

Program



INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE PROGRAM REPORT 2001

Report 2001

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SUMMARY AND HIGHLIGHTS

2001 was a disappointing year for most countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. The region's rate of economic growth was the second worst in the past ten years. Argentina suffered the most dramatic reversals; its economy virtually collapsed and its political institutions were disrupted as street mobs led to the resignation of President de la Rúa and his immediate successor. Colombia's wars became even more violent. Venezuela's politics became more and more polarized and embattled. New democratic governments changed the face of politics in Mexico and Peru for the better, but both confronted deep difficulties in governing. Brazil continued to demonstrate the resilience of its economy and vitality of its democratic institutions, although economic growth remained slow. In its first months, the Bush Administration's foreign policy gave special emphasis to U.S. relations with Latin America—particularly with Mexico. Washington's attention turned to other priorities in the aftermath of September 11, leaving a long agenda of unfinished business.

These events and trends shaped the Inter-American Dialogue's agenda during the year. Argentina and Colombia were at the center of Dialogue activities throughout 2001—and our programs also emphasized Mexico, Brazil, and Peru. The impact of September 11 on hemispheric affairs was another area of priority for the Dialogue, as was the debate over trade promotion authority and progress toward the FTAA and other regional trade agreements. We focused considerable attention on the Quebec City Summit of the Americas in the first half of the year.

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Our work on social policy issues expanded significantly in 2001. Our education program took on a series of new challenges and issued a report card on the state of schooling in Latin America. Jointly with the Carnegie Endowment, the Dialogue re-leased *Washington Contentious*, a book-length report on how economic policies in the region can and should be shaped to advance social equity. We also developed an initiative on race and poverty in Latin America, headed by newly appointed Associate Luiz Barcelos; helped launch the Foundation of the Americas, designed to build alliances among civil society, governments, and corporations; addressed questions of remittances and economic development; and sustained an active program on women’s issues.

We were honored during 2001 to host three heads of state—Vicente Fox of Mexico, Francisco Flores of El Salvador, and Jorge Quiroga of Bolivia—and the foreign ministers of Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Mexico, and Ecuador. Some 16 other ministers—from a dozen other Latin American countries—were also guests of the Dialogue. We joined with the OAS and the Andean Development Corporation (CAF) to sponsor the fifth annual CAF Conference on Trade and Investment in the Americas.

Several institutional advances were also made in 2001. Twenty-five new members were brought into the Dialogue’s ranks, including Larry Summers, John Porter, Bob Graham, Jim Kolbe, Martha Muse, Donna Shalala, and Doris Meissner from the United States, Lloyd Axworthy of Canada, Eduardo Stein of Guatemala, Angel Gurría and Eugenio Clariond Reyes of Mexico, Beatriz Nofal of Argentina, Leonel Fernández of the Dominican Republic, and Fernando Espuelas of Uruguay, among others. We were pleased that one of our members (now on leave) was elected president of Honduras and another, Lourdes Flores Nano, made a strong race for the presidency

of Peru. The Dialogue appointed Michael Shifter to the new post of vice president of policy and Katherine Anderson was named vice president of finance and administration.

With the acquisition of the *Latin America Advisor* newsletters, the Dialogue expanded its reach to business leaders and government officials, as well as members of the Dialogue’s corporate program. The *Advisor’s* series of four newsletter titles is delivered electronically to executives at some of the largest companies operating in Latin America and the United States. *Latin America Advisor* subscribers gain access to a board of leaders in business, finance, and politics who respond daily to questions on issues affecting investment in Latin America. Additionally, specific market segments are covered in the weekly *Latin America Telecom Advisor* and in two monthlies, the *Latin America Banking Advisor* and *Latin America Retail Advisor*. Members of the *Advisor’s* editorial board include Genaro Arriagada of Banco del Estado de Chile; Joyce Chang of JP Morgan Chase; David Malpass of Bear Stearns; James R. Jones of Manatt Phelps & Phillips; Mack McLarty of Kissinger McLarty Associates; and Everett Santos of Emerging Markets Partnership, among others.

We are now actively preparing for this year’s meeting of the Linowitz Forum, in May 2002. We will be taking advantage of the Forum to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Dialogue’s founding in 1982. This will be the 13th time that Dialogue members have met in plenary session. Forum activities will begin on Thursday evening, May 16, when more than a dozen embassies are hosting dinners in honor of the Dialogue’s 20th anniversary. The dinners will be followed by a gala reception at the OAS Hall of the Americas. The Forum will continue with briefings in Washington on Friday, followed by two days of intense deliberations at Airlie House in Virginia. We will conclude with a dinner the next week with President Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil.

Leadership Networks

Congress

- ▶ In cooperation with the Inter-American Development Bank and the Knight Foundation, the Dialogue organized a meeting of the steering committee of the Inter-American Legislative Network on October 15 and 16. Over a dozen members of the U.S. Congress participated, including: Senators Lincoln Chafee (R-RI), Chris Dodd (D-CT), Bob Graham (D-FL), and Richard Lugar (R-IN), and Representatives Cass Ballenger (R-NC), Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Jennifer Dunn (R-WA), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), Jim Leach (R-IA), Jim Moran (D-VA) and Silvestre Reyes (D-TX). Participants from the hemisphere included Senator Pedro del Piero and Congressman Marcelo Stubrin (Argentina), Congressmen Ney Lopes and Julio Redecker (Brazil), Member of Parliament John Williams (Canada), Senator Jaime Gazmuri (Chile), Senators Claudia Blum, Juan Martín Caicedo, Carlos Holguin and Rafael Orduz (Colombia), Congresswoman Sonia Picado (Costa Rica), Congressman Juan José Pons (Ecuador), and Senator Trevor Munroe (Jamaica). The two principal aims of the group are to reinforce democracy in the hemisphere through increasing the effective role of legislatures, and to strengthen hemispheric relations through interaction of the region's legislators.
- ▶ On June 13, the Congressional Members Working Group on Latin America—including Senator Bob Graham (D-FL), Congressmen Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), Jim Moran (D-VA), and Silvestre Reyes (D-TX)—met with National Security Council Advisor John Maisto and Acting Assistant Secretary of State Lino Gutierrez, along with Dialogue Board members Osvaldo Hurtado, former president of Ecuador, recent presidential candi-

date Lourdes Flores Nano of Peru, Senator Sergio Bitar of Chile, CARE President Peter Bell, and former U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills, among others. The discussion focussed on what Congress can do to improve hemispheric relations.

- ▶ The Congressional Members Working Group met on October 3 to discuss the economic and financial outlook for the hemisphere with a focus on Argentina and Brazil. There was also considerable exchange on the effects of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the economies of the hemisphere and on efforts in Congress to pass trade promotion authority (TPA). Participants acknowledged that the entire hemisphere will feel the effects of September 11 because of the downturn in the U.S. economy and changing U.S. priorities. CMWG co-chair Jim Moran (D-VA) moderated the session, which included Representatives Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Phil English (R-PA), Steve Horn (R-CA), Gregory Meeks (D-NY), Mark Souder (R-IN), and Senator Lincoln Chafee (R-RI). Joining the members of Congress were Enrique Iglesias (Inter-American Development Bank), Joyce Chang (JP Morgan Chase), David de Ferranti (World Bank), Michael Gavin (UBS Warburg), Carla Hills (former USTR), Claudio Loser (IMF), Curt Struble (U.S. Department of State), and Regina Vargo (Office of the USTR).
- ▶ On May 8, Senator Bob Graham (D-FL) and Rep. Robert Menendez (D-NJ) hosted the Congressional Members Working Group discussion on policy toward the Andean region and prospects for securing the Andean Trade Preference Act (ATPA). Trade ministers and ambassadors from Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela participated in the discussion and urged congressional members to extend ATPA, which was up for renewal in December. Concern was expressed by participating U.S. legislators about labor issues. U.S. members of Con-

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gress who attended were Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN), and Representatives Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Gene Green (D-TX), Steve Horn (R-CA), William Jefferson (D-LA), Jim Leach (R-IA), Sander Levin (D-MI), Jim Moran (D-VA), and Ellen Tauscher (D-CA).

- ▶ On February 14, the Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group on Latin America met for a dinner exchange on Colombia and Mexico. The discussion focused on President Bush's trip to Mexico, the growing importance of U.S.-Mexico policy; and the upcoming decisions facing Congress regarding U.S. involvement in Colombia. Colombian Ambassador Luis Alberto Moreno and José Antonio Zabalgoitia of the Mexican Embassy led off the discussion. U.S. legislators who attended included Representatives Cass Ballenger (R-NC), Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Phil English (R-PA), Maurice Hinchey (D-NY), Steve Horn (R-CA), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), Jim Moran (D-VA), Grace Napolitano (D-CA), Mark Souder (R-ID), and Gene Taylor (R-MS). A similar briefing was held the day before for legislative aides on Capitol Hill to inform them about upcoming policy decisions regarding hemispheric affairs.
- ▶ On April 24, Representatives Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) and Silvestre Reyes (D-TX) and the Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group hosted a briefing on counter-narcotics policy and multilateral alternatives to the U.S. certification process. The session served as a forum to discuss the prospects of a multilateral evaluation mechanism (MEM), analyzed in the Dialogue's policy report entitled "Can an Anti-Narcotics Effort be Multilateralized?" Rep. Jim Moran (D-VA) opened the meeting by expressing his commitment to international coordination in counter-narcotics efforts. Chairman of National Drug Control Policy of

Trinidad & Tobago Lancelot Selman spoke on behalf of small countries throughout the hemisphere that are equally affected by the transnational drug trade. Rand Beers, assistant secretary of state for international narcotics, and Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, member of the Subcommittee of the Western Hemisphere, took part in the discussions.

- ▶ On October 31, members of the Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group on Latin America met for a dinner discussion with Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, chief of Mexico's National Security Council, and Mexican Ambassador to the United States Juan José Bremer. Senator Jeff Sessions (R-AL) and Congressmen Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Bob Filner (D-CA), Steve Horn (R-CA), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), and Jim Moran (D-VA) took part in this dinner discussion that touched on many of the security issues facing both the United States and Mexico since September 11. Several of the U.S. Congressmen were critical of Mexico, complaining of a continuing lack of progress on human rights under the Fox Administration, as well as the ambiguous response of Mexico to the September 11 attacks. Ambassador Bremer noted that the events of September 11 illustrate how interconnected the United States and Mexico are. According to Aguilar Zinser, they show the need, for the Central American countries, Mexico and the United States to reassess and improve inter-agency relations in order to combat human smuggling and decrease the chances that terrorists enter the United States.
- ▶ On November 28, the Congressional Members Working Group met for a breakfast briefing on the humanitarian crisis in Central America. Senators Mike DeWine (R-OH) and Chris Dodd (D-CT), and Congressmen Steve Horn (R-CA), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), and Jim Moran (D-VA) spoke with representatives of Central American embassies and organi-

zations, as well as from CARE, World Bank, World Food Program, U.S. Agency for International Development, and the U.S. Department of State. The group analyzed current aid programs, and explored the possibility of implementing additional development initiatives in the future.

- ▶ On January 16, 2002 the Dialogue's Cuba project and legislative programs cooperated with the offices of Representatives George Nethercutt (R-WA) and Jim McGovern (D-MA) to organize a luncheon for Congressional staff on Capitol Hill featuring Jorge Domínguez, director of Harvard University's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. (Please see full entry under "Cuba," page 21.)
- ▶ The Congressional Members Working Group hosted four foreign ministers from the Andean region on February 12. Senator Bob Graham (D-FL) and Representatives Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Phil English (R-PA), Jim Moran (D-VA), and Mark Souder (R-IN) invited foreign ministers Guillermo Fernández De Soto (Colombia), Heinz Moeller Freile (Ecuador), Gustavo Fernández Saavedra (Bolivia), and Diego García-Sayán (Peru) to a dinner on Capitol Hill mainly to discuss the Andean Trade Preference Act. Other topical concerns, such as the crises in Argentina and Colombia, coming elections in the region, and security issues, were also addressed. Other participants included Ambassador Ivonne A-Baki of Ecuador, Assistant Secretary of State Rand Beers, Ambassador Marlene Fernández of Bolivia, National Security Advisor John Maisto, Ambassador Luis Alberto Moreno of Colombia, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Curt Struble, and Ambassador Allen Wagner of Peru.

Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas (WCLA)

- ▶ The Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas (WCLA)—a joint initiative of the Dialogue and the International Center for Research on Women—produced a report card on the status of women in political power in the hemisphere in advance of the 2001 Summit of the Americas. The report card presents information on women's presence in decision making, identifies advances and retreats, and analyzes women's rights and opportunities in society at large. Presented at the Third Summit of the Americas in Quebec City, the report card received significant press attention in the United States and Latin America.
- ▶ Representatives Judy Biggert (R-IL) and Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA), co-chairs of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, led a June 13 briefing on legislation of concern to women in the Americas. The briefing was sponsored by the Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas with the Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group on Latin America and the U.S. women's caucus. Lourdes Flores Nano, WLCA co-chair, spoke about the challenges she faced in her recent presidential campaign in Peru. Former Central Bank President Ruth de Krivoy of Venezuela, also co-chair of the WLCA, talked of the importance of integrating women into public and private sector leadership. All participants, including Rep. Jim Moran (D-VA), underscored the need for female leadership in policy making.
- ▶ The Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas continued to be a source of research and analysis on the status of women in the hemisphere. WLCA consultant Mala Htun published two papers on women in political leadership in Latin America.

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► The WLCA is conducting research to measure the extent and quality of women’s influence over foreign policy decision making. Our goal is to analyze women’s success in penetrating the field of international relations, at the highest levels of national governments and international organizations. Personal interviews were held with Undersecretary of State Paula Dobriansky, former USTR Charlene Barshefsky, former U.S. Executive Director for the World Bank Jan Piercy, former U.S. Executive Director for the International Monetary Fund Karin Lissakers, Foreign Ministers Soledad Alvear of Chile and Maria Eugenia Brizuela of El Salvador, and former President Violeta Chamorro of Nicaragua, among others.

The Group of Fifty (G-50)

The Group of Fifty—co-sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Inter-American Dialogue—is a network of business leaders from Latin America’s leading companies. All of the members are highly regarded, in their own countries and internationally, for their entrepreneurial skills, personal integrity, and broad interests. Members represent a range of different industrial and financial sectors, as well as a variety of political views and professional experiences.

The Group of Fifty (G-50) convenes its membership every September in Washington to exchange experiences and review economic and political developments in Latin America and in the rest of the world. September 11 events caused the cancellation of this year’s meeting. In two conference calls among the membership, key economic and social issues were discussed.

Trade, Finance and Economic Policy

CAF Conference on Trade and Investment in the Americas

The Inter-American Dialogue joined with the Organization of American States and the Andean Development Corporation (CAF) to sponsor the fifth annual CAF Conference on Trade and Investment in the Americas on September 6. OAS Secretary General César Gaviria and CAF President Enrique García gave keynote speeches to leading Andean and U.S. government officials, financial and academic analysts, senior officials from the international financial institutions, and the press. The conference was an opportunity to review political and economic developments in the troubled Andean region, and to examine trade, investment, and energy issues more widely in Latin America. Bolivian Minister of Foreign Affairs Gustavo Fernández Saavedra cited the need for civil society participation in policy making and an active search for new answers to the problems created by increasing globalization in the Andes. Participants were discouraged about Latin America’s outlook, but they heard from Joyce Chang of JP Morgan Chase said that the Andean region in the past year had “more positives than negatives to highlight” as compared to its South American neighbors. Ecuadorian Trade Minister Richard Moss Ferreira, Secretary General of the Andean Community Sebastián Alegrett, and Colombian Finance Minister Juan Manuel Santos gave presentations at the OAS reception. Other panelists included Fernando Cepeda Ulloa of the University of the Andes, former Congresswoman Lourdes Flores Nano of Peru, former Chairman of Petróleos de Venezuela Luis Giusti, former Foreign Minister Luiz Felipe Lampreia of Brazil, Guillermo Perry of the World Bank, and Joaquín Vial of Harvard University, among many others. CAF is currently the leading source of multilateral financing for the countries of the Andean Community.

Domestic Trade Policy Making Process

The Inter-American Dialogue, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and the University of Toronto's Munk Centre for International Studies are co-sponsoring a project to analyze the making of domestic trade policy in eight Western Hemisphere nations and to examine how to accommodate the participation of non-state actors in trade negotiations. Trade experts from Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Uruguay, and the United States were invited to prepare brief memos on how trade policy is made in their countries. On June 15, the memos were discussed at an informal meeting at the IDB. One conclusion of the project is that, unlike Canada and the United States, Latin American countries have few, if any, formal or informal channels by which non-governmental groups, including business and labor, can influence the formation of national trade policies. The former, unlike the latter, have established institutional arrangements involving legislative bodies and a wide range of interested stakeholders, including business owners, farmers, labor union and NGO representatives, and academics.

The project is directed by Sylvia Ostry, distinguished research fellow at Toronto University's Munk Centre for International Studies, who is writing the overview essay.

Integrating North America

The Dialogue joined with a large group of institutions from the three NAFTA countries to initiate a project on the integration of North America. The groups convened on December 6 and 7 at the Brookings Institution for an initial discussion of the issues and alternative approaches to integration. (Please see full entry under "Mexico," on page 19.)

Other Exchanges

- ▶ On November 7, the Dialogue brought together a small group of trade officials and analysts for an informal, off-the-record exchange on the current status of trade promotion authority (TPA), FTAA, and other hemispheric trade matters. Participants discussed the nature of the TPA bill approved by the House Ways and Means Committee that week, and the prospects of full congressional approval. They agreed that if approved by Congress, a final TPA bill is likely to include controversial provisions regarding labor, environment, and agriculture. For this reason, participants argued, Latin American countries must find a way to reconcile their negotiating positions with the political compromises that the Bush Administration will have to accept to gain congressional approval of TPA. In attendance were Timothy Bennett of American Electronics Association, John Hueneman of GPC O'Neill, José Manuel Salazar of the Organization of American States, Jeffrey Schott of the Institute for International Economics, Paula Stern of the Stern Group, Bruce Stokes of the *National Journal*, and Jaime Zabludovsky and Marcos Jank of the Inter-American Development Bank.
- ▶ On November 28, the Dialogue brought together a small group of experts for a breakfast roundtable with former IDB chief economist and current Harvard University professor Ricardo Hausmann. Discussion focused on Latin America's dismal economic performance in the last decade and what can and should be done to improve it in the coming period. Hausmann proposed the need to explore alternative growth strategies for the region. Participants included David De Ferranti, World Bank vice president for Latin America, Javid Burki, CEO of Emerging Markets Partnership, Robert Litan, director of economic studies at Brookings Institution, and Teresa Ter-

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““ The commission, co-chaired by Paul Volcker and José Angel Gurría, urged the MDBs to sustain their lending to emerging market economies...and to ensure their lending advances poverty reduction and improved equity.””

Minassian, deputy director for the Western Hemisphere at the International Monetary Fund, among others.

▶ On October 9, the Dialogue hosted a small group of economists for an informal, off-the-record discussion of recent developments in Latin America's economies, the likely repercussions of September 11, and what national and international efforts should be pursued to address the region's problems. Participants agreed that Latin America's economic performance in 2001 was particularly disappointing. They pointed out that the region had been experiencing the effects of an adverse external environment even before the September 11 attacks, but that these were likely to accelerate the U.S. recession and increase uncertainty in international markets. Argentina's financial troubles dominated the discussion, with participants speculating on the impact an Argentine default would have on the rest of Latin America. In attendance were Nancy Birdsall of the Center for Global Development, Shahid Javed Burki of EMP Financial Advisors, Eliana Cardoso of Georgetown University, Michael Gavin of USB Warburg, Richard Newfarmer and Augusto de la Torre of the World Bank, and John Williamson of the Institute for International Economics.

Social Policy

Multilateral Development Bank Lending

On the eve of the World Bank/IMF Spring meetings, the Dialogue, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and EMP Financial Advisors released a report urging the multilateral development banks (MDBs) to sustain their lending to emerging market economies. At the same time, the commission report, co-chaired by former U.S. Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker and former Mexican Finance Minister José Angel Gurría, also called for

extensive changes in longstanding MDB practices in order to ensure that their lending advances poverty reduction and improved equity. They recommended that (1) graduation from MDB lending—as countries grow richer and gain more stable access to international capital markets—should be voluntary but coupled with incentives to avoid prolonged dependence; (2) the credibility and effectiveness of lending as a vehicle for policy change needs to be enhanced; (3) the MDBs should be ready to lend to emerging economies during times of market and economic crisis in a manner consistent with medium-term development programs; and (4) the MDBs should rationalize and strengthen their relationships with the private sector. Commission Co-Chair Angel Gurría and Carnegie Senior Associate Nancy Birdsall, who directed the initiative, released the report on April 26 at the Carnegie Endowment. A week later, on May 1, Co-Chair Paul Volcker reinforced—to an influential audience of 120 people—that loans from MDBs can encourage public investments, such as in education and health, with high social and economic returns.

Washington Contentious: Economic Policies for Social Equity

On March 13, the Inter-American Dialogue and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace organized a press briefing to release their new report, *Washington Contentious: Economic Policies for Social Equity in Latin America*. Co-authored by Carnegie Senior Associate Nancy Birdsall and Ecuador's former Central Bank Governor Augusto de la Torre, the study urges Latin American governments to redirect their economic policies toward an all-out battle against the region's problems of inequity and social injustice. The report, based on the discussions of a blue-ribbon commission from across the region, also calls on the United States and other rich nations to help by eliminating their protection of agriculture and textiles, which reduces job and

income opportunities in developing countries, especially for the poor. A second press briefing was held on March 16 in Santiago, Chile during the annual meetings of the Inter-American Development Bank. IDB President Enrique Iglesias led the discussion with Nancy Birdsall and Peter Hakim.

Race Relations

Inter-Agency Consultation on Race in Latin America (IAC). Four institutions—Ford Foundation, Inter-American Development Bank, Inter-American Dialogue, and World Bank—established the IAC in June 2000 to bring attention to the challenges of race relations and discrimination in Latin America and give increased voice to Afro-Latin American groups. In 2001, six new institutions became participants in the work of the IAC: the Arca Foundation, Inter-American Foundation (IAF), Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO), Rockefeller Foundation, and UN Development Program. This year, the IAC also recruited its first executive director, Luiz Barcelos—a Brazilian scholar and civil rights activist—who works at the Dialogue, which serves as the IAC secretariat.

► Meetings of the participating institutions take place on a regular schedule. Four such meetings were held in 2001. Two meetings focused mainly on the then upcoming UN Conference on Racism and the role that various organizations—official and non-governmental—could and should play. On June 19, the IAC organized a series of workshops to review four key policy issues affecting Afro-Latin Americans—land titling (led by the World Bank), education (Dialogue-led), health (PAHO-led), and community development (IAF-led). The November meeting of the IAC centered on the issues surrounding affirmative action in Latin America. On November 13, the IAC organized a meeting on Capitol Hill to find ways to bring serious and sus-

tained U.S. congressional attention to issues of race and discrimination in Latin America. On December 12, the IAC sponsored a book launching at the World Bank for Sheila Walker's *African Roots/American Cultures: Africa in the Creation of the Americas*. Earlier that day, the IAC brought Sheila Walker together with representatives of human rights organizations working in Latin America to discuss how the human rights community could more prominently place race and race discrimination on its agenda and effectively work with Afro-Latin American advocacy groups in the region.

Education Reform

The Dialogue's program on education reform, the Partnership for Educational Revitalization in the Americas (PREAL), is a hemispheric partnership of private and public sector organizations seeking to identify, promote, and implement better education policy. PREAL was established by the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington and the Corporation for Development Research (CINDE) in Santiago, Chile in 1995. Since then it has become an important non-governmental voice on education in Latin America. The program is guided by a blue-ribbon Task Force on Education, Equity, and Economic Competitiveness composed of corporate CEOs, prominent political leaders, and distinguished scholars.

► On December 14, PREAL's Task Force on Education, Equity, and Economic Competitiveness released the ground-breaking report, *Lagging Behind: A Report Card on Education in Latin America*. The report grades the region on academic achievement, equal treatment, and seven other major indicators of educational success. It makes clear that poor quality schools are a major impediment to economic growth and are making income inequalities in Latin America—already among the highest in the world—even worse.

“Two IAC meetings focused on the UN Conference on Racism, and one centered on affirmative action in Latin America.”

“ PREAL’s Central American Task Force on Educational Reform launched its report, *Mañana es muy tarde*. ”

- ▶ On April 19 and 20, PREAL’s Central American Task Force on Educational Reform launched its report, *Mañana es muy tarde*, in San Salvador, El Salvador. The Task Force—composed of 22 prominent leaders in government, education, and the private sector from the six Central American countries and the Dominican Republic—has now released the report in every country of the region.
- ▶ PREAL has begun a significant expansion of its efforts to more actively incorporate business leaders into a broader coalition pressing for educational reforms. As part of this effort, PREAL has begun a comparative study of private sector support for education in four Central American countries (Panama, Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua). PREAL Associate Antonio Sancho has made three extended visits to Central America to convene representative business leaders in each country to promote education reform. Groups have been set up in six countries (El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and the Dominican Republic). PREAL advised a group of national and multinational corporations on plans for a Latin American Basic Education Summit that took place on March 7 and 8 in Miami. The briefing book for that meeting was prepared by PREAL staff and is now being widely distributed.
- ▶ PREAL organized with the Inter-American Development Bank an eight-country program of exchanges and study tours with policy makers, decision makers, social actors, and teachers, designed to expose them to promising educational innovations throughout the region.

Foundation of the Americas

The Dialogue, in collaboration with the Inter-American Development Bank, helped launch the Foundation of the Americas, designed to build alliances for development

among civil society, governments, and corporations in Latin America. Former President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada of Bolivia serves as chair. With continued support from the Dialogue, the Foundation was able to make important institutional advances. In 2001, the Foundation recruited its first president, former Foreign Minister of Guatemala Eduardo Stein. In addition, it secured the necessary financing to begin operating as an independent organization and opened offices in Panama City. In 2002, the Foundation will initiate a modest program of pilot projects and will launch a major campaign to mobilize political support for the concept of the Foundation. It plans to raise a \$100 million endowment fund from multilateral organizations, private foundations, governments, and corporations.

Regional Political Issues

Summit of the Americas

- ▶ On April 25, the Dialogue hosted an informal roundtable discussion to explore what happened—and what did not—at the Third Summit of the Americas. Peter Hakim moderated the session that included Robert Devlin of the Inter-American Development Bank, Paulo Sotero of *O Estado de São Paulo*, José Miguel Vivanco of Human Rights Watch–Americas, Richard Feinberg, co-director of the Leadership Council for Inter-American Summitry and professor at the University of California, San Diego, Canadian Ambassador to the OAS Peter Boehm—who played a key role in organizing the Summit and coordinating civil society’s participation in it—and Scott Otteman and Joan Caivano of the Dialogue staff.

Response to September 11

- ▶ On September 24, the Dialogue convened a group of journalists to discuss the implications of the September 11 attacks for Latin America and U.S. policy towards

the region. The session focussed on the reactions of Latin American leaders to the attacks and the types of policies that would result. Journalists attended from the *Wall Street Journal*, *Miami Herald*, *Washington Times*, *Financial Times*, *El Universal*, *El Clarín*, *La Jornada*, and other media outlets.

- ▶ On October 12, the Dialogue hosted a breakfast session for the broader policy community to discuss the repercussions on Latin America and the Caribbean of the September 11 attacks. OAS Secretary General César Gaviria, IDB President Enrique Iglesias, and National Security Council Senior Advisor John Maisto led the discussion. They reviewed the reaction of Latin America's governments and citizens to the attacks, and explored how these terrorist incidents might affect U.S.-Latin American relations and the region's economic prospects. Regional fallout from the events of September 11 was also discussed at a Congressional Members Working Group dinner on October 3 that focussed on the economic and financial outlook for the hemisphere.
- ▶ The Dialogue organized a small dinner meeting at the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) to discuss the economic impact of September 11 on the region. Participants included IDB President Enrique Iglesias, NSC Advisor John Maisto, Joyce Chang of JP Morgan Chase, Moisés Naím of *Foreign Policy*, David de Ferranti of the World Bank, and Dialogue senior staff.
- ▶ At an off-the-record dinner meeting of the Dialogue's Board of Directors in November, former INS Commissioner Doris Meissner, Congressmen Jim Moran (D-VA) and Bill Delahunt (D-MA), and U.S. Ambassador to the OAS Roger Noriega shared their views on the impact of September 11 on U.S. relations in the hemisphere. Dialogue members who joined the Board discussion included

Peter Bell, Alejandro Foxley, Carla Hills, Sol Linowitz, Abe Lowenthal, Barbara McDougall, Mack McLarty, Roberto Murray-Meza, Moisés Naím, John Petty, Jesús Silva-Herzog, and Paula Stern.

Press Freedom in the Americas

- ▶ On January 21 and 22, the Dialogue organized the second in a series of three meetings on press freedom in the Americas. The Dialogue convened representatives from the press, government, non-governmental sectors to focus on five major issues: harassment and intimidation of the media; constitutional agenda and access to information; judiciary-press relations; training of journalists and role of ethics; and investigative reporting. A series of policy recommendations emerged that call for tougher and more enforceable laws to protect journalists; cooperation among the international and local press and human rights organizations to increase attention to crimes against journalists; improved training and standards of journalism; greater public debate about the role of journalists; the establishment of an ethical code for journalism by journalists, and not legislatures; and the development of laws—with input from journalists, judges, and lawyers—to secure the right to freedom of information. The third and final meeting of this first phase of the project will take place in April 2002, and result in a report reflecting concrete and practical recommendations for ways to improve the climate for press freedom in the Americas.

Participants in this initiative have included, from the press, *Chicago Tribune* publisher Jack Fuller, Chairman of Jamaica's Gleaner Publishing Company Oliver Clarke, journalists Horacio Verbitsky of Argentina, Paulo Sotero of Brazil, Cristiana Chamorro of Nicaragua, Gustavo Gorriti of Peru, and Karen DeYoung of the United States, among others; from government and multilateral institutions

**“ A series of
policy recommendations
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“Leading researchers shared findings of the first cross-country study on budget transparency and accountability.”

Special Rapporteur Santiago Canton from the OAS, Jorge Salazar from the Peruvian Truth Commission, Under-Secretary Carolina Toha of the Chilean ministry of government, and Ombudsman Walter Alban from Peru; and from human rights and other non-governmental organizations, José Miguel Vivanco from Human Rights Watch-Americas, Elizabeth Vargas from Fundación para la Libertad de Prensa in Colombia, Marylene Smeets from the Committee to Protect Journalists, John Dinges from Columbia University, and Claudio Grossman from American University, among others.

- ▶ In late May, the Dialogue’s Central America program organized—with PRODECA of the Embassy of Denmark—a conference in Tegucigalpa, Honduras at which 120 Central American media professionals discussed the challenges confronting journalism in the region. Participants exchanged ideas on the concentration of television ownership, new forms of state control, access to information, and media accountability. In the end, participants recommended establishing a commission on media and democracy in Central America and holding additional media dialogues at the national level. This last recommendation inspired the Dialogue’s July 30 meeting in Guatemala where Carlos Chamorro presented his study, *The Time for Media: Central American Journalism within the Democratization Agenda*, to key representatives of the media industry.
- ▶ On Capitol Hill, the Dialogue organized a special session on press freedom at the third steering committee meeting of its Inter-American Legislative Network that took place on October 16. Dialogue members and former presidents of the Inter-American Press Association Jack Fuller, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, and Oliver Clarke, chairman of the Gleaner publishing company in Jamaica, joined twelve members of the U.S. Con-

gress and thirteen legislators from throughout the Western Hemisphere who were in Washington for the steering committee meeting. Santiago Canton, OAS Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression, facilitated the session on press freedom. The group examined the relationship between the media and governments, highlighting the need for laws that ensure freedom of expression and access to information, as well as laws that penalize the publication of libel about legislators.

Budget Transparency

- ▶ On January 11, 2002, the Dialogue and the International Budget Project of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities co-hosted a presentation and discussion of an innovative study on budget transparency in Latin America. Several leading and independent researchers from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Mexico shared the main findings of the first collaborative, cross-country study ever undertaken by non-governmental and university-based groups in the region on questions of budget transparency and accountability.

Boundary Disputes

- ▶ On February 26, more than fifty diplomats, scholars, and U.S. government officials gathered at the Dialogue for an all-day meeting on contemporary boundary disputes in Latin America. OAS Assistant Secretary General Luigi Einaudi offered his insights on dispute resolution in the Americas in light of the reports presented. These reports, which analyzed the patterns and dynamics of contemporary interstate border disputes, included a study by David Mares on the significance of boundary disputes within the current democratic, economic, and social context of the Western Hemisphere; an analysis by the Dialogue’s Manuel Orozco of the various Central American border disputes; an examination by Francisco Rojas Aravena of the

successful resolution of the Chilean and Argentine border conflict; and a study by Andrés Serbin of the ongoing dispute between Venezuela and Guyana over the Essequibo territory. Among the recommendations that emerged from the meeting was to create a conflict resolution board in Central America that would help prevent new conflicts and mediate prevailing ones. The reports were published in the fall of 2001 in a special bilingual edition of the journal *Pensamiento Propio*, with an introduction by Jorge Domínguez, president of Harvard University’s Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

U.S. Policy in the Western Hemisphere

- ▶ On February 22, then vice president of the Council on Foreign Relations Paula Dobriansky—now the undersecretary of state for global affairs—co-sponsored with the Dialogue a discussion on U.S. foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere. Featured speakers included OAS Secretary General César Gaviria, the Heritage Foundation’s Dan Fisk, and Harvard University Professor Jorge Domínguez.
- ▶ On December 13, the Dialogue hosted a closed discussion on research being conducted by visiting scholar David Scott Palmer for a book on U.S. policy towards Latin America under the Clinton Administration. A presentation was given by Mack McLarty, former chief of staff and special envoy to the Americas for Clinton. Discussion included commentary by former National Security Council Advisor Arturo Valenzuela, former Peace Corps Director Mark Schneider, and former Clinton economic advisor Lael Brainard, among others.

Country and Sub-Regional Programs

Andean Region

- ▶ The Inter-American Dialogue joined with the Organization of American States and the Andean Development Corporation (CAF) to sponsor the fifth annual CAF Conference on Trade and Investment in the Americas on September 6. (Please see full entry under “CAF Conference on Trade and Investment in the Americas,” page 6.)
- ▶ On May 8, Senator Bob Graham (D-FL) and Rep. Robert Menendez (D-NJ) hosted the Congressional Members Working Group discussion on policy toward the Andean region and prospects for securing the Andean Trade Preference Act (ATPA). (Please see full entry under “Congress,” page 3.)

Bolivia

- ▶ On December 5, the Dialogue hosted Bolivian President Jorge Quiroga. He highlighted his country’s counter-drug initiatives and judicial and state reform efforts, but also stressed the need for greater trade liberalization to help Bolivia achieve more sustainable development.

Colombia

The Dialogue’s Colombia program has continued to focus on exploring how to achieve peace and security in the troubled Andean nation, with a special emphasis on the role that U.S. policy should play. Michael Shifter, the program’s director, speaks and writes widely on the issues.

- ▶ On June 29, the Dialogue organized the first meeting of its Colombia Working Group as part of a continuing effort to engage key opinion leaders from throughout the Americas and Europe to generate ideas for solving that country’s internal



Bolivian

President Jorge Quiroga

**stressed the need
for greater trade
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to help Bolivia
achieve sustainable
development.**





Senator Ingrid

Betancourt spoke about her efforts to combat the corrosive effects of corruption and drugs on the Colombian political system.



conflict. The group was comprised of diverse and high-level experts, including former Defense Minister and current Senator Rafael Pardo, political analyst Fernando Cepeda Ulloa, Oxford University Professor Malcolm Deas, former Salvadoran guerrilla leader Joaquín Villalobos, among others. Colombian Ambassador Luis Alberto Moreno gave some remarks at a luncheon session. Participants agreed on the need to address the confusion, misperception, and lack of consensus regarding both the factual and analytical views surrounding the situation in Colombia. On February 8 and 9, 2002, the Dialogue hosted the second meeting of the Colombia Working Group. The discussions focused on Pastrana's peace process; the role of the United Nations and international facilitation; the perspective of European countries and their role in assisting a peace effort; and the role of Latin American countries in helping to solve the conflict. The group was expanded to include a larger number of European and Latin American participants, including Swedish Ambassador to Colombia Olof Skoog, President of Fundación Futuro Latinoamericano Yolanda Kakabadse, advisor to the Peruvian ministry of the interior Carlos Basombrío, Brazilian analyst Monica Hirst, Venezuelan researcher Miriam Kornblith, among others. Participants discussed the Colombia situation and possible policy options during an informal lunch featuring Under-Secretary for Political Affairs Marc Grossman.

- ▶ The Dialogue hosted three candidates in Colombia's upcoming presidential elections. On May 24, the Dialogue organized a breakfast discussion with Liberal party leader and presidential candidate Horacio Serpa. He emphasized the need to strengthen the state in all of its dimensions: the military, administration of justice, economic management, and others. On November 15, Alvaro Uribe Velez, former senator, governor of Antioquia,

and mayor of Medellín, shared his agenda for dealing with the country's multiple problems of insecurity, unemployment, and corruption. He outlined the four principles guiding his agenda: authority within a democratic context, compliance with human rights, legitimization of the state, and social investment with results. On January 10, 2002, the Dialogue hosted former Senator Ingrid Betancourt, representing her own Oxygen Party in the presidential campaign. She spoke about her efforts to combat the corrosive effects of corruption and drugs on the Colombian political system, and the urgent need to recover democratic institutions, reform economic policy, and resolve the internal conflict in Colombia.

- ▶ On May 18, the Dialogue hosted a small, private meeting with Anders Kompass, chief of mission of the Colombia office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Kompass shared his thoughts on the situation in Colombia, with a special focus on the human rights question.
- ▶ On March 2, a select group of Afro-Colombian political and community leaders spoke at the Dialogue. Discussion focused on the impact that anti-drug policies have on the Afro-Colombian population. The leaders agreed on the need to search for an alternative policy that will encompass stronger social and economic development programs.
- ▶ On February 14, the Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group on Latin America met for a dinner exchange on Colombia and Mexico. The discussion focused in part on the upcoming decisions facing Congress regarding U.S. involvement in Colombia. (Please see full entry under "Congress," page 3.)
- ▶ On February 7, 2002, Joaquín Villalobos, former leader of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El

Salvador, focused on the continuing conflict and prospects for peace in Colombia. Villalobos, who has been at Oxford University for the past several years and writes a regular column for a newspaper in El Salvador, also led a general discussion about the political situation in Latin America.

Ecuador

- ▶ Together with the Ecuador-U.S. Business Council and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Dialogue hosted Foreign Minister Heinz Moeller of Ecuador on February 28 for a luncheon meeting. Moeller's remarks focused on Ecuador's current financial state and the political situation in the Andes.

Peru

- ▶ On February 20, the Dialogue welcomed Peru's Minister of Justice and Dialogue member Diego García-Sayán to discuss investigations of corruption under the Fujimori regime. García-Sayán talked about judicial reform and the prospects for a truth commission.
- ▶ On February 26, the Dialogue hosted a breakfast discussion with former ombudsman and Peruvian presidential candidate Jorge Santistevan. Almost a year later, on January 24, 2002, the Dialogue again hosted Santistevan, who discussed the challenges throughout Latin America related to advancing human rights and democracy and dealing with the military. He also commented on the current political situation in Peru, six months into the Toledo administration.
- ▶ On April 11, the Dialogue hosted a roundtable discussion on the April 8 Peruvian presidential elections. Michael Shifter analyzed the effects of Alan García's return to the Peruvian political scene and offered his predictions for the runoff elections between Toledo and García scheduled for late May.

Venezuela

- ▶ On February 12, 2002, the Dialogue hosted Jorge Valero, Venezuelan ambassador to the Organization of American States. Mark Falcoff of the American Enterprise Institute and the Dialogue's Michael Shifter served as commentators. Valero argued that government initiatives in Venezuela have emerged from a process of national debate and are being implemented within a democratic framework. The discussants pointed to President Chávez's lack of respect for the opposition and questioned whether the polarizing effect of his leadership style would not undermine governance over the long term.
- ▶ On March 5, Former Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez discussed Venezuela's political situation. He urged the Organization of American States to help to restore democratic processes.

Central America

- ▶ In late May, the Dialogue organized a two-day conference in Tegucigalpa, Honduras on media and democracy. (Please see full entry under "Press Freedom in the Americas," page 12.)
- ▶ On September 5, the Dialogue hosted the concluding breakfast discussion of the Central America 2020 project, a joint study of the Inter-American Dialogue, Florida International University, and Germany's Institute of Ibero-American Studies. The project assesses the issues and policy choices confronting Central America in the coming years. Presentations were made by Pablo Rodas-Martini of Guatemala, an independent consultant, Charles Call of Brown University, and Manuel Orozco of the Dialogue.
- ▶ On February 15, the Dialogue, in association with the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute and the Council on Foreign Relations, co-

“ The discussants pointed to President Chávez's lack of respect for the opposition and questioned whether the polarizing effect of his leadership style would not undermine governance over the long term. ”

“ **Presidential candidate Ricardo Maduro of Honduras argued that increasing public security is a prerequisite for progress.** ”

sponsored a meeting on the role of Latinos in foreign policy and the national interest. The meeting brought together a select group of leaders from the foreign policy and Latino communities to discuss the relevance of diversity in foreign policy making and ideas to advance Latinos in foreign policy.

- ▶ In May, the Dialogue and the Inter-American Development Bank organized a conference on remittances as a development tool. Discussion focused on transaction costs, the role of hometown associations as agents of development, and the increased levels of competition in the remittance industry. Over 200 participants gathered to hear presentations by leading business executives, academics, and NGO representatives.
- ▶ On November 28, the Congressional Members Working Group met for a breakfast briefing on the humanitarian crisis in Central America. Senators Mike DeWine (R-OH) and Chris Dodd (D-CT), and Congressmen Steve Horn (R-CA), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), and Jim Moran (D-VA) reviewed current and possible future development programs with a range of aid experts from Central American and U.S. private and public entities. (Please see full entry under “Congress,” page 4.)
- ▶ On March 1, the Dialogue co-sponsored a discussion with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace on the current state of affairs in El Salvador. President Francisco Flores of El Salvador along with Foreign Minister María Eugenia Brizuela and director of emergency relief efforts Roberto Murray-Meza led off a wide-ranging exchange on the country’s response to the recent earthquakes, the prospects for dollarization, and recent political developments.
- ▶ The Dialogue sponsored two events focusing on Guatemala in 2001. Representatives of Guatemalan business inter-

ests hosted a breakfast discussion at the Dialogue on July 10. Among the participants were former Guatemalan Ambassador Pedro Miguel Lamport Kelsall; president of the Guatemalan business interest group CACIF Mario Montano; Dialogue member Richard Aitkenhead; and Guatemalan business leaders Marcio Cuevas and William Stixtrud. The Dialogue held a roundtable breakfast discussion on February 22 for Edgar Gutierrez, secretary general of the newly commissioned Office of Strategic Affairs in Guatemala, to present his objectives for the new office.

- ▶ On March 22, the Dialogue hosted then presidential candidate and now President Ricardo Maduro of Honduras for a roundtable discussion. In light of setbacks caused by Hurricane Mitch, Maduro called for building an innovative agenda that promotes future progress. The candidate argued that increasing public security is a prerequisite for such progress, and acknowledged the need for cooperation with the United States to achieve his goals.
- ▶ On July 24, the Dialogue hosted a breakfast discussion with Rafael Pineda Ponce, Liberal Party presidential candidate of Honduras. As a former teacher in rural areas, Pineda made clear that his first priority if elected president would be to improve and expand education, as the first step in addressing poverty, crime and other challenges confronting the nation.
- ▶ Enrique Bolaños, then Liberal Party candidate and current president of Nicaragua, spoke at a Dialogue breakfast on July 23. A former businessman and vice-president during the Alemán Administration, Bolaños said that as president he would seek to reform the judicial system, electoral system, and the comptroller’s office. He also spoke of the challenges posed by Nicaragua’s desperately high debt per export ratio and its status as a Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC).

- ▶ On August 15, the Dialogue hosted a roundtable discussion with Samuel Santos, the FSLN's international relations director and a close political advisor to Nicaraguan presidential candidate Daniel Ortega. After eleven years in the opposition, Santos explained, the FSLN has matured into a fully democratic political party that accepts the mainstream fundamentals of the new global economy.
- ▶ On May 11, George Vickers of the Washington Office on Latin America and the Dialogue's Manuel Orozco analyzed the Nicaraguan presidential elections at a breakfast roundtable. On October 29, less than a week before the November 4 elections, the Dialogue hosted another roundtable discussion to assess the pre-election atmosphere with Mark Falcoff of the American Enterprise Institute and Manuel Orozco.

Southern Cone

- ▶ The Congressional Members Working Group devoted its October 3 dinner discussion to the economic and financial outlook for the hemisphere with a focus on Argentina and Brazil. CMWG co-chair Jim Moran (D-VA) moderated the session, which included a half dozen members of Congress, Enrique Iglesias, Joyce Chang, David de Ferranti, Michael Gavin, Carla Hills, Claudio Loser, Curt Struble, and Regina Vargo. (Please see full entry under "Congress," page 3.)

Argentina

The Dialogue has paid special attention to Argentina, holding four meetings on topics specific to Argentina's crisis, including a Congressional Member's Working Group dinner discussion in October with representatives of several international financial institutions and members of a congressional delegation that visited Argentina, Brazil, and Chile during summer recess. In addition, the *Latin America Advisor* has launched

a periodic feature called "Argentina Watch," which covers the latest headlines on the country's struggle to survive its economic crisis. The emphasis has continued this year.

- ▶ On December 13, the Dialogue, in conjunction with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, held a discussion on the state of the Argentine economy. Joyce Chang of JP Morgan Chase, Jane Eddy of Standard and Poor's, Michael Gavin of UBS Warburg, and David Rolley of Loomis Sayles & Company spoke to the end of the convertibility regime, policymakers' lack of options, and the political consequences of the Argentina crisis.
- ▶ Argentina's finance secretary Daniel Marx joined IDB chief economist Guillermo Calvo and Michael Gavin of UBS Warburg for a panel discussion on June 29. Marx was in Washington promoting Argentina's fiscal plans with multilateral lenders and other officials.
- ▶ On April 16, the Dialogue hosted a luncheon discussion to address recent economic and political developments in Argentina. American Enterprise Institute's Mark Falcoff, Michael Gavin, and Argentine Ambassador Guillermo Enrique González discussed the weakness of Alianza, the coalition government led by then President De la Rúa, and its effects on the country's economic prospects, as well as the impending risks of competitiveness crisis, debt default, and currency devaluation.
- ▶ The Dialogue hosted a press roundtable on August 22 to exchange views on Argentina's economic turmoil and potential contagion effects. Other topics discussed were trade promotion authority, Cuba, aid to Colombia, and Bush Administration appointments.
- ▶ On August 14, Dialogue staff met in closed session with then Buenos Aires Senator now President of Argentina

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“ According
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complex negotiation
process. ”

Eduardo Duhalde and his economic advisor Jorge Remes Lenicov, who has become Argentina's minister of economy.

- ▶ On January 14, 2002, the Dialogue hosted a luncheon discussion with Alberto Ades of Goldman Sachs, Roberto Bouzas of the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), and Claudio Loser of International Monetary Fund to discuss political and economic challenges confronting Argentina, and the country's prospects in the coming year.

Brazil

- ▶ On March 1, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Brookings Institution, and the Inter-American Dialogue hosted a roundtable discussion with Celso Lafer, Brazil's minister of foreign affairs. Addressing an audience of 120 business, academic, and policy leaders from the United States and Latin America, Lafer discussed developments in U.S.-Brazil relations, focusing on the challenges around the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA). According to Lafer, who was in Washington in anticipation of President Cardoso's visit on March 26, Brazil and the United States face a long and complex negotiation process ahead, and the Brazilian government remains committed to the process.
- ▶ On March 20, the Dialogue, again with Carnegie and Brookings, followed up Foreign Minister Lafer's visit with a roundtable discussion on Brazil. Brazilian Ambassador Rubens Barbosa, Albert Fishlow of Violy, Byorum & Partners, and Paulo Sotero of *O Estado de Sao Paulo* discussed the current economic and political situation in Brazil and the significance of President Cardoso's visit to Washington. Among the topics addressed were U.S.-Brazil relations preceding possible FTAA negotiations, a divided business sector in Brazil, and the possibility of FTAA increasing Brazil's exports.

- ▶ On January 24, 2002, the Dialogue sponsored a breakfast discussion with economists Albert Fishlow of Violy Byorum & Partners, Paulo Vieira da Cunha of Lehman Brothers, and John Welch of Barclays Capital. The exchange centered on Brazil's positive economic outlook for 2002 and its solid performance over the past year. The panelists also shared their thoughts on the likely victory of PSDB candidate José Serra in the October 2002 presidential election.

- ▶ On January 31, 2002, the Dialogue hosted a luncheon discussion with Sergio Amaral, Brazilian minister of development, industry and commerce. Amaral reviewed Brazil's economic achievements over the past decade and shared his views on the problems and challenges that lie ahead. Amaral discussed the obstacles the country faces in improving export performance—rich countries' protectionism in sectors like steel and agriculture, as well as Brazil's burdensome tax system and high interest rates.

Chile

- ▶ On January 5, the Dialogue welcomed Chilean Deputy Foreign Minister Heraldo Muñoz, who spoke on Chile's international priorities and how that country plans to secure them. Muñoz discussed both the challenges and opportunities of negotiating a free trade pact with the United States, including issues of particular concern to the United States, such as environmental and labor requirements.
- ▶ Chilean Foreign Minister Soledad Alvear spoke at the Dialogue on February 27 on Chile's free trade negotiations with the United States, and other foreign policy goals and priorities.
- ▶ On May 23, the Dialogue held a roundtable discussion on U.S.-Chile free trade negotiations with Chilean Senator and former Finance Minister Alejandro Fox-

ley and Chilean business leader and former Senator Sebastián Piñera.

Cuba

Over the past two years, the Dialogue has been working to create an economic policy dialogue between staff of the international financial institutions (IFIs) and Cuban economic officials and analysts.

- ▶ In January, the Dialogue brought several IFI and private sector economists to the Third Annual Globalization and Development meeting in Havana, Cuba. The delegation included Guillermo Perry, World Bank chief economist for Latin America, Andrés Solimano, former World Bank country director, and Michael Gavin, director of economic and financial research at UBS Warburg. The economists presented the World Bank publication, *Securing Our Future in the Global Economy*. The group also participated in a lengthy conversation with Cuban President Fidel Castro, Vice President Carlos Lage, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Felipe Perez Roque.
- ▶ In February 2002, the Dialogue again arranged for a group of World Bank economists to participate in the Fourth Annual Globalization and Development meeting in Havana. The Dialogue delegation consisted of three World Bank economists—Guillermo Perry, Ian Goldin, director of development policy, and senior economist Luiz Pereira da Silva—along with former Dialogue senior fellow Ana Julia Jatar, now at Harvard University. The group led a four-hour plenary session on the World Bank report, “Globalization, Growth and Poverty: Building an Inclusive World Economy,” with an audience of approximately 1,000, including Cuban President Fidel Castro. The Dialogue delegation also met with Cuban Vice President Carlos Lage, Central Bank President Francisco Soberón, and Economy Minister José Luis Rodríguez.

- ▶ Cuban Central Bank Vice President Sergio Plasencia participated in the March and November meetings of the Annual Latin American Network of Central Banks and Finance Ministries at the Inter-American Development Bank. Cuba’s initial participation in this network in October 2000 was arranged by the Dialogue, and Cuba has since continued as a regular member of the group.

- ▶ On January 16, 2002, the Dialogue’s Cuba project and legislative programs cooperated with the offices of Representatives George Nethercutt (R-WA) and Jim McGovern (D-MA) to organize a luncheon for Congressional staff on Capitol Hill featuring Jorge Domínguez, director of Harvard University’s Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Domínguez briefed members and staff on the current state of the Cuban economy, the Cuban political system, and U.S.-Cuba cooperative relations.

- ▶ Later that evening, the Dialogue arranged for Jorge Domínguez to lead a dinner discussion on the Cuban economy and Cuba’s foreign relations with officials from the international financial institutions, hosted by Enrique Iglesias at the Inter-American Development Bank. Guests included senior officials from the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, Inter-American Development Bank, former U.S. government officials, and economists from Washington policy centers.

Mexico

- ▶ Integrating North America, a joint project of institutions from the three NAFTA countries, was launched on December 6 and 7 at the Brookings Institution. The co-sponsoring organizations are Brookings, Inter-American Dialogue, and National Policy Association from the United States; Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales and ITAM from Mexico; Public Policy Forum, Conference

“ The Dialogue

has been working to
create an economic
policy dialogue between
the international
financial institutions
and Cuban economic
officials. ”



Mexican

President Vicente Fox

addressed a luncheon,

introduced by Reps. Jim

Kolbe (R-AZ) and Silvestre

Reyes (D-TX).



Board of Canada, and the Policy Research Initiative from Canada. This workshop, the first event in an ongoing program, explored the multiple, long-run challenges that will confront the three governments of North America if they choose to further integrate their economies and societies. The two-day session sought to (1) enhance the policy community's understanding of the promise, possible perils, and political constraints associated with strengthening and institutionalizing links between Mexico, the United States, and Canada, and (2) provide a stronger conceptual foundation for such deeper integration. Approximately 60 private and public sector experts from Mexico, Canada, and the United States participated.

- ▶ Mexican President Vicente Fox addressed a September 7 luncheon gathering of approximately 200 people co-sponsored by the Dialogue, Brookings Institution, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Heritage Foundation, Institute for International Economics, Institute for Policy Studies, and Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Fox was introduced by Representatives Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) and Silvestre Reyes (D-TX).
- ▶ On January 30, the Dialogue joined the Carnegie Endowment and Brookings Institution to host an informal discussion led by Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castañeda on the direction of foreign policy under President Vicente Fox.
- ▶ On February 15, the Dialogue hosted a press roundtable discussion on President Bush's trip to Mexico with opening commentary by visiting senior fellow Jorge Domínguez, Michael Shifter, and Peter Hakim.
- ▶ The Dialogue sponsored a breakfast discussion with the chief of Mexico's National Security Council Adolfo Aguilar Zinser on November 20. Zinser discussed coordination and cooperation efforts between Mexico and the United States regarding security in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks. The national security advisor addressed issues including border safety, police reform, terrorism, and drug trafficking.
- ▶ Rafael Fernández de Castro of Mexico's Technological Institute (ITAM) and Sidney Weintraub of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) led a June 26 discussion of U.S.-Mexico relations. The two leading policy analysts exchanged views with roundtable participants on how U.S.-Mexico relations had evolved since George Bush and Vicente Fox took office.
- ▶ On September 10, the Dialogue joined with the Mexican Cultural Institute to sponsor a roundtable discussion on Latin America's role in the world and how the world views the region. Contributors to the new magazine *Foreign Affairs en Español's* Fall-Winter 2001 issue, including Rafael Fernández de Castro of ITAM, Claudio Grossman of American University, and Sidney Weintraub of CSIS, led the discussion. *Foreign Affairs en Español* was created in January 2001 by ITAM and the Council on Foreign Relations.
- ▶ On February 14, the Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group on Latin America met for a dinner exchange on Colombia and Mexico. The discussion focused, in part, on President Bush's trip to Mexico and the growing importance of U.S.-Mexico policy. (Please see full entry under "Congress," page 3.)
- ▶ On October 31, members of the Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group on Latin America met for a dinner discussion with Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, chief of Mexico's National Security Council, and Mexican Ambassador to the United States Juan José Bremer. (Please see full entry under "Congress," page 4.)

- ▶ On January 10, 2002, Mexico's Foreign Minister Jorge Castañeda spoke on President Fox's foreign policy agenda at a session hosted by the Dialogue and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Among the topics discussed were the fate of Mexican immigrants in the United States and the Mexican government's efforts to strengthen its links to and participation in multilateral institutions.
- ▶ On January 15, 2002, the Dialogue hosted a meeting with financial analyst Jorge Mariscal and political commentator Luis Rubio to assess Mexican President Vicente Fox's first year in office and the future of his administration. Mariscal emphasized that Mexico had maintained economic stability during a difficult political transition, but that the recent fiscal reform was delayed and of poor quality. Rubio argued that, despite the major changes in the PRI's political control, much of the old political structure is still in place.

Publications

Women's Leadership

Women and Power in the Americas: A Report Card

Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas
April 2001

Advancing Women's Rights in the Americas: Achievements and Challenges

Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas for The Leadership Council for Inter-American Summitry
April 2001

Trade and Finance

The Role of the Multilateral Development Banks in Emerging Market Economies

Inter-American Dialogue, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and EMP Financial Advisors
April 2001

Washington Contentious: Economic Policies for Social Equity in Latin America

Published by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Inter-American Dialogue
March 2001
(Available in Spanish)

Breaking the Labor-Trade Deadlock

A Joint Publication of the Trade Policy Group of the Inter-American Dialogue and Economic Reform Project of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
February 2001

Andean Development Corporation IV Annual Conference: Trade and Investment in the Americas

Organization of American States, Andean Development Corporation, Inter-American Dialogue
September 2001

Central America

El Turno de los Medios: El Periodismo Centroamericano frente a la Agenda de la Democratización

Carlos F. Chamorro with Alberto Arene
Inter-American Dialogue and PRODECA
June 2001

The following books were published as part of the Central America 2020 program series, by the U.S. Agency for International Development, Commission of the European Union, Florida International University, Institute of Ibero-American Studies, and the Inter-American Dialogue.

Towards a New Regional Development Model

Victor Bulmer Thomas/ A. Douglas Kincaid
(Also available in Spanish)

Para Afrontar con Éxito la Globalización del Siglo XXI

Pablo Rodas-Martini

The Dynamics of Sectoral Growth in Central America: Recent Trends and Prospects for 2020

Clarence Zuvekas, Jr.

La Integración Regional y Los Desafíos de Sus Relaciones Externas

Luis Guillermo Solís Rivera

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Marcos Marques de Oliveira
February 2001

FINANCIAL REPORT

Statement of Financial Position 2001 and 2000

	2001*	2000
Assets:		
Cash and cash equivalents	2,482,035	1,385,771
Accounts receivable	228,280	81,657
Grants receivable—current	433,403	1,279,294
Investments	4,115,161	4,247,134
Other	26,835	10,891
Grants receivable—noncurrent		51,333
Property and Equipment	80,933	89,061
Deposits	13,591	13,951
TOTAL ASSETS	7,380,238	7,158,732
Liabilities:		
Accounts payable	48,746	40,999
Accrued expenses	65,834	54,841
Refundable advances	36,533	180,153
Total Liabilities	151,113	275,992
Net Assets:		
Board designated endowment funds	456,644	416,709
Unrestricted	498,685	457,096
Temporarily restricted	2,274,009	2,178,509
Permanently restricted endowment funds	3,999,787	3,830,425
Total Net Assets	7,229,125	6,882,739
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS	7,380,238	7,158,731

**2001 figures are preliminary and unaudited*

Statement of Activities 2001

	2001*
Revenue:	
Foundations	1,137,148
Corporations	379,521
Governments	712,082
International Organizations	443,664
Collaborating Institutions	53,024
Individuals	61,190
Interest/Royalties	72,030
Total Operating Revenue	2,858,660
Pass-throughs	948,211
TOTAL REVENUE	3,806,871
Expenses	
Program Services:	
Policy programs	1,181,545
Country studies	422,769
Networks	263,412
Sol M. Linowitz Forum	27,135
Outreach and communications	61,828
Corporate programs	104,137
Subgrants	948,211
Support Services	
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Fundraising	94,960
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TOTAL EXPENSES	3,769,661

**2001 figures are preliminary and unaudited*

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