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2009 HIGHLIGHTS

We are pleased to present this summary of the Inter-American Dialogue's work in 2009.

This year the Dialogue released *A Second Chance: U.S. Policy in the Americas*, a 10-point agenda for a new US policy in the hemisphere based on the insights and recommendations that emerged from the 2008 Sol M. Linowitz Forum. Designed to guide the Obama administration through the most important challenges in the Western Hemisphere, the report called for a redirection of US policies to better align them with regional concerns and priorities. The report emphasized that the highest priority challenge for the United States and every other country in the Americas would be the slumping world economy and its social and political fallout.



Linowitz Forum policy report

Early in 2009 the Dialogue launched its new working group on energy policy and politics in Latin America. Working closely with the Inter-American Development Bank, this group of some 20 energy experts and political and economic analysts met twice to discuss cross cutting issues in energy policy and develop constructive ideas and approaches for addressing them.

The Dialogue also took on the highly charged issue of US drug policy in the Americas. With support from the Open Society Institute and the Alvar-Alice Foundation, the project is designed to contribute to a rethinking of US anti-drug policy in Latin America. It convened a politically diverse network of organizations and experts to help establish a point of reference for alternative policy directions. The project produced a final report and a major conference on Capitol Hill.

In partnership with the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), the Dialogue concluded work with the Hemispheric Think Tank Working Group on the Fifth Summit of the Americas. The project brought together think tank leaders from around the hemisphere to discuss the agenda for the Trinidad and Tobago Summit in April 2009, to re-think the overall summit process, and to set the stage for developing the agenda for the next Summit of the Americas scheduled for 2012 in Colombia. The final meeting took place in Bogotá with Colombian foreign minister Jaime Bermúdez.

This year, the Dialogue continued to look at Latin America's role in the larger global context. In January, in collaboration with the General Secretariat of the Ibero-American Summit and Real Instituto Elcano, the Dialogue hosted the second annual trilateral conference in Madrid that brings together influential public and private leaders from Europe, Latin America, and the United States for off-the-record discussions of the challenges facing the trilateral relationship and how to strengthen cooperation among the three parties.



Enrique Iglesias

China's role in the hemisphere and how to harness it to the advantage of all countries involved was a continued concern of the Dialogue's China and Latin America Working Group that held three public meetings in 2009.

Trade and economic issues were a central focus of several Dialogue initiatives, including the Latin American Economies Roundtable, which brings together a small group of leading economic thinkers from the public and private sectors to analyze the region's economies and explore improved policy options. The roundtable is a joint initiative of the Dialogue, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Tulane University. Likewise, the Trade Policy Group brought together a small group of trade policy experts, including senior Congressional staff and officials from the Office of the US Trade Representative to examine trade issues



José Miguel Insulza and Sen. Richard Lugar (R-IN)

and develop workable proposals to help address challenges and resolve conflicts around existing and pending trade arrangements.

Other highlights of the year's activities include the 13th annual CAF conference that reviewed the Obama administration's agenda in the region and challenges beyond the global financial crisis. This year's meeting featured US Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN) and "drug czar" Gil Kerlikowske, director of the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy.

The Dialogue's Andean Working Group, met twice this year—once in Washington and again in Santiago, Chile. Our work on the Andean region brings together diverse high-level experts and practitioners to analyze the policy issues and choices confronting the region's leaders—including drug trafficking, democratic governance, energy, and international relations—and produces a series of working papers.

This year, the Dialogue also launched a Working Group on Central America, in collaboration with former Guatemalan vice president Eduardo Stein and CEPAL-Mexico director Hugo Beteta. The goal is to generate proposals for practical approaches to address the region's top challenges and to keep the Washington policy and media communities informed on critical developments in the region and its relations with the United States. It met twice this year—in Washington and in Antigua, Guatemala.

Our remittances and development program implemented an ambitious financial literacy initiative that included a toolkit, brochure, methodology, and training curriculum for both remittance recipients and migrants. Program director Manuel Orozco testified before the House Financial Services Committee on the regulation and disclosure of remittances.

The Dialogue remained active in the arena of press freedom issues, convening several meetings in Washington that featured leading journalists, analysts and activists from the region. The program published reports on media and governance issues and violence against journalists and impunity.

This year the Dialogue's social policy program began work on its flagship Social Report Card that analyzes the extent to which Latin American countries are pursuing pro-poor policies in areas like fiscal management, education, and public services. Staff is working with national social policy specialists in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru to test report card prototypes in 2010.

The Dialogue continued its ambitious work on educational reform through its Partnership for Educational Revitalization in the Americas. PREAL produced report cards and policy audits that establish benchmarks and monitor education progress in the region; partnered with business allies to promote corporate social responsibility in education; and sponsored working groups on standards and assessments and teacher professionalization that bring cutting-edge research to the attention of practitioners in the region.

The Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group convened seven meetings on Capitol Hill with over two dozen members of Congress in private dinner discussions. Members met with OAS secretary general José Miguel Insulza, principal deputy assistant secretary of state Craig Kelly, and Honduran nationals representing both the Zelaya government and that of de facto president Roberto Micheletti to discuss the crisis in Honduras. Members also discussed drug policy in the Americas, US-Mexico relations, and the global financial crisis, among other



Eduardo Stein



Nancy Lee and Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX)



Ricardo Lagos, Carla A. Hills

topics. The Dialogue held four staff briefings, and then Dialogue president Peter Hakim and then vice president Michael Shifter testified on Capitol Hill about the Summit of the Americas and the crisis in Honduras, respectively.

The Dialogue enjoyed the regular participation of business leaders in our activities in 2009. New companies like AES, Mitsui, Pepsi, RIM, Smiths Detection and others joined our Corporate Circle this year. The corporate program continues to publish the highly regarded daily *Latin America Advisor*—along with weekly and biweekly *Advisor* titles on energy and financial services—as a cornerstone benefit of Circle membership. The *Advisor* published nearly 1,000 commentaries written by experts from around the world on questions posed by subscribers.

In 2009, Dialogue staff published a dozen articles and interviews in leading policy journals—*Great Decisions*, *Foreign Policy*, *Foreign Affairs*, *World Policy Journal*, *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, *Américas Magazine*, and *Revista América Economía*—that analyzed the impact of the financial crisis on the region, the crisis in Honduras, President Obama’s agenda in Latin America, the region’s increasing independence, and evolutions in US-Cuba policy. Staff also published over 100 articles in newspapers, including *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Miami Herald*, *El Tiempo*, *O Estado de São Paulo*, *El Mercurio*, *El Universal*, *El Comercio*, *ideele*, *La Prensa*, and *Confidencial*—on topics ranging from Cuba and the Organization of American States, to political ramifications of the economic crisis, questions about the direction of inter-American relations after the Summit of the Americas, the Cuba-Venezuela alliance, education as a tool for development in Latin America, the effect of the financial crisis on remittances, and Brazil’s emerging role in the region. Dialogue staff are regularly quoted by US, Latin American, and European newspapers and interviewed on television and radio.

US FOREIGN POLICY IN THE HEMISPHERE

SOL M. LINOWITZ FORUM

The Sol M. Linowitz Forum is a biennial meeting of the membership of the Inter-American Dialogue and other high-level officials from across the hemisphere. The last Forum was the 16th time that the Dialogue's members have met in plenary session, and the seventh meeting of the Forum, which was inaugurated in 1996. The 2008 Linowitz Forum brought together 100 leaders from across the Western Hemisphere to identify ways the next US president can improve inter-American relations, and to debate policy prescriptions for fast-changing economic scenarios across the region.

A Second Chance: US Policy in the Americas, a report drawing on the insights and recommendations that emerged from the Linowitz Forum was released in March 2009. The report is comprised of a ten-point agenda designed to guide the Obama administration through the most important challenges in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2009 and beyond. It called for a redirection of US policies to better align them with regional concerns and priorities and emphasized that the highest priority challenge for the United States and every other country in the Americas would be the slumping world economy and its social and political fallout. Other issues—both problems and opportunities—addressed in the report include the deteriorating security conditions in Mexico and many other countries, US-Cuba relations, immigration reform, the US-Colombia Free Trade Agreement, Brazil's growing regional and global influence, Venezuela's hemispheric role, and Haiti's dire situation

The report, which reflected the views of the Dialogue's 100 members and Board members, received coverage in a range of media outlets including CNN, Bloomberg, AFP, EFE, Telesur, and *Latin Business Chronicle*, among others. The Dialogue released the report at a press conference on March 10 hosted by Peter Hakim and Board members Carla Hills, Donna Hrinak and Mack McLarty.

CONGRESSIONAL MEMBERS WORKING GROUP (CMWG)

The Congressional Members Working Group on the Americas is a closed-door dinner forum that brings members of Congress together with senior US and Latin American government officials, key staff of international organizations, and leading independent policy experts to exchange ideas on the most important issues in Western Hemisphere affairs. In 2009, this bipartisan group was led by Senators Chris Dodd (D-CT), Richard Lugar (R-IN), and Robert Menéndez (D-NJ), along with Representatives Xavier Becerra (D-CA), William Delahunt (D-MA), Connie Mack (R-FL), Gregory Meeks (D-NY), James Moran (D-VA), Tom Petri (R-WI), Silvestre Reyes (D-TX), and Mark Souder (R-IN).

Events

- The Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group convened on December 9 for a dinner discussion on **drug policy** in the Americas, hosted by Representative Gregory Meeks (D-NY). Representatives Jared Polis (D-CO), Jean Schmidt (R-OH), and Eliot Engel (D-NY) were joined by former president Ruth Dreifuss of Switzerland, former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil, Colombian ambassador Carolina Barco, Mexican ambassador Arturo Sarukhan, and CAF president Enrique García, among other participants.



Peter Hakim and Rep. Gregory Meeks (D-NY)

- Hosted by Representatives Eliot Engel (D-NY) and Jean Schmidt (R-OH), the Dialogue organized a dinner in Congress on the **Honduran political crisis** on October 21. Other participating members included Senator Jim DeMint (R-SC) and Representatives Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Brian Bilbray (R-CA), Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Howard Coble (R-NC), Sam Farr (D-CA), Loretta Sanchez (D-CA), Jan Schakowsky (D-IL), Gregory Meeks (D-NY), and Rush Holt (D-NJ). Select participants included OAS secretary general José Miguel Insulza, principal deputy assistant secretary of state Craig Kelly, and Honduran nationals representing both the Zelaya government and that of de facto president Roberto Micheletti.
- On June 24, the Dialogue's CMWG met to discuss the direction of **US-Cuba policy**, hosted by Senators Christopher Dodd (D-CT) and Richard Lugar (R-IN), and Representatives Charles Rangel (D-NY) and Jeff Flake (R-AZ). Senator Bob Corker (R-TN), Representatives Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Sam Farr (D-CA), Barbara Lee (D-CA), and Laura Richardson (D-CA) also attended the dinner. Participants included OAS secretary general José Miguel Insulza, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) president Luis Alberto Moreno,

deputy assistant secretary of state David Robinson, and US ambassador to the OAS Hector Morales.

- The Dialogue's CMWG convened on June 9 to discuss security challenges facing **Guatemala and Central America**. The dinner was co-hosted by Representatives Albio Sires (D-NJ) and Gene Green (D-TX). Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN) and Representatives Bill Delahunt (D-MA) and Jeff Fortenberry (R-NE) also attended. Former vice-president of Guatemala and Dialogue Board member Eduardo Stein provided commentary.
- The Dialogue and the Woodrow Wilson Center's Mexico Institute co-sponsored a CMWG dinner on March 31 to discuss the direction of **US-Mexico relations**. The event was co-hosted by Congressmen Silvestre Reyes (D-TX) and Michael McCaul (R-TX). Representatives Xavier Becerra (D-CA) and Brian Bilbray (R-CA) also attended. Select participants included Mexican ambassador Arturo Sarukhan, former governor of Michoacán Lázaro Cardenas (a member of the Dialogue), assistant secretary of state for international narcotics and law enforcement David T. Johnson, former US ambassador to Mexico James Jones, and former undersecretary of state John D. Negroponte.
- Representatives Eliot Engel (D-NY) and Mark Souder (R-IN) hosted a congressional dinner on the direction of **US-Latin America relations under the Obama administration**. Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN) and Representatives Bill Delahunt (D-MA) and Jeff Fortenberry (R-NE) also attended. Participants included Colombian ambassador Carolina Barco, Brazilian ambassador Antonio de Aguiar Patriota, former US trade representative and Dialogue co-chair Carla Hills, and IDB president Luis Alberto Moreno. The dinner convened on March 10.

- The **global financial crisis and Latin America** was the topic of a CMWG dinner on February 3, hosted by Representatives Gregory Meeks (D-NY) and Mark Souder (R-IN). Other participating members included Representatives Donna Christensen (D-VI), Keith Ellison (D-MN), Sam Farr (D-CA), Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX), Sander Levin (D-MI), and Connie Mack (R-FL). Deputy assistant secretary of treasury Nancy Lee, Nicolas Eyzaguirre of the IMF, and Augusto de la Torre of the World Bank led off the discussion. Other participants included OAS secretary general José Miguel Insulza, then-assistant secretary of state Thomas Shannon, and Argentine ambassador Hector Timmerman.

Congressional Staff Program

The Congressional Staff Working Group (CSWG) operates in a similar fashion as the CMWG and offers staff briefings to examine hemispheric issues, such as trade, security, and human rights. The CSWG provides an opportunity for mid-and high-level staff to engage political figures, regional experts, and analysts in discussion on issues in US hemispheric policy.

- **US drug policy** at home and abroad was the topic of an October 28 roundtable hosted by the Dialogue. Congressional staff were joined by Peter Reuter, professor at the University of Maryland and founder and one-time director of RAND's Drug Policy Research Center; Brad Hittle, chief of the Source Country branch at the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP); and Kevin Sabet, senior policy advisor to the director at the ONDCP.
- Dialogue Board member and former Guatemalan vice president Eduardo Stein briefed congressional staff on the **expanding criminal violence** in Guatemala and other nations of Central America. The discussion took place on May 22.

- Dialogue co-chairs, former president Ricardo Lagos of Chile and former US trade representative Carla Hills, briefed congressional staff on April 8. Their remarks focused on expectations for the upcoming **Summit of the Americas** in Trinidad and Tobago.
- Congressional staff convened for a Dialogue luncheon discussion on the **global financial crisis** and Latin America on January 12. The meeting featured commentary by World Bank chief economist Augusto de la Torre, then-George Washington University professor Nora Lustig, and Gray Newman, a managing director and senior Latin America economist at Morgan Stanley.

RESHAPING DRUG POLICY IN THE AMERICAS

The Dialogue, in partnership with the Open Society Institute (OSI) and the Alvar-Alice Foundation, launched an initiative in 2008 that sought to contribute to a rethinking of US anti-drug policy in Latin America. It was designed to stimulate debate and discussion on drug policies in Washington and in the region, help develop a politically diverse network of organizations and experts from Latin America focusing on the issues, and establish a point of reference for regional organizations, civil society groups, and governments searching for alternative policy directions. The project produced a final report and held a major conference on Capitol Hill.

- The Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group convened on December 9 for a dinner discussion on drug policy in the Americas, hosted by Representative Gregory Meeks (D-NY). Representatives Jared Polis (D-CO), Jean Schmidt (R-OH) and Eliot Engel (D-NY) were joined by former president Ruth Dreifuss of Switzerland, former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil, Colombian ambassador Carolina



Enrique García

Barco, Mexican ambassador Arturo Sarukhan, and CAF president Enrique García, among other participants.

- US drug policy at home and abroad was the topic of an October 28 roundtable hosted by the Dialogue. Congressional staff were joined by Peter Reuter, professor at the University of Maryland and founder and one-time director of RAND's Drug Policy Research Center; Brad Hittle, chief of the Source Country Branch at the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP); and Kevin Sabet, senior policy advisor to the director at the ONDCP.
- Rensselaer Lee, senior fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, joined Frank Mora of the National War College and Randy Beardsworth of Catalyst Partners for a discussion on the unlikely partnership between Cuba and the United States on counter-narcotics policies and the potential for greater collaboration. Hosted by the Dialogue, the meeting took place on February 27.

Select Presentations

- Hakim presented a paper on US drug policy at an Institute of the Americas conference at the University of California San Diego on November 19.

Published

Peter Hakim, "El narco en la agenda bilateral," *El Universal* (Mexico), March 28.

Other US Foreign Policy

- The Dialogue's Peter Hakim, Michael Shifter, and senior fellow Claudio Loser led a roundtable discussion on Thursday, May 7, with members of the press to

discuss President Obama's first 100 days in office and what to expect from the administration in the coming months.

- On April 15, Stephen Weber, chief operating officer of the Program on International Policy Attitudes, presented new survey data from WorldPublicOpinion.org regarding US attitudes on Cuba and US-Cuba policy. The study found that a majority of Americans feel that it is time to try a "new approach to Cuba." Phil Peters, vice president of the Lexington Institute, and Robert Pastor, professor of international relations at American University, commented.
- The Dialogue released its recommendations for a new US policy agenda in the Americas at a private press briefing on March 10. Then Dialogue president Peter Hakim was joined by Board members Carla Hills, Donna Hrinak and Mack McLarty.

Select Presentations

- On October 15 Hakim co-chaired a conference on the Summit of the Americas in Bogotá, Colombia.
- Hakim gave a keynote address on US policy in Latin America on May 14 at a Naval War College workshop in Newport, RI.
- Hakim spoke on May 8 at the Strategy and Defense Policy graduation.
- Hakim addressed a University of the District of Columbia conference, "President Obama: Foreign Policy in the Americas," on April 23.
- On February 24, Hakim spoke in Madrid, Spain, on the panel, "The Future of Relations between the Americas after US Elections," of La Fundación Euroamérica's Fifth Annual Conference: "Europe and the Americas: Before the Changes."

- On January 26, Hakim spoke on the panel, “President Obama’s Administration and Latin America: Priorities and Challenges” at the conference, “The Obama Administration and Latin America’s Rising Powers,” at George Washington University.

Congressional Testimony

Michael Shifter, “The Crisis in Honduras.” Testimony before the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. July 10, 2009.

Peter Hakim, “The Summit of the Americas: A New Beginning for US Policy in the Region?” Testimony before the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. March 10, 2009.

Published

A Second Chance. U.S. Policy in the Americas, Inter-American Dialogue: March 2009.

Dan Erikson, “Can Obama End ‘The Cuba Wars?’” *FOCALPOINT: Spotlight on the Americas*, Vol. 8, Issue 1, January; “Obama and Latin America: Magic or Realism?” *World Policy Journal*, January 1.

Peter Hakim, “Honduras é só um da série de ruídos entre governos Lula e Obama,” *Agência Estado* (Brazil), December 14; “O peso pesado e seu contrapeso,” *Folha de São Paulo*, December 8; “Lecciones para Obama,” *América Economía*, October 23; “Huella Yanqui,” *Caretas*, September 18; “Another Chance for US Policy in the Americas,” US Naval War College, September 8; “E.U. debió tener la delicadeza de hablar con Lula sobre las bases,” *El Tiempo* (Colombia), August 9; “A Good Start,” *La Nación* (Argentina), July 19; “Después de la Cumbre,” *El Universal* (Mexico), April 21; “Después de la Cumbre,” *Infolatam*, April 20; “AL agora diz o que pensa,” *O Estado de S. Paulo*,

April 13; “Un duro invierno,” *El Espectador* (Colombia), January 21.

Michael Shifter, in *El Tiempo* (Colombia): “En Sintonía,” June 6; “Promesa de Puerto España,” April 8; “Un cambio alentador,” March 2; “El Presidente Obama y la OEA,” *Américas*, April 1; “Las Batallas de Obama,” *ideele*, April 2009; “Obama necesitará tiempo y suerte,” *El Colombiano*, January 21. With **Dan Joyce**, “Atmospherics dominate cordial Summit,” *Oxford Analytica*, April 27; “No Longer Washington’s Back Yard,” *Current History*, February 1.

Manuel Orozco, “The least among us,” *Foreign Policy*, September 15, 2009.

Marifeli Pérez-Stable, in *The Miami Herald*: “Dealing democracy a death blow,” December 17; “That other Cuban community,” December 3; “Dead End?” November 5; “Can we honor the fallen of both sides?” October 22; “US and Cuba inching toward each other,” October 8; “Immigrant parishes flourish in Miami,” September 10; “End coup stalemate,” July 30; “Raúl won’t face OAS challenge,” June 5; “Moving beyond Fidel,” May 21; “Tackling ‘perpetual antagonism’,” May 7; in *Encuentro en la Red*: “Un golpe mortal a la democracia,” December 23; “Sin pausa pero sin prisa,” October 26; “Lección sobre fragilidad democrática,” September 22; “Un reto para Raúl,” June 11; “Mover



Rensselar Lee, Dan Erikson, Frank Mora

piezas más allá de Fidel,” May 29; “Atajar el antagonismo perpetuo,” May 15; “Más que caminos trillados,” March 11; “A la espera de un futuro mejor,” February 10; “De Kennedy a Obama,” *El País*, May 1;

“Washington-La Habana: la hora de la verdad,” *Infolatam*, April 17; “Mexico’s progress in US interest,” February 26; “Cubans here and there still hope for better future,” *The Miami Herald*, January 1.

INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

SUMMIT OF THE AMERICAS INITIATIVE

In 2009, the Dialogue in partnership with the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL) wrapped up the Hemispheric Think Tank Working Group on the Fifth Summit of the Americas. The working group, which was initiated in 2008, brought together think tank leaders from around the hemisphere to discuss the agenda of the summit, held in Trinidad and Tobago in April 2009, and to re-think the overall summit process. Working group members wrote papers on specific topics related to the summit’s three main themes: human prosperity, energy security, and environmental sustainability.

- The Dialogue, in partnership with Fedesarrollo and FOCAL, convened some 30 public and private leaders from the government of Colombia and other hemispheric governments, key multilateral institutions, and leading think tanks for a for a one-day meeting to set the stage for developing the agenda and formats for the next Summit of the Americas, which is scheduled for 2012 in Colombia. Select participants included Colombian foreign minister Jaime Bermudez, IDB president Luis Alberto Moreno, and Rafael Pardo, a leader of the Liberal Party in Colombia. The meeting took place in Bogotá, Colombia on October 15.
- The Dialogue in partnership with FOCAL organized a public discussion entitled, “What to Expect at the Summit of the Americas?” The April 8 meeting

attracted several hundred participants. Panelists were Ricardo Lagos, former president of Chile; José Miguel Insulza, secretary general of the Organization of American States (OAS); Luis Alberto Moreno, president of the IDB; and Mack McLarty, former special envoy for the Americas during the Clinton administration. Lagos co-chairs the Dialogue’s Board and McLarty is a director.

- On April 8 the Dialogue and FOCAL cosponsored a private dinner to mark the culmination of the Hemispheric Think Tank Working Group on the Fifth Summit of the Americas. The dinner, which took place at the Beacon Hotel in Washington D.C., included Ecuadoran ambassador Luis Gallegos Chiribo, Jamaican ambassador Anthony Johnson, Mexican ambassador Arturo Sarukhan, OAS secretary general José Miguel Insulza, and former president Ricardo Lagos of Chile, among others.
- The Dialogue held a discussion on March 12 with then-assistant secretary of state Thomas Shannon and Jeffrey Davidow, the White House Summit of the Americas advisor, to preview the April 2009 Summit of the Americas in Trinidad and Tobago. Shannon predicted that the focus of the summit would be the global economic crisis, and that bilateral differences would not likely impede progress in the hemisphere.



Mack McLarty, Luis Alberto Moreno, Peter Hakim, José Miguel Insulza, Ricardo Lagos

Other Inter-American Institutions

- The newly formed UNASUR—the Union of South American Nations—was the subject of a discussion at the Dialogue on November 23. The organization was lauded for its role in mediating Bolivia’s political crisis earlier in the year, but criticized for its otherwise few initiatives. Panelists included Andrés Serbin, president of CRIES (a Latin American and Caribbean network of NGOs) and Gilberto Marcos Antonio Rodrigues, professor at the Catholic University of Santos, São Paulo, and Candido Mendes University in Rio de Janeiro.



Jeffrey Davidow

- Dan Zelikow, executive vice president of the IDB and Nancy Birdsall, president of the Center for Global Development, led a discussion on September 16 at the Dialogue on the IDB and Latin America’s social and economic challenges. The conversation explored the question of how the multilateral banks performed during the crisis and their role going forward.
- Conclusions of the 2008 Latinobarómetro Report, a survey of regional perspectives on economic, political, and social issues, were discussed at a Dialogue meeting on February 27. Panelists included Marta Lagos, the executive director of Latinobarómetro and Javier Corrales, associate professor of political science at Amherst College.

Published

Peter Hakim, “Las paradojas de un golpe,” *América Economía*, August 27; “Honduras and the OAS,” *América Economía*, August 3; “Cuba y la OEA” *Infolatam*, June 2.

Michael Shifter, “Se desaprovechó una oportunidad para debatir temas de fondo,” *El Colombiano*, August 29; “Expectativas de la cumbre,” *El Tiempo*, August 27;

“Promesa de Puerto España,” *El Tiempo*, April 8; “El Presidente Obama y la OEA,” *Américas*, April 1. With **Dan Joyce**, “Atmospherics dominate cordial Summit,” *Oxford Analytica*, April 27.

Marifeli Pérez-Stable, “Lección sobre fragilidad democrática,” *Encuentro en la Red*, September 22; “End coup stalemate,” *The Miami Herald*, July 30; “Un reto para Raúl,” *Encuentro en la Red*, June 11; “Raúl won’t face OAS challenge,” *The Miami Herald*, June 5.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE WORLD

ANNUAL TRILATERAL MEETING

On January 14 and 15, 2009, the General Secretariat of the Ibero-American Summit (SEGIB), Real Instituto Elcano, and the Dialogue hosted the second annual trilateral conference in Madrid. Participation from Europe, Latin America, and the United States was exceptionally strong and included several former presidents, current and former ministers of state, current and former parliamentary leaders, heads of international organizations, and many other leaders. Select participants from the Dialogue’s Board included former presidents Ricardo Lagos (Chile), Fernando Henrique Cardoso (Brazil), and Jorge Quiroga (Bolivia), and former USTR Carla Hills, SEGIB secretary general Enrique Iglesias, CAF president Enrique García, former congressman Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), and retired senior minister Billie Miller of Barbados. Also participating from the region were executive secretary of UNECLAC Alicia Bárcena and former secretary of foreign relations of Mexico Jorge Castañeda. Members of US Congress Gregory Meeks (D-NY) and Eliot Engel (D-NY) participated via live videoconference from Capitol Hill. Spain’s secretary of state for Ibero-America, Trinidad Jiménez, helped open the conference discussions while former prime minister of Spain, Felipe González, offered the keynote address over lunch.

CHINA AND LATIN AMERICA WORKING GROUP

The Dialogue’s China and Latin America Working Group serves as an important resource for (1) developing a better understanding of China’s evolving agenda in Latin America and how Chinese policies and actions are likely to affect the nations of the region and US interests in the hemisphere, and (2) identifying ways that the evolving links can be made more productive for all the countries involved, including the United States. A network of top-rank analysts and practitioners from China, Latin America, and the United States participate in the working group through private discussions as well as public meetings. The group explores China’s priorities in the region and how it plans to pursue them; assesses how China’s involvement will affect the economies of Latin America as well as the region’s politics and external relations; and analyzes how China’s changing role may affect the US policy agenda in the region.

Starting in late 2008, the China and Latin America Working Group began holding public meetings to fill increased demand for information on growing Sino-Latin American ties.

- “China’s impact in the Caribbean” was the topic of discussion on November 4 with Richard Bernal, executive director of the Caribbean department at the IDB; Adrian Hearn, research fellow at the University of Sydney (Australia) and author of the forthcoming volume *China and Latin America: Prospects for the 21st Century*; and Claudio Loser, senior fellow at the Dialogue and former director of the Western Hemisphere Department at the International Monetary Fund.
- A discussion and book launch with Evan Ellis, author of *China in Latin America: The Whats and Wherefores* took place on June 19 at the Dialogue. Commentary was provided by Cynthia Watson, chairwoman of the Department of Security Studies at the National War College and Riordan Roett, director of Western Hemisphere studies at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.
- “China and Latin America: Political and Economic Challenges” was the focus of discussion on February 19. Jiang Shixue, deputy director at the Institute of Latin American Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and Luiz Pereira da Silva, senior advisor to the World Bank and former deputy finance minister of Brazil led the conversation which addressed the challenges for Sino-Latin American ties in the midst of global financial crisis.

Other Latin America and the World

- Enrique Alberola, head of the International Economics Department at Spain’s Central Bank, spoke at the Dialogue on April 24. He addressed the impact of the financial crisis on Latin America from the European perspective with an emphasis on Spanish-Latin American economic relations.



Jiang Shixue and Luiz Pereira da Silva

- On January 6, the Dialogue held a breakfast discussion comparing how social policy has been designed and implemented in Latin America versus East Asia and Eastern Europe. Author Robert Kaufman discussed his new book, co-authored by Stephan Haggard, entitled *Development, Democracy and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia and Eastern Europe*. Kaufman, a Rutgers University political scientist, was joined by Chile’s former budget director, Mario Marcel, who manages the IDB’s institutional capacity and finance sector.

Published

Dan Erikson, “China in the Caribbean: The New Big Brother,” *The Jamestown Foundation China Brief*, Vol. 9, Issue 25, December 16; with **Paul Wander**, “Cuba’s Brave New World,” *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Fall; “China’s Strategy toward Central America: The Costa Rican Nexus,” *The Jamestown Foundation China Brief*, Vol. 9, Issue 11, May 27, 2009; with **Paul Wander** “Obama and Chávez: Energy Partners?” *Journal of Energy Security*, April 23.

Peter Hakim, “AL agora diz o que pensa,” *O Estado de S. Paulo*, April 13.

Select Presentations

- On November 6, Dan Erikson presented an overview of the China-Latin America relationship at a conference on “Strategic Implications of China’s Evolving Relationship with Latin America,” held at the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies.

- In June, Dan Erikson presented a paper, “China’s Evolving Role in Latin America: Implications for the United States” at the XXVIII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

TRADE AND ECONOMICS

ANNUAL CAF CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN THE AMERICAS

Every September, with CAF and the Organization of American States, the Dialogue organizes a conference on hemispheric affairs. The aim of this sustained collaboration is to demonstrate the importance of US economic and political relations with the Andean region and Latin America more broadly, and to provide a detailed review of hemispheric economic affairs.

Over two days of discussions, on September 9 and 10, the Thirteenth Annual CAF Conference brought together over 250 people, including US and Latin American government officials, international economists, lawmakers, leading policy analysts, journalists, and corporate and

financial leaders. Select speakers included Thomas Shannon, then-assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs; Gil Kerlikowske, chief of the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy; Carlos Mesa, former president of Bolivia; Guillermo Fernández de Soto, former minister of foreign affairs of Colombia and secretary general of the Andean Community; Rodrigo Pardo, director of *Revista Cambio* (Colombia); Luis Alberto Moreno, president of the IDB; Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN); and Patricia Janiot, senior anchor for CNN en Español. Craig Kelly, principal deputy assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs, provided remarks at a private reception hosted by OAS secretary general José Miguel Insulza.



Gil Kerlikowske



Amb. Arturo Sarukhan of Mexico, Reps. Brian Bilbray (R-CA) and Xavier Becerra (D-CA)

Published

Jeffrey Puryear and Tamara Ortega Goodspeed, *How Can Education Help Latin America Develop?* Commissioned by CAF as part of a larger project to identify policies necessary for Latin American countries to join the ranks of developed countries by 2030. August 2009.

LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIES ROUNDTABLE

The Latin American Economies Roundtable (LAER) brings together a small group of leading economic thinkers from the public and private sectors to analyze the state of Latin American and Caribbean economies, how they are affected by the external environment, and best policy options. The group meets to share information, assess developments, diagnose problems, exchange ideas on appropriate policy responses, and disseminate insights and conclusions through private meetings and reports. The roundtable is a joint initiative of the Dialogue, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Tulane University.

- Picking up from last year, the fifth session of the Latin American Economies Roundtable met on February 18 for a discussion on the role of financial institutions and economic stimulus plans to promote recovery in the region. Participants included Nancy Birdsall from the Center for Global Development; Nancy Lee from the US Department of the Treasury; Otaviano Canuto of the Inter-American Development Bank; and Miguel Quiel of EconViews.
- On April 22 the LAER convened for the sixth time to discuss Latin America's economic recovery from the global financial crisis. Ernesto Talvi from the Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Económica y Social led off the discussion with comments on the new infusion of money from the G-20 into international financial institutions and its expected effects. Select participants included Hugo Beteta then with the IDB, Augusto de la Torre of the World Bank, Nancy Lee from the US Department of the Treasury, Steve Kamin from the Federal Reserve Board, and Robert Devlin from the UN Economic Commission on Latin America.

- The Dialogue hosted the seventh LAER roundtable on June 16. As the financial crisis slowed, the group lauded Brazil's resilience and discussed reasons for Mexico's ongoing vulnerability. Participants included Alejandro Foxley, former finance minister and foreign minister of Chile, now a senior associate at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Steven Kamin of the Federal Reserve Board; Nora Lustig of Tulane University; and Luyen Tran of the US Treasury Department.
- The eighth roundtable convened on September 24. The conversation focused on whether the US and global economies have begun to recover, and the likely pace and shape of the recovery; the evolving policies of the international financial institutions; and expectations of the G-20 meeting in Pittsburgh, which began the same day. Participants, who included Fred Jaspersen of the Institute for International Finance, Steve Phillips from the International Monetary Fund, and John Williamson of the Peterson Institute for International Economics, expressed concern over the undercapitalization of European banks and the weakness of the US banking system.

TRADE POLICY GROUP

The Dialogue regularly convenes a small group of trade policy experts, including prominent Congressional staff and the assistant US trade representative, to examine issues critical to the future of hemispheric trade relations and tackle complex questions. The goal is to develop workable proposals to help move these issues closer to resolution and act as a sounding-board for key trade policymakers in the Western Hemisphere.

- Michael Smart, international trade counsel with the Senate Finance Committee, and Angela Ellard, Republican chief trade counsel for the House Ways and Means Committee,

led a November 6 Trade Policy Group conversation on Andean Trade Promotion, the Caribbean Basin Initiative, and pending free trade deals with Colombia and Panama. Roger Noriega from Vision Americas LLC, and Inés Bustillo from the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean were among the participants.

- John Huenemann of Miller & Chevalier led the Trade Policy Group in a May 21 discussion of trade policy under the Obama administration. There was a consensus among participants that the US should move forward on free trade agreements with Colombia and Panama. Select participants included Amber Cottle, majority international trade counsel with the Senate Finance Committee; Everett Eissenstat, assistant US trade representative for the Americas; and Angela Ellard, Republican chief trade counsel of the House Ways & Means Committee.
- Jeffrey Schott, senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics led the Trade Policy Group discussion on February 17 that explored a new trade policy for the United States. Over 50 corporate representatives, government officials and analysts participated, including Dialogue co-chair Carla Hills, Democratic trade counsel Alex Perkins, Republican trade counsel Angela Ellard, Douglas Bennett of Liberty Mutual, and Dialogue member Paula Stern.

TRADE CAPACITY BUILDING

The Dialogue assembled a small steering committee of top trade policy specialists over the course of three years to promote institutional capacity building for trade in Central America. The committee was chaired by former Costa Rican trade minister José

Manuel Salazar, now the executive director of the ILO's employment division. The Dialogue commissioned Manuel Hinds, former Salvadoran finance minister and World Bank official, to prepare a report that sets out the basic elements and purposes of a proposed network of public and private institutions dedicated to enhancing trade capacity building efforts in the region and facilitating labor market adjustment. The ideas contained in the report were the subject of a conference on November 12 in Guatemala City with experts and representatives of potential participant institutions in the network and other stakeholders.

Notable participants included former Guatemalan vice president and Dialogue Board member Eduardo Stein; permanent representative of Guatemala to the United Nations Gert Rosenthal; Neftaly Yanes, head of Confederación Sindical de Trabajadoras y Trabajadores de El Salvador; Phil Rourk from AG International Consulting Corporation; and Manuel Hinds. The group also participated in a larger meeting of the Dialogue's Central America Working Group the following day in Antigua, Guatemala.

Other Trade and Economics

- On February 2, 2010, the Dialogue hosted a discussion on China's impact on Latin America with Michael Pettis, finance professor at Peking University's Guanghua School of Management and Carnegie Endowment senior associate; Daniel Lederman, a World Bank senior economist; and Eduardo Lora, Inter-American Development Bank chief economist and author of *Should Latin America Fear China?* Co-sponsored with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the session examined the sustainability of China's growth, assessed China's significance for Latin America's economic performance, and addressed the challenges and opportunities in the coming period.



Augusto de la Torre

- Augusto de la Torre, chief economist at the World Bank, led a discussion on November 17 at the Dialogue centered on a report of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) that details Latin America's relative success at weathering the global financial crisis.
- On September 29, the Dialogue co-sponsored a discussion entitled the "Outlook for Regional Competitiveness in Latin America and the Caribbean," at Georgetown University. Former president José María Aznar of Spain was joined by panelists Antoni Estevadeordal, manager of the integration and trade sector at the IDB, Ambassador Arturo Sarukhan of Mexico, and Everett Santos, former CEO of the Latin America Infrastructure Fund.
- A September 18 breakfast conversation on Ecuador's development and economic agenda featured panelists Nathalie Cely, Ecuador's minister of coordination for production, and Mauricio Pozo, Ecuador's former minister of finance. The discussion centered on the policies of the Rafael Correa administration, and Ecuador's greater economic outlook.
- On September 16, Dan Zelikow, executive vice president of the IDB and Nancy Birdsall, president of the Center for Global Development, led a discussion at the Dialogue on the IDB and Latin America's social and economic challenges. The conversation explored the question of how the multilateral banks performed during the crisis and their role going forward.
- The Dialogue looked at political obstacles deterring economic and financial reform in Mexico during an August 18 discussion led by Santiago Levy of the Inter-American Development Bank and the Dialogue's Claudio Loser.
- Whether Latin America's recent decline in inequality can be sustained was the topic of a Dialogue breakfast meeting on Monday, July 27. Nora Lustig, Tulane University professor and Dialogue member and non-resident fellow, presented results and analysis in a forthcoming book she co-edited entitled *Declining Inequality in Latin America: A Decade of Progress?* Francis Fukuyama, professor at Johns Hopkins Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies and Dialogue Board member, provided comments.
- Three Honduran representatives—Elvia Argentina Valle, representative for the Department of Copán in the Honduran National Congress; Abencio Fernández Pineda, coordinator for the Center for the Investigation and Defense of Human Rights in Honduras; and director of Honduras' Executive Office of Revenue, Armando Armiento—led a discussion at the Dialogue on July 22. They presented their support for deposed Honduran president Manuel Zelaya and shared their thoughts on how best to resolve the political crisis facing their country.
- The Washington policy community gathered on May 19 to celebrate the release of author Edgar Dosman's new book, *The Life and Times of Raúl Prebisch, 1901-1986*. Dosman was joined by OAS secretary general José Miguel Insulza and SEGIB secretary general Enrique Iglesias at the Dialogue. A reception followed the discussion, hosted by the Canadian Mission to the OAS.

- On May 8, the Dialogue held a breakfast discussion regarding the impact of economic decline on democratic stability in Latin America, based on new evidence from the AmericasBarometer Survey conducted by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). Mitchell Seligson, professor of political science at Vanderbilt University and director of LAPOP, and Liz Zechmeister, assistant professor of political science at Vanderbilt University and the assistant director of LAPOP, led the session.
- Participants at a May 5 Dialogue session led by David Fleischer of the University of Brasilia discussed Brazil's political and economic interests as it continues to play a greater role in global politics. Panelists included Paulo Sotero, director of the Brazil Institute at the Woodrow Wilson Center, and Joel Velasco, head of the Washington office of the Brazil Sugarcane Industry Association.
- Enrique Alberola, head of the International Economics Department at Spain's Central Bank, spoke at the Dialogue on April 24. He addressed the impact of the financial crisis on Latin America from the European perspective with an emphasis on Spanish-Latin American economic relations.
- Ramon Espinasa, the Inter-American Development Bank's senior oil and gas analyst; Paul Isbell, director of the energy program at the Elcano Royal Institute for International and Strategic Studies in Madrid and visiting senior fellow at the Dialogue; and Sidney Weintraub of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, spoke on hemispheric energy cooperation at the Dialogue on April 10.
- The Dialogue convened a panel on April 9 to discuss the outlook for Correa's second term, with a focus on likely economic and political scenarios. The discussion was led by Pablo Lucio Paredes, an economist and member of the recent Ecuadoran Constituent Assembly; Patrick Esteruelas, a Latin America analyst at the Eurasia group; and Carlos de la Torre, chair of the Political Science department at FLACSO-Ecuador.
- Javier Santiso, chief development economist and director of the OECD Development Centre, discussed the OECD's 2009 Latin American Economic Outlook findings at the Dialogue on March 24. Santiago Levy, vice-president for sector and knowledge at the Inter-American Development Bank, offered comments. The findings revealed that governments in the region tax too little, offer poor quality services, and spend their budgets in ways that tend to reinforce inequalities.
- On February 19, the Dialogue hosted a meeting titled "China and Latin America: Political and Economic Challenges." Jiang Shixue, deputy director at the Institute of Latin American Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and Luiz Pereira da Silva, senior advisor to the World Bank and former deputy finance minister of Brazil led the conversation that addressed the challenges for Sino-Latin American ties in the midst of global financial crisis.
- Miguel Kiguel, executive director of EconViews and former president of Argentina's Banco Hipotecario, joined Dialogue senior fellow Claudio Loser, former head of the IMF's Western Hemisphere Department, for a February 12 discussion on the economic problems facing Argentina.
- "The Global Crisis and Latin America," was the title of a Congressional Members Working Group dinner on February 3, hosted by Representatives Gregory Meeks (D-NY) and Mark Souder (R-IN). José Miguel Insulza, the secretary general



Thomas Shannon



Shelly Shetty

of the OAS, and Thomas Shannon, then-assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs, also participated in the discussion.

- At a January 29 Dialogue roundtable discussion entitled “Latin America’s Faltering Economies,” Theresa Paiz Fredel and Shelly Shetty of Fitch Inc., explored the depth and duration of the financial crisis speculating that it could be strong enough to undo positive trends and expose weaknesses in several economies in the region in the coming period. They were joined by then-George Washington University professor Nora Lustig.
- On January 6, the Dialogue held a breakfast discussion on how social policy has been designed and implemented in Latin America versus East Asia and Eastern Europe. Author Robert Kaufman discussed his new book, co-authored by Stephan Haggard, entitled *Development, Democracy and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia and Eastern Europe*. Kaufman, a Rutgers University political scientist, was joined by Chile’s former budget director, Mario Marcel, who manages the Inter-American Development Bank’s institutional capacity and finance sector.

Select Presentations

- Hakim spoke on a panel at the Inter-American Development Bank in October on “the Status and Future of US Trade Preferences.”
- On October 5, Hakim spoke at the AACCLA’s 42nd Annual Meeting on future prospects for Latin America.
- Hakim addressed Georgetown University’s McDonough School of Business on September 29 on the “Outlook for Regional Competitiveness in Latin America.”
- Hakim was a keynote speaker at the April 29 Public Procurement Conference of the Americas.
- Hakim spoke on April 15 at the World Economic Forum on Latin America about the Obama administration and Latin America.
- On April 1, Hakim spoke on evolving politics of Latin America at the Latin America Emerging Markets forum in Bogotá.

Published

Peter Hakim, “Political Ramifications of the Economic Crisis,” *Américas Magazine*, September 14.

Claudio Loser, “Flawed Credit Ratings in Latin America,” *Forbes*, July 7; “Mexico: A safe vessel or a risky wreck in turbulent waters?” Emerging Markets Forum, May 13; “América Latina y el caribe en la coyuntura económica internacional: ¿cómo sobrevivirá la region?” *Real Institute Elcano*, February 19; “IFIs: A return to the cycle,” *Latin Business Chronicle*,” January 15.

ENERGY POLICY AND POLITICS

The Dialogue, in partnership with the Inter-American Development Bank, has assembled a working group of some 20 members—energy experts and political and economic analysts—that met first in March 2010 and again in June, to discuss the most important issues in energy policy and politics across Latin America and develop constructive ideas and approaches for addressing them. This politically diverse group will work closely with national governments, multilateral organizations, public and private energy companies, think tanks and research centers to monitor developments in the energy sector and serve as the hemisphere’s leading source of balanced analysis and informed recommendations on energy policy and politics.

Published

Dan Erikson and Paul Wander, “Obama and Chávez: Energy Partners?” *Journal of Energy Security*, April 23.

REMITTANCES AND DEVELOPMENT

Established in 1997 by Manuel Orozco, the Remittances and Development Program seeks to encourage remittances as a tool for development in the Western Hemisphere and around the world. The program focuses largely on policies governing the flow of remittances, private sector financial and remittance services, and financial access for migrants and remittance recipient families. The scope also extends to examining the high costs associated with remitting, the banking industry and new modes of remitting, the economic participation of Hometown Associations in countries of origin, and other transnational activities in which migrants engage. In 2002, the program expanded its work to regions outside Latin America and the Caribbean. Through research, policy analysis, technical assistance, product development and project/product implementation, the program has raised awareness and forged partnerships among public and private institutions in over 80 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa, Europe and Asia.

Financial Literacy

The Remittances and Development Program developed and implemented an ambitious financial literacy initiative which included a toolkit, brochure, methodology, and curriculum for both remittance recipients and migrants in 2009. The main goal of the initiative is to advance trainers’ understanding of the intersection between remittances and finances, increase remittance senders’ and recipients’ knowledge and tools on financial issues, and convert remittance recipient clients into clients of a financial institution.

On the sending side, the Dialogue organized financial literacy training sessions for over 100 migrants between July and September 2009 in Los Angeles, New York City, Washington D.C., and Hyattsville,



Manuel Orozco, Natasha Bajuk and Barbara Span

Maryland. On the receiving side, the Dialogue implemented its methodology in Azerbaijan, the Dominican Republic, Georgia, Guatemala, and Paraguay in partnership with financial institutions. The materials and methodology were successful in converting at least 20 percent of those who receive financial education from remittance recipient clients into clients of a financial institution.

Other Remittances and Development

- The Dialogue’s Remittances and Development Program hosted the “Global Forum on Remittances 2009,” and “Remittances, Business Models and Technology Fair” on October 22 and 23 at the Laico Tunis Hotel in Tunis, Tunisia in collaboration with the International Fund for Agricultural Development and the African Development Bank. The event was the third in a series of conferences dedicated to highlighting trends in international migration and the vital flow of remittances.
- On May 22, the Dialogue held a follow up event on recent trends in remittances to Latin America and the Caribbean with Sergio Perez of More Money Transfers, Enrique Fernandez-Cadellach of Telegiros, and Natasha Bajuk of the Multilateral Investment Fund of the IDB. The event followed closely after the release of the second report in a series of three reports on remittances and the economic recession.
- Natasha Bajuk of the Multilateral Investment Fund of the Inter-American Development Bank and Barbara Span of Western Union joined the Dialogue’s Manuel Orozco for a May 8 discussion entitled “Migration and Remittances in Times of Recession: Effects on Latin American economies.” The event featured the release of a Dialogue report which predicted that in 2009, as the financial crisis worsened, migrants would reduce their remittance flows by as much as 7 percent due to job losses, lower earnings, and slower migration.
- On April 24, the Dialogue hosted a discussion titled “Haiti: The Immigration Challenge,” with Jocelyn McCalla, former executive director of the National Coalition for Haitian Rights; Donald Kerwin, vice president for programs at the Migration Policy Institute; and Manuel Orozco, of the Dialogue.
- The Dialogue released on March 5 a report by Manuel Orozco, “The Cuban Condition: Migration, Remittances, and its Diaspora,” at an event featuring



Katrin Hansing and Dan Erikson

commentary by the author and Katrin Hansing, associate director of the Cuban Research Institute at Florida International University. Orozco's report concluded that Cuba received nearly \$1 billion in remittances in 2008.

Congressional Testimony

Manuel Orozco, "Remittances: Regulation and Disclosure in a New Economic Environment," Testimony before the House of Representatives Financial Services Committee, Subcommittee on Financial Institutions. June 3, 2009.

Published

Manuel Orozco, "Understanding the continuing effect of the economic crisis on remittances to Latin America and the Caribbean," Multilateral Investment Fund of the Inter-American Development Bank, August 10, 2009; "Migration and remittances in times of recession: Effects on Latin American economies," Latin American and Caribbean Economic System (SELA), May 8; "Asegurando futuros: el interés de inversión y estrategia de comercialización para los salvadoreños en el exterior," Banco Multisectoral de Inversiones (BMI), May 7; "The Cuban Condition: Migration, Remittances, and its Diaspora," report

presented at "El Caribe en su Inserción Internacional", sponsored by the CIPR/CIAPA, San José, Costa Rica, February 3-4 (published March 5); "Emerging markets for Rwanda: remittance transfers, its marketplace and financial intermediation," report commissioned by the African Development Bank, February 21; "¿Cuál puede ser el rol internacional para América Latina?" *Foro Europa -América Latina*. February 1; with **Eugenia García-Zanillo**, "Hometown Associations: Transnationalism, Philanthropy, and Development," *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, April 1; with **Elisabeth Burgess**, "EU Returns Directive: impact on migrants and remittances," *E-Finance & Payments Law & Policy*, February 1.

Marifeli Pérez-Stable, "That other Cuban community," *The Miami Herald*, December 3; "Immigrant parishes flourish in Miami," *The Miami Herald*, September 10.

Select Presentations

Manuel Orozco presented the findings and recommendations of his research on remittances and development at the following venues:

- International Organization for Migration in Guatemala on October 29 to 30.
- National Money Transmitters Association Conference in Miami on October 3 to 5.
- XII Inter-American Forum on Microenterprise Development in Arequipa, Peru on October 1.
- FLACSO in San Jose, Costa Rica on August 24 to 25.
- Segunda reunión del Foro Iberoamericano sobre Migración y Desarrollo (FIBEMYD) held in San Salvador, El Salvador on July 22 to 23.
- Asociación para el Estudio de la Economía Cubana (ASCE) in Miami on July 30.

- International Money Transfer & Migrant Remittances Summit in Rome on July 1 to 5.
- Segunda Reunión del Programa de Remesas del Fondo Multilateral de Inversiones (FOMIN) del Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (BID) held in San José, Costa Rica on May 20 to 21.
- FOLADE in Costa Rica on April 1 to 4.
- Federal Reserve Bank in Miami on March 18.
- International Organization for Migration in Madrid, Spain in March, 2009.
- Organization of American States in Montreal, Canada on February 25.
- “El Caribe en su Inserción Internacional” conference sponsored by the CIPR/CIAPA in San José, Costa Rica on February 3 to 4.

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

PRESS FREEDOM

The Dialogue’s work on press freedom seeks to enhance mechanisms of transparency and accountability and improve the quality and strength of democracy through a program of hemispheric conferences and published reports containing consensus recommendations. To date, initiatives have focused on access to information, government laws and regulations regarding the media, the concentration of media ownership, indirect censorship, violence against journalists and impunity, and the nexus of media responsibility and the quality of democracy. The Dialogue holds meetings on all aspects of press freedom, often in response to developments in the region.

- Horacio Verbitsky, a leading Argentine investigative journalist and columnist, was joined by José Miguel Vivanco, director of Human Rights Watch – Americas Program, for a discussion on a newly passed media law in Argentina. The event took place on November 2.
- The Dialogue and Internews Network co-hosted a luncheon discussion entitled, “Media Development in Haiti,” on June 3. Panelists included Louise Brunet of Internews Network, Jacqueline

Charles of the *Miami Herald*, and Jean Fedner Chéry, the community leader of RAMAK—a network of Haitian radio stations supported by Internews.

- Four expert panelists shared insights, best practices, and dilemmas related to the right of access to information in the Western Hemisphere at a Dialogue meeting on May 27. Panelists were Catalina Botero, the OAS special rapporteur for Freedom of Expression; Roberto de Michele, a senior policy advisor at the IDB; Juan Pablo Olmedo, president of Transparency Council in Chile; and Thomas Susman, director of the Government Affairs Office at the American Bar Association.



Catalina Botero

Select Presentations

- Michael Shifter spoke on a panel entitled, “Mexican Media Under Attack: Lessons Learned from Colombia,” at the National Endowment for Democracy, Center for International Media Assistance on March 9.

Published

Violence and Impunity: Protecting Journalists in Colombia and Mexico. Inter-American Dialogue: March 2010.

Media and Governance: A Reform Agenda in Latin America and the Caribbean. Inter-American Dialogue: January 2009.

Dialogues on Democracy

The Inter-American Dialogue, in partnership with the Organization of American States and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in Colombia (FESCOL), hosted the fourth national dialogue on democracy in Chinautá, Cundinamarca, Colombia on April 23 to 25, 2009. The workshop entitled, *Colombia: Dos décadas de la Constitución de 1991, Avances de la representación y retos de la gobernabilidad*, convened 15 distinguished Colombians representing political parties, civil society, academia, and the military. Discussions of the central themes of Colombian democracy reflected a broad range of political perspectives.

Published

Dominican Republic: Democracy for a Better Life, Inter-American Dialogue, Organization of American States, and Center for Governance and Social Management, Santo Domingo Technology Institute: June 2009.

Peter Hakim, “Reforma política va a ser beneficiosa para la democracia argentina,” *El Patagónico*, November 18; “Las paradojas de un golpe,” *América Economía*, August 27.

Marifeli Pérez-Stable, In *The Miami Herald*: “Dealing democracy a death blow,” December 17; “That other Cuban community,” December 3; “Dead End?” November 5; “Can we honor the fallen of both sides?” October 22; “US and Cuba inching toward each other,” October 8; “Immigrant parishes flourish in Miami” September 10; “Let people decide future, sooner not later,” August 27; “End coup stalemate,” July 30; “Regime fears silent majority,” July 2; “Nations are in for a bumpy ride,” June 18; “Raúl won’t face OAS challenge,” June 5; “Moving beyond Fidel,” May 21; “Tackling ‘perpetual antagonism,’” May 7; “What awaits the Cuba-Venezuela alliance?,” April 9; “Policy improving but could be better,” March 26; “Mexico’s progress in US interest,” February 26; “Cuba lacks respect for human rights,” February 12; “Populists intent on destroying democracy,” January 29; “Electoral contests on 2009 calendar,” January 15; “Cubans here and there still hope for better future,” January 1; in *Infolatam*: “Washington-La Habana: la hora de la verdad,” April 17; “Cambios ministeriales en Cuba,” March 11; in *El País*: “De Kennedy a Obama,” May 1; in *Encuentro en la Red*: “Un golpe mortal a la democracia,” December 23; “Sin pausa pero sin prisa,” October 26; “Lección sobre fragilidad democrática,” September 22; “Miedo a la mayoría silenciosa,” July 7; “Tiempos difíciles,” June 26; “Un reto para Raúl,” June 11; “Mover piezas más allá de Fidel,” May 29; “Atajar el antagonismo perpetuo,” May 15; “¿Qué destino le depara a la alianza?” April 14; “Política, viajes y remesas” April 3; “Más que caminos trillados,” March 11; “Lo que La Habana no hará” February 20; “A la espera de un futuro mejor,” February 10; “Año electoral,” January 22.

Select Presentations

- Hakim spoke at a July 17 conference, “Democracy in the Americas,” for the Congressional Hispanic Leadership Institute.

EDUCATION POLICY

PREAL-PARTNERSHIP FOR EDUCATIONAL REVITALIZATION IN THE AMERICAS

The Partnership for Educational Revitalization in the Americas (PREAL) helps Latin American governments and civil society identify and implement key policy reforms in education. PREAL's report cards and its policy audits establish benchmarks and monitor education progress at the regional and national levels. PREAL's strategic partnerships with national NGOs promote informed debate on education policy, identify and disseminate best practices, and monitor progress. The PREAL Business-Education Alliance provides support to its Central American partners to promote corporate social responsibility in education. PREAL sponsors two working groups—on standards and assessments and teacher professionalization—that bring cutting-edge research to the attention of practitioners in the region.

Working Group on Standards and Assessments (GTEE)

- On November 23 to 27, the GTEE co-organized two national conferences entitled “Evaluations in Primary School Classrooms in Latin America.” The GTEE collaborated with the Private Sector Council for Educational Assistance and the National Union of Private Education Centers in Panama City, and the Latin American Social Sciences Faculty (FLACSO-Guatemala) and the Center for National Economics Research in Guatemala City, to discuss how the results of a GTEE study of sixth grade evaluations in eight Latin American countries might affect decisions in their education systems. Distinguished participants included national assessments director Arturo Rivera of Panama, minister of education Lucy Molinar and vice minister of education Mirna de Crespo in Panama, and national assessments director Luisa Muller and USAID/Guatemala officers in Guatemala.
- On November 3 to 5, the GTEE co-organized a national conference on learning standards in Lima, Peru in conjunction with the Peruvian Institute of Assessment, Accreditation, and Certification of Basic Education Quality, the Peruvian ministry of education, and the World Bank. The conference, entitled “The Challenge is that Students Learn,” included the participation of Peruvian president Alan García and minister of education José Antonio Chang.
- On September 29 to 30, GTEE members organized two panels—on the use of in-class assessments and innovative uses for assessment instruments—as part of the first “Assessing Educational Achievement Seminar” in Cali, Colombia. The Centro de Investigación Bonaventuriano, the Research Group on Educational Assessment and Quality, and the Psychology School of the Universidad San Buenaventura organized the seminar.
- On March 2 to 6, the GTEE and the World Bank co-organized a weeklong training workshop in Salinitas, El Salvador, as part of the National Training Program on School Learning Evaluation. The training workshop, the third in a series of four held throughout the region, was designed to improve data analysis procedures for testing information.

Working Group on Teacher Professionalization (GTD)

- On March 30 to 31, the GTD organized the third meeting of their specialists' group on teacher remuneration in Montevideo, Uruguay. Participants discussed a GTD study entitled "Supply, Demand, and Teacher Salaries: A Model to Build," which looks at economic and non-economic factors affecting teachers' salaries and potential indicators that could be used to compare teacher remuneration throughout the region.
- On March 20 to 21, the GTD and the National Union of Private Education Centers—a PREAL national partner in Panama—co-organized a two-day conference on teacher performance with the Business Circle for Improving Education Quality and the Foundation for the Social and Economic Development of Panama. The conference, which took place in Panama City, drew a variety of national education stakeholders, including nearly 50 school supervisors and regional directors.

Other Education Policy

- On October 8 to 9, PREAL co-organized an international conference on teacher

effectiveness in Mexico City with the Latin American Social Sciences Faculty (FLACSO) and the Secretary of Public Education of Mexico. The conference, entitled "Teacher Effectiveness," reviewed successful international experiences in teacher training, development, and evaluation, and engaged a diverse group of more than 800 policymakers, teachers, education officials and opinion leaders in discussing the topics' implications for their countries.

- On May 19, the Dialogue hosted a discussion on accountability in education in Jamaica. The event featured Andrew Holness, Jamaica's minister of education. Holness explained his rationale and approach for embarking on an unprecedented set of accountability reforms aimed at improving Jamaica's education system. Charles Abelmann, manager of the Leadership and Organizational Effectiveness Group at the World Bank, offered comments.
- On March 6 to 7, three PREAL partners in the Dominican Republic—FLACSO, PUCMM, and EDUCA—and the Working Group on Teacher Professionalization jointly organized an international seminar on teacher training practices with



Magda Pepén Peguero, Radhamés Mejía, and Aida Consuelo Hernández

the Salomé Ureña Teachers' College, the Technological Institute of Santo Domingo, and the National Institute of Teacher Formation and Training. The seminar, which focused on "building a better future," sought to foster better education quality by debating and analyzing proposals designed to improve the skills of in-service teachers.

Selected Presentation and Events

- On December 1 to 2, Dialogue staff Jeffrey Puryear and Tamara Ortega Goodspeed, participated in a set of meetings with national education experts in São Paulo, Brazil. Organized by the Lemann Foundation, the meetings brought together Brazilian education specialists to grade various dimensions of the country's education system. Puryear gave a keynote address at a lunch session attended by secretary of education for São Paulo state, Paulo Renato Souza, along with some 50 education, business, government, and philanthropic leaders.
- On November 17, Puryear joined the Dominican minister of education in Barahona, Dominican Republic to help launch the first of 12 regional forums on the country's Ten-year Education Plan (*Plan Decenal de la Educación*). Some 500 leaders attended the event, which was televised throughout the country.
- On October 14, Puryear spoke at the National Forum on Education Relevance (*Foro Pertinencia*) in Bogotá, organized by the Colombian ministry of education, to discuss how to make the country's education system more effective. Over 2,000 government officials, education specialists, teachers and political leaders attended.
- On May 29, at the request of the Mexican government, Jeffrey Puryear, along with two members of PREAL's Working Group on Standards and Assessments (GTEE), provided advice

on how to strengthen Mexico's National Assessment of School Academic Achievement.

- In March, PREAL and national partner CIEN (Center for National Economic Research) launched the second national education report card in Guatemala, "Education: An Urgent National Challenge." The main event was held in Guatemala City on March 20, with subsequent events in Quetzaltenango and the Universidad del Istmo in Guatemala City to ensure a wide-ranging discussion of findings.

Published

Books

Reformas Pendientes en la Educación Secundaria. Ediciones PREAL/ESM/ Santiago, Chile, April 2009.

Reports

¿Cuánto están aprendiendo los niños en América Latina?: Hallazgos claves del Segundo Estudio Regional Comparativo y Explicativo (SERCE). December 2009; *How Much Are Latin American Children Learning?: Highlights from the Second Regional Student Achievement Test (SERCE)*. September 2009.

National report card on education in Guatemala, *Educación: Un desafío de urgencia nacional*. March 2009.

The Paradox of the "Good" Student: Race and the Brazilian Education System. March 2009.

Working Papers

No. 45, *La oferta, la demanda y el salario docente: Modelo para armar* by Alejandro Morduchowicz. November 2009; No. 44, *Estándares de aprendizaje escolar*. Procesos en curso en América Latina by Guillermo Ferrer. July 2009; No. 43, *Teacher Effectiveness: A Review of the International*

Literature and Its Relevance for Improving Education in Latin America by Barbara Hunt. August 2009; No. 43, *Efectividad del desempeño docente. Una reseña de la literatura internacional y su relevancia para mejorar la educación en América Latina* by Barbara Hunt. April 2009.

Policy Series

No. 33, *Dimensiones y prácticas de la evaluación docente*. September 2009; No. 32, *Alianzas público-privadas en educación: una opción para enfrentar los retos de cobertura, equidad y calidad*. May 2009; No. 31, *Retos del desarrollo profesional docente en América Latina y el Caribe*. January 2009.

Best Practices Series

No. 32, *La evaluación para docentes de excelencia o avanzados*. October 2009; No. 31, *Tendencias en la evaluación del logro escolar: la experiencia de cinco países con alto rendimiento educativo*. June 2009; No. 30, *Estados Unidos: experiencias de prevención del abandono escolar*. February 2009.

Education Synopsis Series

No. 21, *Discusiones sobre el salario docente*. November 2009; No. 20, *Especial: Educación Secundaria*. August 2009. No. 19, *Descentralización escolar: ¿un beneficio para todos? El caso de las escuelas secundarias en Argentina*, July 2009; No. 18, *Preparación, reclutamiento y retención de profesores*, June 2009; No. 17, *Repetición y brechas de equidad: análisis del caso de Uruguay*, March 2009. And five summaries based on the 6th Meeting of Ministers of Education of the Americas in Quito on August 12-14: *Desafíos de la educación secundaria en América Latina*; *Desafíos de las reformas de educación secundaria europea*; *Educación secundaria: antiguos y nuevos dilemas políticos*; *Orientaciones para las políticas de transformación de las instituciones y prácticas de la educación secundaria*; and *Adolescentes: permanencia selectiva en la escuela*.

Staff Articles

Michael Lisman, In *The Guardians's* Comment is Free section, "Healing time for Honduras," December 10; "Fiddling while Tegucigalpa burns," November 11; "Manuel Zelaya hurts his own cause," September 23; "Zelaya's point of no return," July 7.

Jeffrey Puryear and **Tamara Ortega Goodspeed**, *How Can Education Help Latin America Develop?* Commissioned by CAF as part of a larger project to identify policies necessary for Latin American countries to join the ranks of developed countries by 2030. August 2009.

Jeffrey Puryear, **Ortega Goodspeed**, and **Alejandro Ganimian**, *Improving Education's Contribution to Development in Latin America*, paper for the Center for Hemispheric Policy at the University of Miami. June 2009.

SOCIAL POLICY

The flagship of this program is a Social Report Card that analyzes the extent to which Latin American countries are pursuing pro-poor policies in areas such as fiscal management, education, and public services. Upon completion staff will work with national social policy specialists in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru to pilot the report card in early 2010. The program also produces a series of policy briefs that spotlight key issues of the social agenda and hosts events to inform the thinking of leaders and policymakers on social progress in Latin America.



Nora Lustig

- Whether Latin America's recent decline in inequality can be sustained was the topic at a Dialogue breakfast meeting on July 27. Nora Lustig, Tulane University professor and non-resident fellow at the Dialogue, presented results and analysis in a book she co-edited, *Declining Inequality in Latin America: A Decade of Progress?* Francis Fukuyama, professor at Johns Hopkins Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies and Dialogue Board member, provided comments.
- Javier Santiso, chief development economist and director of the OECD Development Centre, discussed the OECD's *2009 Latin American Economic Outlook* findings at the Dialogue on March 24. Santiago Levy, vice-president for sector and knowledge of the IDB, offered comments. The findings revealed that governments in the region tax too little, offer poor quality services, and spend their budgets in ways that tend to reinforce inequalities.

- On January 6, the Dialogue held a breakfast discussion on how social policy has been designed and implemented in Latin America versus East Asia and Eastern Europe. Author Robert Kaufman discussed his new book, co-authored by Stephan Haggard, *Development, Democracy and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia and Eastern Europe*. Kaufman, a Rutgers University political scientist, was joined by Chile's former budget director, Mario Marcel, who manages the IDB's institutional capacity and finance sector.

Published

How Poor and Unequal is Latin America and the Caribbean? Social Policy Brief No. 1 by **Jeffrey Puryear** and **Mariellen Malloy Jewers**. Inter-American Dialogue: November 2009.

Pobreza y Desigualdad en América. Síntesis de Política Social 1º por **Jeffrey Puryear** y **Mariellen Malloy Jewers**. Diálogo Interamericano: Noviembre 2009.

Fiscal Policy and the Poor. Background Policy Paper for the Fourth Meeting of Former Latin American Presidents in Brazil by **Jeffrey Puryear** and **Mariellen Malloy Jewers**. Inter-American Dialogue: March 2009.

Select Presentations

Jeffrey Puryear presented the paper "Fiscal Policy and the Poor" at the Fourth Meeting of Former Latin American Presidents in São Paulo, Brazil on March 6. The event was co-hosted by former presidents Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil and Alejandro Toledo of Peru.

COUNTRIES AND SUBREGIONS

ANDEAN REGION

The Andean program at the Dialogue addresses the most pressing issues in the Andean countries (Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru), including democratic governance, drug trafficking, energy, and international relations. The Andean Working Group, along with the accompanying working paper series, is the centerpiece of this program.

Andean Working Group

The Andean Working Group, which began in 2001 as the Colombia Working Group and expanded to encompass the other Andean countries in 2004, is comprised of 25 to 35 diverse, high-level experts on the Andean region, including influential lawmakers, former officials, diplomats, and opinion leaders. The Dialogue hosts two two-day meetings per year, one in Washington and one in the region. The discussions are wide-ranging, with a focus on national political situations and outlooks, as well as regional and international relations.

- The Dialogue held the seventeenth meeting of the Andean Working Group on December 3 and 4 in Santiago, Chile.

In anticipation of Chilean presidential elections on December 13, the working group examined Chilean electoral trends and likely political outcomes of any second round of voting, among other topics. Various cross-cutting, regional issues were present throughout the sessions, including the state of US-Andean relations under President Barack Obama and the foreign policy agendas of the Andean presidents. Notable Chilean participants included Dialogue members Sergio Bitar, then-minister of public works; Senator Andrés Allamand (National Renewal party); and former president Ricardo Lagos. Edmundo Pérez Yoma, minister of the interior, also participated.

- The Dialogue held the sixteenth meeting of the Andean Working Group on May 18 and 19 in Washington, D.C. The participants—who included Donna Hrinak, senior director of Latin American government affairs at PepsiCo; Antonio Navarro, governor of the department of Nariño in Colombia; and María Paula Romo, member of the National Assembly of Ecuador from the Movimiento País Party—focused on



Marta Lucia Ramirez



Antonio Navarro Wolff

analyzing recent events, such as votes in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela as well as the historic trial of former president Alberto Fujimori in Peru, and the Summit of the Americas meeting in Trinidad and Tobago.

Other Andean Region

- “Political Perspectives on Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela” was the topic of discussion at a May 19 event that brought together three experts—Rodrigo Pardo, director of the Colombian newsmagazine *Cambio*; María Paula Romo, a member of the National Assembly of Ecuador; and Michael Penfold of the Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administración in Venezuela—to discuss domestic and regional priorities.
- In a breakfast discussion titled “The Outlook for Chile and Peru” on May 20, Carlos Basombrío, former vice minister of the interior of Peru, and Dialogue non-resident senior fellow Genaro Arriagada, former minister of the presidency of Chile, discussed recent developments and future prospects for their respective countries.
- Three visiting Transparency International advocates from Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru, debated whether the Inter-American Convention against Corruption is living up to its promise to strengthen governance and reduce corruption across the hemisphere at a Dialogue discussion on September 15. Panelists were Federico Arenoso of Poder Ciudadano (Argentina), Lupe Cajías of Transparencia Bolivia, and Iván Meini, with Consejo Nacional para la Ética Pública (Proética) in Lima, Peru.
- The pressing issue of arms purchases animated the November 3 event entitled “Arms Build Up in Latin America: Is There Reason for Concern?” A special

focus was directed towards the situations in Venezuela and Colombia. The featured speaker was Román Ortiz, information and analysis director for the Colombian security consultancy Grupo Triarius. Adam Isacson, a specialist on security issues in Latin America, provided commentary.

Published

Corruption in the Andean Region: Is Progress Being Made? Andean Working Paper by Carlos Basombrío Iglesias. Inter-American Dialogue: July 2009.

Select Presentations

Michael Shifter

- Gave lectures on the Andean region and the Obama administration at two US universities, Cornell University (September 21) and Harvard University (November 10), as well as a speech on a similar topic to the Foreign Ambassadors of Peru at their meeting in Lima (June 30).
- Spoke about the political situation in Venezuela and how the Obama administration was approaching the Chávez administration, at the Instituto de Estudios Políticos in Caracas, Venezuela (October 13).
- Made three visits to Colombia in 2009 where he spoke to four different groups about politics, the foreign policy agendas of the Andean presidents, and regional integration: the Corporación Escuela Galán in Bogota (August 19); the Colombian National Association of Merchants in Cali (August 20); the Colombian National Association of Foreign Trade in Bogota (September 3); and the OAS's regional conference on “Registros, Gobernabilidad, Desarrollo y Futuro” (November 4).

COLOMBIA

- The Dialogue hosted a breakfast session on Colombia's evolving relationship with the United States and its Andean neighbors. The discussion featured Rafael Pardo, the Liberal Party candidate for president in Colombia's May 2010 elections. The session took place on November 11.
- The Dialogue, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and Council of the Americas joined forces to host Colombian President Álvaro Uribe for an event titled "The Next Step in the US-Colombia Relationship" on June 30.
- US ambassador to Colombia William Brownfield spoke on the US-Colombia relationship at a Dialogue event on March 19.
- The process of reintegrating the more than 47,000 combatants from Colombia's paramilitary and guerilla groups that have demobilized since mid-2002 was the topic of a conversation featuring Frank Pearl, Colombia's high counselor for social and economic reintegration. The event took place at the Dialogue on February 25.



Michael Shifter and William Brownfield

Reports

Violence and Impunity: Protecting Journalists in Colombia and Mexico. Inter-American Dialogue: March 2010.

Media and Governance: A Reform Agenda in Latin America and the Caribbean. Inter-American Dialogue: January 2009.

Published

Peter Hakim, "EU debió tener la delicadeza de hablar con Lula sobre las bases," *El Tiempo* (Colombia), August 9.

Michael Shifter, "Jugando con fuego," *El Colombiano*, November 24; "Colombia's Alvaro Uribe—return of the South American strongman?" *Los Angeles Times*, April 16; "Six Steps to Improve US-Colombia Relations," Brookings Institution, April 2009.

Select Presentations

- On September 29 to 30, members of PREAL's Working Group on Standards and Assessments organized two panels as part of the first "Assessing Educational Achievement Seminar" in Cali, Colombia, hosted by the Centro de Investigación Bonaventuriano, the Research Group on Educational Assessment and Quality, and the Psychology School of the Universidad San Buenaventura.

VENEZUELA

- Caracas mayor Antonio Ledezma told participants at a Dialogue event on June 22 that Venezuela's opposition is hoping key regional and municipal victories in the November 2008 election can breathe new life into its movement, even as some governors and mayors are being stripped of their executive powers.
- On February 4, two Venezuelan National Assembly deputies from the



Ana María Sanjuán

United Socialist Party of Venezuela—Calixto Ortega Ríos of Zulia state and Francisco Alejandro Torrealba Ojeda of Portuguesa—offered their views on a proposed referendum being offered by President Hugo Chávez to eliminate presidential term limits.

Marifeli Pérez-Stable, “What awaits the Cuba-Venezuela alliance?” *The Miami Herald*, April 9; “¿Qué destino le depara a la alianza?” *Encuentro en la Red*, April 14.

Michael Shifter, “Calm Down, Chávez,” *Foreign Policy*, November 10; “A Powerful Grip,” *America*, July 20.

ECUADOR

- A September 18 breakfast conversation on Ecuador’s development and economic agenda featured panelists Nathalie Cely, Ecuador’s minister of coordination for production, and Mauricio Pozo, Ecuador’s former minister of finance. The discussion centered on the policies of the Rafael Correa administration and Ecuador’s greater economic outlook.
- Ecuador’s minister of foreign affairs, trade and integration Fander Falconí and coordinating minister of internal and external security Miguel Carvajal spoke

about their country’s regional and global relations at the Dialogue on June 11.

- The Dialogue convened a panel on April 9 to discuss the outlook for Correa’s second term, with a focus on likely economic and political scenarios. The discussion was led by Pablo Lucio Paredes, an economist and member of the recent Ecuadoran Constituent Assembly; Patrick Esteruelas, a Latin America analyst at the Eurasia group; and Carlos de la Torre, the chair of the political science department at FLACSO-Ecuador.

PERU

- On November 3 to 5, members of PREAL’s Working Group on Standards and Assessments co-organized a national conference on learning standards in Lima, Peru in conjunction with the Peruvian Institute of Assessment, Accreditation, and Certification of Basic Education Quality, the Peruvian ministry of education, and the World Bank. The conference, entitled “The Challenge is that Students Learn,” included the participation of Peruvian President Alan García and education minister José Antonio Chang.
- Beatriz Boza, the founder and executive director of Ciudadanos al Día in Peru, and Fernando Rojas, the lead public sector management specialist at the World Bank, led a panel discussion entitled “Peru: Challenges to Local Governance.” The event took place at the Dialogue on October 23.
- Following the tragic occurrence in Peru’s Bagua province, the Dialogue in collaboration with the Council of the Americas held a discussion on June 18 on the violence that led to the deaths of dozens of indigenous protesters and police officers. Luis Valdivieso Montano, the Peruvian ambassador to the United States, gave the government perspective on what transpired in the province.

- Two Peruvian lawyers deeply involved in the trial of former Peruvian president Alberto Fujimori discussed the significance of his conviction at a Dialogue discussion on June 8. Antonio Maldonado, a Reagan Fascell Democracy fellow and anti-corruption ad hoc solicitor for the Peruvian government was joined by Carlos Rivera, who is affiliated with Peru's Legal Defense Institute and represents a victim in the case. Doug Cassel, director of the Center for Civil and Human Rights at Notre Dame University, also spoke at the event, which was co-hosted by the Due Process of Law Foundation.

BOLIVIA

- “The Outlook for Bolivian Politics under the New Constitution” was the topic of a special discussion on February 12 with Pablo Solón, Bolivia’s envoy to the United Nations and a close advisor to President Evo Morales. Solón spoke at the Dialogue just weeks after Bolivia adopted its new constitution.

BRAZIL

- Fernando Henrique Cardoso, former president of Brazil and Dialogue Board co-chair, led a discussion at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars on December 10 on the “Challenges of Brazil after Lula” in light of the popular president’s last year in office.
- On December 10, former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso and former US trade representative Carla Hills hosted a conversation that explored the evolution of US-Latin American relations in the first year of the Obama administration; the growing influence of Brazil in hemispheric politics; and the tense political dynamics of much of Latin America at the start of a new electoral cycle.



Fernando Henrique Cardoso

- The Dialogue discussed Brazil’s political and economic interests as it continues to play a greater role in global politics at a May 5 meeting led by David Fleischer of the University of Brasilia. Panelists included Paulo Sotero, director of the Brazil Institute at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and Joel Velasco, head of the Washington office of the Brazil Sugarcane Industry Association.

Select Presentations

- In December, Jeffrey Puryear gave a keynote address during a lunch session attended by secretary of education for São Paulo state, Paulo Renato Souza, along with some 50 education, business, government, and philanthropic leaders.
- Hakim discussed US-Brazil relations at the Foro Brasil, a conference sponsored by the Fundación M. Botin from November 2 to 4 in Madrid.
- On October 29, Hakim chaired a session on disarmament at a seminar on “Nuclear-Non Proliferation and Disarmament: the Future of the NPT,” hosted by CEBRI, in Rio de Janeiro.
- In June, Dan Erikson presented a paper, “China’s Evolving Role in Latin America:

Implications for the United States” at the XXVIII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Published

Peter Hakim, “Brasil deveria deixar princípios de lado e apoiar eleição em Honduras,” *R7 Noticias*, November 29; “Brasil deve equilibrar estratégia,” *O Globo*, November 25; and “EU debió tener la delicadeza de hablar con Lula sobre las bases,” *El Tiempo* (Colombia), August 9.

CHILE

- Genaro Arriagada, former minister of the presidency of Chile and Dialogue non-resident senior fellow, discussed, at a July 9 Dialogue meeting, how the Chilean political system faces a crucial challenge in the upcoming elections as it attempts to revitalize itself after twenty years of *Concertación* rule.

Published

Marifeli Pérez-Stable, “Año electoral,” *Encuentro en la Red*, January 22; “Electoral contests on 2009 calendar,” *The Miami Herald*, January 15.

ARGENTINA

- Horacio Verbitsky, a leading Argentine investigative journalist and columnist, was joined by José Miguel Vivanco, director of Human Rights Watch – Americas, on November 2 for a discussion on a newly passed media law in Argentina.
- An October 21 discussion on Argentina’s economy and prospects for recovery featured Miguel Kiguel, executive director of EconViews and former president of Argentina’s Banco Hipotecario and deputy secretary of finance under President Carlos Menem.

He was joined by Loomis Sayles’ Latin America strategist Edgardo Sternberg.

- The 2009 Legislative Elections in Argentina was the topic of a May 12 Dialogue discussion featuring Patricia Vaca Narvaja, the deputy speaker of the House of Representatives of Argentina, and Héctor M. Timerman, Argentine ambassador to the United States.
- Miguel Kiguel, executive director of EconViews and former president of Argentina’s Banco Hipotecario, joined Dialogue senior fellow Claudio Loser, former head of the IMF’s Western Hemisphere Department, for a February 12 discussion on the economic problems facing Argentina.

Peter Hakim, “Reforma política va a ser beneficiosa para la democracia argentina,” *El Patagónico*, November 18.

PREAL Education Synopsis Series:

No. 19, *Descentralización escolar: ¿un beneficio para todos? El caso de las escuelas secundarias en Argentina*, July.

CARIBBEAN REGION

- On November 4, the Dialogue hosted a discussion entitled “China’s impact in the Caribbean” with Richard Bernal, executive director of the Caribbean Department at the Inter-American Development Bank; Adrian Hearn, research fellow at the University of Sydney (Australia) and author of the forthcoming volume *China and Latin America: Prospects for the 21st Century*; and Claudio Loser, senior fellow at the Dialogue and former director of the Western Hemisphere Department at the International Monetary Fund.
- On May 27, the Dialogue hosted the ambassadors to the United States from the English-speaking Caribbean for a roundtable on financial regulations and tax haven laws. Ambassador La Celia Prince of St. Vincent and the Grenadines,

Ambassador Cornelius Smith of the Bahamas, and Ambassador John Beale of Barbados discussed “Curbing tax havens and increasing overseas corporate taxes: what will it cost the Caribbean?”

- On May 19, the Dialogue hosted a discussion on accountability in education in Jamaica. The event featured Andrew Holness, Jamaica’s minister of education. Holness explained his rationale and approach for embarking on an unprecedented set of accountability reforms aimed at improving Jamaica’s education system. Charles Abelmann, manager of the Leadership and Organizational Effectiveness Group at the World Bank, offered comments.

CUBA

Working Group on the Cuban Economy

The Dialogue has conducted an active program on Cuba’s international relations for nearly two decades, and since 2000 we have focused primarily on establishing connections between the economics community of Cuba and the international financial institutions (IFIs). This project aims to sustain a dialogue among Cuban economic analysts and decision-makers and a range of current and former economic



Andrew Holness

policy officials working at the national and international level. Our long-term goal is to facilitate Cuba’s integration into hemispheric activities and advance the quality of debate on issues related to Cuba through research, publications, and public forums. The Dialogue’s Working Group on the Cuban Economy regularly brings together some 25 economists, policy makers, and academics from Cuba, the United States, and Latin America to discuss the state of the Cuban economy and prospects for increased integration with the IFIs.

- On April 26, the Dialogue hosted a small group of economists, analysts, and diplomats for a private conversation on Cuba with Sweden’s representative in Havana, Caroline Fleetwood. Participants discussed the prospects for change within Cuba under Raúl Castro and analyzed the European strategy of engagement with Cuba.

- On March 16, the Dialogue convened a select group of senior level analysts and economists for a closed-door discussion on US policy towards Cuba and recent political developments on the Caribbean island. A presentation by Carl Meacham of his recently launched Senate report entitled “Changing Cuba Policy—In the US’s National Interest” led off the discussion. The report concluded that the US can change its policy with Cuba in several ways that will benefit the national interest, such as reducing restrictions on Cuban-American family travel.

US-Cuban Relations

The Dialogue maintains a robust program of public meetings to address developments in US-Cuban relations, frequently collaborating with Florida International University.

- On December 18, the Dialogue and Florida International University’s Cuban Research Institute sponsored



Luis Alberto Moreno

a discussion on “Cuba and New Technologies.” The discussion was led by Ted Henken, assistant professor at Baruch College (CUNY) and author of *Cuba: A Global Studies Handbook*, and Carlos Lauría, Americas program coordinator at the Committee to Protect Journalists and author of a recent report on bloggers in Cuba.

- Rafael Hernandez, the editorial director of the Cuban magazine *Temas*, was featured at a Dialogue breakfast discussion on November 18.
- The Dialogue hosted a discussion about the book *Without Fidel: A Death Foretold in Miami, Havana, and Washington*, with the author Ann Louise Bardach on October 13. Phil Peters, vice president of the Lexington Institute, and Manuel Roig-Franzia, former Latin America bureau chief of the *Washington Post*, offered comments.
- On September 11, the Dialogue and Florida International University sponsored a discussion on “Cuba’s Soft Power” with American University professor Robert Pastor, Georgetown University visiting researcher Julie Feinsilver, School of the Art Institute in Chicago professor Rachel Weiss, and

associate professor Katrin Hansing of Baruch College (CUNY).

- On June 24, the Dialogue’s CMWG met to discuss the direction of US-Cuba policy, hosted by Senators Christopher Dodd (D-CT) and Richard Lugar (R-IN), and Representatives Charles Rangel (D-NY) and Jeff Flake (R-AZ). Participants included OAS secretary general José Miguel Insulza, IDB president Luis Alberto Moreno, deputy assistant secretary of state David Robinson, and US ambassador to the OAS Hector Morales.
- The Dialogue hosted a discussion entitled “The Cuban Revolution at 50” on Friday, May 1. Panelists included Anthony DePalma, former staff reporter at the *New York Times*, and author of *The Man Who Invented Fidel*; and Philip Brenner, professor of international relations at American University and co-editor of *A Contemporary Cuba Reader: Reinventing the Revolution*. The Dialogue’s Marifeli Pérez-Stable, also a professor at Florida International University, moderated the discussion.
- On April 15, Stephen Weber, chief operating officer of the Program on International Policy Attitudes, presented new survey data from WorldPublicOpinion.org regarding US attitudes on Cuba and US-Cuba policy. The study found that a majority of Americans feel that it is time to try a “new approach to Cuba.” Phil Peters, vice president of the Lexington Institute, and Robert Pastor, professor of international relations at American University commented.
- On March 5, the Dialogue released a report by Manuel Orozco, “The Cuban Condition: Migration, Remittances, and its Diaspora,” at an event featuring commentary by the author and Katrin Hansing, associate director of the Cuban Research Institute at Florida

International University. Orozco's report concluded that Cuba received nearly \$1 billion in remittances in 2008.

- Rensselaer Lee, senior fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, joined Frank Mora of the National War College, and Randy Beardsworth of Catalyst Partners, for a discussion on the unlikely partnership between Cuba and the United States on counter-narcotics policies and the potential for greater collaboration. Hosted by the Dialogue, the meeting took place on February 27.

Cuba and the Organization of American States

The Dialogue launched a new program in 2009 on Cuba and the Organization of American States, bringing leadership from the OAS together with policy makers and academics in Washington and abroad to discuss the issues that prevent Cuba's membership in the hemispheric organization. This project has facilitated a thorough review of US policy towards Cuba under the Obama administration and Latin America's stance toward Cuba during the same period.

- At a June 24 conversation sponsored by the Dialogue, OAS secretary general José



José Miguel Insulza

Miguel Insulza discussed his organization's decision to reverse the 1962 provision that expelled Cuba. Insulza explained that for Cuba, "the lock is off" but "the door is

not open." The meeting took place at the UC Washington Center because of the overwhelming response.

Select Presentations

- Dan Erikson participated in a Brookings Institution core group on Cuba that met frequently throughout the year to evaluate the current state of US-Cuba relations and to offer suggestions for future engagement.
- The Dialogue participated in the 19th annual conference of the Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy (ASCE) in Miami, Florida from July 30 to August 1. Dan Erikson spoke at the opening plenary on US-Cuba relations.
- Between June 1 and 5, Dan Erikson participated in the 34th annual conference of the Caribbean Studies Association entitled, "Centering the Caribbean in Caribbean Studies." He presented on a panel entitled "US-Cuba Relations: A Roundtable Discussion with Washington Think Tanks."
- Dan Erikson presented a paper on "The Next Act in US-Cuban relations: Après Bush, le Déluge?" at Queens University, Kingston (Canada) during a conference on "The Measure of a Revolution: Cuba 1959–2009" from May 7 to 9.

Publications

Dan Erikson, in *O Estado de São Paulo*, "Outro Castro, Mesma Cuba," November 29; "Bênção e maldição de Kennedy," September 14; *Mão dupla no Estreito da Flórida*, October 4; "Raúl y o 'mel do poder,'" March 8; "Sai a prisão, fica a encrenca," January 24; "Cambió el alma de América Latina," *El Colombiano*, November 6; "Europe's Cuba Problem: The Limits of Constructive Engagement," International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, September 15; with **Paul Wander**, "Cuba's Brave New World," *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Vol. 33, Issue 2, October 14; "Raúl Castro and Cuba's Global Diplomacy," *Cuba in Transition*, ASCE, Vol. 18, March 4; "Book Review of *Russian-Cuban Relations Since 1992: Continuing Camaraderie in a Post-*

Soviet World,” *Cuban Affairs*, February 28; “Castro’s ‘Potential Immortality,’” *Miami Herald*, January 23; “Can Obama End ‘The Cuba Wars?’” *FOCALPOINT: Spotlight on the Americas*, Vol. 8, Issue 1, January; “Obama and Latin America: Magic or Realism?” *World Policy Journal*, January; “Cuba on the Verge,” *Great Decisions*, January.

Peter Hakim, “Cuba y la OEA” *Infolatam*, June 2; “Peter Hakim’s Guest Entry on Cuba,” *National Journal*, April 22.

Marifeli Pérez-Stable, in *The Miami Herald*: “That other Cuban community,” December 3; “Dead End?” November 5; “Can we honor the fallen of both sides?” October 22; “US and Cuba inching toward each other,” October 8; “Regime fears silent majority,” July 2; “Raúl won’t face OAS challenge,” June 5; “Moving beyond Fidel,” May 21; “Tackling ‘perpetual antagonism,’” May 7; “What awaits the Cuba-Venezuela alliance?” April 9; “Policy improving but could be better,” March 26; “Cuba lacks respect for human rights,” February 12; “Cubans here and there still hope for better future,” January 1; in *Encuentro en la Red*: “Sin pausa pero sin prisa,” October 26; “Miedo a la mayoría silencioso,” July 7; “Un reto para Raúl,” June 11; “Mover piezas más allá de Fidel,” May 29; “Atajar el antagonismo perpetuo,” May 15; “¿Qué destino le depara a la alianza?” April 14; “Política, viajes y remesas,” April 3; “Lo que La Habana no hará” February 20; “A la espera de un futuro mejor,” February 10; in *Infolatam*: “Washington-La Habana: la hora de la verdad,” April 17; “Cambios ministeriales en Cuba,” March 11; “De Kennedy a Obama,” *El País*, May 1.

HAITI

- On December 10, the Dialogue co-sponsored an event on “The Prospects for Haiti’s New Government,” with the US Institute for Peace. The discussion was led by Alix Cantave, associate director of the William Monroe

Trotter Institute at the University of Massachusetts-Boston; Mark Schneider, senior vice president at the International Crisis Group; and the Dialogue’s Dan Erikson. Robert Maguire, chair of the Haiti Working Group at USIP and associate professor of international affairs at Trinity Washington University, served as moderator.

- On September 26, the Dialogue hosted a private conference of Haitian Diaspora leaders. This day-long discussion featured several prominent Haitian Americans, including Representative Marie St. Fleur of the Massachusetts State Assembly and Leslie Voltaire, Haiti special envoy to the United Nations. Discussions focused on whether and how the Haitian Diaspora can contribute to development in their home country.
- The Dialogue and Internews Network co-hosted a luncheon discussion entitled, “Media Development in Haiti,” on June 3. Panelists included Louise Brunet of Internews Network, Jacqueline Charles of the *Miami Herald*, and Jean Fedner Chéry, the community leader of RAMAK—a network of Haitian radio stations supported by Internews.



Rep. Yvette Clarke (D-NY), Jean-Max Bellerive and Robert Maguire



José Neftaly Yanes

- On April 24, the Dialogue hosted a discussion on “Haiti: The Immigration Challenge,” with Jocelyn McCalla, former executive director of the National Coalition for Haitian Rights; Donald Kerwin, vice president for programs at the Migration Policy Institute; and Manuel Orozco, director of remittances and development at the Dialogue.

Dan Erikson, “Haiti’s Political Outlook: What the United States Should Do,” in *The Obama Administration and the Americas: Agenda for Change*, Brookings Institution Press, April 1; “Obama and Latin America: Magic or Realism?” *World Policy Journal*, January 2009.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Central America Working Group

The Dialogue, in collaboration with former Guatemalan vice president Eduardo Stein and CEPAL–Mexico director Hugo Beteta, launched a Working Group on Central America. The group is designed to (1) produce fresh, balanced analyses of the region’s most pressing challenges along with proposals for practical approaches to address them and (2) keep the Washington policy and media communities informed about critical developments in the region and its relations with the United States. The group includes a politically diverse mix of

some 45 policy analysts, political and labor leaders, economists, and NGO and business executives.

- The Dialogue convened a small group of experts on Thursday, May 21, for a private planning session to discuss ideas for establishing a Washington-based forum for exchange on Central America and US–Central American relations. The group reviewed recent political and economic developments in the region and the outlook for the coming period, and then discussed the proposed forum and the issues and activities it might pursue. Select participants included Cynthia Arnsion of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Diana Negrofonte of the Brookings Institution, Mark Schneider of International Crisis Group, Gert Rosenthal of the Permanent Mission of Guatemala to the United Nations, Sandra Dunsmore of Open Society Institute, Donald Planty of Planty & Associates, Joseph Eldridge of American University, Hugo Noe Pino of the World Bank, Anita Isaacs of Haverford College, Joaquim Tres of the IDB, and Rafael Garranzo with the Embassy of Spain.
- This first meeting of the Central America Working Group convened for a closed-door discussion in Antigua, Guatemala, on November 13. Notable Central American participants included Helen Mack, president of Fundación Mack; indigenous activist Alvaro Pop, the founding president of Organismo Naleb’; Dialogue member Roberto Murray-Meza, president of Grupo AGRISAL; former foreign minister Maria Eugenia Brizuela of HSBC El Salvador; Carlos Dada, founding director of *El Faro*, an online news outlet in El Salvador; Dialogue member Ernesto Fernandez-Holmann of Grupo Auycus in Nicaragua; former finance minister of Guatemala Pedro Miguel Lamport-Kelsall, now president of Grupo Umbral, S.A.; former finance minister of Guatemala Raquel Zelaya, now executive secretary of ASIES; and former Nicaraguan presidential candidate,

who currently serves as deputy in the National Assembly, Eduardo Montealegre. US Ambassador to Guatemala, Steven McFarland, also attended the day-long event which was moderated by Eduardo Stein and Hugo Beteta.

Other Central America

- The Dialogue hosted a discussion on the evolution of US policy toward Honduras and the outcome of the Honduran elections on Wednesday, December 9. Panelists included former vice president of Costa Rica Kevin Casas-Zamora, now a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and Sarah Stephens, executive director of the Center for Democracy in the Americas.
- A discussion on politics and democracy in Nicaragua featured four prominent Nicaraguans including Eduardo Montealegre, a 2006 presidential hopeful and deputy in the National Assembly; Francisco Aguirre, also a deputy in the National Assembly and secretary of the Constitutionalist Liberal Party; Arturo Cruz, Nicaragua's former ambassador to the United States; and Antonio Lacayo, a former minister of the presidency and head of Foro Unidad. The session took place on November 24.
- Honduran citizens, not the international community, will decide the country's future in the upcoming presidential election, members of Honduras' Supreme Electoral Tribunal said at a Dialogue discussion on October 22. Panelists included president of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal José Saúl Escobar Andrade, and magistrates Enrique Ortez Sequeira and David Andrés Matamoros Bats.
- The Dialogue hosted a conversation with US ambassador to Guatemala Stephen McFarland on Tuesday, October 20. The wide-ranging discussion touched on the political, economic, and security challenges confronting an increasingly troubled Guatemala.
- Hosted by Representatives Eliot Engel (D-NY) and Jean Schmidt (R-OH), the Dialogue organized a CMWG dinner on the Honduran political crisis on October 21. Other participants included OAS secretary general José Miguel Insulza; Santiago Canton, executive secretary of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights; Craig Kelly and Bill McIlhenny of the State Department; and Honduran nationals representing both the Zelaya Government and that of de facto president Roberto Micheletti.
- Three Hondurans—Elvia Argentina Valle, representative for the Department of Copán in the Honduran National Congress; Abencio Fernández Pineda, coordinator for the Center for the Investigation and Defense of Human Rights in Honduras; and director of Honduras' Executive Office of Revenue, Armando Armiento—discussed their support for deposed Honduran president Manuel Zelaya and shared their thoughts on how to best resolve the political crisis facing their country at a July 22 discussion at the Dialogue.
- OAS Secretary general José Miguel Insulza discussed the political crisis in



Carlos Dada



Craig Kelly

- Honduras, paying special attention to the role of the OAS. Dialogue president Peter Hakim moderated the July 16 discussion.
- The Dialogue's Peter Hakim and Michael Shifter, joined by Dialogue senior fellow Genaro Arriagada, hosted a press roundtable on July 7 to discuss the crisis in Honduras.
 - On June 17 to 19, the PREAL Business-Education Alliance program in collaboration with EDUQUEMOS, the Higher Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) and the Nicaraguan Union for Corporate Social Responsibility (UniRSE) organized two meetings in Nicaragua designed to strengthen business-education partnerships. The director of Colombia's Foundation for the Institutional Development of Social Organizations (*Fundación DIS*), which coordinates PREAL's Business-Education Alliance, also took part in a working group session of the then newly-launched *Empresarios por la Educación* chapter in Nicaragua.
 - The November 2008 municipal elections in Nicaragua were "probably one of the best documented cases of fraud in Latin America," assessed Carlos Fernando Chamorro, Nicaraguan journalist and editor of *Confidencial*. On

June 3, the Dialogue held a discussion with Chamorro to discuss politics in Nicaragua, joined by the Dialogue's Manuel Orozco.

- Dialogue Board member and former Guatemalan vice president Eduardo Stein briefed congressional staff on the expanding criminal violence in Guatemala and other nations of Central America. The discussion took place on May 22.
- In March, PREAL and national partner CIEN (Center for National Economic Research) launched the second national education report card in Guatemala, "Education: An Urgent National Challenge" (*Educación: Un desafío de urgencia nacional*). The main event was held in Guatemala City on March 20, with subsequent events in Quetzaltenango and the *Universidad del Istmo* in Guatemala City to ensure a wide-ranging discussion of findings.
- Cynthia Arnsen of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Heather Berkman of the Eurasia Group, Gabriela Inchauste of the IDB, and the Dialogue's Manuel Orozco discussed the implications of the Salvadoran election results at a Dialogue meeting on March 19.

Congressional Testimony

Michael Shifter, "The Crisis in Honduras," Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere. July 10, 2009.

Published

Reports

National report card on education in Guatemala, *Educación: Un desafío de urgencia nacional*. PREAL: March 2009.

Peter Hakim, "Las paradojas de un golpe," *América Economía*, August 27; "El golpe hondureño a la OEA," *América Economía*, August 3.

Michael Lisman, in *The Guardian*; “Healing time for Honduras,” December 10; “Fiddling while Tegucigalpa burns,” November 11; “Manuel Zelaya hurts his own cause,” September 23; “Zelaya’s point of no return,” July 7.

Manuel Orozco, in *Confidencial* (Nicaragua): “El futuro de Centro América: Entre la incertidumbre, el caos o el porvenir,” December 10; “¿Lucha por el poder o por la democracia?” November 29; “Mirando al futuro en Honduras, Encontrar una salida en el laberinto,” September 17; “La crisis que se avecina en Centro América,” July 12; “Central America’s Coming Crisis, Honduras is just the beginning,” *Foreign Policy*, July 6.

Marifeli Pérez-Stable, “Un golpe mortal a la democracia,” *Encuentro en la Red*, December 23; “Dealing democracy a death blow,” *The Miami Herald*, December 17; “Lección sobre fragilidad democrática,” *Encuentro en la Red*, September 22; “Let people decide future, sooner not later,” *The Miami Herald*, August 27; “End coup stalemate,” *The Miami Herald*, July 30; “Tiempos difíciles,” *Encuentro en la Red*, June 26; “Nations are in for a bumpy ride,” *The Miami Herald*, June 18; “Año electoral,” *Encuentro en la Red*, January 22; “Electoral contests on 2009 calendar,” *The Miami Herald*, January 15.

Select Presentations

- On March 26 to 27, Michael Lisman spoke at the 28th General Meeting of the Central American Education and Cultural Coordination (CECC/SICA) in Juan Dolio, Dominican Republic. Lisman spoke about PREAL’s regional activities and how they relate to CECC’s 2009 to 2011 Regional Education Agenda.

MEXICO

- The Dialogue looked at political obstacles deterring economic and financial reform in Mexico during an August 18 discussion led by Santiago Levy of

the IDB, Standard & Poor’s director of sovereign ratings Lisa Schineller, and the Dialogue’s Claudio Loser.

- Former deputy finance minister Andrés Rozental of Mexico was joined by Sidney Weintraub of the Center for Strategic and International Studies at a June 10 meeting on Mexican politics and US-Mexico relations.
- The Dialogue and the Woodrow Wilson Center’s Mexico Institute co-sponsored a CMWG dinner on March 31 to discuss the direction of US-Mexico relations. The event was co-hosted by Congressmen Silvestre Reyes (D-TX) and Michael McCaul (R-TX). Ambassador Arturo Sarukhan and former governor of Michoacán, Lázaro Cárdenas, represented Mexico. Select participants included assistant secretary of state for international narcotics and law enforcement David Johnson, former US ambassador to Mexico James Jones, and former undersecretary of state John D. Negroponte.



Arturo Sarukhan



Lázaro Cárdenas

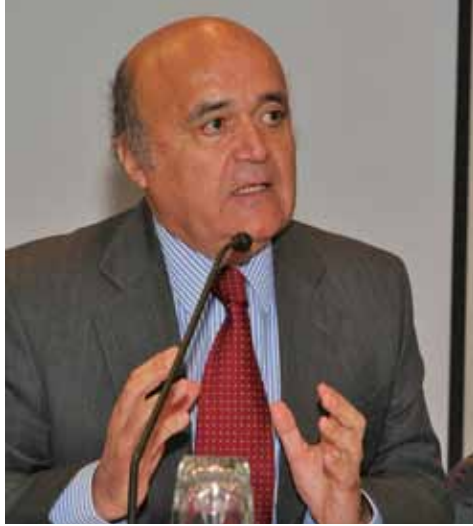
Reports

Violence and Impunity: Protecting Journalists in Colombia and Mexico. Inter-American Dialogue: March 2010.

Peter Hakim, “El narco en la agenda bilateral,” *El Universal* (Mexico), March 28.

Marifeli Pérez-Stable, “Más que caminos trillados,” *Encuentro en la Red*, March 11; “Mexico’s progress in US interest,” *The Miami Herald*, February 26.

CORPORATE PROGRAM



Genaro Arriagada



Andrés Rozental

The Dialogue enjoys the regular participation of business leaders in our activities, many of whom contribute informed and substantive private sector viewpoints in our events and publications. With the addition of new companies to the Corporate Circle—like AES, Mitsui, Pepsi, RIM, Smiths Detection and others—our corporate members also provide important unrestricted revenue to help fund the Dialogue’s operating costs in a difficult recession year.

The corporate program continued to publish the highly regarded daily *Latin America Advisor*—along with weekly

and biweekly *Advisor* titles on energy and financial services—as a cornerstone benefit of Circle membership. Praised for its quality and consistency of content, the *Advisor* helps service subscribing executives who cannot be in Washington to attend Dialogue events. The *Advisor* interviewed nearly 1,000 experts on questions posed by subscribers and added new executives to its advisory boards. We were pleased to welcome Kirk Haney, the CEO of SG Biofuels, and Larry Pascal, a partner at Haynes & Boone, to our *Energy Advisor* newsletter board. Richard Child, the former president for Latin America at MasterCard and now executive chairman at MPOWER Labs, and Kai Schmitz, the executive vice president at Microfinance International Corp., joined our *Financial Services Advisor* newsletter board.

Longtime *Advisor* newsletter board members Genaro Arriagada, Andrés Rozental, Shelly Shetty, other Circle members and guest business leaders spoke at a number of Dialogue events over the course of the year (see the Trade and Economics section for a full listing).



Jean Schmidt (R-OH), Nicolas Eyzaguirre, Carla Hills

PUBLICATIONS

INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE REPORTS, BRIEFS AND WORKING PAPERS

A Second Chance. U.S. Policy in the Americas, Inter-American Dialogue: March 2009.

How Poor and Unequal is Latin America and the Caribbean? Social Policy Brief No. 1 by Jeffrey Puryear and Mariellen Malloy Jewers. Inter-American Dialogue: November 2009.

Pobreza y Desigualdad en América. Síntesis de Política Social 1° por Jeffrey Puryear y Mariellen Malloy Jewers. Diálogo Interamericano: Noviembre 2009.

Corruption in the Andean Region: Is Progress Being Made? Andean Working Paper by Carlos Basombrío Iglesias. Inter-American Dialogue: July 2009.

Dominican Republic: Democracy for a Better Life, Inter-American Dialogue, Organization of American States, and Center for Governance and Social Management, Santo Domingo Technology Institute: June 2009.

Fiscal Policy and the Poor. Background Policy Paper for the Fourth Meeting of Former Latin American Presidents in Brazil by Jeffrey Puryear and Mariellen Malloy Jewers. Inter-American Dialogue: March 2009.

Media and Governance: A Reform Agenda in Latin America and the Caribbean. Inter-American Dialogue: January 2009.

PREAL PUBLICATIONS

Books

Reformas Pendientes en la Educación Secundaria. Ediciones PREAL/ESM/Santiago, Chile, April 2009.

Reports

¿Cuánto están aprendiendo los niños en América Latina?: Hallazgos claves del Segundo Estudio Regional Comparativo y Explicativo (SERCE). December 2009; *How Much Are Latin American Children Learning?: Highlights from the Second Regional Student Achievement Test (SERCE)*. September 2009.

National report card on education in Guatemala, *Educación: Un desafío de urgencia nacional*. March 2009.

The Paradox of the “Good” Student: Race and the Brazilian Education System. March 2009.

Working Papers

No. 45, *La oferta, la demanda y el salario docente: Modelo para armar* by Alejandro Morduchowicz. November 2009; No. 44, *Estándares de aprendizaje escolar*. Procesos en curso en América Latina by Guillermo Ferrer. July 2009; No. 43, *Teacher Effectiveness: A Review of the International Literature and Its Relevance for Improving Education in Latin America* by Barbara Hunt. August 2009.; No. 43, *Efectividad del desempeño docente. Una reseña de la literatura internacional y su relevancia para mejorar la educación en América Latina* by Barbara Hunt. April 2009.

Policy Series

No. 33, *Dimensiones y prácticas de la evaluación docente*. September 2009; No. 32, *Alianzas público-privadas en educación: una opción para enfrentar los retos de cobertura, equidad y calidad*. May 2009; No. 31, *Retos del desarrollo profesional docente en América Latina y el Caribe*. January 2009.

Best Practices Series

No. 32, *La evaluación para docentes de excelencia o avanzados*. October 2009; No. 31, *Tendencias en la evaluación del logro escolar: la experiencia de cinco países con alto rendimiento educativo*. June 2009; No. 30, *Estados Unidos: experiencias de prevención del abandono escolar*. February 2009.

Education Synopsis Series

No. 21, *Discusiones sobre el salario docente*. November 2009; No. 20, *Especial: Educación Secundaria*. August 2009. No. 19, *Descentralización escolar: ¿un beneficio para todos? El caso de las escuelas secundarias en Argentina*, July 2009; No. 18, *Preparación, reclutamiento y retención de profesores*, June 2009; No. 17, *Repetición y brechas de equidad: análisis del caso de Uruguay*, March 2009. And five summaries based on the 6th Meeting of Ministers of Education of the Americas in Quito on August 12-14: *Desafíos de la educación secundaria en América Latina*; *Desafíos de las reformas de educación secundaria europea*; *Educación secundaria: antiguos y nuevos dilemas políticos*; *Orientaciones para las políticas de transformación de las instituciones y prácticas de la educación secundaria*; and *Adolescentes: permanencia selectiva en la escuela*.

STAFF PUBLICATIONS

Peter Hakim, In *América Economía*: “El Hombre de Obama,” November 21; “Lecciones para Obama,” October 23; “Las paradojas de un golpe,” August 27; “El golpe hondureño y la OEA,” August 3; “Honduras é só um da série de ruídos entre governos Lula e Obama,” *Agência Estado* (Brazil), December 14; “O peso pesado e seu contrapeso,” *Folha de São Paulo*, December 8; “Brasil deveria deixar princípios de lado e apoiar eleição em Honduras,” *R7 Notícias*, November 29; “Brasil deve equilibrar estratégia,” *O Globo*, November 25; “Reforma política va a ser benéfica para la democracia argentina,” *El Patagónico*, November 18; “Canada Major Contributor on Honduras,” *Embassy Magazine* (Canada), November 4; “Huella Yanqui,” *Caretas*, September 18; “Political Ramifications of the Economic Crisis,” *Américas Magazine*, September 14; “Another Chance for U.S. Policy in the Americas,” U.S. Naval War College, September 8; “E.U. debió tener la delicadeza de hablar con Lula sobre las bases,” *El Tiempo* (Colombia), August 9; “La verdadera prueba está aún por venir,” *La Nación* (Argentina), July 19; “Cuba y la OEA” *Infolatam*, June 2; “Peter Hakim’s Guest Entry on Cuba,” *National Journal*, April 22; “Después de la Cumbre,” *El Universal* (Mexico). April 21; “Después de la Cumbre,” *Infolatam*, April 20; “AL agora diz o que pensa,” *O Estado de São Paulo*, April 13; “El narco en la agenda bilateral,” *El Universal* (Mexico). March 28; “The Summit of the Americas: A New Beginning for U.S. Policy in the Region,” Congressional testimony, March 10; “Un duro invierno,” *El Espectador* (Colombia), January 21.

Michael Shifter, “Obama y América Latina: un año,” *El Colombiano*, December 26; “Obama: De Candidato a Presidente,” *ideele*, December 16; “Jugando con fuego,” *El Colombiano*, November 24; “Calm Down, Chávez,” *Foreign Policy*, November 10; “Cambió el alma de América Latina,”

El Colombiano, November 6; “Anything Can Still Happen,” *The Miami Herald*, November 5; “Obama y Honduras,” *El Tiempo*, October 5; “Se desaprovechó una oportunidad para debatir temas de fondo,” *El Colombiano*, August 29; “Expectativas de la cumbre,” *El Tiempo*, August 27; “A Powerful Grip,” *America*, July 20; “En Sintonía,” *El Tiempo*, June 6; “Six Steps to Improve U.S.-Colombia Relations,” Brookings Institution, April 2009; “Colombia’s Alvaro Uribe -return of the South American strongman?” *Los Angeles Times*, April 16; “Promesa de Puerto España,” *El Tiempo*, April 8; “El Presidente Obama y la OEA,” *Américas*, April 1; “Las Batallas de Obama,” *ideele*, April 2009; “Politics Take Center Stage,” *Poder*, March 9; “Un cambio alentador,” *El Tiempo*, March 2; Obama necesitará tiempo y suerte,” *El Colombiano*, January 21; co-authored with **Dan Joyce** “Atmospherics dominate cordial Summit,” *Oxford Analytica*, April 27; “No Longer Washington’s Back Yard,” *Current History*, February 1.

Marifeli Pérez-Stable, in *The Miami Herald*: “Dealing democracy a death blow,” December 17; “That other Cuban community,” December 3; “Dead End?” November 5; “Can we honor the fallen of both sides?” October 22; “U.S. and Cuba inching toward each other,” October 8; “Immigrant parishes flourish in Miami” September 10; “Let people decide future, sooner not later,” August 27; “End coup stalemate,” July 30; “Regime fears silent majority,” July 2; “Nations are in for a bumpy ride,” June 18; “Moving beyond Fidel,” May 21; “Raúl won’t face OAS challenge,” June 5; “Tackling ‘perpetual antagonism’,” May 7; “What awaits the Cuba-Venezuela alliance?,” April 9; “Policy improving but could be better,” March 26; “Mexico’s progress in U.S. interest,” February 26; “Cuba lacks respect for human rights,” February 12; “Populists intent on destroying democracy,” January 29; Electoral contests on 2009 calendar,” January 15; “Cubans here and there still hope for better

future,” January 1; “In *Encuentro en la Red*: “Un golpe mortal a la democracia,” December 23; “Sin pausa pero sin prisa,” October 26; “Lección sobre fragilidad democrática,” September 22; “Miedo a la mayoría silencioso,” July 7; “Tiempos difíciles,” June 26; “Un reto para Raúl,” June 11; “Mover piezas más allá de Fidel,” May 29; “Atajar el antagonismo perpetuo,” May 15; “¿Qué destino le depara a la alianza?” April 14; “Política, viajes y remesas” April 3; “Más que caminos trillados,” March 11; “Lo que La Habana no hará” February 20; “A la espera de un futuro mejor,” February 10; “Año electoral,” January 22; In *El País*: “De Kennedy a Obama,” May 1; In *Infolatam*: “Washington-La Habana: la hora de la verdad,” April 17; “Cambios ministeriales en Cuba,” March 11.

Puryear, Ortega Goodspeed, and Alejandro Ganimian, *Improving Education’s Contribution to Development in Latin America*, paper for the Center for Hemispheric Policy at the University of Miami. June 2009 (publication forthcoming).

Dan Erikson, “China in the Caribbean: The New Big Brother,” *The Jamestown Foundation China Brief*, Vol. 9, Issue 25, December 16; “Outro Castro, Mesma Cuba,” *O Estado de São Paulo*, November 29; Mão dupla no Estreito da Flórida,” *O Estado de São Paulo*, October 4; “Europe’s Cuba Problem: The Limits of Constructive Engagement,” International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, September 15; “Bênção e maldição de Kennedy,” *O Estado de São Paulo*, September 14; “China’s Strategy toward Central America: The Costa Rican Nexus,” *The Jamestown Foundation China Brief*, Vol. 9, Issue 11, May 27; “Haiti’s Political Outlook: What the United States Should Do,” in *The Obama Administration and the Americas: Agenda for Change*, Brookings Institution Press, April 1; “Book Review of *Russian-Cuban Relations Since 1992: Continuing Camaraderie in a Post-Soviet World*,” *Cuban Affairs*, February 28;

“Sai a prisão, fica a encrenca,” *O Estado de São Paulo*, January 24; “Castro’s ‘Potential Immortality,’” *Miami Herald*, January 23; “Can Obama End ‘The Cuba Wars?’”; *FOCALPOINT: Spotlight on the Americas*, Vol. 8, Issue 1, January; “Obama and Latin America: Magic or Realism?” *World Policy Journal*, January; “Cuba on the Verge,” *Great Decisions*, January. Co-authored with **Paul Wander**: “Obama and Chávez: Energy Partners?” *Journal of Energy Security*, April 23; “Cuba’s Brave New World,” *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Vol. 33, Issue 2, October 14; “Raúl y o ‘mel do poder,’” *O Estado de São Paulo*, March 8; “Raúl Castro and Cuba’s Global Diplomacy,” *Cuba in Transition*, ASCE, Vol. 18, March 4.

Manuel Orozco, in *Confidencial* (Nicaragua): “El futuro de Centro América: Entre la incertidumbre, el caos o el porvenir,” December 10; “¿Lucha por el poder o por la democracia?” November 29; “Mirando al futuro en Honduras, Encontrar una salida en el laberinto,” September 17; “La crisis que se avecina en Centro América,” July 12; “The least among us,” *Foreign Policy*, September 15; “Understanding the continuing effect of the economic crisis on remittances to Latin America and the Caribbean,” Multilateral Investment Fund of the Inter-American Development Bank, August 10; “Central America’s Coming Crisis, Honduras is just the beginning,” *Foreign Policy*, July 6; “Migration and remittances in times of recession: Effects on Latin American economies,” Latin American and Caribbean Economic System (SELA), May 8; “Asegurando futuros: el interés de

inversión y estrategia de comercialización para los salvadoreños en el exterior,” Banco Multisectorial de Inversiones (BMI), May 7; “The Cuban Condition: Migration, Remittances, and its Diaspora,” report presented at “El Caribe en su Inserción Internacional,” sponsored by the CIPR/CIAPA, San José, Costa Rica, February 3-4 (published March 5); “Emerging markets for Rwanda: remittance transfers, its marketplace and financial intermediation,” report commissioned by the African Development Bank, February 21; “¿Cuál puede ser el rol internacional para América Latina?” *Foro Europa -América Latina*, February 1; with Eugenia García-Zanello: “Hometown Associations: Transnationalism, Philanthropy, and Development,” *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, April 1; with **Elisabeth Burgess**: “EU Returns Directive: impact on migrants and remittances,” *E-Finance & Payments Law & Policy*, February 1.

Michael Lisman, in *The Guardian*: “Healing time for Honduras,” December 10; “Fiddling while Tegucigalpa burns,” November 11; “Manuel Zelaya hurts his own cause,” September 23; “Zelaya’s point of no return,” July 7, 2009.

Claudio Loser, “Flawed Credit Ratings in Latin America,” *Forbes*, July 7; “Mexico: A safe vessel or a risky wreck in turbulent waters?” Emerging Markets Forum, May 13; “América Latina y el caribe en la coyuntura económica internacional: ¿cómo sobrevivirá la región?” *Real Institute Elcano*, February 19; “IFIs: A return to the cycle,” *Latin Business Chronicle*, January 15.

FINANCIAL REPORT

Inter-American Dialogue

Statement of Financial Position

Statement of Activities 2009

Assets:	2009	2008	Revenue	
Cash and cash equivalents	598,022	1,027,361	Foundations	368,293
Accounts receivable	785,025	122,438	Corporations	281,813
Grants receivable	599,105	1,002,707	Governments	2,159,183
Investments	5,215,855	4,746,149	International organizations	585,668
Prepaid expenses	66,246	31,781	Collaborating institutions	24,742
Property and equipment	22,635	35,647	Individual contributions	150,058
Deposits	19,605	19,605	Miscellaneous program revenue	13,005
TOTAL ASSETS	7,306,493	6,985,688	Investment income (loss)	969,736
			TOTAL REVENUE	4,552,497
Liabilities:				
Accounts payable	39,905	52,473	Expenses	
Accrued expenses	77,188	82,148	Program Services:	
Refundable advances	12,313	38,191	U.S. policy	1,412,293
Grants payable	664,035	363,151	Social policy	1,928,033
Deferred rent	112,661	97,550	Democratic governance	116,393
Total Liabilities	906,102	633,514	Sol M. Linowitz Forum	23,692
			Other outreach and communications	24,925
Net Assets:			Corporate programs	240,806
Unrestricted	98,215	148,694	Support Services:	
Temporarily restricted	1,086,321	1,657,360	Administration	652,354
Endowment funds:			Fundraising	73,610
Board-designated funds	3,871,471	2,701,736	Governance	32,174
Permanently restricted	1,344,384	1,844,384	TOTAL EXPENSES	4,504,280
Net Assets	6,400,391	6,352,174		
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS	7,306,493	6,985,688		

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December 2009



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