Weffort, Barbosa Inaugurate Chair in Brazilian Culture

Inaugurating a newly created Chair, Brazilian Minister of Culture Francisco Weffort introduced Brazil’s Ambassador to the United States, Rubens A. Barbosa.

On April 24 the Ambassador delivered a lecture on Brazil’s foreign relations to an audience that included Ambassador Alexandre Addor, Brazil’s Consul in Chicago. Barbosa argued for trade that is truly free from protective duties and politically motivated sanctions.

The Visiting Chair in the Study of Brazilian Culture was created jointly by the Ministry of Culture and the Kellogg Institute.

► See page 7 for an interview with Chair occupant Beatriz Jaguaribe.

► Turn to page 9 for a conversation with Weffort.

Former Chilean President Awarded Notre Dame Prize

Holds Q&A with Students

On April 23, Patricio Aylwin Azocar accepted the second annual Notre Dame Prize for Distinguished Public Service in Latin America from University President Rev. Edward Malloy, CSC. Chile’s first democratically elected president after military rule, Aylwin is widely regarded as one of the outstanding Latin American presidents of the 20th century. During his tenure (1990–94), he established a government that reconstructed democracy in the aftermath of the Pinochet dictatorship (1973–90). Aylwin’s selection recognizes his work to further the public good in Chile and celebrates his life of commitment to liberty and justice.

Created with a gift from the Coca-Cola Company, the ND Prize carries a cash award of $10,000. An additional $10,000 goes to a Latin American charitable organization chosen by the recipient. Aylwin selected Obra Don Orione del Pequeño Cottolengo Chileno as the matching prize recipient.

An expert on Chilean politics, Notre Dame Executive Vice President Rev. Timothy Scully, CSC, welcomed Aylwin and guests from throughout the hemisphere. Fellow Chilean and former Vice President of the Coca-Cola Company, Pedro Pablo Díaz, affectionately introduced Aylwin, and Kellogg Director Scott Mainwaring delivered closing remarks.

► See page 14 for the Q&A with Aylwin.
The Kellogg Institute has changed a great deal since its inception in 1982. In its early years, it was a smaller operation than it has become, and it had a strong core identity, focused around three issues in South America: democratization, economic development, and the political and social role of the Catholic Church. Guillermo O’Donnell and Alejandro Foxley, who helped establish the Institute’s research identity, were not only hemispheric intellectual leaders, but were also important actors in the struggle to rebuild democracy in South America. The Institute’s identity was profoundly marked by a commitment to democratic values, and its research reflected that commitment.

Over the years, we have taken on more themes and expanded our geographic focus. Emblematic of this change are two of the recent (spring 2001) tenure track faculty appointments made possible with the Kellogg Institute’s financial resources. Isabel Ferreira will join the Notre Dame faculty in August as an assistant professor who specializes in literature. While adding to Notre Dame’s expertise in Brazil, Portugal, and Africa, her disciplinary background is different from that of the core group at the Institute 15 years ago. Kathleen Collins is an Assistant Professor of Government who focuses on political clans, political regimes, and religion and politics in Central Asia. Kathleen helps the Institute expand to a new geographic region while adding to our rich concentration of social scientists interested in issues of democratization.

Among many other signs of change is the recently begun expansion of the Hesburgh Center for International Studies. Inaugurated in 1990, the building is no longer big enough. In recent years, we have been bursting at the seams; indeed, we’ve had to curtail some programs because of spatial constraints, and we’ve had as many as three Visiting Fellows and Guest Scholars sharing a single office.

Growth creates challenges as well as opportunities. One of our challenges has been maintaining an identity in the midst of so much growth. A smaller institute created at a particular moment in Latin American history developed a very strong core identity. Indiscriminate growth and proliferation of activities could dilute that identity to the point that it is meaningless. The creation of Working Groups, for example, could have produced a centrifugal force that created a vacuum at the core of the Institute.

In this context, I am pleased to note that even as we have changed and grown, we continue to bear many of the same trademarks that characterized the Kellogg Institute in 1982. Our spring 2001 conferences revolved around the theme of democracy. The support of Brazil’s Ministry of Culture for Visiting Fellows and cultural activities has strengthened our connection to Latin America’s largest country. The third new faculty appointment supported by Kellogg Institute resources, Gretchen Helmke, is a political scientist who works on the judiciary in Latin America. The Working Groups have allowed us to expand geographically (the Africa Working Group) and take up new themes (the Internet) while at the same time enabling us to deepen our work on democracy and political economy. Our Visiting Fellows program and our publications continue to bear the mark of our origins. Overall, the Institute continues to bear witness to the concerns that led to its creation in 1982. Of course, growing in a multiplicity of ways while maintaining a core identity and a distinctive mission as part of a Catholic university will remain an ongoing challenge.

I thank my friends, Fran Hagopian (former Acting Director) and Chris Welna (Associate Director), for their splendid leadership at the Institute during the year I was on leave (January–December 2000).
SPRING 2001 VISITORS

A rich and vibrant intellectual environment—"I appreciated the broad range of speakers and workshops, and I was in awe of the fantastic people the Institute attracted," said Sarah Brooks of her experience as a Visiting Fellow. Brooks will travel to China this summer with a group of academics who will study local village elections in the state of Guangdong (formerly Canton) and the Pearl River Delta in order to design an electoral system for the Local People's Congress. For Jason Wittenberg, who came south from the University of Wisconsin to winter in South Bend, "the opportunity to have long periods of uninterrupted research time was invaluable." In addition to their research interactions and participation in seminars, this semester's Visiting Fellows organized a Latin Fiesta and contributed to Kellogg's intellectual life through a variety of scholarly activities.

Larissa Lomnitz and David Smilde, who held joint appointments as Visiting Professors, taught undergraduate courses in Anthropology and Sociology, respectively. Smilde, who will take up a position at the University of Georgia this fall, recently published "Protagonismo Cultural desde la Pobreza: Respuesta a Mikel de Viana," Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales, 5 (1) (January–March) 2001. Lomnitz and Smilde also participated in Title VI outreach activities, as did Benito Nacif (see page 15). Eduardo Pizarro and Guest Scholar Ana María Bejarano were panelists for the conference "Democracy, Human Rights, and Peace in Colombia" (see page 11). Pizarro and Bejarano, who spent a year at Kellogg, will move this fall to Princeton University, where they will be involved in the creation of an Andean Studies Center. Bejarano recently published "The Constitution of 1991: An Institutional Evaluation Seven Years After," in Charles A. Bergquist and Gonzalo Sanchez (editors), published "Protagonismo Cultural desde la Pobreza: Respuesta a Mikel de Viana," Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales, 5 (1) (January–March) 2001.

Fall 2001 Visiting Residential Fellows

Catalina Romero  
Department of Social Sciences  
Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú  
Lima, Peru  
*Title VI Visiting Professor of Sociology*

Edward Schatz  
Davis Center for Russian Studies  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts  
*Ethnic Conflict and Elite Framing in Post-Soviet Central Asia*

Iván Orozco  
Institute for the Study of Politics and International Relations (IEPRI)  
Universidad Nacional de Colombia  
Bogotá, Colombia  
*Democracy, Human Rights, and Peace in Colombia*

Fall 2001 Guest Scholars

David Altman  
Department of Government and International Studies  
University of Notre Dame  
Notre Dame, Indiana  
*The Politics of Coalition Formation and Survival under Multiparty Presidential Regimes*

Rev. Robert Dowd, CSC  
Department of Political Science  
University of Notre Dame  
Notre Dame, Indiana  
*Evangelical Protestantism, the Catholic Church and the State in Latin America*

Julia López López  
Department of Law  
Universidad Pompeu Fabra  
Barcelona, Spain  
*Legal Ramifications of Globalization*

Luis Pásara  
MINUGUA  
Guatemala, Guatemala  
*The Guatemalan Peace Process: Accomplishments and Lessons*
NEW KELLOGG FACULTY FELLOWS

Kellogg welcomes four new Faculty Fellows to our scholarly community at Notre Dame.

R. Scott Appleby is the John M. Regan Jr. Director of the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, the Director of the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, and Professor of History. He received his PhD in history from the University of Chicago (1985) and now teaches courses in American religious history and comparative religious movements. From 1988 to 1993, Appleby was co-director of the Fundamentalism Project, an international public policy study conducted by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Prior to that he chaired the religious studies department of St. Xavier College in Chicago. His thematic interests include comparative religion and politics, roots of religious violence, the role of religion in peace building, and Roman Catholicism in international affairs. Appleby's most recent book is The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), a study commissioned by the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict.

Allert Brown-Gort, Associate Director for the Institute for Latino Studies (ILS), received his master’s degree from the LBJ School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin (1998). Before coming to Notre Dame to help launch ILS in 1999, Brown-Gort was the Associate Director of the Inter-University Program for Latino Research at UT-Austin. A native of Mexico, he previously taught at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM). Brown-Gort has extensive experience working with governments and cultural institutions in Latin America, particularly in Mexico, the Mercosur countries, and Chile. Currently, Brown-Gort is involved in two major research undertakings. The first is an Inter-American project on civil service reform for which he recently received a conference seed grant from KI. The second is a national qualitative study of the opinions of the Mexican migrant and Mexican–American communities on immigration issues—specifically on the creation of a new guest-worker program, the possibility for amnesty for undocumented workers, and possible political consequences. (see page 6)

Roberto Da Matta, the Rev. Edmund P. Joyce Professor of Anthropology, is a native of Brazil. He taught anthropology at the National Museum of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro before coming to Notre Dame in 1987. The originality of his thought has made him Brazil's most cited and one of the most important Brazilian intellectuals. He has been a visiting professor at many institutions in the US, Brazil, and Europe, and has lectured at every important anthropological center in the world. He has been a consultant to the Brazilian Research Council, the Social Sciences Research Council, the Smithsonian Institution, the Guggenheim Foundation, the Ford Foundation and both the Brazilian and American Anthropological Associations. Widely published, he also wrote and presented two national television series and he writes regularly for the São Paulo newspaper Jornal da Tarde. In recognition for his outstanding career as a writer, researcher and educator, Da Matta was honored with the Medal of Scientific Merit from the Brazilian National Research Council; he was elected recently as a fellow of the Brazilian Academy of Sciences and as a Foreign Honorary Member to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the leading learned society in the US.

Rev. Virgilio Elizondo is a Professor at the Mexican American Cultural Center in San Antonio as well as a Visiting Professor of Theology at the University of Notre Dame. He currently serves as the senior research scholar for the Pew Charitable Funds Project on Hispanic churches in American public life. He holds his S.T.D. and PhD from the Institut Catholique in Paris (1978) and honorary degrees from five institutions of higher education. Fr. Elizondo has received numerous honors and awards, including the Lactare Medal from the University of Notre Dame in 1997 and the Johannes Quasten Award for excellence and leadership in theological development presented by the Catholic University of America in Washington, DC, in 1997. In May of 1995, the City Council of San Antonio commissioned a downtown plaza to be named “The Father Elizondo Plaza” in recognition of his efforts at international understanding. Recently featured in Time magazine (December 11, 2000) as a spiritual innovator, Fr. Elizondo was lauded as “a priest-academic (who) has taken the stigma of Hispanic otherness and transformed it into a triumphant Catholic theology of mestizaje.”

Michael Coppendge (Government) published “Modernización y umbrales de democracia: Evidencias de un camino y un proceso comunes,” in E. López and S. Mainwaring, comps., *Democracia: Discusiones y nuevas aproximaciones*, translated by H. Pons (Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2000). Coppendge was appointed board member of the Joint IPSA/APSA Research Committee on Concepts and Methods.

Frances Hagopian (Government) published “Political Development, Revisited,” *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (6-7, part of a special double issue, *Comparative Politics in the Year 2000*).


A. James McAdams (Government) published *Judging the Past in Unified Germany* (CUP, 2001).


Congratulations to Patrick Gaffney, CSC, Andy Gould, Kristine Ibsen, and James McAdams, recipients of Kaneb Teaching Awards.

Our Leading Light…” Kellogg Director Scott Mainwaring won a 2001 Presidential Award for his distinguished research, administration, and teaching. He was referred to as “the most prolific scholar of his generation.”
Speaking of Sanctions…

George Lopez (Kroc Institute's Director of Policy Studies) spent much of February–March in the DC–N.Y.C. corridor in dialogue with UN officials regarding economic sanctions on Iraq. A recent study by Lopez and his colleague David Cortright not only stirred discussion but influenced the particulars of new Security Council resolutions being discussed on Iraqi sanctions. Lopez explains, “We found ourselves being asked... to assess the viability of particular strategies that they were considering adopting. Moreover, members of one nation’s UN mission would probe us on what the reaction to our ideas had been at the mission of another country. We were becoming ‘go-betweens’ on sensitive issues.”

Recognizing that a variety of actions and circumstances had led to a significant deterioration of the decade-old sanctions against Iraq during the summer, Lopez and his colleagues sketched alternative scenarios for restructuring economic sanctions that would restore Security Council control over sanctions, while relieving their terrible impact on the Iraqi people and attaining the goal of constraining Iraq's ability to produce weapons of mass destruction.

Since he began his groundbreaking research in 1992 with David Cortright, Lopez has played an increasingly important role in the reformulation of Security Council sanctions policy. In early 1999, he and Cortright were commissioned by the Canadian government and the International Peace Academy to write a detailed history of UN Security Council sanctions and to offer practical recommendations for sanctions reform. What originally was meant to be a 70-page report became a book, The Sanctions Decade (Rienner 2000), selected as Choice Outstanding Academic Title, and its recommendations were noted by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan at a UN forum in April.

In the fall of 2000, Allert Brown-Gort (Institute for Latino Studies) served on a transition team for Immigration and Mexican Communities Abroad for the incoming administration of President Vicente Fox of Mexico. In this capacity he worked to assist in the creation of a new President’s Office for Migrants. An important element of this work was the coordination of a nation-wide qualitative study of the views of Mexican Americans and Mexican nationals resident in the DC–N.Y.C. corridor in dialogue with UN officials regarding economic sanctions on Iraq. A recent study by Lopez and his colleague David Cortright not only stirred discussion but influenced the particulars of new Security Council resolutions being discussed on Iraqi sanctions. Lopez explains, “We found ourselves being asked... to assess the viability of particular strategies that they were considering adopting. Moreover, members of one nation’s UN mission would probe us on what the reaction to our ideas had been at the mission of another country. We were becoming ‘go-betweens’ on sensitive issues.”

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Michael Coppedge was invited to lecture on “Venezuela” at the seminar “Latin American Democracies At Risk,” for the National Security Agency.
Can you give just a little bit of background about your academic trajectory and how you got where you are today?

At Stanford, I did a PhD in comparative literature. I was profoundly interested in how the modern novels of Latin America were reflecting, working and analyzing the experiences of modernity at that moment. I was deeply interested in the poetics of modernity and how these Latin American authors were responding to modernity. When I returned to Brazil, I had somewhat of a shock. And the shock was, after having been away from Brazil for many years, the enormous impact of Brazil’s mass media culture. I began exploring the dialogue between my culture of printed words and of literature, and this new mass media culture. I found overwhelming the disappearance of the culture of critique that had arisen against the authoritarian practices of the military regime. Brazil was a democratic nation, but at the same time, it was a democratic nation where this new cultural industry dominated the cultural products of the intelligentsia, of the culture of letters.

All of this impressed me very much, and I have been trying to understand it. My intellectual development has been not only from literature to the broader mass media and urban culture, but actually, from a kind of city of letters to a city of images, and how the dialogue between these two is being played out in Brazil.

Talk more about a city of letters versus a city of images.

Well, Río was a city of letters to the extent that in the late 19th century, the image of the city was created by newspapers, by a group of writers who were part of the intelligentsia and, often, also members of the government elite. But Río was also a city of music, a city of Afro-Brazilian influence, although that was not its official facade. Is this split identity something that happened and happens in the rest of the world? Yes, but the distinction is the degree to which people have access to formal education that encourages the practice of reading. When you think about Brazil, you confront the enormous number of people who were (until recently) illiterate, who had very little opportunity for formal education. And all of a sudden, radio appears—you could listen to anything without having to know how to read and write. And the same happened with television.

I think an enormous impact results from this short-circuiting the entrance into modernity, at least into one kind of modernity. It’s not that everyone is literate, but while people may no longer do well in a print culture, they still have immediate access to this visual culture. I keep thinking of the impact of informatics and the computer, and it’s a very interesting ongoing process.

At the same time, with the widespread use of the Internet in Brazil, people are beginning to write again. They’re beginning to use written forms of communication that had practically died out. So it’s not that a visual culture substitutes for a culture of print, but I think there are different balances of what has a stronger influence. In Brazil right now, I would say that the visual culture is dominant.

And as you said, it’s caused a rapid entry into this modern age...

One manifestation of this is the Brazilian soap opera. Some are traditional soap operas, some are inventive, and some are critical. These soap operas are arguing out forms of subjectivity, lifestyles, and patterns of behavior. They’re fabricating typologies for people to watch and access. They’re emphasizing a form of dialogue, and it’s interesting to observe how people key into those dialogues and how they establish a kind of cultural exchange. Once I was walking through Pelorinho in Salvador da Bahía, and this woman next to me said in this very strong Bahian accent that she was very happy because her neighbor had said that she spoke just like Tietê. Tietê was a character of Jorge Amado Novo who had been transplanted into a soap opera. So what you had was a fabrication of a Bahian accent by Rede Globo Network, which the local Bahians were doing their best to emulate.

You talked in your lecture about mestizagem. I’d like you to talk about the evolution of race relations in Brazil. Where do you think they are headed?

What is disappointing about Brazil is that the country has not been able to form a truly strong mestizo or black middle class, and people of color tend to be on the lower scales of society. But what does that really mean in terms of an imagined community, and what does that really mean in terms of social interaction? I think the answer is very ambiguous. Brazil is a racist country, but at the same time,
FELLOWS • INTERVIEW

it is a country of very little racial tension. It is a country with a terrible distribution of wealth, but at the same time, it is a country with an astounding amount of social opportunity. These are the tremendous paradoxes that shape Brazil. I feel that, in one way or another, to be Brazilian necessarily implies cultural hybridity, necessarily implies transculturation. There’s no way that you can participate in the notion of Brazilianness without engaging in that in one way or another.

You’ve talked about the haunting of the present by the past, and how Brazil is searching, how you’re searching to understand how Brazil’s past haunts its present. Do you want to talk a little bit more about that concept?

 Brazilians are not very interested in their historical past, which contributes to the search for modernity that has been actively undertaken by governments and politicians since the 19th century. And even though there is not an actual search for the past, however, the past does haunt us. Traditional forms of social relations survive, for example, the way employers and their servants relate to each other hearkens back to previous forms of socialization. The interesting challenge is how to make the presence of the past into something constructive and to not naturalize present social circumstances as inevitable because they’ve always been that way.

Another big issue is that in Brazil, and I think elsewhere, we have a nostalgia for a future. In the late 19th century, you had the Republic, a very oligarchic, not at all democratic, republic. But it did have its positive motto of “Order and Progress.” Then you had Getúlio Vargas, who made amazing strides in modernizing Brazil, then Juscelino Kubitschek, then the military dictatorship. All those people, in one way or another, emphasized Brazil as the country of the future, with modernity as redemption. What is happening now, not only in Brazil but in general, is we no longer have an idea of the future as tied to a collective utopia. There is a crisis of what kind of future we are going to have because the future seems to be just an ongoing process of newer computers, more commodities, more this, more that. I would say that in Brazil right now, we’re really in a crisis in relation to the future. The narrative of progress gave the idea that the future was going to be substantially different from the present. Before, people actually believed in some kind of a revolutionary rupture. I think this narrative of rupture is no longer there. So what you have are strategies of getting by, of making things work better, but not of real change. So in that sense, the future doesn’t seem to be radically different from what the present is.

What’s the biggest challenge facing Brazil?

The biggest challenge facing Brazil is to dramatically reverse the social and economic disparities among its people, altering this very pitiable record of having one of the world’s worst distributions of wealth. It is not feasible to continue in this way.

Jean Olson

Beatriz Jaguaribe occupied the Visiting Chair in the Study of Brazilian Culture this spring. She is one of the most innovative and lively scholars of contemporary Brazilian culture. She is a professor of comparative communications at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. In her teaching and research, Jaguaribe links artistic productions, lived experiences, and academic discourses. Her cultural maps of urban Brazil are designed to foment critical debate about estrangement, belonging, and diversity. Her latest publication is The Guide-Map of the Marvelous in Rio de Janeiro.
From Militant to Minister of Culture: A CONVERSATION WITH FRANCISCO WEFFORT

MINISTER OF CULTURE FOR BRAZIL since 1995, Weffort was previously a Visiting Fellow at Kellogg in 1990-91 and a professor of political science at the University of São Paulo, where he published and lectured widely on politics. Returning to Kellogg to inaugurate the Chair in Brazilian Culture which he helped to create, he shared his views about the Chair, culture, and his path from professor into politics.

What are the Ministry’s hopes in creating chairs* in Brazilian culture in association with US universities?

Our most important objective is promoting the diffusion of Brazilian culture and the chance for more people to know something about Brazil. A second objective is to give a chance for Brazilian teachers and scholars to have the opportunity to work at an excellent center in the US. This interaction helps improve the quality of our universities.

Why Notre Dame?

I worked here, I know something about how the institution works. ND has real roots in the study of Brazil and Latin American countries. You are not beginners; you have an experienced team in studying Latin America. This is very important. You have a curriculum that I would like to see in other centers in America and Europe. If someone comes here from Brazil or from any other country in Latin America, he/she will have in this university the best in terms of knowledge, research, relations, and connections. Last but not least, because I have friends here!

You were one of the co-founders of the PT (Workers’ Party, a leftist party) and one of Brazil’s most distinguished social scientists. At the same moment in your life, you made a double transition—first, away from the PT and towards a government led by a centrist party (the PSDB) and second, from being a scholar and public intellectual to being a cabinet member. Why did you make this double transition?

When I was at Kellogg in 1990–91, I was in a transition from being a PT activist to my previous condition of professor and academic researcher. This double-change was possible because first, I was changing. Second, because the president elected in 1994, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, had been my teacher at the University.

We are old friends, and he asked me to take on this responsibility. Third, the invitation I received was an area of concern for me. So it was a change, but not a big one. I have continued to work with the same criteria: I didn’t change my views about politics or about what kind of society we are striving to create.

What have been your most important objectives as Minister of Culture?

One of my foremost objectives is bolstering democracy by fostering culture. Brazilian culture is an open culture...a mixture of pieces of a nation. It is much more tolerant than our political tradition, which has a heavy dose of authoritarianism. If you can change Brazilian culture, you are helping build citizenship, and you are helping build democracy.

I am convinced...that in Brazil’s Federal Government, the diffusion of culture is more important than the production of culture. If you are trying to connect the idea of culture to the idea of democracy, the main government priority is to give more people a chance to know something about culture. The diffusion of culture helps build a nation and supports the development of national democratic citizenship. This is what we are doing in the Ministry of Culture.

On the topic of national heritage, the preservation of cultural historical memory—embodied in buildings, churches, monuments— is our main practical objective. This objective connects directly with the previous idea of democracy and growth of citizenship. People have actively supported the protection of historic buildings; there is a sense of national responsibility about this issue.

Another important objective is books and reading. Brazil has nearly 5,500 counties. The small, poor counties have no public library, so we are putting money in them, which is very important for the diffusion of knowledge. This project helps children and the public in general learn about our country. Brazil is an urbanized country with an agrarian memory, and building public libraries is very important.

We have supported at least one thousand musical groups (bandas de música) in small towns. These groups blend the popular and the erudite; they bring excellent music to lots of people. Another example is that exhibitions of art, paintings, and sculpture are routinely made accessible to a broad public of big cities. We supported a very important exhibition of the celebration of Brazil—the celebration of the 500 years of the country. This exhibition presented a panorama of...culture in Brazil. The organizers bussed public school kids to see the exhibition—that is the normal procedure for exhibitions we sponsor. It’s part of the job to get children and to drive them to the exhibition.

This is done through the education system, with the public school teachers and mainly with poor children, because they are the large majority. The main idea is that the diffusion of culture is more important than its production because through broader diffusion we can democratize culture.

You’ve always been committed to equalization of opportunity, to expanding citizenship and social and cultural opportunities for the less privileged. Culture is often understood to be something erudite and for the privileged. What opportunities have you had to expand the meaning of culture and to promote the diffusion of culture to the non-privileged?

That change of the meaning of culture is in process. Culture, from my point of view, is not only for the upper classes. Brazil has a unique mixture of popular and high culture. There is no clear-cut separation between high and popular culture. For example, Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887–1959), the renowned Brazilian classical musician, tried to get to the roots of Brazilian popular music.

Museums are a way to create a new public—to educate a future public. From the point of view of relating high and popular culture, museums give poor kids a chance to see different forms of art. The Law of Culture obliges us to think about not only the artist but also the citizen. We give incentives for the development not only of the arts, but also of the public citizen. If we sponsor a classical orchestra, we always ask that they offer a free concert. In this way, the presentation of classical music becomes public art in a public space for the general public.

*Editor’s note: The Brazilian Ministry of Culture is providing support to Kellogg for Visiting Professors from Brazil and other Brazilian cultural activities.
Rethinking Democracy, Human Rights, and Peace in Colombia

What are the sources—as opposed to symptoms—of Colombia’s notorious problems today? What roles do weak institutions, guerrilla war, civilian killings, drugs and foreign aid play? Which problems should be addressed first—and how? These questions challenged scholars, officials, and civic leaders from Colombia and the US who joined a conference at the Institute on March 26–27. The meeting aimed to produce new research that looks beyond the closely followed drug issue to examine underlying problems of democracy, human rights and peace in Colombia. The Ford Foundation (Santiago Office) sponsored the conference as part of its support for a broader project that supports Colombian research on the conflict and graduate training in conflict resolution and human rights law. The Colombian Commission of Jurists, Kellogg Institute, Kroc Institute, Center for Civil and Human Rights and Inter-American Dialogue are partners in the project.

Death on the Rise, State on the Wane?

Papers in a second panel focused on protecting human rights and redressing abuses. Conference co-chair Gustavo Gallón presented data collected by the Colombian Commission of Jurists detailing the deteriorating human rights situation. He echoed Braun’s point that violence is not new to Colombia but noted that in the last semester, political killings have doubled to 20 per day. Robin Kirk (Human Rights Watch) presented gripping accounts of political killings in Colombia and of the “deber peligro” or “hazardous duty” many human rights workers face, and went on to link Colombia’s violence to US drug consumption. Commentator Juan Méndez (Notre Dame Center for Civil and Human Rights) noted that the Colombian armed forces don’t stage coups and do obey the civilian command. Even when they are cruel, he argued, they get “plausible deniability” by hiding behind the paramilitaries, so they have a sphere of autonomy that’s difficult to penetrate. He added that the US strengthened authoritarian aspects of the state when it waived the human rights conditionality on US aid, sending a signal that the military need not improve human rights outcomes in order to receive US money. Iván Orozco (National University of Colombia) spoke of the need for forceful international pressure, particularly from the US, to change the current human rights environment. A contentious issue in the ensuing discussion was whether scholars and human rights practitioners, in making strong criticisms of the Colombian state, might contribute to the
weakening of the state, leading to more violence and greater human rights violations.

Get International Help
In his keynote address, Colombian Ambassador to the United States Luis Alberto Moreno spoke about US–Colombia relations and the need to strengthen ties between the countries, particularly in matters of free trade. His prescription for protecting human rights and promoting the rule of law in Colombia boiled down to a single priority: “strengthen the government institutions” with international help. He took questions from both scholars and practitioners, strongly defending the human rights record of President Pastrana.

Narcotics, Markets and Power
Authors on a third panel focused on issues of narcotics trafficking and the rule of law. Andrés López Restrepo (National University of Colombia) and Alvaro Camacho (University of the Andes) outlined the shift from a few large trafficker organizations to several hundred smaller ones operating in Colombia and their tendency to export through Mexico, reducing their profit but also their exposure to risk. Francisco Gutiérrez (National University of Colombia) discussed the impact of organized crime on Colombia’s political system. Commentator Francisco Thoumi (Florida International University) pointed out that Colombia’s expansion in the drug trade during the last 10 years has been supply-driven because US demand has remained constant and the increase in Colombian narcotics production pre-dated successful eradication in Peru and Bolivia (which others argue merely shifted to Colombia).

Fan Clubs, Micro-enterprises and Election Rules
A fourth panel focused on improving the quality of democracy in Colombia. Ana María Bejarano (KI) and Eduardo Pizarro (KI) illustrated how electoral “micro-enterprises” have replaced parties in national elections since the constitutional reform of 1990, and discussed electoral reforms to revive Colombian democracy. Erika Moreno (University of Arizona) and Luis Fajardo (Colombia’s Rosario University) presented work co-authored with Matthew Shugart (University of California, San Diego), which focused on a specific electoral system reform that would change seat allocation. They recommended that linkages between citizens and representatives must be strengthened to avoid politics by “fan clubs,” arguing that it is important to provide incentives for behavior. Commentator John Dugas (Kalamazoo College) would not cast his ballot for one proposed reform: compulsory voting. He went on to express skepticism about the “miracles of institutional engineering,” noting that informal institutions are influential in politics but are more difficult to transform.

Sticks or Carrots?
In a closing panel, authors took up the issue of exploring the US impact on the Colombian situation. Clemencia Rodríguez (University of Oklahoma) argued that in the late 1990s, the US media gave US readers an excessively narrow view of events in Colombia. Arlene Tickner (University of the Andes) argued that while Clinton said in his 1992 campaign that he would depart from the first Bush administration’s supply-reduction strategies, he abandoned that position after the 1994 elections when Republicans took control of Congress and accused him of being soft on drugs. Cynthia Arnson (Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars) argued that the United States is focusing on the ‘sticks’ rather than the ‘carrots’ of international diplomacy. She noted that many State Department officials in charge of Colombia policy previously worked on El Salvador and tend to overstate the similarities between the two cases. Commentator Michael Shifter (Inter-American Dialogue) argued that Washington policy circles admit that current US drug policy has not worked. Comparing it to the debate on the Cuba embargo, he said policymakers point to the rhetorical and symbolic importance of appearing “tough” or of “doing something” about the issue so that there isn’t much space to pursue a different kind of policy.

Papers Online
Co-chairs Gustavo Gallón (Colombian Commission of Jurists) and Christopher Welna (KI) plan to publish revised versions of the papers in English and Spanish. Read draft versions of the papers on the Kellogg website at www.nd.edu/~kellogg
countries with long authoritarian traditions made unexpected advances in democratization while other traditionally democratic polities suffered serious setbacks? Is there a common shared criteria or threshold to evaluate democratic advances? Until a wave of democratization began in 1978, authoritarian regimes were pervasive in much of Latin America. Democracies in many countries were short-lived. Happily, democracy has been more extensive and durable since 1978. Yet at the same time, the new democracies are not unqualified successes. To address such questions and compare democratization experiences throughout the region, the Institute gathered over 20 country experts, scholars, and governmental leaders involved with processes of democratization. The conference, co-chaired by Kellogg Director Scott Mainwaring and Frances Hagopian, provided a space to share common concerns in the region, reassess old questions and search for new answers to the problems of democracy in Latin America.

Democratic Giants with Authoritarian Pasts

The first panel sought to understand successes in Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico. Kurt Weyland (Vanderbilt) adopted a “catholic” approach to explain why Brazil has achieved a significant, though still somewhat imperfect, democracy. Concentrating on several factors, he listed the dissolution of class cleavages; the incorporation of the Left into the political system; the strengthening of presidential powers; increased appreciation for democratic values; and the fall of communism. Steven Levitsky (Harvard) argued that the strength of political parties and a vibrant civil society is necessary for democratic consolidation in the end of the 90s. These key factors support for implementing Menem’s economic reform agenda, while checking and balancing the government against its authoritarian encroachments. Beatriz Magaloni (Stanford) modeled Mexico as a formal game where an authoritarian regime sought a transition to democracy through the ballot box in which it still retained power. She argued that the dominant PRI created an electoral board in 1994 to legitimize its victories, but miscalculated the effectiveness of that board which helped the opposition PAN win the presidency in 2000.

Unexpected Democracies in Unlikely Countries

The second panel featured Guatemala, El Salvador, and Bolivia. Mitchell Seligson (University of Pittsburgh) described the “breath-taking and unpredicted shift” in Guatemala from decades of violence to peace accords in 1996, but underscored major challenges remaining for democracy there. Elisabeth Wood (NYU) argued that despite enduring problems, political democracy has been restored to El Salvador with increased political participation of civil society, political inclusion of guerrilla groups, and important institutional reforms to strengthen courts and electoral tribunals. However, the downside of negotiating a transition to democracy is that elites preserve much of their legacy of unequal and exclusionary politics. René A. Mayorga (CEBEM) argued that Bolivia’s departure from chronic military coups is due in part to an institutional reform that allows parliamentary election of the president, which has made politics less confrontational. Echoing other panelists, he warned that political pacts must be more inclusive and transparent in Bolivia to produce effective policymaking.

Democratic Erosions

The third panel focused on problems in Venezuela, Colombia, and Peru. While Venezuela’s democracy has more than once outlived its own lives, Michael Coppedge (KI) pointed out that after setbacks in the late 1990s it can only be considered democratic with a minimalist definition: free and fair elections, vocal opposition and freedom of press. He suggested that perhaps one reason to explain the survival of Latin American democracies is precisely the poor representation of demands, because representatives fail to pose serious and credible challenges to the status quo of power elites. Ana María Bejarano (KI) and Eduardo Pizarro (KI) explained Colombia’s shift from a “restrained” to a “besieged” democracy, arguing that the state is no longer able to enforce the rule of law. Colombia faces a twin challenge: rebuild state capacity and also deepen its democratic institutions. Martín Tanaka (Institute of Peruvian Studies) blamed “decisions and omissions of key political actors” rather than historical or institutional causes for the Fujimori regime and hoped that the public’s democratic values would outweigh the negative legacies.

Leaders and Analysts Assess Democracy

In a final panel that gathered democratic actors from several countries, Brazilian Minister of Culture Francisco Weffort advocated developing institutional ways to enforce the rule of law and control corruption, to ensure not only a “nominal” democracy but a stable framework for democratic development. Argentine Minister of Economy Luis Tonelli spoke positively of the persistence of Latin American democracies under duress, but worried about “democratic stagnation.” The challenges of globalization, he affirmed, make survival a government’s overriding strategic objective and this mode does not foster democracy. Speaking from personal experience in El...
Salvador, Rubén Zamora (political analyst and party leader) explained that while politics in his country have become more inclusive after the end of the civil war, neoliberal reforms are by nature more exclusive and create more inequality. Market-oriented reforms, he argued, create a new kind of patrimonialism by the state and the power elites, leaving the citizenry outside the realm of policymaking.

Commenting on these observations, Michael Coppedge called for the need to disaggregate and explain the various dimensions and trade-offs of democratic attributes before we can develop common notions about the quality of democracy. In the long haul, democracy has to surmount the short-term political reforms and set higher standards of performance in many dimensions.

Commenting further, Guillermo O’Donnell (KI) posed some provocative suggestions. Perhaps Latin American democracies have a poor record of democratization because the state has very little power to democratize. Not only is the region missing the structural and historic conditions that promoted democratic developments elsewhere, but there are fewer enabling conditions. The state is not perceived as a real agent of general interests, but as a power structure linked to well-defined sectoral interests. O’Donnell suggested the value of rethinking challenges to democracy from the perspective of the state.

"Unless the region’s rich countries opened their markets to imports from poorer ones, the free trade area (FTAA) would be irrelevant, or worse, undesirable."
—Amb. Rubens Barbosa

"The state no longer provides one of its basic functions, the protection of the physical security of citizens."
—Mitch Seligson

"Are our Latin American democracies comparatively better now than a decade ago? An obvious and happy answer is yes..."
—Luis Tonelli

"Después de 10 años de firmados los acuerdos de paz, la democracia Salvadoreña enfrenta un dilema fundamental: o profundiza sus logros o su deterioro será cada día más evidente." *
—Rubén Zamora

*Ten years after the signing of the peace accords, El Salvador’s democracy faces a fundamental dilemma: either deepen its successes or its deterioration will be more evident each day.

Papers Online
Read draft versions of the papers on the Kellogg website at www.nd.edu/~kellogg.

Andrés Mejía Acosta

Pictured, from top (l–r): Row 1: Esteban Tomic, Elizabeth Spehar; Row 2: Steven Levitsky, Gretchen Helmke; Row 3: Martín Tanaka, Michael Coppedge, Kurt Weyland; René A. Mayorga, Guillermo O’Donnell, Rubén Zamora; Row 4: Aníbal Pérez-Liñán; Amb. Alexandre Addor, José Assan Alaby; Douglas Cassel, Juan Méndez; Mariela Rodríguez, Miguel Huerta; Row 5: Elisabeth Wood, Beatriz Magaloni; Row 6: Mitchell Seligson, Frances Hagopian; Row 7: Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, CSC
Aylwin: 21st Century Inequity

In his acceptance speech for the 2001 ND Prize, Aylwin focused on the disturbing fact that in Latin America (and around the world) poverty persists in the face of great technological progress. Latin Americans may have been freed of tyranny but now risk becoming slaves to materialism, he argued. Countries where the “NY Stock Exchange has more power than the government” must expand the ethical dimensions of development.

Find Aylwin’s speech on our website, www.nd.edu/~kellogg.

Students Pose Questions

Aylwin took questions from students on April 25 at the Kellogg Institute. Excerpts follow.

What are your views on Pinochet?

Not everything he did was bad. He was very bad from a human rights point of view. He was a reactionary from a social rights perspective. But he was quite efficient in his economic policies.

What is your opinion on the search for justice?

I believe the development of human rights has moved us forward to a new civilization.

In Chile the Truth Commission aided in the transition from military rule to democracy. In Brazil they prefer to forget. In your experience, can you tell us the dangers in this?

Each nation applied a recipe that would allow it to re-establish democracy, forget the past and initiate a new era. Chile’s aspects, it was successful. Not only in controlling power but also by establishing reforms in Chilean society.

When we arrived in government at the end of the dictatorship, it was clear that human rights violations were not only a political problem but a moral problem. A country cannot move on with such a massive wound. We needed to clarify what had happened and enact justice. But justice was difficult to accomplish. From the beginning we faced opposition.

Unlike what happened in Brazil, the Chilean dictatorship anticipated democratization and secured amnesty for the military. We began with the premise that giving amnesty requires finding those responsible. We formed the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation—four people who had opposed the dictatorship and four who supported it (one had been a minister in the dictatorship). A major accomplishment was that the report was unanimous. It clarified what had happened to those who were killed. The report moved the entire country and me especially. Next we passed laws in the Congress that helped place responsibility and gave reparation to the victims’ families to restore their honor. Finally, some of the guilty were punished.

I don’t believe we can achieve total reconciliation—the traumas will persist like wounds for those who experienced them—but advances can be made toward uncovering the truth. Definitely we must turn the page and enter another era.

“...I have much fear for the world, especially Latin America. There are signs that could lead to a world recession...signs that could repeat the crisis of 1929.”

—Patricio Aylwin Azócar

from the Church. But our civil marriage law dates from the 19th century, so Chile is the only country in the world where divorce is not legal. Only recently was legislation proposed. In my opinion, marriage in the Church—a Catholic marriage—is sacred and indissoluble. Nevertheless, we cannot impose these criteria on non-believers. Other recent legislation in Chile reinforces Catholic beliefs. A law has just been promulgated that does away with the death penalty.

How do you regard Chilean economic success?

Our own model of a market is proving to be efficient, but it has been unjust in its distribution of benefits.

Does Peru need an organized dictatorship?

The reality of Peru pains me as a Latin American. Not only Peru. The reality of all our countries pains me because there are so many social injustices, so many class differences and so much hunger. Peru has to do what is best for itself. I could justify a strong government in emergency situations, such as the dictatorship during the Roman Republic. That is, a concentration of power and restrictions on the public’s right to exercise certain freedoms. But under no circumstances could I justify the violation of human rights. I couldn’t say in what specific situations it might be justified, but the fundamental characteristic of that type of government is its transitory nature.

ACTIVITIES • ND PRIZE
National Resource Center Promotes Outreach, Exchange, Travel

Title VI grants from the US Department of Education have offered the Kellogg Institute a variety of opportunities to encourage the study of Latin America—through faculty travel, a speakers’ circuit, outreach, and consortia, among other projects. Juan Manuel Rivera (Business) and Gregory Downey (Anthropology) were awarded faculty international travel grants for their projects on agricultural development in rural Mexico and the Movement of Landless Workers in Brazil, respectively.

Kellogg Visiting Fellows participated in educational outreach through the Regional Colleges Speakers’ Circuit. Larissa Lomnitz spoke on “Networks of Marginality in Mexico” at Saint Mary’s College; Benito Nacif addressed “Policy Making Under a Divided Government in Mexico” at the University of Chicago; and David Smilde discussed “Rupture, Continuity or Paradox?: The Political Culture of Latin American Evangelicals” at Calvin College.

Another educational outreach effort is designed to expose K-12 teachers to Latin American issues and resources, training them to incorporate lessons about this area into their classrooms. Through the Teachers as Scholars program at ND, Victoria Sanford and Gregory Downey (both Anthropology) taught a workshop, “Inequality in Latin America”, to teachers from South Bend public and private schools. The grant will also fund the development of two units of teaching materials on Latin American culture and politics.

Community outreach efforts included a day-long session with celebrated documentary maker Marta Rodríguez de Silva. The day featured a lecture, “They’ll Make a Desert of Colombia: A Critical Look at Plan Colombia,” a screening of Rodriguez’s latest film, and a Q & A period. Another activity was a Q & A session with noted novelist and MLA president, Sylvia Molloy.

Consortial activities included a June interdisciplinary research workshop, “Transborder Peoples and the Intersection Between Latino and Latin American Studies” held at Indiana University (IU). Kellogg sponsored the panel “The Impact of Hemispheric Migration on Democracy in Latin America.” In addition, through Kellogg-sponsored faculty exchanges, IU professors Gordon Brotherston, Jeffrey Hart, and Danny James were able to visit Notre Dame during the spring semester.

The Title VI grants also cover extensive library acquisitions in Latin American studies, two new faculty positions in Sociology and Portuguese, and the construction of a Notre Dame Title VI Resource Center website.

Now in Kellogg’s Notre Dame Press Series

Mexico’s Political Awakening

Vikram K. Chand

True democracy has been long in coming to Mexico, but citizen rebellion and the work of social leaders has helped bring about dramatic changes at the end of the twentieth century. Chand examines the role of major institutions in fostering democratization in Mexico during the 1980s and the 1990s, offering an understanding of how these changes came about and why they are likely to last. He focuses on three important factors that fostered this transition. He highlights the conservative National Action Party, about which little has been written in English, and includes 250 interviews with key figures in the political process to demonstrate how the mutual interaction of national and regional politics has helped bring about democratic transitions.

Mexico’s Political Awakening is a “bottom-up” perspective on democratization, correcting analyses which view that process in Mexico as flowing down from the President. It challenges existing theories of democratization by emphasizing the importance of strong social institutions for the development of democracy, and it demonstrates that increases in political participation play a vital role in strengthening those institutions.

Vikram K. Chand has been an Associate Research Professor at the Center for Policy Research, New Delhi, and is currently Public Sector Management Specialist with the Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Team at the World Bank in New Delhi.

We welcome inquiries from prospective authors. If you have a manuscript you would like to submit to the Series, please contact Institute Director Scott Mainwaring; to request further information, please contact Publications Manager Christine Babick (cbabick@nd.edu); Kellogg Institute, 201 Hesburgh Center, Notre Dame, IN 46556-5677; fax (219) 631-6717. See also University of Notre Dame Press website www.undpress.nd.edu.
Monk’s Diary: A Day in Brasilia

Notre Dame President Rev. Edward (“Monk”) Malloy, CSC, visited Brazil earlier this year and met with the President of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso. The meeting included Rev. Richard Warner, CSC, and Kellogg’s Christopher Welna and Roberto DaMatta. The trip advanced two Kellogg initiatives—one initiative is the new Visiting Chair in Brazilian Culture. Another is a partnership between two US universities (ND and Harvard) and two Brazilian universities, the Pontifical Catholic University of Río (PUC) and the University of São Paulo.

Wednesday, January 10.

• We saw Ronaldo in the Río airport. He is probably the most famous soccer player in the world.

After our visit to the Ministry of Culture, we got a quick tour of Brasília. We stopped by the Cathedral earlier, which is modernistic and attractive, very light-filled and open, but many of the stained glass panels are already damaged...

• We met with President Cardoso. Five years ago in his first week in office, the President gave us an hour in which he laid out his hopes and dreams for the country. Now we had the rare opportunity to ask him to look back on what had been achieved. He was very straightforward in his response. He considers his biggest accomplishment the changed Brazilian sense of national identity. The people are now more confident in their future and in their place in the world order. Second, democratic institutions have been firmly up. The citizens now characteristically take the initiative in seeking goals and quality of life rather than expecting the government to do it for them. The press is fully free and highly participatory in the political process. Third, inflation has been reduced to low levels. Trade has been opened up. The rate of financial growth has exceeded the rate of inflation. In addition, there have been improvements in access to education (over 95% attend primary school), health care, and other social issues.

• President Cardoso, who has also spent time at Kellogg, along with his wife, seems to have very positive feelings about Notre Dame. He seems pleased with the increasing role that Brazilian studies are playing at ND. I can generalize that ND is well known in Latin America, and the future of this dynamic is growing stronger...

• We drove out to the airport in Brasilia, flew to São Paulo, and arrived at the ND dinner function around 10pm.
### Summer 2001 Internships

**Tona Boyd**  
Secretariat for Latin America, US National Council of Catholic Bishops  
Washington, DC

**Melissa Ann Kalas**  
Social Democratic and Labor Party  
Northern Ireland 
**Michael Mann**  
Panama Medical School, Panama  
**Katie Cleary**  
Crossroads Africa, South Africa  
**Katie McKenna**  
US Department of State, The Holy See

**Andrzej Bednarski**  
Acceso, Costa Rica  
**Christina Reyna**  
Center of Concern, Washington, DC  
**Katie Foster**  
Washington Office on Latin America

**Claudia Baez-Camargo**  
"From Silent Acquiescence to Active Resistance: Labor Leaders’ Responses to Market-oriented Reforms"

#### 2001 Certificates in Latin American Area Studies

**John J. Kennedy Award for best essay**

**JOSEPH L. WILTBGEBER**  
"¿Cómo se dice quiero irme en inglés? Influences on the Decision of Male Youth in Guarjila, El Salvador to Emigrate to the United States"

**Maria A. Alevras**  
"The Ethics of Torture: The Question of Political Marginalization in the Theatre of Eduardo Pavlovsky"  
**Anthony G. Buonassisi**  

**James F. Cosgrove**  
"Mistreatment, Misrepresentation, and Mobilization: Explaining Violence and Politics in Araucania"  
**Alexandra Wehner**  
"Sustaining the Chilean Economic Model: Will the Perceived Success of Neoliberalism Last?"

**Derrick Bravo**  
CISEP, Bolivia

### Undergraduate Summer 2001 Research Grants

**Becky Luckett**  
"Culture, Alcoholism, and Treatment in Asumbi, Kenya"  
**Andrew Gawrych**  
"The Other Truth Commission: Analyzing Media Coverage of the TRC of South Africa"

**Anthony Pagliarini**  
"The Changing Face of Liberation Theology: Shifting from the Social to the Personal Revolution"

### Dissertation Year Fellowships 2001–02

**Claudia Baez-Camargo**  
"From Silent Acquiescence to Active Resistance: Labor Leaders’ Responses to Market-oriented Reforms"

### Coca-Cola Supplemental Graduate Award

**Mariana Sousa**  
Government Department

### Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships, 2001–02

**Mark Farrell**  
Law student, for the study of Portuguese

**Maria A. Alevras**  
Romance Languages and Literatures student, for the study of Portuguese

### Graduate Seed Money Grants 2001–02

**Edward Hahnenberg**  
"Lay Ecclesial Ministry: International Perspectives"  
**Xavier Márquez**  
"State-Level Economic Reforms in India"  
**Mariela Rodríguez**  
"Chilote Portraits: Building Identities Through Patagonic Literature"

### Latin Expressions

**March 30, 2001**

**February 23, 2001**  
Celebration of Carnaval with Chicago Samba and the Brazilian dancers

**April 18, 2001**  
Jhon Akers

### Films

**La Estrategia del Caracol**  
El Chacotero Sentimental  
Nunca Más
What are the prospects for new democracies and how do ‘old’ democracies compare?


Kwan Kim (Economics/KI); Peter Moody (Government); David Cortright (Kroc Research Fellow), current affairs panel “Reconciliation in the Korean Peninsula: Economic and Political Dimensions”, cosponsored with the Kroc Institute (2/1)

Benito Nacif-Hernández (KI Visiting Fellow/CIDE), “Party Discipline in the Mexican Chamber of Deputies” (2/13)

Eduardo Pizarro (KI Visiting Fellow/Universidad Nacional de Colombia), “Partidos Políticos y Comportamiento Electoral en Colombia en una Perspectiva Comparada” (2/15)


Conference and award ceremony: “Advances and Setbacks in the Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America,” presentation of the Notre Dame Prize for Distinguished Public Service in Latin America, inauguration of the Visiting Chair in the Study of Brazilian Culture (4/23–24)

What are the opportunities for economic growth in developing countries?

Carles Boix (University of Chicago), “Inequality, Factor Mobility, and Democratic Stability,” cosponsored with the Nanovic Institute and the Political Economy Working Group (2/20)

Bruce Blonigen (University of Oregon), “US Antidumping Petitions and the Threat of Retaliation,” cosponsored with the Mendoza College of Business (3/8)

Alan Deardorff (University of Michigan), “Local Comparative Advantage,” cosponsored with the Mendoza College of Business (3/22)


Carlos Azzone (University of São Paulo Department of Economics), “Economic Growth and Regional Income Inequality in Brazil: Convergence or Divergence?” (4/3)


How can government policies promote social well-being?


José Miguel Alemán (Panamanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs), “Panama’s Foreign Relations in the 21st Century: Consolidating Democracy and Sovereignty in a Globalized World” (2/6)

Curtis Kamman (US Dept. of State [ret.]), “The Colombia Conundrum: US Policy Choices” (2/22)

Marta Rodríguez de Silva (independent filmmaker), “They’ll Make a Desert Out of Colombia: A Critical Look at Plan Colombia” (4/4)


Robert Keohane (Duke University), “Governance and Accountability in a Partially Globalized World” (4/26)
What fosters a vigorous civil society?

Bruce Cummings (University of Chicago), “Democracy from the Bottom Up: The Virtues of Political Conflict in Korea and East Asia,” cosponsored with the Center for Asian Studies and the Kroc Institute (1/22)

Larissa Adler Lomnitz (Anthropology/KI), “Mexican Political Culture Revisited: Can Democracy Emerge from an Authoritarian Political Culture?” (2/27)

David N. Keightley (University of California, Berkeley), “The Pre-history and Early History of China at the Turn of the Millennium: Chineseness in the Making,” cosponsored with the Center for Asian Studies and the Kroc Institute (3/1)

Beatriz Jaguaribe (KI/Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), “Tropical Modernities: Modernist Legacies and Contemporary Urban Cultures in Brazil” (3/20)


Fred Dallmayr (Government/KI), “Memory and Social Imagination: Latin American Reflections” (4/5)

How does religion shape public life?


Alan Dowty (Government); Dan Lindley (Government); Peter Wallensteen (Kroc Research Fellow); Layna Mosley, chair (Government/KI); current affairs panel, cosponsored with the Kroc Institute, “Irreconcilable Differences: Can Palestinians and Israelis Find Peace?” (2/15)

Jason Wittenberg (KI Visiting Fellow/University of Wisconsin) “Hooray for Hierarchy! Catholic–Communist Struggle and Political Identity in Hungary” (3/1)

Margaret Hebblethwaite, “Romero of the Americas: Seen Through Paraguayan Eyes,” Annual Romero Lecture, cosponsored with the Latin American/North American Church Concerns and the Kroc Institute (3/20)

Cultural Events

Spring Fellows’ meeting and reception (1/18)
Latin American Film Series, La Estrategia del Caracol, Colombia (1/24)
Chicago Samba School and Brazilian dancers, celebration of Carnaval cosponsored with La Alianza (2/23)
Latin American Film Series, El Chacotero Sentimental, Chile (3/7)
Latin Expressions, cosponsored with La Alianza, Institute for Latino Studies, and Student Government (3/30)

Nunca Más, a documentary by independent filmmaker Marta Rodríguez de Silva (4/4)

Carl Sandburg and the Guitar of Andrés Segovia, Jhon Akers (4/18)

Photo, opposite page (from top left): Ana María Bejarano; Bruce Blonigen; Layna Mosley; Juan Gabriel Voldés. This page (clockwise from top left): Mauricio Cárdenas; José Miguel Aleman; Carles Baix; Margaret Hebblethwaite; Robert Keohane; Lt. Gen. Robert W. Noonan, Jr.
Lecture and Seminar Series

SEPTEMBER 4
Frances Hagopian
Kellogg Institute & Government Department
“Economic Liberalization, Legislatures, and Political Representation in Latin America”

SEPTEMBER 6
Catalina Romero
Visiting Fellow, Kellogg Institute & Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú

SEPTEMBER 11
Pierre Ostiguy
Visiting Fellow, Kellogg Institute & Concordia University (Montréal)

SEPTEMBER 13
Alejandro Reyes
Visiting Fellow, Kellogg Institute (Bogotá)

SEPTEMBER 18
William Cavanaugh
Visiting Fellow, Kellogg Institute & University of St. Thomas

SEPTEMBER 25
René Mayorga
Visiting Fellow, Kellogg Institute & CEBEM/FLACSO

OCTOBER 2
Edward Schatz
Visiting Fellow, Kellogg Institute & Harvard University

OCTOBER 4
Beth Simmons
University of California, Berkeley

OCTOBER 9
Iván Orozco
Visiting Fellow, Kellogg University & Universidad Nacional de Colombia

OCTOBER 11
Jeffrey Goodwin
New York University

OCTOBER 18
Mike Tomz
Stanford University

NOVEMBER 1
Elinor Ostrom
Indiana University

NOVEMBER 6
Greg Downey
Kellogg Institute & Anthropology Department

NOVEMBER 8
Sergio Aguayo
El Colegio de México

NOVEMBER 13
Georges Enderle
Kellogg Institute & Marketing Department
“Management Ethos in the West: What Can It Offer to the East?”

Special Events

SEPTEMBER 6–8
LASA 2001
Washington, DC
Reception for Friends of the Kellogg Institute
Friday, September 7
7:30–11 pm
Wardman Park Marriott

SEPTEMBER 24–29
Brazilian Chorinho Musicians perform at Notre Dame

Cultural Events

SEPTEMBER 26,
OCTOBER 3 & NOVEMBER 7
Latin American Film Series

Preliminary schedule:
For times, venues, and further updates, visit our website at www.nd.edu/~kellogg

For more information about these and other Institute activities, please contact
Academic Coordinator
Jean Olson
(219) 631-6023
or e-mail jolson@nd.edu.