



2004

INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE ■ 2004 PROGRAM REPORT

Program Report

2004 PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

We are pleased to present a summary overview of the Inter-American Dialogue's work in 2004. The Dialogue has become an increasingly visible and influential presence in Washington and in Latin America. No other non-governmental institution has more effectively engaged the U.S. Congress on hemispheric affairs, or is more regularly quoted in the U.S. and Latin American media about inter-American issues. This year, former president of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso and former U.S. trade representative Carla Hills chaired a Dialogue task force that produced "Agenda for the Americas 2005," a widely cited report offering recommendations to revitalize U.S. policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean.

The Dialogue's extensive work on Colombia and Venezuela provides authoritative and balanced policy assessments of the challenges confronting those countries. Our forums and publications on remittances have broken new ground. We are an active voice in debates about Haiti and Cuba—and have helped keep Washington consistently well-informed about developments in Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico. We have worked for several years to keep issues of press freedom, media responsibility, and access to information on the agenda—both in Washington and throughout the region. The Dialogue is shaping policy and action on educational reform in many countries. We are also working hard to focus attention on the hemispheric trade agenda—and to seek bipartisan support for U.S. economic cooperation with Latin America and the Caribbean.

We are grateful for the support of a wide circle of friends, associates, corporate partners, and public and private donors, which is vital to sustain the Inter-American Dialogue's work and its efforts to improve the quality of debate and decision making in hemispheric affairs and to build stronger cooperation in the Americas.

We look forward to an even more intense set of activities in 2005.

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Linowitz Forum

The Linowitz Forum brings the Dialogue's members together in Washington once every two years to discuss the most important issues in hemispheric affairs. The 2004 Forum—the fourteenth time that Dialogue members have met in plenary session—focused primarily on two key themes, the state of free trade negotiations in the hemisphere and the troubled situation of the Andean nations. The Dialogue will issue a policy report drawing on these discussions that will review the main challenges in hemispheric relations, discuss alternative courses of action, and offer recommendations for policy based on the consensus of our members. (See page 24 and 25 for lists of Inter-American Dialogue members.)

U.S. Policy

U.S. Policy Task Force

The Dialogue assembled a special 20-person task force on U.S. Policy, chaired by Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Carla Hills. The task force focused on three broad issues of region-wide importance: economic integration, democratic governance, and security. It issued its final report in February 2005 directed at the incoming U.S. administration.

Published:

Agenda for the Americas 2005, Report of the U.S. Policy Task Force, Inter-American Dialogue, March 2005.

Congressional Members Working Group (CMWG)

The Congressional Members Working Group hosted nine Dialogue sessions on Capitol Hill in 2004. Over 35 members of Congress—from both the Senate and the House of Representatives—participated in one or more meetings. Four of those sessions were the CMWG's flagship events—off-the-record dinners on Capitol Hill with members of Congress,

administration officials, leading experts, and visiting officials from the region.

The CMWG hosted discussions on the following topics on Capitol Hill:

- ▶ Andean Development Corporation (CAF) conference on trade and investment in the Americas
- ▶ Central American Free Trade Agreement
- ▶ *All in the Family*, a report of the Dialogue Task Force on Remittances
- ▶ U.S.-Brazil relations
- ▶ UNDP report on democracy in Latin America
- ▶ U.S. policy toward Colombia
- ▶ Report of the Colin Powell-chaired Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba
- ▶ Trade and investment links between the U.S. South and Central America
- ▶ *Women and Global Leadership*, a report of the Dialogue's network of women leaders

Congressional participants included Senators Norm Coleman (R-MN), Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY), Chris Dodd (D-CT), Bob Graham (D-FL), Mary Landrieu (D-LA), and Paul Sarbanes (D-MD); and Representatives Cass Ballenger (R-NC), John Boozman (R-AK), Henry Brown (R-SC), Phil English (R-PA), Jeff Flake (R-AZ), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), James Leach (R-IA), Sue Myrick (R-NC), Mark Souder (R-IN), Tom Petri (R-WI), Jerry Weller (R-IL), Xavier Becerra (D-CA), John Conyers (D-MI), Jim Davis (D-FL), Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Cal Dooley (D-CA), Sam Farr (D-CA), Barbara Lee (D-NY), Sheila Jackson-Lee (D-TX), Sander Levin (D-MI), Nita Lowey (D-NY), Jim McDermott (D-WA), Robert Menendez

“U.S. security is at stake in Latin America.”

Agenda for the Americas 2005, Report of the U.S. Policy Task Force



involvement provides
vital international
legitimacy to the
demobilization
process. ”

Turning Point in
Colombia? Report of
Colombia Working Group

(D-NJ), Jim Moran (D-VA), Major Owens (D-NY), David Price (D-NC), Charles Rangel (D-NY), Hilda Solis (D-CA), and Maxine Waters (D-CA).

Congressional Staff Working Group (CSWG)

This year, the Dialogue inaugurated a new series on Capitol Hill directed at legislative staff. The group assembled nine times in 2004, and met with Vice President Eduardo Stein of Guatemala; Prime Minister Gerard Latortue of Haiti; and OAS Assistant Secretary General Luigi Einaudi, among others.

Inter-American Legislative Network

The Dialogue held the fifth meeting of its Legislative Network in San Salvador, El Salvador. Four U.S. Congress members joined seventeen Central American legislators to discuss the future of the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA). Salvadoran Economy Minister Miguel Lacayo, Chief Nicaraguan CAFTA Negotiator Carlos Sequeira, Costa Rican Trade Minister Alberto Trejos, Assistant USTR Matt Niemeyer and business and labor leaders joined the exchange. President Francisco Flores of El Salvador hosted a dinner and President-elect Antonio Saca addressed the legislators.

Published:

“Looking Away as a Democracy Dies,” by Michael Shifter, *Los Angeles Times*, December 28, 2004.

“U.S. and Spain: Focus on common foreign-policy goals,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, December 9, 2004.

“¿En que se parecen Bush y Chávez?” by Michael Shifter, *Ideemail* (Peru), November 2004.

“Latin America/U.S.: Policy continuity,” by Michael Shifter and Vinay Jawahar, *Oxford Analytica Latin America Daily Brief*, November 11, 2004.

“U.S. Presidential Elections, Foreign Policy and Latin America,” by Michael Shifter, published by the Woodrow Wilson Center, October 2004.

“Kerry ganó por knockout,” by Peter Hakim, *El Espectador* (Colombia), October 3, 2004.

“The Crucial Role of the Latino Vote in US Presidential Elections,” by Michael Shifter, *FOCAL Point: Spotlight on the Americas*, September 2004.

“Reconciliation in Latin America: A Fine Balance,” by Michael Shifter and Vinay Jawahar, *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Summer/Fall 2004.

“Tracing the Roots of Anti-Americanism in Latin America,” book review by Michael Shifter, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Summer/Fall 2004.

“De Lincoln a Bush, pasando por Reagan y Clinton,” by Michael Shifter, *Ideele* (Peru), May 2004.

“Crecerà el temor,” by Peter Hakim, *El Espectador* (Colombia), March 14, 2004.

“United States: Latin America Policy,” by Michael Shifter and Vinay Jawahar, *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*, March 11, 2004.

“The U.S. and Latin America through the Lens of Empire,” by Michael Shifter, *Current History*, February 2004.

“U.S.-Latin American relations post 9-11,” by Peter Hakim, *Great Decisions* (Foreign Policy Association), January 2004.

The Andean Region

The Colombia Working Group—a select and diverse group of analysts and former policy officials from Colombia, other Latin American countries, Europe, Canada, and the United States—met in Bogotá in April and again in Washington in December with the goal of generating creative ideas and

proposals to help shape thought and action on Colombia in constructive ways.

Michael Shifter testified on “Aid to Colombia—the European Role in the Fight Against Narco-Terrorism,” at a hearing before the House Committee on International Relations, Western Hemisphere Subcommittee.

The Dialogue hosted the following Andean country leaders: former president of Peru Alan García; Economy Minister Mauricio Pozo of Ecuador; Finance Minister Alberto Carrasquilla of Colombia; Andean Community Secretary General Allan Wagner of Peru; chief of the OAS observation mission for the Colombian peace process Sergio Caramagna; former ambassador of Venezuela to the United Nations Milos Alcalay; members of the National Electoral Council (CNE) of Venezuela, Francisco Carrasquero and Jorge Rodríguez; dean of Venezuela’s Andrés Bello Catholic University, Luis Ugalde, S.J.; Mayor Juan Del Granado Cosío of La Páz, Bolivia; Minister of Indigenous Affairs Ricardo Calla Ortega of Bolivia; member of Peru’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Carlos Iván Degregori; and British journalist Sally Bowen.

Published:

Turning Point in Colombia? Rapporteur’s Report by Vinay Jawahar, Colombia Working Group, Inter-America Dialogue, June 2004.

“Malestar en los Andes,” by Michael Shifter, *Foreign Affairs en Español*, October-December 2004.

“Breakdown in the Andes,” by Michael Shifter, *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2004.

“Coca and the Congressman,” by Michael Shifter, *Wide Angle Guide*, December 2004.

“State Building in Colombia: Getting Priorities Straight,” by Michael Shifter

and Vinay Jawahar, *Columbia Journal of International Affairs*, Fall 2004.

“La visita de Bush a Colombia,” by Michael Shifter, *El Espectador* (Colombia), November 22, 2004.

“Aid to Colombia: The European Role in the Fight Against Narco-terrorism,” by Michael Shifter, testimony before the House Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, November 18, 2004.

“The International Dimension of Reelection,” by Vinay Jawahar, *El Espectador* (Colombia), July 25, 2004.

“Like FDR, Uribe Seeks Reelection,” by Michael Shifter, *The Miami Herald*, May 16, 2004.

“U.S. Human Rights Policy towards Colombia, in Implementing U.S. Human Rights Policy,” by Michael Shifter and Jennifer Stillerman, USIP, January 2004.

“Picking a Fight with Venezuela,” by Michael Shifter, *The New York Times*, September 20, 2004.

“Venezuela: Good-faith National Dialogue Could Ease the Impasse,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, September 2, 2004.

“Chávez Wins—Is Venezuela the Loser?” interview with Michael Shifter, *Latin American Law and Business Report*, August 31, 2004.

“Contained Revolution,” by Michael Shifter, *The Washington Post*, August 23, 2004.

“Referendum Cannot Heal a Wounded Venezuela,” by Michael Shifter, *The Los Angeles Times*, August 15, 2004.

“La fórmula del desastre,” by Michael Shifter, *El Espectador* (Colombia), August 7, 2004.

“Venezuela: Only dialogue can restore shattered trust,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, June 10, 2004.

“Critics worry that improvements in security have been accompanied by the introduction of non-democratic measures in Colombia.”

Michael Shifter with Vinay Jawahar, *Journal of International Affairs*

“Mr. Secretary,
the bulk of the
recommendations
in this report will
not help in Cuba’s
transition to
democracy.”

*An Open Letter to
Secretary of State
Colin Powell Regarding
the Commission for
Assistance to a Free Cuba*

“Crece percepción internacional de tendencia antidemocrática de Chávez,” interview with Michael Shifter, *El Nacional* (Venezuela), March 7, 2004.

“Se acerca un momento decisivo para superar la crisis venezolana,” by Reynaldo Trombetta, interview with Michael Shifter, *El Nacional* (Venezuela), February 7, 2004.

Central America

The Dialogue held the fifth meeting of its Inter-American Legislative Network in El Salvador to discuss the future of CAFTA (see page 3). Five Central American bishops spoke at the Dialogue on the economic and social effects of CAFTA on the region’s poor. The Dialogue has facilitated a commission of media owners, editors and reporters who are organizing an ongoing Forum on the Media and Democracy in Central America. With the Southern Growth Policies Board the Dialogue co-hosted a workshop on Capitol Hill on trade and investment links between states in the U.S. South and Central America.

Published:
Advancing the Legislative Debate on the Central American Free Trade Agreement, A Conference Report by Eric Jacobstein, Inter-American Dialogue, July 2004.

“Central America’s Free Trade Gamble,” by Daniel P. Erikson, *World Policy Journal*, Winter 2004/2005.

“Squandering Allies’ Goodwill,” by Daniel P. Erikson, *The Miami Herald*, September 24, 2004.

The Caribbean

Discussions on the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) were led by Foreign Minister Dame Billie Miller of Barbados; Albert Ramdin, former assistant secretary of foreign affairs at CARICOM; and Richard Bernal, chief of the Caribbean Regional Negotiating Machinery. Bernardo Vega, former editor-in-chief of *El Caribe*, and Rosario Espinal of

Temple University, spoke on developments in the Dominican Republic.

Published:
Diasporas in Caribbean Development, Rapporteur’s Report by Michelle Lapointe, Inter-American Dialogue with the World Bank, August 2004.

“Neighbors in Need” by Daniel P. Erikson and Adam Minson, *Baltimore Sun*, November 17, 2004.

“Damage Control in the Caribbean,” by Daniel P. Erikson, *The Washington Post*, September 22, 2004.

Cuba

In response to the report issued by Secretary of State Colin Powell’s Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba, the Dialogue assembled a group of Cuba policy experts who published in September an open letter to the secretary saying that the report’s recommendations would undercut the future success of a democratic Cuba. The Dialogue also organized a Congressional dinner discussion on the Commission report.

The Dialogue continued its multi-year project of promoting exchanges between Cuban economists and staff with the Washington-based international financial institutions. The Dialogue organized a delegation from the IMF and World Bank to attend the annual “Globalization and Development” conference in Havana. After meeting with the World Bank, the Dialogue’s Cuba Working Group convened to discuss the challenges facing Cuba’s social policy system and explore new areas of research. Carlos Saladrigas, chair of the Cuba Study Group, led a discussion on the role of the Cuban-American community in the 2004 U.S. elections.

Published:
An Open Letter to Secretary of State Colin Powell Regarding the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba, Inter-American

Dialogue, September 2004. Available in English and Spanish.

Transforming Socialist Economies: Lessons for Cuba and Beyond (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), edited by Shahid Javed Burki and Daniel P. Erikson.

“Castro’s Cuba: When Clock Stops Ticking, Bet on Engagement May Pay Off,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, December 23, 2004.

“After Fidel,” interview with Daniel P. Erikson, *Yale Globalist*, December 2004.

“Bush, Kerry and Castro: Stormy Relations Ahead,” by Daniel P. Erikson, *FOCALPOINT: Spotlight on the Americas*, October 2004.

“Cuba: The Dilemma—Confiscated properties,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, September 30, 2004.

“Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba: Campaign Fantasy or Credible Blueprint?” by Daniel P. Erikson, *FOCALPOINT: Spotlight on the Americas*, June 2004.

“Castro and Latin America: A Second Wind?” by Daniel P. Erikson, *World Policy Journal*, Spring 2004.

Haiti

The Dialogue hosted a panel discussion on Haiti’s new government, one month after interim Prime Minister Gerard Latortue was sworn into office. In June, Latortue addressed a Dialogue meeting with Congressional staff on Capitol Hill. Six months into his administration, the Dialogue hosted a group of Haitian private sector leaders to discuss the direction of their country. A Capitol Hill session in November focused on prospects for extending new trade preferences to Haiti under the Haitian Economic Recovery and Opportunity Act.

The Dialogue convened several discussions on the crisis in Haiti. In February, former U.S. special envoy to Haiti James Dobbins led a discussion on possible U.S. responses. The Dialogue also held a briefing for Congressional staff on the crisis, and a discussion on the challenges facing humanitarian aid agencies in Haiti, led by representatives from CARE, Partners in Health, and Save the Children. As political violence was erupting after Hurricane Jeanne, Dialogue Co-Chair Peter Bell, who is president of CARE International, spoke on CARE’s experience in the country.

In 2005, the Dialogue is planning a multi-lateral dialogue with Haiti. An international delegation led by Dialogue Co-Chairs Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Peter Bell will meet in Port au Prince with a broad spectrum of Haitian leaders.

Published:

Haiti: Challenges in Poverty Reduction, Conference Report by Daniel P. Erikson, Inter-American Dialogue, April 2004.

“The Haiti Dilemma,” by Daniel P. Erikson, *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Winter-Spring 2004.

“Haití en Llamas,” by Daniel P. Erikson, *Ideele* (Peru), March, 2004.

European/Latin American/U.S. Forum

The Dialogue joined with the Inter-American Development Bank and the Embassy of Spain to initiate the triangular European/Latin American/U.S. Forum. The meeting brought together nearly twenty European policymakers, several U.S. government officials, and some 40 private sector leaders and analysts from Europe, Latin America and the United States, including former presidents Leonel Fernández of the Dominican Republic, Jorge Quiroga of Bolivia, and Miguel Ángel Rodríguez of Costa Rica. Foreign Minister Ana Palacio of Spain and IDB President

“In Haiti, it can take 13 years to secure land titles from the state.”

Haiti: Challenges in Poverty Reduction

“ Ideology
has diverted
attention from a
serious debate
on the various
routes to trade
integration. ”

*Free Trade in the
Americas: Getting
There from Here*

Enrique Iglesias led off the discussions, which focused on Latin America's economic challenges and prospects; governance and security; U.S. global trade policy; and U.S. and European policies toward Latin America. A second meeting was held in February 2005.

Other Exchanges

With the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), the Dialogue hosted a discussion on the role of U.S. Hispanics in policy making towards Latin America, led by Rep. Sylvestre Reyes (D-TX); Cresencio Arcos, director of the Office of International Affairs at the Department of Homeland Security; and Miguel Diaz of CSIS.

Trade and Economics

Andean Development Corporation (CAF) Conference on Trade and Investment

Along with the Andean Development Corporation (CAF) and OAS, the Dialogue hosted the eighth annual CAF conference on trade and investment in the Americas featuring remarks by CAF President Enrique García, OAS Secretary General César Gaviria, U.S. Trade Representative Robert Zoellick, and U.S. Representatives Cal Dooley (D-CA), Phil English (R-PA), Jerry Weller (R-IL), Xavier Becerra (D-CA), and Tom Petri (R-WI). Other speakers included Trade Minister Ivonne A-Baki and Finance Minister Mauricio Yépez of Ecuador; Minister for Economic Development Horst Grebe of Bolivia; UN Ambassador Heraldo Muñoz of Chile; former defense minister Marta Lucía Ramírez of Colombia; Andean Community Secretary General Allan Wagner of Peru; and Ambassador to the United States Bernardo Álvarez of Venezuela.

Published:

*Trade and Investment in the Americas:
Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF)*

VII Annual Conference, Inter-American Dialogue, May 2004.

Other Trade Programs

The Dialogue's Trade Policy Group, which includes Washington trade officials and analysts, met two times in 2004 to discuss key issues of international trade that affect the Western Hemisphere. Topics ranged widely from the state of FTAA negotiations to progress in the Doha Round to disagreements over agriculture.

The Dialogue held the fifth meeting of its Legislative Network in San Salvador, El Salvador. Four U.S. Congress members joined seventeen Central American legislators to discuss the future of the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA). Salvadoran Economy Minister Miguel Lacayo, Chief Nicaraguan CAFTA Negotiator Carlos Sequeira, Costa Rican Trade Minister Alberto Trejos, Assistant USTR Matt Niemeyer and business and labor leaders joined the exchange. President Francisco Flores of El Salvador hosted a dinner and President-elect Antonio Saca addressed the legislators.

With the Southern Growth Policies Board, the Dialogue co-hosted a workshop on Capitol Hill about how states in the U.S. South could establish trade and investment links with Central American nations.

The Dialogue held a series of discussions on a range of trade issues. Speakers included Martin Redrado, Argentina's secretary of international trade; Ross Wilson, the chief U.S. negotiator for the Free Trade Area of the Americas; Albert Ramdin, former assistant secretary of foreign affairs at CARICOM; Richard Bernal, chief of the Caribbean Regional Negotiating Machinery; Eduardo Amadeo, chief of staff of the presidency of Mercosur; five Central American bishops on the economic and social effects of CAFTA; and others.

Published:

Free Trade in the Americas: Getting There from Here, Carla A. Hills, Jaime Zabludovsky, Jeffrey J. Schott, Marcos Sawaya Jank, Zuleika Arashiro, Inter-American Dialogue, October 2004.

Advancing the Legislative Debate on the Central American Free Trade Agreement, A Conference Report by Eric Jacobstein, Inter-American Dialogue, July 2004.

“Summit goal: Get FTAA back on track,” by Peter Hakim, *The Miami Herald*, January 11, 2004.

“Free Trade in the Americas: Getting to Yes,” by Peter Hakim, *Banking Association for Finance and Trade Newsletter*, January 2004.

Latin American Economy

The Dialogue launched a series on “The Latin American Economy: Where does it stand? Where is it headed?” The first session—led by Michael Gavin of UBS Warburg and David Malpass of Bear Stearns & Co—was on the macro-economic outlook, and the second—led by Shahid Javed Burki of EMP-Financial Advisors, Robert Devlin of the IDB, and John Williamson of the Institute for International Economics—was on the impact of China’s emergence on the global scene. The Dialogue also hosted a discussion on Latin America’s wireless telecommunications sector led by Clovis Baptista of the OAS Inter-American Telecommunication Commission; Janet Hernandez of Coudert Brothers; and Frank Urbany of BellSouth Corporation.

Dialogue visiting senior fellow Claudio Loser, former director of the Western Hemisphere Department at the IMF, has undertaken a study of IMF programs in seven countries in Latin America and what lessons can be drawn from these experiences.

Published:

Privatization in Latin America: The rapid rise, recent fall, and continuing puzzle of a contentious economic policy, by John Nellis, Rachel Menezes, and Sarah Lucas, Inter-American Dialogue with the Center for Global Development, January 2004.

Privatization in Latin America, Working Paper by John Nellis, Inter-American Dialogue with the Center for Global Development, January 2004.

“La Argentina y el FMI en 2005: Amor Eterno o Ruptura Definitiva,” by Claudio Loser, *El Economista* (Argentina), December 23, 2004.

“Creen que no se puede pagar mucho más,” interview with Claudio Loser, *La Nación* (Argentina), September 24, 2004.

“El Fondo podría querer un acuerdo más duro para 2005,” interview with Claudio Loser, *Ambito Financiero* (Argentina), August 31, 2004.

“Negociación clave para la prosperidad económica,” by Claudio Loser, *La Nación* (Argentina), March 18, 2004.

“Loser: el FMI le dio a la Argentina el beneficio de la duda,” interview with Claudio Loser, *La Nación* (Argentina), January 29, 2004.

Remittances

The Dialogue launched *All in the Family*, a task force report on remittances, at a luncheon with members of Congress on Capitol Hill. Senators Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY) and Paul Sarbanes (D-MD), and Representative Charles Rangel (D-NY) spoke.

The Dialogue hosted discussions on the effect of new money laundering regulations on remittances flows; engaging diaspora communities in social and economic development; and the IDB’s recently-released study on remittances.

““ In the past decade of great financial volatility in Latin America, remittances have become a vital safety net.””

All in the Family, Report of the Inter-American Dialogue Task Force on Remittances.

“Democracy burdens journalists in ways that repressive regimes never did.”

(Marifeli Pérez-Stable)
The Miami Herald

The Dialogue is housing the new Remittances and Rural Development Program for Latin America and the Caribbean, created by the IDB's Multilateral Investment Fund and the UN International Fund for Agricultural Development.

Published:

All in the Family. Latin America's Most Important International Financial Flow, Report of the Inter-American Dialogue Task Force on Remittances, Inter-American Dialogue, January 2004. Available in English and Spanish.

Diasporas in Caribbean Development, Rapporteur's Report by Michelle Lapointe, Inter-American Dialogue with the World Bank, August 2004.

“Mexican Hometown Associations and Development Opportunities,” by Manuel Orozco and Michelle Lapointe, Columbia University's *Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 2004.

Democratic Governance

Published:

Against the Odds: Democracy in Latin America, Conference Report, Inter-American Dialogue, March 2004. Available in English and Spanish.

Forum on UNDP Report on Democracy

In collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Dialogue hosted a discussion on Capitol Hill of the UNDP's widely cited report on democracy in Latin America. The session featured remarks from Senators Norm Coleman (R-MN) and Chris Dodd (D-CT) and congressional hosts Jim Leach (R-IA), Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Bill Delahunt (D-MA), and Robert Menendez (D-NJ). Leading Latin American political figures—former president Jorge Quiroga of Bolivia, Congresswoman Epsy Campbell of Costa Rica, and former minister of education Paulo Renato de Souza of

Brazil—offered commentary on the state of democracy in their countries.

The Media and Democracy in Central America

The Dialogue facilitated the formation of a commission of media owners, editors and reporters that convened a conference in Antigua, Guatemala, with three dozen media leaders from five Central American countries to discuss and endorse a blueprint for creating a permanent regional mechanism to improve the quality of the media and to strengthen its contribution to democracy.

Access to Information Legislation

In cooperation with the OAS Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression, the Dialogue hosted a closed-door discussion—with representatives from eight missions to the OAS and several experts from Latin America—on advancing and promoting in the OAS General Assembly a hemispheric convention on access to information in the Americas.

Press Freedom in Latin America and the Caribbean

The Dialogue hosted its annual Capitol Hill symposium on the status of press freedom in the region. In a separate session, Carlos Fernando Chamorro, editor of the Nicaraguan weekly *Confidencial*, spoke on media and elections in Central America.

Published:

“Central America: Improve Media Quality, Strengthen Governments,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, October 14, 2004.

Race Relations

The Dialogue serves as the secretariat for the **Inter-Agency Consultation on Race in Latin America (IAC)**, a 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. The Dialogue hosts regular meetings of IAC members.

The IAC offered a workshop in La Ceiba, Honduras for communities of African descent with support from the Inter-American Foundation and regional civil society organizations. At the session, President Ricardo Maduro announced he would create a high-level commission to improve living conditions for Afro-descendant Hondurans.

The IAC held sessions on social inclusion and the 2005 census in Colombia; and on recent findings on race, ethnicity, and the Millennium Development Goals.

The Dialogue served as one of the lead organizers of the Second Meeting of Afro-Descendant Legislators of the Americas and the Caribbean in Bogotá, Colombia.

The Dialogue hosted a series of discussions on issues affecting Afro-descendants in the region, including sessions on: Colombia's Afro-descendant communities with former Colombian governors; a racial equality index with UNESCO's Latin America coordinator for racial discrimination; the politics of race and affirmative action in Brazil; the role of African descendants with Brazilian business and association leaders; and promoting human rights and socioeconomic development with Afro-descendant women community leaders and activists from the region.

Published:

Afro-Descendants: Development with Participation, Workshop Report and Video CD-ROM, Inter-American Dialogue, February 2004. Available in English, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Etnicidad, Raza, Género y Educación en América Latina, edited by Donald R. Winkler and Santiago Cueto, PREAL, October 2004.

Race Report, Inter-American Dialogue, August 2004. Available in English, Spanish, and Portuguese.

"The Civil Rights Act: Beyond a National Legacy," by Tianna Paschel, *Birmingham News*, July 25, 2004.

Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas

Senator Mary Landrieu (D-LA) and Representatives James Leach (R-IA), Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Nita Lowey (D-CA), and Hilda Solis (D-CA) hosted a discussion of the report *Women and Global Leadership*, published by the Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas—a joint initiative of the Inter-American Dialogue and the International Center for Research on Women. The event was co-sponsored by Hunt Alternatives Fund, the U.S. Institute of Peace, and Women's Foreign Policy Group.

Published:

Women and Global Leadership, Report of the Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas, Inter-American Dialogue, April 2004.

"Eradicate violence against women in Latin America," by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, November 25, 2004.

"Latin American Women: Making political inroads, weakening stereotypes," by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, September 17, 2004.

Social Policy

Education Reform

The **Partnership for Educational Revitalization in the Americas (PREAL)**—managed jointly with the Corporation for Development Research (CINDE) in Santiago, Chile—seeks to improve the quality and equity of education.

“ Society does not provide conditions under which we can do our jobs with tranquility and leave our children at home with tranquility.”

(Rebeca Grynspan)
Women and Global Leadership

“It is important to get all children into primary school. But it is just as important to teach them once they are there. If not, we are simply engaging in demagoguery.”

(Jeffrey Puryear),
La Tercera (Chile)

Accomplishments in education include:

- ▶ PREAL launched its first national report cards on education in Peru and Nicaragua.
- ▶ The PREAL working group on education standards and assessment organized a conference in Lima, Peru. It advised ministerial officials in Honduras and Guatemala and published a policy brief on best strategies.
- ▶ Two new working groups—on decentralization and school autonomy, and on teacher professionalization—were established and held meetings in El Salvador and Chile and published working papers.
- ▶ Educational “study tours” were conducted for school and community leaders from poorer countries to visit innovative education programs in other Latin American countries.
- ▶ With the Colombian Business Foundation for Education, PREAL organized a visit by 14 Central American business leaders to Bogota and Cartagena to view successful public-private education partnerships. PREAL and the Costa Rican Association of Businessmen for Development (AED) hosted the third Central American Business Leadership Conference in San José.
- ▶ PREAL’s Education Research Fund conducted its annual research competition, selecting nine proposals for funding.
- ▶ With the Mexican Ministry of Education and the Latin American Institute of Educational Communication (ILCE), PREAL organized an international conference in Mexico City on best practices in Latin American education.
- ▶ The Academy of Education Development co-sponsored with PREAL a workshop in Washington that convened practitioners from Latin America to discuss strategies

and best practices for implementing decentralization in education.

Published:

Informe de progreso educativo: Nicaragua, Report Card, PREAL, August 2004.

Informe de progreso educativo: Peru, Report Card, PREAL, 2003.

Etnicidad, Raza, Género y Educación en América Latina, edited by Donald R. Winkler and Santiago Cueto, PREAL, October 2004.

Maestros: Nuevas Perspectivas sobre su Desarrollo y Desempeño, PREAL with the Inter-American Development Bank, August 2004.

Construcción de la profesión docente en América Latina. Tendencias, temas y debates, Working Paper by Denise Vaillant, PREAL, December 2004.

La descentralización de la educación y las relaciones de rendición de cuentas en los países latinoamericanos, Working Paper by Emanuela di Gropello, PREAL, August 2004.

¿Tiene efectos la responsabilidad externa en los indicadores educacionales de los alumnos? Un análisis entre los estados de los EE.UU., Working Paper by Martin Carnoy and Susana Loeb, PREAL, April 2004.

See www.preal.org for complete list of policy brief and best practices bulletins.

“América Latina y la educación que falta,” by Jeffrey Puryear, *La Tercera* (Chile) and *La Prensa* (Nicaragua), November 9, 2004.

“La rendición de cuentas debe llegar a la educación,” interview with Jeffrey Puryear, *Industrias* (Ecuador), October 2004.

Social Policy

The Dialogue, in partnership with the Center for Global Development, is working to

galvanize political support for the social agenda set out in the 2001 policy report, *Washington Contentious: Economic Policy for Social Equity in Latin America*. An updated version of the report is being drafted for publication in 2005.

Published:

Toward a New Social Contract in Latin America, Policy Brief by Nancy Birdsall and Rachel Menezes, Inter-American Dialogue with the Center for Global Development, December 2004.

Privatization in Latin America: The rapid rise, recent fall, and continuing puzzle of a contentious economic policy, Policy Brief by John Nellis, Rachel Menezes, and Sarah Lucas, Inter-American Dialogue with the Center for Global Development, January 2004.

Privatization in Latin America, Working Paper by John Nellis, Inter-American Dialogue with the Center for Global Development, January 1994.

Other Exchanges

Southern Cone

The Dialogue hosted discussions on: Chilean politics led by Interior Minister José Miguel Insulza and Senator Edgardo Boeninger; private investment in Chile's public infrastructure with Vice Minister of Public Works Clemente Pérez; the business climate in Argentina led by former chairman and CEO of Spain's Telefónica, Miguel Ángel Gutiérrez, and former Techint senior executive, Carlos Tramutola; Brazilian foreign policy led by former U.S. ambassadors to Brazil, Anthony Harrington and Anthony Motley, Thomaz Guedes Da Costa of National Defense University, and Ambassador of Brazil Rubens Barbosa; Lula's presidency with Stan Gacek of the AFL-CIO, Paulo Vieira da Cunha of HSBC Securities, and Riordan Roett of the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University; and

participatory local development in Brazil led by local community leaders.

Mexico

The Dialogue welcomed newly appointed Ambassador of Mexico to the United States Carlos de Icaza. Editor of *Foreign Affairs en Español*, Rafael Fernández de Castro, spoke about the Fox administration and prospects for the 2006 presidential election. Luis Rubio of Mexico's Center for Research and Development led a discussion on Mexico's political and economic outlook.

The Organization of American States (OAS)

In December, the Dialogue hosted separate meetings with the two leading candidates for OAS secretary-general—former president Miguel Ángel Rodríguez of Costa Rica and Chile's minister of the interior, José Miguel Insulza. On his election, the Dialogue organized a meeting for Rodríguez with the Washington NGO community.

The Dialogue hosted a roundtable discussion in November on the corporate restructuring underway at the OAS, the leadership demands of the organization, and the agenda of substantive issues it faces. Acting Secretary General Luigi Einaudi participated, along with several other senior OAS officials.

Published:

"Reconciliation in Latin America: A Fine Balance," by Michael Shifter and Vinay Jawahar, *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Summer/Fall 2004.

"The Reluctant Partner," by Peter Hakim, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2004.

"Mexico: Long way to go to implement solid reforms," by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, November 11, 2004.

“The economic reforms of the 1990s benefited mostly the already rich and well educated, without generating either growth or jobs.”

Toward a New Social Contract in Latin America

“ I always compared the IMF with other structures that have great cohesion and vertical discipline: the old Communist Party, the Vatican, and the army.”

(Claudio Loser)
Enemigos, by
Ernesto Tenenbaum
(Norma, 2004)

“Mexico: Fox missed chance for greatness,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, October 28, 2004.

Group of Fifty (G-50)

Amid the imminent 2004 U.S. presidential elections, the Group of Fifty (G-50) held their eleventh annual meeting in Washington, D.C. and St. Michaels, Maryland from October 13 to 17. G-50 Chairman Moisés Naím and Dialogue President Peter Hakim opened the meeting and led a discussion with Fred Bergsten, Richard Haass, Bjørn Lomborg and Joseph Stiglitz. Commentary was provided by David de Ferranti, Arminio Fraga and Mary Anastasia O’Grady. A keynote discussion featured Newsweek International editor Fareed Zakaria. Other speakers included former presidents Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada (Bolivia) and Ernesto Zedillo (Mexico); pollsters Karlyn Bowman, Matthew Dowd and Stanley Greenberg; analysts Caroline Atkinson, Sergio Bendixen, Shahid Javed Burki, Jorge Gestoso, Roberto Suro, and David Rothkopf. Under Secretary of Treasury John Talyor offered the closing keynote address in Washington. The weekend portion in St. Michaels featured a conversation with Geeta Rao Gupta and a dialogue with psychologist Norman Rosenthal. Presently, the G-50 has its sights set on its Twelfth Annual Meeting that will take place in September 2005 in the People’s Republic of China.

Corporate Programs

Dinners with Fernando Henrique Cardoso

Robert Rubin, former treasury secretary and Citigroup director, hosted a small dinner discussion at Citigroup headquarters in New York. Former president of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso—co-chair of the Inter-American Dialogue—was the featured guest at the dinner, which included some 20 corporate and financial leaders, among them John Whitehead, chair of the Inter-American Dialogue’s endowment

fund. The event was part of our continuing efforts to establish a partnership between the Dialogue and corporations and financial institutions that are committed to Latin America. A second dinner featuring Fernando Henrique Cardoso was hosted in Miami by publisher Alberto Ibarguen and by the law firm Greenberg Traurig.

Corporate Circle

The Dialogue’s Corporate Circle members (see page 20 for a list) engage the most important political and economic figures in the hemisphere through the Inter-American Dialogue’s face-to-face events and conference calls; they exchange analysis and ideas regularly in the Dialogue’s daily *Latin America Advisor* newsletters; they have opportunities for private briefings by the Dialogue’s staff and network of analysts; and they have priority access to the Dialogue’s latest published research and commentary on the region.

In March, *The Miami Herald* began excerpting the Dialogue’s *Latin America Advisor* content on its Americas Page every Wednesday and Saturday.

The *Latin America Advisor* welcomed new members to its Board of Advisors—Donna Hrinak, former U.S. ambassador to Brazil and other countries in the region, now at Steel Hector & Davis in Miami; Diana Mondino, head of Latin America ratings at Standard & Poor’s in New York; and Adrian Cruz, who runs a venture capital firm in Miami and is former president for Latin America of UK-based GlaxoSmithKline. Janet Hernandez, an attorney and SVP at Virginia-based Telecommunications Management Group, joined the Board of the Dialogue’s weekly *Latin America Telecom Advisor*.

The *Latin America Advisor* circulated its third annual special report, “Latin America Forecasts: 2005,” an informal survey of predictions, data and analysis.

Publications

Dialogue Publications

Agenda for the Americas 2005, Report of the U.S. Policy Task Force, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Carla A. Hills, Co-Chairs, March 2005.

Turning Point in Colombia? Rapporteur's Report by Vinay Jawahar, Colombia Working Group, June 2004.

Diasporas in Caribbean Development, Rapporteur's Report by Michelle Lapointe, with the World Bank, August 2004.

An Open Letter to Secretary of State Colin Powell Regarding the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba, September 2004. Available in English and Spanish.

Transforming Socialist Economies: Lessons for Cuba and Beyond (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), edited by Shahid Javed Burki and Daniel P. Erikson.

Haiti: Challenges in Poverty Reduction, Conference Report by Daniel P. Erikson, April 2004.

Trade and Investment in the Americas: Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF) VII Annual Conference, May 2004.

Free Trade in the Americas: Getting There from Here, Carla A. Hills, Jaime Zabludovsky, Jeffrey J. Schott, Marcos Sawaya Jank, Zuleika Arashiro, October 2004.

Advancing the Legislative Debate on the Central American Free Trade Agreement, Conference Report by Eric Jacobstein, July 2004.

All in the Family. Latin America's Most Important International Financial Flow, Report of the Inter-American Dialogue Task Force on Remittances, January 2004. Available in English and Spanish.

Against the Odds: Democracy in Latin America, Conference Report, March 2004. Available in English and Spanish.

Women and Global Leadership, Report of the Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas, April 2004.

Afro-Descendants: Development with Participation, Workshop Report and Video CD-ROM, February 2004. Available in English, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Etnicidad, Raza, Género y Educación en América Latina, edited by Donald R. Winkler and Santiago Cueto, October 2004.

Race Report, August 2004. Available in English, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Toward a New Social Contract in Latin America, Policy Brief by Nancy Birdsall and Rachel Menezes, December 2004.

Privatization in Latin America: The rapid rise, recent fall, and continuing puzzle of a contentious economic policy, Policy Brief by John Nellis, Rachel Menezes, and Sarah Lucas, with the Center for Global Development, January 2004.

Privatization in Latin America, Working Paper by John Nellis, with the Center for Global Development, January 1994.

Informe de progreso educativo: Nicaragua, Report Card, August 2004.

Informe de progreso educativo: Perú, Report Card, 2003.

Etnicidad, Raza, Género y Educación en América Latina, edited by Donald R. Winkler and Santiago Cueto, October 2004.

Maestros: Nuevas Perspectivas sobre su Desarrollo y Desempeño, with the Inter-American Development Bank, August 2004.

“ Citizens demands threaten to engulf elected leaders and undermine political institutions. ”

Against the Odds: Democracy in Latin America

“The administration neither led, nor followed, nor got out of the way in Haiti.”

(Daniel Erikson)
The Economist

Construcción de la profesión docente en América Latina. Tendencias, temas y debates, Working Paper by Denise Vaillant, December 2004.

La descentralización de la educación y las relaciones de rendición de cuentas en los países latinoamericanos, Working Paper by Emanuela di Gropello, August 2004.

¿Tiene efectos la responsabilidad externa en los indicadores educacionales de los alumnos? Un análisis entre los estados de los EE.UU., Working Paper by Martin Carnoy and Susana Loeb, April 2004.

See www.preal.org for complete list of policy brief and best practices bulletins.

Opinion Pieces and Journal Articles by Dialogue Staff

Dan Erikson

“Central America’s Free Trade Gamble,” *World Policy Journal*, Winter 2004/2005.

“After Fidel,” interview, *Yale Globalist*, December 2004.

“Neighbors in Need” with Adam Minson, *Baltimore Sun*, November 17, 2004.

“Bush, Kerry and Castro: Stormy Relations Ahead,” *FOCALPOINT: Spotlight on the Americas*, October 2004.

“Squandering Allies’ Goodwill,” *The Miami Herald*, September 24, 2004.

“Damage Control in the Caribbean,” *The Washington Post*, September 22, 2004.

“Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba: Campaign Fantasy or Credible Blueprint?” *FOCALPOINT: Spotlight on the Americas*, June 2004.

“Haití en Llamas,” *Ideele* (Perú), March, 2004.

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“The Haiti Dilemma,” *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Winter-Spring 2004.

Peter Hakim

“Kerry ganó por knockout,” *El Espectador* (Colombia), October 3, 2004.

“Crecerá el temor,” *El Espectador* (Colombia), March 14, 2004.

“The Reluctant Partner,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2004.

“Summit goal: Get FTAA back on track,” *The Miami Herald*, January 11, 2004.

“U.S.–Latin American relations post 9–11,” *Great Decisions* (Foreign Policy Association), January 2004.

“Free Trade in the Americas: Getting to Yes,” *Banking Association for Finance and Trade Newsletter*, January 2004.

Vinay Jawahar

“Latin America/U.S.: Policy continuity,” with Michael Shifter, *Oxford Analytica Latin America Daily Brief*, November 11, 2004.

“State Building in Colombia: Getting Priorities Straight,” with Michael Shifter, *Columbia Journal of International Affairs* Fall 2004.

“The International Dimension of Reelection,” *El Espectador* (Colombia), July 25, 2004.

“Reconciliation in Latin America: A Fine Balance,” with Michael Shifter, *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Summer/Fall 2004.

“United States: Latin America Policy,” with Michael Shifter, *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*, March 11, 2004.

Michelle Lapointe

“Mexican Hometown Associations and Development Opportunities,” with Manuel Orozco, *Columbia University’s Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 2004.

Claudio Loser

“La Argentina y el FMI en 2005: Amor Eterno o Ruptura Definitiva,” *El Economista* (Argentina), December 23, 2004.

“Creen que no se puede pagar mucho más,” interview, *La Nación* (Argentina), September 24, 2004.

“El Fondo podría querer un acuerdo más duro para 2005,” interview, *Ambito Financiero* (Argentina), August 31, 2004.

“Negociación clave para la prosperidad económica,” *La Nación* (Argentina), March 18, 2004.

“Loser: el FMI le dio a la Argentina el beneficio de la duda,” interview, *La Nación* (Argentina), January 29, 2004.

Manuel Orozco

Manuel Orozco writes a regular column for the Nicaraguan magazine *Confidencial*.

Tianna Paschel

“The Civil Rights Act: Beyond a National Legacy,” *Birmingham News*, July 25, 2004.

Marifeli Pérez-Stable

“Castro’s Cuba: When Clock Stops Ticking, Bet on Engagement May Pay Off,” *The Miami Herald*, December 23, 2004.

“U.S. and Spain: Focus on common foreign-policy goals,” *The Miami Herald*, December 9, 2004.

“Eradicate violence against women in Latin America,” *The Miami Herald*, November 25, 2004.

“Mexico: Long way to go to implement solid reforms,” *The Miami Herald*, November 11, 2004.

“Mexico: Fox missed chance for greatness,” *The Miami Herald*, October 28, 2004.

“Central America: Improve Media Quality, Strengthen Governments,” *The Miami Herald*, October 14, 2004.

“Cuba: The Dilemma—Confiscated properties,” *The Miami Herald*, September 30, 2004.

“Latin American Women: Making political inroads, weakening stereotypes,” *The Miami Herald*, September 17, 2004.

“Venezuela: Good-faith National Dialogue Could Ease the Impasse,” *The Miami Herald*, September 2, 2004.

“Venezuela: Only dialogue can restore shattered trust,” *The Miami Herald*, June 10, 2004.

Jeffrey Puryear

“América Latina y la educación que falta,” *La Tercera* (Chile) and *La Prensa* (Nicaragua), November 9, 2004.

“La rendición de cuentas debe llegar a la educación,” interview, *Industrias* (Ecuador), October 2004.

Michael Shifter

“Looking Away as a Democracy Dies,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 28, 2004.

“Coca and the Congressman,” *Wide Angle Guide*, December 2004.

“La visita de Bush a Colombia,” *El Espectador* (Colombia), November 22, 2004.

“Aid to Colombia: The European Role in the Fight Against Narco-terrorism,” testimony before the House Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, November 18, 2004.

“¿En que se parecen Bush y Chávez?” *Idelemail* (Peru), November 2004.

“Malestar en los Andes,” *Foreign Affairs en Español*, October-December 2004.

““ Despite advances, the region faces many challenges to eradicating racial discrimination, including the lack of disaggregated data and the need to implement anti-discrimination laws.” ”

(Tianna Paschel)
Birmingham News

“Deteriorating relations between the U.S. and Venezuela also hobbled the OAS in carrying out its role as a peacemaker.”

(Michael Shifter)
The Washington Post

“U.S. Presidential Elections, Foreign Policy and Latin America,” published by the Woodrow Wilson Center, October 2004.

“Picking a Fight with Venezuela,” *The New York Times*, September 20, 2004.

“Breakdown in the Andes,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2004.

“The Crucial Role of the Latino Vote in US Presidential Elections,” *FOCAL Point: Spotlight on the Americas*, September 2004.

“Chávez Wins—Is Venezuela the Loser?” interview, *Latin American Law and Business Report*, August 31, 2004.

“Contained Revolution,” *The Washington Post*, August 23, 2004.

“Referendum Cannot Heal a Wounded Venezuela,” *The Los Angeles Times*, August 15, 2004.

“La fórmula del desastre,” *El Espectador* (Colombia), August 7, 2004.

“Tracing the Roots of Anti-Americanism in Latin America,” book review, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Summer/Fall 2004.

“Reconciliation in Latin America: A Fine Balance,” with **Vinay Jawahar**, *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Summer/Fall 2004.

“Like FDR, Uribe Seeks Reelection,” *The Miami Herald*, May 16, 2004.

“De Lincoln a Bush, pasando por Reagan y Clinton,” *Ideele* (Peru), May 2004.

“Crece percepción internacional de tendencia antidemocrática de Chávez,” interview, *El Nacional* (Venezuela), March 7, 2004.

“Se acerca un momento decisivo para superar la crisis venezolana,” by Reynaldo Trombetta, interview with Michael Shifter, *El Nacional* (Peru), February 7, 2004.

“The U.S. and Latin America through the Lens of Empire,” *Current History*, February 2004.

“U.S. Human Rights Policy towards Colombia, in Implementing U.S. Human Rights Policy,” with Jennifer Stillerman, USIP, January 2004.

FINANCIAL REPORT

Statement of Financial Position 2004 and 2003

	2004*	2003
Assets:		
Cash and cash equivalents	888,554	1,069,132
Accounts receivable	131,678	61,724
Grants receivable	671,682	1,400,689
Investments	5,766,127	5,560,011
Prepaid expenses	34,403	26,163
Property and equipment	76,900	94,752
Deposits	15,668	17,423
TOTAL ASSETS	7,585,012	8,229,894
Total Liabilities:		
Accounts payable	4,433	10,495
Accrued expenses	103,438	65,434
Refundable advances	87,004	36,915
Grants payable		345,307
Total Liabilities	194,875	458,151
Net Assets:		
Unrestricted	324,300	430,407
Temporarily restricted	1,770,775	2,303,888
Endowment funds:		
Board-designated funds	954,678	698,564
Permanently restricted	4,340,384	4,338,884
Total Net Assets	7,390,137	7,771,743
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS	7,585,012	8,229,894

**2004 figures are preliminary and unaudited*

Inter-American Dialogue Statement of Activities 2004

	2004*
Revenue	
Foundations	641,424
Corporations	312,321
Governments	1,341,217
International organizations	477,653
Collaborating institutions	212,465
Individual contributions	129,286
Miscellaneous program revenue	6,643
Interest/dividends	171,881
Gain (loss) on investments	340,128
Total Revenue	3,633,017
Pass-throughs	708,919
TOTAL REVENUE	3,633,017
Expenses	
Program Services:	
Policy programs	1,576,582
Country studies	497,618
Networks	69,896
Sol M. Linowitz Forum	102,419
Outreach and communications	55,797
Corporate programs	200,921
Subgrants	708,919
Support Services:	
Administration	609,678
Fundraising	105,496
Governance	25,200
TOTAL EXPENSES	3,952,526

**2004 figures are preliminary and unaudited*

FUNDING SOURCES

Foundations

Albert and Lillian Small Foundation
Avina Foundation
Christopher Reynolds Foundation
Ford Foundation
GE Fund
Inter-American Foundation
Open Society Institute
Rockefeller Foundation
Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation
Tinker Foundation
U.S Institute of Peace

Governments

Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)
Denmark Program for Human Rights for Central America (PRODECA)
Embassy of Chile
Embassy of Finland
Embassy of Japan
Government of Germany
Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)
United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID)
U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)

International Organizations

Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF)
Global Development Network
Inter-American Development Bank
United Nations Development Programme
World Bank

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Corporate Partners provide the Inter-American Dialogue with critical financial support for program and institutional development, for which we are grateful. Please let us know if you would like to learn more about opportunities for becoming involved as Corporate Partners of the Dialogue.

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The Dialogue's Corporate Circle expanded again in 2004, bringing total membership to about 120 of the hemisphere's leading corporations. Companies interested in enrolling in the Circle are invited to send an email to Erik Brand ebrand@thedialogue.org.

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AT Kearney, Inc.	General Mills	Pepsi-Cola Company
Bank One	General Motors Corporation	Pillsbury Co.
BCIE	Global Crossing International Ltd.	Planty & Associates LLC
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Coudert Brothers	Lockheed Martin Corporation	The Miami Herald
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Associates are regular participants in the Dialogue's public forums, conferences, and other policy exchanges. Dialogue Associates are assured an invitation to nearly all Dialogue activities and they receive all Dialogue reports and other publications (usually in advance of their formal release).

For information on how to join our Associate's program, please contact Danielle Romanetti, development manager (202-463-2930 or dromanetti@thedialogue.org).

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