

2003



Program Report

INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE ■ 2003 PROGRAM REPORT

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SUMMARY AND HIGHLIGHTS

2003 marked the return of former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso to the Inter-American Dialogue, joining as co-chair of the Board of Directors on January 1, 2003. The Inter-American Dialogue is a Washington-based forum that brings together private and public leaders to find solutions to the most important issues in Western Hemisphere affairs. As co-chair, President Cardoso is working to establish substantial continuing partnerships with a range of civil society groups, international organizations, leading corporations and financial institutions that are committed to democratic advance, economic development, and social equity throughout the Americas.

Other highlights from 2003 were:

In February, the Dialogue released *The Troubled Americas*, the 12th comprehensive policy report resulting from the 2002 meeting of the Sol. M Linowitz Forum. Dialogue co-chairs Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Peter Bell joined Board member Lourdes Flores Nano and Peter Hakim on Capitol Hill to release the Dialogue's biennial assessment of hemispheric affairs with its recommendations for policy and action.

In November, the Dialogue held a conference on democracy and leadership challenges in Latin America that featured former presidents Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil and Jorge Quiroga of Bolivia, and novelist Mario Vargas Llosa of Peru. Jessica Mathews, president of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, renowned journalist Gustavo Gorriti of Peru, and former guerrilla leader Joaquín Villalobos of El Salvador joined them to discuss challenges to institutionalizing democracy in the Western Hemisphere.

The Dialogue provided a forum for presidents and presidential candidates in 2003, including President Lucio Gutiérrez of Ecuador, and presidential candidates Martin

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Torrijos of Panama and Héctor Silva of El Salvador.

In September, the Dialogue hosted the 7th annual Andean Development Corporation (CAF) Conference, which included analysis of the political and economic situation and debate on the effects of U.S. foreign policy toward the Andes. Featured speakers included Prime Minister Beatriz Merino of Peru, Defense Minister Marta Lucía Ramírez of Colombia, former finance minister José Ángel Gurría of Mexico, and several U.S. members of Congress, among others.

The Dialogue's Task Force on Remittances launched in December *All in the Family*. The recommendations of the task force, composed of 15 leaders from the United States, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, reverberated in the press throughout the hemisphere. Articles appeared in *The Washington Post*, local papers throughout Central America, in Argentina, Mexico, Colombia, South Africa, and elsewhere.

In March, the Dialogue held a day-long workshop to explore ideas for resolving Haiti's humanitarian crisis and promoting long-term political and economic development. In December, the Dialogue organized a second conference, focusing attention on proposals for poverty reduction and resolving Haiti's development challenges.

PREAL and its Colombian partners—the Fundación Corona and Corpoeducación—launched the first report card on education in Colombia in September. The next month, PREAL's Task Force on Education Reform in Central America launched its first education report card.

The Dialogue organized a conference on press freedom on Capitol Hill, chaired by Congressman James Leach (R-IA) and featuring Philip Bennett of *The Washington Post*, noted journalist Gustavo Gorriti of Peru, and representatives from the OAS, Committee to Protect Journalists, and

Freedom House. The Dialogue also released, in English and Spanish, *Access to Information in the Americas*, a report containing the findings and recommendations that emerged from its December 2002 meeting in Buenos Aires.

The Inter-American Dialogue held the fourth and fifth meetings of the Colombia Working Group in April and November. The working group is part of a long-term effort to engage leading policy makers from throughout the Americas and Europe on the Colombia question. A series of published working papers issued from the meetings.

The Group of Fifty (G-50), co-sponsored by the Dialogue with Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, held its tenth annual meeting in Washington, D.C. and Keswick, Virginia. Members and guests explored key security, economic and political issues affecting members, their companies, Latin America, and the world.

The *Latin America Advisor*, central to the Dialogue's efforts to engage the corporate sector, is a daily newsletter that provides CEOs and other top executives with summary news and expert analysis on major political and financial developments in the Western Hemisphere. To supplement this effort, the Dialogue's corporate program produced a series of private briefings and teleconferences on issues of concern to companies doing business in Latin America. Executives at AES, Colgate Palmolive, Coudert Brothers, Federal-Mogul, Grupo Domos, Pearson, Norfolk Southern, Quisqueyana, Transamerica Re, among others, brought their companies into Corporate Circle membership for the first time. They regularly participate in Dialogue events with our more than 300 Associate members.

In 2003, staff published articles in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Financial Times*, *The Miami Herald*, *Current*

History, The National Interest, Brown Journal of World Affairs, and numerous periodicals and journals in the region.

Dialogue staff regularly appeared on television and radio, including BBC Radio, CNN, CNN en Español, ITN, Voice of America, CBS Radio, NPR, Bloomberg Television, TV Azteca, Globovisión, Univisión, Telemundo, as well as other U.S. and Latin American stations.

Staff testified before the House Committee on Financial Services and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus on remittances.

Linowitz Forum

President Cardoso Assumes Chair

Board member Mack McLarty and his wife Donna hosted a dinner in honor of the Dialogue's new co-chair, former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil on February 27. Cardoso was elected as co-chair in the November 2002 meeting of the Dialogue's Board; he began his term on January 1, 2003. Other Dialogue members attending were U.S. co-chair Peter Bell, Lourdes Flores Nano, Abraham Lowenthal, Cresencio Arcos, Roberto Baquerizo, José Octavio Bordón, Richard Fisher, Enrique Iglesias, Doris Meissner, and Paula Stern. Peter Hakim welcomed Cardoso to the Board of the institution he helped found over 20 years ago; President Cardoso reaffirmed his commitment to the Dialogue and its mission.

Linowitz Forum Report Release

On February 28, Dialogue co-chairs Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Peter Bell joined Board member Lourdes Flores Nano and Peter Hakim on Capitol Hill to release the Dialogue's 12th comprehensive policy report, *The Troubled Americas*. Emerging from the proceedings of the Sol M. Linowitz Forum—the biennial meeting of the Dialogue's members—*The Troubled Americas*

calls on the United States to join forces with Latin American nations to find solutions to the deep-seated crises in the region. *The Troubled Americas* offers an in-depth analysis of Latin America's dispirited politics and prolonged economic distress but discounts the prospect of a regional backlash against market economics.

In his remarks, Fernando Henrique Cardoso called for the creation of a global governance system to consolidate democratic gains and stave off international crises. Stronger multilateral institutions would help Latin American countries struggling to implement tough political and economic reforms prescribed by Washington and multilateral organizations. Cardoso noted the U.S. failure to fully address problems in Latin America since the September 11 terrorist attacks. According to the Dialogue's report, while the Bush administration has made real and dramatic strides in advancing a trade agenda, it has shown a distinct lack of interest in the political problems in the region.

Trade, Finance and Economic Policy

CAF Conference on Trade and Investment in the Americas

On September 10 and 11, the Dialogue, together with the Andean Development Corporation (CAF) and the Organization of American States (OAS), hosted the seventh annual CAF Conference on Trade and Investment in the Americas. This year's conference—which took place on Capitol Hill—began with an analysis of the current political and economic situation in Latin America. CAF President Enrique García opened the conference with Senator Norman Coleman (R-MN). Coleman acknowledged that U.S. foreign policy changed dramatically after September 11, 2001, focusing greater attention on countries like Afghanistan and Iraq. But, he added, even in times of crisis, the United States must maintain a strong commitment to working with Latin America.

“The Bush administration has made dramatic strides in advancing a trade agenda, but has shown a distinct lack of interest in the political problems in the region.”

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Panelists included former finance minister José Ángel Gurría of Mexico, CAF Vice President Fidel Jaramillo, UN Ambassador Heraldo Muñoz of Chile, Tal Cual newspaper editor Teodoro Petkoff of Venezuela, and former president Jorge Fernando Quiroga of Bolivia. Ambassador Jaime Aparicio of Bolivia hosted an opening dinner at which IDB President Enrique Iglesias spoke. U.S. Representatives Cal Dooley (D-CA) and Katherine Harris (R-FL) opened the September 11 sessions along with Enrique García and OAS Secretary General César Gaviria.

Panelists were generally optimistic about Colombia and the governing style of President Álvaro Uribe. Colombian Defense Minister Marta Lucía Ramírez pointed out that the Uribe government has made democratic security its priority. This has meant not only increasing the presence of the government in rural areas, but also strengthening the judicial system and lowering impunity. In a keynote lunch address, Prime Minister Beatriz Merino laid out Peru's political and economic challenges and opportunities. She articulated the potential benefits of a free trade agreement between the United States and Peru that would lead to higher levels of production, attract new foreign investment, and create more jobs for Peruvians.

The IMF in the Western Hemisphere

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Latin America project was formally launched in June 2003, under the direction of Claudio Loser, Dialogue senior fellow and former IMF Western Hemisphere director. The project studies the relationship between the IMF and Latin America over the past eight years, reviewing IMF involvement and the economic, social, and political outcomes of their programs. The goal is to produce an assessment of the impact of IMF programs and develop a set of policy recommendations for individual countries and the IMF. The research focuses on Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia and Argentina.

During the summer, the Dialogue hosted brainstorming meetings in Washington, DC and New York with key figures, including IMF Western Hemisphere Director-designate Anoop Singh, Citigroup President Stanley Fischer, and former president Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico, among others.

Project participants traveled to Brazil in October for discussions with former Central Bank governor and Dialogue member Armínio Fraga, economist Ilan Goldfajn, Dialogue Board member Roberto Teixeira da Costa, and Getúlio Vargas Foundation director Carlos Langoni. Also in October, the first country study was launched in Colombia, hosted by former economy minister Juan Manuel Santos. The visit included a public session on Colombia and the IMF, and interviews with the press, labor unions members, IMF and government critics, and private sector representatives. Discussion surrounded the political costs, consequences and value of IMF programs. Country-study trips to Brazil and Ecuador are planned for January and February 2004.

- ▶ The Inter-American Dialogue hosted a discussion with Claudio Loser on March 6 in Washington and on May 7 at Deutsche Bank in New York. The meetings explored IMF performance in times of crisis, evaluated the Fund's effectiveness in helping to avert and respond to crises, and reviewed the record of IMF programs in Latin America.
- ▶ On June 30, the Dialogue hosted a private discussion on Argentina with Anoop Singh, Western Hemisphere director for the IMF. Participants assessed the central challenges facing Argentina; explored what the new Kirchner government should do about them; and suggested how the international community can and should help.
- ▶ On November 6, the Inter-American Dialogue and the Center for Global Development hosted a roundtable discussion on the role of fiscal adjustment

in IMF-supported programs. Marcelo Selowsky, assistant director of the IMF's Independent Evaluation Office (IEO) presented the findings and recommendations of a recent IEO report examining the impact of more than a hundred IMF fiscal adjustment programs around the world.

Other Policy Exchanges on Trade, Finance and Economic Policy

- ▶ A free trade agreement between the United States and Central America's small economies is essential to the region's development, Nicaraguan Economy Minister Mario Arana said at a February 12 Dialogue meeting. Arana said Nicaragua must also take advantage of a recently signed, three-year loan agreement with IMF to improve macro-economic stability and reduce poverty.
- ▶ On November 13, the Dialogue hosted a discussion with the Honduran ministers of trade, Norman García, agriculture, Mariano Jiménez, and the environment, Patricia Panting, on the prospects for a Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA). They emphasized the need for a development fund to accompany any agreement, in order to accommodate the asymmetries between the economies of the United States and the Central American nations.
- ▶ On December 17, the Dialogue hosted Department of Homeland Security's Director of International Affairs Cresencio Arcos as well as Shanker Singham of Steel, Hector & Davis and George Weise, former U.S. Customs Commissioner, for a discussion on new homeland security regulations and their implications for hemispheric trade.
- ▶ On May 30, the Dialogue held a small meeting to discuss harmonizing macro-economic policies in the hemisphere in preparation for the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). Participants included Robert Devlin and José Luis Machinea of the Inter-American Development Bank, Senator and Dialogue Board member Alejandro Foxley of Chile, Javier Tizado of Strat Consulting, and Sydney Weintraub of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).
- ▶ On October 31, the Dialogue hosted Ross Wilson, chief U.S. negotiator for the FTAA. Wilson stressed the continued U.S. drive for an agreement including tariffs, services, investment, government procurement, and intellectual property, and to establish a common economic climate for the hemisphere. Senator Bob Graham (D-FL) argued that agriculture negotiations should proceed on a global basis.
- ▶ The Inter-American Dialogue's Trade Policy Group met four times throughout the year, discussing the Caribbean and the FTAA, agricultural negotiations, a Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), U.S.-Brazil trade relations, and the outcome of the Miami trade ministerial meeting. The February 6 meeting of the Dialogue's Trade Policy Group featured Richard Bernal, director general of the Caribbean Regional Negotiating Machinery, who led a discussion on Caribbean negotiating priorities for the FTAA.
- ▶ On April 22, the Dialogue's Trade Policy Group met to address the question of agricultural negotiations as part of the FTAA. The discussion was led by Dale Hathaway of the National Center for Food and Agricultural Policy, Gary Hufbauer of the Institute for International Economics, and Sherman Robinson of the International Food Policy Research Institute.
- ▶ On July 24, the Trade Policy Group met again to discuss recent progress in trade

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““ **Remittances**
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negotiations within the region. The group focused on the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) and the status of U.S.-Brazil trade relations following President Lula’s June visit with President Bush. The discussion was led by Ambassador Rubens Barbosa, Isaac Cohen, consultant to the Guatemalan government, and Andrea Gash Durkin, director for Central America at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

- ▶ The Dialogue’s trade policy group met on December 1st to discuss the outcome of the Miami ministerial meeting on the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). Participants concurred that there was broad agreement in Miami between the United States and Brazil to avoid difficult issues and to keep negotiating and moving forward in other areas.
 - ▶ On August 5, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Inter-American Dialogue held a roundtable discussion on the IDB’s newly published report on hemispheric trade and integration—*Beyond Borders: the New Regionalism in Latin America*. Featured speakers included Guillermo Calvo, chief economist at the IDB, Robert Devlin, deputy manager of the Integration and Regional Programs Department at the IDB, and Sidney Weintraub, director of the Americas Program at CSIS.
 - ▶ Hosted by Reps. Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), Xavier Becerra (D-CA), and William Jefferson (D-LA), the Dialogue’s Congressional Members Working Group met over dinner on May 14 to discuss free trade. (See page x for full entry.)
 - ▶ An article by Peter Hakim, “It’s up to U.S. whether FTAA moves forward,” was published in the *Miami Herald* on November 16, 2003.
- ### Remittances
- In December, the Dialogue’s Task Force on Remittances launched *All in the Family*, featuring key recommendations for policymakers in the United States and Latin America. The report argues that remittances not only pump tens of billions of dollars into growth-producing activities each year, but also address the region’s most dangerous problem—the vast wealth and income inequalities that are a central cause of political instability. Its strongest recommendation to governments is to “do no harm” when dealing with remittances. The report urges policymakers in the United States and Latin America to encourage banks and other financial institutions to serve the poor and rich alike—to give their populations full economic citizenship. The task force was composed of 15 participants from the United States, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. They include prominent political and business leaders, financial, technical, and legal experts, and representatives of remittance sending and recipient communities.
- ▶ The Dialogue facilitated exchanges to promote lowering transaction costs for remittances to Guyana. In October, prominent Guyanese banks and U.S. money transfer businesses sought partnership niches aimed at lowering costs and increasing banking opportunities for migrants.
 - ▶ On October 1, the Inter-American Dialogue’s Congressional Members Working Group discussed remittance transfers to Latin America. Congressional participants included Reps. Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Sam Farr (D-CA), Luis Gutiérrez (D-IL), Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), Nita Lowey (D-NY), and George Miller (D-CA). (See page 22 for full entry.)
 - ▶ Manuel Orozco gave testimony on remittances before the U.S. House Committee on Financial Services, and on costs associated with remittances, economic identity, and banking the

unbanked before the Congressional Hispanic Caucus.

Energy

- ▶ Latin American governments will be hard-pressed to attract new investors to the region's power sector in the face of new regulatory uncertainties and inconsistent government intervention. At a March 25 Dialogue discussion, Eduardo Saucedo of Emerging Markets Partnership, Roger Stark of Coudert Brothers, and Marta Castelli of Standard and Poor's discussed the future of the Latin American energy sector.

Social Policy

Education Reform

The Dialogue's work on education—the Partnership for Educational Revitalization in the Americas (PREAL)—is carried out jointly with the Corporation for Development Research (CINDE) in Santiago, Chile.

PREAL seeks to improve the quality and equity of education by helping public and private sector organizations throughout the hemisphere promote informed debate on education policy, identify and disseminate best practices, and monitor progress toward improvement. PREAL encourages business and civil society to work with governments in common efforts to improve education, and strengthens their capacity to do so.

- ▶ On May 19 and 20, PREAL's Central American Coordinating Committee assembled in El Salvador for its first meeting. The committee, led by Josefina Vannini of Nicaragua, will help guide PREAL's Central American activities, ensuring ties between PREAL and national organizations. The Committee convened a second time in Washington, DC on July 2 and 3. Committee members agreed to produce a regular series of opinion articles on education policy for newspapers throughout Central America.

The Committee held its third meeting in Managua, Nicaragua on October 21 to 22.

- ▶ On May 30, the Latin American Educational Research Fund, organized by PREAL with the support of the Global Development Network, announced the winners of the second call for proposals on its web page (www.preal.org/FIE). Nine proposals coming from six countries were selected out of 75 entries and will be carried out over the coming year. The reviewing committee included Donald Winkler, Lawrence Wolff, Simon Schwartzmann, Marcela Gajardo, and Santiago Cueto.
- ▶ PREAL's Latin American Educational Research Fund met in Santiago, Chile on June 19 and 20 to critique near-final drafts of seven studies on the use and impact of empirical information in Latin American educational systems. The authors were winners in last year's PREAL-sponsored competition aimed at strengthening research capacity in the region. The revised research reports are available on the Fund's web page and will be published as a book in 2004.
- ▶ On June 30 and July 1, PREAL hosted its sixth meeting of the Task Force on Education, Equity and Economic Competitiveness in the Americas in Washington, DC. The event was led by task force co-chair John Petty, chairman of TECSEC, and Juan Cintrón, president of Consultores Internacionales CLB. Jorge Quiroga, former president of Bolivia, Javed Burki, former vice-president for Latin America at the World Bank, and Roberto Murray Meza, president of the AGRISAL Group in El Salvador discussed challenges to improving education policy in Latin America. Petty and Murray Meza are members of the Dialogue's Board of Directors.
- ▶ PREAL and its Colombian partners—the Fundación Corona and Corpoeducación

“PREAL seeks to improve the quality and equity of education.”

“Poor quality schools do not meet the demands of the global economy or the needs of the region’s people.”

—launched the first report card on education in Colombia on September 16. The document, entitled “Between Advance and Retreat,” analyzes progress and problems in education throughout the country during the 1990s. The report card notes Colombia’s success in increasing enrollments and its continued difficulties in providing equal educational access to all.

- ▶ On October 3, PREAL’s Task Force on Education Reform in Central America launched, at a conference in Washington, its first education report card, *Time to Act: A Report Card on Education in Central America and the Dominican Republic*. The report argues that, notwithstanding recent efforts at reform, poor quality schools still do not meet the demands of the global economy or the needs of the region’s people. It calls on education leaders, politicians, businesses, parents, teachers, students, and communities to support deep and sustained reforms to improve schools. The report card was subsequently launched in the capital cities of Nicaragua, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, and Guatemala between October and December. It was also presented in several provincial cities, including Quetzaltenango in Guatemala and San Pedro Sula in Honduras.
- ▶ On October 28, PREAL organized the second conference on business and education in Central America as part of the Inter-American Conference on Corporate Social Responsibility in Panama City. Charles E. M. Kolb, president of the U.S. Committee for Economic Development and Guillermo Carvajalino, executive director of the Colombian Foundation for Business and Education discussed their work with the business community. Leaders from Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic reviewed progress over the past year in their countries.

- ▶ In October, PREAL began an additional round of study tours that enable accomplished teachers and community leaders from the region’s poorer countries to see leading innovations in other countries. From October 13 to 25, a group of ten leaders traveled to Uruguay to examine key reforms of the last decade and their impact on the quality, equity, and efficiency of the Uruguayan education system, organized in collaboration with the Latin American Center for Human Economy (CLAEH) in Montevideo. From November 10 to 22, a similar group visited Chile to view that country’s efforts at education reform, organized in collaboration with the Center for Education Research and Development (CIDE) in Santiago.
- ▶ On December 16, PREAL convened a group of experts in Washington, DC to plan a new working group on education decentralization and school autonomy. The group will build on existing research in these areas and monitor innovations in Central and South America.
- ▶ On December 17, PREAL convened a steering committee to plan a Global Education Research Conference. Scheduled for late 2004, the conference will assemble some of the best education researchers from developing and developed countries to present and critique recent studies, review accumulated research on key policy issues, and discuss how to overcome obstacles to more and better research.

Dialogue Race Program

Inter-Agency Consultation on Race in Latin America (IAC)

The Dialogue’s Race Program addresses issues pertaining to Afro-descendants in Latin America, promoting debate and organizing and participating in relevant events in Washington and the region. The Dialogue

serves as the secretariat for the Inter-Agency Consultation on Race in Latin America (IAC).^{*} Established in June 2000, the IAC is a consultative group of international development institutions that work to address issues of race discrimination, social exclusion, and other problems confronting Afro-descendant populations in Latin America. In November, the IAC launched its new web site www.iac-race.org.

The IAC made institutional advances in 2003. It undertook a thorough strategic assessment to improve its operations and outreach. This led to the re-commitment of IAC core member organizations to IAC goals and objectives and produced a two-year plan of activities. As a result, the IAC has substantially improved the level and quality of exchanges with civil rights leaders, both in Washington and throughout the region.

- ▶ Four Afro-Brazilian activists participated in a discussion at the Dialogue on January 28. They indicated that the election of President da Silva has raised hopes for the implementation of concrete, race-based policies in Brazil. The Rev. Jesse Jackson told panel members that efforts to promote workplace diversity serve to “level the playing field” for the Afro-Brazilian population.
- ▶ The Dialogue Race Program organized a February 13 session on Afro-Colombian history and politics with Claudia Mosquera of Colombia’s Universidad Nacional and Oscar Gamboa of the Colombian Association of Black Mayors.
- ▶ On February 21, the Dialogue program on race and the Women’s Leadership Conference of the Americas convened a one-day seminar to review gender and race issues in Latin America, the trajectories of both social movements, and the implications for political participation and social development of women and Afro-descendants.

- ▶ On April 22, the Dialogue hosted a discussion with Afro-Colombian mayors Maria Edis Dinas, Arnulfo Mostacilla, and Antonio Sarria Misas, along with Oscar Gamboa. Discussion focused on the poverty that marks the Pacific coast of Colombia, and the destruction caused by the armed conflict.
- ▶ The IAC and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) hosted a June 23 debate on social inclusion and political participation in Latin America. Panelists included Gastón Chillier of the International Human Rights Law Group, Ariel Dulitsky of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Wanda Engel Aduan of the IDB, Roy Guevara of Afro-America XXI, and Maura Nasly Mosquera of the Foundation for the Formation of Afro-Colombian Leaders.
- ▶ The Dialogue’s Race program sponsored a July 29 meeting on the future of affirmative action in the United States and Brazil, with Robert Cottrol of George Washington University School of Law; Paulo de Almeida of the Embassy of Brazil; and Hilary Shelton, director of NAACP Washington Bureau.
- ▶ The IAC and International Possibilities Unlimited hosted a meeting on August 12 with officials from Morgan State University and universities in Colombia. Participants included Herbert Celin, rector of the Universidad Santiago de Cali; Louis Woolley, dean of the School of Medicine/USACA; Socrates Herrera, director of the Institute of Immunology/Universidad de Valle, Cali; Jorge Millan of the Fraunhofer-IBMT Technology Center; Eugene DeLoatch, dean of the School of Engineering/MSU; Maurice Taylor, dean of the School of Graduate Studies/MSU; and Raymond Winbush, director of Institute for Urban Research/MSU.

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^{*}The core members of the IAC are the Inter-American Foundation; World Bank; Inter-American Development Bank; British Government’s Department for International Development; Pan-American Health Organization; Ford Foundation; Inter-American Commission on Human Rights; and Inter-American Dialogue.

““ To address
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face. ””

- ▶ The IAC convened an October 6 workshop on the Millennium Development Goals, race and ethnicity. Officials from every IAC participating institution as well as other international development agencies attended the day-long workshop.
- ▶ The Dialogue Race Program organized a discussion with Brazilian Minister of Racial Equality Matilde Ribeiro on October 15. The Ministry of the Promotion of Racial Equality was recently established to combat racism, to promote policies such as affirmative action, and to promote racial equality, nationally and internationally.
- ▶ The Dialogue Race Program organized a session on racial inequalities and exclusion in Brazil with Edward Telles of the University of California at Los Angeles, Shelton Davis of the World Bank, and Franklin Knight of Johns Hopkins University on November 12.
- ▶ The Dialogue Race Program participated in the first meeting of Afro-Descendant Legislators of the Americas and the Caribbean on November 21 to 23 in Brasilia, Brazil.
- ▶ An article by Peter Hakim, “To Address Inequality, Look Racism in the Face,” was published in the *Los Angeles Times* on November 16, 2003.

Washington Contentious: Policies for Social Equity

The Dialogue and the Center for Global Development (CGD) made steady progress in updating and revising the 2001 policy essay, *Washington Contentious: Economic Policies for Social Equity in Latin America*. CGD president Nancy Birdsall and Dialogue program associate Rachel Menezes prepared a new introduction and began a substantial revision of the original document’s “10+1” policy menu. A working paper on privatization in Latin America was prepared by CGD

senior fellow John Nellis, providing a comprehensive overview of the pro- and anti-privatization views in Latin America. Argentine economist Carola Pessino completed the first draft of a paper that assesses the real incidence of taxes in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, and offers specific recommendations on how to make tax systems more efficient and more equitable. A third paper, on the determinants of employment generation in Latin America, is being prepared by Birdsall and Menezes. It builds on a new approach to social policy that emphasizes job creation, especially for the less skilled, and protecting the poor and the middle class from the sudden changes that characterize open economies. The papers will be summarized in a joint CGD-IAD policy brief that will be published early in 2004.

Democratic Governance

- ▶ On June 10, the Dialogue hosted a symposium on the challenges of democratic governance in Latin America, and released the second edition of *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America* (Johns Hopkins University Press, April 2003). The book’s co-editors, Jorge Domínguez of Harvard University and Michael Shifter, along with Moisés Naím, editor of *Foreign Policy*, Linda Robinson, Latin America bureau chief for *U.S. News and World Report*, and Paulo Sotero, Washington correspondent for *O Estado de São Paulo* led the discussion and offered insights on recent political trends in the hemisphere. The debate centered on whether Latin America is going in a generally positive direction—albeit with some setbacks—or whether both analysts and practitioners have had unrealistic expectations for democratic progress in the region, which accounts for the widespread sense of public disappointment.
- ▶ On November 18, the Dialogue held a conference on democracy and leadership challenges in Latin America. Former

presidents Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil and Jorge Quiroga of Bolivia discussed charismatic leaders, corruption, weak political parties, and poverty as threats to democracy in the hemisphere. Novelist Mario Vargas Llosa of Peru and Jessica Mathews, president of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, focused on the policy implications of the U.S. promotion of democratization as a foreign policy goal. Commentary was provided by journalist Gustavo Gorriti of Peru, former guerrilla leader Joaquín Villalobos of El Salvador, and César Montúfar, Ecuadorian democracy activist and professor from Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar.

- ▶ Key architects of the Special Summit of the Americas took part in an Inter-American Dialogue meeting on October 7 to discuss plans and explore possible recommendations for the mid-January summit in Monterrey, Mexico. The U.S. and Mexican ambassadors to the OAS—John Maisto and Miguel Cabañas—called for governments to be accountable to the concrete short-term goals of starting small businesses, fiscally accountable education, and transparent government. Marc Lortie, assistant deputy director for the Americas in the Canadian Foreign Ministry, and Irene Klinger, executive secretary of the Summits of the Americas Secretariat also participated.

Press Freedom in the Americas

The Dialogue continued its focus on advancing democracy through press freedom in the Americas. Over the summer, it published, in English and Spanish, *Access to Information in the Americas*, a report containing the findings and recommendations that emerged from its December 2002 meeting in Buenos Aires. This was disseminated at a series of meetings in the region, including one in Managua, Nicaragua in September sponsored by the Violeta Chamorro Foundation, and meetings

in Lima, Peru in August and November sponsored by the British Council.

In 2003, the Dialogue's programs on press freedom and Central America collaborated on a project designed to build consensus among media owners, editors, reporters, and other media professionals on the need for a regional mechanism devoted to improving the quality of the press in Central America. Under this initiative, the Dialogue has organized a Commission of media owners and accomplished professionals to explore the possibility of creating a permanent forum dedicated to improving the quality of the media and its capacity to more effectively contribute to the exercise of democracy in Central America.

Commission members have committed to oversee a series of consultations with media professionals and others, content analyses, and case studies, all of which will culminate in a final report to be released at a regional conference in Antigua, Guatemala in June 2004.

The following media leaders agreed to serve on the Commission: from Costa Rica, Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto, president of Fundación del Servicio Exterior para la Paz y la Democracia (FUNPADEM) and Djenane Villanueva, reporter for CNN and Univisión; from El Salvador, Fabricio Altamirano, executive director of *El Diario de Hoy*; from Guatemala, Ricardo Stein, executive director of Soros Foundation and José Rubén Zamora, founder of *El Periódico*; from Honduras, Manuel Gamero, director of *Diario Tiempo* and Jorge Canahuati, president of *El Heraldo* and *Diario La Prensa*; and from Nicaragua, Carlos Fernando Chamorro, director of *Confidencial* and Octavio Sacasa, president of Telecentro de Nicaragua. Hosted by Rodrigo Madrigal at FUNPADEM, the Commission met for the first time in San José, Costa Rica on November 4 and 5.

- ▶ On November 13, the Inter-American Dialogue and Rep. James Leach (R-IA)

“Cardoso and Quiroga discussed charismatic leaders, corruption, weak political parties, and poverty as threats to democracy.”

“While the press does indeed play the role of “watch dog” over the state, it has been less willing or able to play the same role with the corporate sector.”

hosted its second annual discussion on freedom of the press in Latin America on Capitol Hill featuring Phil Bennett of *The Washington Post* for the Inter American Press Association (IAPA) and journalist Gustavo Gorriti of the Instituto de Defensa Legal in Peru. Joel Simon of the Committee to Protect Journalists and Karin Karlekar of Freedom House presented key findings from their annual reports on the state of press freedom in the region. OAS special rapporteur for freedom of expression Eduardo Bertoni gave a multilateral perspective.

- ▶ On December 8, the Inter-American Dialogue hosted a discussion with Rick Rockwell, professor at American University and co-author of *Media Power in Central America*. Carlos Fernando Chamorro, editor of Nicaraguan magazine *Confidencial* offered commentary. *Media Power* surveys mass media outlets in the region and their relationships with the state, business enterprises, and civil society. Rockwell and Chamorro agreed that while the press does indeed play the role of “watch dog” over the state, it has been less willing or able to play the same role with the corporate sector.

Other Policy Exchanges

- ▶ The implications of the USA Patriot Act for Latin American businesses was the topic of a discussion hosted January 16 at the Dialogue and sponsored by the *Latin America Advisor*. Bob Filippone, deputy staff director of the Senate Intelligence Committee who helped draft the Act with Senator Bob Graham, said that while the events of September 11 provided the political capital to pass the sweeping changes included in the law, the groundwork for anti-money laundering regulation had been laid long before the USA Patriot Act. Dan Soto, Bank of America’s top anti-money laun-

dering compliance executive, discussed the logistics of implementing regulation standards here and abroad.

- ▶ General James Hill, head of the U.S. Southern Command, spoke at the Dialogue on February 6 about the prospects for security and cooperation in the region while there is an increasing focus of military attention on the Middle East. Hill emphasized the importance of what he termed “21st century threats,” specifically narco-trafficking, illegal arms dealing and gangsterism, and their corrosive effects in the region.
- ▶ The Dialogue organized a dinner with the State Department’s Director of Policy Planning Richard Haass on March 11 for exchange on recent political and economic developments in Latin America and U.S. policy toward the region. Former president Jorge Quiroga of Bolivia, IDB President Enrique Iglesias, UBS Warburg’s Michael Gavin, and *O Estado de São Paulo*’s Paulo Sotero, among others, joined Richard Haass in sharing insight on the region.
- ▶ Dialogue staff Peter Hakim, Claudio Loser, Michael Shifter and Pete Vaky met with U.S. and Latin American journalists on July 2 to discuss developments in the hemisphere.
- ▶ Members of the U.S. House of Representatives introduced a bipartisan bill in Congress to establish a \$2.5 billion fund to reduce poverty and increase economic opportunity in the Western Hemisphere. The bill’s author, Ranking Democrat Robert Menendez (D-NJ) of the House International Relations Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, spoke about it at the Inter-American Dialogue on November 19.

Country and Sub-Regional Programs

Colombia

Colombia Working Group

The Inter-American Dialogue held the fourth and fifth meetings of the Colombia Working Group on April 9 and 10 and November 14 and 15, 2003. Members of the working group, from Latin America, Europe, Canada and the United States, came together to engage the Colombian question and devise creative and feasible policy proposals to address Colombia's long-standing conflict. New members of the working group include Senator Antonio Navarro from the Colombian Polo Democrático Independiente, Mariano Aguirre from the Ford Foundation, Thomaz Costa from National Defense University, Gustavo Gorriti from the Peruvian Instituto de Defensa Legal, and Sabine Kurtenbach from the University of Hamburg.

The discussions approached the conflict from an integrated perspective, and focused on the security situation; the status of negotiations between the government and armed actors; government initiatives to end the conflict; the domestic political situation; human rights concerns; economic and social challenges; and the role of Colombia's neighbors and the larger international community in resolving the conflict. Participants also met with Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Marc Grossman during the April meeting and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs Peter DeShazo in November.

In 2003, working group members Eduardo Pizarro and Fernando Cepeda authored the fifth and sixth issues of the working paper series. Pizarro's, "A New Approach: Álvaro Uribe's Democratic Security Project" assesses some of the security measures and diplomatic initiatives undertaken to improve security conditions in Colombia in the first few

months of Uribe's administration. Cepeda's, "Álvaro Uribe: Dissident" deals with the leadership style and policy agenda of President Uribe. Two more working papers are planned for early 2004.

- ▶ On April 9, the Dialogue hosted a roundtable review of the first eight months of President Álvaro Uribe's administration. Panelists included Universidad de los Andes professor Fernando Cepeda, Oxford University professor Malcolm Deas, and director of Human Rights Watch-Americas José Miguel Vivanco. The speakers shared thoughts on advances and setbacks in the country's political, security, and human rights environment, as well as prospects for peace.
- ▶ On October 2, the Dialogue hosted a discussion on Colombia's security situation that focused on the negotiations between the government and the AUC, the largest paramilitary group. José Miguel Vivanco, executive director of Human Rights Watch—Americas, Mark Schneider, senior vice president of International Crisis Group, and Stephen Donehoo, managing director of Kissinger McLarty Associates, led the discussion.
- ▶ Senator Antonio Navarro of the *Polo Democrático Independiente* (PDI), and political analyst Fernando Cepeda of Colombia's Universidad de los Andes discussed the significance of the failure of Uribe's referendum and election outcomes at an Inter-American Dialogue session on November 12.
- ▶ An article by Michael Shifter, "Colombia's New Hope," was published in *The Washington Post* on August 6, 2003.

Bolivia

- ▶ On March 12, the Dialogue hosted a discussion with Ambassador Jaime

“Álvaro Uribe:
Dissident.”

“**Former president Sánchez de Lozada said that a lack of sufficient international financial support for Bolivia was partly to blame for the upheaval that led to his resignation.**”

Aparicio of Bolivia and former minister of defense Jorge Crespo on the recent political turmoil in the Andean country.

- ▶ Former president Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada of Bolivia spoke at the Inter-American Dialogue on October 27. He called on the IMF and the World Bank to give President Mesa breathing space, and argued that a lack of sufficient international financial support for Bolivia was partly to blame for the upheaval that led to his resignation.

Ecuador

- ▶ President Lucio Gutiérrez of Ecuador announced a program to decrease institutional corruption at a February 11 event sponsored by the Dialogue, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and The Heritage Foundation. Gutiérrez said that the recent loan approval signals IMF confidence in his administration and he vowed to make good on Ecuador's debt obligations.

Peru

- ▶ Institutional innovation and state reconstruction are necessary conditions for the success of the market in Latin America, Carol Wise of the University of Southern California argued at a February 5 Dialogue roundtable. Joined by Roberto Dañino, Peru's ambassador to the United States, the session focused on the turnaround success of Peru's political economy and market reform effort as presented by Wise in her recently released book, *Reinventing the State: Economic Strategy and Institutional Change in Peru*.
- ▶ On March 4, the Dialogue organized a session with Peruvian sociologist Nicolas Lynch to discuss the main democracy and governance challenges facing Peru. Lynch

underscored the widespread popular dissatisfaction with democracy in Peru and shared his thoughts on the need for greater citizen participation and increased transparency in the public sector.

- ▶ Prime Minister Luis Solari outlined the recent successes of Peru's economic recovery at the Dialogue on March 14. Solari reiterated the importance of a close relationship with the United States to accomplish goals on two fronts: the passage of a bilateral trade agreement and the fight against drug trafficking.
- ▶ On April 8, the Dialogue hosted a discussion on U.S.-Peru relations led by Ambassador Roberto Dañino, OAS Assistant Secretary General Luigi Einaudi, and George Washington University professor Cynthia McClintock. The discussion covered narcotics, trade, democracy, and human rights, focusing on the U.S. role during the government of Alberto Fujimori.
- ▶ On November 17, the Dialogue held a discussion on Andean politics featuring César Montúfar, director of the Andean Center for International Studies at the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar in Quito, Ecuador and Gustavo Gorriti from the Institute of Legal Defense in Lima, Peru. Montúfar reviewed Ecuador's historical context and the country's rapid process of political, economic and social change. Gorriti pointed to the dissonance between high economic indicators and low public approval of the government, and blamed Toledo's inability to deliver concrete forms of democratic government.
- ▶ An article by Michael Shifter, "The Truth Isn't Enough for Peru," was published in *The Miami Herald* on September 9, 2003.

Venezuela

- ▶ On January 17, Gustavo Tarre-Briceño, a prominent opposition leader and former member of the Venezuelan National Congress, led an informal discussion at the Dialogue. Tarre-Briceño described the plans of Venezuela's opposition movement and argued that the Chávez administration is not concerned with social justice.
- ▶ On February 13, the Dialogue hosted two noted scholars from Venezuela. Janet Kelly of the Institute for Advanced Management Studies (IESA) and editor of the *Daily Journal*, and Ana María Sanjuán, director of Center for Peace and Human Rights at the Central University of Venezuela, led a cautiously optimistic discussion.
- ▶ Venezuela's oil industry should be operating back at full capacity sometime in March, Energy Minister Rafael Ramírez told an audience at the Dialogue on February 27. Ramírez asserted that reform is needed at state-run oil monopoly Petróleos de Venezuela (PDVSA) to de-politicize the industry.
- ▶ On April 1, the Dialogue hosted a forum on Venezuela with leading members of the opposition political party, Primero Justicia. Panelists included National Assembly member and party coordinator Julio Borges, mayor of Baruta Henrique Capriles, and mayor of Chacao Leopoldo López. They focused on the importance of holding a clean and fair referendum in August 2003.
- ▶ Members of the Venezuelan opposition again visited the Dialogue on June 19 to lead a discussion on the August referendum on whether to allow President Hugo Chávez to finish out his term of office, or whether to hold new elections. The discussion was led by president of RCTV Marcel Granier; former managing director of PDVSA Luis Pacheco; former permanent representative to the UN Adolfo Taylhardat; director of Leadership and Vision Gerver Torres; and professor at Simon Bolívar University Vilma Petrash. The group analyzed the results of two national surveys they conducted in conjunction with Mark Feierstein of Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research Associates, who was also a panelist.
- ▶ On October 14, the Inter-American Dialogue, Brookings Institution and the Center for Global Development, co-hosted a roundtable discussion, held at the Institute for International Economics, on public policy strategies to alleviate poverty in Venezuela. Featured presenters were Jesús María Casal and Luis Pedro España, of Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, and Gustavo García of the Institute for Advanced Management Studies (IESA).
- ▶ At a Dialogue session on October 15, a delegation of Venezuelan journalists and media representatives expressed serious concerns about the state of freedom of expression under President Hugo Chávez' administration. The panel included Carlos Ayala Corao, a lawyer and former president of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights; Gregorio Salazar, president of the Sindicato Nacional de los Trabajadores de la Prensa; Miguel Henrique Otero, president of the Grupo de Diarios de América; Sergio Dahbar, adjunct editor of Venezuela's *El Nacional*; and Mark Weisbrot, co-director of the Center for Economic and Policy Research, among others.
- ▶ On June 23, the Dialogue's Congressional Group met over dinner to discuss Venezuela, including the agreement signed by the government and opposition to hold a referendum on whether to recall President Hugo Chávez. OAS

“Tarre-Briceño argued that the Chávez administration is not concerned with social justice.”

““ The Dialogue organized the first visit to Cuba by a member of Florida’s congressional delegation. ””

Secretary General César Gaviria—facilitator of the negotiations—explained how the agreement was reached. Senator Norm Coleman (R-MN) and Reps. Cass Ballenger (R-NC), Howard Coble (R-NC), Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Gregory Meeks (D-NY) and Mark Souder (R-IN) participated. (See page 22 for full entry.)

- ▶ The following articles were published by Michael Shifter, “Venezuela fuera del radar” in *Foreign Affairs en Español*, April-June 2003; “Why Venezuela Matters” in *The National Interest*, July 16, 2003; and “What’s Next for Venezuela and the Bolivarian Revolution?” an interview in *Latin American Law & Business Report*, September 2003.

Cuba

- ▶ The Dialogue organized the participation of the World Bank and the IMF in Cuba’s Annual Globalization and Development Meeting in Havana. The delegation included World Bank staff Luiz Pereira da Silva, Ritva Reinikka and Agnes Soucat, as well as Dani Kaufmann from the World Bank Institute and Eliot Kalter from the IMF. Members of the delegation made presentations at the conference and later met privately with Cuban economists and the president of Cuba’s Central Bank, Francisco Soberón. As part of this initiative, the Dialogue also arranged a workshop on social policy in Cuba for World Bank officials and more than twenty Cuban economists, which led to the first-ever inclusion of Cuba in the Bank’s annual flagship publication, *World Development Report*. The publication, *World Development Report 2004: Making Services Work for Poor People* includes a spotlight comparing the health systems of Costa Rica and Cuba.
- ▶ In February, the Dialogue organized a congressional trip to Cuba, led by

Representatives Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) and Jim Davis (D-FL). This was the first visit to Cuba for both members, and the first official visit by a member of Florida’s congressional delegation since 1959. The trip examined the challenges facing the Cuban economy and its integration into the international financial system, explored living conditions and social policy on the island, and included meetings with Cuban government representatives, academic institutions, the Cuban human rights community, and Cuban-American groups in Miami.

- ▶ On April 30, the Dialogue hosted a breakfast discussion on the wave of repression in Cuba and the implications for U.S. policy toward the country. The discussion was led by Robert Pastor of American University, Susan Kaufman Purcell of Americas Society, and José Miguel Vivanco of Human Rights Watch-Americas.
- ▶ On June 9, the Dialogue hosted a session on *Cuban National Reconciliation*, a report produced by the Task Force on Memory, Truth, and Justice. Discussants examined the experiences of emerging democracies elsewhere, considering issues of amnesty, truth and reconciliation commissions, and prosecution for past wrongdoings. Task Force members Jorge Domínguez of Harvard University and Marifeli Perez-Stable of Florida International University led the session.
- ▶ On March 10 and July 30, the Dialogue convened the Cuba Working Group chaired by Shahid Javed Burki to discuss economic developments in Cuba, and how the Dialogue’s work on Cuba and the international financial institutions could be useful in the study of the Cuban economy.
- ▶ On April 30, the Dialogue’s Congressional Members Working Group hosted a dinner discussion on

Cuba. The conversation built on the Dialogue's morning meeting that same day, and was also an opportunity for Reps. Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) and Jim Davis (D-FL) to share impressions from their Dialogue-sponsored trip to Cuba. Other Congressional participants included Howard Berman (D-CA), William Delahunt (D-MA), Sam Farr (D-CA), Jeff Flake (R-AZ), Rush Holt (D-NJ), Nita Lowey (D-NY), and Vic Snyder (D-AK). (See page 21 for full entry.)

- ▶ Director of the Dialogue's Cuba program Dan Erikson wrote the "Cuba" article for the *Encyclopedia Britannica 2003 Book of the Year*.

Haiti

- ▶ In March, the Dialogue held a daylong workshop to explore ideas for resolving Haiti's humanitarian crisis and promoting long-term political and economic development. Discussants examined strategies for improving Haiti's quality of life, finding a lasting solution to the political crisis, and recovering economic growth and stability. The session drew participants from the Haitian government, opposition, and civil society, as well as multilateral lending agencies, members of the diplomatic and policy communities, and U.S. policy-makers. Speakers included Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Shannon; Representatives John Conyers (D-MI), and Bill Delahunt (D-MA); OAS Assistant Secretary General Luigi Einaudi; U.S. Ambassador to Haiti Brian Curran; Canadian Ambassador to Haiti Kenneth Cook; Assistant Secretary General of CARICOM Colin Granderson; Haitian Ambassador to the OAS Raymond Valcin; David Adams, USAID; Jean-Eduard Baker, Association of Haitian Industries; Adama Guindo, UNDP; Marco Mantovanelli, World Bank; Ericq Pierre, IDB; and Eric Verreydt, IMF.
- ▶ In December, building on the March workshop, the Dialogue organized a second conference on Haiti, focusing attention on proposals for poverty reduction and resolving Haiti's humanitarian challenges. The Dialogue again drew on a range of leaders and officials from Haiti's political, private and civil society sectors, as well as representatives from international groups and institutions involved with Haiti's political and economic development. David De Ferranti, vice president for Latin America and the Caribbean at the World Bank, addressed the inaugural dinner, discussing the World Bank-sponsored poverty reduction strategy plan in Haiti. The workshop allowed participants from Haiti and those from the international community to discuss their perspectives on poverty reduction and their roles in that process.
- ▶ Peter Hakim and Dan Erikson traveled to Haiti for meetings with Haitian government officials—including President Jean-Bertrand Aristide—opposition leaders, and representatives of civil society organizations, donor governments and international lending institutions.
- ▶ Dan Erikson wrote "The Haiti Dilemma" for *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* and co-authored "Add to Our To-Do List: Finishing the Job in Haiti" with Peter Hakim for *The Washington Post*.

Mexico

- ▶ Rodolfo de la Garza, professor at Columbia University and vice president of Tomás Rivera Policy Institute and Miryam Hazan, a researcher at the Institute, discussed the growth of grassroots Mexican immigrant organizations in the United States and their involvement in Mexican and American politics, at the Dialogue on April 4.

“Add to our to-do list: finishing the job in Haiti.”

““ **Hometown associations are small, philanthropic groups, but have the potential to work as development players.** ””

- ▶ The Dialogue hosted a roundtable on December 16 to discuss the competitive challenge that China poses to Mexico's economy. Leading the discussion were Shahid Javed Burki, former World Bank vice president for Latin America and director for China, and Ira Shapiro, general counsel to the U.S. Trade Representative during the NAFTA negotiations.
- ▶ Gerónimo Gutiérrez, Mexico's undersecretary of foreign affairs for North America, led a discussion November 10 on Mexico's performance at the UN Security Council and its effect on U.S.-Mexican relations. Rafael Fernández de Castro, editor of the recently-released compilation of foreign policy essays, joined commentators Pamela Starr of the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM) and Dolia Estévez of El Financiero.
- ▶ On July 16, the Dialogue's Congressional Group met to discuss the results of Mexico's mid-term congressional elections and their implications for U.S.-Mexican relations. Mexico's undersecretary of foreign relations for North America, Gerónimo Gutierrez led off the discussion, which included Reps. Cass Ballenger (R-NC), Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Chris Cannon (R-UT), Bob Filner (D-CA), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) and Silvestre Reyes (D-TX). (See page 22 for full entry.)

Central America

- ▶ The Central America program completed a study on the impact of Mexican hometown associations (HTAs), defined as groups formed by migrants to support their communities of origin. The results of the study were presented at the U.S. Agency for International Development on September 15. The study, based on interviews with 100 Mexican HTAs and over 60 beneficiary communities, found that HTAs are generally small, philanthropic organizations, but have the potential to work as development players. An initiative launched by the Mexican government in 2002, known as the "3x1" program, in which every dollar donated by an HTA is matched with one dollar each by the federal, state, and local governments, was also analyzed. The study found that in some cases, HTA donations surpass the public works budget of a given community. HTA projects in areas such as road pavement and electrification often provide the essential base for any economic investment in a town. Health and education donations and construction projects dominate the work of HTAs.
- ▶ The Dialogue paralleled its work on Mexican hometown associations by looking at Salvadoran and Guyanese organizations in the United States. The Central America program carried out interviews throughout the United States and El Salvador to determine the characteristics and strengths of HTAs.
- ▶ In 2003, the Dialogue's programs on press freedom and Central America collaborated on a project designed to build consensus among media owners, editors, reporters, and other media professionals on the need for a regional mechanism devoted to improving the quality of the press in Central America. (See page 11 for full entry.)
- ▶ The Inter-American Dialogue hosted former president Miguel Ángel Rodríguez of Costa Rica at a breakfast discussion on December 11. Rodríguez, a candidate for secretary-general of the Organization of American States (OAS), laid out an agenda for the OAS: to clarify its overall purpose, to obtain more funding, and to better manage existing resources.
- ▶ On October 22, the Inter-American Dialogue hosted Víctor Borge of the

Costa Rican polling company Borge & Associates, to discuss the prospects for consolidating democracy through upcoming elections in the region. Central America has experienced varied levels of success in institutionalizing democracy, and, Borge argued, a lack of institutionalized political parties in most countries.

- ▶ Panama's economic relations within the hemisphere rest on whether or not the Central American country decides to expand the Panama Canal, Martin Torrijos, a candidate in Panama's 2004 presidential election told an audience at the Inter-American Dialogue on September 9. Torrijos believes that an expansion of the independently administered Canal could tie Panama and its economy to the infrastructure of a future Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA).
- ▶ On June 5, the Dialogue hosted civil society leaders, including Pedro Bal of Foro Maya, Julio Balconi Turcios, former defense minister, Roberto Castañeda of the business organization CACIF, Mario Polanco of the Grupo de Apoyo Muto (GAM), and Julio Reyes of the small and medium business group FEPYME, to discuss Guatemala and the November presidential election.
- ▶ On October 10, the Dialogue hosted Eduardo González, coordinator of Oscar Berger's (*La Gran Alianza Nacional*) Guatemalan presidential campaign. The discussion centered on the nature of the campaign in the aftermath of a peace accord signed to end the 36-year-long civil war.
- ▶ Héctor Silva, Salvadoran presidential candidate for the centrist coalition of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) and the United Democratic Center (CDU), spoke to an audience at the Inter-American Dialogue on November 5. Silva, the former mayor of San Salvador, along with his running mate Ana

Cristina Sol, addressed the challenges faced by El Salvador as it heads into the March 2004 presidential election.

- ▶ On June 26, the Dialogue hosted Rodolfo de la Garza and University of California Professor Louis DeSipio, who presented the results of over 1600 surveys of Latino immigrants recently published as, "Immigrant Politics at Home and Abroad: How Latino Immigrants Engage the Politics of Their Home Communities and the United States." The survey concluded that a minority of immigrants engage in transnational politics; and the propensity to do so decreases over time.
- ▶ Manuel Orozco publishes a weekly column on the issues affecting the region in the Nicaraguan journal *Confidencial*.

Argentina

- ▶ The Dialogue hosted two sessions focusing on the Argentine elections. On February 11, the Dialogue hosted a breakfast discussion with former governor of Mendoza and Dialogue member José Octavio Bordón. Participants discussed the leading candidates in the upcoming April 27 election, assessed their prospects for victory, and examined the policies and priorities each might pursue, if elected. With less than two weeks to go and more than 19 candidates on the ballot, no clear winner had emerged by the time of the Dialogue's April 15 discussion on the Argentine election. Ambassador Eduardo Amadeo and former Minister of the Economy José Luis Machinea were joined by Woodrow Wilson Center Fellow Hector Schamis in this follow-up meeting.
- ▶ On April 29, following the election, Miguel Kiguel, president of Argentina's Banco Hipotecario Nacional, spoke at the Dialogue. Conversation focused on external debt, fiscal and monetary policy, exchange rate movements, and the

“Central America has experienced uneven success in institutionalizing democracy.”

“Trade is key to creating jobs in economically battered Argentina.”

prospects for a reasonable agreement with the IMF.

- ▶ Trade is key to creating jobs in economically battered Argentina, Javier Tizado, former secretary of state for industry, trade, and investment, told a Dialogue audience on May 28. Tizado, vice president of Argentina-based STRAT Consulting, said that in the short term trade will be essential to creating employment opportunities. Tizado said that in the medium term, Argentina will need investment, and in order to stimulate local and attract foreign investment again, Argentina will need institutional reforms.
- ▶ On July 30, the Dialogue hosted José Octavio Bordón, newly appointed Argentine Ambassador to the United States. Bordón laid out the Kirchner administration's main challenges, including Argentina's social and economic problems, corruption, prospects for an agreement with the IMF and sustaining equitable growth.
- ▶ On December 18, the Inter-American Dialogue hosted a session on Argentina's economic policy challenges. The discussion centered on the country's economic outlook and featured Martin Anidjar of JP Morgan Chase, Joydeep Mukherji of Standard & Poor's, and Edwin Truman of the Institute for International Economics.
- ▶ An article by Peter Hakim, "Kirchner deserves US goodwill," was published in the *Financial Times* on July 23, 2003.

Brazil

- ▶ On April 14, two senior members of President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva's economic team—Economic Policy Secretary Marcos de Barros Lisboa and International Affairs Secretary Otaviano Canuto dos Santos Filho—led an evaluation of the progress that Lula's

government has made on the economic front. The session, co-sponsored with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, focused on whether Lula's decision to stick to orthodox economic policy is paying off.

- ▶ On June 26, the Dialogue hosted experts, including Paulo Sotero of *O Estado de São Paulo* and Paulo de Almeida, deputy chief of mission at the Brazilian embassy, to review Lula's first six months in office—and comment on a recent book on Brazilian reforms by Mauricio Font of the City University of New York.
- ▶ On October 30, the Dialogue hosted U.S. Ambassador to Brazil Donna Hrinak in a discussion on U.S. and Brazil foreign policy differences, including trade. She argued that the U.S.-Brazil relationship could take a positive, more constructive turn.
- ▶ On November 6, the Inter-American Dialogue hosted Steven Banks of General Motors, John Williamson of the Institute for International Economics, and Joel Korn of WKI Brasil, to discuss the prospects for Brazil's economy. They attributed Brazil's improving economy and returning attractiveness for foreign investors to Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva's largely orthodox economic measures.
- ▶ On November 5, Brazilian Ambassador Rubens Barbosa led a candid discussion on Brazilian foreign policy, including the relationship with other Latin American countries, the European Union and the United States.
- ▶ Two articles by Peter Hakim were published in the *Financial Times*: "A more positive Brazilian trade policy," on October 21, 2003 and "America and Brazil both lost out in Miami" on November 25, 2003.

Chile

- ▶ Chile's opposition to the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq may cool relations between the two countries, but it will not significantly hamper cooperation on issues like market reform and counter-narcotics operations, Heraldo Muñoz, Chile's former minister secretary general said on March 28 at the Dialogue. Participants discussed Latin American opposition to the war and repercussions for market reforms.
- ▶ On November 11, the Dialogue hosted Genaro Arriagada and Andrés Allamand for a discussion on Chilean and Latin American politics. Allamand explained that there is little difference between Chile's two political blocks, especially in terms of hemispheric issues such as the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). While Latin America has democracies, Arriagada explained, these democracies have not improved inequalities as had been hoped.
- ▶ The Dialogue hosted a discussion on Chile on December 9 with Minister of the Interior José Miguel Insulza. Insulza, candidate for OAS secretary-general, spoke of his proposed agenda and its basic themes of democracy and governance, security and free trade.

Leadership Networks

Legislative Initiatives

This year was a busy and productive one for the Dialogue's legislative programs, including six of the program's flagship events—Dialogue dinners on the Hill with the Congressional Members' Working Group on the Americas—more than in any previous year. The Dialogue convened dinner discussions with members of Congress to address Argentina's political and economic recovery, Cuba policy, hemispheric trade issues, Mexico's mid-term elections and implications for U.S.-Mexico policy, remittances,

and the OAS-brokered agreement in Venezuela. More than 40 members participated in these discussions and in other Dialogue programs. A series of 11 Dialogue dinner discussions are planned for 2004. The program also organized a new Congressional Staff Working Group with senior House and Senate staffers participating. A schedule of 12 events is planned over the next year.

Congressional Members Working Group

- ▶ On April 30, the Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group hosted a dinner discussion on Cuba. The conversation built on the Dialogue's public meeting, "Crackdown in Cuba: How should Washington respond?" The dinner was an opportunity for Reps. Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) and Jim Davis (D-FL) to share impressions from their Dialogue-sponsored trip to Cuba. Other participants included Howard Berman (D-CA), William Delahunt (D-MA), Sam Farr (D-CA), Jeff Flake (R-AZ), Rush Holt (D-NJ), Nita Lowey (D-NY), Vic Snyder (D-AK), Robert Pastor of American University, and José Miguel Vivanco of Human Rights Watch. Discussion focused on the effectiveness of the U.S. travel ban and the embargo, and how the international community and dissidents on the island perceive these policies.
- ▶ Hosted by Reps. Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), Xavier Becerra (D-CA), and William Jefferson (D-LA), the Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group met over dinner on May 14 to discuss free trade. Other participating members were Aníbal Acevedo-Vilá (D-PR), Cass Ballenger (R-NC), Steve King (R-IA), Nita Lowey (D-NY), Dennis Moore (D-KS), and Jerry Weller (R-IL). Deputy U.S. Trade Representative Peter Allgeier opened with an update on trade agreements under negotiation.

“Chile's opposition to the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq may cool relations between the two countries.”

““The
Dialogue’s Network
of Legislators
addressed social
exclusion—
particularly racial
inequality.””

- ▶ On June 23, the Dialogue’s Congressional Group met over dinner to discuss Venezuela, including the agreement signed by the government and opposition to hold a referendum on whether to recall President Hugo Chávez. OAS Secretary General César Gaviria—facilitator of the negotiations—explained how the agreement was reached. Senator Norm Coleman (R-MN) and Reps. Cass Ballenger (R-NC), Howard Coble (R-NC), Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Gregory Meeks (D-NY) and Mark Souder (R-IN) participated. Bernie Aronson (Acon Investments), Jennifer McCoy (The Carter Center), Arturo Valenzuela (Georgetown University), and Phil Chicola and John Maisto (U.S. Department of State) presented their views on the prospects for, and obstacles to, peaceful resolution to the crisis.
- ▶ On July 16, the Dialogue’s Congressional Group met to discuss the results of Mexico’s mid-term congressional elections and their implications for U.S.–Mexican relations. Mexico’s undersecretary of foreign relations for North America, Gerónimo Gutiérrez led off the discussion, which included Reps. Cass Ballenger (R-NC), Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Chris Cannon (R-UT), Bob Filner (D-CA), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) and Silvestre Reyes (D-TX). Among the participants were Ambassador Juan José Bremer, Roberta Jacobson of the State Department, James Jones of ManattJones Global Strategies (and former U.S. ambassador to Mexico), Carlos Rico of the Mexican Embassy and Thomas Shannon of the National Security Council.
- ▶ On October 1, the Inter-American Dialogue’s Congressional Members Working Group (CMWG) discussed the issue of remittance transfers to Latin America. Congressional participants included Reps. Bill Delahunt (D-MA),

Sam Farr (D-CA), Luis Gutiérrez (D-IL), Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), Nita Lowey (D-NY), and George Miller (D-CA). Other guests included CEO of Quisqueyana Ernesto Armenteros, Blanca Cruz of the Committee for the Improvement of Chiquirín, Beth Rhyne of Acción International, Luis Felipe Romero of Salvadoran-Americans of Maryland, Jolyne Sanjak from USAID, and Donald Terry from the Inter-American Development Bank. Earlier that day, the House Committee on Financial Services held a hearing on “Remittances: Reducing Costs, Increasing Competition, and Broadening Access to the Market,” at which Dialogue project director Manuel Orozco testified as an expert witness.

Inter-American Network of Legislators

In May, the Dialogue organized a hemisphere-wide meeting in Brazil of the Dialogue’s Network of Legislators of the Americas. The meeting addressed Latin America’s place in global politics, the Free Trade Area of the Americas, and social exclusion—particularly racial inequality. During the meeting, Central American legislators were keen to hold the next Legislators’ Network meeting in their region, to focus on the Central America Free Trade Agreement. The Dialogue is working with the Inter-American Development Bank and other potential donors to put together a conference to be attended by U.S., Mexican, Canadian, and Central American legislators in El Salvador early in 2004.

Women’s Leadership Conference of the Americas (WLCA)

The Women’s Leadership Conference of the Americas (WLCA) has expanded its work to explore obstacles and opportunities facing women in the private sector. In collaboration with Sylvia Maxfield of the Simmons’ Graduate School of Management, the

Dialogue has commissioned country case studies and quantitative census data collection on the status of women at the top levels of corporate management in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Mexico, and Venezuela. The WLCA plans to release a policy brief on women's representation in Latin American private sector leadership.

The Group of Fifty (G-50)

The G-50 celebrated its tenth annual meeting in Washington, D.C. and Keswick, Virginia from October 8 to 12. Forty-four G-50 members and special guests were joined by highly regarded political thinkers, business leaders, and writers, interested in Latin America. The session opened with a panel, "Exploring the World After September 11th," featuring *New York Times* columnist and Pulitzer Prize winning author Thomas Friedman, who explored security issues affecting Latin America and the world. Dialogue members Stanley Fischer, vice chairman of Citigroup Inc., and Lawrence Summers, president of Harvard University, followed with a discussion on the overall global economic outlook.

Roger Noriega, assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs, focused his luncheon remarks on how U.S. policy towards free trade and Cuba has evolved. The great divide between the region's poorest and wealthiest residents was discussed with George Soros and Allen Hammond, author of a study entitled "Serving the World's Poor, Profitably." USTR Robert Zoellick offered commentary on the Free Trade Area of the Americas, the recent talks in Cancun, and NAFTA ten years later. A luncheon discussion with OAS Secretary General César Gaviria focused on education in Latin America. National Security Council Special Envoy Otto Reich touched on President Bush's new Cuba initiative and other matters relating to U.S. security in Latin America.

An informal conversation with former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil covered a wide range of topics, from the new Brazilian president, to the role of the IMF, to free trade in Latin America. On Saturday night, an after-dinner conversation featured novelist Mario Vargas Llosa of Peru, and Mexican author and publisher, Enrique Krauze. Both spoke about their current literary endeavors, democracy, corruption, and the leadership role Latin American businessmen must play in their communities, countries and the region.

Corporate Programs

The Dialogue's corporate program concentrated on issues of immediate concern to businesses heavily invested in Latin America's development. A set of meetings was organized in response to topics suggested by corporate members. These brought our private sector constituents face-to-face with experts and hemispheric leaders for frank, substantive discussions. In addition, the Inter-American Dialogue's *Latin America Advisor* newsletters—broadcasted electronically worldwide to subscribing corporations—covered more than 300 subscriber queries this year with expert analysis from leaders in business, finance and politics. CEOs and senior executives at AES, Colgate Palmolive, Coudert Brothers, Federal-Mogul, Grupo Domos, Pearson, Norfolk Southern, Quisqueyana, Transamerica Re and numerous others brought their companies into Corporate Circle membership for the first time.

- ▶ Peter Hakim, Claudio Loser, Michael Shifter and Manuel Orozco scheduled in-person or telephone meetings with executives of Corporate Circle member companies this year. These briefings provided members with access to objective information and viewpoints relating to their specific plans and concerns in the region.
- ▶ The Corporate Circle organized numerous events: a panel discussion on the

“The Dialogue’s corporate program concentrated on issues of immediate concern to businesses heavily invested in Latin America’s development.”

effects of the USA Patriot Act on anti-money laundering efforts in the hemisphere; a discussion on the alarming state of Latin America's power sector development; a session with Javier Tizado on Argentina's industrial future in the face of economic recovery; a briefing for Wall Street leaders in the headquarters of Deutsche Bank in New York City by Claudio Loser on the future of IMF lending in the region; a discussion with top policy researchers on alleviating Venezuela's poverty problems; several meetings on the economic outlook in Brazil and Argentina; a session on Mexico's economic competitiveness and the challenges China presents to that country's growth; and an exceptionally frank discussion with Amb. Cresencio Arcos and other experts on new U.S. homeland security regulations and their implications for hemispheric trade.

- ▶ The Inter-American Dialogue's *Latin America Advisor* covered key developments in Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Central America and the

Caribbean, as well as substantive issues that cut across many countries. The daily *Advisor* expanded its board of advisors with the addition of Steven Banks, top economist for Latin America at General Motors; Dirk Donath, managing director and founding partner of Pegasus Capital in Argentina; Jon Huenemann, trade expert and senior vice president at Fleishman-Hillard in Washington. The Inter-American Dialogue's weekly *Latin America Telecom Advisor* announced the addition of Keith Goodwin, president, Americas International at Cisco Systems; and Janet Hernandez, partner in the telecom group at law firm Coudert Brothers.

- ▶ Several Corporate Circle members also stepped up their involvement with the Inter-American Dialogue by funding projects in addition to their corporate circle memberships this year. For example, PhRMA has contributed to the Dialogue's work on Brazil-U.S. trade relations. Diageo PLC has increased its support by providing funding for the Dialogue's activities on U.S. policy making in the region.

Publications

Reports and Working Papers

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“Álvaro Uribe: Dissident,” by Fernando Cepeda, August 2003.

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FINANCIAL REPORT

Statement of Financial Position 2003 and 2002

	2003*	2002
Assets:		
Cash and cash equivalents	1,696,148	1,862,040
Accounts receivable	61,706	17,647
Grants receivable	1,110,826.56	724,950
Investments—endowment fund	4,937,448	4,305,020
Prepaid expenses	26,180	25,597
Property and equipment	94,752	104,549
Deposits	17,423	17,416
TOTAL ASSETS	7,944,484	7,057,219
Total Liabilities:		
Accounts payable	8,564	12,614
Accrued expenses	65,434	65,002
Refundable advances	95,362	263,929
Other liabilities	2,360	2,815
Total Liabilities	171,719	344,361
Net Assets:		
Unrestricted	436,322	486,156
Temporarily restricted	2,298,994	1,659,875
Endowment funds:		
Board-designated funds	698,564	241,093
Permanently restricted	4,338,884	4,325,734
Total Net Assets	7,772,764	6,712,858
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS	7,944,484	7,057,219

*2003 figures are preliminary and unaudited

Inter-American Dialogue Statement of Activities 2003

	2003*
Revenue	
Foundations	808,587
Corporations	260,202
Governments	1,752,426
International organizations	307,505
Collaborating institutions	213,281
Individual contributions	128,601
Interest/royalties	92,769
Gain (loss) on investments	629,065
Total Revenue	4,192,436
Pass-throughs	689,206
TOTAL REVENUE	4,881,643
Expenses	
Program Services:	
Policy programs	1,500,474
Country studies	430,688
Networks	84,792
Sol M. Linowitz Forum	36,097
Outreach and communications	132,745
Corporate programs	196,144
Subgrants	689,206
Support Services:	
Administration	610,883
Fundraising	114,350
Governance	26,360
TOTAL EXPENSES	3,821,738

*2003 figures are preliminary and unaudited

Funding Sources

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The Avina Foundation
 The Ford Foundation
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Members of the Inter-American Dialogue's Corporate Circle include business and financial leaders who are deeply involved in the region, and need—on a continuing basis—fresh, balanced information and analysis on hemispheric affairs. Increasing numbers of business leaders have become regular participants in Dialogue activities. Dialogue conferences, newsletters, forums, and workshops are opportunities for corporate executives and others to meet key U.S. and Latin American leaders—public and private—and discuss critical regional challenges with them. Through its balanced and authoritative reports and other publications, the Dialogue keeps corporate leaders well informed about the most important economic and political developments in the region. The Latin America Advisor is a daily newsletter published by the Dialogue, which—delivered by 9:00 a.m. each day—offers expert commentary on the most urgent issues in Western Hemisphere affairs and provides a summary of the day's key Latin American news.

For more information on our corporate program and how to join, please contact Mr. Erik Brand, general manager, publishing (1-952-985-4250 or ebrand@thedialogue.org).

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Dialogue Associates have a deep interest in Latin America and the Caribbean, and closely follow developments in U.S. policy toward the region. They are committed to improving the quality of debate and decision-making in hemispheric relations, and to strengthening communication and cooperation among the nations of the Americas. Associates are regular participants in the Dialogue's public forums, conferences, and other policy exchanges, which have become a key source of information and ideas for Washington's policy, business, NGO, and media communities. Dialogue Associates are assured of an invitation to nearly all Dialogue activities—in which participation is limited. In addition, they receive all Dialogue reports and other publications (usually in advance of their formal release).

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