Hagopian to Lead Kellogg

Frances Hagopian has accepted an offer from Provost Nathan Hatch to become director in August. A longtime friend of KI, she first came to us in 1984 as a Guest Scholar. Returning to the Institute as a Faculty Fellow in 1999, she served as acting director for a year in 2000. The Michael Grace III Associate Professor of Latin American Studies in the Political Science Dept., Hagopian studies the comparative politics of Latin America and is author of the award-winning Traditional Politics and Regime Change in Brazil (Cambridge, 1996), as well as articles and books on democratization. She taught previously at Harvard, Tufts and MIT. Fran spoke to KI newsletter editor Christine Babick from her office in the newly completed wing of the Hesburgh Center for International Studies on May 15.

With regard to your own work, how do you think being director will lead to new types of questions in your research?

Most people think administration is the kiss of death to scholarship, so this is an interesting opportunity to challenge that. I think that the two can be related. Administrative responsibility slows one's output, but it doesn't necessarily slow one's thinking.

It is important for administrators to maintain a scholarly agenda, to continue to be active researchers and to read widely. The intellectual life of the Institute is such a treasure. It's a tremendous intellectual opportunity to be able twice a week to hear cutting-edge research and to be able to have a hand in shaping the conferences, working groups and visitors. I anticipate that the research by faculty, visitors and graduate students—who are a vital part of the Institute—will continue to enrich me and point out new directions for scholarship.

When you are young you think academic research consists of going to the library or doing fieldwork, but I have come to learn over the years the very significant degree to which one's work is shaped by the environment in which one works through ideas. There are very few places in the world that are as invigorating a climate in which to engage intellectually as the Kellogg Institute, so I feel very fortunate to be in this position.

Do you have specific goals for the Institute?

Our research agenda has been set—by Fr. Hesburgh’s vision, by the directors before me, by the faculty. It’s an enduring vision and one that I would hold onto. I think that the specific agenda for what we do shifts a little as developments in the world shift and as the methodological tools of our disciplines shift, but the big questions and the vision that inspires them endures at this University. Those issues are democracy, growth and development, social justice, and the persistent salience of religion and its role in politics and society.

My goal for this Institute is to continue to focus on big questions of true significance, shaped by the research of our outstanding faculty and the visitors we will bring to campus. I would like to continue to develop our Visiting Fellow continued on page 20

Featured in this issue

- Will Democracy Survive in the Andes? (story on page 12)
- Kellogg’s 20th Anniversary (see page 18)
- Ford Supports Exchanges in the Andes (see page 13)
- Gold & Globalization (story on page 14)
- What Is the Future of Liberation Theology? (interview on page 8)
My five-year term as Director of the Kellogg Institute comes to an end in August. Building on a history of success, the Institute has changed during these five years in ways that are reflected in this Newsletter.

I have enjoyed the creative challenges this position affords and the opportunity to help further the Kellogg Institute’s distinctive mission. Yet I look forward to being a regular faculty member again, with more time for my teaching and scholarship. In 2002–03, I will be on leave. I plan to continue my research on political regimes and on parties and party systems.

As I finish this job, I want to thank Notre Dame’s administration, especially Provost Nathan Hatch; Executive Vice-President Timothy R. Scully, CSC; Mark Roche, Dean of the College of Arts and Letters; and President Emeritus Father Theodore Hesburgh, CSC, for the confidence they evinced by asking me to take on the job and for the support they have lent since then. I also want to thank the Kellogg Institute staff, which brings tremendous dedication, talent, and good cheer to their work. Without their work, my job would have been less fruitful and less rewarding. Finally, I am grateful to many faculty colleagues for their support, advice, hard work, and encouragement.

The Institute leadership will be in very capable hands with Frances Hagopian as Director.

Scott Mainwaring
Director
**FELLOWS • VISITORS**

**ANGELINA GODOY**
Assistant Professor, Law, Societies, and Justice; the Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington

I found the unambiguous social justice mission underlying KI to be refreshing, not stifling of critical voices or encouraging empty platitudes about justice, but rather encouraging intellectual engagement with very important, practical issues facing the world.

**Research**
In Latin America there is growing awareness of vigilantism in many countries, yet very little scholarly research to shed light on it. My work focuses on understanding lynchings' origins in community dynamics, something I believe is crucial for any attempt to halt this trend.

**@Kellogg**
Drafted two articles for publication; spoke to an ethnography class; served as a member of the committee to judge the best senior essay on Latin America; attended a session of the Quality of Democracy Working Group; participated in a roundtable on media and collective memory with faculty from ND and Indiana University.

**Impressions**
The amount of contacts, ideas, and questions which were generated by my talk at Kellogg was unusual in my experience…it helped guide my research in new directions. The ideas I have begun to develop here will undoubtedly be reflected in my book. The chance to come to KI has given me a valuable chance to reframe some of the ideas in my dissertation in a broader way.

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**ALEJANDRO REYES**
Visiting Researcher at FEDESARROLLO (Fundación para la Educación Superior y el Desarrollo), Bogotá, Colombia

I had never before had the opportunity to meet such a wide range of scholars engaged in such a variety and scope of academic interests from all areas of the world.

**Research**
The main challenge was to develop a comparative perspective to think about the Colombian crisis; at KI, I had the opportunity to develop this perspective on violence and peace processes. The Colombia Working Group was directly related to my research and helped me clarify issues and learn from its members. Building on the work I did here, I hope to return to Colombia to engage in academic work and writing about political violence and peace perspectives.

**@Kellogg**
Chaired the Colombia Working Group; received a grant from Open Society through ND’s Center for Civil and Human Rights to write a report about solutions to the problem of democratic security in Colombia; gave a lecture at the Culver Academies about the drug trafficking problem in Colombia.

**Impressions**
I decided to come to the KI because I was at risk in Colombia after receiving several death threats. The most valuable aspect of this experience was that I felt safe and very grateful for this opportunity. KI does important work for US–Latin American relations and some other regions of the world.
Research
My research looks at the role played by decentralization and federalism in the politics of economic liberalization. I hope to write a chapter in my book that compares Brazil with India; I also expect to complete a journal article that compares federalism in some Asian and Latin American countries.

@Kellogg
Participated in the Political Economy Working Group; submitted two journal articles to refereed journals; read a text that was useful for her research; and made substantial progress on her book.

Impressions
I have been trying to extend the analysis of India to other similar large nation-states; while at KI, I was stimulated to think about the comparisons between India and Brazil, and also India and Mexico.

ASEEMA SINGHA
Assistant Professor, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin–Madison

I wanted to have the opportunity to work on my book… to learn more about Latin America… to work uninterrupted on my own research.

Research
The present crisis of the Latin American labor movement is an event whose meaning and implications have to be addressed. Part of my work at KI was focused on these matters. I plan to return to my institution to undertake a new research project.

@Kellogg
Participated in weekly lectures and conferences; taught two courses in Sociology, one undergrad and one grad: SOC 400—Ideology and Politics in Latin America and SOC 548—Labor Processes; several articles were published in Mexico and Venezuela.

Impressions
I could obtain many references that I had not been able to consult for many years. The Latin American collection at the Hesburgh Library is very up-to-date in English, Spanish and Portuguese.

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DIVERSITY AND CITIZENSHIP, BRAZILIAN-STYLE

Brazilian Visiting Chairs Meet Students

In January and February, José Murilo de Carvalho held the Visiting Chair in the Study of Brazilian Culture, funded jointly by KI and the Brazilian Ministry of Culture. While at Notre Dame, Murilo gave formal lectures and led classroom discussions on Brazilian diversity, citizenship, and independence. Murilo discussed philanthropy and educational institutions, a topic of ongoing debate in Brazil, with both faculty and top university administrators. During his visit, Murilo also delivered a lecture at the University of Chicago’s Latin American History Workshop. Murilo (above, center), who earned a PhD in political science from Stanford in 1975, is currently a professor of Brazilian history at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and is the author of nine books, including *A Formação das Almas.*

José Antonio Giusti Tavares, Professor of Political Science at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) and Coordinator of Research at Instituições Políticas e Governo (POLIS), occupied the Visiting Chair from March to May. While at ND, Tavares researched political culture and representation in Brazil. He lectured on “Party Mediation in Brazilian Representative Democracy” and met with graduate students from the Political Science Dept. to discuss their research.

COLOMBIANS VISIT DC

Visiting Fellows Alejandro Reyes (left) and Iván Orozco (right) travelled to Washington, DC, as part of the project “Democracy, Peace, and Human Rights in Colombia,” organized by KI’s partner in the initiative, The Inter-American Dialogue. The Visiting Fellows briefed the State Dept., legislative aides, and representatives of several nongovernmental agencies on US-Colombian relations. The visit was sponsored by The Ford Foundation’s Santiago office.

Notes from Former Visitors

William Lies, csc, who has been a Guest Scholar at Kellogg during the 2001–02 academic year and is working on his PhD in Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh, will take up the position of Executive Director of Notre Dame’s Center for Social Concerns in July.

ARRIVING

VISITING FELLOWS

ROBERT CURLEY
Universidad de Guadalajara
Christian Democracy and the Mexican Revolution (1900–1926)

ZSOLT ENYEDI
Central European University, Budapest
Church-State Relations in East-Central Europe: Post-Communist Democracy-Building via Regulation, Establishment, and Discrimination

GERARDO L. MUNCK
University of Illinois, Urbana–Champaign
Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy and the Rule of Law

SHANNON SPEED
University of Texas at Austin
Global Discourses on the Local Terrain: Grounding Human Rights in Chiapas

VICTOR SUPYAN
The Institute of USA and Canada Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow
Transformation of Ownership in Transitional Society of Russia: Social–Economic Consequences and Role of Government

EUGENIO TIRONI
Pontificia Universidad Católica, Chile
Title VI Visiting Professor of Sociology

RUBEN ZAMORA
Instituto Salvadoreno para La Democracia (ISPADE)
Political Parties of El Salvador

LIVIA BARBOSA
Visiting Chair in the Study of Brazilian Culture

GUEST SCHOLARS

CAMILLA GJERDE
University of Oslo

LAURA MURGÚIA-GOEBEL
School of International Law
Université Paris II Panthéon-Assas
NEW KELLOGG FACULTY FELLOW

Kellogg welcomes new Faculty Fellow Paul Kollman to our scholarly community at Notre Dame.

Paul V. Kollman, CSC, (BA, MDiv, University of Notre Dame; PhD, Divinity School, University of Chicago, 2001) joined the ND faculty as Assistant Professor of Theology in August 2001. He has held appointments at the University of Chicago as a Lilly Fellow for Theological Education in 1999–00 and at ND as Erasmus Dissertation Fellow in 2000–01. His dissertation, “Making Catholics: Slave Evangelization and the Origins of the Catholic Church in 19th-Century East Africa,” was approved with distinction by the Reading Committee of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago and is soon to be published in book form. He has published articles and reviews in such journals as The Journal of Religion and African Christian Studies. Kollman’s expertise in the history of missions and in missiology has led him to focus in particular on the Church in Africa. Kollman has been the cochair (with Vibha Pinglé) of the Africa Working Group for this year and he has agreed to take over as chair while Pinglé is on leave.

Scott Appleby spoke on “Talk of the Nation” on Thursday, April 11, regarding the crisis in the Catholic Church.

Kathleen Collins presented an analysis of security issues in Central Asia to a UN-sponsored commission at a conference in Ashgabad, Turkmenistan.

The Aspen Institute invited Michael Coppege to speak in June at a Capitol Hill breakfast meeting on Venezuelan politics in the aftermath of the April 12 failed coup.

Teresa Ghilarducci was appointed by Congress and the President to be a participant in the National Summit on Retirement Savings, held February 27–March 1. Ghilarducci testified before the US House of Representatives Committee on Education and the Workforce on “The National Erosion of Private Pensions,” February 7; and before the same committee on “The Local Economy and National Pension Issues” in January. She also testified at a congressional oversight meeting on current economic conditions and pension law, at Ivy Tech State College of South Bend IN, in January.

In December, George Lopez testified before the International Policy Committee of the US Catholic Conference of Bishops on the techniques and ethics of “smart sanctions” against Iraq. When the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists moved the hands of its famous Doomsday Clock two minutes closer to “nuclear midnight” on February 27, Lopez, Chairman of the Board, explained why. “The September 11 attacks breached previous boundaries for terrorist acts…” The clock’s move to “seven minutes to midnight,” reflected concerns about the security of nuclear materials worldwide. The first social scientist to serve as the Bulletin’s board chair, Lopez emphasized the need for long-term solutions.

Scott Mainwaring served as a consultant to the official Commission on Political Reform of Costa Rica in August 2001.

In February, Anthony Messina presented “Migration Realities in Europe: Opportunities and Dangers” to the Conference on EU Migration Trends and Prospects, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, US Dept. of State.

SMALL PROJECT GRANTS FALL 2002

Open to Kellogg Faculty Fellows involved in research overseas, addressing the thematic priorities of the Institute.

These grants support research that might be of a limited scope or that supplements projects already in progress. Funding is available for a variety of project costs, including research materials and assistance as well as travel. Proposals will be considered for any amount up to $5,000.

A small project grants competition will be held once per semester. Proposals for projects to be initiated within the next 12-month period are eligible. For the fall semester, applications must be received by Monday, 28 October 2002. For additional information and application procedures, please visit our website at: www.nd.edu/~kellogg/small.html
**FELLOWS • NEWS**

**RECENT ACADEMIC WORK**


**Greg Downey** (Anthropology) was awarded a postdoctoral fellowship at the Pembroke Center, Brown University, and will be on leave for the upcoming academic year.


**Virgilio Elizondo** (Theology) received the first annual Leadership Award of Catholic Television of San Antonio in January, from the archbishop of Washington. He also received the EMMAUS Award for Excellence in Catechesis from the National Association of Parish Catechetical Directors in April. He published an Indonesian-language edition of his book, *A Retreat with Our Lady of Guadalupe and Juan Diego* (Jakarta, 2001).


**Gretchen Helmeke** (Political Science) won a Harvard Academy Fellowship at Harvard University 2002–04, where she will be on leave next year. She published *The Logic of Strategic Defection: Insecure Tenure and Judicial Decision-Making in Argentina Under Dictatorship and Democracy* in *American Political Science Review* (June 2002). Her dissertation, “Ruling Against the Rulers: Court-Executive Relations in Argentina,” has been nominated for the Gabriel Almond Award for the Best Dissertation in Comparative Politics 2002.


**Paul Kollman**, CSC (Theology) received a travel grant from the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts to study the descendants of nineteenth-century slaves who became the first African Christians in East Africa. He has also become book review editor of *Mission Studies*.


**A. James McAdams** (Political Science) has been appointed Director of the Nanovic Institute for European Studies.

**Anthony Messina** (Political Science) won the KI Faculty Residential Fellowship for fall 2002. He edited *West European Immigration Policy in the New Century: A Continuing Quandary for States and Societies* (Greenwood Press, 2002) and was named General Editor of the book series *Contemporary European Politics and Society* (ND Press).

**Layna Mosley** (Political Science) won a KI Small Project Grant for her project, “Racing to the Bottom: Foreign Direct Investment and Human Rights.” The project also received a grant from the Seng Foundation Endowment for Market-Based Programs and Catholic Values, administered by the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts.


**Lee A. Tavis** (Finance) published “Review Article: ‘Ethics in Finance’ by J.R. Boatright” in *Business Ethics Quarterly* 11 (4) (Oct.).

**Michael Coppedge and Anthony Messina** will be coeditors of *APSA-CP*, the newsletter for the Comparative Politics Section of the American Political Science Association. Notre Dame will hold the editorialship for four years, starting with the winter 2003 issue.
Walking together in the struggle: Reflections on 30 years of liberation theology

Scott Mainwaring asked three prominent scholars to trace changes in the Catholic Church in the last two decades. Peruvian theologian Fr. Gustavo Gutiérrez, Latino theologian Fr. Virgilio Elizondo, and Peruvian sociologist and Catholic intellectual Catalina Romero described what they see for the next decade.

Mainwaring: I thought it would be nice for you to begin, Fr. Virgilio, since you were the first to come here, by your telling us briefly about your past and why you came to Notre Dame.

Elizondo: I grew up and was raised in San Antonio, Texas, and became a diocesan priest, probably because of the influence of Archbishop Robert E. Lucy, who was very involved in social justice issues. There was a lot of segregation within the Church. That's when I started working with other Latino priests and formed with them an association called PADRES. We confronted the Church: not to confront the teaching of the Church, but to confront the Church to be faithful to its teaching. The bishops weren't into that kind of confrontation, but by that time it was after Vatican II. We started PADRES to explore the areas where people needed a specific pastoral response. And out of PADRES, we started the Mexican–American Cultural Center and we began to participate in people-oriented research—doing a lot of group surveys, discussion, and talking to people. We said, “Who do we want to be?” “What do we want to say?”

Then I studied in Paris. I was able to return to the grassroots for my thesis, which then became the basis for The Galilean Journey: The Mexican American Promise and, more specifically, the foundation work for Latino theology.

In time people recognized my work, and Notre Dame awarded me the Laetare Medal.* At that time Notre Dame started talking about doing something more specific around US Latinos. I remember having a great conversation with Executive Vice President Father Scully, Provost Nathan Hatch and Father Warner (Notre Dame Director of Campus Ministry). We started talking about what needed to be done, and that was the genesis of what became the Institute for Latino Studies. In that context, Father Scully, who was then Academic Vice President, invited me to join Notre Dame's theology faculty.

So that's how I got here.

Gustavo’s work was very influential in my own trajectory. It helped us to conceptualize and define something we had felt but did not have the vocabulary for. For example, when I discuss culture, it’s not just a folkloric cultural question. Most Latinos were poor, so questions of poverty and culture were very much united. It was a question that had to do with the culture of a people, the majority of whom were poor and exploited in this country. In that sense, Gustavo’s work encouraged a perspective from which to study Latino culture.

Mainwaring: Fr. Gustavo, I'd like to ask you the same question: especially how you came to Notre Dame and why you joined the Dominican order at this point in your life.

Gutiérrez: I worked in Peru for many years after my studies. I was involved with pastoral work and did not teach on a regular basis. I was engaged in working theology, personally meeting with groups in my country. I was invited by the Notre Dame Dept. of Theology to come here for several weeks each
Liberation theology has in some ways become common sense... Even those who oppose it take it as reference point — Romero

semester over a period of six years. It was a coincidence that I joined the Dominican order at the same time—there was no relation between these two changes in my life. But, it was an important moment in my life. I was changing my work and my commitments, and from that point of view it was interesting to have the opportunity to work with Virgilio, possibly more than in the past.

Mainwaring: Catalina, please tell us a little of your story, about your past, and why you're here now.

Romero: When I was involved in some of the groups that Gustavo was talking about in the 1960s and 1970s, I became interested in studying religion and sociology. Because of this work, I was invited by Kellogg to teach sociology here at Notre Dame. In 1983, Otto Maduro (a sociologist of religion) was holding a conference on religion and politics in Latin America and he recommended that I come. Ever since then I have been in touch with Kellogg and Notre Dame. I was happy to come again this semester because it is an opportunity to relate my interests in religion, culture and politics to the context of democracy in Peru.

Mainwaring: I'd be interested in hearing you talk about the most important changes in the Church since 1978—that is under Pope John Paul II. This is a very long period now—23 years—and it's a period of changes that, for many progressive Catholics, has been difficult. I'd like to hear your reflections on the best and worst aspects of change in the last 23 years in the Catholic Church.

Elizondo: In the context of the US, one big change involved the consciousness on the part of the bishops and the hierarchy, the pastoral leadership, of the need to do outreach to the diverse minorities in the Church—mainly Latinos, but also Vietnamese and Koreans—the greater awareness that we are a multicultural and multilingual Church, and how to deal with that challenge. At first the bishops thought we were off-base; we were laughed at, but this has changed. Openness to different minorities is one area where I've seen a lot of change. On the part of our bishops there is a strong voice on the immigration issue; I wish children of immigrants to get medical care—an issue I've been very interested in, especially in California—that's another issue our Church leaders have been outspoken about, like their stand on the death penalty, which is not popular in this country. Some Texas bishops have gotten horrible letters because of their stand against the death penalty.

So I've seen positive changes. On the negative side, we are becoming a rule-oriented Church, with all kinds of rules for everything, and that worries me.

Romero: The decade of the 1980s was a really intense time in Latin America. It was the time of transition to democracy in many of our countries. In Peru, we were dealing with the aftermath of 12 years of a distinctive dictatorship (1968–80), in the sense that it underplayed the role of progressive social reforms, so the country changed a lot. The 1980s were also the decade of the foreign debt crisis, which was very bad for Latin America, and in Peru, it was the decade of terrorism, which very much affected society, the state, social issues and solidarity networks.

The main issues for the Catholic Church and for Christians were to struggle against hunger, to help people cover their basic needs, to improve their quality of life, to defend human rights, and to defend life. There was a need to be creative in confronting this complex situation, and also to look for new ways to change society and politics. The agenda of the global Church was quite different, but it was a very important moment for the Church in Latin America. The Christian community's theology of liberation and the uniqueness of Puebla (the third meeting of the Latin American Bishops' Conference in 1978) were important.

Gutiérrez: I would like to start not with change but with continuities in the Church. Since the 1980s, poor people have continued to gain consciousness about their situation. We understand the concrete conditions of the poor better than in the 1960s or change helping this continuity—because it is a change to know better the conditions of the poor. Also in the 1980s, another continuity was the assassination of many people in Latin America committed to the poor. The 1980s were the decade of the assassination of the Jesuit priests in El Salvador, for example. In Peru, we had people killed by the terrorist organization, Shining Path. Another change is the growing gap between the rich and the poor in our countries and around the world.

You have mentioned the difficulties of people committed to the poor. The main difficulties are on the social and political levels, even in the Church. But they go together; we cannot separate them. At the grassroots level, people will continue to work. It's important to say this because sometimes we pay attention to the difficulties of very well-known people, but at other levels of the Church, other people have been incorporated into the liberation theology perspective and begun to work. I am not saying that the great majority of Christians are doing this work, but we have continuity. At the same time, it is true that we have also had difficulties inside the Church around these kinds of questions.

Mainwaring: Liberation theology surfaced slightly more than three decades ago and Gustavo was the seminal thinker in this important current—and probably the most important Latin American theologian of the 20th century. I'd be interested in hearing a reflection on where liberation theology is today and where you hope it might be going in the next five to ten years.

Elizondo: One of my feelings is how much more widely liberation theology is accepted by educators. I don't think liberation theology is spoken about directly as much as it was at the beginning, but it is internalized more, and is more present in ways people don't realize. I see it in ordinary catechism materials. It isn't labeled "liberation theology," "option for the poor," or with any of the ecclesiastical vocabulary, but the notion is
probably as much a world theology as we have today. I can’t think of any theology that is used worldwide in the same way. Liberation theology has become more diffused in a quiet way than people are aware of. In our work in this country, it is used among Latinos. Among Hispanic *evangelicos* (Protestants), liberation theology is the obvious and unquestioned starting point. You cannot equate evangelicals in English with *evangelicos* in Spanish because in Spanish they are very much taking on the social justice dimension promoted by Gustavo and other colleagues of his in Latin America. Most of us want biblical positions to be at the core of liberation theology. “God heard the cry of the poor and heard their suffering, the Lord save my people.”

**Romero:** I agree! Liberation theology has in some ways become common sense, including many of the things that were so criticized and scandalous. Even those who oppose it take it as reference point. For instance, base Christian communities emphasized the importance of lay involvement in politics. Now many of the groups that criticized liberation theology are asking the laity to become involved. I follow the news that comes from Rome and the Pope’s Wednesday homilies, and he mentions the “option for the poor” all the time. He has talked about “God, Friend of Life and Lord of History,” which was one of the central themes of liberation theology that was criticized—and now the Pope talks about it in his homilies. As a sociologist, I would say that liberation theology has become institutionalized, and, at the same time, it is alive as a movement. There are many critics, but liberation theology has made a very important wave in the Church and the world.

**Gutiérrez:** I have been asked about the future of liberation theology many times in my life. One year after the birth of liberation theology, I was asked: What is its future? I have a provocative response: I am not interested in the future of liberation theology because I am concerned above all with the very linked to social Christian movements. This theology is rooted in the social situation of popular organizations, in people struggling for justice, human rights, and so on. I am more interested in historical facts than in reflection. In a sense, the interest for us in this theology is as a service to these movements, and as a service to the presence of the Church and the proclamation of the Gospels.

Liberation theology is more mature today than 20 or 25 years ago. As Virgilio and Catalina have said, liberation theology is present in the life of the Church. It is expressed in the Bishops’ conferences, not only in Medellín, but also in Puebla and Santo Domingo.** Theologically, Santo Domingo was less interesting than Puebla or Medellín, but the main ideas of liberation theology were there also, and as history, they are important. The difficulties have not stopped the development of this theological perspective. But trying to avoid autonomous development of a theology, the idea is always to be close to and to follow the lives of Christian communities. Sometimes judgments about the presence of liberation theology in the Latin American Church start from the way one looks at this theology. The conflictual aspects are less present in the media in the US. But, in the history of the Church in the 20th century, we have great theologies which never get in the media, or almost never, but the theology was there! Some people might think liberation theology is not present because it is not on the front page of the newspaper—but it is there, in the face of the dictator. If we who espouse liberation theology have difficulties, it is because we are doing something. If this theology, this perspective in general—because it is not only a theology but also a pastoral way—was absent from the daily life of the Church, then we would have no difficulties. Because if it was absent, it wouldn’t be interesting! The difficulties we confront are the price we pay for this presence, because we are trying to do something. Finally, our ambition has not been to keep this theology outside of history and the liberation and Christian theology is born one day and more or less dies another day—dies in the sense it isn’t so present because the situation has changed. We started from poverty, and a complex notion of poverty—not only economic. Unfortunately the reality of poverty is always there, and the theological reflection coming from the situation of poverty is there too. There are plateaus and difficulties resulting in some steps that carry us forward.

**Elizondo:** What Gustavo is saying is important in liberation theology and also in our own Latino theology. Theology has to accompany movements—theologians cannot confine themselves to books. Doing theology is a service to the faith community and the poor. That’s one of the things I discovered, that theology was not apart from but part of, service with the struggling Church. In recent years, the gap between the salaried rich and the poor has gotten larger. If that is correct, then the need for this type of Christian community struggle is more urgent than ever.

**Mainwaring:** I’d like to hear a little bit about the interaction between the US Church, especially with the Latino population, and the Latin American Church.

**Elizondo:** At the very beginning of our friendship, when we were struggling and looking to Latin America to tell us what we needed to do, as we took our very first steps thirty years ago, Gustavo was one of the first ones to say, “I cannot do it for you; you cannot let us be your dominators. We can walk with you, but you have to argue, you have to reflect.” That’s what made me, from our perspective of the relationship, realize that there were a lot of alternative homes, brothers and sisters. Yet we also realized we were not just Latin Americans in the US, we really already were part of the US. We have found the relationship with the Latin American Church very beneficial because we’ve never been asked to be just Latin Americans. We’ve been able to walk together in our uniqueness, but also to continue to learn. From the point of view of the work we’ve done, we would not be where we are were it not for our relationship with Gustavo and with our Latin American colleagues. And the spirit of Medellín and Puebla continues to be a reference point and help. Medellín and Puebla gave us a lot of ideas, vocabulary, concepts, possibilities, and theological grounding so we could say, “Look, a lot of bishops are saying this.” And yet we knew that Latinos had their own reality here in the US.
Our work has also been enriched by what people are doing in the Third World Association of Theologians, in Africa or Asia, or even our European friends, whom we refer to as colleagues. I’m thinking about people like Casiano Floristán in Spain, Jacques Audinet in Paris, Rosino Gibellini, and others in France. Isolation would not have helped any of us. Our biggest support and connection has been with Latin America, but we’ve been inspired by how close the whole world is.

Romero: The Church had become global long before we realized it was a phenomenon to look at in social terms—we can see that in the experience of Gustavo and Virgilio—but now it has become more and more clear that there is a connection with the process of migration. Some years ago the US Latino community was more homogeneous, coming from countries very close to the US, but this has changed. The last Sunday in October I was in Chicago at a procession for the local community, a group from the Peruvian Jesuit parish. The preacher was invited to come here from Peru. The parish priest was our friend because he was a parish priest in Peru for many years, and he will go back to Peru when he finishes one more year in Chicago. There are many connections between the US and Latin American churches and in Chicago we saw a lot of people we knew from Peru. People who are participating in the Church here. As sociologists, we should examine the web of connections in the global Church.

Gutiérrez: I would like to underline one point. As far as the theological work of the Latino people in the States is concerned, Virgilio opened many paths some years ago, and today we have a very good group, people working together, in contact with theology in Latin America or in the Third World Association or in the US Latino circles. Some Latinos are born here in the US and some come from Cuba, Puerto Rico, Peru, etc. We have to stay conscious of our differences, but we have work to do together.

“...we’re really trying to create a team and that’s a real breakthrough at the academic level in the Church. It demonstrates to the bishops the importance of our work. A lot of universities want their one Hispanic theologian, but we’re trying to create a whole team here and we want to recruit internationally—recruit US Latinos with PhDs so they can break new ground. Everyone says, “We’re quite jealous of what you’re doing at Notre Dame.”

* Given in 1997 for “scholarship and ministry [that] celebrate Mexican–American culture as an invaluable gift to the whole Church.” Father Malloy said at the time, “In honoring him, we mean to honor as well our Hispanic brothers and sisters, who soon will constitute the majority of the Catholic Church in America.”

** Father Gutiérrez is referring to the meetings of the Latin American Bishops’ Conference held in Colombia (1968), Mexico (1978), and the Dominican Republic (1982), in those respective cities.

Recommended Reading

A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation
Gustavo Gutiérrez
(Orbis Books, 1988)

On Job: God-Talk and the Suffering of the Innocent
Gustavo Gutiérrez,
Matthew O’Connell (translator)
(Orbis Books, 1987)

The Shepherd and the Rock: Origins, Development, and Mission of the Papacy
J. Michael Miller, Virgilio P. Elizondo
(Our Sunday Visitor, 1995)

Guadalupe: Mother of the New Creation
Virgilio P. Elizondo
(Orbis Books, 1997)

Beyond Borders: Writings of Virgilio Elizondo and Friends
Timothy Matovina (editor)
(Orbis Books, 2000)
CRISIS—WHICH CRISIS?

The presentations suggested that experiences in the Andes might be assembled into a logical progression of crises. The path begins with high expectations, which then are frustrated when states are unable to consistently deliver such basic goods as economic and physical security. The failure to produce results leads next to the perception that traditional parties and leaders are not representing their constituencies—hence the demands for change.

But subsequent reforms have been incomplete, misguided, or counterproductive. They’ve led in some cases to neopopulist regimes of questionable commitment to democracy; in others, to an explosion of particularized representation. This leaves a fragmented and polarized political space that creates or exacerbates a crisis of governability, worsening disenchantment with democratic institutions. This spiral of disaffection ultimately raises the specter of a crisis of democracy.

WILL DEMOCRACY SURVIVE IN THE ANDES?

The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andean Region” was the title for a conference sponsored by a grant from The Coca-Cola Company which brought together prominent scholars and diplomats from the region and the United States May 13–14. But the conference suggested that the title was too narrow: Frances Hagopian (KI Fellow and director-designate) noted that the presentations had in fact described a multifaceted crisis—a crisis of the state, of traditional parties, of representation, of social movements disconnected from political parties, of social and political violence, and a crisis of confidence. Together these ultimately raise questions about the stability of democracy in the five Andean countries.

DOWNFALL OF TRADITIONAL PARTIES. Levine and Romero’s presentation on urban social movements in Peru and Venezuela underscored the high (and disappointed) expectations of urban populations and their loss of power. In the end, there is an increasing gap, they argued, between participation and mechanisms of representation like traditional political parties. The results are evident: two constants in the region had been the stable democracy in Venezuela, with two parties sharing power since the late 1950s, and the dominance of traditional parties in Peru. Martín Tanaka (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima) detailed the stunning downfall of these electoral constants from 90% of the vote to—in some cases—less than 1%. Tanaka argued that parties followed this “peculiar path” as a result of inner fragmentation and misjudgments and missteps by party leaders, resulting in their utter rejection by the electorate.

REFORMS DON’T IMPROVE PARTY PERFORMANCE. Eduardo Pizarro (Princeton, former KI Visiting Fellow) and Simón Pachano (FLACSO-Ecuador) argued that, in Colombia and Ecuador, electoral rules have created incentives for legislators to represent atomistic, particularistic interests. In Ecuador, despite the growth and consolidation of a few larger parties, legislative agendas are controlled by regional interests. In Colombia, meanwhile, the party system itself has become increasingly
What are the consequences of all this? Is Chavista, Bolivia–Peruvian democracy a step away from “true” democracy? Is democracy in danger in the polarized, fragmented political arenas of Colombia and Peru? René Mayorga (Centro Boliviano de Estudios Multidisciplinarios/FLACSO) argued forcefully that there is an endless instrumental attachment to democracy. Even though they have been most unlikely to succeed only 15 or 20 years ago, Bolivia and Ecuador. Others are the relative success of decentralization efforts in Colombia and the relative absence of the military from the political scene.

A number of participants and discussants noted that despite the problems they identified with particular democratic institutions, support for democracy itself remains high. Ambassadors Myles Frechette and Curtis Kamman (both former US ambassadors, Colombia), Humberto de la Calle (OAS, Colombia), Luis Gallegos-Chiriboga (UN, Ecuador), Ricardo Luna (formerly UN, Peru), and Francisco Nieto-Guerrero (diplomatic corps, Venezuela; Georgetown) all argued that there is an unprecedented support for democracy. This seems to be independent of the personalities and policies of the elected leaders whose position is threatened. The response to Fujimori’s 1992 self-coup, events in Ecuador last year, and the recent aborted coup in Venezuela all provide evidence of this support. While the US response to events in Venezuela was ambivalent, regional leaders were unanimous and committed in their response, and this may have averted graver constitutional breakdowns.

Nor are the international dynamics the only positive signs. In the early 1980s, political scientists might well have voted Bolivia and Ecuador the least likely to succeed in the region, while praising stable Venezuelan democracy and even Colombia’s long democratic trajectory. The conference showed the Bolivian party system holding up well in the face of strong economic challenges, and Bolivian parties incorporating “outsider” politicians rather than losing out to them (Mayorga). Even Ecuador, a country with a tradition of weak parties, is creating stronger, more stable parties. While decentralization has produced decidedly uneven results all over Latin America, Kathleen O’Neill (Cornell) presented evidence that in Colombia decentralization has led to better-qualified local leadership and has improved the quality of local bureaucracies, though it has had less positive fiscal effects.

The conference showcased the complexity of the challenges facing Andean democracy. The participants explored political, institutional, social and economic explanations for the disparate ability of each country to respond to these challenges, and the various places they occupy along the path detailed in this brief summary. While the overall view was pessimistic, the conference emphasized that the problems are being addressed within a democratic context. The research also highlighted that the immediate task is to improve the ability of democratic institutions to address pressing national and international policy problems. The research presented at the conference may go some way toward improving conditions in the region.

SUPERFICIAL STABILITY? What are the consequences of all this? Is Chavista, Bolivarian, participatory democracy a step away from “true” democracy? Is democracy in danger in the polarized, fragmented political arenas of Colombia and Peru? René Mayorga (Centro Boliviano de Estudios Multidisciplinarios/FLACSO) argued forcefully that there is an endless instrumental attachment to democracy. Even though they have been most unlikely to succeed only 15 or 20 years ago, Bolivia and Ecuador. Others are the relative success of decentralization efforts in Colombia and the relative absence of the military from the political scene.

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BRIGHT SPOTS. The generalized pessimism should not, however, obscure several notable bright spots. One is the surprisingly positive performance of two countries that might have been voted most unlikely to succeed only 15 or 20 years ago, Bolivia and Ecuador. Others are the relative success of decentralization efforts in Colombia and the relative absence of the military from the political scene.

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BOOK PLANNED
The organizers of the May 13–14 conference, Ana María Bejarano (Princeton and Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá), Scott Mainwaring and Eduardo Pizarro, plan an edited volume collecting the revised papers presented at the conference, which should provide an invaluable roadmap of the region’s political trials.

See papers online at www.nd.edu/~kellogg/andes.html.

* As long as the political system lacks the capacity to solve social problems, democracy will be in jeopardy.*
Does the classic pre-World War I gold standard period (1880–1914) offer lessons for economics and politics? Authors at the conference, “Understanding the Gold Standard: New Lessons From an Old Rule” (May 3–4) found illuminating similarities between then and now, as well as intriguing implications of the gold experience for contemporary policymaking.

**Golden Globalization**

**Not All That Was Gold Glittered**

Puzzled by the fact that the countries outside the North-Atlantic axis adopted the gold standard later, intermittently, or not at all, Lawrence Broz (Univ. of California, San Diego) opened the conference asking why this was so. Why did developing and developed countries have such varied experiences with the gold standard? He set out a range of conditions that made it more difficult for nations in the periphery to adopt and maintain the gold parity, despite strong economic incentives to do so. Among them, he emphasized the varying levels of political instability present throughout the different nations. In countries with greater political instability, the likelihood of governments committing to gold decreased. One of his central points—that the gold standard was a device to show a government would not “bait and switch” investors by changing monetary policy after investments were made—spurred a fascinating debate. That notion permeated the rest of the discussions about the possibilities and the limitations of using adherence to the gold standard as a signaling mechanism.

Jerry Cohen (Univ. of California, Santa Barbara) was the first to point out that, in the gold period, governments were in search of ways to borrow in international capital markets. Similar to the contemporary process of globalization, those were times with high levels of trade integration and capital mobility. This generated a constant need for funds to finance balance of payments deficits. Jeffry Frieden (Harvard) and Kathleen McNamara (Princeton) took up the theme, emphasizing that commitment to maintaining the gold standard actually was not meant to suppress inflation. Rather, it was a means of obtaining capital to finance governments’ ever-increasing debt. Echoing recent debates on the role of International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditionality or Central Bank independence, participants spoke of the gold standard as being a “seal of approval,” indicating that borrowers were trustworthy of international credit.

Layna Mosley (KI Fellow) presented data that confirmed the role of the gold standard as a tool for borrowers to provide creditors with “information shortcuts.” Her analysis of sovereign borrowing in the 19th and early 20th centuries affirmed that “those on gold seemed to be able to borrow more, at lower interest rates, with longer maturities.” Both Timothy McKeown (Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) and Andrew Sobel (Washington University in St. Louis) responded by pointing out that the credibility of governments’ commitment to the gold parity still varied with local political-economic contexts. They asked why certain countries—largely developing nations—suffered from a “credibility deficit” despite adopting gold.

Roland Stephen (North Carolina State Univ.) proposed a framework to understand the connections between the gold standard and the necessities of imperial rule. For him, the mix of orthodox monetary regimes and interventionist development policies existed in colonies such as India only because of their role within the network of empires. Subsequent debate drew attention to the importance of financial hegemony as a type of informal empire for the dissemination of the gold standard around the world.

**Look For:** A panel presentation with revised papers from this conference at the 2002 APSA meeting (Boston, Sept. 6–8).
GOLDEN CHAINS VS. GOLDEN OPPORTUNITIES

Another series of discussions considered the effects of the gold standard within societies. Authors discussed the gold standard as a mechanism for monetary policies and its consequences for domestic politics.

Jonathon Moses (Norwegian Univ. of Science and Technology, Trondheim) examined how international migration served as an important adjustment mechanism for unemployment in states bound by the rigidities of the gold parity. Daniel Verdier (European Univ. Institute) discussed how special interest politics became institutionalized in tariff policies during the time of the gold standard. Both authors touched upon the trade-off between domestic and international adjustment mechanisms vis-à-vis the constraints of inflexible monetary regimes.

The debate that followed revolved around the distributive consequences of the gold standard. Ted Beatty (KI Fellow) was quick to call for the better identification of winners and losers of the gold standard. Frieden noted the shifts in comparative advantage due to free trade and the gold parity. All discussants were mindful that the domestic political consequences of the gold standard were not uniform.

GLEANING LESSONS FOR GLOBALIZATION

Perhaps most interesting are the parallels that can be drawn between these debates on the gold standard and the contemporary issues of globalization. The division between developing and developed countries continues to be stark. Then, as now, capital-poor countries seem to suffer the most from the negative consequences of internationalization, austerity and increased capital mobility. The dilemmas facing developing countries today of either fixing or floating their national currencies are particularly familiar to those who study the choices of adopting or rejecting the gold standard. The advantages of currency boards for international credibility are often counterbalanced by the costs of restricted monetary policy autonomy. Contemporary governments, however, face a more challenging political context than their pre-World War I counterparts: political enfranchisement is broader, and voters’ expectations of public social policies are greater. Participants concluded by noting that the value added by these comparisons is enormous. The gold standard sheds light on both the possibilities and the limitations of policymaking within the context of a more interdependent world.

Layna Mosley and Roland Stephen organized the conference. The Kellogg Institute, the Nanovic Institute for European Studies, and the UNC-Chapel Hill Center for European Studies underwrote the event. Papers are available online at: www.nd.edu/~mmosley/goldstandard.html

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RECOMMENDED READING

Books on the gold standard/pre-WW I international economy:

Modern Perspectives on the Gold Standard
Bayoumi, Eichengreen, and Taylor, eds. (1996)

Globalization in Historical Perspective
Bordo, Taylor, and Williamson, eds. (2002)

Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System
Eichengreen (1996)

Books by conference participants:

International Origins of the Federal System
Broz (1997)

The Geography of Money
Cohen (1998)

The Currency of Ideas: Monetary Politics in the European Union
McNamara (1998)

Global Capital and National Governments
Mosley (2002)

Verdier (1995)

Organizers:
Robert Fishman (Sociology)
Tony Messina (Political Science)

Panelists include:
Barry Eichengreen (UC-Berkeley)
Philippe Schmitter (European University Institute, Florence)
Saskia Sassen (Univ. of Chicago)
George Ross (Brandeis and CES Harvard)
James Caporaso (Univ. of Washington)

Cosponsored by KI
make the economy scream

declassification of U.S. government documents about several foreign policy imbroglios have long been the subject of conjecture and controversy.

Peter Kornbluh, senior researcher for the NSA, showed an audience of 80 students, faculty and community members copies of USG memos, cables and notes declassified in the NSA’s most recent target: official US intelligence agencies were involved in the overthrow of Pres. Salvador Allende of Chile in the early 1970s. Startling in their bluntness, the documents trace the contributions of the White House and the CIA to destabilization of the Chilean military, political institutions and society in an attempt to squash the “red threat” the Nixon administration perceived in Allende’s socialist government.

In addition to a senior White House official’s handwritten notes about a meeting in Washington in which Nixon tells his advisors, among other things, to make Chile’s economy scream, Kornbluh flashed overhead after overhead of communications between the CIA in Washington and its field office in Santiago, passing orders and information about covert actions, including the assassination of a top Chilean military official. Kornbluh also said that the claim by Gen. Augusto Pinochet that he did not endorse the coup until it was in its final stages is clearly refuted in the USG documents.

Kornbluh, who was also instrumental in the NSA’s fight to declassify USG documents about Iran-Contra, will release a book titled The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability later this year. He continues to work on declassifying USG documents on Cuba.

For more information, see: www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv

Now in Kellogg’s Notre Dame Press Series

Silvia Borzutzky’s Vital Connections is the first book-length treatment in English of the evolution of social security in Chile and the effects of its privatization under the Pinochet regime. Her work focuses on three critical historical periods, during which Chile experienced a crisis that prompted a reform of its socioeconomic organization and, consequently, its social security system.

Borzutzky argues that Chile’s social security system was an egalitarian façade which hid a political reality of profound inequality. Chile’s social security system helped create a ‘narrative’ that portrayed the country as a unified society with a legitimate political system. Efforts on the part of the Chilean people to make this narrative a reality threatened those in power and ultimately led the Pinochet regime to destroy the political system and create a new narrative that stressed individualism, but in actuality perpetuated rampant human rights abuses.

The book is available from University of Notre Dame Press.
EXPLORING LATIN AMERICA WITH TITLE VI

How does a local teacher manage to bring her classroom to Latin America and dig up artifacts from the Andes? How does a local student become fluent in advanced Portuguese?

THROUGH THE AUSPICES OF KI’S NATIONAL RESOURCE CENTER IN LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES, TITLE VI FUNDING REACHED EDUCATORS AND STUDENTS IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION THIS SEMESTER. MONIES SUPPLEMENTED THE CURRICULUM AND GAVE STUDENTS AND FACULTY A CHANCE TO STUDY AND DO RESEARCH IN LATIN AMERICA.

ART AND MUSIC FROM THERE TO HERE

Kellogg and its Title VI partner, the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CLACS) at Indiana University–Bloomington held an interdisciplinary workshop “Exploring Latin America Through Art and Music” for primary and secondary school teachers on April 12. More than 60 teachers from Indiana, Ohio and Illinois gathered in Bloomington, Indiana, for the all-day workshop. Teachers learned how to integrate Latin America into their social studies, art, and music classes while adhering to the state-mandated curriculum. An elementary schoolteacher commented, “It was wonderful to learn about another culture to share with my students.” Faculty from IU and Butler University led the sessions, and artisans and musicians from the surrounding community shared their knowledge of Latin American music and art through craft demonstrations and musical performances.

THE ANDES AND ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS TRAVEL TO THE MIDWEST

Teachers from Indiana and Illinois are bringing Latin America into their classrooms, thanks to the “Traveling Trunks from Latin America” project. The trunks provide K–12 teachers with teaching materials, artifacts and musical instruments from KI’s Latin American Resource Center. South Bend Schools Curriculum Developer Angie Skwarcan has joined the project to correlate the teaching materials with the state’s academic standards. Currently two trunks, “The Andean Region” and “Ancient Civilizations,” are in circulation. By August 2002, trunks covering “Cuba & the Caribbean,” “Mexico & Central America,” “Brazil: Music & Culture” and “Southern Cone” will be available to educators in the region.

FACULTY FUNDING

This spring, the International Travel Grant was awarded to Dr. Lloyd H. Ketchum, Jr., ND professor of civil engineering, for the development of exchange programs focusing on the study and research of water systems in Mexico and other developing countries.

For more information, visit our new site: www.nd.edu/~kellogg/VINRC/.

ND+Harvard+Brazil=Social Change

BUILDING SOCIAL PROGRESS IN BRAZIL AND THE US WITH STUDENT EXCHANGES

Maria Monteiro, a political science student from the University of São Paulo (USP) and Mariana Silva, a psychology student from the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC–Río) will be undergraduate exchange students at Notre Dame this fall semester. The exchange is designed to introduce students to theory and methods for achieving social progress in Brazil and the US. Notre Dame and consortium partner Harvard will send US students to the two Brazilian universities in the spring semester of 2003.

During the first-year preparatory phase of the project, KI Associate Director Christopher Welna; ND International Programs Assistant Director, Carmen Nanni; and the Associate Director of Harvard’s David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Ellen Sullivan, traveled to USP and PUC–Río to organize the exchange agreements. The program is funded by grants from the US Dept. of Education’s Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education (FIPSE) and Brazil’s Fundação Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES).

STUDENT FELLOWSHIPS

Rachel Farrell, master of divinity student, and Maria Alevras, graduate student in Romance Languages, received summer Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships.

Farrell will study advanced Spanish in Quito, Ecuador, and Alevras will study advanced Portuguese in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

In addition to the summer FLAS Fellowships, two academic-year fellowships were awarded for 2002–03. Julie Jack, master of science in administration student, and Gabriela Teodorescu, a Law School student, received the academic-year FLAS Fellowships. Jack will study Portuguese, and Teodorescu will study advanced Spanish.

The three-year Title VI grant from the Dept. of Education began in August 2000. KI and CLACS-IU, our Title VI consortium partner, aim to expand the understanding of Latin American culture and languages at both universities, as well as in the surrounding communities and primary and secondary schools in the region.

For more information, visit our new site: www.nd.edu/~kellogg/VINRC/.

KI’S Thayne Cockrum (left) explains traveling trunk display to workshop participant.
“Go start an international studies institute.”

Few people ever receive such a broad and open-ended mandate, yet this was precisely the mission Fr. Theodore Hesburgh gave to Fr. Ernest Bartell nearly 22 years ago. From an initial endowment of $10 million and a handshake on a Rio de Janeiro beach, the Institute has grown into a vibrant research community.

One Day, Two Panels, a Multitude of Ideas

How has research in international studies evolved over the past 20 years? Where is the research agenda headed? The anniversary of the Institute’s inaugural year posed a perfect opportunity to address these questions—and of course, to commemorate. On May 22, members of the Kellogg community—founders, past and current Fellows, and friends—gathered to celebrate the accomplishments of the past and to chart the course for the future.

Scholars from various countries and disciplines led panel discussions on the research agenda in international studies and also commented on the Institute’s contribution to this agenda in light of changes in the social sciences and the world.

Thinking through the challenges of growth takes more than just one day. The forum began a dialogue on topics that today inspire research and tomorrow shape policy choices.

Blessing for the Next 20 Years

The anniversary event was not only an opportunity to celebrate the intellectual and scholarly growth on the campus of the University, but also a chance to recognize the physical expansion of the Hesburgh Center. The dedication and blessing of the recently completed $2.5-million, 24-office addition symbolized the entrance of Kellogg into its next 20 years.

“20 Years of Research in International Studies: What Has Been Important? What Has Changed?”

Where Have We Been? Charting the Course of Change

GUILLERMO O’DONNELL

“One of the reasons for the extreme congeniality of this university is that we could without embarrassment say that we were trying to do some very good academic work, but that this work was presided and guided by values that we were not embarrassed to make explicit. This is something rather rare in contemporary academic life.”

ALEJANDRO FOXLEY

“The years of reflection here at the Kellogg Institute meant that when the political opening process in Chile started, I had some clear notions of what should be done.”

ABRAHAM LOWENTHAL

“The noted and dedicated leaders [of Kellogg] committed themselves to building a more democratic and more just society. Some accused them of wishful thinking, but…[they] were really involved in “thoughtful wishing,” harnessing ideas and analysis to change the world.”

It’s Not Just Where We’ve Been—

“The Future of Social Science Research in International Studies”

Where Are We Going? The Path for Social Science

LAYNA MOSLEY
“We should be building on [Kellogg’s] tradition of asking important questions and answering them in systematic, tractable ways.”

AL STEPAN
“The essence of good interdisciplinary work…is if people share a problem.”

SAMUEL VALENZUELA
“We need an integration of Latin American experiences into a broader set of cases.”

FRANCES HAGOPIAN
“It’s time to move beyond the workings of political institutions to understand the ways political institutions engage civil society.”

A Tribute to Father Hesburgh
The celebration was highlighted by a luncheon in honor of Fr. Hesburgh, whose vision and initial leadership are the foundations of the Kellogg Institute.

Fr. Hesburgh’s many accomplishments in his work for human rights, democracy and peace have been highlighted in a variety of publications over the years—including the Guinness Book of World Records—he holds the most honorary degrees of any one person: 150.

“[Fr. Hesburgh] has made such an enormous difference in the life of Notre Dame … in the life of the world, and of everybody who is present in this room.”

—Fr. Timothy Scully, CSC

Enjoy our Anniversary tour and see Lowenthal’s tribute to Fr. Hesburgh at www.nd.edu/~kellogg
People worked on a small number of countries changes. The sheer scope of the scholarly new director? life in Latin America. It is one of the truly dra- lenge at Notre Dame. The undergraduate pop- program, perhaps by expanding it to reach out and bring in scholars from other parts of the world or disciplines that have not been as strongly represented at Kellogg in the past. I don’t see this as diminishing the importance of people that we have had, but as finding new avenues and opportunities.

I also believe that the Institute can continue to grow. We can bring in and support more Faculty Fellows. There are opportunities and resources to support intellectual energy and creativity. I will endeavor to be as open as I can possibly be about welcoming such initiatives.

Does being a woman influence your goals as the new director?

This question has always been on my mind, but I think in the last few years even more so. As I look around at our undergraduates and graduate students, it’s very clear to me that women faculty and women in administration have important roles to play in continuing to bring in and create opportunities for female students and junior faculty. It’s a special chal- lenge at Notre Dame. The undergraduate pop- ulation is balanced, but we don’t have the same representation of women in the faculty or administration. I take my appointment as a great vote of confidence, with a special respon- sibility to be aware of these issues and to make this Institute welcoming for women as well as for men.

You first came to Kellogg in 1984—how has it grown and matured since then?

I think Kellogg has grown tremendously. It was a small institute with a tight core identity. People worked on a small number of countries and issues at the highest level of scholarly research. They set crucially important agendas for scholarship and, more important, for public life in Latin America. It is one of the truly dra- matic instances of an institute becoming so prominent in such a short period of time.

Over the years there have been a number of changes. The sheer scope of the scholarly agenda has expanded dramatically. Now we study not only Latin America but the world—now we are truly an institute of international and comparative research. The number of themes and academic disciplines has also expanded significantly. We have brought in many more people without in any way diluting or neglecting the core strength in Latin Amer- ica that helped us to achieve our academic rep- utation.

The Institute has also deepened its presence on campus in the last several years. It is still, appropriately, a research institute, but it has expanded its activities on campus, its services to students, its fellowships to graduate students. We have made some ventures into undergraduate education, which I think is a wonderful development.

Are there any new big questions you’d like to add to Kellogg’s agenda?

I don’t see adding any huge questions. What I do see is working with the broad template of issues we’ve been concerned with and further developing and extending them. For example, we are always interested in development and equity. In these times of closer economic integration in the world, and increased flows of labor, capital and goods, there are special challenges for countries in Latin America and countries in Asia and East Central Europe with similar economies. We might be interested in issues related to public policies such as capital controls or reforms in pension systems, health care, education or labor markets.

In other areas, I would like to do more with the role of religion in politics and society, not only in Latin America, but also perhaps in sub-Saharan Africa and the Catholic parts of the world. We’ve had a very active democracy working group here the last few years, which I would like to continue to support. What accounts for public disaffection with demo- cratic regimes? We work very hard to get them and to keep them—now why are they failing?

Why were you willing to be director?

For scholars and teachers, assuming any administrative position is not an automatic step. Most people think of administration as their eventual responsibility. That is not a good enough reason to do it—because if one assumes responsibilities under those condi- tions, one is just bound to fail. One has to look upon these moments as real opportunities to accomplish something and not just punching the clock. When I was asked to consider this position, I thought about it a great deal, and I concluded I wanted to give something back to this University and would be willing to take on this challenge at this moment in my career.

Hagopian to Lead KI

continued from page 1

Gilbert Michel joined the Institute in February as staff accountant. Gil assists in managing the financial activities of the Institute, which include budgeting, reporting, and monitoring the Institute’s operating accounts. Gil brings over 12 years of accounting experience from such companies as Grove Chizek CPAs in South Bend and a highly successful start-up in New York City’s fashion dis- trict. With his missionary experience in West Africa, Gil also brings an interna- tional perspective to his accounting work. Wise financial stewardship has always been paramount to the Institute, so we welcome Gil’s arrival to Kellogg.
Kellogg salutes award-winning students

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM (LASP) INTERNSHIPS

CARLOS GUTIERREZ
(International Business)
Washington Office on Latin America

ANNISE MAGUIRE
(Sociology and Spanish)
Washington Office on Latin America

PATRICIA MCALE
(American Studies)
Secretariat for Latin America,
US Council of Catholic Bishops

ELIZABETH KAHLING
(Political Science)
Center of Concern

KATHI JO JANKOWSKI
(Environmental Science and Anthropology)
The Nature Conservancy

MARGARET DONOHUE
(Business)
Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights

MICHAEL McGARRY
(Sociology)
Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights

MARIA CRISTINA VAZQUEZ-MATHEW
(Political Science)
Mexican Consulate, Chicago

KEFLIN TURNER
(Political Science)
Inter American Press Association

MARIO BRAZ
(Economics)
FUSADES, San Salvador

BRIAN HARTMAN
(Liberal Studies)
FUSADES, San Salvador

JULIA KOSLOW
(Architecture)
Fundación Acceso, San José

JACQUEE ARAGON
(Biology)
Panama Medical School

AVA WILLIAMS
(Political Science, German, French)
Foreign Commercial Service
AMCONGEN, São Paulo

ALLISON WERNER
(Anthropology)
INREDH, Quito

ANN MARIE GURUCHARRI
(Anthropology, History)
Centro de Artes de la Comunicaciones, Santiago

KENNEDY PRIZE FOR BEST SENIOR ESSAY ON LATIN AMERICA

LAURA GUIDERSON
(Political Science)
*Culture or Institutions? Understanding Women’s Political Representation in Chile*

UNDERGRADUATE SUMMER RESEARCH GRANTS

NASSIF JOHN CANNON
(Political Science and Finance)
*Implementation and Effectiveness of New Donor Aid Policies in the Education Sector of Uganda and Tanzania*

ELIZABETH ENGRAFF
(History)
*Monuments, Polish Identity and Democratization*

MARY ANNE LEWIS
(Accounting and French)
*A Moroccan Cry in Paris*

KRISTINA LINDQUIST
(Philosophy)
*The Fight Is Not Over Yet: French Feminism in 2002*

REBECCA MARIE REILLY
(Political Science and English)
*Colonialism, Education, and Nationalism: A Study of the Philosophies of Mohandas Mahatma Gandhi and Archbishop Desmond Tutu*

GRADUATE RESEARCH SEED GRANTS

FIRAT DEMIR
(Economics)
*Militarization of the Market: The Role of Military in the Formation of Rent Seeking Coalitions During Economic Liberalization in Turkey*

HELENA OLEA
(Law)
*Humanization of Internal Armed Conflicts*

CLAIRE M. SMITH
(Political Science)
*Leveling the Playing Field: Political Finance Laws and Party Competition in the German Laender and US States*

XIAO-QING WANG
(Sociology)
*How Has a Chinese Village Become Catholic? Local Cultures and the Catholic Revival in a Northern Catholic Village*

COCA-COLA PHD ATTRACTION AWARD

FABIAN SAENZ
(Biology)

CARLOS M. LISONI
(Political Science)

ADOLFO ESCAMILA AYALA
(Chemical Engineering)

FLAS

MARIA ALEVRAS
(Romance Languages)
Advanced Portuguese (summer)

RACHEL FARRELL
(Theology)
Advanced Spanish (summer)

JULIE JACK
(Business–MSA)
Portuguese (academic year)

GABRIELA TEODORESCU
(Law)
Advanced Spanish (academic year)

DISSERTATION YEAR

PETER BAKER
(Political Science)
*Policy Making in Transition: Decision Rules, Decision Makers, and Distributive Politics in Lithuania and Ukraine*

VIVIANA ANDREA BOMPADRE
(Sociology)
*Sources and Processes of Cultural Innovation: A Comparison Between Local and Center Communities in the Making of the Mercosur*

ANDRÉS MEJÍA-ACOSTA
(Political Science)
*Through the Eye of the Needle: Legislative Coalitions, Information Institutions and Economic Reform in Third Wave Democracies*

PAUL VASQUEZ
(Political Science)
*Shouldering the State Security Burden: The Composition of Militaries, Regime Type and International Conflict Behavior*
LETTURES AND SEMINARS RELATED TO KELLOGG’S RESEARCH THEMES

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

Scott Mainwaring (Political Science/KI), “Social Cleavages, the Anchoring of the Vote, and Party System Stability: Latin America and Western Europe” (2/5)

Leslie Anderson/Larry Dodd (Univ. of Florida), “Learning Democracy: Citizen Engagement and Vote Choice in Nicaragua, 1990” (2/6)

Work-in-Progress Seminar Series: Aseema Sinha (KI Visiting Fellow/Univ. of Wisconsin–Madison), “Divided Leviathan: Federalism and Developmental States in India” (2/12)

Michael Coppelg (Political Science/KI) and Andrés Mejía-Acosta (Political Science), “Political Determinants of Fiscal Discipline in Latin America” (2/26)

Martha Merritt (Political Science/KI), “War and Power in Putin’s Russia” (3/5)

Lee Hamilton (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC), Question-and-answer with students and lecture “American Foreign Policy Challenges” (3/6)


Documentary: Justice and the Generals (3/27)


Peter Kornbluh (The National Security Archives at George Washington Univ.), “The Pinochet File: Declassifying US Secrets on Chile” (4/18) (see also article on page 16)

Jose Antonio Giusti Tavares (Visiting Chair in the Study of Brazilian Culture and Federal Univ. of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil), “Party Mediation in Brazilian Representative Democracy” (5/1)

Conference: “The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes” (5/13–14) (see also article on pages 12–13)

What are the opportunities for economic growth in developing countries?

Current Affairs Panel: “Crisis in Argentina: A Tale of Pesos and Presidents,” Gretchen Helmke (Political Science/KI); Jaime Ros (Economics/KI); Louis Schirano (international financial consultant) (1/29)

Victoria Murillo (Yale Univ.), “Partisan Bias in Policy Convergence: Privatization Choices in Latin America” (2/14)

Jiang Shixue (Institute of Latin American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), “Globalization in Chinese Perspective” (2/19)

Yener Kandogan (Mendoza College of Business), “After the Nice Summit of the EU: How Will the European Integration Be Affected?” (cosponsored with the Nanovic Institute) (2/22)


Roundtable: Carlos Ibarra (Universidad de las Américas, Mexico), “Some Limits of the Mexican Float” (4/25)

David Kang (Dartmouth Univ.), “Bad Loans to Good Friends: Explaining Money Politics in Asia” (4/30)

Hewlett Lecture Series in International Economics: Eckhard Janeba (Univ. of Colorado), “Why Europe Should Love Tax Competition (and the US Even More So)” (5/2)

Conference: Understanding the Gold Standard: New Lessons From an Old Rule (5/3–4) (see also article on pages 14–15)

How can government policies promote social well-being?

Francisco Zapata (KI Visiting Fellow/El Colegio de México), “Crisis in Latin American Labor?” (2/21)

What fosters a vigorous civil society?

José Murilo de Carvalho (Visiting Chair in the Study of Brazilian Culture & Federal Univ. of Rio de Janeiro), “Citizenship in Brazil: Theory and History” (1/24)

Current events analysis: Kathleen Collins (Political Science/KI), “Promoting Security in Central Asia” (cosponsored with the Kroc Institute) (2/5)

Angelina Snodgrass Godoy (KI Visiting Fellow/Univ. of California, Berkeley), “When ‘Justice’ Is Criminal: Lynchings in Latin America” (3/19)

Latin American Film Series: Jeff Gould (Center–Latin American & Caribbean Studies Indiana Univ.) Cícatriz de la Memoria, El Salvador, 1932 (documentary) (4/3)

Stathis Kalyvas (Univ. of Chicago), “Intimacy and Violence in Civil War” (4/4)

Ana María Stuven (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile), “Women’s Voices and Representations: Modernization and Secularization in 19th-Century Chile,” (cosponsored with the Erasmus Institute) (4/24)

How does religion shape public life?

Fr. Theodore Hesburgh, CSC. (President Emeritus, Univ. of Notre Dame), “Faith, Justice and Education: Reflections on an International Life” (cosponsored with the Kroc Institute) (1/31)

Roundtable: “Cuban Catholicism in the Diaspora,” Lisandro Pérez (Cuban Research Institute, Florida International Univ.) “Catholics and the Miami Context”; Gerald E. Poyo (Visiting Fellow, Institute for Latino Studies & History) “Formation of the Miami Catholic Community, 1960s”; María de los Ángeles Torres (DePaul Univ.) “The Peter Pan Children”; Fr. Mario Vizcaíno (Southeastern Pastoral Institute, Miami) “Southeastern Pastoral Institute and US Latino Catholicism” (cosponsored with the Institute for Latino Studies) (2/5)

Fr. Tom Smith, CSC. (Holy Cross Mission Center), Fr. David Schlafer, CSC. (Holy Cross Mission Center), “Holy Cross Mission Center, The International Mission of Holy Cross” (3/7)

Romero Lecture: The Rev. Oscar Andrés Rodríguez Maradiaga, SDB (Cardinal Archbishop of Honduras), “Archbishop Romero: A Bishop for the Third Millennium” (cosponsored with the Latin American/North American Church Concerns and the Kroc Institute) (3/19) (see also sidebar)

Roundtable: “Catholicism in Cuba,” Margaret Crahan (Hunter College, CUNY); Joaquín Bello (Cuba Conference of Catholic Bishops); Silvia Pedraza (Univ. of Michigan) (cosponsored with the Institute for Latino Studies) (4/25)

Workshop: “Cuban Catholicism: Island and Diaspora,” Joaquín Estrada (Conferencia Episcopal de Cuba); Gerald E. Poyo (St. Mary’s Univ.), Marifeli Pérez-Stable (Florida International Univ.); Alicia Marill (Barry Univ.); Rolando Suárez (Conferencia Episcopal de Cuba); Katrin Hansing (Florida International Univ.); Mons. Carlos Manuel de Céspedes (Conferencia Episcopal de Cuba); Sixto García (St. Vincent de Paul Regional Seminary) (cosponsored with the Institute for Latino Studies) (6/20–21)

Visit our website at www.nd.edu/~kellogg for information about these and other Institute activities.
SEPTEMBER 25–29: RABO DE LAGARTIXA

For the second year, KI is hosting a choro group from Rio de Janeiro. Rabo de Lagartixa is an up-and-coming band whose visit to the US will include performances at Hesburgh Center, the Chicago World Music Fest, the South Bend Regional Museum of Art and on the shores of Lake Michigan. On their way to Notre Dame, they’ll perform at the Kennedy Center in Washington, DC, and in New York City. Funding from the Ministry of Culture of Brazil makes the visit of these six talented musicians possible.

NOVEMBER 10–13:
THE OPTION FOR THE POOR IN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

NOVEMBER 12:
NOTRE DAME PRIZE PRESENTATION CEREMONY
(see sidebar page 22)

DECEMBER 6–8:
THE YEAR OF THE EURO CONFERENCE

Read about our 20th anniversary celebration on pages 18–19, then check out our anniversary timeline! www.nd.edu/~kellogg