



2005

INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE ■ 2005 PROGRAM REPORT

2005 PROGRAM REPORT HIGHLIGHTS

We are pleased to present a summary overview of the Inter-American Dialogue's work in 2005. As this report makes clear, the Dialogue remains a visible and influential presence, both in Washington and Latin America.

This year, the Dialogue released two important reports. Its comprehensive policy analysis for 2005, *A Break in the Clouds*, emphasizes that Latin America's political success and social advance depend squarely on future economic growth—which will only be achieved if the region's governments narrow income gaps between rich and poor, invest substantially more in education, and reform tax and labor laws. The report of the Dialogue's U.S. policy task force, *Agenda for the Americas 2005*, calls on the Bush administration to revitalize U.S. cooperation with the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean in order to advance trade liberalization and economic growth, develop new approaches to migration, combat crime and violence, and reinforce democratic rule. Both reports received unprecedented attention in the U.S. and regional media.

In addition, Dialogue staff published some ten articles in leading policy journals like *Foreign Affairs*, *Current History*, *Journal of Democracy*, *SAIS Review*, and *World Policy Journal*, which analyzed U.S. policy, developments in Latin America, trade negotiations in Central America, Haiti's political upheaval, and the prospects for Cuba after Castro. They also published more than 30 articles in newspapers such as *Financial Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *The Miami Herald*—on topics ranging from U.S. policy and China's looming presence in the region, to trade, economic policy, democratic governance, remittances, Cuba, Haiti, and Venezuela. Dialogue staff have testified before Congress and are regularly quoted by U.S. and Latin American newspapers and interviewed on television and radio.

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“ There is little reason to expect that U.S. relations with Latin America will improve soon. More likely, they will get worse. ”

Peter Hakim,
Foreign Affairs

Highlights of the year's activities include the 9th annual Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF) conference, which offered an opportunity to review trade and investment issues across Latin America. Also in cooperation with CAF and the Inter-American Development Bank, the Dialogue brought seven U.S. legislators to Cartagena, Colombia to discuss the Andean Free Trade Agreement with their Andean counterparts. In 2005, the Andean Working Group was formally renamed to acknowledge its broader reach beyond an exclusive focus on Colombia, and it met for the eighth time, in Bogotá.

Other notable achievements last year include the formation of a special working group to assess the effectiveness of the Organization of American States; the inauguration of a new task force on remittances and development; a consultation led by former prime minister Joe Clark on Canada's role in the region; and the release of a second report card on schools in Latin America.

Also in 2005, the Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group hosted nearly 40 members of Congress in nine policy discussions on Capitol Hill. Through well-prepared conferences and publications, the Dialogue kept Haiti and Cuba on Washington's radar screen. We hosted over a dozen forums on the upcoming elections in Mexico. And the Dialogue has sustained efforts to keep issues of press freedom, media responsibility, and access to information on the policy agenda—both in Washington and the region.

The Dialogue's Corporate Program launched the weekly *Latin America Energy Advisor* in October, attracting a new board of advisors made up of twelve high-ranking leaders from industry and government.

We were pleased to welcome four new members to the Dialogue's Board of Directors in 2005—David de Ferranti, Donna Hrinak, Enrique Iglesias, and Peter McPherson. We also recruited two new Dialogue members, Ernesto Fernández-Holmann of Nicaragua and Teodoro Petkoff of Venezuela. We anticipate with pleasure having the contributions of these outstanding leaders in the years to come.

The support of our wide circle of friends, associates, corporate partners, and public and private donors is vital to the Inter-American Dialogue's work during a period of uncertainty in U.S.-Latin American relations. It is our assurance that the Dialogue will continue to generate genuinely independent, balanced, and high quality debate.

We look forward to an even more robust set of activities in 2006.



In Memoriam: Sol M. Linowitz

Sol M. Linowitz, the founding chairman of the Inter-American Dialogue, died on March 18, 2005 at age 91. Among his many accomplishments was his success as negotiator of both the Panama Canal Treaties and the Camp David Accords. We were fortunate that he was willing to devote so much energy to the Dialogue and hemispheric affairs generally. He set the tone and direction of the Dialogue and its work. We will greatly miss him and his leadership.

In tribute to this extraordinary man, the Dialogue inaugurated the Sol M. Linowitz Forum in 1996 to provide opportunities for public and private leaders from throughout the Americas to search for cooperative solutions to the most important problems in hemispheric affairs. We remain committed to making that forum a vital part of inter-American relations.

We are honored that the Inter-American Dialogue has been named as one of the organizations to which donations can be made in his honor.

“ **Anti-Americanism has reemerged as a factor in inter-American relations.** ”

A Break in the Clouds
(Inter-American Dialogue)

Inter-American Relations

2005 Linowitz Forum Report

The Inter-American Dialogue released its comprehensive report for 2005—*A Break in the Clouds*—on July 14. The report emphasizes that Latin America’s political success and social advance depend squarely on future economic growth—which will only be achieved if the region’s governments work harder to narrow income gaps between rich and poor, invest substantially more in education, and reform tax and labor laws. The report also concludes that U.S.-Latin American relations have deteriorated badly to the detriment of all countries.

U.S. Policy Task Force Report

On February 24, the Dialogue’s U.S. Policy Task Force launched its report *Agenda for the Americas 2005*. Chaired by former president of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso and former U.S. trade representative Carla Hills and composed of more than 20 public and private leaders from across the hemisphere, the task force was assembled in response to the growing concern that U.S. policy in the region is inadequately serv-

ing the interests of Latin America and the United States. The report said that if the White House were to place Latin America in the top tier of priorities where it belongs, then a more robust economy throughout the hemisphere would be achievable in President Bush’s second term. Task force members met with Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick, briefed members of the U.S. Congress, and widely publicized their findings in Latin America.

Consultation on Canada’s Role in the Region

The Inter-American Dialogue, together with the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL) and the Inter-American Development Bank, organized on April 28 a consultation with a group of about 20 leading analysts to discuss ways to restore priority attention within the international community to Latin American and Caribbean issues, with an emphasis on Canadian engagement. The consultation was led by former prime minister Joe Clark of Canada and then-IDB president Enrique Iglesias. The Dialogue continues to work with FOCAL on this initiative.

“ A robust U.S.-Latin American partnership to protect democratic politics is vital. ”

Agenda for the Americas 2005
(Inter-American Dialogue)

Second European/Latin American/ U.S. Forum

With the Inter-American Development Bank and the Embassy of Spain, the Dialogue hosted on February 15 the second meeting of policymakers and public and private sector leaders from the United States, Europe and Latin America. IDB President Enrique Iglesias and Ambassador Carlos Westendorp of Spain gave opening remarks, and Roger Noriega, U.S. assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs, gave a keynote speech. Topics included trade, social cohesion funds, remittances, multilateral approaches to combating drug trafficking, and challenges to democracy. A closing dinner was hosted by Ambassador Westendorp at the Spanish Embassy, where guests included Senator Norm Coleman (R-MN) and Representative Jim Kolbe (R-AZ).

Focus on the OAS

The Dialogue assembled a special working group to review the Organization of American States (OAS), assess its effectiveness in the current context of inter-American relations, and propose reforms to enhance its contribution to democracy, peace, and security in the hemisphere. The group of about 16 leading policy analysts and former government officials from the United States, Canada, and the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean met on August 1. Their discussion focused on the OAS's core activities—safeguarding democracy and human rights, resolving political conflicts, and strengthening regional security—and devoted special attention to the implications of the changing political dynamics of hemispheric affairs. Secretary General José Miguel Insulza and former acting secretary general Luigi Einaudi spoke at a reception hosted by the Bolivian Embassy on July 31. The group will release its report in 2006.

In January, the Dialogue arranged for the two leading candidates for OAS secretary general—José Miguel Insulza, interior

minister of Chile and Luis Ernesto Derbez, foreign minister of Mexico—to speak at their respective embassies with a small group of public and private leaders.

Summit of the Americas

Argentina's vice minister of foreign affairs, Jorge Taiana, the coordinator of the Summit of the Americas in Mar del Plata Argentina, addressed a Dialogue audience on July 12.

Peter Hakim spoke on a panel with John Maisto, U.S. permanent representative to the OAS, on the Summit of the Americas. The July 8 event was part of a bi-monthly series co-sponsored by the Dialogue with Esquel Group Foundation, Partners of the Americas, the Council of the Americas, and the U.S. coordinator for the Summit.

Journalists joined senior staff of the Dialogue on November 10 for an informal discussion about the Summit of the Americas and upcoming elections in the region.

Other Inter-American Relations

On October 27, the Dialogue organized, with the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO-Chile), a workshop on “U.S.-Latin American Relations: Challenges for a Security Agenda.” The workshop, which took place at the Dialogue, was part of a larger research project developed by FLACSO-Chile and sponsored by the Open Society Institute. The goal was to bring together academics and policymakers from Latin America and the United States to discuss U.S. foreign policy changes after 9/11; evaluate new security challenges for the region; and analyze how the U.S. security agenda is affecting Latin American governments. Participants included OAS Secretary General José Miguel Insulza; principal U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs Charles Shapiro; and prominent academics and civil society experts from the United States and Latin America.

David Rothkopf of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and author of *Running the World: The Inside Story of the National Security Council and the Architects of American Power* (May 2005), spoke at the Dialogue on June 21 about U.S. foreign policy decision-making and how it relates to Latin America.

Journalists joined Dialogue senior staff on May 4 and again on November 10 for a press roundtable on recent developments in U.S.-Latin American relations.

At an October 18 roundtable co-sponsored by the World Affairs Council of Washington, D.C. and the Dialogue, ambassadors from Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela discussed political and social developments in the Americas.

Published:

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

“Is Washington Losing Latin America?” by Peter Hakim, *Foreign Affairs*, January 2006.

“Bush Got Nada...” by Michael Shifter and Peter Hakim, *Los Angeles Times*, November 13.

“Summit of the Americas: Presidents Must Do More Than Mouth Platitudes,” by Peter Hakim, *The Miami Herald*, November 1.

“América Latina: Ante una encrucijada” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *El País* (Spain), December 31.

“La maldición de los segundos periodos,” by Michael Shifter, *Ideele* (Peru), November 30.

“Latin America: After Katrina: Compassion, politics,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, September 15.

“But Seriously...” by Michael Shifter, *The Washington Post*, August 28.

“Latin America-U.S.: Challenges Face Noriega Successor,” by Michael Shifter and Viany Jawahar in Oxford Analytica Latin America Daily Brief, August 9.

“Vigorous OAS Vital for Democracies,” by Michael Shifter, *The Miami Herald*, June 6.

“OEA: El momento de la verdad,” by Daniel Erikson, *La Tercera* (Chile), April 12.

“U.S./ Latin America: A real partnership depends on both sides,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, March 17.

“Latin America’s Curious Peacemaker,” by Michael Shifter, *Washington Post*, February 15 (published in *O Estado do Sao Paulo*, “O homen por tras por fim do impasse regional: Fidel,” February 16).

Trade

Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF) Conference

The 9th annual CAF conference, held on September 7 and 8 in Washington, D.C., was an opportunity for leading policy makers to review developments in the Andean region and examine trade and investment issues across Latin America. This year’s meeting focused on the U.S.-Andean Free Trade Agreement. The conference is sponsored by the Corporación Andina de Fomento, Organization of American States, and Inter-American Dialogue. Ambassador Andrés Bianchi of Chile hosted the reception and OAS Secretary General José Miguel Insulza joined the meeting.

Participating members of Congress included Senator Norm Coleman (R-MN), and Reps. Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Dan Burton (R-IN), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), Nita Lowey (D-NY), Tom Petri (R-WI) and Jerry Weller (R-IL). Other speakers included: former trade and finance minister Juan Manuel Santos of Colombia; Assistant USTR Regina Vargo; Allan Wagner, secretary general of the Andean Community;

“Under the Bush administration, Latin America has further receded on the U.S. horizon.”

Marifeli Pérez-Stable,
The Miami Herald

“China is exporting more, saving more, investing more in education, and securing far more foreign investment.”

Break in the Clouds
(Inter-American Dialogue)

former trade and defense minister Marta Lucía Ramírez of Colombia; former foreign and finance minister José Ángel Gurría of Mexico; Senator Alejandro Foxley of Chile; and Central Bank President Martín Redrado of Argentina, among others.

Trade Policy Making in Latin America

The Dialogue—with the Inter-American Development Bank and the University of Toronto—held several workshops between March and June that focused on domestic trade policy-making in Latin America and the participation of civil society in national trade processes. These workshops—held in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, Mexico and Uruguay—are part of the Dialogue’s larger trade project that seeks to improve the participation of civil society in domestic trade policy-making and enhance future international trade negotiations.

Trade Policy Group

The Dialogue’s trade policy group met on February 14 with global trade expert Carlos Pérez del Castillo to discuss prospects for progress on the agricultural agenda of the World Trade Organization and how that might affect the FTAA negotiations.

The group met again on March 23 to discuss congressional politics and the U.S. trade agenda. Former U.S. representative Cal Dooley (D-CA) led the session, with comments by Mac Destler of the University of Maryland, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative Matt Niemeyer, and Viji Rangaswami of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Other Trade Sessions

A delegation of eight Central American legislators—from the ARENA party of El Salvador; the FRG, Unionist, PSN, Integrationist, and PAN parties of Guatemala; and the National Party of Honduras—affirmed on April 12 at the

Dialogue that “wide consensus” exists in their countries to approve CAFTA.

At an April 13 Dialogue session, Costa Rican presidential candidate Ottón Solís expressed misgivings regarding the Central American Free Trade Agreement.

Trade Minister Jorge Illingworth of Ecuador spoke at a Dialogue forum on October 20 about the prospects for a U.S.-Andean free trade agreement, as well as the Palacio administration’s trade agenda and priorities.

On February 10, the Dialogue hosted six bishops from the Andean Community for a discussion on the Andean Free Trade Agreement.

A May 18 Dialogue discussion on the economic impact of DR-CAFTA featured Victor Bulmer-Thomas of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Jairo Acuña-Alfaro of Oxford University, and Pablo Rodas Martini of the Central America in the World Economy of the 21st Century Program.

Published:

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

“Free trade isn’t free of partisan politics,” by Daniel Erikson and Eric Jacobstein, *Los Angeles Times*, September 26.

“Barely Squeezing Through: U.S. Politics and the Central American Free Trade Agreement,” by Eric Jacobstein, *FOCAL: Spotlight on the Americas*, April.

Economics

José Ángel Gurría, a Dialogue member and former finance and foreign minister of Mexico; Manuel Suarez-Mier, Bank of America’s chief economist for Latin America; and IMF deputy director Caroline Atkinson led a June 28 discussion at the Dialogue on how economic developments

are likely to affect Mexico's 2006 presidential elections.

Former Central Bank president and CEO of Brazil's state-owned oil firm Petrobras, Francisco Gros, participated in a June 30 conference call with the Dialogue.

The Dialogue hosted a January 25 discussion with Pamela Cox, who recently assumed the post of vice president for Latin America and the Caribbean at the World Bank.

Guillermo Perry, World Bank chief economist for Latin America, and his colleagues Humberto López and Omar Arias led a November 17 discussion on their preliminary report, "Virtuous Cycles between Poverty Reduction and Growth."

Javier Iguñiz of the Consortium of Economic and Social Research (CIES) of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru led a discussion at the Dialogue on October 20 about the impact of inequality on democratic governability.

Analysts from Verizon Communications, NERA Economic Consulting, and Peru-based consulting firm ALTERNA, led an August 16 discussion on the regulatory climate for telecom industry in Latin America.

On March 29, the Dialogue hosted Anoop Singh of the IMF for a discussion on Latin America's experience with economic reforms since the early 1990s.

Dialogue member Albert Fishlow, on leave from Columbia University, and Paulo Vieira da Cunha, chief economist for Latin America at HSBC Securities, spoke at the Dialogue on March 24 about economic trends in Brazil.

Eduardo Lora of the IDB and Dialogue member David de Ferranti, former World Bank vice president for Latin America, led a forum on China's challenge to the region, hosted by the Dialogue on March 22.

Former economy vice minister Miguel A. Kiguel, Vladimir Werning, a vice president at JPMorgan Chase & Co., and Enrique

Boilini, managing member of Yellow Jersey Capital spoke on March 1 at the Dialogue on the success of Argentina's debt swap.

Guillermo Larrain, superintendent of pension funds in Chile, led a February 9 session at the Dialogue on Chile's pioneering experience with private social security accounts.

Published:

"Working for Hamburgers," by Claudio Loser, *World City Business* magazine, October.

Claudio Loser presented testimony before the U.S. Congress in July on China's economic presence in Latin America.

"Latin America: China Tries to Pick off Taiwan's Allies," by Daniel Erikson, *The Miami Herald*, June 24.

"China in the Caribbean: A Benign Dragon?" by Daniel Erikson, *FOCAL Point: Spotlight on the Americas*, April.

Remittances

Task Force on Remittances and Development

With the Multilateral Investment Fund of the Inter American Development Bank (IDB-MIF) and Annie E. Casey Foundation, the Dialogue announced on September 19 the inauguration of a Task Force on Remittances and Development. The new task force, which met on September 20, will scrutinize the next generation of remittance issues with the goal to expand the development opportunities presented by the \$50 billion being sent to Latin America annually. The task force features 23 members from Latin America, the Caribbean and the United States.

Other Initiatives on Remittances

The IDB-MIF and the Dialogue also announced the launch of a score card project that will grade more than 50 remittance transfer companies on their quality of service, their relationship with financial

“**Remittances provide temporary relief to a family's poverty, but seldom provide a permanent avenue to financial security.**”

Manuel Orozco,
“Leveraging Efforts on Remittances and Financial Intermediation”

“ **There is considerable agreement on a fresh U.S. approach to migration.** ”

Agenda for the Americas 2005
(Inter-American Dialogue)

intermediaries, and the trend-lines of their transaction costs.

The remittances and development project of the Dialogue coordinated the implementation of a \$6 million grant fund established by the IDB-MIF and the UN International Fund for Agricultural Development to leverage remittances for development through financial intermediation and literacy as well as capacity building to hometown associations. The year-long program granted \$3.5 million to 12 institutions in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The Dialogue hosted the release on December 5 of a new report by Manuel Orozco about the development potential of remittances and other transnational initiatives. Jointly published by the Inter-American Dialogue and the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University, the new study is based on field work in the United States, Latin America and the Caribbean.

On May 25, Sergio Bendixen, president of the polling firm Bendixen & Associates, presented the results of a study, conducted in association with the Dialogue, on remittances sent by Cubans living in the United States to their families on the island.

CEO Charlie Fote of First Data Corporation (which owns Western Union) announced on October 12 at the Dialogue a \$1.25 million financial contribution for a new partnership with U.S.-based hometown associations. The discussion was led by Governor Amalia García Medina of Zacatecas and Efraín Jiménez Muñoz of the Zacatecan Federation of Southern California.

The Dialogue worked as liaison with businesses, governments and non-profit organizations to promote financial intermediation to migrant remittance senders and recipients. Activities included addressing various forums such as the United Nations, a Summit of the Americas preparatory meeting, the IDB, Illinois Bankers Association,

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Money Transmitters Association.

The Dialogue has conducted several policy research projects, including: two studies of the impact of remittances and banks commissioned by the IDB; a study on remittances and microfinance institutions presented to the Financial Sector Development Conference; and a study on new partnerships for innovation in microfinance presented in Frankfurt, Germany, and funded by the United Kingdom Department for International Development. Two other projects involve comparative analyses of remittance flows to South East Asia and West Africa. The South East Asia study was presented in July at the Asian Development Bank in Manila, which funded the project.

Other activities include projects on transaction costs and hometown associations. The Dialogue released a study on the development impact of hometown associations in rural Zacatecas, Mexico.

Published:

The following publications are by Manuel Orozco:

Remittances: Global Opportunities for International Person-to-Person Money Transfers, London: Lafferty Group, November 28.

“Hometown Associations and Development: Ownership, Correspondence, Sustainability and Replicability,” in *New Patterns for Mexico: Observations on Remittances, Philanthropic Giving, and Equitable Development*, ed. Barbara J. Merz, Global Equity Initiative, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 2005.

“Transnationalism and Development: Trends and Opportunities in Latin America,” in *Remittances: Development Impact and Prospects*, World Bank, 2005.

“Diasporas, Development and Transnational Integration: Ghanaians in the U.S., U.K. and Germany,” Institute for the Study of International Migration and the Inter-American Dialogue, October 23.

“Transnational Engagement, Remittances and Their Relationship to Development in Latin America and the Caribbean,” Institute for the Study of International Migration, Georgetown University, July.

“Markets and Financial Democracy: The Case for Remittance Transfers,” *Journal of Payment Systems Law*, Vol. 1 No. 2, March/April.

Group of 50 Meets in China

The Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Group of Fifty took place in Beijing and Shanghai in the People’s Republic of China on September 13 to 18. The trip featured discussions with top Chinese government officials, leading news correspondents stationed in China, and international business executives and analysts. G-50 members were guests of the Chinese Development Research Center. The Group of Fifty, composed of select executives from some of the most important corporations in Latin America, is co-sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Inter-American Dialogue; Peter Hakim serves on the Board and participated in the meetings in China.

Congressional Members Working Group

The Congressional Members Working Group hosted nine Dialogue sessions on Capitol Hill in 2005. Over 38 members of Congress—from both the Senate and the House of Representatives—participated in one or more meetings. Seven of the 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 dinner discussions on the following topics

- Nicaragua with Bush administration officials and members of Movimiento por Nicaragua (October 19)
- Brazil with former U.S. ambassadors to Brazil Anthony Harrington and Donna Hrinak and Brazilian ambassador Roberto Abdenur (July 20)
- Millennium Challenge Account with Paul Applegarth, president of Millennium Challenge Corporation (June 20)
- Central American Free Trade Agreement with legislators from Central America and the Dominican Republic and presidential candidate Ottón Solís of Costa Rica (April 12)
- Andean Free Trade Agreement with Colombian legislators and chief trade negotiator Hernando José Gómez (March 17)
- Migration reform with Bush administration officials and ambassadors from the region (March 2)
- The hemispheric trade agenda with Deputy USTR Peter Allgeier (February 8)

Congressional participants included: Senators Norm Coleman (R-MN) and Christopher Dodd (D-CT), and Reps. Tom Allen (D-ME), Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Judy Biggert (R-IL), Mike Castle (R-DE), Susan Davis (D-CA), Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Phil English (R-PA), Bob Etheridge (D-NC), Sam Farr (D-CA), Gene Green (D-TX), Katherine Harris (R-FL), Doc Hastings (R-WA), Rush Holt (D-NJ), Mike Honda (D-CA), Bob Inglis (R-SC), William Jefferson (D-LA), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), Barbara Lee (D-CA), Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX), Jim Leach (R-IA), Sander Levin (D-MI), Nita Lowey (D-NY), Don Manzullo (R-IL), Jim McDermott (D-WA), Gregory Meeks (D-NY), Jim Moran (D-VA), Collin Peterson (D-MN), Charles

“ China is a long way from threatening—or even competing with—U.S. influence in Latin America. ”

Peter Hakim,
Foreign Affairs

“ **Latin American schools produce less student learning per dollar spent than do most schools elsewhere.** ”

Quantity without Quality
(PREAL)

Rangel (D-NY), Dennis Rehburg (R-MT), Loretta Sánchez (D-CA), Christopher Shays (R-CT), Don Sherwood (R-PA), Vic Snyder (D-AR), Henry Waxman (D-CA), Jerry Weller (R-IL), and Lynn Woolsey (D-CA).

U.S. Policy Task Force Report Presented to Congress

The Aspen Institute and the Dialogue co-hosted a breakfast with members of Congress in May on the Dialogue’s U.S. Policy Task Force report, *Agenda for the Americas 2005*. Dialogue Board members Carla Hills and Mack McLarty presented the report’s findings.

Celebration of Africans in the Americas

On February 16, the Dialogue, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) Working Group on Western Hemisphere Affairs, and the Brazil Information Center hosted “A Celebration of Africans in the Americas” on Capitol Hill in recognition of African-American History Month. Gregory Meeks (D-NY) and Donald Payne (D-NJ) of the Congressional Black Caucus spoke and several other CBC members participated—Chairperson Melvin Watt (D-NC); Maxine Waters (D-CA); Barbara Lee (D-CA); Danny Davis (D-IL); Donna Christensen (D-VI); and Gwen Moore (D-WI). Special guests included Afro-Cost Rican Congresswoman Epsy Campbell-Barr, who is also a Dialogue member.

Congressional Staff Working Group

Juan Gabriel Valdés, head of the United Nations mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) spoke with the Congressional Staff Working Group on March 24 about recent developments in Haiti and preparations for elections later this year.

On April 25, U.S. policy task force member and former INS commissioner Doris Meissner and Michael Shifter briefed Congressional staff on political and migration issues in the hemisphere and other findings from the *Agenda for the Americas 2005* task force report.

Inter-American Legislative Network

In cooperation with the Inter-American Development Bank and the Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF), the Dialogue brought together U.S. and Andean legislators in Cartagena, Colombia on April 23 to discuss the Andean Free Trade Agreement (AFTA). Seven U.S. Congress members joined 18 Andean legislators and trade negotiators, and business and labor leaders for an intense exchange on the benefits and problems associated with an AFTA accord. The U.S. delegation was chaired by Reps. Jerry Weller (R-IL) and Jim Moran (D-VA), and also included Reps. Henry Cuellar (D-TX), Darrell Issa (R-CA), Ron Lewis (R-KY), Kenny Marchant (R-TX) and Joe Wilson (R-SC).

Social Policy

Education Reform

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

Accomplishments in education include:

- At a December 16 press briefing in Washington, PREAL issued its second report card on schools in Latin America. *Quantity without Quality* grades Latin America on academic achievement, equity among students, and seven other indicators of educational success. Latin America receives mediocre-to-failing grades on every indicator except enrollments.
- PREAL and its local partner, FEREMA, launched the second Honduras national report card in Tegucigalpa on October 6.
- PREAL and its Colombian partners launched six provincial education report cards—in Atlántico, Antioquia, Bolívar, Caldas, Casanare and Valle del Cauca from August to November.

- In Prague, Czech Republic, PREAL organized the first “Global Conference on Education Research in Developing and Transition Countries.” The conference, funded by the World Bank and organized in collaboration with the Center for Economic Research and Graduate Education (CERGE-EI) in Prague, convened on March 31 to April 2 some 100 specialists from more than 30 countries.
- In January, PREAL published the book *Etnicidad, Raza, Género y Educación en América Latina* edited by Donald R. Winkler and Santiago Cueto.
- In Guatemala in January, PREAL launched its book *Maestros en América Latina: Nuevas Perspectivas sobre su Formación y Desempeño*. President of Universidad del Valle and former minister of education, Roberto Moreno, spoke at the event.
- In collaboration with Empresarios por la Educación (ExE), a Colombian non-governmental organization, PREAL organized a delegation of Salvadoran leaders in February to observe successful business-education projects in Colombia.
- The Inter-American Development Bank announced in February a joint effort with PREAL aimed at improving management and strategic planning abilities of Central American education ministries.
- In April, PREAL and the Research Center for Educational Development (CIDE) organized a three-day conference in Santiago, Chile on accountability in education.
- PREAL along with Centro Alfa and the Foundation of Business for Development (FEPADE) organized on April 7 and 8 in San Salvador, El Salvador, a conference on Best Practices to Improve Education in Latin America.
- PREAL’s experience with reporting on education was the focus of a day-long workshop in Brasilia, Brazil on June 15. Organized by the U.S. Department of Education and USAID, the session was held in conjunction with the second meeting of the Hemispheric Educational Forum of the Summit of the Americas.
- PREAL held an international seminar on teachers in Latin America on July 27 and 28 in Juan Dolio, Dominican Republic, in cooperation with Action for Basic Education Inc. (EDUCA), the Pontifical Catholic University Madre y Maestra, and the Ministry of Education of the Dominican Republic. As a follow up, PREAL’s working group has held workshops in Colombia, Guatemala, and Nicaragua to discuss policies related to the teaching profession.
- The winners of PREAL’s third annual education research competition met in Buenos Aires on August 15 and 16 to present their studies. The project’s director, Santiago Cueto, launched a book of papers from the first competition, *Uso e Impacto de la Información Educativa en América Latina*, at FLACSO-Argentina.
- In collaboration with DevTech Systems, CARE International, and Catholic Relief Services, PREAL is working on a project whose aim is to contribute to eradicating child labor in Central America and the Dominican Republic through education.

Published:

(For a complete list of PREAL publications, please see www.preal.org.)

Quantity without Quality: A Report Card on Education in Latin America. Washington, DC: PREAL, 2005.

Informes de Progreso Educativo. A series of six report cards on the progress of education in six Colombian provinces funded by Corpoeducación, Fundación Corona, Fundación Empresarios por la Educación, PREAL, and local partners.

Informe de Progreso Educativo: Honduras 2005, PREAL/FEREMA, 2005.

“ **Public schools continue to exacerbate the gap between rich and poor.** ”

Quantity without Quality
(PREAL)

“ Moving racial impact questions to the table is an important step for improving international development policy. ”

Judith Morrison,
FOCAL Point

Private Education and Public Policy in Latin America. Laurence Wolff, Juan Carlos Navarro, and Pablo González. Eds. Washington, DC: PREAL, 2005.

Pasantías de Maestros en América Latina: Una Herramienta para Estimular la Innovación Educativa. Santiago: PREAL, 2005.

Uso e Impacto de la Información Educativa en América Latina. Santiago Cueto. Ed. Santiago: PREAL, 2005.

“Construyendo la Capacidad de Investigación Educativa en los Países en Desarrollo: Algunos Temas Fundamentales,” by Jeffrey Puryear, *La Prensa* (Nicaragua), August 7.

Social Policy Reform

Guillermo Perry, World Bank chief economist for Latin America, and his colleagues Humberto López and Omar Arias led a November 17 discussion on their preliminary report, “Virtuous Cycles between Poverty Reduction and Growth.”

The Dialogue hosted a book discussion on March 15 about, *Crucial Needs, Weak Incentives: Social Sector Reform, Democratization, and Globalization in Latin America*, led by the book’s editors, Robert Kaufman of Rutgers University and Joan Nelson of the Woodrow Wilson Center, with commentary by the IDB’s Nohra Rey de Marulanda.

The Dialogue hosted a meeting on June 3 about social policy under President Fox with Josefina Vasquez Mota, minister of social development of Mexico.

Published:

“Más allá del Consenso de Washington: Nuevo contrato social en América Latina, basado en el empleo,” by Rachel Menezes

* The Dialogue serves as 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.

and Nancy Birdsall, in *Foreign Affairs en Español*, July–September.

“Latin America: Poverty Hurts Children the Most,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, December 22.

Democratic Governance

Race Program

The Inter-Agency Consultation on Race in Latin America (IAC)* held a private luncheon on February 16 with Dialogue member and Congresswoman Epsy Campbell of Costa Rica—recently elected president of her party, *Partido Acción Ciudadana*—along with members of the Black Organization of Central America (ONECA).

Silas da Silva, president of Integrare, the Brazilian Minority Supplier Development Council partner, met with several business professionals on October 28 at the Dialogue for a discussion on Afro-Brazilian entrepreneurship.

On October 27, three African descendant leaders from Colombia, Ecuador and Peru spoke about policies to improve the lives of African descendants in the Andean region. The event was part of a series on African descendants in Latin America, sponsored by the National Council de la Raza (NCLR), in cooperation with the Inter-Agency Consultation on Race in Latin America (IAC) and the Inter-American Foundation.

Former congresswoman Zulia Mena and former governor of the Chocó state, Luis Murillo spoke at a Dialogue roundtable discussion on October 18 during their U.S. tour to raise awareness of the challenges facing Afro-Colombian communities.

Clare Roberts, president of the OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and Special Rapporteur on the Rights of People of African Descent, and Douglas Martins, Brazilian vice-minister for the promotion of racial equality, met with representatives of international develop-

ment organizations on October 18 at the Dialogue. The next day, Martins led a public discussion on Brazil's efforts to improve racial equality throughout Latin America and the drafting of the Inter-American Convention against Racial Discrimination.

Eliane Cavalleiro, the diversity and educational inclusion coordinator at Brazil's Ministry of Education, spoke at a private meeting co-hosted by the IAC and the Inter-American Development Bank on October 3 on racial discrimination and access to basic education.

Jurema Werneck, founder and director of CRIOLA, a non-governmental Afro-Brazilian women's organization based in Rio de Janeiro, spoke at the Dialogue on September 19.

Leaders from Latin American youth organizations, Movimiento Mi Cometa of Ecuador and Mundo Afro of Uruguay and Paraguay, spoke at the Dialogue on July 21 about challenges facing Afro-descendant adolescents in Latin America.

The Dialogue hosted a delegation of Afro-Colombian political and community leaders on June 16 to speak about violence targeted against them by paramilitaries, the loss of cultural identity, the destruction of natural resources, and forced displacement as a result of Colombia's ongoing armed conflict.

The Dialogue hosted Brazil's minister for the promotion of racial equality, Matilde Ribeiro, on June 8.

The IAC with the Inter-American Foundation and the Mexico Institute at the Woodrow Wilson Center hosted a May 11 discussion on the historical experience and current status of African-descendants in Mexico. Panelists included anthropologists Bobby Vaughn of Notre Dame de Namur University and Sagrario Cruz-Carretero of the Universidad Veracruzana-Xalapa. Later that evening, a seminar and reception were held at National Council of La Raza.

Apolinar Salcedo Caicedo, mayor of Santiago de Cali, and president of the Association of Mayors of Black Majority Cities (AMUNAFRO) spoke at the Dialogue on April 26. He was joined by Oscar Gamboa, executive director of AMUNAFRO, and Marta Chevarra of the Colombian Ministry of the Interior.

The role of international institutions in promoting the elimination of racial discrimination was the focus of an April 21 Dialogue discussion that featured Edna Roland, one of five experts charged with monitoring global discrimination following the 2001 UN World Conference against Racism.

The Dialogue co-hosted a session with Global Rights on March 2 about the emerging leadership of Brazil in the formation of social inclusion policies. Brazil's deputy minister for the promotion of racial equality, Douglas Martins de Souza, and Diva Moreira of the United Nations Development Program, led the discussion.

The Dialogue, the Congressional Black Caucus, and the Brazil Information Center hosted "A Celebration of Africans in the Americas" on Capitol Hill in recognition of African-American History Month in February.

Celeo Alvarez, president of ONECA, led a discussion on February 17 about the influence of the Garifuna community on Central American policy.

Oscar Gamboa, director of international affairs for the Federation of Mayors of the Pacific Coast of Colombia, led a discussion on January 26 about the impact of security and development policies in Colombia's pacific coastal region.

Published:

"The Role of Canada and the Inclusion of Latin Americans of African Descent," by Judith Morrison, *FOCAL Point: Spotlight on the Americas*, February.

“ Sustained efforts to improve the quality of journalism are fundamental to strengthening democracy. ”

Democracy and the Media
(Inter-American Dialogue)

“ In Latin America, retiring buzzwords such as ‘left’ and focusing instead on practical solutions to difficult problems would be a welcome step forward. ”

Michael Shifter and
Vinay Jawahar,
Current History

Press Freedom

Access to Information

The Dialogue convened a panel of five experts from Central America to report on the status of freedom of information in their countries at the Third International Commissioners Conference on Access to Information hosted by the Federal Institute for Access to Public Information of Mexico on February 21 to 23 in Cancún, Mexico. Background papers prepared for the panel are available on the Dialogue’s web site.

With the Consejo Nacional de la Empresa Privada (CONEP) and the Fundación Institucionalidad y Justicia (FINJUS) the Dialogue organized on October 4 in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic a meeting of 40 activists, journalists, legislators, business leaders, and Supreme Court justices to develop strategies for promoting access to information in Central America, Panama, and the Dominican Republic. President Leonel Fernández hosted a reception for the group at the National Palace.

In cooperation with the Uruguayan Press Association, the Dialogue sponsored a workshop on November 18 at the National Parliament in Montevideo to facilitate exchange among 35 experts committed to strengthening access to information in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Rodolfo Nin Novoa, vice president of Uruguay and president of the Senate, hosted a reception at the Foreign Ministry.

Criminal Defamation Laws

On April 5, the Dialogue hosted over 30 press freedom advocates from the region for a day-long strategy session focused on criminal defamation laws and their threat to freedom of the press in Latin America. OAS special rapporteur for freedom of expression, Eduardo Bertoni, led the discussion.

Press Freedom in the Americas

The Dialogue hosted its annual Capitol Hill symposium on the status of press freedom in the region on December 8 sponsored by Senator Norm Coleman (R-MN), with special guest Roberto Saba, director of the Association for Civil Rights of Argentina.

Published:

Free Speech in the Americas: From Verbitsky to Herrera Ulloa, A Rapporteur’s Report by Montserrat Solano Carboni, August. (In English and Spanish.)

Democracy and the Media: The Ineluctable Connection between Democracy and the Quality of Journalism, Report of the Commission on the Media and Democracy in Central America, May. (Available in Spanish.)

Politics in Latin America

The Dialogue and the Woodrow Wilson Center hosted a symposium on the challenges of democracy in Latin America. Peter Smith, who recently published *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, led the February 17 discussion. Joseph Tulchin, director of the Latin American Program at the Woodrow Wilson Center, and Moisés Naím, editor of *Foreign Policy*, offered commentary.

Ignacio Walker Prieto, Chile’s minister of foreign relations, explored economic and trade matters as well as political and security questions at the Dialogue on March 9.

Jaime Ravinet, Chile’s minister of defense, spoke at a Dialogue session on June 29 about the Chilean military’s democratic defense policy.

Vice President Rodolfo Nin-Novoa of Uruguay spoke about the new Latin American left on September 6 at a forum organized by the Dialogue at the Embassy of Uruguay.

The Dialogue hosted a discussion on November 22 with the director of Latinobarómetro, Marta Lagos, about the recently released findings of this year's survey of Latin American opinion, covering 18 countries in the region and a broad array of themes—including national politics, domestic policy issues, the quality of democracy and governance, international relations, and others.

South America's political ferment was the topic of a discussion on May 5 that focused on the alleged ascendancy of the left. Panelists were Peruvian anthropologist Carlos Ivan Degregori from Princeton University; Marcela Sánchez, columnist for *The Washington Post*; and Paulo Sotero, Washington correspondent for Brazil's *O Estado do Sao Paulo*.

Dialogue member and former president Osvaldo Hurtado of Ecuador spoke on political reform at an April 6 meeting at the Dialogue.

Cuban journalist and author, Carlos Alberto Montaner, led an April 7 discussion on the political panorama in Latin America.

Published:

“Latin America's Populist Turn,” by Michael Shifter, *Current History*, February.

“Don't Buy Those Latin American Labels,” by Michael Shifter, *Los Angeles Times*, December 24.

“Latin America: Keep politics out of the courts,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, September 29.

“Latin America: Most still believe democracy is best,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, July 7.

“Latin America Defies Old Labels,” by Michael Shifter and Viany Jawahar, *Los Angeles Times*, March 1.

Women's Leadership

Published:

Women on the Verge: Corporate Power in Latin America, Report of the Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas in collaboration with Simmons School of Management, April.

“Breaking Through,” by Joan Caivano and Sylvia Maxfield, *Latin Finance*, June.

Country and Regional Programs

Andean Region

The Dialogue hosted six bishops from the Andean Community for a discussion on the Andean Free Trade Agreement on February 10.

Andean Working Group

The Andean Working Group met for the eighth time on May 9 and 10 in Bogotá, Colombia. The group was formally renamed to acknowledge its broader reach, beyond an exclusive focus on Colombia-related issues, and includes participants from Colombia, Europe, the United States, and across Latin America. They discussed Venezuela's influence in the region; the status of Andean free trade negotiations; democratic governance problems; European policy toward the Andean region; and a range of Colombia-specific issues. The group spoke with Colombian High Commissioner for Peace Luis Carlos Restrepo about the controversial Justice and Peace Law, the status of negotiations with paramilitary groups, and the prospects for future negotiations.

Colombia

The Dialogue organized a half-day conference on August 3, “Colombia Under Uribe: Taking Stock and Looking Ahead,” with a focus on the Justice and Peace Law and Colombia's international relations. Panelists included Dialogue members Juan Manuel Santos and Fernando Cepeda

“ Venezuela's unsettled politics could produce instability throughout the Andean region. ”

Agenda for the Americas 2005
(Inter-American Dialogue)

“**Rather than blindly pushing a U.S. economic and anti-drug agenda, Washington should join with Bolivia and other Latin American nations to devise alternatives that address their problems and ours.**”

Michael Shifter,
Los Angeles Times

Ulloa; former foreign ministers Rodrigo Pardo and María Emma Mejía; and former vice-minister of justice and the interior, Rafael Nieto Loaiza. José Miguel Vivanco of Human Rights Watch-Americas and Carl Meacham of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee also spoke. The keynote address was delivered by U.S. Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns.

Vice President Francisco Santos, Foreign Affairs Minister Carolina Barco, and Attorney General Mario Iguaran spoke on July 20 at an event sponsored in part by the Dialogue at the Woodrow Wilson Center.

A delegation of Afro-Colombian political and community leaders addressed a Dialogue forum on June 16.

On April 26, the Dialogue hosted Apolinar Salcedo Caicedo, mayor of Santiago de Cali, Colombia's second largest city, and president of the Association of Mayors of Black Majority Cities.

Former congresswoman Zulia Mena and former governor of the Chocó state, Luis Murillo led a Dialogue roundtable on October 18 during their U.S. tour to raise awareness of the challenges facing Afro-Colombian communities.

Oscar Gamboa, director of international affairs for the Federation of Mayors of the Pacific Coast of Colombia, led a discussion on January 26 about the impact of security and development policies in the region.

Bolivia

Bolivia's ambassador to the United States Jaime Aparicio addressed a forum at the Dialogue on June 21.

Ecuador

Ousted Ecuadorian president Lucio Gutiérrez spoke at a Dialogue forum on June 15.

Days before the Gutiérrez government fell, the Dialogue hosted an April 14th

discussion on the political and institutional challenges in Ecuador with Valeria Merino, executive director of the Latin American Center for Development.

Trade Minister Jorge Illingworth of Ecuador spoke at a breakfast forum hosted by the Dialogue on October 20 about the prospects for a U.S.-Andean free trade agreement and the trade agenda and priorities of the Palacio administration.

Ecuadorian indigenous leaders—José Francisco Paqui, governor of the Zamora Chinchipe province and Fernando Navarro, former president of Ecuador's chamber of commerce—addressed a July 15 meeting at the Dialogue.

The Dialogue hosted a discussion on January 12 with Ecuadorian political analysts Walter Spurrier, publisher and editor of *Análisis Semanal* in Guayaquil, and César Montufar, professor of international relations at the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar in Quito and the director of Participación Ciudadana.

Peru

Leading Peruvian presidential candidate for the National Unity Alliance, Lourdes Flores Nano spoke at the Dialogue on December 13 about Peru's April 2006 elections. Flores has been a long-time member and is president of the Popular Christian Party and serves on the Inter-American Dialogue's Board of Directors.

Javier Igúñiz of the Consortium of Economic and Social Research (CIES) of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru led a discussion at the Dialogue on October 20 about the impact of inequality on democratic governability.

Carlos Basombrío, columnist for *Perú21* and former vice minister of the interior, and Carlos Ivan Degregori, visiting professor at Princeton University and researcher at the Lima-based Institute of Peruvian Studies,

spoke at the Dialogue on October 17 about Peru's upcoming presidential elections.

Peruvian journalist Ricardo Uceda presented his new book *Muerte en el Pentagonito* (Death in the Little Pentagon) at a January 21 Dialogue discussion on human rights and accountability in Peru. Phillip Bennett, managing editor of *The Washington Post*, provided commentary.

Venezuela

Former president of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Carlos Ayala, and Pedro Nikken, also a Venezuelan human rights lawyer and a member of the Andean Commission of Jurists, spoke to a small group of Venezuela observers at the Dialogue on May 25 about the state of democracy and the rule of law in Venezuela.

The Dialogue and the Center for Latin American Studies at Georgetown University welcomed members of the Boston Group, a bi-partisan legislative group established in September 2002 to address U.S.-Venezuela relations and the Venezuelan political crisis, for a discussion with Venezuelan legislators on April 18. Congressmen Saul Ortega (*Movimiento V República-MVR*) and Pedro Diaz Blum (*Proyecto Venezuela*) led the discussion.

The Dialogue hosted a discussion on February 1 about U.S.-Venezuela relations with the recently appointed Venezuelan vice-minister of foreign affairs for North America, Maria-Pilar Hernández.

Published:

"State-Building in Colombia: Getting Priorities Straight," by Michael Shifter and Vinay Jawahar, *Columbia Journal of International Affairs*, January.

"Bonfire of the Andes," by Michael Shifter, foreignaffairs.org, May 11.

"Don Quixote cabalga de Nuevo," by Michael Shifter, *ideele* (Peru), May.

"Chavez Should Not Steer U.S. Policy," by Michael Shifter, *Financial Times*, April 8.

"Latin America's Curious Peacemaker," by Michael Shifter, *The Washington Post*, February 15.

"Bush Must Press Uribe on Steps for Peace in Colombia," by Michael Shifter and Vinay Jawahar, *Financial Times*, August 4.

"Confront Chávez with Unity," by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, March 3.

"Latin America: The two Bolivias are more polarized than ever," by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, June 9.

Mexico

In the first of a series on the 2006 Mexican presidential elections and their significance for that nation's domestic politics, its economic and social policies, and its relations with the United States, Dialogue member Andrés Rozental, president of Mexico's Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI), spoke on October 7. The series is jointly sponsored by COMEXI, the Technology Institute of Monterrey's Center for Studies on Globalization and Development, and the Dialogue.

On October 21, Beatriz Paredes, president of The Colosio Foundation, led the second discussion at the Dialogue about Mexico's July 2006 presidential elections.

Mexican Senator Demetrio Sodi addressed a third Dialogue session on October 26 about the issues facing Mexico as the July 2006 presidential elections approach.

On November 9, Luis Rubio, director of Center of Research for Development and previously with Citibank, led the fourth discussion on Mexican politics and economic reforms in the context of the country's upcoming 2006 presidential elections.

Nora Lustig, director of Tec de Monterrey's Center for Studies on Globalization and

“Defeating the PRI was one thing, freeing Mexico from the party's 72-year stranglehold another one entirely.”

Marifeli Pérez-Stable,
The Miami Herald

“Chile continues its exceptional economic and social progress, and its democracy has become more robust.”

Peter Hakim,
Foreign Affairs

Development, led the fifth discussion in the series on November 14. She focused her remarks on what Mexico's presidential candidates are saying about the challenges of poverty and inequality in the country and what, in fact, they would do about them.

President of Mexico's Federal Electoral Institute (IFE), Luis Carlos Ugalde led a discussion hosted by the Dialogue and the Embassy of Mexico on July 22.

Carlos Heredia, an advisor to the governor of Michoacan state and a former congressman for the opposition Party of the Democratic Revolution, spoke at the Dialogue on July 13.

José Ángel Gurría, a Dialogue member and former finance and foreign minister of Mexico; Manuel Suarez-Mier, Bank of America's chief economist for Latin America; and IMF deputy director Caroline Atkinson led a June 28 discussion at the Dialogue on how economic developments are likely to affect Mexico's 2006 presidential elections.

The Dialogue hosted a meeting on June 3 about social policy under President Fox with Josefina Vasquez Mota, minister of social development of Mexico.

Denise Dresser of the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), and Rossana Fuentes Berain, also of ITAM and managing editor of *Foreign Affairs en Español*, led an April 29 Dialogue session on recent political developments in Mexico and implications for the presidential campaign in 2006.

Manuel Camacho, head of the Constitutional Reform Commission of Mexico's Chamber of Deputies, spoke about political transition in Mexico on March 8 at a Dialogue event co-sponsored with the Center for Latin American Studies at Georgetown University.

On February 16, the Dialogue hosted a discussion on Mexican politics and the 2006 presidential campaign, featuring Andrés Rozental, president of the Mexican Council

on International Relations and Dialogue member, and Rafael Fernández de Castro, editor of *Foreign Affairs en Español*.

The governor-elect of the Mexican State of Puebla, Mario Marín Torres, who was previously head of the PRI, led a discussion on January 19 at the Dialogue.

The Cultural Institute of Mexico and the Dialogue hosted a presentation on April 28 of *Cries and Whispers: Defining Moments in the Lives of 38 Mexican Women*, edited by political scientist Denise Dresser of ITAM. Contributing authors offering remarks included: Jacqueline Peschard Mariscal of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM); Rossana Fuentes Berain of *Foreign Affairs en Español*; and Mariclaire Acosta, former deputy secretary for human rights and democracy. Marcela Sánchez of *The Washington Post* and Harriet Babbitt of Hunt Alternatives provided comments.

Published:

“Mexico: Much remains unchanged in country's politics,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, March 31.

“Mexico: Inching toward more democracy, less discrimination,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, August 4.

“U.S.-Mexico: Common-sense recommendations,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, September 1.

Southern Cone

Brazil

Georges Landau of Prismax Consulting spoke at the Dialogue on September 30 about the effects of the Workers' Party corruption scandal on the upcoming presidential campaign.

The Dialogue hosted several Brazilian leaders to speak on race issues: Brazil's minister for the promotion of racial equality Matilde Ribeiro on June 8; Brazil's deputy minister for the promotion of racial equality Douglas

Martins de Souza on March 2 and again in October; Eliane Cavalleiro, the diversity and educational inclusion coordinator at Brazil's Ministry of Education on October 3; and Jurema Werneck, founder and director of CRIOLA, a non-governmental Afro-Brazilian women's organization, on September 19.

Brazilian ambassador Roberto Abdenur met with members of Congress on July 20 to discuss recent political and economic developments in Brazil. Other participants included former U.S. ambassadors to Brazil Anthony Harrington and Donna Hrinak.

Former Central Bank president and CEO of Brazil's state-owned oil firm Petrobras, Francisco Gros, participated in a June 30 conference call with the Dialogue.

Dialogue member Albert Fishlow, on leave from Columbia University, and Paulo Vieira da Cunha, chief economist for Latin America at HSBC Securities, spoke at the Dialogue on March 24 about economic trends in Brazil.

Published:

"Scandalous Brazil," by Peter Hakim, *Los Angeles Times*, August 30.

Chile

Felipe Agüero, of the Woodrow Wilson Center and the University of Miami, and Mark Falcoff of the American Enterprise Institute led a December 15 discussion at the Dialogue about the results of Chile's presidential election on Sunday December 11.

Jaime Ravinet, Chile's minister of defense, spoke at the Dialogue on June 29 about the Chilean military's democratic defense policy.

Ignacio Walker Prieto, Chile's minister of foreign relations, explored economic and trade matters as well as political and security questions at the Dialogue on March 9.

Guillermo Larrain, superintendent of pension funds in Chile, led a February 9 session

at the Dialogue on Chile's pioneering experience with private social security accounts.

Argentina

Former economy vice minister Miguel A. Kiguel, Vladimir Werning, a vice president at JPMorgan Chase & Co., and Enrique Boilini, managing member of Yellow Jersey Capital spoke on March 1 at the Dialogue on the success of Argentina's debt swap.

Argentina's vice minister of foreign affairs, Jorge Taiana, the coordinator of the Summit of the Americas in Mar del Plata Argentina, addressed a Dialogue audience on July 12.

Access to Information in the Southern Cone

In cooperation with the Uruguayan Press Association, the Dialogue sponsored a workshop on November 18 at the National Parliament in Montevideo to facilitate exchange among 35 experts committed to strengthening access to information in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Rodolfo Nin Novoa, vice president of Uruguay and president of the Senate, hosted a reception at the Foreign Ministry.

Caribbean

Cuba

The Dialogue hosted a book launch on April 14 to discuss *Transforming Socialist Economies: Lessons for Cuba and Beyond*, edited by the Dialogue's Dan Erikson and former World Bank vice president Shahid Javed Burki. Dialogue member and contributing author Jorge Domínguez of Harvard University and David Dapice, a Vietnam expert at Tufts University also spoke at the event.

The Dialogue hosted a discussion on "Cuba, Venezuela and the Americas: A Changing Landscape" featuring Mark Falcoff of the American Enterprise Institute, Javier Corrales of Amherst College and Dan Erikson of the Dialogue. This September

“ Venezuelan backing has allowed Castro to weather new U.S. restrictions and sideline the EU. ”

Daniel Erikson, Cuba Forum Working Paper (Inter-American Dialogue)

“Forget
Castro. Eleven
million Cubans
deserve a better
policy now.”

Marifeli Pérez-Stable,
The Miami Herald

14 session was the first of the Cuba Forum series, co-sponsored by the Dialogue and Florida International University. A working paper with the three presentations is published on the Dialogue's website.

The Dialogue and Florida International University's Cuban Research Institute hosted on November 29 a special forum on the impact of new U.S. policies toward Cuba. The discussion was led by Phil Peters, vice president of the Lexington Institute and Paolo Spadoni, doctoral researcher at the University of Florida. Damian Fernández of the Cuban Research Institute at Florida International University offered comments.

Carlos Saladrigas, chairman of the Cuba Study Group, spoke at the Dialogue on June 10 about "Pillars for a Cuban Consensus," a Miami-based Cuban civil society initiative aimed at promoting dialogue about the future of Cuba.

Sergio Bendixen, president of the polling firm Bendixen & Associates, presented on May 25 the results of a study, conducted in association with the Inter-American Dialogue, on remittances sent by Cubans living in the United States to their families on the island.

The Dialogue invited a small group of economists and analysts to discuss how international financial institutions should prepare for future change in Cuba. Guillermo Perry of the World Bank led the May 9 discussion.

On May 3, the Dialogue hosted award-winning journalist Mirta Ojito for a presentation of *Finding Mañana: A Memoir of a Cuban Exodus*.

Published:

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

"Cuba, Venezuela, and the Americas: A Changing Landscape," Cuba Forum Working Paper, December.

"Charting Castro's Possible Successors," by Daniel Erikson, *SAIS Review*, Winter-Spring 2005.

"Latin America's Curious Peacemaker," by Michael Shifter, *The Washington Post*, February 15 (published in *O Estado do Sao Paulo*, "O homen por tras por fim do impasse regional: Fidel", February 16).

"Cuba's Economic Future: The Search for Models," by Daniel Erikson, published as a FOCAL Background Briefing on Cuba, December.

"Cuba Policy: U.S.-Europe Meeting of Minds Hard to Achieve," by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, November 24.

"Cuba: Book offers look at Raúl-Fidel alliance," by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, October 27.

"Cuba: U.S. policy can't stay on square one forever," by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, June 23.

"Latin American Neighbors: Cuba-Mexico relations 'strained to the brink'," by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, May 26.

"Latin America: At a critical juncture," by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, May 12.

"Cuba: Complex path to democracy," by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, April 14.

Haiti

The Dialogue hosted a workshop on April 20 to discuss how Haiti can best prepare for the 2005 elections. Participants included officials from the Haitian government and Provisional Electoral Council; political party, business, and civil society leaders; representatives from donor governments;

and development agency officials. Five major presidential candidates attended as well as top officials from the United States, Canada, Europe, and Latin America.

The Dialogue co-sponsored a two-day workshop on the role of the Haitian private sector in development. Seventeen business leaders participated along with international donor agencies and the Canadian government. The event, which took place in Ottawa on August 9 and 10, was also sponsored by the Canadian Foundation for the Americas, the Canadian International Development Agency, and the Inter-American Development Bank. A report is forthcoming.

Charles Baker, a candidate for president of Haiti, spoke on November 18 about preparations for the upcoming elections, then scheduled for December 27, 2005.

On December 2, the Inter-American Dialogue hosted a discussion on the upcoming elections with a panel of four speakers: Robert Fatton, professor of history at the University of Virginia; Dina Paul Parks, formerly a consultant to the Haitian interim government; Michael Deibert, author of the new book *Notes from the Last Testament: The Struggle for Haiti*; and Lionel Delatour, of the Haitian Center for Free Enterprise and Development.

Lionel Delatour, also a member of the Haiti Democracy Project, accompanied by a delegation of Haitian business leaders spoke at a July 25 Dialogue roundtable on conditions in Haiti as the elections approach.

A delegation of Haitian business leaders joined a small group of analysts on June 13 at the Dialogue to discuss the crisis in Haiti.

Published:

“Haiti: Preparing for Elections,” by Daniel Erikson and Adam Minson, Inter-American Dialogue Conference Report, August.

“Haiti After Aristide: Still on the Brink,” by Daniel Erikson, *Current History*, February.

Other Caribbean

Peter Phillips, Jamaica’s minister of national security, spoke at the Dialogue on July 8 about security challenges in the Caribbean, including the drug trade, human and arms trafficking, escalating gang violence, and natural disasters.

Published:

“The Caribbean: Democracy Adrift?” by Daniel Erikson and Adam Minson, *The Journal of Democracy*, Vol16No4, October.

“China in the Caribbean: A Benign Dragon?” Dan Erikson, *FOCAL Point: Spotlight on the Americas*, April.

Central America, the Dominican Republic and Panama

Nicaragua

At a December 12 luncheon co-hosted by the Dialogue and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Eduardo Montealegre, presidential candidate for the Nicaraguan Liberal Alliance (*ALN*) in that country’s November 2006 political contest spoke on the election campaign and his party’s election prospects.

Klaus Stadhagen, director of the *Movimiento por Nicaragua* (MPN), Rosa Zelaya, former head of Nicaragua’s Supreme Electoral Council, and other MPN leaders joined the Congressional Members Working Group on October 19 for a dinner discussion on Nicaragua. Earlier, at a July 26 Dialogue roundtable, they called for international support in Nicaragua’s struggle to ensure legitimate elections in 2006.

Nicaragua’s interior minister, Julio Vega Pasquier, and other officials from the cabinet of President Enrique Bolaños, reported on the unfolding political crisis in the country. The delegation was in Washington on September 29 to present the government’s case against

“ Caribbean governments deem that the benefits of engagement with China and Venezuela outweigh these countries’ democratic deficits.” ”

Daniel Erikson and Adam Minson, *The Journal of Democracy*

“ Washington
needs to join with
Latin American
governments
to fight the
region’s pervasive
crime and
violence. ”

Agenda for the
Americas 2005
(Inter-American Dialogue)

Nicaragua’s judiciary to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission.

Dominican Republic

José Fajgenbaum of the IMF, Temistocles Montas, technical secretary of the presidency of Dominican Republic, and Dialogue Board member Elena Viyella de Paliza, president of Grupo Inter-Quimica, spoke at a May 19 Dialogue forum on the Dominican economy.

Panama

President Martin Torrijos of Panama spoke at an event organized by the Dialogue with the Center for Strategic and International Studies on April 30.

Guatemala

Guatemala’s vice-minister of foreign affairs, Marta Altolaguirre, led an exchange at the Dialogue on November 9 about human rights issues in her country.

Access to Information in Central America

The Dialogue convened a panel of five experts from Central America to report on the status of freedom of information in their countries at the Third International Commissioners Conference on Access to Information hosted by Mexico’s Federal Institute for Access to Public Information on February 21 to 23 in Cancún. Background papers prepared for the panel are available on the Dialogue’s web site.

With the Consejo Nacional de la Empresa Privada (CONEP) and the Fundación Institucionalidad y Justicia (FINJUS) the Dialogue organized on October 4 in Santo Domingo a meeting of 40 experts to develop strategies for promoting access to information in Central America, Panama, and the Dominican Republic. President Leonel Fernández hosted a reception for the group at the National Palace.

Central American Free Trade Agreement (DR-CAFTA)

The Dialogue hosted a May 18 discussion on the economic impact of DR-CAFTA featuring Victor Bulmer-Thomas of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Jairo Acuña-Alfaro of Oxford University, and Pablo Rodas Martini of the Central America in the World Economy of the 21st Century Program.

On April 12, a delegation of eight Central American legislators—from the ARENA party of El Salvador; the FRG, Unionist, PSN, Integrationist, and PAN parties of Guatemala; and the National Party of Honduras—and Costa Rican presidential candidate Ottón Solís joined members of Congress for a dinner discussion about CAFTA on Capitol Hill. The following day, Solís addressed a public session at the Dialogue.

Published:

“Crimes, Gangs and Policy Options for the United States.” Testimony presented by Manuel Orozco before a hearing of the International Relations Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, April 20.

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

“Of Ideological Power and Convergence in Nicaragua,” by Manuel Orozco, *FOCAL Point: Spotlight on the Americas*, November/December.

“Nicaragua: Under Bolaños, Democracy Has Prevailed,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, December 8.

“Dominican Republic: Successes have been wrought ‘against all odds,’” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, October 13.

“Free trade isn’t free of partisan politics,” by Daniel Erikson and Eric Jacobstein, *Los Angeles Times*, September 26.

“Guatemala: Rays of hope amid violence,” by Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Miami Herald*, July 21.

“Barely Squeezing Through: U.S. Politics and the Central American Free Trade Agreement,” by Eric Jacobstein, *FOCAL Point: Spotlight on the Americas*, April.

“Guatemala: Emerging from the Darkness,” by Daniel Erikson and Michelle Lapointe, *The Miami Herald*, March 20.

Corporate Outreach

Corporate Circle

More companies than ever were enrolled in the Inter-American Dialogue’s Corporate Circle in 2005, including Cemex, Experian, FedEx, NAI Global and Pfizer, among 120 others.

Corporate Circle members spoke at Dialogue roundtable events on Argentina’s debt swap, Brazil’s economic outlook, the Dominican Republic’s recovery, Mexico’s growth, the political scandal in Brazil, and the regulatory climate for Latin American telecommunications.

The *Latin America Advisor*—the daily electronic newsletter published for members of the Dialogue’s Corporate Circle—welcomed onto its board of advisors Jonathon Flott, economist for Latin America, Africa and the Middle East at General Motors Corp., Juan Felipe Muñoz, president of Hemispheric Partners, and Andrés Rozental, head of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations and a Dialogue member.

The Dialogue launched the weekly *Latin America Energy Advisor* in October, attracting a new board of advisors made up of 12 high-ranking leaders from industry and government.

In December, the *Latin America Advisor* published its much-requested annual survey of economic and political forecasts, with analysis from former heads of state Fernando Henrique Cardoso and César

Gaviria, congressional leaders Dan Burton (R-IN) and Bill Delahunt (D-MA), and 15 other regional figures such as Enrique Iglesias, Carla Hills, and Mack McLarty.

The *Latin America Advisor* also pursued several special joint publishing projects with *The Miami Herald* and the Spanish-language, Texas-based daily newspaper *Rumbo*. These projects extended the *Advisor* newsletter’s original content to more than a million readers in 2005. They included...

- “Forecast for the Americas,” January 30, which led the front page of the Issues and Ideas section, and was a special summary of the *Advisor*’s annual forecasts published in *The Miami Herald*.
- “The Future of the Organization of the American States,” May 25–June 7, a 14-part series in *The Miami Herald*.
- “DR-CAFTA: How Will the Agreement Affect Hemispheric Migration Trends,” July 25–August 1, a five-part series published in the daily *Rumbo*.
- “Anti-Americanism and the Summit of the Americas,” November 4–7, a 3-part series featuring comments from heads of state published in *The Miami Herald*.

Miami Herald hosts public session with Dialogue’s Board

The Dialogue’s Board of Directors opened its spring 2005 meeting with a public discussion hosted by then-*Miami Herald* publisher and Dialogue member Alberto Ibarguén at the Miami Herald building. The session, on recent developments in U.S.-Latin American relations, was led by four Board members—former U.S. trade representative Carla Hills, former senator Bob Graham, former Clinton envoy to Latin America Mack McLarty, and Brazilian business leader Roberto Teixeira da Costa. The Board meeting opened with a dinner hosted by Donna Hrinak at the Miami City Club.

“ Tremendous opportunity exists for building competitive advantage through gender diversity in the Latin American business world. ”

Women on the Verge: Corporate Power in Latin America (Inter-American Dialogue)

Inter-American Dialogue

Statement of Financial Position

Assets:	2005*	2004
Cash and cash equivalents	915,678	888,554
Accounts receivable	212,409	132,127
Grants receivable	629,377	1,374,037
Investments	6,059,041	5,766,127
Prepaid expenses	33,414	33,953
Property and equipment	50,614	76,900
Deposits	15,668	15,668
TOTAL ASSETS	7,916,199	8,287,366
Liabilities:		
Accounts payable	14,819	4,434
Accrued expenses	71,938	70,723
Refundable advances	218	14,549
Grants payable	330,509	765,534
Other liabilities	1,189	
Total Liabilities	418,672	855,240
Net Assets:		
Unrestricted	352,567	343,034
Temporarily restricted	1,548,912	1,794,030
Endowment funds:		
Board-designated funds	1,253,664	954,678
Permanently restricted	4,342,384	4,340,384
Total Net Assets	7,497,527	7,432,126
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS	7,916,199	8,287,366

Statement of Activities 2005*

Revenue	
Foundations	600,000
Corporations	256,615
Governments	1,268,847
International organizations	668,609
Collaborating institutions	29,003
Individual contributions	173,905
Miscellaneous program revenue	10,641
Interest/dividends	276,929
Gain (loss) on investments	281,250
Total Operating & Investment Revenue	3,565,800
Pass-throughs	1,221,666
TOTAL REVENUE	4,787,466
Expenses	
Program Services:	
Policy programs	1,969,131
Country studies	386,753
Networks	54,560
Sol M. Linowitz Forum	39,198
Outreach and communications	79,242
Corporate programs	195,543
Subgrants	1,221,666
Support Services:	
Administration	643,109
Fundraising	82,848
Governance	40,742
TOTAL EXPENSES	4,712,790

**2005 figures are preliminary and unaudited*

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Embassy of Finland
Embassy of Japan
Swedish International Development Agency
United Kingdom Department for International Development
U.S. Agency for International Development
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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).

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The Dialogue's most important asset is its membership of 100 outstanding public and private leaders from the United States, Canada, and the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean—including political, business, academic, media, church, and other non-governmental leaders. The Dialogue's members are an intellectually and politically diverse group that includes Republicans and Democrats from the United States, and views from across the political spectrum in Canada, Latin America, and the Caribbean. Dialogue members enjoy a high level of visibility and credibility on public policy issues, within their own country and internationally. Members are united by their commitment to democracy, social equity, economic progress, and regional cooperation.

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