always in it. He would invite Indians to our home—we grew up in a multicultural atmosphere.

When we went to Berkeley, I soon discovered that anthropology was definitely ‘my thing’. I was passionate about it, and at Berkeley I had great professors.

So I pursued the career that my father would have liked to have and my second son has fol-

*A fifth translation into English, The Political Culture and Parties of Chile: An Anthropological Approach, coauthored with Ana Melnick, is forthcoming this year in the Kellogg Institute series with the University of Notre Dame Press.
owed in my footsteps—we are three genera-
tions of anthropologists.

**You were born in Paris, grew up in Latin America…**

And then I went to Israel. I was a Chilean until recently when I became a Mexican citizen. Because I have lived in so many different places, it was easy for me to understand some basic concepts in anthropology such as culture.

It’s harder, existentially speaking, to grasp your own culture and learn to be an anthropologist within it.

Most people have no more understanding of their own culture than a fish has of water.

When I was doing my PhD in Mexico, urban anthropology was just starting to come into its own. I decided that I was going to do fieldwork in the cities because, with four teenagers at home, I couldn’t exactly go off to the jungle! My advisor was not in favor of this: he took the traditional approach that anthropology should be done in small, primitive societies whereas the study of complex societies is for sociologists. Nonetheless, I started working with a team of medical doctors in a shantytown and studying the migration patterns there.

**Could you say something about your methodology?**

First of all I am an ethnographer in the sense that I cannot do anything unless I do my fieldwork. It’s my security blanket. People ask me about the difference between what I do and sociology. We often study the same subjects because anthropology cannot stay limited to primitive societies, which are almost finished in the world. Anthropology is about the evolution of culture and nowadays humankind is urban and lives in nation-states. Peasant and tribal societies are disappearing. Humanity has evolved to the point that we are also almost a planetary people. There is now a branch of anthropology that studies what kind of organization the future earth colonies should have in space. It’s not a joke—they work for NASA!

Anthropology is moving to the cities and now I do anthropology of the nation-state, though always with the same methodology. An anthropologist used to go to the field and study a village. You cannot study a whole city—especially Mexico City, which is about twenty million people. You can take what other disciplines are giving you, the demographers, economists, political scientists, but if you are going to do anthropology, meaning the study of culture, you have to choose a unit of analysis. It could be a territorial unit, like a shantytown, a family, a political party, an organization…

For instance my next book is about the process of industrialization in Mexico. I took a family of industrial entrepreneurs that started last century and did a case study of the family’s trajectory as part of a whole new class of industrialists. I may have general ideas about what I want to find out, but I let myself be surprised—I don’t know everything ahead of time. This is another big difference between sociology and anthropology. I always compare anthropology to the people who went to explore Africa and came back saying “here I found a river, there I found a lake.” They didn’t know ahead of time; they just knew that they wanted to make a map of Africa.

**How do you see anthropology today in relation to the rest of social science?**

I think anthropologists should insist on the fact that we are studying culture, especially in this globalized world. There was a time when everything about societies was supposed to be under-
stood through economics, then politics were added—the power structure, the state. Now, especially after the former Soviet Union experience, everybody knows that one leg is missing and this leg is culture—norms, values, language, religions, customs. Cultures have become central to understanding the global system. The world is moving, there are mass migrations, and people are hating and killing each other because of their cultural differences.

The minute the former Soviet Union collapsed, the different groups started fighting again. The ethnic differences, which had always existed but had been kept under control by a strong state, began to resurface. The problem in the excommunist countries is precisely that the state has lost its backbone. These are not so much economic as primarily ethnic wars.

Do you think anthropology has a role to play in the terrible ethnic conflicts that we’re seeing now? Definitely. These conflicts can be understood better by taking an anthropological approach to cultural differences. I have a friend, a very famous Mexican anthropologist, Lourdes Arizpe, who was vice director of Human Sciences at UNESCO. She and her colleagues are proposing a new sort of anthropology that will concentrate on studying conflicts from the point of view of understanding the basic cultural systems of the groups that are in conflict and looking for the commonalities that can be used to produce peace and understanding. She’s proposing an applied type of anthropology directed toward peace.

To go back to your book on the survival of the urban poor in Mexico, do you think the situation has changed with globalization?

For the good? I doubt it. When I did my study the economists and the government reckoned that about 30 percent of the urban population were what we called ‘marginales’, meaning the informal sector. Now, with globalization and neoliberalism, the informal sector in most Latin American cities is estimated to be over 50 percent. And this is not limited to Latin America—in Europe and elsewhere, increasing numbers of people don’t have formal jobs. I am planning to do a comparative study of the informal economy in parts of the former Soviet Union.

Anything to add about your current work?

Networks are not just about physical survival but about how a class survives as a class, how a group identifies and reproduces itself. So I have done research on networks among the middle classes, and recently I have been studying the subcultures of political parties in Chile and Mexico.

As I started doing my fieldwork on Chilean political parties I realized that nowadays the parties are not so different ideologically. Most people agree the world goes this way or that way, but they still give loyalty to parties. My position is that people are used to belonging to a particular network that has a certain culture of its own, a certain way of life. Political scientists don’t study this; they study the party structure but not the subculture.

I found that since I understood Chile, I could actually determine from a distance whether someone was a Christian Democrat or a Radical by the way he dressed, his moustache, and the way he ate. The same is true of Republicans and Democrats here, and this is also the case in Mexico—the PRI has a definite political culture of its own.

During my stay here I have been attempting to bring together all my previous work on the power structure of Mexico and at the same time wrap it up in a kind of national anthropology.

You have been associated with Kellogg for a long time. Do you have any observations on where the Institute is and where it should be going at this juncture.

Originally the Institute concentrated on the Southern Cone countries, Argentina, Chile, Brazil, at the time when they were still dictatorships, and Kellogg has built a reputation in the United States and abroad for being one of the best places in the world to study Latin America.

A few years ago, when the Institute started opening up more towards Eastern Europe, some people had doubts. I remember in one meeting of the Advisory Council some of us said, “Why should you change when you have been so successful in establishing this place for Latin American studies?” Now I think it was a very wise decision to broaden and become more of an international studies institute. I would encourage Kellogg to continue with a secondary concentration on postcommunist societies. These societies are a big issue now because of the economic and political implications of a weakened state. There is still plenty of work to do on Latin America and the Institute is moving in a good direction there. You have the new chair for Mexican Studies and the big project on Colombia—that’s wonderful!

I would reinforce the way the Kellogg Institute is going.

Caroline Domingo

ARISSA ADLER LOMNITZ is a full professor at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) and a national emeritus researcher of Mexico’s Sistema Nacional de Investigadores (SNI). She has authored or coauthored 11 scholarly books and more than 150 chapters and articles. She has served on the editorial boards of 12 scholarly journals and has taught and/or conducted research as a Distinguished Visiting Professor, Distinguished Lecturer, or Endowed Chair at universities in six countries. Her more than 50 honors and distinctions include “Heroine of Culture of the End of the Millenium” (1998), Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters (1998) from the University of Massachusetts, the National University Prize in Social Sciences (1990), Co-Presidency of the Society of Latin American Anthropology (1989), Fulbright-Hayes Distinguished Professorship of the Year (1980), Mission to the People’s Republic of China of the Program of Bilateral Scientific Exchange (1977), and a Guggenhein Fellowship (1977). She has been a member of the Kellogg Institute Advisory Council since 1991, and in spring 2000 she was a Visiting Fellow at the Institute and the first occupant of the University’s Garza Chair in Mexican Studies.
**2000 Certificates in Latin American Area Studies**

| Jill Esenwein (Government), Wakarusa, IN, “Not So Neutral? The Influence of the United States and Britain in Neighboring Ethnic Conflicts,” directed by Michael Coppedge. Winner of this year’s John J. Kennedy award for the best essay on Latin America. |
| Robert Calleros (Government), San José, CA, “Factors of Increased Political Stability in Chile,” directed by Michael Coppedge. |
| Angélica Cantú (Government), New Braunfels, TX, “El Conflicto de la Frontera: US Immigration Policy and the Mexican Migratory Phenomenon,” directed by Michael Francis. |
| JoAnna Deeter (Government), Glen Ellyn, IL, “Rigoberta Menchú: Tainted Nobel Peace Prize,” directed by Thomas Bogenschild. |
| Arnoldo B. Lacayo (History), Miami, FL, “A Flawed Historical Narrative and New Perspectives,” directed by Mary Ann Mahony. |
| Michael Massarini (Government), Millersville, MD, “Cuba: An Island at a Crossroads,” directed by Thomas Bogenschild. |
| Cristóbal Saldaña (Government), Lyford, TX, “Our Lady of Guadalupe: A Socio-Theological and Anthropological Look at the Effects of Her Apparitions,” directed by Virgilio Elizondo. |

**STUDENT-FACULTY INTERACTION**

**Spring 2000**

**An ongoing series of roundtable discussions on current events**

**January 25** Current Affairs Panel: Carlos Hungeus (KI Visiting Fellow/CORPCERC & Catholic University of Chile), J. Esteban Montes (Government), and J. Samuel Valenzuela (Sociology/KI), “Analysis of Chile’s Presidential Elections”

**February 8** Current Affairs Panel: Andrés Mejía Acosta (Government) and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán (Government), “Democracy on the Brink: Institutional Crisis in Ecuador”

**March 3** Cosponsored with La Alianza: A Celebration of Carnaval with Chicago Samba

---

**Kellogg Support for UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS**

**Summer Internships 2000**

- **Anthony Buonassisi**, Government
  The Nature Conservancy, Arlington, VA

- **Kevin Dunn**, Government and Spanish
  Woodrow Wilson Center, and OAS (Organization of American States), Washington, DC

- **Lindsay Frank**, English and Art History
  Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, Minneapolis, MN

- **Anne Kordenbrock**, Government
  Operation Crossroads Africa, Kenya

- **Kyle Ledbetter**, Finance and Spanish
  WOLA (Washington Office on Latin America), Washington, DC

- **Katie McKenna**, Government
  Foreign TV.Com, Mexico City

- **Ken Seifert**, Government and Spanish
  Center for Concern, Washington, DC

- **Anthony Sieh**, Government
  The Nature Conservancy, Brasilia

- **Karen Wiener**, Psychology and Sociology
  Sisters of Suvana, Honduras

**Summer Research Grants 2000**

- **Maria Christina Feilmeyer**, Theology and Philosophy, “The Ethics of AIDS in Africa and the Role of the Church (Case Study of Kenya)”


- **Maureen Rogers**, Spanish, Theology, and Philosophy, “MacIntyre’s Concept of Local Communities Reflected in Argentinás Small Christian Communities”

*For applications and information: mossi.1@nd.edu*
Kellogg Support for Graduate Students

Dissertation Fellowships 2000

Katharine Belmont, Government
“War and Peace in Sri Lanka and Malaysia: Nationalism and Ethnic Politics in Divided Societies”

Joanna Kaftan, Sociology
“Reconstructing National Identity: Religious Nationalism in Post-Communist Poland”

Gabriel X. Martínez, Economics
“Stabilization-cum-Liberalization and Endogenous Financial Crises”

J. Esteban Montes, Government
“Changes in the Chilean Party System after the Transition: Causes and Consequences”

Seed Money Fund 2000

Vilma C. Balmaceda, Government
“The Office of the Ombudsman: Peru”

Viviana Bompadre, Sociology
“Sources and Processes of Cultural Innovation in the 19th and 20th Centuries: A Comparison of the Creation of the Argentine Nation-State and the Mercosur”

Victor J. Hinojosa, Government
“Two-Level Games and International Narcotics Control: Negotiations between the United States and Mexico and Colombia 1989–2000”

For applications and information: Schierling.1@nd.edu

Scally Elected University Executive Vice-President

Notre Dame’s Board of Trustees has elected Timothy Scully, CSC, for a five-year term as the University’s Executive Vice-President. The EVP is the third-ranking officer of the University, after the president and provost, with responsibilities including finance, business operations, human resources, and campus construction. Father Scully, who is currently vice-president and senior associate provost, will also serve as a University Trustee.

Father Scully has been a member of the Notre Dame faculty since 1989 and an officer of the University since 1994, with special responsibilities in the provost’s office including international programs and new initiatives in undergraduate education. A widely published scholar in Latin American politics, he succeeded Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, CSC, as chair of the Kellogg Institute’s Advisory Council.

Under his leadership, the number of Notre Dame students studying abroad has more than doubled, and the University now has the highest percentage of students in international programs of any American research institution. He oversaw the opening of attractive new international study centers in London and Dublin and the establishment of new study programs in Santiago, Chile, and Monterrey and Puebla, Mexico.

Under his direction, Notre Dame’s Keough program in Irish Studies and Nanovic program in European Studies both became scholarly institutes and the new Institute for Latino Studies was established. He orchestrated the establishment of Notre Dame’s new academic presence in Washington, DC, and, on campus, its Institute for Educational Initiatives, including the Alliance for Catholic Education, which he founded. He also oversaw the reorganization of the undergraduate admissions office and the establishment of the Kaneb Center for Teaching and Learning, the Office for Students with Disabilities, and a new University Writing Center.

University President, “Monk” Malloy called Scully “one of the leading players in the recent advancement of the academic life of the University.” He added, “his signature especially is on Notre Dame’s new institutes for educational initiatives... as well as on the University’s international outreach.”

Congress Awards Gold Medal to Father Hesburgh

This year Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, CSC, Notre Dame’s President Emeritus and Chair Emeritus of the Institute’s Advisory Council, received three more honorary degrees and the Congressional Gold Medal, the highest honor bestowed by Congress. The new degrees bring Fr. Hesburgh’s total to 144, the most ever bestowed on one person according to The Guinness Book of World Records.
The series is now distributed electronically. To view or download recent papers, go to our website at www.nd.edu/~kellogg. The latest Kellogg Working Papers are:

#273  Archie Brown  “Transnational Influences in the Transition from Communism”

#274  Guillermo O’Donnell  “Democracy, Law, and Comparative Politics”

#275  Gustavo Gallón  “Deterrence: A Difficult Challenge for the International Criminal Court”

#276  Denis Goulet  “The Evolving Nature of Development in the Light of Globalization”

#277  Rafael Durán  “Reshaping State-Society Relations: Democratization in Southern and Eastern Europe”

The Institute’s peer-reviewed series, initiated in 1983, provides a vehicle for sharing work in progress in a timely way before formal publication. The series includes papers by Fellows of the Institute, visitors, University members, and invited participants in seminars, workshops, and conferences. Caroline Domingo (Domingo.1@nd.edu; fax 219-631-6717) is the editor.

A complete list of titles and abstracts (in English and Spanish or Portuguese), indexed by country and by research theme, can be viewed on our website www.nd.edu/~kellogg/public.html. Hard copies of the papers are still available for a duplicating and mailing fee of $5.00 per paper. If you would like a hard copy, please send your request, together with a check made payable to the University of Notre Dame, to Caroline Domingo, Kellogg Institute, 216 Hesburgh Center, Notre Dame, IN 46556-5677 USA. Please note that a few of the earlier papers in the series are not yet available electronically though they can be ordered in hard copy.

We welcome inquiries from authors interested in publishing in the book series. If you have a manuscript you would like to submit, please contact Institute Director Scott Mainwaring; to request further information, please contact Publications Coordinator Caroline J. Domingo (Domingo.1@nd.edu); Kellogg Institute, 216 Hesburgh Center, Notre Dame, IN 46556-5677 USA; fax (219) 631-6717.

For more information about books in the Kellogg Institute series, please contact the University of Notre Dame Press, Marketing Department, 310 Flanner Hall, Notre Dame, IN 46556; tel. (219) 631-6346; fax (219) 631-8148. To order, please contact the University of Notre Dame Press Chicago Distribution Center, 11030 S. Langley Avenue, Chicago, IL 60628; telephone in the US 1-800-621-2736, outside the US (773) 568-1550; fax 1-800-621-8476. Personal checks, money orders (in US currency), VISA and MasterCard are accepted. Customers who establish standing orders for the series will receive a 20% discount. See also University of Notre Dame Press Website http://www.undpress.nd.edu.

A Roundtable to examine current events in Colombia was held at the University of Notre Dame on 6 October 1999. “Democracy, Human Rights, and Peace in Colombia,” a compilation of the presentations made at the Roundtable, was recently published and is available on the Kellogg Institute Webpage at www.nd.edu/~kellogg. Hard copies are available for a mailing charge of $1.00 each and may be ordered by contacting Caroline Domingo (see address above).

The event was cosponsored by the Kellogg Institute, the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, and the Center for Civil and Human Rights, in collaboration with the Colombian Commission of Jurists. For more information about the Institute’s Colombia project, see pages 16–17.
SCHOLARS, POLITICIANS, JOURNALISTS, AND civic leaders met here May 8 and 9 to analyze the difficulties of producing limited yet effective government.

The presentations explored mechanisms of accountability, oversight, and political control that have appeared in Latin America. Enrique Iglesias, President of the Inter-American Development Bank, received the Notre Dame Prize at the conclusion of the conference (see p. 15).

Kellogg Institute Director Scott Mainwaring and Associate Director Christopher Welna organized the conference, with major financial support from The Coca-Cola Company and assistance from Pedro Pablo Díaz, Vice-President, Latin America Group, The Coca-Cola Company. The US Agency for International Development provided additional support. After revisions, the conference papers will appear in a volume coedited by Mainwaring and Welna.

Argentine-born Daniel Brinks, a lawyer now completing his PhD in comparative politics at Notre Dame, was there and recorded these observations:

**Achieving Accountability**

Perhaps most interesting was the interaction between scholars and practitioners. Indeed, the proceedings sometimes echoed the much earlier debate by scholar-practitioners reported in the Federalist Papers.

Guillermo O’Donnell (UND/KI) opened the conference, discussing his notion of ‘horizontal accountability’. He catalogued constitutional barriers that have been erected in efforts to produce limited government, sorting them into traditional Madisonian ‘checks and balances’ and newer ‘mandated’ agencies such as the ombudsman and the comptroller. He noted new concepts, such as ‘societal accountability’ (Smulovitz and Peruzzotti) for the actions of civil society in enforcing the rule of law and ‘reverse accountability’ (Fox) for the potential of the government to punish citizens for disfavored political behavior.

Several authors spoke of successful institutions. Jorge Santistevan de Noriega presented a fascinating insider account of the Peruvian ombudsman’s office, which he heads. Maria Tereza Sadek (IDESP) analyzed the Brazilian Public Prosecutors’ expanded powers to bring class action lawsuits. Catalina Smulovitz and Enriquce Peruzzotti (Universidad Torcuato Di Tella) explored how ‘societal accountability’ forced courts to respond to abuses of power in Argentina. Brazilian Judge Marcos Pimentel Tammassia detailed efforts to reform the Brazilian judiciary; and Juan Méndez, Director of Notre Dame’s Institute for Civil and Human Rights, catalogued mechanisms that attempt to restrain executives and strengthen courts and legislatures in Latin America.

**Parchment Barriers?**

But many of the politicians and activists at the conference echoed Madison’s warning that: “a mere demarcation on parchment...is not a sufficient guard against those encroachments which lead to a pyramidal concentration of all the powers of government in the same hands” (No. 49). Luis Pásara, legal advisor to the UN Mission in Guatemala, argued that democratic functioning is not mainly the result of institutional design, while Beatriz Magaloni (Stanford) presented data suggesting that inequality crucially conditions the success or failure of the rule of law. Michael Dodson and Donald Jackson (Texas Christian University) showed that the public credibility of extensive reforms in El Salvador have been undermined by politics. Even Santistevan conceded that a change in leadership could reverse the role the ombudsman plays in Peru.

The legislators present agreed that what matters most is the distribution of power among elites. Ignacio Walker, a member of the Chilean Congress, emphasized the role of ‘poderes ficticos’—business, military, and even church leaders. Lourdes Flores Nano, a representative in the Peruvian Congress, pointed out that power has often rendered institutions in Peru powerless. Senator Adolfo Aguilar Zinser of Mexico argued that power relations among the executive ruling party leaders and legislators render his legislature impotent as an oversight mechanism. David Samuels (University of Minnesota) supported this argument with data suggesting that institutional checks matter only when the executive’s partisan power is not overwhelming.

Challenging O’Donnell’s presentation, Matthew Shuwart (University of California) argued that ‘horizontal accountability’ itself is an oxymoron. He argued that accountability is inherently vertical and hierarchical, so that an empowered electorate is the only way to motivate legislators and executives not to override parchment barriers. Senator Sergio Bitar Chacra of Chile agreed that people will not get accountability unless they demand it and detailed mechanisms that foster political responsiveness. Susan Stokes (University of Chicago) pointed out a distrust of electoralist majoritarian approaches apparent to her in O’Donnell’s presentation, as he focused on the potential for institutional barriers to limit government for reasons internal to the apparatus of the state, de-emphasizing the connection between state and society.

But Méndez responded to Shuwart that Latin America cannot afford the luxury of waiting for an empowered electorate, adding that elements of civil society—not necessarily the electorate—can make use of legal mechanisms to create accountability. MariClaire Acosta (Mexican Commission for Human Rights) and Jonathan Fox (University of California) each detailed the partial success of civil society using such mechanisms in Mexico, where vertical, electoral accountability is still weak.

Madison’s solution—“...Ambition must be made to counteract ambition...” (No. 51)—also resonated in the discussions. David Samuels, Charles Kenney (University of Oklahoma), and Scott Morgenstern and Luigi Manzetti (Duke) all noted the role of a strong legislative opposition party in sustaining the mechanisms that check executive power. Shuwart cautioned that as long as self-interest leads legislators to be more responsive to party leaders than to the electorate, horizontal control will remain elusive. Aguilar Zinser cited the ruling party’s control of the Mexican Senate as an example.

**Controls vs. Governability?**

Pásara, Joy Moncrieffe (London School of Economics), and Margaret Sarles of USAID argued that too much accountability among branches of government can lead to paralysis. Argelina Figueiredo (CEBRAP) explored how this tension is exposed through the variation in executive-legislative relations in Brazil since the 1988 Constitution. Overall, the conference brought new information to bear on themes that echo the concerns of the earliest constitutionalists, as they too combined scholarship and praxis.
Iglesias Accepts First Notre Dame Prize

In a ceremony held on 9 May at the University of Notre Dame, Enrique Iglesias, President of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), was awarded the Notre Dame Prize for Distinguished Public Service in Latin America by University of Notre Dame President Rev. Edward A. Malloy, CSC. Under the thunderous battering of a sudden spring rainstorm upon the golden dome of Notre Dame’s Main Building, Iglesias accepted the Prize and called attention to the persistent needs of the poorest in Latin America.

The Notre Dame Prize, created with funding from The Coca-Cola Company, honors Latin Americans whose work and commitment to public service has substantially furthered the interests and well-being of people in one or more countries in Latin America. It aims to draw hemisphere-wide recognition to visionary leaders, civic activists, intellectuals, and public servants who have greatly enhanced the region’s welfare.

A committee including former Chilean President Patricio Aylwin and Brazilian First Lady Ruth Cardoso selected Iglesias. Other nominees worked in government, nongovernmental organizations, religious and educational institutions, the media, and philanthropy.

The award carries a cash prize of $20,000, but half of the amount must be given to a charitable organization selected by the recipient. Iglesias chose to donate the entire cash prize to the Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores in Montevideo, Uruguay, because of its social work for underprivileged children and families in the Uruguayan capital. Rev. Javier Galdona accepted the donation on behalf of the parish, which was the same one Iglesias attended as a child.

Seated between Rev. Galdona and Rev. Malloy as thunder rattled the weighty doors of the renovated Main Building, Iglesias chucked that “at moments like this it is good to be seated between men of the Church.” Iglesias was the first recipient of this important award which will be presented every year by Notre Dame.

Rev. Timothy Scully, CSC, Vice-President and Senior Associate Provost, opened the ceremony, emphasizing that “the creation of this award reflects the University’s long-lasting interest, ties, and commitment to contributing to the improvement of Latin America’s welfare.” Timothy Haas, President of the Latin America Group of The Coca-Cola Company, added that “this award reflects The Coca-Cola Company’s long-standing commitment to enhancing the social development of the communities in which the Company conducts business.”

An Exemplary Career

Before presenting the Prize, Rev. Malloy said that Iglesias’s “unique character, combined with his intellectual capacity, visionary leadership, and moral integrity made the President of the IDB, currently serving his third consecutive term, an ideal candidate for the award.” Under Iglesias’s leadership the IDB has strengthened its role as a borrowing institution, becoming instrumental in helping Latin American states undertake economic liberalization and integration programs, projects to strengthen civil society, and efforts to improve governance throughout the region. Iglesias’s career has included numerous notable positions, among them serving as Minister of Foreign Relations of Uruguay (1985–88), Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission of Latin America (ECLAC) (1972–85), Secretary General of the 1981 United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, Kenya, and Chairman of the 1986 Conference that started the Uruguay Round of Trade Negotiations in Punta del Este. In addition, Iglesias has been Professor of Economic Development and the Director of the Institute of Economy at Uruguay’s University of the Republic, as well as the author of numerous books on Latin American development economics.

Persistent Poverty and New Opportunities

Accepting the award, Iglesias expressed gratitude to the selection committee, the University of Notre Dame, and The Coca-Cola Company for honoring him with such a prestigious award. Iglesias used the opportunity to discuss Latin America’s political and economic situation as well as the challenges the region faces in the new millennium. Acknowledging that Latin America has made significant progress in the last decade, he pointed out that several unresolved issues must still be addressed, particularly in the social sphere. Although the region has boosted economic growth, controlled endemic inflation, and tackled acute fiscal deficits, he argued, most countries have failed to reduce alarming rates of poverty and material disparities among their populations.

Iglesias also asserted that changes derived from economic globalization and dramatic advancements in technology have presented Latin America with great opportunities but also great uncertainty and danger. Reflecting on this new state of affairs, Iglesias maintained that Latin American nations would have a better chance to navigate the difficult waters of modernity by building a unified front.

Iglesias concluded his address with several proposals to tackle the social problems affecting the region in the coming decade. First and foremost, he asserted, to break the vicious circle of poverty and marginality the region should make a dramatic investment in education, especially science and information technology. He argued that the region’s economies must also achieve several goals: sustain growth rates of 6–8%; triple the rate of exports; increase employment rates; reduce the informal labor market; enhance economic integration; stimulate market forces; and devise a regulatory role of the economy for the state. Finally, he emphasized that it is crucial to strengthen democratic institutions to guarantee representation, accountability, and social cohesion.

The ceremony followed the closure of the conference on “Institutions, Accountability and Democratic Governance in Latin America” held at the University of Notre Dame on 8–9 May. (See story on opposite page.)

Notre Dame Prize 2001

We are now accepting nominations for the next Award for Distinguished Public Service in Latin America. Send suggestions to Scott Mainwaring, Director, Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556-5677, USA; tel. 219-631-6580; fax 219-631-6717; e-mail mainwaring.1@nd.edu. Nominations must be received by 1 December 2000. Please send a one-page letter explaining the nominee’s contributions to public service in Latin America and, if possible, a CV. The committee will make its decision by 25 January 2001, and the public presentation of the award will take place 24 April 2001.
DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND PEACE IN COLOMBIA

Ford Foundation awards project start-up funds.

Anyone who has recently picked up a newspaper knows, Colombia’s long-standing internal conflict is deepening and US involvement is growing. Yet little consensus exists about what policy options are available for resolving the conflict. We are pleased to announce that we have received generous start-up funding of $400,000 from the Ford Foundation’s Santiago office for a project designed to:

- help clarify the policy options for peace;
- train civil society sectors in order to empower Colombian citizens, analysts, and scholars who will play a major role in such a settlement;
- create a space in the United States where Colombian scholars who are at risk can go, engage in meaningful work, and find a supportive intellectual environment; and
- promote informed public dialogue and education about Colombia.

Our project is an ambitious, three-year initiative undertaken in collaboration with the Colombian Commission of Jurists (CCJ), the Inter-American Dialogue, and Notre Dame’s Center for Civil and Human Rights (CCHR) and the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies.

According to Scott Mainwaring, “Given our track record, we think we are very well positioned to provide scholarly insight to help explain the Colombian situation and publicize it in scholarly and policy channels. We hope to play a role similar to what we did in the ’80s and ’90s for South American scholars who, having left their countries under pressure from authoritarian regimes, gathered at Kellogg to reflect and discuss transitions from authoritarian rule and then returned to their countries to take leadership positions in fledgling democracies.”

To accomplish these goals, we will join forces for three years in a collaborative project that has four major components:

**Major International Conferences**

We will sponsor two major international conferences on democracy, human rights, and peace in Colombia. While seeking to advance scholarly debate and policy analysis about Colombia, we also intend to engage prominent US and Colombian leaders with the hope of fostering dialogue among actors with different perspectives. The conferences will bring together politicians, scholars, activists, journalists, Church leaders, and people from civil society who can debate various dimensions of the current crisis in Colombia. We will publish the conference volumes in the United States and in Colombia. By publicizing the major findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the conferences in the Colombian press, we hope to raise key issues and promote some shared understandings about possible solutions to the crisis.

**Research and Institutional Collaboration**

In order to provide training and research opportunities for would-be peacemakers, democratizers, and defenders of the rule of law in Colombia, the Kellogg Institute will bring three Colombian Visiting Fellows and Guest Scholars each year. The Center for Civil and Human Rights will create two new positions per year for Colombian lawyers wishing to pursue the LLM in Human Rights and will host one Visiting Scholar per year. The Kroc Institute will open one place per year for an MA student in peace studies and will also host one Visiting Scholar per year. At Notre Dame the Colombians will work within their particular areas of expertise and also work as a team under the project directors, gathering in biweekly workshops where they will address the emerging issues and evolving research agenda for building a new Colombia. They will participate fully in the activities of the CCHR, Kellogg, and Kroc.

**Internships to Support Peace and Human Rights in Colombia**

We will create six internships to strengthen contact and collaboration between Colombian human rights organizations and the international community. Ranging from three months to one year, three of these internships will enable promising Colombian civic leaders to gain practical experience working with international organizations such as the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. The other three would send well qualified graduate students from US institutions to gain field experience working with Colombian human rights organizations.

**Colombia Human Rights Resource Center**

We will create a Notre Dame facility on human rights and human rights accountability in Colombia. By combining the resource center with an interactive communication net-
An Unforgettable Week

In February, a delegation from the Kellogg Institute travelled to Colombia to meet with the Colombian Project partners. The group sought to promote the project and solicit feedback from Colombians, and to begin a transnational dialogue on how Notre Dame, as a US university, might contribute to strengthening democracy and human rights accountability in conflict-ridden societies.

Gustavo Gallón and his staff at the Colombian Commission of Jurists (CCJ) organized the visit by Scott Mainwaring, Director, Christopher Welna, Associate Director, and Sharon Schierling, Program Coordinator, along with Thomas Kellenberg, Director of Notre Dame’s Washington, DC, office. Michael Donovan, a Notre Dame alumnus currently in Colombia on a Fulbright fellowship, also joined the group.

“The CCJ arranged an almost overwhelming agenda of meetings with a wide variety of actors across the spectrum of those committed to democracy, peace, and human rights,” said Sharon Schierling. The delegation met with President Pastrana, Vice-President Bell Lemus, members of Congress, members of the Constitutional Court, high-level representatives from the Ministry of Defense and armed forces, United Nations officials, faculty and administrators from six Colombian universities, the editors of leading Colombian newspapers and journals, human rights groups, peace activists, and church leaders. All of these parties were enthusiastically supportive of the proposed project and the project’s partners. Scott Mainwaring called the trip “an unforgettable week.”

Sharon Schierling

CALL FOR PAPERS

The Kellogg Institute will sponsor a major international conference on "Democracy, Human Rights, and Peace in Colombia" to advance scholarship and public discussion about democracy, the rule of law, and conflict resolution in Colombia and to help clarify the debate over policy options for peace. The conference will be held at Notre Dame on 26–27 March 2001. The deadline for paper proposals is 1 Sept 2000.

The Colombian case poses a number of urgent questions that will be addressed in the conference: How do the dynamics of weak democracy, erosion of the state, civil war, and human rights abuses interact? What are the interests and goals of the major parties in the conflict? What can domestic actors do to reinvigorate the rule of law, end civil war, protect human rights, and revive democracy? What can foreign actors do?

If you are interested in writing a paper or chairing a panel, please contact Sharon Schierling, Program Coordinator, at Schierling.1@nd.edu. For more information, including more information on conference themes and submission guidelines, please visit our web site: http://www.nd.edu/~kellogg/papers.html

Kellogg WINS PRESTIGIOUS TITLE VI FUNDING

Notre Dame and Indiana University have been awarded a Title VI National Resource Center (NRC) grant by the US Department of Education for their Consortium in Latin American Studies. “This award will allow us to enhance considerably Kellogg’s well-established expertise, training, and outreach on Latin America,” according to Christopher Welna, Associate Director and incoming Director of the Latin American Area Studies Program (LAASP).

The NRC will combine the resources of the Kellogg Institute and IU’s Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CLACS) with the aim of providing and strengthening:

• comprehensive undergraduate and graduate programs in Latin American studies;
• instruction in foreign languages used in the region and training in foreign language aspects of professional and other fields of study;
• resources and opportunities for training and research on issues in world affairs that concern one or more countries of the region;
• outreach and consultative services on a national, regional, and local basis; and
• linkages with overseas institutions of higher education and other organizations that may contribute to teaching and research in Latin American studies.

The Title VI grant provides funds for three years for a variety of activities, including Consortium faculty exchanges, interdisciplinary research workshops, library acquisitions, new course materials, a regional college speakers’ circuit, language and area studies instruction, and international travel by faculty. In addition to NRC activities, each university will offer summer and academic-year Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowships each year for graduate students enrolled in a program of training in Spanish, Portuguese, or other language used in the region.
Lectures and Seminars Related to Kellogg Research Themes

What are the prospects for new democracies and how do ‘old’ democracies compare?

February 1  Scott Mainwaring (Government/KI), “Modernization and Democracy in Latin America, 1945–1996”
February 15 Carlos Huneeus (KI Visiting Fellow/CORPCERC & Catholic University of Chile), “Institutional Resources for Authoritarian Leadership: The Case of General Augusto Pinochet in Chile”
February 24 Larissa Adler Lomnitz (KI Visiting Fellow/Visiting Garza Professor of Mexican Studies/UNAM), “The Effects of Globalization in the Power Structure of Mexico”
March 2 Alberto Spektorowski (KI Guest Scholar/Tel Aviv University), “Integralists and Populists in Argentina: The Antiliberal Syndrome and the Crises of Argentina’s Democracy in the 1930s”
April 4 Michael Shifter (Inter-American Dialogue), “US Policy towards Latin America: Costs of Inertia”
April 11 Michael Coppedge (Government/KI), “Some Provocative Ideas about the Quality of Democracy”
May 2 Susan Stokes (University of Chicago), “Markets, Mandates, and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise in Latin America”

What are the opportunities for economic growth in developing countries?

January 13 Edward N. Beatty (Duquesne University), “Immigrant Machines: Patents and Technology Transfer in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexico”
April 17 Cosponsored with the Center for Civil and Human Rights (CCCHR) and the Law School: Patricia Feeney (OXFAM–United Kingdom), “The Rights-Based Approach to Development: Is It Making a Difference”?
How can government policies promote social well-being?

February 8  Africa Seminar Series, cosponsored with the Kroc Institute: Michael Barnett (University of Wisconsin), “The UN’s ‘Retreat with Honor’ from the Rwandan Genocide”


What fosters a vigorous civil society?


February 23  Cosponsored with the Department of Sociology: David Smilde (University of Chicago and Universidad Central de Venezuela), “Rupture or Continuity? Evangelical Political Culture in the Election of Hugo Chávez”

February 29  Mary Ann Mahony (History/KI), “We are the descendants of indians': Indigenous Identity and Land Struggles in Early Republican Bahia, Brazil”

April 18  Volker Frank (KI Visiting Fellow/University of North Carolina), “Labor Movement Strategies in Democratic Chile”

April 27  Cosponsored with the Kroc Institute: Ashutosh Varshney (Government/KI), “Ethnic Conflict and Rational Choice”

How does religion shape public life?

Romero Week 2000, cosponsored by Latin American/North American Church Concerns (LANACC) and the Kroc Institute:

March 21  Seminar: Marie Dennis (Maryknoll Office for Global Concerns) and Matthew Ashley (Theology), “The Spirituality of Archbishop Romero”;

March 22  Seminar: Angela Anderson (Government/Theology), “…That there may be more and more small Christian communities.”

Religion, Politics and Society Series, cosponsored with the Department of Theology:

March 23  Brian Smith (Ripon College), “Catholicism and Politics in Latin America: Current Trends and Future Trajectories”


Cultural Events

February 1  International Film Series: Abre los ojos [Open Your Eyes], Spain (Alejandro Amenabar, 1997)

February 28  Cosponsored with the Snite Museum of Art: Special tour of the art exhibit “Breaking Barriers: Selections from the Fort Lauderdale Museum of Art’s Permanent Contemporary Cuban Collection”

February 29  International Film Series, cosponsored with the Snite Museum of Art: Buena Vista Social Club, Cuba/Germany (Wim Wenders, 1999)

March 3  Cosponsored with La Alianza: A Celebration of Carnaval with Chicago Samba

March 27  Cosponsored with the Snite Museum of Art: Special tour of the photography exhibit “Maya Color: The Painted Houses of Mesoamerica,” by Jeffrey Becom

March 28  International Film Series: Técnicas del duelo [Details of a Duel], Colombia (Sergio Cabrera, 1998)

For more information about these and other Institute activities, please contact Academic Coordinator Gabriela Mossi, University of Notre Dame, Kellogg Institute, 216 Hesburgh Center, Notre Dame, IN 46556, (219) 631-6580, or mossi.1@nd.edu, or visit our Website (www.nd.edu/~kellogg) under Calendar of Events.
Special Events

August 24  Kellogg Fellows’ Meeting and Welcome Reception
September 8  Welcome Picnic for Kellogg Fellows, Visitors, and Staff
September 14  Roundtable on Colombia, cosponsored with the Center for Civil and Human Rights and the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies: Ana María Bejarano (KI Guest Scholar/University of the Andes), Álvaro Camacho (KI Visiting Fellow/National University of Colombia), Eduardo Pizarro (National University of Colombia), and Nora Segura (KI Visiting Fellow/National University of Colombia)
September 21–22  Kellogg Institute Advisory Council Meeting
October 25  Latin American Area Programs Program Reception

Cultural Events

September 14  Mariachi Perla de México and Inauguration of Hispanic Heritage Month cosponsored with La Alianza
October 5  Irene Farrera, Venezuelan singer/guitarist, cosponsored with La Alianza and the Institute for Latino Studies

Latin American Film Series

August 29  Guantánamera, Cuba (Tomás Gutiérrez Alea/Juan C. Tabo, 1995)
September 26  Águilas no cazan moscas [Eagles Do Not Hunt Flies], Colombia (Sergio Cabrera, 1995)
October 24  La ley de Herodes [Herod’s Law], Mexico (Luis Estrada, 1999)
November 21  Pantaleón y las visitadoras [Captain Pantoja and the Special Services], Peru (Francisco Lombardi, 1999)

Lecture and Seminar Series

September 5  Manuel Alcántara (KI Visiting Fellow/University of Salamanca), “Internal Structure and Organization of the Political Parties of Latin America”
September 7  Gretchen Helmke (KI Visiting Fellow/University of Chicago), “Court-Executive Relations and the Logic of Strategic Defection: The Re-election Controversy in Argentina”
September 12  Jacint Jordana (Inter-American Development Bank), “The Emergence of Multilevel Governments in Latin America: The Role of Intergovernmental Relationships”
September 26  Luis Pásara (KI Visiting Fellow/MINUGUA), “Judicial Reform and Citizenship in Latin America”
September 28  Kathleen Collins (Stanford University), “Clans, Pacts, and Politics: Understanding Regime Transition in Central Asia”
October 3  Guillermo Palacios y Olivares (KI Visiting Fellow/El Colegio de México), “Intelectuals and the Peasant Question in Mexico, 1920–40”
October 26  Kevin Healy (Inter-American Foundation), “Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate: Indigenous Grassroots Development Experiences from the Andes and Amazon Bolivia”
November 3  Jeffrey Frankel (Harvard University), “Economic Globalization, the WTO, the IMF, and the Syndrome of Undifferentiated Criticism”
November 30  Guillermo O’Donnell (Government/KI), “Further Thoughts on Democratic Theory and Comparative Politics”

Preliminary schedule: for time, venues, and further updates, please check our website at www.nd.edu/~kellogg/events.html.