



# Latin America: A Region in Transition

XVI Annual  
CAF Conference

*September 2013*



INTER-AMERICAN  
DIALOGUE

## 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. Sixteen Dialogue members served as presidents of their countries and three dozen have served at the cabinet level.

Dialogue activities are directed to generating new policy ideas and practical proposals for action, and getting these ideas and proposals to government and private decision makers. The Dialogue also offers diverse Latin American and Caribbean voices access to U.S. 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.

## Latin America: A Region in Transition

On September 5 and 6, 2012 in Washington DC, CAF – Development Bank of Latin America, the Organization of American States (OAS), and the Inter-American Dialogue presented the XVI Annual CAF Conference. More than 500 people attended the conference for discussions on a wide range of issues, including the region’s economy, political trends, elections, drug policies, challenges to development, and Latin America’s relationships with the emerging South.

The 39th President of the United States (1977–1981) and recipient of the 2002 Nobel Peace Prize, **Jimmy Carter** delivered a keynote speech that reviewed some of the most pressing issues in US-Latin America relations and pending challenges for the hemisphere.

When presenting him to the audience, CAF President **Enrique García** recalled how Carter produced a major shift by making democracy and human rights a central element of the foreign policy of the United States, particularly toward Latin America.

“It was not a mere declaration. Since the late 1970s, we have seen how, one by one, the countries of the region—which were not holding elections and were not used to democratic institutions, in some cases, for decades—started their transitions to democracy,” García pointed out.

Indeed, Carter’s presidency produced the Torrijos-Carter Treaties to transfer control of the Panama Canal to Panamanian authorities, and introduced an active approach to the promotion of democracy and human rights that prompted the end of several dictatorships in the region.

In his keynote address, the former president spoke about the US failure to fully engage with Latin America in recent years.

*“Carter produced a major shift by making democracy and human rights a central element of US foreign policy.”*  
—Enrique García

He enumerated his administration's deep involvement with the region, then added: "I have not seen that interest in either candidate for president of the United States, unfortunately, and my prediction is that they will not elevate Latin America to the highest priority in the next four years unless some negative crisis evolves."

*Carter and Insulza agreed that the 50-year-old US embargo has been an obstacle to protecting human rights.*

However, he cited the end of the embargo against Cuba, a different approach to the drug problem, the reinforcement of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, and curbing the role of money in electoral campaigns as some of the key challenges that should be faced in the near future to enhance fairness in the hemisphere.

Following Carter's presentation, CNN Senior Anchor **Claudia Palacios** moderated a Q&A with the former president and OAS Secretary General **José Miguel Insulza**. Insulza noted that the region has seen great shifts since Carter was president.

"The relationship between the United States and Latin America can be better or worse, but it certainly cannot be similar to or the same as what we had 30 years ago because the region has changed substantially," he said. "Today Latin America is seeking its own destiny rather than a purely hemispheric relation."

Carter and Insulza offered their perspectives on key issues, including the relationship between the United States and Cuba. Both agreed that the 50-year-old US embargo has been an obstacle to protecting human rights.

"If [the United States] could change their relationship with the Soviet Union, if they could change their relationship with Hungary or Poland, for example, why can't they change their relationship with Cuba?" Insulza said.

The former US president, meanwhile, called for civic and business groups in the region to exert more influence over

policies. “Business and trade leaders should be involved more directly and courageously to correct the mistakes of their governments,” Carter said.

Carter was one of two presidents who spoke to the gathering. During his address, **Leonel Fernández**, whose term as president of the Dominican Republic ended in August, credited Carter for helping his Caribbean nation move to democracy.

“Usually when they talk about President Carter, people talk about the Panama Canal treaties, but they don’t reference the importance of the influence Carter had on the democratic process in Latin America,” he said.

Fernández, who leads the Global Foundation for Democracy and Development (FUNGLODE), said Latin America’s ongoing economic expansion has happened at “two speeds.” He said growth in South America, with its strong links to the robust economies of Asia, outpaced that of Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean—tied more closely to the US economy. However, he cautioned that all of Latin America must embrace new policies if the upward trajectory is to continue.

The great challenge, he said, will be to embrace reforms that bring value-added production chains, increased productivity, and more competitiveness—a wish list echoed by others during the conference. Fernández cited the quality of education as one of the region’s weaknesses.

“Latin America needs to move from being labor intensive to being capital intensive, with a strong technological component,” he said. “Although Latin America did not feel the impact of the economic crisis to the extent Europe did, we must leverage the current economic bonanza to transform the region’s primary export-based economic model into a diversified economy.” In this sense, he underscored the key role CAF is playing to help Latin American countries meet these challenges.

*“The great challenge will be to embrace reforms that bring value-added production, increased productivity, and more competitiveness.”*  
—Leonel Fernández

## Economic Roadmap

The impact of the global economic crisis on Latin America received much attention during the conference. In a session titled “Is this Latin America’s Decade? Pending Development Challenges,” experts predicted that the region will remain on a growth path, but the speed and duration of that expansion will depend on how well Latin America responds to underlying problems.

*García favored a strategy that falls between austerity and stimulus measures.*

García, noting that Latin American countries had learned the hard way how to manage their economies, favored a strategy that falls between austerity and stimulus measures.

“Austerity produces declining growth rates, higher unemployment, and social pressure. On the other hand, growth cannot take place without macroeconomic stability,” he said. “That’s why we must find a middle-ground solution that is tailored by country, since cookie-cutter programs will not necessarily work.

“Focusing solely at the macro level is not enough,” he continued. “Latin America as a region needs a strategy to promote greater microeconomic efficiency, increase investments, foster innovation to increase productivity, strengthen institutions to build investor confidence, and encourage pragmatic participation in international markets.”

The region’s economic resiliency was lauded, although China’s thirst for Latin American commodities was acknowledged as a critical factor in the gains of recent years.

“The next phase is going to be tougher,” said **Hasan Tuluy**, the World Bank’s vice president for Latin America and the Caribbean. He said the region will need a sustained effort to maintain growth, and it must post progress in several areas, most notably productivity.

The panelists called on Latin American governments to be more forward looking, by planning for the medium and long term. And they cautioned that as countries become wealthier, their citizens' expectations for economic equality will grow. They also underscored the need to improve education, upgrade infrastructure, better use technology, diversify economic drivers to include products with added value, and embrace innovation—largely through R&D investment.

While Chile's success has set the bar for Latin American countries, **Luis Alberto Moreno**, president of the Inter-American Development Bank, urged the region to be more mindful of growth and productivity rates in Asia. He said Asia is setting the benchmark for global competition.

Panelists said governments must save more so they can invest more. And they need to address the themes that are slowing their development, among them the cost of energy and concerns about security. More public-private partnerships were encouraged, as well as more strategic associations within the region, including the exchange of engineers and other professionals.

**Luis Miguel Castilla**, Peru's minister of economy and finance, described how his country opened its economy and posted success in fighting poverty, growing its middle class and attracting investment. However, he noted that as prices fall for commodities, especially copper and gold, that expansion will be curtailed.

“Beyond simply maintaining growth, one must also think about the type of growth the country needs and how to transform this growth into development,” he said, adding that the government must reconcile its focus on extractive industries with the needs of the local population.

Members of the panel, which also included **Alejandro Foxley**, the former finance minister of Chile, and **Mario Pezzini**, director of the OECD Development Centre, noted

*Governments must address the themes that are slowing their development, among them the cost of energy and security concerns.*

that large segments of the region’s population had not yet benefitted from the wealth of the last decade.

Further, they noted that while Latin America’s growth looks impressive beside that of developed countries, its failure to keep pace with nations in Asia and Africa is a concern. They called for a two-pronged strategy: deepening regional integration and embracing other world regions as partners, rather than competitors. They also said the countries of the region should adopt strong policies and planning that allow them to leverage their comparative advantages.

*China has become an independent engine of growth, spearheading the global recovery.*

## The New South

**Chris Alden**, a professor at the London School of Economics, moderated “The Emergence of the New Global South” panel that brought together experts from four continents to address the rise of emerging countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Taking part in the discussion were **Augusto de la Torre**, World Bank chief economist; **Changyong Rhee**, Asian Development Bank chief economist; **Lu Bo**, deputy director for American Economic Affairs at the Chinese Academy of International Trade and Economic Cooperation; **Mzukisi Qobo**, University of Pretoria professor; and **Harinder Kohli**, president and CEO of the Emerging Markets Forum.

The south-south connection is not new, but its size and relevance have changed. China, in particular, has become an independent engine of growth and the emerging markets that coalesced around it have spearheaded the global recovery. This is a reversal of the past, when emerging markets had to wait for developed economies to lead recovery.

The panelists also noted that China’s relationships in the region vary by country. China and Brazil—two of the BRICs (along with India and Russia)—are leading emerging economies. They described Mexico and Argentina as “strategic partners” with the Asian powerhouse and Venezuela as

having “a cooperative strategic partnership for the future.” Meanwhile, China has actual free-trade agreements with Chile, Costa Rica and Peru.

While noting that Latin America is increasingly connected to China, the panelists questioned whether that connection has moved to a more advanced economic level. They cited trade and agriculture patterns in Asia, noting that countries in that region have forged greater connections with each other. In Latin America, however, countries may be linking more to China but they are not connecting more strongly to one another, and this limits their capacity for “peer-to-peer learning”—the exchange of experiences and expertise.

Equally important, while trade flows south-south, finance still follows a north-south path.

Past south-south models were politically focused and drew from anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism movements. But emerging nations, most notably the BRICs, are more pragmatic and stress inclusion and effective participation in shaping decision-making processes. They are also diverse—some democratic, some not—and they do not speak with a single voice.

These countries are in a position to develop shared ways to address their common challenges, notably inequality, infrastructure development, and unemployment.

Asia has served as the world’s factory, with exports going to the West, but new configurations see Latin America basing production in Asia—to target Asian consumers—or Asian companies producing in Latin America and Africa. Energy inputs are part of the consideration in these shifts.

The challenge of this “localization of production” will be how to move from resource-intensive low-income manufacturing to higher skilled manufacturing and increased investment.

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To speed growth, countries must identify their comparative advantages. But governments must also be mindful of the sustainability of those advantages. For example, cheap labor soon will no longer offer an edge.

*Countries must respond to the cooptation by drug dealers of their politicians and political parties, judges and police departments.*

## **New Look at Drugs**

A discussion on “The Vision of New Leaders on Key Challenges for Latin American Societies: Violence, Transnational Crime, and Drugs,” quickly turned to the region’s so-called War on Drugs. **Moisés Naím**, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, moderated the energetic exchange.

Naím referred to 2012 as a turning point year, explaining that the region is seeing important changes in attitudes and perspectives related to security and drug policy. The Summit of the Americas in Cartagena called for new strategies around drugs.

Drug trafficking’s impact may vary from country to country, meaning more research is needed and a single solution will not work everywhere, the panelists said. However, they agreed that a shift to treatment over punishment should be considered, money laundering needs to be more strongly policed, and countries must respond to the cooptation by drug dealers of their politicians and political parties, judges and police departments. They also said that the United States and Europe, the markets for drugs, need to become more involved in finding solutions.

There was not agreement on the panel about the link between violence and drugs. **Daniel Mejía**, a professor at the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, said the correlation was clear in Colombia, where drug trafficking is the principal driver of violence. Others, including **Fernando Carrera**, the secretary of planning for Guatemala, cited additional causes of violence. Rather than focusing only on drug trafficking, Guatemala and

Colombia have addressed the issue of security more broadly with efforts to strengthen the police and the public prosecutor's office. Among traditional responses to drug trafficking, it has been found that some practices, such as interdiction, are effective while others, notably eradication, are less useful.

**Diego Cánepa**, secretary to Uruguayan President José Mujica, explained drug laws in Latin America's most permissive country, where marijuana use does not carry criminal charges. Uruguay's Congress is now debating a measure to give the state control over cannabis marketing, including oversight of production and distribution for both medical and recreational use.

*"It is a 'profound error' to become mired in moral arguments when drug trafficking is a matter of economics."  
—Diego Cánepa*

"This isn't a battle between good and bad... it's more complicated, and for that reason Uruguay has adopted a different perspective," said Cánepa. "At first, the population of Uruguay was against this new policy but the opposition has declined over time."

He added that it is a "profound error" to become mired in moral arguments when drug trafficking is a matter of economics.

Peru takes a tougher approach, owing to its recent history that saw terrorism linked to narco-trafficking. **Luciana León**, who serves in Peru's Congress, said the laws must be complemented by investment in poor rural areas that haven't benefited as much from recent economic growth.

**Alejandro Hope**, director of the public safety project "Less Crime, Less Punishment," agreed that narco-trafficking cannot be addressed with simple answers. The problem in much of Latin America is cocaine, not marijuana. However, in Mexico, the drug spectrum is more complex.

## Political Trends

The conference also devoted panels to discussion of the US election and to political trends in Latin America, particularly Venezuela and Mexico.

*Dan Restrepo maintained that the administration is active in Latin America but is not receiving credit for that engagement.*

Advisers to the Obama and Romney campaigns offered remarks and **Charles Shapiro**, president of the Institute of the Americas, provided commentary during a presentation on “The US Presidential Elections and Latin America.” **Dan Restrepo**, the former director of Western Hemisphere Affairs for the National Security Council and an adviser to President Barack Obama, maintained that the current administration is active in Latin America but is not receiving credit for that engagement. At the same time, **Clifford Sobel**, former US ambassador to Brazil, said the Republican presidential candidate, Mitt Romney, would put priority on the region if elected.

Restrepo ran through a laundry list of bilateral meetings between Obama and Latin American leaders, pointed to support of the Dream Act, cited ongoing dialogue with Brazil around energy issues, underscored increased funding to fight transnational crime in the region and noted passage of the free trade agreement with Colombia.

“Governor Romney has articulated a policy in the region for all countries that want to participate. Governor Romney wants the United States to contribute to the hemisphere,” said Sobel, who has advised the GOP contender on foreign policy issues but said he was speaking on his own behalf, not as a spokesperson for the candidate.

“The US has potential for greater prosperity,” he added. “That involves seizing opportunity in the region, both on bilateral and multilateral levels.”

Shapiro said he was encouraged by the presentations—but added that he had not seen much indication of Latin American interest from the candidates themselves.

“We are ignoring Latin America and the Caribbean at our own peril. This is where two of our largest trading partners are located,” Shapiro said. “There are enormous opportunities for the United States and we are, unfortunately, ignoring them.”

On the other side of the border, after generations of dictatorships, elections are now solidly anchored as the way power changes hands in Latin America, a development addressed in the panel on “Elections and Political Trends in Latin America: Focus on Mexico and Venezuela.”

*Elections are now solidly anchored as the way power changes hands in Latin America.*

“We can disagree, argue, but no one disputes that the acceptable way to acquire political power is through the electoral process,” said **Kevin Casas-Zamora**, OAS secretary of political affairs. “One of the fundamental vehicles for remedying problems in a country is clean, transparent elections.”

Political power no longer holds a monopoly on representation in the region. Civil society and the business sector are powerful forces while, in some countries, the military has less leverage than in the past. And there is a shift in the way Latin Americans judge good governance.

“Policies that address not just poverty, but also inequality—Latin Americans understand this as good governance,” said **Luis Vicente León**, director of Caracas-based Datanálisis. “They don’t care if the person implementing this package comes from the left or the right.”

Mexican Senator **Rosario Green** said that the more powerful role of civil society assures that old practices of the PRI party, which dominated Mexico’s political landscape for more than 70 years, would not return. Green added that Enrique Peña Nieto had named a transition team that contained members of other parties and new, young players, rather than members of the old guard, boosting the public’s confidence in the new president.

**Lázaro Cárdenas**, a senior scholar at the Wilson Center, said the surprise in Mexico's election was the remarkable level of citizen involvement, particularly among young people. However, he cautioned that there is still concern about the quality of democracy in Mexico, and vigilance is needed in regard to groups with power and money.

In looking forward to Venezuela's October presidential election, the panelists characterized Henrique Capriles as President Hugo Chávez's strongest challenger to date, even while acknowledging that the country is deeply polarized around politics. **Ana Maria Sanjuan**, a senior executive at CAF, said Chávez would face new expectations from the electorate—especially the middle class—if re-elected to a fourth term.

Despite optimism about how well electoral processes are entrenched in the region, there is still room to improve the quality of the countries' democracies, according to the panelists. Military coups and blatant voter fraud are things of the past, but more sophisticated strategies are replacing them. Media bias and election financing were cited as particularly troubling, especially when organized crime is suspected in some cases of providing financial backing to candidates.

Insulza said the OAS is concerned about the deep divisions between incumbent governments and the opposition, explaining that democracy thrives when politicians seek common ground.

"It seems to me that the chains of trust have been broken or are lacking in many countries," he said.

*Media bias and election financing are particularly troubling, especially when organized crime is suspected of financing some candidates.*

# XVI Annual CAF Conference

September 5 and 6, 2012

Willard Intercontinental Hotel  
1401 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC

## *Agenda*

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5

### **Session I. Conference Introductory Remarks**

**Enrique García**, CAF — Development Bank of Latin America  
**José Miguel Insulza**, Organization of American States  
**Michael Shifter**, Inter-American Dialogue

### **Keynote Address**

*Moderator:* **Carla A. Hills**, Inter-American Dialogue Co-Chair  
and CEO, Hills & Company

*Keynote Address:* **Leonel Fernández**, Former President of the  
Dominican Republic

### **Session II. “The Emergence of the New Global South”**

*Moderator:* **Chris Alden**, Professor, London School of Economics

*Lead-off Speakers:*

**Changyong Rhee**, Chief Economist, Asian Development Bank

**Mzukisi Qobo**, Professor, University of Pretoria

**Lu Bo**, Deputy Director, American Economic Affairs CAITEC, China

**Augusto de la Torre**, Chief Economist, World Bank

**Harinder Kohli**, President, Emerging Markets

**Session III. “Elections and Political Trends in Latin America:  
Focus on Mexico and Venezuela”**

*Moderator:* **Victor Rico**, Special Advisor to the President, CAF

*Lead-off Speakers:*

**Rosario Green**, Senator, Mexico

**Lázaro Cárdenas**, Senior Scholar, Wilson Center

**Ana María Sanjuan**, Senior Executive, CAF

**Luis Vicente León**, Director, Datanálisis

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6

**Breakfast Discussion: “The US Presidential Elections and Latin  
America”**

*Moderator:* **Michael Shifter**, President, Inter-American Dialogue

*Speakers:*

**Dan Restrepo**, Former Director of Western Hemisphere Affairs,  
US National Security Council

**Clifford Sobel**, Former US Ambassador to Brazil

*Commentator:* **Charles Shapiro**, President, Institute of the Americas

**Session IV. “Is this Latin America’s decade? Pending development  
challenges”**

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

*Lead-off Speakers:*

**Luis Miguel Castilla**, Minister of Economy and Finance, Peru

**Luis Alberto Moreno**, President, Inter-American Development Bank

**Alejandro Foxley**, President, CIEPLAN

**Hasan Tuluy**, Vice President for Latin America & Caribbean,  
World Bank

**Mario Pezzini**, Director, OECD Development Centre

**Session V. “The Vision of New Leaders on Key Challenges for Latin American Societies: Violence, Transnational Crime and Drugs”**

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

*Lead-off Speakers:*

**Luciana León**, Member of Congress, Peru

**Diego Cánepa**, Secretary to President Mujica, Uruguay

**Daniel Mejía**, Professor, Universidad de los Andes

**Fernando Carrera**, Secretary of Planning, Guatemala

**Alejandro Hope**, Director of Project “Less Crime, Less Punishment,” México Evalua and IMCO

**Keynote Address: “Perspectives on Inter-American Relations”**

**Jimmy Carter**, Former President of the United States

**Moderated Conversation**

*Moderator:* **Claudia Palacios**, Senior Anchor, CNN

*Speakers:*

**Jimmy Carter**, Former President of the United States

**José Miguel Insulza**, Secretary General, Organization of American States

## XVI ANNUAL CAF CONFERENCE

September 5 and 6, 2012 • Washington, DC

### *Profiles of Speakers*

**Chris Alden** is professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics and serves as co-head of the Africa International Affairs program at LSE IDEAS. He has published on south-south relations, and co-authored the book *The South in World Politics* (Palgrave 2010).

**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.

**Lázaro Cárdenas** is senior scholar at the Latin America Program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. He previously served as the governor of Michoacán state in Mexico. He is a member of the Inter-American Dialogue.

**Fernando Carrera** is Guatemala's secretary of planning and programming and advisor to President Otto Pérez Molina on drug policy. Prior to this, he held a variety of positions in Central and South America as a representative of the United Nations Children's Fund.

**Jimmy Carter** was president of the United States from 1977 to 1981. After leaving office, he founded the Carter Center, a leading US center for the promotion of human rights and advancement of democracy worldwide. President Carter is a member emeritus of the Inter-American Dialogue.

**Augusto de la Torre** is chief economist for Latin America and the Caribbean at the World Bank. From 1993 to 1997, he served as the head of the Central Bank of Ecuador.

**Leonel Fernández** served as president of the Dominican Republic from 1996 to 2000 and 2004 to 2012. He is a member of the Inter-American Dialogue.

**Alejandro Foxley** served as foreign minister of Chile from 2006 to 2009 under President Michelle Bachelet. He served as minister of finance from 1990 to 1994 and as leader of the Christian Democratic Party from 1994 to 1996. He is a member of the Inter-American Dialogue.

**Enrique García** has served since December 1991 as 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. García is a member of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Dialogue.

**Rosario Green** is a senator in Mexico. She previously served as the country’s secretary of foreign affairs, the first female to hold that position. She was also secretary general of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

**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.

**Alejandro Hope** is the director of “Less Crime, Less Punishment,” a joint public security initiative between the Instituto Mexicano para la Competividad and México Evalúa. He previously held a number of posts in Mexico’s intelligence agency, CISEN.

**Harinder Kohli** is president and CEO of the Centennial Group and a founding member of the Centennial Group Latin America. Prior to this, he spent 25 years at the World Bank in a number of senior positions.

**Lu Bo** is deputy director and research fellow of world economy at the Chinese Academy of International Trade and Economic Cooperation (CAITEC). He is also the deputy director of the WTO study center of CAITEC.

**Luciana León** is a deputy in Peru’s National Congress, representing Lima. Prior to this, she served as an advisor to the Women’s Commission of Congress and to the vice president of Congress.

**Luis Vicente León** is president of Datanálisis, a survey database specializing in global markets. He is also professor at the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello and the Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administración, both in Caracas.

**Santiago Levy** has been vice president of sector and knowledge at the Inter-American Development Bank since March 2008. Prior to joining the IDB, he was general director of the Mexico's Social Security Institute (IMSS). From 1994 to 2000, he served as deputy minister at the Ministry of Finance and Public Credit of Mexico.

**Ana María Sanjuán** is professor at the Central University of Venezuela. She is also a senior consultant on democracy, the state, and citizen security at CAF – Development Bank of Latin America.

**Daniel Mejía** is professor of economics at the University of the Andes in Colombia. He is co-editor of the recently published book *Anti-Drug Policies in Colombia: Successes, failures, and lost opportunities* (Ediciones Uniandes).

**José Miguel Insulza** is secretary general of the Organization of American States. Prior to his election in 2005, he served as Chile's minister of the interior and vice president.

**Moisés Naím** is 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. He is a member of the Inter-American Dialogue.

**Claudia Palacios** is the weekend news anchor for CNN en Español's program, *Mirador Mundial*. She was previously a news anchor for Caracol Noticias in Colombia.

**Mario Pezzini** is director of the OECD Development Centre. Prior to joining the OECD, he was a professor of Industrial Economics at the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Mines de Paris.

**Mzukisi Qobo** is senior lecturer on international political economy at the University of Pretoria. He previously served as head of the Emerging Powers and Global Challenges program at the South African Institute of International Affairs.

**Dan Restrepo** was special advisor to the president and director of Western Hemisphere affairs in the National Security Council from 2008 to 2012. Prior to this, he served as director of the Americas project at the Center for American Progress.

**Changyong Rhee** is chief economist of the Asian Development Bank. He previously served as secretary general of the Presidential Committee for the G-20 Summit and vice chairman of the Financial Services Commission of the Republic of Korea.

**Victor Rico** is director of corporate and special affairs and institutional development at CAF-Development Bank of Latin America. He previously served as secretary of political affairs at the Organization of American States.

**Charles 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.

**Michael Shifter** is president of the Inter-American Dialogue and adjunct professor at Georgetown University School of Foreign Service.

**Clifford Sobel** is the former US ambassador to Brazil. He has also served as ambassador to the Netherlands. He is currently an advisor on Latin America to Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney.

**Hasan Tuluy** is vice president of the World Bank for Latin America and the Caribbean. He has served as chief operating officer for the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) and as director of strategy & operations in the Middle East and North Africa Region.



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