

Is Latin America Ready for the Next Decade?

XV Annual
CAF Conference

March 2012

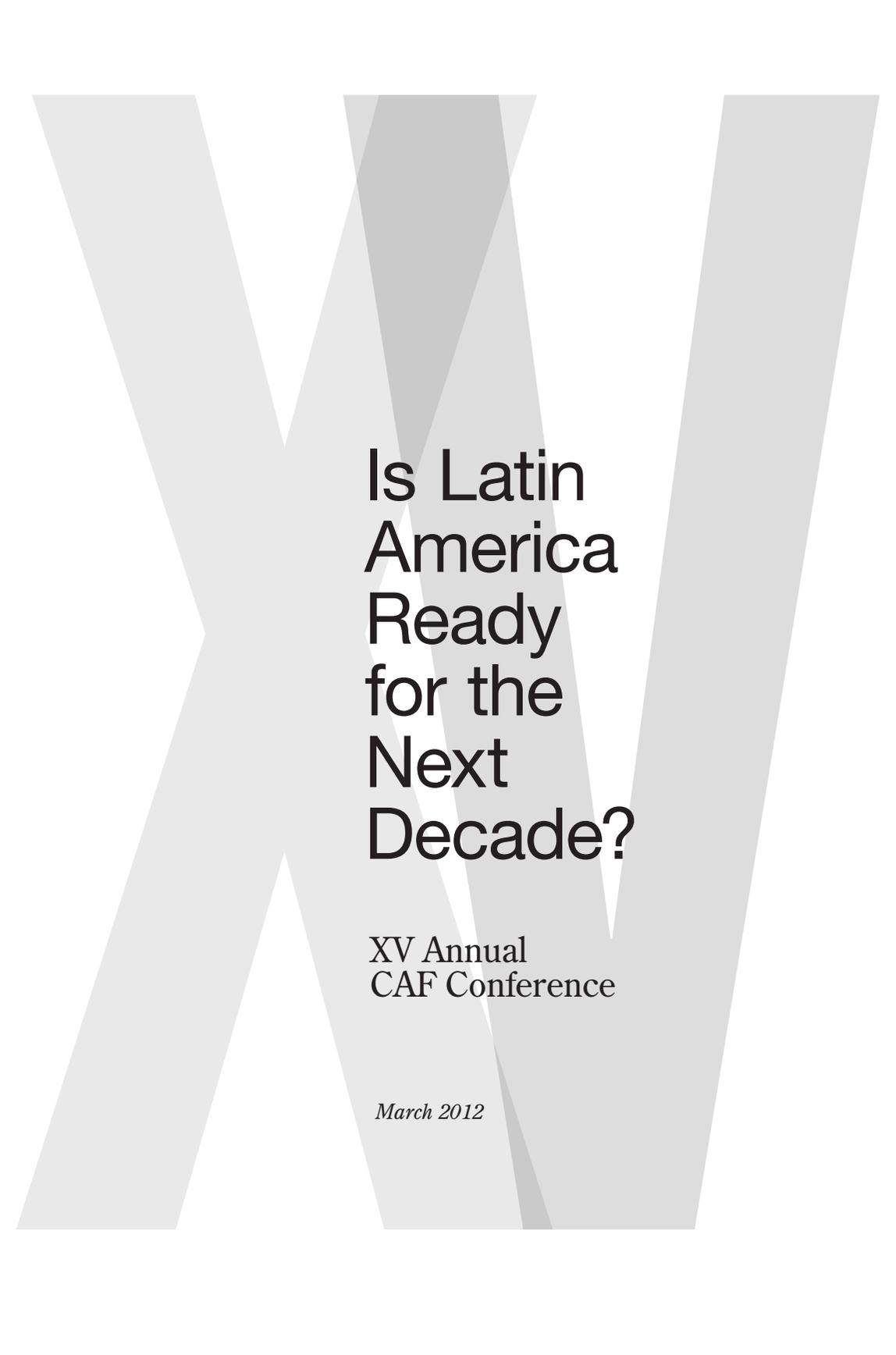
Inter-American Dialogue

The Inter-American Dialogue is the leading US center for policy analysis, exchange, and communication on issues in Western Hemisphere affairs. The Dialogue brings together public and private leaders from across the Americas to address hemispheric problems and opportunities. Together they seek to build cooperation among Western Hemisphere nations and advance a regional agenda of democratic governance, social equity, and economic growth.

The Dialogue's select membership of 100 distinguished citizens from throughout the Americas includes political, business, academic, media, and other nongovernmental leaders. Fourteen Dialogue members served as presidents of their countries and more than two dozen have served at the cabinet level.

Dialogue activities are directed to generating new policy ideas and practical proposals for action, and getting those to government and private decision makers. The Dialogue also offers diverse Latin American and Caribbean voices access to US policy discussions. Based in Washington, the Dialogue conducts its work throughout the hemisphere. A majority of our Board of Directors are from Latin American and Caribbean nations, as are more than half of the Dialogue's members and participants in our other leadership networks and task forces.

Since 1982—through successive Republican and Democratic administrations and many changes of leadership elsewhere in the hemisphere—the Dialogue has helped shape the agenda of issues and choices in inter-American relations.

A large, light gray, stylized graphic of the Roman numerals 'XV' serves as the background for the text. The 'X' is formed by two overlapping 'V' shapes, and the 'V' is a single downward-pointing chevron. The text is centered within the 'V' of the 'XV' graphic.

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Is Latin America Ready for the Next Decade?

The region is weathering the global economic crisis well, but as the recession deepens and spreads throughout the world, the future remains uncertain. Although the United States is still the region's most important investment partner, the Obama administration is missing the opportunity to forge effective collaboration on issues ranging from climate change to immigration. And important gains, including the reduction of poverty in South America, remain precarious.

“There has been good economic management in defending the region from the crisis,” said **Enrique García**, CEO of CAF - Development Bank of Latin America. “But there is still volatility. At the same time, we need to look at how Latin America can get faster, higher-equity, sustainable growth.”

Whether the region is embracing the tools and policies it needs for continued growth was the focus of spirited discussion during the September 7 and 8, 2011, CAF Conference, which drew some 400 people for a wide-ranging look at the region's readiness for the future. Panelists addressed issues ranging from joblessness, security, and upcoming elections to education, press freedom, and civil society.

Enrique Iglesias, secretary general of the Ibero-American General Secretariat, said there are great growth opportunities facing the region and some countries, notably Brazil, could move into the ranks of developed nations by 2020. But he said the region must first address its biggest challenges, among them:

“We need to look at how Latin America can get faster, higher-equity, sustainable growth.”

—Enrique García

Education levels must be improved if Latin America is to boost productivity and compete globally.

- How to distribute the economic bonanza
- New dependencies, including that with China
- Weak competitiveness
- Inadequate regional integration
- New economic models, including a return to energy as a driver of growth

“This isn’t something we can solve in just two or three years,” Iglesias said. “If we do it in a decade, I’ll be happy.”

Conference participants outlined other challenges still to tackle. Joblessness—especially for young people—remains a problem. Education levels must be improved if Latin America is to boost productivity and compete globally. Organized criminal networks are destabilizing still-fragile democratic institutions.

CAF was joined by the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Dialogue in organizing the annual conference in Washington, D.C. The gathering serves as a platform to identify and discuss pivotal issues in the region and make related policy recommendations. It draws US and Latin American government officials, international economists, lawmakers, scholars, policy analysts, journalists, and corporate and financial leaders.

This year’s participants included Inter-American Development Bank president **Luis Alberto Moreno**; former president of Panama **Martín Torrijos**; the president of Bolivia’s Chamber of Deputies, **Héctor Arce**; the secretary general of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), **María Emma Mejía**; Uruguay’s minister of the economy **Fernando Lorenzo**; French Development Agency deputy CEO **Didier Mercier**; and Asian Development Bank director for North America **Alessandro Pio**.

Conference participants said the region is part of a new global order, in which emerging markets are making gains despite the global economic downturn. Iglesias described the shift as “the greatest transfer of economic power in the history of humanity.”

The Decade Of Latin America?

While the United States and Europe slip deeper into economic trouble, Latin America has experienced rapid growth, breaking old boom-and-bust patterns and leading many to talk of the “Decade of Latin America.” Is the region really poised to structurally shift its economic landscape, overcome its past, cement recent gains, and create a lasting future for its residents?

It is true that resurgent Latin America has undergone a profound transformation that has left it more economically independent. Still, its future remains tied to globalization. As such, it is vulnerable to ongoing weaknesses in the international economic system. And even though the region has experienced GDP growth, it has not been able to accelerate that growth as Asia did.

For the short term, as long as governments maintain the status quo, the region will grow. Intra-regional commerce and trade with China are important drivers of that expansion. Without long-term growth trends, however, Latin America will be unable to close the income gap that perpetuates social disparities.

But for growth to continue long term, forward-looking policies and “intelligent regionalism”—in the form of a renewed commitment to regional integration and cooperation—will be necessary. Strengthened integration, from defense to *multilatina* corporations, is seen as a powerful buffer against future global recessions.

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Uruguayan minister of finance **Fernando Lorenzo** said it is impossible to foresee and plan against all future risks. Still, he added, the region's success in the next decade will hinge on how well it is managed. CAF's García agreed.

"Success or failure won't come from outside," Garcia said. "It depends on us."

Panelists stressed the need for Latin America to boost its productivity through improved educational systems and a greater emphasis on science and technology, vocational education, and entrepreneurship. They also called for progress in reducing crime, securing safe water supplies, and revamping tax structures—as well as the ability to collect those taxes.

The United States and Latin America

Noting that the CAF Conference coincided with the 10th anniversary of the Inter-American Democratic Charter, OAS secretary general **José Miguel Insulza** cited reasons for optimism. "We have elected democracies all over the region. What has improved is the governability of the region."

Acting US undersecretary of state for political affairs **Thomas Shannon** also underscored "how unique the democratic accomplishments of the Americas are—not just in a regional context, but in a global one." He noted that the Inter-American Democratic Charter went beyond advocating democracy as a form of government to push for it as a fundamental responsibility of governments toward their citizens. He called it a model for Middle East nations moving toward democracy.

"That model is special in the vast space it gives to societies and individuals to pursue their own visions of success in an ever more competitive world," Shannon said. "Countries have followed their own unique paths, reflecting distinct histories and

cultures, but the aggregate social and political advance has been strong and sustained.”

During his address, Shannon acknowledged that the White House has been focused on the economic crisis and two wars, but he denied that the Obama administration has ignored Latin America. He said much of the collaborative work goes on behind the scenes or at levels below the presidency.

However, panelists in a discussion titled “Obama’s Policies toward Latin America: What is Next?” said Obama’s speech at the 2009 Summit of the Americas in Trinidad and Tobago promised a new and more equal partnership with the region that has failed to materialize. Furthermore, they pointed to the beginning of the US election campaign and predicted there will be no significant movement on issues of importance to the hemisphere, including energy, gun control, immigration, climate change, remittances, human rights, citizen security and drug trafficking.

Panelist **Mary Beth Sheridan**, a diplomatic correspondent for *The Washington Post*, said security in Central America is gaining as a priority, noting that support for the Mérida Initiative is shifting from equipment to training and institution building. She also predicted that the Obama administration would send the pending free-trade agreements with Colombia and Panama to Congress.

However, she said the election campaign would effectively stall movement on several other issues. She predicted that, although there has been a slight thawing, the US relationship with Cuba is unlikely to change and meaningful immigration reform will not be seen.

Expectations for the April 2012 Summit of the Americas were also subdued. Panelists acknowledged that the summit in Cartagena could be the Obama administration’s last opportunity before the elections to make good on his pronouncements in Trinidad. While it is critical that hemisphere-wide solutions

Amb. Shannon denied that the Obama administration has ignored Latin America.

be developed to address drug trafficking, crime and strategies for supporting democratic institutions in the region, panelists also stressed that the dialogue must be more than “summit to summit.”

The relationship between the United States and South America has diminished as exports to the US decline, Brazil rises in prominence, and regional organizations strengthen.

One reason why the Obama administration may have trouble creating a long-term agenda in the region is that there is no longer “one Latin America.” Rather, it is split into two areas with distinct relationships with the United States. The “north,” primarily Mexico and Central America, is characterized by shared security, remittance and immigration concerns—and greater economic and trade ties. The US economic crisis has spilled over the borders of the “north,” compromising growth.

The relationship between the United States and South America, meanwhile, has diminished as exports to the United States decline (replaced by trade with Asia and Europe), Brazil rises in prominence, and regional organizations strengthen.

Shifting Relationships

Conference participants repeatedly returned to themes of shifting relationships in the region, noting that the United States’ waning influence comes in tandem with China’s growing importance to Latin America. There were mixed conclusions about the long-term impact of that displacement.

Some participants characterized the shift as Latin America trading a dependence on the United States for a dependence on China, predicting that the region would begin to feel the implication of that as the Chinese economy started to slow. The World Bank has projected that China’s GDP growth in 2011 will be 9.3 percent, slower than last year’s 10.3 percent. For 2012, the World Bank forecasts 8.7 percent expansion.

In a panel focused on the “new triangle” of Asia, Latin America, and the United States, **Jeffrey Davidow**, former US assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs, described

China's engagement in Latin America as a major trade partner as "extraordinarily beneficial." But others said China's involvement in the region is so recent that it is difficult to predict the long-term impact.

The economic growth that has resulted from the region's relationship with the Asian powerhouse has shielded some countries from making tough decisions needed to reform their economies in order to withstand future global downturns. There were concerns about individual countries' reliance on one commodity and one market, Argentina's soy exports to China standing out as an example.

Oswaldo Rosales, director of the Division of Trade and Integration at the Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean, acknowledged that the South American boom wouldn't have happened without China. "And if you take China out of the equation," he said, "then the rate of growth would fall, as would savings."

Panelist **Anna Jaguaribe**, director of the Rio de Janeiro-based Institute for Brazil-China Studies, said Latin America needs to learn how to absorb the benefits of the trade boom. She suggested that the region not "choke itself" with over-regulation but, instead, better identify the areas where it is most competitive. For example, she said the region has a comparative advantage in agricultural production—and should look for technology add-ons to advance the sector.

Latin American countries and institutions, including CAF, are currently working with China to find ways to diversify trade, but there is also considerable internal debate in China about the direction in which to proceed. China's future interactions in the region will depend to a great extent upon its internal political climate.

While some conference participants characterized China as embracing a focused strategy in the region, **Wu Guoping**, a professor at the Institute of Latin American Studies of the

The South American boom wouldn't have happened without China.

—Oswaldo Rosales

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, described Chinese businesses as still unskilled at navigating Latin America's bureaucracies and regulatory landscape. He also said China's direct investment in the region and its business success has been greatly overstated.

"China's investment in Latin America is really very small, something along the lines of 7 to 8 percent of total foreign investment in the region."

—Wu Guoping

"China's investment in Latin America is really very small, something along the lines of 7 to 8 percent of total foreign investment in the region," he said, in third place behind the United States and Europe. He added that Chinese businesses have failed time and time again in places like Brazil, where they don't understand the investment rules. Guoping noted that the majority of Chinese investment in Latin America resides in shelters in the Cayman Islands.

However, he predicted that the region would remain a strong trade and investment partner, including on infrastructure projects. "China's international reserves are a problem for China. We can't invest everything in US debt—so much is already tied up in dollars," he said. "And where else can we go? Europe with its problems?"

"Latin America is a better investment arena under the current economic circumstances," he added. "Latin America invites us and there is a place for us there."

Concerns were raised as to whether Chinese investment is creating sufficient jobs for local workers and whether China's engagement in the region supports Latin American values, such as open markets, transparency, environmental concerns, and democratic growth. Beyond trade, panelists also discussed whether China sees Latin America as a strategic military location or whether it may use its growing trade relationships to create political alliances on questions related to the United Nations, the environment, and international banking.

Political Challenges

With elections on the horizon in several countries in the region, a panel moderated by scholar and writer **Moisés Naím** turned the spotlight on young Latin American politicians and journalists from Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. They discussed political challenges, among them how the region will embrace new development models.

The panelists cited the reduction of violent crime and inclusion of indigenous and ethnic Latin Americans in the political process as critical goals. They also expressed concern that gains that have already been posted are fragile. In particular, they noted that the millions that have been lifted out of poverty could easily fall back unless substantive and lasting policy changes are adopted.

Effective health care services are still not within reach for everyone. Youth unemployment levels and citizen concerns about safety and security were also underscored as serious challenges. Because of this, the panelists predicted that governments, including left-leaning ones, will turn from economic policy and put greater focus on social policy. Using Peru as an example, they noted that the tremendous economic gains posted under the administration of President Alan García did not extend the APRA party's mandate to govern. The reason? While Peru's GDP grew and poverty rates declined, social inequities were not adequately addressed.

Panelists praised the region's gains in consensus building even as they expressed concern about the extremism that has surfaced on the US political landscape, notably in the Tea Party movement.

In discussing the pillars of democracy, Venezuelan journalist **Boris Muñoz**, editor-in-chief of *Exceso* magazine, noted that there have been 230 murders of reporters and editors in the last 15 years and Latin America is considered the most dangerous region of the world for journalists. In Mexico and Central

The tremendous economic gains posted under the administration of President Alan García did not extend the APRA party's mandate to govern.

America, in particular, journalists are killed, kidnapped or “disappeared”—the crimes often unsolved—as a result of the ongoing battles between the authorities and drug traffickers and organized crime networks.

The relationship between the press and government remains tense in some countries.

The relationship between the press and government remains tense in some countries where the governments have attempted to restrain media and reporters. Government withdrawal of advertising, an important source of revenue for newspapers and magazines, was described as an indirect tool for influencing content—a form of soft censorship.

Still, against that backdrop, there have been advances in freedom of expression, particularly in Brazil, Colombia, and Peru. At the same time, new media—including Internet-based news outlets—have broadened news coverage in the region. The panelists discussed whether the concentration of media ownership negatively affects news coverage and whether journalists adhere to standards of fairness.

Regional Integration

Latin America’s economic prosperity and continued commitment to democracy have opened new opportunities for regional integration. Efforts in that direction were discussed in the closing session of the conference when CNN anchor **Patricia Janiot** moderated an exchange between OAS secretary general Insulza and UNASUR secretary general Mejía.

Insulza and Mejía detailed the roles of their respective organizations as pro-democracy catalysts for dialogue and as contributors to the region’s agenda for action. The discussion underscored the theme of “two” Latin Americas—separated principally by economic performance—echoed elsewhere during the CAF gathering. Mexico and Central America, feeling the impact of the US economic crisis, were viewed as one area. Booming South America was the other.

With an agenda that includes continent-wide infrastructure initiatives, UNASUR signatories envision their new regional bloc as a tool to specifically forward their political, trade, energy, and environmental interests. Since Latin America's economic and political landscapes have changed and the region is no longer defined exclusively by its relationship with the United States, UNASUR sees this as a propitious moment for a new mechanism for integration and conflict resolution and it has put itself forward as an agile new entity, positioned to "complement" the work of the OAS.

Although both organizations identified avenues for working together, there was some debate over whether UNASUR's goal of a unified South America—rather than integration for the entire Americas region—was limiting.

Insulza acknowledged that, historically, regional integration was not one of the OAS's priorities. In the mid-1950s, the idea of integration was raised "but until ideas on free trade emerged, the possibility of integration—and of linking the United States and Latin America—wasn't pursued."

Much of the discussion and interaction from the audience focused on the positions of each organization and whether a single organization (the OAS), a more geographically focused entity such as UNASUR, or a collaboration would best serve as a catalyst for dialogue on energy, immigration, criminal violence, drug trafficking, trade, corruption, and the rights of women and indigenous peoples.

It was noted that different problems are often best addressed at different levels (hemispheric, regional, or sub regional) according to their characteristics.

XV Annual CAF Conference

September 7 and 8, 2011

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
1779 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington D.C.

Agenda

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7

Session I. Conference Introductory Remarks

Enrique García, CAF

José Miguel Insulza, Organization of American States

Michael Shifter, Inter-American Dialogue

Keynote Addresses — Enrique Iglesias, Secretary General, SEGIB

Session II. “Obama’s Policies toward Latin America: What is Next?”

Moderator: **Martín Torrijos**, Former President of Panama

Lead-off Speakers:

Guillermo Fernández de Soto, Former Foreign Minister of
Colombia

Gustavo Fernández Saavedra, Former Foreign Minister of Bolivia

Mary Beth Sheridan, Diplomatic Correspondent, *The Washington Post*

Session III. “Political Challenges in Latin America: the Vision of its New Leaders”

Moderator: **Moisés Naím**, Senior Associate, International Economics
Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Lead-off Speakers:

Claudia Benavente, Director, *Diario La Razón*, Bolivia

Diego Cánepa, Deputy Secretary of the Presidency of Uruguay

Marisa Glave, City Councilor of Lima, Peru

Paula Moreno, Former Minister of Culture, Colombia

Boris Muñoz, Editor-in-Chief, *Exceso*, Venezuela

Private Reception at the Organization of American States

Welcoming remarks: **José Miguel Insulza**, Secretary General, OAS

Keynote Speaker: **Héctor Arce**, President, House of Deputies of Bolivia

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

Keynote Address

Moderator: **Carla A. Hills**, Chairman & CEO, Hills & Company

Speaker: **Thomas A. Shannon**, US Undersecretary of State for
Political Affairs

Session IV. “Towards a New Agenda for Inclusive Sustainable Development”

Moderator: **Enrique García**, President & CEO, CAF

Lead-off Speakers:

Fernando Lorenzo, Minister of Finance of Uruguay

Didier Mercier, Deputy CEO, French Development Agency

Luis Alberto Moreno, President, Inter-American Development Bank

Alessandro Pio, Director General, North America, Asian
Development Bank

Session V. “New Triangle: Asia—Latin America—USA”

Moderator: **Charles Shapiro**, President-designate, Institute of
the Americas

Lead-off Speakers:

Jeffrey Davidow, Senior Counselor, The Cohen Group

Eric Farnsworth, Vice President, Council of the Americas

Wu Guoping, Professor, Institute of Latin American Studies of the
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Anna Jaguaribe, Director, Institute for Brazil-China Studies

Oswaldo Rosales, Director of Division of Trade & Integration,
CEPAL

Working Lunch: “Changing Dynamics of Hemispheric Relations”

Moderator: **Patricia Janiot**, Anchor, CNN en español

Speakers:

José Miguel Insulza, Secretary General, OAS

María Emma Mejía, Secretary General, UNASUR

XV ANNUAL CAF CONFERENCE ON THE AMERICAS

September 7 and 8, 2011 • Washington, DC

Profiles of Speakers

Héctor Arce is president of the Chamber of Deputies of Bolivia and professor of constitutional law at Universidad Mayor de San Andrés (UMSA) School of Law. Previously, he was advisor for the Movement for Socialism (MAS) and the Six Federations of farm workers in Cochabamba. He also served as a commissioner for the International Commission for Human Rights in Bolivia.

Claudia Benavente is director of *Diario La Razón* in Bolivia. Before that, she published an opinion column for *La Razón* and worked in television on a number of news programs.

Diego Cánepa is deputy secretary of the presidency of Uruguay. In 2004 he was elected to represent the Department of Montevideo in the Uruguayan Chamber of Deputies. Cánepa was also a member of the Mercosur Parliament at its founding in 2006.

Jeffrey Davidow is a senior counselor for the Cohen Group. He previously served as assistant secretary of state for the Western Hemisphere, ambassador to Venezuela, and ambassador to Mexico. He was also president of the Institute of the Americas.

Eric Farnsworth is vice president of the Council of the Americas and Americas Society, heading the Washington, DC, office since 2003. From 1995 to 1998, he oversaw policy and message development for the White House Office of the Special Envoy for the Americas.

Guillermo Fernández de Soto served as Colombia's foreign minister from 1998 to 2002. He was also secretary general of the Andean Community of Nations and Colombian ambassador to the Netherlands.

Gustavo Fernández Saavedra served three stints as foreign minister of Bolivia in 1979, 1984, and 2001. His other posts included ambassador to Brazil and consul general in Chile. He has advised a number of international organizations, including CAF and the IDB.

Enrique García is executive president and CEO of CAF - Development Bank of Latin America based in Caracas. He was Bolivia's minister of planning and coordination and head of the economic and social cabinet. He has also served as treasurer of the Inter-American Development Bank.

Marisa Glave Remy is councilor of the municipality of Metropolitan Lima. She was first elected under the Peruvian Nationalist Party in 2007 and now serves under the Social Force party. Glave served as president of the Federation of Students at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (FEPUC) and was also a member of the committee for democracy at FEPUC during Fujimori's rule.

Wu Guoping is adjunct director and professor at the Institute of Latin American Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing. He is also a member of the Sino-Latin American Commission of the Socioeconomic Council of China.

Carla A. Hills served as US trade representative in the George H.W. Bush administration and as secretary of housing and urban development in the Ford administration. She is currently chair and CEO of Hills & Company, an international consulting firm. Hills is co-chair of the Inter-American Dialogue.

Enrique Iglesias currently heads the Ibero-American General Secretariat (SEGIB) in Madrid. He previously served as president of the Inter-American Development Bank and president of Uruguay's Central Bank. Iglesias is co-vice chair of the Inter-American Dialogue.

José Miguel Insulza is secretary general of the Organization of American States. He previously served as minister of foreign affairs and minister of the interior of Chile.

Anna Jaguaribe is director of the Institute for Brazil-China Studies. She is also a visiting professor at the Program of Strategies and Public Policies of the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. She lived and conducted research in China from 1998 to 2003 and has also worked for the United Nations Development Program.

Patricia Janiot is a senior anchor for CNN en Español and serves as advisor to the executive vice president and general manager of the network. She has served as an investigative reporter throughout Latin America and the world and is recipient of Colombia's Simon Bolívar award for investigative journalism.

Fernando Lorenzo is minister of finance and economy of Uruguay and president of the Mercosur's Economic Research Network. He was previously the director of the Center for Economic Research (CINVE).

María Emma Mejía is secretary general of UNASUR. She previously served Colombia as minister of education, minister of foreign affairs, and ambassador to Spain. She has been a negotiator in the peace process with the FARC, and a vice-presidential candidate in 1998.

Didier Mercier is deputy director general of the French Development Agency (AFD). He previously oversaw various AFD projects in Senegal, Benin, and Cameroon. He also served as CEO of the French firm Géocoton and as president of its Spanish subsidiary MASA.

Luis Alberto Moreno is president of the Inter-American Development Bank. Previously, he served as Colombian ambassador to the United States and economic development minister of Colombia.

Paula Moreno was Colombian minister of culture from 2007 to 2010. She was the first Afro-descendent woman and the youngest person to hold a cabinet-level position in Colombia. A professor and engineer, she was a Hubert H. Humphrey Fellow in the Special Program for Urban and Regional Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Boris Muñoz is editor-in-chief of *Exceso* magazine. From 2009 to 2010 he was a John S. and James L. Knight Foundation Latin American Nieman Fellow at Harvard University.

Moisés Naím is a senior associate in the International Economics Program at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and chief international columnist for *El País*. From 1996 to 2010, he was editor-in-chief of *Foreign Policy*. He served as Venezuela's minister of trade and industry in the early 1990s, and executive director at the World Bank.

Alessandro Pio is resident director general of the North American Representative Office for the Asian Development Bank. He joined the ADB in 1993 where he eventually led the Strategy and Policy Department. He was economics professor at Bocconi University in Milan, Italy where he also coordinated research at the Institute for Latin American Studies.

Oswaldo Rosales is director of the International Trade and Integration division of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). From 2000 to 2004, he served as director general of international economic relations for the foreign ministry of Chile.

Thomas A. Shannon, Jr. is acting undersecretary of state for political affairs. He is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, most recently serving as ambassador to Brazil. His other positions have included special assistant to the president and senior director of Western Hemisphere affairs at the National Security Council, deputy assistant secretary for Western Hemisphere affairs, and US deputy permanent representative to the OAS.

Charles S. Shapiro is president of the Institute of the Americas. He served as US ambassador to Venezuela from 2002 to 2004 and principal deputy assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs from 2007 to 2009. His career as a foreign diplomat spanned 25 years and included postings in Chile, Trinidad and Tobago, and El Salvador.

Mary Beth Sheridan is diplomatic correspondent for the *Washington Post*. She previously served as foreign correspondent for the *Associated Press*, *Miami Herald*, and *Los Angeles Times*, and has reported from over 50 countries. In 1998, she was given an Overseas Press Club award for her work in Mexico and was part of a *Washington Post* team of Pulitzer Prize finalists for reporting on terrorism.

Michael Shifter is president of the Inter-American Dialogue.

Martín Torrijos was president of Panama from 2004 to 2009.

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