NOTICIAS

THE
LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAM
WOODROW WILSON CENTER
Fall 2000

Brazil at the Wilson Center

The Latin American Program is pleased to announce the launching of *Brazil at the Wilson Center*, a project that recognizes the importance of Brazil and the U.S.-Brazilian relationship for the United States and other nations of the hemisphere.

From left to right: Minister Quintão, Lee Hamilton, Luis Bitencourt

The project is motivated by the sense that Brazil receives less attention in Washington than it deserves, considering the size of its population and economy and its unique position as a regional leader and global player. Despite both nations' numerous shared interests, their special relationship has failed so far to achieve its full potential. In response, and in keeping with the Center's mission to bridge scholarly research and public action, the project will conduct activities to create a "presence" for Brazil in Washington that captures the attention of the policymaking community through the quality of its public presentations and its role as a nonpartisan forum for discussion of Brazilian issues. *Brazil at the Wilson Center* enjoys the financial support of several major corporations including Cargill, Texaco, FMC, and Raytheon, and has a grant from the Brazilian Ministry of Culture to bring Public Policy Scholars to the Wilson Center.

INSIDE...

The Project was officially launched at a June 29, 2000, dinner featuring Minister of Defense *Geraldo Magela da Cruz Quintão*, the second civilian defense minister in Brazil and the first to visit the United States.

Luis Bitencourt, a Brazilian political scientist with extensive experience in the Brazilian government and academia, is the new director of the Project. Previously, Luis worked as a United Nations consultant in East Timor and Tajikistan. For 28 years, he worked for the Brazilian government in top policy making and strategic planning positions. He also served for 13 years at the Catholic University of Brasilia, as professor, dean, and chief of the rector's staff. He holds a master's degree in political science from the University of Brasília and a master's degree in world politics from the Catholic University of America, where he is currently finishing his doctorate.

The Project will sponsor three types of activities. First is a series of regular public seminars to stimulate serious, nonpartisan reflection on the most critical issues in Brazilian development, international relations, and economic and political affairs. Second is the appointment of leading Brazilian academics, intellectuals, writers, journalists, and government officials to spend time at the Wilson Center as Public Policy Scholars. Third, the Project will convene a Working Group on Brazil of high-level policy makers, analysts, private sector leaders, and scholars—both Brazilian and non-Brazilian. This Working Group intends to elevate the discourse and level of attention given to Brazil and its issues, and promote more constructive and informed U.S.-Brazilian relations.

Forthcoming publications of *Thinking Brazil* include:

A Sociedade e o Ministério da Defesa do Brasil, *Luis Bitencourt, Woodrow Wilson Center.*

The Amazon as an Issue of International Politics and Human Security, *Thomaz Guedes da Costa, Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, National Defense University*.

The Politics of Structural Adjustment in Brazil, *Kurt Weyland, Vanderbilt University and Woodrow Wilson Center Fellow.*

The Politics of Environmental Management in the Amazon Region, *Margaret Keck, Johns Hopkins University.*

Drug Trafficking and International Security in the Amazon, *Eduardo Gamarra, Florida International University.*

Brazil's Amazônia in Strategic Perspective, *Ralph Espach, Woodrow Wilson Center.*

SIVAM: Monitoramento Ambiental e Segurança na Amazônia, *Clóvis Brigagão, Universidade Cándido Mendes, Rio de Janeiro.*

Aspectos do Catolicismo Negro Brasileiro Impressos em Objetos Mágico-Religiosos, *Marina de Mello e Souza, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Rio de Janeiro and Woodrow Wilson Center Public Policy Scholar.*

The Wonderful Wizard of Washington: The Tale and the Case of the Smithsonian Institution, *Maria de Lourdes Parreiras Horta, Woodrow Wilson Center Public Policy Scholar.*

The Crisis of Democratic Governance in the Andes

In the wake of the contested second round of the Peruvian presidential elections, and the U.S. Senate's approval of a $1.3 billion aid package for Colombia, the Latin American Program held a wide-ranging conference exploring questions of democratic governance in four Andean countries: Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. The conference was motivated by the growing concern that throughout the region, the continued consolidation of democratic rule could not be taken for granted, and that the accumulation of political, economic, and social crises could precipitate a return of authoritarian forms of government.

Most participants concurred that there is a deep crisis of governance in the Andean region. However, the panelists also observed that these crises vary in intensity from country to country and are rooted in distinct political and social histories. Several panelists mentioned that the effects of economic restructuring programs, antiquated political structures, and the growth of drug trafficking—as well as ill-advised strategies to combat it—have contributed to deepening the crisis of democracy.

Fernando Cepeda, professor at the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá and Colombia's former ambassador to the OAS, described an accumulation of crises that reinforced one another, including a deficit of political representation, economic decline, the absence of public order, corruption, and widespread impunity. He contrasted the growing weakness of democratic institutions and forces with the growing strength of non-institutional forces, including guerrillas, paramilitary forces, and organized crime. *Adrián Bonilla,* deputy director for academics at FLACSO-Ecuador, described Ecuadoran politics as the most dramatic case of instability in Latin America, albeit one not produced amidst generalized violence. Five different governments have tried to deal with an economic crisis shaped by the burden of the external debt and a domestic bailout of the financial system, but political considerations have prevented the implementation of a structural adjustment program.

Peru's unprecedented polarization has largely been the result of President Alberto Fujimori's election to a third term, according to *Carlos Basombrío*, director of the Instituto de Defensa Legal in Lima. President Fujimori's election has been questioned by an observer mission of the Organization of American States (OAS) and by other international delegations. Basombrío described the future as one of great uncertainty, given the degree of popular support for Fujimori, the unswerving loyalty of the armed forces and intelligence services, divisions within the political opposition, and splits within the international community over how vigorously to oppose the flawed electoral process. Meanwhile, *Michael Coppedge*, associate professor at the Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, attributed the loss of faith in Venezuela's two traditional politi-

cal parties to a significant decline in living standards after 1978, following a long, continuous rise. He described the lack of checks and balances in the system presided over by President Hugo Chávez as ominous for liberal democracy, noting interventions in the Supreme Court, Attorney General's office, electoral tribunal, and other key state entities by *chavista*-dominated bodies.

J. Samuel Fitch, professor of political science at the University of Colorado, Boulder, described several new developments in Ecuador in the last eighteen months, including the intensity of the economic crisis, the depth of delegitimation of democracy, and the emergence of a sector of the Ecuadoran army explicitly committed to an alternative to democracy. He said that public confidence in the armed forces was high compared to the lack of faith in political parties or the congress; a poll in January 2000 found 61 percent of respondents supportive of a military dictatorship. In Venezuela, on the other hand, President Chávez has sought to reform the armed forces and the political system by creating a new constitution, according to *Miriam Kornblit*, professor at the Universidad Central de Venezuela and former vice president of the Venezuelan Electoral Commission. In an attempt to do away with the autonomy of the individual branches within the military, the new constitution refers to the armed force as a singular entity, something that has caused significant friction within the armed forces. The new constitution has also caused controversy by referring to development and social improvement tasks in the section on national security, a framework used to justify the involvement of the armed forces in everyday development activities. *Francisco Leal*, dean of the social sciences faculty at the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, described the Colombian military's inefficiency in fighting the counterinsurgency war as rooted in the failure to adapt to changes in guerrilla tactics and strategy, as well as a failure on the part of civilians to oversee and define military missions. Paramilitary groups, he said, have been allowed to extend their territorial control to compensate for the military's own inefficiency. Leal said that strengthening the military in a democratic context would force the guerrillas and the paramilitaries to reassess their positions in the current peace process, because of increased costs involved in perpetuating the armed conflict.

Eduardo Gamarra, director of the Latin American and Caribbean Center at Florida International University, discussed the relationship between economic crisis in the Andean region and democratic governance. He argued that the authoritarian, executive-centered approach favored by Fujimori in Peru and Chávez in Venezuela contrasted with the culture of political consensus in Bolivia, in which political parties have played a fundamental role. The 60 percent of the Andean population that works in the informal sector is outside both the formal economy and political life, and is also too busy making a living to participate in civil society organizations. Likewise, *Bruce Bagley*, professor of international studies at the University of Miami, suggested that major failures of economic and political models in the region have provided fertile ground for transnational criminal organizations. Increased impoverishment in rural areas, growing income gaps, unemployment, and the concentration of land and capital have produced a massive out-migration from rural areas, straining the capacity of urban areas to deliver services. This situation has been made worse by neoliberal reforms that eliminated key social safety nets. According to Bagley, an "old style" of politics in which elitist, clientelistic political systems have failed to incorporate new actors, has led to institutional decay. A key challenge throughout the region is to manage the effects of globalization better so as not to contribute to ungovernability.

From left to right: Francisco Leal, Miriam Kornblit, and former U.S. ambassador to Colombia Myles Frechette

In a final discussion on future challenges, *Catherine Conaghan*, professor of political studies at Queen's University, Canada, raised the example of transitions from authoritarianism in the Southern Cone, in which a pro-democracy civilian movement with international support created a crisis of confidence in the regime. She posed Peru as a test case for the hemisphere, in light of OAS

resolutions to defend democracy and the OAS observer mission's conclusion that the Peruvian elections failed to meet international standards. She called on an OAS mission led by Secretary General César Gaviria and Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy to recreate the synergy between the pro-democracy movement in Peru and the international community. Meanwhile, *Luigi Einaudi*, senior fellow at the Inter-American Dialogue and Assistant Secretary General-elect of the OAS, warned against treating the Andean region as a single construct. He argued that although such common issues as poverty, racism, violence, and the spread of narcotrafficking exist in all the countries, the particular mix of these elements in each country is unique. Hemispheric relations are still characterized by clashes over sovereignty, which can be seen in the variety of reactions to the Peruvian elections. The challenge for the OAS General Assembly meeting in Windsor, Canada is to find a way not to sacrifice the principle of democracy while allowing representatives of the Peruvian government to join in the consensus and enter a situation of ambiguity.

A report on the June 22 conference, "Crisis of Democratic Governance in the Andes," will be available from the Latin American Program in Fall 2000.

From left to right: Catherine Conaghan and OAS Assistant Secretary General Luigi Einaudi

Mexico at the Millennium

As Mexico enters a new millennium, the Latin American Program and Yale University held a two-day conference, "Mexico at the Millennium," sponsored by the Hewlett Foundation, to analyze the rapidly shifting political, economic, and social panorama in Mexico and the evolving relationship between Mexico and the United States. During the May 4-5, 2000, meeting, Mexican and American scholars, public officials, journalists, and social leaders addressed the challenges that Mexico faces as it traverses a period of trade liberalization and political transformation, brought on by global economics, civil society pressure, and the decisions of the political elite. Mexican government officials presented a cautiously optimistic outlook of the future, while other commentators suggested that Mexico's reform is far from complete—or may even be going in the wrong direction. The panelists also highlighted the growing complexity and depth of U.S.-Mexican relations, which now involve a large number of diverse actors. However, they noted that the relationship is still marked by important asymmetries and divergent understandings of common issues, such as migration and drug trafficking, that will have to be addressed by both countries.

Appearing with Wilson Center Director Lee H. Hamilton, *Ambassador Jesús Reyes Heroles* described the complementary goals of Mexico and the United States as they build a better bilateral relationship. He noted that Mexico is particularly interested in taking advantage of its economic relationship with the U.S. in order to speed up economic development, while minimizing the effects of its asymmetry with the United States. Meanwhile, the United States is particularly interested in having a stable, cooperative neighbor to the south. Relations among state governments and individual government agencies have increased exponentially across the border, and the economies have proven to be highly complementary. Nonetheless, he noted that the average income in the United States remains five times that in Mexico, and the technical divide between the two nations appears to be deepening.

President Zedillo's chief economic advisor *Carlos Hurtado* underscored the strong macroeconomic successes of the current administration. He noted that GDP growth has averaged 5.0 percent since 1996 and inflation has been

successfully controlled. At the same time, domestic savings have risen, exports have nearly doubled, and foreign direct investments are at an all-time high. Yale University's *Gustav Ranis* concurred that Mexico's economy has performed well and seems poised to continue its strong performance. He called attention to the continuing inequalities, however, and noted that Mexico has one of the highest GINI coefficients in the world. He urged policymakers to pay attention to the ways in which GNP is generated and what it does to the distribution of income.

Santiago Levy, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, stressed that the Zedillo administration has made an unprecedented investment in social programs. He argued that important measures have been taken to strengthen the redistributive impact of spending in social security, education, health, and labor training, and that special emphasis has been placed on programs for poverty alleviation, including targeted food subsidies and investments in human capital.

However, *Rodolfo Stavenhagen* of El Colegio de México noted that while social spending has increased, the important question is not the amount of money but the way in which it is spent. He observed that in Chiapas the federal government claims to have spent 76 billion pesos on poverty alleviation, but there has been no independent evaluation of whether these resources have actually helped to alleviate poverty. Indeed, these funds could generate greater inequality if they are applied incorrectly. He contended that Mexico's process of democratization will be incomplete without the full economic and political participation of the indigenous communities in national life.

Adolfo Gilly, a professor at Universidad Autónoma de México (UAM) and advisor to former Mexico City mayor Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, argued that Mexico's entrance into the global economy has brought greater poverty, a dismantling of the welfare state, and a rise of official corruption linked to the drug trade. He noted that globalization has both created a new financial elite and left 40 percent of the population without a living wage. He referred to this process as the "deregulation" of public life or a "new wave of the expropriation of the commons," including the expropriation of basic rights, which are also "commons." He proposed that civil society organizations and labor unions fight for a new "unified field of rights" within the context of NAFTA. *Erika Pani*, meanwhile, of the Mora Institute for Research commented that the Mexican state has suffered from a chronic incapacity to create legitimacy, and that as long as people do not feel that the state is accountable to them and that their vote counts, it is hard for people to have faith in electoral democracy.

Raúl Benítez Manaut of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) emphasized the need for further reforms in security and governance issues in Mexico. He cited three factors that have driven the modernization of national security policy: intentional reform by government leaders, the influence of neo-liberal reforms on state policy, and the indirect effects of the U.S.-Mexico bilateral relationship. He suggested that some reforms have been positive, leading to greater professionalization of the security apparatus, while others have been motivated by the desire to contain social protest. He expressed particular concern about the federalization of power in rural areas and the use of the new Federal Preventive Police (Policía Federal Preventiva) against social movements in Mexico.

Meanwhile, *Marta Lamas*, editor of the magazine *Debate Feminista*, highlighted the struggle that Mexican women have spearheaded to achieve a more democratic society with equality for men and women. While this process has led to a larger presence of women in politics, she insisted that Mexico still lacks adequate public policies to encourage diversity and profound gender inequalities still

From left to right: Gilbert Joseph, Yale University; Adolfo Gilly, Erika Pani, Assistant Treasury Secretary Santiago Levy, Marta Lamas, and Rodolfo Stavenhagen

exist in both public and private life. *Victoria Murillo* of Yale University described the unwillingness of the labor movement to adjust its strategies to the new era of globalization. The dominant labor unions have continued to use their privileged relationship with the ruling PRI to avoid significant changes in industrial-labor relations. However, if a party other than the PRI won the presidency, the unions would find themselves powerless to prevent significant changes in labor laws. According to Woodrow Wilson Center Fellow *Stephen Clarkson*, of the University of Toronto, globalization has irreversibly changed the legal bases that sustained policies of import substitution and state-led development. Mexico has slowly moved from being a "rule-taker" in the world system to being a "rule-maker," as Mexican policy makers become increasingly adept at influencing international trade regimes.

Carlos Elizondo, director of the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), described the challenges that lie ahead for the winner of the July presidential elections. He noted that the "smaller state" of the 1980s and 90s has been unable to create the conditions for sustained growth or the capacity to regulate social conflict effectively. Given these shortcomings, the more middle class, educated, and urban voters have supported opposition candidates, especially Vicente Fox. If he wins, Elizondo predicted, Fox would probably have greater legitimacy among these voters, and this might allow him to pass difficult legislation, including tax reform. But he could also face serious challenges from the PRI-controlled Senate, bureaucrats, or even his own supporters who expect change to happen quickly. *David Brooks*, Washington bureau chief of *La Jornada*, described the way that the independent media in Mexico have opened up space for public debate in the last twenty years and contributed to the consolidation of democracy. However, he wondered whether the media had become too focused on democracy as defined by those in power and, as a result, might be missing the real story about how social groups construct democracy in their everyday struggles.

According to *Rafael Fernández de Castro* of the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), Mexico and the United States have developed an increasingly intense and complex relationship that is slowly reducing the asymmetries between both countries. He argued that the principal challenge facing the two countries is how to transform an economic partnership into a mature and

Mexican Ambassador Jesús F. Reyes Heroles

multifaceted relationship, similar to that which the United States has with Canada. He noted that it will be especially important to "anchor" NAFTA by developing stronger institutions to manage this relationship and by increasing coordination among the diverse actors involved in the relationship. He suggested that the economic boom in the United States provides an opportunity to reevaluate the stringent anti-immigration policies enacted in 1996. *Guadalupe González* of CIDE described drug trafficking as the "dark side of globalization," and stressed the need for a more informed and balanced debate on drugs. She observed that current anti-drug strategies have eliminated the weak cartels but helped consolidate the stronger ones. She called for policymakers to try to depoliticize the issue of drug policy and recognize that reducing supply does not necessarily lead to a reduction in demand.

Woodrow Wilson Center Public Policy Scholar and UNAM Professor *José Luis Orozco* described a changing culture of pragmatism among the Mexican ruling class. He noted that they had shifted from a predominantly populist discourse to one that reflects current trends in global economics and eschews ideological terms common in the past.

The PAN: The Paradoxes of Mexico's New Majority Party

On July 2, Mexicans elected Vicente Fox of the opposition National Action Party (PAN) as President of Mexico, breaking 71 years of continuous rule by the Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI) and giving the PAN the largest share of votes in congressional and local elections. On June 12, only days before this dramatic shift in Mexico's political landscape, Woodrow Wilson Center Fellow *Yemile Mizrahi* presented a seminar on the paradoxes of the PAN's electoral success and the challenges that the party faces if it hopes to consolidate itself as a coherent national political force. In her commentary on the presentation, *Susan Kaufman Purcell*, Vice President of the Council of the Americas, highlighted the factors that have contributed to a more open political system in Mexico, making possible the victory of an opposition candidate.

Mizrahi, a professor at the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) in Mexico City and author of numerous articles on the National Action Party, noted that the PAN has had great difficulty consolidating itself as a mass party, despite its numerous electoral successes. She observed that the party continues to operate with the mentality of an opposition force, even when it wins state elections, and it restricts its membership to a small number of party faithful in each state. Whereas the PRI has devoted itself between elections to developing a broad political base by serving local communities through social programs, most PAN leaders have resisted this practice, which they consider clientelistic. The unwillingness to develop a broad political base has limited the PAN's ability to win consecutive state elections against the PRI, even when PAN governments are viewed favorably by the electorate.

One notable exception to this pattern has been in the state of Guanajuato. There, PANista governor (and newly-elected president) Vicente Fox developed a network of affiliated groups within the party and opened up membership to a broad cross-section of the electorate. Fox repeated this pattern in his campaign for the presidency by developing a parallel campaign committee, "Amigos de Fox," which has more affiliated members than the PAN itself. His strength as a candidate could be attributed, in part, to his ability to bypass the party's restrictive membership practices by creating his own more inclusive organization.

Mizrahi argued that the PAN will need to respond to its newfound success by opening its membership base and developing a strategy to include a wider cross-section of Mexican society. She emphasized that a plural democratic system requires strong and representative political parties. The PAN needs to embrace this challenge in order to further the consolidation of Mexican democracy, as well as ensure its own survival as a strong national political force.

Susan Kaufman Purcell pointed out that economic liberalization has encouraged political change by opening up competition in the media, which were previously dominated by companies close to the PRI. Liberalization has also made the Mexican government accountable to international pressure and allowed Mexican democracy activists to pressure the government for reforms in order to improve the country's image abroad. Purcell noted that either a PAN or PRI victory would be welcomed by the international community, since the presidential candidates of both parties are committed to sound economic policies, and she expressed her confidence in the independence of the new electoral commission and its ability to ensure a free and fair election.

Environmental and Security Policies in the Amazon Basin

The forests of the Amazon Basin, the largest contiguous tropical rainforest in the world, present the nations of the region with economic opportunities, security threats, and social challenges. The people and resources of the region have been neglected or squandered for decades. Today, however, modern technologies, expanding socio-economic pressures and regional crime, together with consistent attention from the international community are causing these nations to reexamine their policies for regional management and development. As the region's pivotal nation, Brazil in particular has reassessed its traditional emphasis on large-scale, state-supported infrastructural and economic development projects and has begun to explore options for more locally sensitive, sustainable development. A large national investment in satellite and radar technologies (the SIVAM project) is currently in its implementation stage. This technology

will allow Brazil to survey and study the area comprehensively, and will contribute to the efforts of the Cardoso administration to establish region-wide zoning and planning that supports multi-use management.

At the same time, however, the regional trafficking and production of narcotics, illegal logging, and the clearing of the forest for ranching or agricultural use are on the rise. Even after several decades of preoccupation over regional security threats, it is clear that the government has very limited control over events in Amazônia. Brazil is not alone in this regard. In Colombia the jungle has proven a useful shield to the FARC rebels, and Venezuela, Peru, and Bolivia also suffer from the production or smuggling of drugs or other contraband, and the effects of illegal mining or logging.

To examine these complex issues and the prospects for international collaboration on environmental management and legal enforcement in the region, the Latin American Program and the Environmental Change and Security Project of the Wilson Center held a series of seminars in the spring of 2000 entitled "Environment and Security in the Amazon Basin." The first seminar explored linkages between the environment and security threats and their respective regional institutions. The second seminar focused on Brazil's environmental policies, and featured a presentation by the Special Secretary for the Coordination of Amazonian Policies in the Ministry of the Environment, *Mary Helena Allegretti*. The third seminar highlighted the policy implications of Brazil's SIVAM project.

Eduardo Gamarra of Florida International University assessed the various international threats on the rise in the region. Cross-border smuggling, migration, and armed conflict have always existed to varying degrees in the Amazon basin. However, these problems are increasing as a result of the growth and shifting nature of the drug trade, the expansion of Colombia's civil war, and the migratory pressures caused by local economic crises and violence. Government efforts to support legal and sustainable development in the Amazonian basin compete with the lucrative opportunities offered by the drug trade, the growing cultivation of coca and production of cocaine, illegal mining and logging, and other activities deleterious to the forest and to local communities. Gamarra noted that the Amazon basin has become the region's primary zone for the transfer of processed cocaine and, increasingly, the chemicals used for its refinement. Though most of the cocaine smuggled through the Amazon basin still is destined for the U.S. and European markets, demand is growing rapidly in most major cities of Brazil and across South America. This increases the significance of Amazonian trafficking as a local security threat, and weakens the argument that the consumption of drugs and the violence they generate are problems only for the U.S. and nations of the north.

The key problem facing environmental efforts in the Amazon Basin is that of effective land management, which requires resources and commitment from state and local governments. Therefore, according to *Margaret Keck* of Johns Hopkins University, the challenge is principally political, a result of the federal government's ineffectiveness at working with local governments and local actors in the implementation of their multi-use and sustainable development models. Also, Brazilian environmentalists have failed thus far in making the conservation or management of the environment a powerful issue in national politics. While awareness of the environment has grown, especially as a result of intense international pressure in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the issue has yet to show consistent salience in state and local politics, where most land use decisions are legislated and enforced.

Luis Bitencourt, director of the Brazil Project at the Wilson Center, stressed that security concerns have always been at the heart of Brazil's policies toward Amazônia. Under the military governments of the 1960s-1980s, the nation's approach to the region, which stressed development, settlement, and the importance of integrating the Amazon basin into the nation's economy, was coherent and carried out with singleness of purpose. The fear of encroachment upon Brazilian territory was a powerful motivation. Today, policies affecting the Amazon region are shaped by multiple concerns—social, environmental, and political, in addition to security—and at many levels. The concepts of national and regional security are being redefined under the new civilian Minister of Defense to fit better Brazil's role as a cooperative regional partner and a global actor, and to address non-traditional threats to Brazil's future, such as widespread poverty, crime, and environmental degradation.

This new set of challenges faced in Amazônia was the theme explored by *Mary Allegretti*, Secretary for the Coordination of Amazonian Policy at the Ministry of the Environment. While deforestation continues as a result of the

clearing of land by fire, especially by small-scale farmers, today there is increasing pressure from large-scale agricultural development. Soybeans in particular are a booming regional export and are demanding the modernization of roads, ports, and waterway transport. Since most settlement in Amazônia is urban, policymakers also have to address environmental effects such as industrial and human waste, smog, and the spread of favelas into the jungle. Allegretti stressed that regional environmental degradation is strongly related to Amazônia's history of low social development. Until the population can achieve better education, living standards, and economic opportunities, the costs of human activities on forest resources will remain high.

The Amazon rainforest is unique in the world in that it creates half of its own rainfall. The maintenance of this system, according to *Thomas Lovejoy*, Chief Biodiversity Advisor for the World Bank, depends not just on forest cover but on the quality and supply of its waters, the health of its fish and underwater plant populations, and the state of the environment up to the mountains of the Andean nations. He stressed the importance of international cooperation for protecting the Amazonian ecosystem. Lovejoy also commended Allegretti and the current administration for creating constructive dialogue between the Ministries of the Environment and of Planning, a crucial step toward region-wide forestry and land use management, and to integrating the region's urban and rural needs.

Former Brazilian Minister of the Environment and the Amazon *Henrique Cavalcanti* said that plans for regional development and environmental management today are far more complex, realistic, and sensitive to local issues and groups than those of the past. The region's population and economy are larger and more varied than before, and the current government should be commended for bringing together many actors in its planning process. Cavalcanti stressed that federal-state relations are especially important, and that for the *Avança Brasil* plan to be politically effective, states must be allowed ample space to determine their own strategies for cooperating with the federal agenda. Internationally, regional relations rely on the strength of the institutions that support them. The permanent placement of the Amazonian Cooperation Accord in Brasilia, which will take place in 2000, should make these regional partnerships more stable and legitimate.

Daniel R. Gross, principal anthropologist at the World Bank, noted that the primary challenge is to integrate into the overall policy the viewpoints and valid interests of multiple groups with naturally conflicting agendas. The government has made real progress in this area, but this type of group politics is a never-ending challenge, especially in an area that historically has shown profound political asymmetries. Also, future governments must continue to build coordination among various federal agencies and ministries, as well as between federal and state entities, which will not be an easy feat. The government is wise in tapping into the energy and dynamism of the region's civil society, and it should continue to work to include local communities, Indians, and non-government organizations (NGOs) in its planning process, as well as to court the favor of international institutions.

Seated from left to right: Special Secretary for the Environment Mary Helen Allegretti, Brazilian Ambassador Rubens Barbosa, Henrique Brandão Cavalcanti, Daniel R. Gross

The NGO Instituto Socio-Ambiental (ISA) has created the largest and most comprehensive database on Amazônia, which includes detailed numbers reflecting the region's agriculture, deforestation patterns, demographics, transportation routes, and economic development. The director of ISA, *João Paulo Capobianco*, stated that by studying the geographical overlap among various factors, ISA has shown that only a slight percentage of the regions of the highest bio-diversity level are protected under the *Avança Brasil* plan. Because these areas are often the richest in terms of water and soil quality, they are especially targeted by agricultural interests as well as by conservationists, and the government often chooses to negotiate them away in exchange for preserving other lands. He urged

the international community to remain vigilant in defense of biodiversity in the Amazon.

Alexander Watson, executive director of the Nature Conservancy, argued that researchers must sharpen their analytical tools in dealing with issues of deforestation and Amazonian affairs. Maps commonly used by a variety of interests, both governmental and non-governmental, show great discrepancies in their definitions of "indirect usage," and the extent of primary versus secondary forest cover. In some ways, according to Watson, policymaking and analysis in Amazônia suffer from too much emphasis on the concept of deforestation. Instead, planners and researchers should envision multi-use management objectives that seek compromise among various interests, instead of polarization between conservationists and developers.

Between Coca and Cocaine: A Century of U.S.-Peruvian Drug Relationships

On May 11, 2000, the Latin American Program hosted a seminar on the history behind the Andean-U.S. drug trade. Latin American historian *Paul Gootenberg*, a Fellow of the Wilson Center and professor of history at SUNY-Stony Brook, discussed "Between Coca and Cocaine: A Century of U.S.-Peruvian Drug Relationships, 1860-1980." *Julio Cotler*, former Wilson Center Fellow and noted Latin American sociologist at the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP) in Lima, Peru, commented.

Gootenberg's presentation, a distillation of his new archival findings from Peru and the United States, surveyed three broad periods or processes leading up to the well-known hemispheric "drug-wars" of the 1980s. He stressed the enduring historical paradoxes of the cocaine nexus and the international and historical construction of the drug's larger patterns of use, supply, and control. The first era, 1860-1910 saw the commercial development of licit coca-leaf and medicinal cocaine networks between the U.S. and Peru, respectively the leading initial consumer and provider of both goods. In fact, the two countries worked together to promote this modern circuit of trade. A paradox here was the recurring North-American "love-hate" relationship with coca and with drug cultures generally.

The second period, 1910-1950, was a transitional era which saw the rise of a global anti-cocaine movement and by 1950, a drug-prohibition regime that finally reached into supply regions like Peru. The United States led the drive to ban cocaine and seemed successful in stemming cocaine abuse as a domestic social problem. This presented a further paradox, since the era saw such a diversity of drug regimes abroad (cocaine-making was perfectly legal in Peru, for example) and also saw little direct meddling in Peruvian drug politics.

The third era, 1950 to 1980, saw the consolidation of global sanctions against cocaine and the native coca bush. But it also saw the birth of clandestine cocaine trades from the Andes, covert attempts to stamp them out, andthe dramatic explosion of cocaine consumption and its cultures in the United States of the 1970s.

The period witnessed the return of a substance thought long suppressed, now as a visible domestic social problem, and the perverse effects of the hemispheric drug wars, which may have spurred more cocaine use and supply than it ever prevented.

Julio Cotler updated Gootenberg's historical research by drawing on his recent book, *Drogas y política en el Perú* (IEP, 1999). Cotler analyzed in detail the political preference or decision made by the United States in the early 1990s to favor a Fujimori-style authoritarian regime, albeit in a moment of severe national crisis. While President Alberto Fujimori has helped further the North American anti-drug agenda during the 1990s, this has been at the cost of Peru's already weak democratic institutions. The military and intelligence services are stronger, and legal norms needed to fight corruption and drugs over the long run have decayed. Less coca is grown in Peru (though, much of the illicit crop has simply moved on to Colombia), but Peruvians now live in an authoritarian regime.

Gootenberg's paper and the results of the seminar will be published as a Latin American Working Paper in Fall 2000.

National Security in Mexico: Challenges for a New Century

On February 18-19, the Wilson Center's Latin American Program and the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM) organized the conference "National Security in Mexico: Challenges for a New Century" in Mexico City. The conference brought together diplomats, scholars, military officials, and government leaders from Mexico, the United States, Chile, Guatemala, and Argentina to analyze Mexico's national security policies as the country enters the new century in a rapid process of economic globalization and political transformation.

Luis Maira, Chile's Ambassador in Mexico, and *Raúl Benítez* of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) noted that Mexico has always maintained a certain exceptionalism among Latin American nations. Whereas most governments in the region have been strongly influenced by U.S. doctrines of national security, the Mexican state has pursued an approach derived from its ideology of "Revolutionary Nationalism," which emphasizes respect for the sovereignty of nations and eschews outside interference in domestic affairs. *Rafael Fernández de Castro* of ITAM described how this approach has changed dramatically since the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into effect in 1994. Although NAFTA is designed exclusively as a commercial treaty, it affects every aspect of the relationship among Mexico, Canada, and the U.S. In particular, it has led Mexico to pursue a closer security relationship with the U.S., although significant differences still remain.

Participants debated the extent to which Mexico should seek to renounce its nationalistic approach to security policy in the context of globalization. *Arturo Sarukhán* of the Mexican Foreign Ministry and *Athanasios Hristoulas* of ITAM argued that Mexico should actively participate in international security arrangements and not remain isolated. *Delal Baer* of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) suggested that NAFTA would naturally lead the three countries to abandon their nationalistic concerns in favor of common strategies to face shared security threats. However, Mexican diplomat *Andrés Rosenthal* urged a more cautious and measured approach, noting that the boundaries of sovereignty are not yet defined in the new global system.

In previous decades, national security in Mexico has primarily addressed internal threats to the state. However, in the 1990s concepts of national security evolved to include other related issues including human rights, migration, and drug trafficking. *José Luis Lobato* of the Mexican Human Rights Commission noted that "first-generation rights," which include respect for political and civil liberties, have advanced considerably, but that severe violations of these still remain in some regions, such as Chiapas and Guerrero. *Alejandro Guevara* of the Universidad Iberoamericana (UIA) suggested that national security policy should address the root causes of instability in Mexico, especially poverty and social inequality. *Alejandra Moreno Toscano* of the Fundación Carmen Toscano agreed with this, noting that a democratic approach to national security requires addressing issues of indigenous rights and constitutional provisions that ensure plurality and respect for all people in Mexico.

Guadalupe González of the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) described the challenge of drug trafficking. She argued that while the drug cartels clearly constitute a threat to national security, attempts by the U.S. and Mexican governments to address the problem primarily as a law enforcement issue have not been very successful. Similarly, *Luis Herrera Lasso*, Mexico's former Consul in San Diego, pointed out that migration issues have become one of the most difficult national security concerns on the U.S.-Mexico border. He noted that Mexican and U.S. authorities perceive the issue differently, which has limited cooperation between the two countries.

The Politics of Market Reform in Fragile Democracies

In a February 8, 2000, colloquium on "The Politics of Market Reform in Fragile Democracies," Wilson Center Fellow and associate professor of political science at Vanderbilt University *Kurt Weyland* used the insights of prospect theory to explain how it has been possible to enact painful neoliberal reforms in Argentina, Peru, Brazil and Venezuela. Weyland described rational choice explanations as too limited to explain why presidents, in an unstable institutional setting, opted for high-risk, painful strategies of adjustment over less drastic measures. He argued that, in addition to considering economic and institutional structures, political scientists and policy mak-

ers needed to incorporate a psychological dimension in their explanations of the choices of political leaders. That is, in situations of severe crisis, risk acceptance in the domain of losses helped explain why boldness won out over more prudent alternatives.

According to Weyland, Peru's Fujimori, Brazil's Collor, Venezuela's Pérez, and Argentina's Menem responded to grave economic problems by implementing stabilization plans that were sub-optimal in economic as well as political terms, potentially jeopardizing their own survival as political leaders. Nonetheless, the popular reaction to adjustment measures in Argentina, Brazil, and Peru was supportive, even when long-term benefits were uncertain. The reason was that all three countries were suffering from hyperinflation; a majority of the population therefore saw itself in the domain of losses and accepted the risky shock programs enacted by their leaders. By contrast, since many Venezuelans were unaware of the imminent crisis facing their country, they rejected the similar shock program imposed by the Pérez government.

From left to right: Joseph S. Tulchin, Kurt Weyland, and Robert Kaufman

The political fortunes of the four countries diverged in the early 1990s, with Argentina and Peru moving toward recovery and slowing down reforms when they showed some successes. Conversely, opposition to "neoliberalism" gradually increased in Brazil and Venezuela, slowing down privatization and blocking fiscal reform. These differences reflect the depth of the structural problems facing the four countries. In nations suffering from long-term stagnation (Argentina) and acute impoverishment (Peru), market reform elicited much more support than in countries where the established development model continued to produce growth (Brazil) or where fabulous oil wealth seemed to offer a solution to economic problems (Venezuela).

Robert Kaufman, professor of political science at Rutgers University, assessed the strengths and weaknesses of prospect theory in the context of what he said were gaps in our understanding of how and why economic reform comes about. One gap involves the causal mechanisms through which crises do or do not lead to reforms, and the second has to do with the factors that motivate choices about reform. There is little connection between how the public feels about the economy and how it feels about the reform measures. Kaufman expressed skepticism of Weyland's thesis that presidents and voters chose more risky strategies, pointing out that Fujimori, Menem, and Collor were considered less risky than their political opponents at the time. He also disputed whether the use of shock treatments was unnecessarily risky, pointing out that it was much riskier to use up political capital on a more moderate approach and then fail. More can be explained, Kaufman argued, in terms of political parties, and the incentives and resources available within presidential or parliamentary systems. Prospect theory was probably correct in pointing out that citizens will risk much more to prevent a deterioration of the status quo than they will to improve it, but Kaufman called for more empirical work to test the theory.

Central America After Hurricane Mitch: Economic and Political Trends

Hurricane Mitch, which ravaged Central America in October 1998, caused the deaths of over 9,000 people and nearly $9 billion in damages in an already-impoverished region. To assess the impact of the hurricane on political and economic developments in several key Central American countries, the Latin American Program on March 8, 2000, hosted two U.S. government specialists with direct responsibility for overseeing U.S. policy in the region. *John Keene*, director of the State Department's Office of Central American and Panamanian Affairs, and *Donald W. Boyd, Jr.*, director of AID's Office of Central American Affairs, offered a positive assessment of recovery efforts. Both policymakers stressed the numerous ways that Central American leaders and members of civil society have used the devastation to pursue reforms, enhance citizen par-

ticipation, and put in place new mechanisms to ensure transparency and combat corruption.

In Honduras, Keane said, the government had turned the disaster to its advantage. Early fears that the high death toll and severe hardship would lead to a collapse of the government did not materialize, and the Flores government took charge of the emergency response. The disaster has served as a catalyst for positive change, and reconstruction planning and implementation, supported by the international community, has accelerated democratic institution building. In Nicaragua, Keane said that the economy had made a remarkable recovery, posting a 6 percent growth rate in 1999. However, the political future was uncertain, given intense partisanship and the questionable impact of certain constitutional changes on the checks and balances among democratic institutions, including the Comptroller General's office, the Supreme Court, and the Electoral Commission. In El Salvador and Guatemala, the hurricane exacted a severe toll on economies, but did not pose a threat to democratic initiatives. A second generation of economic reforms in El Salvador was expected to restore growth, and Keane stated that the economy and public security were the key issues in El Salvador's March legislative and municipal elections. Finally, Keane praised new Guatemalan President Alfonso Portillo for confronting traditional power brokers and setting a populist, inclusive tone for his administration. Concerns that Portillo's party, the FRG, would bring back the old days of military rule had not materialized, he said, and the United States was cautiously optimistic that Portillo would open the political system, provide economic opportunities for the poorest Guatemalans, and establish the rule of law.

Donald Boyd underscored the partnership that had developed between the Central American countries and the international donor community, as well as the degree of collaboration among donors. At a May 1999 meeting in Stockholm, Sweden, donors pledged some $9 billion in assistance, agreeing to a set of operating principles (known as the Stockholm Declaration) aimed at sensible land use practices, the channeling of assistance to the poorest who suffered most, the involvement of local government, communities, and civil society, the adoption of measures to assure transparency and accountability, and the reduction of external debt burdens. Boyd underscored the objective of "building back better," and identified several important legacies of long-term political and economic benefit to the region. These included the key role of civil society in designing and implementing development projects, and the setting of higher expectations among donors and citizens that funds would be spent in a transparent and accountable way.

In a related effort, the Wilson Center's Comparative Urban Studies Project organized a meeting in Guatemala on January 10, 2000, hosted by the Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales (ASIES) on "Natural Disasters in Central America ." The meeting is described in Link, a Wilson Center publication (May-June 2000, Vol. 2, No. 3) and Urban Update (Summer 2000, Issue 4). The proceeding of the conference will be published in Spanish by ASIES in September 2000.

Public Policy Education

On June 1-2, 2000, the Latin American Program held a meeting devoted to the strengthening of public policy training in Latin America. The meeting represented the culmination of a year-long planning project funded by the Ford Foundation to produce preliminary surveys of the institutional capacity for post-graduate level training in public policy in six Latin American countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela. The project also included a survey of post-graduate level public policy and public administration programs in the United States, with an emphasis on the instructional models found in the U.S. and their modes of transmission to Latin America. In addition to the project researchers, meeting participants included *Jorge Balán*, Ford Foundation; *William Ascher*, Duke University; and *Ernest May*, Harvard University.

Joan Dassin, a consultant and coordinator of the project, spoke about public policy programs in the United States. According to her research, such programs place a heavy emphasis on quantitative and empirical analytical methods. At the same time, they include important non-economic components, such as courses on the policy process. U.S. programs also have a strong practical element, typically requiring students to apply their knowledge to real-world policy issues in some form of practicum or policy analysis exercise. Closely supervised by a student's professors and peers, these exercises often lead to subsequent employment opportunities.

In the case of Latin America, the region as a whole has a relatively long tradition of Masters' programs in public

administration, albeit of varied quality. In contrast, Master's programs in public policy—following the U.S. model of discrete interdisciplinary programs that integrate economics, quantitative methods, management and political analysis—are much more recent, often springing up as part of newly formed political science departments or developing within social science, economics, or public management faculties in the 1990s.

In part because they tend to be quite young in institutional terms, the Latin American public policy programs exhibit several common weaknesses. First, there is often tension between the programs' academic and professional objectives. This gives the programs an ambiguous status in university systems, which still tend to be highly segmented between professional schools and academic disciplines. Second, many programs have difficulty in attracting and retaining a sufficient number of "core" full-time faculty members. Third, in relation to the curriculum, course offerings in quantitative methods based in disciplines such as economics and statistics may be limited, often reflecting the faculty's lack of preparation in these areas. On the student side, diagnostic tools such as entrance examinations to assess candidates' basic knowledge of the social sciences, mathematics, and statistics as well as their pre-existing verbal, mathematical, and analytical aptitudes and skills are not routinely required. Finally, while there is an increasing use of the case method and internships in the public sector, the traditional lecture mode and non-collaborative learning still predominate in a number of institutions. Mentoring and thesis advising may also be poorly organized or undervalued, leading to low completion rates.

Despite these difficulties, Latin American researchers at the meeting were confident that there is a healthy demand in the region for post-graduate level public policy training programs. Particularly if processes of democratization and decentralization continue to unfold, that demand will continue to grow as more and more social sectors recognize the need for "policy optimization"rather than traditional "policy implementation."

The Latin American Program, with the help of the Ford Foundation, plans to follow up on the research presented at the meeting with a second-stage project that will work to strengthen some of the leading public policy programs in Latin America.

Democracy, Markets, and the Illiberal Heritage in Latin America

In March 7, 2000, seminar on "Constructing Competition Regimes: Democracy, Markets and the Illiberal Heritage in Latin America," *Dr. Jörg Faust*, assistant professor of political science at Johannes-Gutenberg Universität in Mainz, Germany, emphasized the need to establish a firm institutional framework to guarantee and foster market competition in Latin America's newly liberalized economies. In his view, the region has made insufficient progress towards this goal. The need to garner political support for painful neoliberal reforms induced many governments to give powerful interest groups—particularly the business sector—a privileged position in the new market system. Thus, in several countries privatization simply turned public monopolies into private monopolies. Rather than establishing full competition, market reforms created new opportunities for rent-seeking. These problems have limited the economic pay-offs of market reform, kept economic growth at distressingly low levels, and exacerbated the social inequality that has long plagued Latin American countries.

Faust stressed that these new opportunities for rent-seeking perpetuate Latin America's illiberal heritage. Just as "special interests" had captured profitable niches in the preceding nationalist, state-interventionist development model, some of them managed to attain similar unfair advantages in the new market system. Thus, neoliberal reforms have failed to create the "level playing field" that their advocates had promised. According to Faust, this continuation of rent-seeking has also lowered the quality of democracy by providing opportunities for corruption and by keeping political accountability low. Furthermore, the concession of special economic benefits to influential interest groups has allowed personalistic leaders to enhance their power, thereby fostering the revival of populism in Latin America.

One policy implication of Faust's analysis is that governments supported by center-left party coalitions may under certain circumstances manage to curb rent-seeking by powerful business sectors, thereby establishing fairer competition. The "Third Way" policies currently *en vogue* in First World countries may thus hold some hope for Latin America as well.

Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth Century Latin America

On April 8, the Latin American Program hosted the roundtable "Reading and Writing the Nation in nineteenth Century Latin America." The meeting gathered historians and literary critics from the United States and Latin America to explore the ways in which literature affected the process of nation formation in nineteenth century Latin America. The conference was based on Benedict Anderson's argument that "all nations are imaginative constructs." Its aim was to mobilize area-studies expertise to extend, deepen, and correct Anderson's account of how national communities were imagined into existence in Latin America and to explore the relationship between writing history and building nations.

John Chasteen of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, explained that a basic premise of the conference was drawn from Benedict Anderson's argument that print had a great impact on how nations were imagined. Chasteen also highlighted Anderson's claim that fiction played an important role in this process, a notion that has become the starting point for analyzing the nineteenth century novel. However, he said, it is imperative to consider who reads the novels. How the nation is written, suggested Chasteen, derives its significance from how, how often, by whom, and to what effect the nation is read.

The presentations ranged from an analysis of "Caudillos, Oral Culture, Literature, and Nation-Building in Nineteenth Century Latin America" by *Ariel de la Fuente* of Purdue University, to "Letters and Salons: Women Reading and Writing the Nation in the Nineteenth Century" by *Sarah C. Chambers* of the University of Minnesota. *Andrew J. Kirkendall* of Texas A&M University, discussed the history of educational institutions and their relation to nation-state and political class formation. Focusing mainly on the experiences of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, Kirkendall argued that the coming of political independence created opportunities for the enhancement of the hegemony of the *letrados*. The *letrados*, according to Kirkendall, represented the first national class, conscious of its own rights and privileges and determined to improve its position at the expense of other social groups that lacked the opportunities to define their own identities.

Sara Castro-Klaren of Johns Hopkins University, a co-organizer of the conference, called for ongoing discussion of the papers and the issues at hand, in order to enrich a final publication.

U.S.-Mexican Immigration

On February 24, 2000, the Latin American Program hosted a policy forum on migration and border issues between the United States and Mexico. *Carlos Rico*, Consul General of Mexico in Boston and former General Director for North America, Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and *Robert Bach*, Executive Associate Commissioner for Policy and Planning at the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, shared their views on the nature of the U.S.-Mexico migration relationship.

Carlos Rico presented a contemporary historical account of the United State's approach to immigration policy. According to Rico, from the mid 1960s to the late 1980s, U.S. policy makers treated immigration as a domestic issue, ignoring Mexico's role. Both the U.S. and Mexican governments saw migration as mostly a labor market phenomenon, not a foreign policy concern.

As the U.S. political environment turned anti-immigrant in the early 1990s, however, the Mexican government saw more of a need to become involved in the U.S. immigration debate. In the hopes of developing a common understanding of U.S.-Mexico migration that could lead to better-informed management strategies, the Mexican United States Binational Commission was created. Subsequently, the United States and Mexico have begun several cooperative efforts, including regular meetings of migration officials from both countries. Thus far, however, Rico said cooperation has been mainly limited to the sphere of rule-implementation, rather than rule-making.

Rico concluded by pointing out that despite progress in creating a strong cooperative framework for addressing problems at the border, several areas still need improvement. He expressed concern about the increasing number of border-crossing deaths among migrants who have been pushed into more dangerous areas as U.S. vigilance has increased in more traditional areas of crossing.

Robert Bach argued that the U.S.-Mexico relationship is at a "self-conscious plateau," in which the focus is on stability, consolidation, and institutionalization. He also countered Rico's contention that Mexico has, until recently, been largely absent from the U.S. migration debate by pointing out that migration policies, from Proposition 187 to welfare reform, had a disproportionate and often intentional effect on Mexicans living in the United States.

Bach went on to discuss how a view of migration as inevitable strongly colors both U.S. and Mexican policy approaches. Citing as an example Mexico's reduction of its high population growth rates in the 1970s (which were once also seen as inevitable), he questioned whether U.S.-Mexican immigration can accurately be classified as inevitable. Finally, Bach outlined the Clinton administration's dual strategy for managing migration, involving both attempts to gain control of the borders through strengthening rule of law and opening up legal opportunities for migration.

Staff Notes

The Latin American Program extends a warm welcome to our new staff members. Program Associate *Amelia Brown* joins us from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace where she worked as a junior fellow. She has a B.A. from Wellesley College in International Relations. We also welcome *Andrew Selee* as a new Program Associate. He joins us from Esquel Foundation where he was a research associate. He holds an M.A. in Latin American Studies from the University of California, San Diego.

We also congratulate *Heather Golding*, former LAP Administrative Assistant, who has been promoted to Program Associate. She holds a B.A. from Colby College in International Studies with concentrations in Latin America and International Economic Development.

We bid a very fond farewell to Program Associates *Allison Garland* and *Ralph Espach*. After seven productive years with the Latin American Program, Allison gave birth in January to Benjamin Garland Thrower and has relocated with her family to Atlanta, where her husband, John Thrower, has taken a job with Cox Communications. Ralph has departed to pursue his Ph.D. in International Relations at the University of California, Berkeley. We wish them both every success in their future endeavors.

Fellows/Public Policy Scholars

The Latin American Program bids farewell to Winter 2000 Wilson Center Fellows and Public Policy Scholars: *Paul Gootenberg*, professor of Latin American history, State University of New York at Stony Brook; *Yemile Mizrahi*, professor of political science, Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE), Mexico City; and *Kurt Weyland*, associate professor of political science at Vanderbilt University.

We also bid farewell to Mexico Public Policy Scholar José Luis Orozco, senior professor of international politics and political theory, National University of Mexico; and to Brazilian Public Policy Scholars *Marina de Mello e Souza*, consultant, Conselho da Comunidade Solidaria, São Paulo, Brazil; and *Maria de Lourdes Parreiras Horta*, director, Museu Imperial IPHAN, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

We are pleased to welcome our 2000-2001 Fellows: *Javier Corrales*, assistant professor of political science, Amherst College, working on "The Politics of Education Reform in Latin America;" *Margaret Crahan*, Dorothy Epstein professor of Latin American history, Hunter College, working on "Creating Freedom Behind Bars: The Culture of Resistance versus the Culture of Fear, Argentina, 1976-1983;" *Margaret Keck*, professor of political science, Johns Hopkins University, conducting a study on "Networking in the State: The Micropolitics of Water Reform in São Paulo;" and, *James McQuire*, professor of political science at Wesleyan University, working on "Social Policy and Human Development in East Asia and Latin America."

We also welcome our incoming Mexico Public Policy Scholars *Ilán Bizberg*, director, Center for International Studies, El Colegio de México, who will be working on "Transition and Consolidation of Democracy in Mexico: A Comparison with Brazil, Central Europe, and Russia;" *Gustavo Verduzco Igartúa*, professor of sociology, El Colegio de México, working on "Development and Migration from Mexico to the United States;" *Felipe Calderón Hinojosa*, Former President of the National Action Party (PAN), working on "The Mexican Political Transition;" and *Rodolfo Stavenhangen*, professor of Sociology, El Colegio de México, working on "The Dynamics of Peace and Conflict in Chiapas."

Recent Publications

Books

Caribbean Basin: The Challenge of Regional Cooperation. ***Joseph S. Tulchin and Ralph H. Espach, eds., (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, May 2000).***

Social Development in Latin America: The Politics of Reform. ***Joseph S. Tulchin and Allison M. Garland, eds. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, Forthcoming 2000).***

Combating Corruption in Latin America. ***Joseph S. Tulchin and Ralph H. Espach, eds. (Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Johns Hopkins University Press, August 2000).***

Latin America in the New International System. ***Joseph S. Tulchin and Ralph H. Espach, eds. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, Forthcoming, October 2000).***

Intern Notes

We would like to thank our Winter, Spring, and Summer 2000 interns, *Ryan Crewe* from the University of California, Davis; *Jonathan Guerin* from the University of New Mexico; *Claudia Lombardo* and *Francisco Salinas* from George Washington University; *Jennie Santos* from Syracuse University; and *Lía Limón* from the Fletcher School, for their hard work, dedication and good humor.

Working Papers

244. "Paths to Power: Foreign Policy Strategies of Intermediate States," by Andrew Hurrell, Andrew F. Cooper, Guadalupe González González, Ricardo Ubiraci Sennes, and Srini Sitaraman (March 2000).

245. "Junior Scholars Training Program," by Juany Guzmán Léon, Graciela Kisilevsky, Sebastián Mazzuca, Silvia Núñez Garciá and Cristina Carvalho Pacheco (May 2000).

246. "The Peace Process in Colombia and U.S. Policy," by Cynthia J. Arnson, Phillip Chicola, William D. Delahunt, Jan Egeland, Benjamin A. Gilman, Caryn C. Hollis, Luis Alberto Moreno, Augusto Ramírez-Ocampo, and Alfredo Rangel Suárez (May 2000).

247. "El Proceso de Paz en Colombia y la Política Exterior de los Estados Unidos," by Jesús Antonio Bejarano, Ana Teresa Bernal, Hans R. Blumenthal, Augusto Ramírez-Ocampo, Alfredo Rangel Suárez, Víctor G. Ricardo, Mauricio Romero, and Alejo Vargas Velásquez (July 2000).

248. "Between Coca and Cocaine: A Century or More of U.S.-Peruvian Drug Paradoxes, 1860-1980," by Paul Gootenberg (Forthcoming 2000)

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Upcoming Events

September 14, 2000 - Kurt Weyland, Wilson Center Fellow and Joan Nelson, Overseas Development Council, *Learning from Foreign Models in Latin American Policy Reform.*

November 9, 2000 - *Mercosur and the Future of Integration in the Americas.*

Novermber 27-8, 2000 - *Peace and Security in the Americas, Santiago, Chile.*

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