Our collaborative projects led by Kellogg Institute fellows call attention to the current state of democracy in Latin America and in particular to growing disaffection with democratic leaders, institutions, and performance. Democracy is alive but not well in Latin America, according to a report by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), entitled Democracy in Latin America: Toward a Democracy of Citizens. Published in April 2004, the report lauds some achievements of democracy in that region of the world while emphasizing the damaging effects of inequality and poverty. Former Kellogg Academic Director and Faculty Fellow Guillermo O’Donnell was the main author of the theoretical part of the volume.

The report’s subtitle expresses the main theme: democracy must be for citizens—and most Latin American democracies since the 1980s have failed to produce results that satisfy the needs and aspirations of their citizens. On the positive side, the report notes that electoral democracy has progressed steadily in Latin America. The average Electoral Democracy Index (EDI), whose values range between zero and one, grew at a healthy pace from 0.28 in 1977 to 0.93 in 2002. The EDI was designed for the UNDP report and measures a combination of the right to vote, fair elections, free elections, and elections as a means of access to public office. On a deeply concerning note, the report underscores the alarming rate of poverty and the extraordinary levels of socioeconomic inequality that afflict the region. This context of poverty, inequality, and poor government results explains why a slim majority (54.7 percent) of Latin Americans

(continued on page 7)
Every so often, a distinguished team of professors from other universities review academic units at Notre Dame. In the Fall 2004 semester, the Kellogg Institute was reviewed for the first time since 1990–91. The review team consisted of Jeremy Adelman, Department of History, Princeton University; Evelyne Huber, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; and Alfred Stepan, Department of Political Science, Columbia University. The review team expressed their admiration for Kellogg’s “track record of tremendous success” while urging Kellogg to contemplate some bold new initiatives.

As we prepared for the external review, we assessed our accomplishments, shortcomings, and aspirations. One issue that I would like to highlight is the recent burgeoning of our undergraduate programs, thanks to the generous support of The Coca-Cola Foundation for our internship program and to the terrific work of our Student Program Coordinator, Holly Rivers. As recently as the late 1990s, we sponsored three internships per summer for undergraduates. In the summer of 2004, the Institute funded 28 student interns at 16 international sites and seven domestic sites.

In 2003–04, we created a new Kellogg International Scholars Program for outstanding undergraduates. The idea behind this program, similar to other programs on campus that identify students of outstanding potential early in their Notre Dame careers, is to recruit them into challenging academic enrichment opportunities, and to prepare them to gain prestigious international awards and entry into the top graduate programs in their fields. Seventeen students are now in the program. This program has potential to involve students in ways that resonate, rather than compete, with the research focus of the Institute. It brings tangible benefits to many of our Faculty Fellows.

The Kellogg Institute administers a minor in Latin American Studies (LASP). The number of students in the program has increased exponentially in the past three years. Currently, 47 students are enrolled as minors, making Latin American Studies the seventh largest minor in the College of Arts and Letters. Seventeen students will graduate with the minor in 2005.

This Newsletter relates other recent developments at Kellogg, with information on Visiting Fellows, faculty research, and student programs.

Scott Mainwaring
Director
Spring Semester Brings New Visiting Fellows

Soledad Loaeza and Francisco Rodríguez will join Kellogg as Visiting Fellows for the spring of 2005. Visiting Fellows Victoria Tin-bor Hui, Wendy Hunter, and Kurt Weyland hold academic-year appointments and will remain at Kellogg through the spring semester. For more information on Visiting Fellowships, visit: http://kellogg.nd.edu/vfellows/

Academics to Examine Mexican Presidency and Venezuelan Growth Collapse

SOLEDAD LOAEZA
El Colegio de México

Loaeza’s research focuses on Mexican presidentialism in the 20th century and Mexico’s conservative opposition, the Partido Acción Nacional. She is particularly interested in identifying the relationship between the presidential institution itself and the individual holding that title, as well as placing that relationship into a historical context. While at Kellogg, Loaeza will explore this interplay as it applies to Gustavo Díaz Ordaz’s administration from 1964 to 1970. Díaz’s presidency is widely regarded as emblematic of Mexican authoritarianism.

Loaeza is currently a professor and researcher at El Colegio de México. She taught at Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) and Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), among others. A past visiting professor at several universities outside of Mexico, Loaeza was an academic visitor at the London School of Economics and, most recently, a Fellow at both the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study and the David Rockefeller Center of Latin American Studies at Harvard University. She is the author of El Partido Acción Nacional—La Larga Marcha, 1939–1994: Oposición Leal y Partido de Protesta. Loaeza received her PhD in political science from the Institut d’Études Politiques de Paris.

FRANCISCO RODRÍGUEZ C.
Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administración (IESA)
Project: “Why Did Venezuelan Growth Collapse?”

Rodríguez will ask what is possibly the most important question in Venezuela’s economic development: Why did the process of economic growth collapse in the last three decades? To effectively address this query, Rodríguez will draw on his experience as a high-level policymaker and influential academic researcher. Rodríguez was Director of the Economic and Financial Advisory Council of the Venezuelan National Assembly from 2000 until the Council’s dissolution in 2004. During his tenure as director, he was known for harsh criticism of mismanagement of funds. His willingness to challenge the status quo extends to his academic research. One of his most influential papers drastically diverged from existing beliefs by positing that trade openness has no significant effect on economic growth. Another examined why economies rich in natural resources have poor economic performance.

In Venezuela, Rodríguez is a professor of economics at the Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administración (IESA) and at Universidad Católica Andrés Bello. He holds a PhD in economics from Harvard University, where he researched economic policies for the redistribution of wealth. A published author in English and Spanish, Rodríguez has been a consultant for several prestigious organizations, including the Banco Central de Venezuela, the United Nations, and the World Bank.

Fulbright Educational Partnerships

In the spring of 2005, Kellogg will also host three visiting fellows as part of a three-year Fulbright Educational Partnerships project. This partnership facilitates collaborative research on civic, administrative, and economic reforms in the Andean region.

MIRIAM KORNBLITH
Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administración (IESA)

Kornblith’s study of the contemporary Venezuelan political system spans constitutional reform, political institutions and electoral processes. From 1998 to 1999, Kornblith was vice president and member of the board of directors of the National Electoral Council (CNE) of Venezuela. While at CNE, she helped oversee five elections, including the one that elected President Hugo Chávez. She has since returned to the CNE as a stand-in associate.

Kornblith is a professor and researcher at IESA and at the Instituto de Estudios Políticos at the Universidad Central de Venezuela. Among other publications, Kornblith authored Venezuela en Los Noventas: Las Crisis de la Democracia (Venezuela in the ’90s: The Crisis of Democracy). She holds a PhD in political science from the Central University of Venezuela.

PABLO SANDOVAL
Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP)

Sandoval, an associate researcher in anthropology at IEP, is interested in the relationship between the process of political violence, the student political movement in universities, and the political culture of a given society. During his time at Kellogg, he plans to focus on the relationship between political culture and political violence, two domains which he feels have been scarcely explored in Peru and Latin America.

As a researcher for the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Sandoval examined the process of political violence in Peruvian public universities, where Sendero Luminoso had an important presence. In 2000–01, his research merited a fellowship from the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) through its project on “Collective Memory and Repression in South America.” Sandoval holds a bachelor’s degree from Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (UNMSM), where he also taught anthropology in 2001 and 2002.

VERONICA PATRICIA ZÁRATE
Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP)

Zárate’s extensive research experience employs the social studies lens to examine social participation, drug economy, democracy, and governability in rural areas. In 2000, she explored those very topics in an international joint study project on “Contemporary Peru: Dynamics of Social Changes,” through a fellowship from the Japan Center for Area Studies (JCAS) of the National Museum of Ethnology.

Winner of several grants, Zárate has consulted for numerous prestigious organizations, including UNICEF and USAID/Peru. Her forthcoming book is called Evaluación Crítica de Experiencias Éxitosas de Participación Ciudadana a Nivel Local. She holds a bachelor’s degree from the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. (continued on page 4)
Kellogg Names Two New Faculty Fellows

Scholars will enrich Kellogg’s work on Asia and religion

In the fall of 2004, Kellogg welcomed two new Faculty Fellows who will be contributing to the diversity of regions under study and to the Institute’s work on religion.

Susan D. Blum is an associate professor of anthropology and director of the Center for Asian Studies at Notre Dame. In September, Blum offered the anthropological perspective on “Freedom without Democracy in Hong Kong,” a current events panel held at the Kellogg Institute. She is interested in linguistic anthropology, deception and truth, ethnicity and nationalism, and cultural anthropology. Blum was awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities fellowship for 2002–03 and a grant from the American Philosophical Society in 1996, among others. Author of several scholarly articles, encyclopedia entries and book chapters, her forthcoming book is on Deception and Truth: Reflections of an American Anthropologist in China. Her first book was Portraits of “Primitives:” Ordering Human Kinds in the Chinese Nation. Prior to joining the Notre Dame faculty, Blum taught at the University of Colorado at Denver and the University of Pennsylvania. She completed her PhD in anthropology at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in 1994. Within anthropology, her academic training focused on Chinese and Far Eastern languages and literatures. Her field research has been aided by her near-native ability in Mandarin.

Lawrence E. Sullivan, a professor of theology and concurrent professor of anthropology at Notre Dame, is a highly-regarded expert on South America’s native religions. His areas of interest include ritual in post-colonial settings, religious beliefs and practices centered on health and healing, and arts and performances associated with ritual. He was a member of the expert review board that submitted recommendations to the US Departments of Justice and the Treasury on the Branch Davidian community. A prolific scholar, Sullivan has received research grants from prominent national and international organizations, including the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Buddhist Association of China, the Fulbright Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, and the Japan–United States Educational Commission. Sullivan has authored over 60 scholarly articles and numerous books. He was also the associate editor of the Encyclopedia of Religion, which received the Hawkins Prize and the Dartmouth Medal from the American Library Association for the best work in any category of publishing. In 2002, Sullivan was honored with a lifetime fellowship to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Prior to coming to Notre Dame, he taught at Harvard University, the University of Chicago, and Chem Chem College in Zaire (now Congo), among other institutions. He holds a PhD in the comparative history of religions from the University of Chicago.

Grant Opportunities for Faculty

The Kellogg Faculty Committee is considering changes in funding opportunities for Notre Dame faculty; therefore, this schedule and array of opportunities are subject to change. Please visit our website at http://kellogg.nd.edu/grants.html for updates and additional information on how to apply.

Seed Money Fund for ND Faculty

These grants support Notre Dame faculty involved in initial, short-term, exploratory research addressing the thematic priorities of the Kellogg Institute. Seed money is awarded to fund promising pilot projects or the research necessary to prepare externally competitive research proposals. The grant should help to determine the viability and to define better the scope of the larger proposed project. The fund is not intended to be a substitute for foundation support of research projects.

A complete application, including all documentation, must be received by Monday, February 21, 2005.
GEORGES ENDERLE co-chaired the Third ISBEE World Congress of Business, Economics, and Ethics entitled “ Freedoms and Responsibilities in Business: Ethics, Leadership, and Corporate Governance in a Global Economy,” hosted by the University of Melbourne, Australia, in July.

REV. GUSTAVO GUTIÉRREZ, OP, received the Yves Congar Award for Theological Excellence from Barry University in Miami Shores, Florida.

RICHARD JENSEN, professor and chair of the Department of Economics and Econometrics, was recognized by Thomson ISI as the author of one of the most cited papers in the field of social science, “Proofs and Prototypes for Sale: The Licensing of University Inventions.” The article appeared in the American Economic Review in March 2001. He was also appointed editor of the International Journal of Industrial Organization.

ROBERT JOHANSEN was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters by Manchester College, in recognition for his achievements as “one of the nation’s leaders on matters of international ethics, global governance, and peace and world order.”

SCOTT MAINWARING was a co-winner of the award for the best article published in a professional journal in 2003, “El Conflicto Democracia/Autoritarismo y Sus Bases Sociales en Chile, 1973–1995: Un Ejemplo de Redefinición Política de un Clevage.” The article, co-authored with Mariano Torcal, was published in Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas. The prize was awarded by the Asociación Española de Ciencia Política y de la Administración.

GUILLERMO O’DONNELL was honored at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, Smithsonian Institution, in October, in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the launching of the project “Transitions from Authoritarian Rule,” which he co-directed and which resulted in four volumes of the same title.

EMILY OSBORN was invited to serve a two-year term on the editorial board of History Compass, an electronic journal from Blackwell Publishing.

CHRISTOPHER J. WALLER gave invited presentations at the “First European Workshop in Monetary Theory” in Paris, France; at the Society for Economic Dynamics meetings in Florence, Italy; and at the “Vienna Macroe Workshop” at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Vienna, Austria.

SMALL PROJECT GRANTS FOR FELLOWS
Small Project Grants support Kellogg Faculty Fellows involved in research addressing the thematic priorities of the Kellogg Institute. The fund is intended to support research that might be of a limited scope or one that supplements projects already in progress.

A complete application, including all documentation, must be received Monday, February 21, 2005.

WORKING GROUPS
Funding is available for Fellows to organize sustained, collective and interdisciplinary study around research themes related to the Kellogg agenda. Working Groups may organize reading groups, invite speakers as part of the Kellogg series, hold a mini-conference, or write proposals for major conferences or research projects.

A complete application, including all documentation, must be received by Wednesday, May 4, 2005.


KATHLEEN COLLINS delivered a presentation in November to the United Nations Development Program on political obstacles to regional cooperation in Central Asia. She also made a presentation on US policy in Central Asia at the Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies, under the President of Uzbekistan.

CAROLYN NORDSTROM gave a keynote speech on terrorism at the NIC Conference, held in Washington, DC, in June. She was also awarded a lecture series and writing grant related to holocaust and genocide studies, for which she was in residence at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, in September.

EMILY OSBORN presented the invited lecture “Guinea: History, Culture, Society,” at the Ambassadorsial Seminar on Guinea, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, US Department of State, in Virginia in July.

REV. ROBERT PELTON, CSC, filed a deposition in the case ruling a former captain in the Salvadoran air force a co-conspirator in the assassination of Archbishop Romero.
Fellows Discuss
Development, Economics
in a Globalized World


Kellogg's Monograph Series Assesses International Norms

The Kellogg Institute, in collaboration with the University of Notre Dame Press, publishes a Monograph Series addressing the main research themes of the Institute. The series will continue in 2005 with a book on international norms:

The Impact of Norms in International Society: The Latin American Experience, 1881–2001

by Arie M. Kacowicz
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Kellogg Director SCOTT MAINWARING serves as the general editor. To order any of the more than 40 monographs, visit www.undpress.nd.edu

Mainwaring on Democracy


Kellogg Faculty Fellow REV. ROBERT DOWD, CSC, contributed “Civil Society in Sub-Saharan Africa” to the Encyclopaedia of Women and Islamic Culture (The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 2004). Faculty Fellow ROBERT JOHANSEN explored “Reviving Peacebuilding Tools Ravished by Terrorism, Unilateralism, and Weapons of Mass Destruction” in The International Journal of Peace Studies. Faculty Fellows GEORGE LOPEZ and CHRISTOPHER WELNA, who is also executive director of the Kellogg Institute, collaborated with Rodrigo Pardo to compile “Towards a Peace Process in Colombia: The Role of Europe and the United Nations,” with versions in English and Spanish. The paper was part of Europe and Colombia: Diplomacy and Civil Society, published by the Peace Research Center.

Decentralization, Taxes Represented in Working Paper Series

The Kellogg Institute Working Paper Series allows for quick dissemination, free of charge, of the latest research by current and past Faculty Fellows, Visiting Fellows, and Guest Scholars. Since papers are published through this series several times a year, the Kellogg home page highlights each addition as it takes place. Researchers can access the archives according to region or theme of interest at kellogg.nd.edu/workingpapers.html. Two titles have been added since our previous newsletter:

#314 “A Sequential Theory of Decentralization and its Effects on the Intergovernmental Balance of Power: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective”
by Tulia G. Falleti
(University of Pennsylvania)

#315 “Tax Effort and Tax Potential of State Governments in Mexico: A Representative Tax System”
by Horacio Sobarzo
(El Colegio de México)

Faculty Fellow ANDY GOULD, associate professor of political science at Notre Dame, is the Series’ general editor.
state that they would support an authoritarian regime over a democratic government if authoritarianism were to resolve their economic problems, in effect placing development above democracy.

O’Donnell contributed to the rollout of the project through presentations in Mexico and Ecuador, at the invitation of the host countries and UNDP. Former Visiting Fellow Jorge Vargas Cullell led the team responsible for analyzing results of the public opinion survey conducted for the project. Vargas returns to Kellogg in the spring 2005 semester to continue his work on the quality of democracy.

O’Donnell has published many leading theoretical works on democracy with a particular focus on the travails of democracy in contemporary Latin America. Among his very recent publications is his coedited book, *The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications*, just published by the University of Notre Dame Press through the Kellogg Institute’s series. O’Donnell contributed the lengthy lead chapter on “Human Development, Human Rights, and Democracy,” which argues for giving human agency, human development, and human rights a more central role in democratic theory and in assessments of the quality of democracy. Jorge Vargas coedited the book and authored the other major chapter in the volume.

A parallel concern about the achievements and deficiencies of Latin America’s post-1978 democracies animates a soon-to-be-published volume, *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*, edited by former Kellogg Director and Faculty Fellow FRANCES HAGOPIAN and Director SCOTT MAINWARING. Forthcoming at Cambridge University Press, the volume provides a panoramic overview of democratization in the region since 1978. It seeks to explain both the post-1978 sea change from a region dominated by authoritarian regimes to one in which openly authoritarian regimes are the rare exception, and why some countries have achieved advances in democratization while others have experienced setbacks. The analysis highlights the poor regime performance of most post-1978 democracies and semi-democracies and the growing disillusionment with democracy. The book also aspires to contribute to the broader comparative literature on what makes democracy thrive, survive without thriving, erode, or break down. Three contributors to the volume (MICHAEL COPPEDGE, Hagopian, and Mainwaring) are current Kellogg Faculty Fellows, seven of the authors are former Visiting Fellows of the Institute, and one is a former graduate student of the University of Notre Dame.

While *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America* provides a comprehensive overview of the post-1978 period in the region as a whole, another collective research effort at Kellogg examines one particularly troubled region within Latin America: the Andes. In the past five years, Kellogg has had three major grants for research, educational exchange, and education related to the Andes, two from the Ford Foundation and one from the Fulbright Educational Partners Program. One product of Kellogg’s work on the Andean crisis is a forthcoming (2006) Stanford University Press volume on *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*, coedited by former Visiting Fellows Ana María Bejarano and Eduardo Pizarro along with Mainwaring. The five Andean countries (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela) have all struggled since the 1980s. This work argues that in the Andes, conventional mechanisms of democratic representation (parties and assemblies) are deeply discredited; political outsiders have frequently won high-level elected office including the presidency; party systems collapsed in Peru and Venezuela; and parties’ electoral fortunes have changed remarkably from one election to the next. The collaborators examine and attempt to explain the crisis of democratic representation that has roiled all five Andean countries. One key argument is that although conventional mechanisms of democratic representation may be deeply flawed, their weakening paves the way for semi-democratic or authoritarian political leaders who may not offer any better economic and social results than the democracies that they replace. In the concluding chapter, Mainwaring, echoing O’Donnell’s recent work, argues that state failures have been the most important factor in the crisis of democratic representation. Nine of the contributors to the volume have been Kellogg Visiting Fellows.
FROM ANCIENT ROME
TO THE ANDES: Conversing acr

In many ways, Sabine MacCormack defies classification.
Trained in history and classics, she is a leading scholar of colonial Peru who has also published respected works on the late Roman empire.
She is as comfortable analyzing Vergilian poetry as 16th century Quechua grammar. Her writings dissect the theology of St. Augustine and Las Casas and compare the religious rituals of ancient Rome to pre-Columbian Cuzco.
Educated in Germany and England, MacCormack taught at Texas, Stanford, and Michigan before joining the Notre Dame faculty as the Theodore M. Hesburgh Professor of Arts and Letters in 2003. Her courses are as likely to explore classical Latin as colonial Latin America.

Colleagues wonder how MacCormack manages to glimpse and navigate such divergent realities. They invariably ask how she came to study—and continues to integrate—so many locations, time periods, and disciplines.

“A lot of it had to do with the twists and turns of life,” says MacCormack, who earned a PhD at Oxford in 1974. Her doctoral dissertation focused on “how Christianity affected Roman public policy and also, the way government communicated its message in a pre-modern society.” From the outset, most of MacCormack’s professors discouraged the project as unwieldy. When she took the idea to Sir Ronald Syme, the eminent Roman historian, he said, “It’s a wonderful topic. Nobody will want to supervise it.” Undaunted, MacCormack pursued the project on her own, but she couldn’t find a publisher when she finished the dissertation in 1974. “It was a topic that wasn’t ‘in’ in those days, and actually, I didn’t get a job either,” she laughs. Things changed by 1979, when she landed her first academic post at the University of Texas and published the dissertation as Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity two years later. The widely acclaimed book was one of the first studies to analyze Roman visual art in relation to text, an approach that became “a big deal in the years after,” MacCormack says.

Meanwhile, MacCormack had also begun to learn Spanish and by chance discovered a primary source that would open the door to a whole new area of inquiry. Reading Antonio de la Calancha’s 17th-century chronicle of Augustinian missionaries in Peru, she noticed striking parallels between Spanish evangelization of Andean peoples and endeavors to spread Christianity in the late Roman empire.

“I began to see one end of what became a huge agenda of the connections between the Mediterranean ancient world and Latin America through Spain,” MacCormack recalls. “To start with, the conflict between Andean religion and Christianity looked like an analogy to the conflict between Roman religion and Christianity in late antiquity. That’s how I interpreted it and that’s also how Peruvian missionaries saw it—they perceived themselves in some ways as the successors to the apostles and church fathers.”

The result was Religion and the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru, which MacCormack published in 1990. The path-breaking book (and the articles that preceded it) heralded a new direction in Andean studies that others would follow. “Back in the 1950s, John Murra was saying one should look in the archives for early colonial documents that shed light on how the Incas governed, and on how these modes of governance were changed and transformed by the Spanish,” MacCormack says. By the 1980s, Peruvian scholars had produced “a whole cluster of local studies” that fulfilled Murra’s charge. More recently, Frank Salomon, Tristan Platt, Bruce Mannheim, Gary Urton, and others have pushed the Andean field in important new directions, and David Lupher has written about the impact of ancient Rome on Latin America.

While deeply interested in the European intellectual and social currents that shaped Spain’s attempts to catechize and govern Andean people, MacCormack has also striven to understand and describe—as much as historical sources allow—indigenous views of life under Spanish governance. “The study of indigenous America often suffers from our saying that the Spanish arrived with fire and sword, and indigenous people responded to their aggression. Instead, we should see indigenous peoples as agents in their own right,” MacCormack reflects. “What I’m trying to do is to understand Andean agency and creativity, and likewise the agency and creativity of the Spanish. There was much more to contact and its outcome than just a tale of destruction.”

She succeeds spectacularly in the task, according to Gary Urton, an Andean specialist and professor of Pre-Columbian Studies at Harvard. “Sabine is really unique in the field,” says Urton,
CONVERSATION

ROSS SPACE AND TIME

because she bridges the “great divide” that separates scholars who study “untouched” indigenous societies from those interested in the Spanish impact on Andean peoples. Moreover, Urton says, MacCormack has been able to “teach us, at a very profound level, not just about the military forces but the intellectual traditions that played a role in the process of transformation in the Americas.”

MacCormack’s early work in classical history led to years of research on colonial Peru. At the same time, she admits, “I really didn’t want to give up the ancient world so I’ve pursued that end as well.” In 1998 she published The Shadows of Poetry: Vergil in the Mind of Augustine. Inspired by the resilience of indigenous Andean culture in the face of colonizing forces, the book reflects her ongoing interest in “those dimensions of culture which, even though they change, prove to be in some way unforgettable.”

A common thread in her work relates to the way people remember the past and how the “mental furniture” of historians in any era influences the way they perceive and recount events. For MacCormack, writing history is an opportunity to hold “conversations across space and time” and to find continuities in unexpected places. In 2004 she finished a new book, On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain and Peru, which connects historical thinking in the Andes to earlier Roman and European traditions.

Far from living in the past (or in multiple pasts), MacCormack has launched new projects that propel her directly into the field’s future. With colleagues Ted Beatty and Iván Jaksic, she recently co-authored a proposal to create a PhD track in Latin American history at Notre Dame. Beginning in fall 2005, the program will offer fellowships to two graduate students a year in the History Department until reaching an eventual class of ten students.

MacCormack came to Notre Dame primarily to develop the program, which will have several distinctive features. Among these is a focus on South America and the Andes, a regular cohort of graduate students from Andean countries, an emphasis on cultural and intellectual history, and a strong indigenous component.

Simultaneously, she has worked hard to establish a new program in Quechua, which Notre Dame’s Department of Romance Languages will launch in January 2005. The study of indigenous languages and culture is important “not just for history but also for the kind of sociology and political science that’s done, because we tend to overlook the fact that Latin American countries are all multicultural and multilingual in their various ways,” MacCormack says.

Two native Quechua speakers from Cuzco—Gina Maldonado and Ines Callalli—will teach the language program’s inaugural courses. MacCormack is providing the first two years of funding for the program through a Distinguished Achievement Award she earned from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, “with the expectation that the university will continue the program thereafter.”

As if the rest weren’t enough, MacCormack also edits a book series entitled Languages, Cultures and Histories of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds. The series moved with her from Michigan to Notre Dame, and Notre Dame Press will publish the first titles under its imprint in 2006.

Not surprisingly, MacCormack’s ability to see “the profound connectedness of past and present” has allowed her to link her own research to current debates. As a Kellogg Faculty Fellow, she engages regularly with scholars who study contemporary Latin America, always keeping a historian’s perspective. She takes the long view of globalization, for example, seeing parallels between the survival of contemporary indigenous cultures and the “inventiveness and resilience” of Andean peoples in the face of conquest in the 16th century.

“One of the interesting things about the many forms of domination is that they are rarely if ever total,” MacCormack reflects. “It would seem to be impossible to coerce everybody all the time—and this is the great hope for freedom, diversity, and some kind of democracy even in the darkest of times.”

Can local, indigenous cultures continue to thrive in an age of globalization? “The powers of globalization are going to be somewhat limited in my view. That is not to deny the huge impact of globalization on many aspects of life,” she says. But “there’s always a profoundly surprising, ever new human reality out there to study.”

All photos and illustrations by Sabine MacCormack
WAITING FOR AN UNEXPECTED SPRING:

Five Decades with the Catholic Church in Latin America

by Elizabeth Station

Luiz Alberto Gómez de Souza is a leading Catholic intellectual whose voice has animated public and academic discussion of the Church’s role in society in his native Brazil and throughout Latin America. For five decades, he has participated in the Church’s major transformations as an activist, advisor and researcher. He holds a PhD in sociology from the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle in Paris and has written influential studies of the Catholic youth movement and the grassroots Church. He currently serves as executive director of the Center for Religious Statistics and Social Research (CERIS) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. His latest book is Do Vaticano II a um novo concílio? Olhar de um cristão leigo sobre a Igreja (From Vatican II to a New Council? A Lay Christian Looks at the Church, Ed. Loyola, São Paulo, 2004).

KI: Scholars have published quite a few studies on the Catholic Church’s social and political role in twentieth-century Latin America. What is distinctive about the research you’ve been pursuing at Kellogg?

LAG: This project tries to look at historical processes and the changes that have occurred over the last four decades. Many analyses look at a single point in time, but I want to see what happened from the Second Vatican Council until today as a non-linear process that had advances, setbacks, and tensions. In a certain sense, it’s a project that blends history and political science. I’m not trying to study all of Latin America—that would be very broad—but the Latin American experience with special attention to Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. Those are the countries where I’ve lived and that I know better than others.

KI: Why not include Central America or Colombia?

LAG: I want to look at new things that were happening, and Colombia is hard to understand in that context. In Central America, you had a process of polarization where the so-called popular Church isolated itself somewhat from what was happening in the broader Church. This contrasts with Brazil, where the more “advanced” sectors chose to work within existing institutional structures. If you look at the conference of bishops in Brazil, you see a permanent alliance between the sectors that wanted renewal and the moderates. This alliance isolated the conservative sector and allowed many moderates to advance. Their strategy was to avoid creating an isolated group of radicals who might own the truth but who had no ability to communicate. The approach goes back to the days of Catholic Action, which called it “influencing the milieu.” It was a characteristic of the Brazil and Chilean cases.

KI: Over the last 40 years, how did the Church uniquely influence society and politics in the countries you’ve studied?

LAG: Within that time frame, I see a first period falling between 1968 to 1979 and corresponding to the time of the Catholic bishops’ meeting in Medellín until their meeting in Puebla. In a previous paper, I call this “the glorious decade.” I think it’s a moment when the Church was really in step with the issues and challenges of the time. The period was rich in Brazil, for example, because social pastoral outreach got a boost with the creation of the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT) and the Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI) in 1975. During these years the Youth Pastoral was also growing and becoming a base of operations for labor and opposition activists all over the country. Many leaders from the Worker’s Party and the Landless Movement came from the Youth Pastoral. The Church became a kind of incubator for political and social leadership. It was providing a very fertile place for political and social renewal, and that’s why we need to study this period.

KI: How does liberation theology fit into the picture?

LAG: Liberation theology needs to be understood within this context because it wasn’t simply a school of thought that grew out of the academic work of a few theologians, but a new way to do theology. It was the result of this whole process and of the efforts of theologians who had the sensitivity to understand and think about the process. Gustavo Gutiérrez was an advisor to UNEC (the National Union of Catholic Students) and he also was involved with all the popular movements of working people and peasants in Peru. He and other theologians took their practical experience, reflected on it, and in a way, redefined theological methods. Gustavo has a lovely phrase to express it: “Liberation theology is Word that is consistent with practice.”

KI: What happened next, in the 1980s and 1990s, after the “glorious decade” was over?

LAG: Some people would say that the Church’s more innovative experiences went into decline after the 1970s—or even that they disappeared. I disagree completely. I believe the Church’s expressions from that time—the social pastoral work, liberation theology, and Chris-
That said, in the 1980s and 90s the Church as an institution wasn’t quite as in step with social and economic problems or with the poor as it had been in the previous decade, although there was still creativity at the grassroots, in the local churches. In the 1980s and 90s, new issues emerged: the issues of the body, sexuality and gender—which have given the Church trouble not only in Latin America but all over the world. It’s interesting that 1968 was the year of international youth rebellion, the year of Medellín, and the year of Pope Paul VI’s encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, which practically froze the issues of contraception and reproductive rights, closing a path and creating problems that we still see today.

**K:** Where is the Latin American Catholic Church now, and where might it go in the future?

**L:** Currently, there’s a feeling of enormous discomfort in both the Latin American and the US Church, and of a need to reopen certain themes—those of sexuality, gender, and lay men and women’s participation in Church power structures. These are “hot topics” that need to be confronted soon, either at the papal level or with a new council. Pope John XXIII called the Second Vatican Council “the flower of an unexpected spring.” I wonder whether we might not have some unexpected springs ahead of us. They wouldn’t come out of nowhere: social pastoral work, base communities, and liberation theology are all paving the way. As I mention in my latest book, I’m betting on this and hoping for it, although perhaps more as a Christian than as a social scientist.

**K:** You were an actor in and witness to many of the historical processes you’re studying, and you knew many of the great figures of the Latin American Church personally. How did that affect you?

**L:** The person who most influenced me was Dom Helder Câmara, the great prophet of the Brazilian Church. I worked with him at two different times—when I was a national director of Catholic Action Youth (JUC) between 1956 and 1958, and later in 1963, when my wife Lucia Ribeiro and I served as his advisors. I was able to follow his career very closely, and that was a privilege.

Another person whom I met briefly but who made a great impression on me was Monsignor Romero. I had some conversations with him in Puebla, and later visited him in San Salvador in November 1979. He died the following year, in 1980. That was also a rich experience because I was able to see the sensitivity he had for his people, and the way he grew and evolved from a relatively conservative bishop into someone whose bravery and outspokenness led to his death.

**K:** Will secular NGOs replace the Church as the most important civil society actor in twenty-first century Latin America?

**L:** I direct an independent NGO that works with the Church, so I can see both sides of the question. Social movements and NGOs have specific functions, one of which is to introduce new issues for discussion and reworking within society. The Church has another function: to be present to provide a broader, less immediate view of things. During the dictatorship in Brazil, when political parties and liberties didn’t exist, the Church became the main space for social and political freedom. After *abertura*, when social movements, parties, unions, and NGOs emerged, some people said the Church no longer had a role to play. But I think it still has a dual role: first, as a source of constructive criticism and second, as a training ground for social leaders.

**K:** In Brazil and elsewhere, many Catholics don’t attend Sunday Mass, and some are joining evangelical sects. Will the Church have to try new tactics to reach its constituents?

**L:** In Brazil, practicing Catholics are a much smaller group that those who say they are nominally Catholic. In many places, Sunday worship is just a habit, something you do in a big, anonymous parish setting. So I believe it will be important for the Church to rethink its pastoral role and use the base communities as a place to create small groups where people have a chance to participate, debate issues, and deepen their prayer life and spirituality.

The Church has a lot of visibility in the Brazilian media, both among Catholics and the general population. The population sees the Church as a defender of the poor and a critic of economic plans—but it also sees it in a rigid position in relation to sexuality and gender issues. So there’s a contradiction—you have a Church that’s open to social justice issues on the one hand and a Church that transmits a doctrinal view in other spheres which is outdated. The Italian philosopher Pietro Prini talks about this distance between official doctrine and the practices of the faithful in his provocative book *La scienza sommersa*. This “underground schism” is real, but I believe it may also prompt a positive change in the Church’s institutional orientation.

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Comparing Catholicism

Luiz Alberto Gómez de Souza (profiled on these pages) visited Kellogg as part of the “Kellogg Religion Initiative: Comparative Study of Catholicism in Latin America,” an ambitious multi-year program directed by Faculty Fellow FRANCES HAGOPIAN. In addition to sponsoring visiting fellowships, this initiative is planning a major international conference to cap its discussion efforts, which included two workshops and a panel at the 2004 Latin American Studies Association (LASA) conference. For details on the upcoming conference, see page 14.
Reforming the State in Mexico

With the proximity of the 2006 presidential elections in Mexico, candidates and voters are beginning to take stock of what has been accomplished under Fox and of what they want done next. “State reform will be a hot issue in the Mexican presidential campaign,” says Kellogg Executive Director CHRISTOPHER WELNA. “It will also be a key issue for whoever leads the next government in Mexico.”

Influential analysts who focus on Mexico seemed to agree on the importance of this topic when they gathered in November for Kellogg’s conference on “Reforming the State in Mexico: The Challenge after Fox and NAFTA.” The meeting was made possible through generous funding from The Coca-Cola Company and assistance from Mexico’s Consulate General in Chicago. In an effort to foster far-reaching dialogue, the conference included both scholars and policy makers in all the panels. Academics and officials alike said they were especially pleased to participate in such a mixed gathering.

A skeptical assessment of recent reforms by Alejandro Castañeda, academic coordinator at El Colegio de México, stimulated a vigorous discussion, as he took a dim view of the prospects for future reform. Castañeda reviewed Mexico’s experience with privatizing telecommunications, banking and airlines, arguing that Mexico’s poor track record left him pessimistic about a fair and effective privatization of electricity.

A historical look at Mexico by Stanford’s Stephen Haber also elicited debate. Haber claims that a lack of democratic accountability hindered the development of the Mexican banking sector. As a consequence, he argues, Mexicans declined to push for clear property rights for fear that clarity would make it easier for authoritarian officials to expropriate for political reasons.

The conference gathered some of the most creative and insightful minds working on Mexico. Prominent participants included current and former Mexican government officials, such as former Visiting Fellow MariClaire Acosta, who was undersecretary of state for human rights in Mexico, Ambassador Alberto Szekely and Andrés Rosenzweig. Among the scholars were Faculty Fellow GUILLERMO O’DONNELL, who is working on a major project about the role of the state, Kellogg Director SCOTT MAINWARING, UNAM Economist Enrique Dussel Peters, CIDE Academic Coordinator Alejandro Villagomez, IFE’s Alonso Lujambio, Pollster Alejandro Moreno, and former Guest Scholar Blanca Here-dia, also of the IFE.

Selected papers from the conference will be edited into a book by the Notre Dame panel chairs. According to Welna, who was also conference chair, “our book will show what’s been done so far, what should be done next and, very importantly, what can be done politically.”

Banking on Economic Development

In the fall of 2004, Faculty Fellow CHRISTOPHER WALLER organized the “Seng Conference on Money, Banking and Economic Development.” At the gathering, participants discussed the drivers of economic growth from different, sometimes irreverent, angles. In examining the role of religion in financial development, one paper generated a lively debate by asking: How does the value of heaven affect wealth accumulation on Earth? “The conference was a great success,” says Waller. “None of the participants knew anything about Notre Dame as a research university, particularly in mainstream economics, prior to the conference. After the conference, they all saw that a serious effort was underway to elevate Notre Dame’s national and international research reputation.” The conference was hosted by Notre Dame’s Department of Economics and Econometrics, with the financial support of the Seng Foundation, the Kellogg Institute, and the Office of the Provost.

The initial phase of this project consists of in-depth research of various aspects of corruption in Latin American governments. Based on results and feedback from this exploratory phase, the project hopes to kick-off a second phase, geared towards identifying sustainable, replicable solutions.

Six research centers are expected to conduct the first stage of the project. Candidates for this phase hail from Argentina, Brazil, Honduras, and Mexico, among other Latin American countries. Participants in the project include Cardinal Oscar Rodríguez Maradiaga, SDB, of Honduras; Monsignor Álvaro Ramazini of Guatemala; and Kellogg Faculty Fellows GEORGES ENDERLE and LEE A. TAVIS.
Latin American Studies Program Enhances Student Experiences

The Latin American Studies Program (LASP) encapsulates Kellogg’s longstanding commitment to supporting and enhancing undergraduates’ study of Latin America. For the second consecutive year, LASP will sponsor presentations of student research related to the region. On April 11, Notre Dame seniors will have an opportunity to share their findings on Latin American issues with other students, faculty, and staff. Participating seniors are also encouraged to submit their essays or theses to LASP’s John J. Kennedy Prize competition, which recognizes the best senior essay through a monetary award.

To rouse interest in Latin American studies and energize students prior to their final years of undergraduate study, LASP will launch two initiatives in 2005. For the first time in the program’s history, LASP freshmen and sophomores will have access to funds for summer projects on Latin America. This award will be unlike any other Notre Dame grant, as it will promote up to three months of exploratory work that might not necessarily fall under the rubric of research.

In addition, LASP students will be invited to attend events hosted by Notre Dame Latin Americanists. In the spring semester, hosts will include Faculty Fellows GIL CÁRDEÑAS, GREG DOWNEY and REV. ROBERT PELTON, CSC. Both initiatives are expected to increase enrollment in LASP, as students seek eligibility for awards and targeted interactions with professors.

International Scholars Contribute to Faculty Research

Through the International Scholars Program (ISP), students have the option to examine international issues in more depth than is normally possible through a departmental major. Among other activities designed to complement Notre Dame’s undergraduate curriculum, ISP offers select undergraduates the opportunity to pursue international studies with guidance from Kellogg faculty fellows.

Brian Carlisle (right), a sophomore majoring in economics, has partnered with Faculty Fellow RICHARD JENSEN, professor and chair of the economics department. In the fall, Carlisle assisted Jensen in the design and implementation of a student survey, part of a project to determine the monetary value placed by Notre Dame students on preserving tropical rain forests. Next, Jensen and Carlisle plan to create a database and perform econometric analysis on the information gathered through the survey.

Carlisle believes that the main benefit of ISP is the collaboration between student and faculty on research. “This project with Prof. Jensen has given me insight into how economists go about the difficult task of assessing the importance of resources that are very hard to quantify,” Carlisle remarks. “More than anything, it has taken economics from the realm of theory and made it more tangible.”

Jensen also seems pleased with his involvement in ISP. “I think this has worked well, especially because [Carlisle] has been able to do more than just collect and enter data,” Jensen explains. “He read some of the literature, helped in determining what questions to ask, and even drafted the initial survey.”

Students completing their freshman year may apply for the competition no later than April 8, 2005. Faculty nominations are encouraged.

Kellogg Internships Venture into Africa

Since its inception, Kellogg’s internship program has supported undergraduate internships with institutions focusing on Latin America. The program, which offers financial awards to deserving students, will build on this tradition in 2005 by sponsoring new internships with the Foreign Commercial Service in Argentina, FORO para el Desarrollo Sostenible in San Cristóbal de las Casas in Mexico, and the Panama Medical School.

The program will also expand its portfolio of opportunities in developing countries by adding internship sites in Africa. The Foundation for Sustainable Development will host three Notre Dame students in Uganda, while CARE International will be the site for two other program participants in Zambia.

Kellogg’s internship program has grown at a rapid pace in recent years. In 2004, a total of 19 interns were selected through fall and spring competitions. The 2005 intern class reached that number through the fall competition alone. The program expects to award 11 additional internships through its spring selection process, which has a deadline of February 25, 2005. Kellogg Academic Coordinator HOLLY RIVERS guides the program.

Some of the internships available in the spring competition are:
- CARE International (Zambia)
- Foreign Commercial Service (Brazil)
- FORO para el Desarrollo Sostenible (Mexico)
- Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights
- Panama Medical School
- Washington Office on Latin America

Senior LASP minor Dana Stovall speaks to fellow minors about her internship experience in Ecuador.
Overcoming Challenges to Contemporary Catholicism

In many Latin American countries, the advent of democracy has removed the need to fight against the abuse of human rights for political purposes, taking away a cause that had united Catholic leaders and their supporters. Today, democracy has unleashed demands for many sound policies that run counter to the Church’s teachings, at a time when the religious hegemony of the Catholic Church has eroded. These challenges are at the heart of the upcoming conference on “Contemporary Catholicism, Religious Pluralism, and Democracy in Latin America: Challenges, Responses, and Impact,” to be held at Kellogg on March 31 and April 1. Kellogg Faculty Fellow FRANCES HAGOPIAN, a political science professor at Notre Dame, is directing this effort.

At the conference, distinguished scholars will meet practitioners—Catholic lay and clerical leaders—in a multi-stage approach to addressing the Catholic Church’s ordeals in Latin America. Six panels will contribute to identifying the challenges, charting Catholic responses, and assessing their impact on the Church and on democratic politics. Four of the six panels will be composed of a scholar and a practitioner, with special care taken to include at least one Latin American panelist in each of the sessions.

The conference is made possible by generous funding from The Coca-Cola Company and is co-sponsored by Catholic Relief Services and the Secretariat for Latin America of the US Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), as well as Notre Dame’s Erasmus Institute, the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, and the Henkels Lecture Series of the Institute for Scholarship in Liberal Arts (ISLA).

Finding Clues to Democratic Governability

Scholars and policymakers will congregate at Kellogg May 9–10 to identify lessons on how to achieve economic and social progress while advancing democratic practices. Kellogg Director SCOTT MAINWARING and Faculty Fellow TIMOTHY SCULLY, CSC, political scientists, lead the project.

Since the 1980s, few Latin American democracies have been successful. Yet despite the severe deficiencies of most democratic and semi-democratic governments in Latin America, democratic governability in Latin America does not represent an impossible challenge. There have been successful cases of democratic governability that can provide valuable lessons for the rest of the region. Because of the profound shortcomings of most democratic governments in Latin America since 1990, scholarship has focused overwhelmingly on the deficiencies of such governments. It is also important to examine cases of successful democratic governance for both intellectual and political reasons. Intellectually, there has been little systematic interdisciplinary exploration of what makes for successful democratic governance. Politically, if despair about the limited capacity of most Latin American democratic governments to deliver policy goods deepens, it could pave the way for populist leaders who implement policies detrimental to the future of their countries. The project participants seek to identify why some countries and policies have been successful in the midst of many failures.
Living Romero's Prophecy

In tribute to the 25th anniversary of Romero’s death, the 2005 annual Romero lecture will be a three-day conference on “Archbishop Romero: Martyr and Prophet—A Bishop for the New Millennium.” Attendees from all over the world are expected at the event, to be held March 15–17 at Notre Dame. Kellogg Faculty Fellow REV. ROBERT PELTON, CSC, responsible for the annual lecture series, will coordinate the gathering.

Romero, the fourth archbishop of San Salvador in El Salvador, was assassinated while presiding at a memorial mass in 1980. He is believed to have undergone a metanoia, which transformed him into a champion for impoverished and oppressed Salvadorans. His nonviolent resistance to the reigning oligarchy made him an icon for justice and freedom.

Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chávez, Auxiliary Bishop of San Salvador, will commemorate Romero’s martyrdom in a keynote speech, and Mons. Ricardo Urioste, Vicar General for Romero, will also speak at the opening dinner. Setting the tone for the conference will be Lawrence Cunningham, professor of theology at Notre Dame, who will examine the contemporary understanding of martyrdom in the opening session.

The Romero Lecture is sponsored by Latin American/North American Church Concerns (LANACC) at Kellogg. To register for the conference and for information on accommodations, visit: ndstores.com/cce/index.cfm.

Celebrating Brazilian Carnaval

Brazilian Carnaval has its roots in the pre-Lent Christian celebration held annually in medieval Europe. In Brazil, the festival incorporates African rhythms in a national celebration with different regional flavors. Kellogg’s seventh celebration of Carnaval will combine styles from the festivities held in the Southeast and Northeast regions of this tropical country.

The Brazilian Southeast region, which includes the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, hosts the largest and most recognized manifestations of popular culture in the world. In a high-profile, two-night competition with strict rules, samba groups called escolas de samba sing and dance in a thematic parade. Each escola conveys its chosen message through choreography, costumes, and the lyrics of its theme song, called samba-enredo.

The city of Salvador, in Brazil’s Northeast region, confers its own colors on the Carnaval celebration through an increased participation of the general public and through its distinct axé music—a fusion of samba-reggae, salsa, lambada and other rhythms. Musicians perform atop specially built trucks, which move slowly followed by large crowds dancing the widely-known steps associated with each song.

At Kellogg’s event, professional Brazilian dancers will perform and teach samba steps and axé choreographies, with the musical group Chicago Samba playing select samba-enredos, axé music and other Carnaval songs. Members of the community, including families looking for kid-friendly entertainment, can attend free of charge. The 2005 event will be held February 11 at 8 pm at the Palais Royale ballroom in downtown South Bend. For pictures and video from the 2004 celebration, visit: kellogg.nd.edu/LAS/carnaval.html.
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<td>KAREN RICHMAN (KI Faculty Fellow; Dept of Anthropology), “Migration and Religious Change in a Haitian Transnational Community”</td>
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For updates of this partial list, see http://kellogg.nd.edu/events.html