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## 2011 HIGHLIGHTS

We are pleased to present this summary of the Inter-American Dialogue's work in 2011.

The Dialogue's China and Latin America program grew considerably in 2011 under the leadership of new program director Margaret Myers, who arrived at the Dialogue after completing a year of research in Nanjing, China. The program held the inaugural meeting of its China and Latin America Working group on September 15 in Washington, bringing together some fifteen experts on China-Latin America relations from the United States, China, Latin America, Europe, and Australia to assess the field of China-Latin America studies and strategies for addressing disparities in the China-Latin America relationship. The program also convened several public discussions on topics ranging from China-Mexico competition to China's long-term growth prospects.



Margaret Myers

This year the Dialogue also launched a new initiative on security and migration in Central America and Mexico. The Dialogue has joined with leading think tanks, research centers, and independent journalists in Mexico and Central America to discuss and craft policy solutions to the most important challenges facing their countries. The project aims to bring Mexican and Central American viewpoints into Washington policy debates and promote fresh, practical ideas for greater cooperation among the United States, Mexico, and the countries of Central America. The first meeting was held in Washington in July 2011 and the second meeting in Guatemala City in February 2012, which included Guatemala's president, minister of the interior, and attorney general along with the US ambassador to Guatemala.



Sonia Picado and Carlos Dada

The Dialogue's drug policy project launched its report, published jointly with the Beckley foundation, *Rethinking Drug Policy*, in February at a standing room only event on Capitol Hill. Three Congressional leaders spoke at the session: the chair and ranking members of the House Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere—Connie Mack (R-FL) and Eliot Engel (D-NY)—and Congressman Jared Polis (D-CO). Two additional public events and a private workshop were held during the course of 2011 to examine alternatives to

current US drug policies, raise the profile of drug-related issues with the Washington policy community, and promote discussion among the US government and the countries of the region to explore multilateral cooperation.

In partnership with the government of Colombia, the Dialogue was involved in a variety of activities in preparation for the VI Summit of the Americas in Cartagena, Colombia in April 2012. To inform the debate among the presidents of the Western Hemisphere, the Summit Committee commissioned Dialogue staff to prepare a series of papers on central topics, including citizen security, poverty and inequality, and health and technology.

The Central America Working Group continued its work in 2011 with a meeting in San Salvador to discuss issues specific to each country and challenges facing the region. Participants included Francisco R. de Sola, president of FUSADES; Eduardo Stein, former vice president of Guatemala and head of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Honduras; and Carlos Fernando Chamorro, director of Nicaragua's online journal *Confidencial*, among others.

The Latin American Economies Roundtable, which brings together a small group of leading economic analysts from the public and private sectors, met five times during the year to consider Latin America's economic prospects for 2011 and examine the role of stable macroeconomic policies in fostering growth. The roundtable is a joint initiative of the Dialogue, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Tulane University.



Enrique Iglesias

This year, the Dialogue continued to look at Latin America's relationship with the United States and Europe at the 2011 trilateral conference in April in Madrid, the fourth such meeting since 2007. In collaboration with the General Secretariat of the Ibero-American Summit and Real Instituto Elcano, the Dialogue convened an influential high-level group of public and private leaders from Europe, Latin America, and the United States for discussions of key challenges facing the trilateral relationship and how to strengthen cooperation among the three parties.

Other highlights of this year's activities include the Fifteenth Annual CAF Conference that attracted a record number of participants over two days. This year's discussions centered on Latin America's growing independence and prospects for weathering the global financial crisis. Keynote speeches were made by Enrique Iglesias, secretary general of SEGIB and Thomas Shannon, then-US undersecretary for political affairs and current US ambassador to Brazil. Other speakers included Hector Arce, president of the Chamber of Deputies of Bolivia; José Miguel Insulza, secretary general of the OAS; Maria Emma Mejía, secretary



María Emma Mejía, Patricia Janiot, José Miguel Insulza

general of UNASUR; former president of Panama Martín Torrijos; and former foreign ministers Guillermo Fernández de Soto (Colombia) and Gustavo Fernández Saavedra (Bolivia).

The Dialogue's Latin America Working Group met twice in 2011, in Washington and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, hosted by the Getulio Vargas Foundation. Co-sponsored by CAF, the working group is comprised of 25 to 35 diverse, high-level experts and practitioners who gather biannually to analyze the policy issues and choices confronting the region's leaders. The group also produces a series of working papers.

The remittances and development program expanded its financial literacy initiative first implemented in 2009. The program provides a toolkit, brochure, methodology, and curriculum for both remittance recipients and migrants in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay, select Middle Eastern countries, and the United States. The Dialogue's evaluation of Western Union's 4+1 program measured the impact of diaspora investment projects made in partnership with private sector and government institutions with the goal of supporting local economic development in Mexico.

The Dialogue's social policy program expanded the Commitment to Equity project in partnership with the Stone Center for Latin American Studies at Tulane University. The goal of this initiative is to evaluate the extent to which Latin American governments help or hinder social progress. In November, the Dialogue, Tulane, and Center for Inter-American Policy and Research held a two-day workshop, bringing together 11 researchers from Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay to discuss their research on fiscal policy, fiscal mobility, and redistribution in Latin America.

During 2011, PREAL and its staff partnered with national organizations and members of the private sector to launch two national education report cards (in Honduras and the Dominican Republic). It also opened a Central American and Dominican chapter of its working group on the teaching profession. In addition, PREAL co-organized more than 60 events with working groups and national partners. PREAL also signed agreements with CECC/SICA, UNESCO-OREALC and UNESCO-UIS to cooperate on a variety of activities related to teacher policies, testing and testing systems, and monitoring progress toward international education goals.

The hallmark of the Dialogue's Congressional Program, the Congressional Members Working Group, convened over a dozen members of Congress in two private dinner meetings on Capitol Hill this year. Members discussed President Obama's April 2011 trip to Brazil, Chile, and El Salvador, and violence, crime, and insecurity in Central America. Both dinners featured high-level Obama administration officials such as Arturo Valenzuela, then-assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs; William Brownfield, assistant secretary of state for the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement affairs; and Roberta Jacobson, current assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs.



Elena Viyella de Paliza and Xavier Becerra

The Dialogue enjoyed the regular participation of business leaders in our activities in 2011. New companies like Citigroup, Deloitte, Forbes & Manhattan, Mead Johnson, Oracle, and Western Union, among numerous 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. Corporate financial support also helped make possible the launch of the *Latin America Advisor*'s first secure online, keyword searchable portal. More than 2,000 editions of the *Advisor* are now archived on the portal and available to researchers. The University of California at Berkeley, the University of Florida, Baylor University and other leading academic institutions have subscribed.

In 2011, Dialogue staff published articles in leading policy journals—including *Foreign Policy*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Current History*, and the *Journal of Democracy*—that analyzed Latin America's shift to the center, the strain in US-Brazil relations, Central America's security predicament, and the outlook for Venezuela's political future amid the questionable health of President Hugo Chávez. Staff also published over 100 articles and interviews in newspapers, including *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The Miami Herald*, *El Tiempo*, *O Estado de São Paulo*, *El Comercio*, *ideele*, *El Espectador*, *El Colombiano*, *Política Exterior*, *Infolatam*, *América Economía*, and *Confidencial*, among others—on topics ranging from Brazil's foreign policy under Dilma Rousseff, to US immigration policy, Peru's election of Ollanta Humala, the US free trade agreement with Colombia, rethinking US drug policy, Obama's trip to Latin America, the shifting landscape of regionalism in the Western Hemisphere, the testing of Peru and China's relationship, and the US economic crisis and its impact on Latin America.

# US FOREIGN POLICY IN THE HEMISPHERE

The program on US Foreign Policy explores the hemispheric implications of US policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean. Through the Congressional Members Working Group dinner series and other events, the Dialogue connects regional leaders to the US policy community in Washington and provides an open forum for exchange. Initiatives like the Drug Policy Program offer a more focused environment in which to build hemispheric consensus on divisive policy challenges. Dialogue experts also spark new conversations with timely and incisive foreign policy analysis.

## THE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

The Congressional Members Working Group (CMWG) 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.

- “Violence, Crime, and Citizen Security in Central America and Mexico,” July 13, hosted by Representatives Michael McCaul (R-TX), Sam Farr (D-CA), and Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA) with Representatives Jim Gerlach (R-PA), Luis Gutiérrez (D-IL), Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX), Mike Kelly (R-PA), and Silvestre Reyes (D-TX). Guest participants included Helen Mack, former head of Guatemala’s Presidential Commission for Police Reform; assistant secretary of state for the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs William Brownfield; Roberta Jacobson, then-deputy assistant secretary of state for Canada, Mexico, and NAFTA; Mark Feierstein, USAID assistant administrator for Latin America and the Caribbean; Francisco Altschul, ambassador of El Salvador to the United States; and Jorge Hernández-Alcerro, ambassador of Honduras to the United States.



Roberta Jacobson and Michael Shifter

- “President Obama’s Trip to Latin America,” March 10, hosted by Representatives Xavier Becerra (D-CA), Sam Farr (D-CA), David Rivera (R-FL), and Jean Schmidt (R-OH) with Representatives Howard Berman (D-CA), Brian Bilbray (R-CA), Corrine Brown (D-FL), Eni Faleomavaega (D-AS), Jeff Fortenberry (R-NE), Mike Honda (D-CA), Mike Kelly (R-PA), Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX), Jim McDermott (D-WA), Jim McGovern (D-MA), and James Moran (D-VA). Guest participants included Mauro Vieira, Brazilian ambassador to the United States; Sergio Bitar, former Chilean senator and minister of public works for President Michelle Bachelet; Hugo Martínez, minister of foreign affairs of El Salvador; and Arturo Valenzuela, assistant secretary of state for Western Hemispheric affairs.



Peter Hakim, Xavier Becerra, Sam Farr, and Chris Coons

## Congressional Staff Program

The Congressional Staff Working Group (CSWG) operates in a similar fashion as the CMWG, offering 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.

## RESHAPING DRUG POLICY IN THE AMERICAS

The Dialogue in partnership with the Open Society Institute, Beckley Foundation and the Alvarallice Foundation launched an initiative in 2008 designed to examine alternatives to current US drug policies that could reduce the risks and damage of drug problems in the hemisphere, raise the profile of drug-related issues and challenges in the Washington policy communities, and promote debate between the US government and the region to explore multilateral cooperation and alternative approaches.

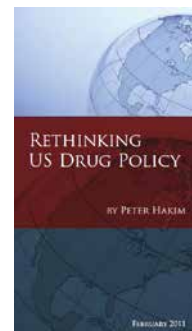
- Workshop on US Drug Policy, November 21. The Dialogue hosted a closed-door workshop of some 25 policy officials and analysts to address a series of questions regarding the content, objectives, coherence, funding, evolution, and effectiveness of US drug policy.
- “Ending the Global War on Drugs,” Cato Institute, November 15. Dialogue chair



Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Miguel Darcy, José Miguel Insulza, and Paulo Sotero

emeritus Fernando Henrique Cardoso gave the closing address at the Cato Institute conference. He called for a new global drug regime that focuses on harm reduction rather than a “war on drugs.” Dialogue president emeritus Peter Hakim also spoke and highlighted the burden drug trafficking places on Central America as part of the conference panel on drug violence in Mexico and Central America.

- “Is the Drug War Over? Who Won? A Discussion of Where US and Global Drug Policies Are Headed.” On July 26, the Dialogue hosted the launch of the recently published *Drugs and Drug Policy: What Everyone Needs to Know*. The book’s three authors, Mark Kleiman, Jonathan Caulkins, and Angela Hawken, spoke along with Nobel laureate Tom Schelling.
- “Drugs, Violence & Hemispheric Security: Implications and Options for Canada.” On April 27, Peter Hakim presented the findings of *Rethinking US Drug Policy* at a seminar with some 25 senior Canadian officials. The event was held at Carleton University in Ottawa and was organized by the Canadian International Council.
- The Dialogue launched the report, *Rethinking US Drug Policy*, at a standing room only meeting of some 120 people on Capitol Hill on February 10. Three congressional leaders spoke at the event, the chair and ranking members of the House Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere—Connie Mack (R-FL) and Eliot Engel (D-NY)—and Congressman Jared Polis (D-CO). The report was presented by Hakim and Peter Reuter, a leading drug policy expert with the University of Maryland School of Public Policy, who was an advisor to the



project, and attended by many important voices in the drug policy debate nationally and in Latin America.

### Published

**Rethinking US Drug Policy**, by Peter Hakim, Inter-American Dialogue, February 2011.

### Other US Foreign Policy

- “A Conversation with Bill Richardson,” October 6. Bill Richardson, former governor of New Mexico and special envoy to the OAS, discussed the need for greater US engagement with Latin America at a private dinner co-hosted by the Vidanta Foundation as part of the authors’ workshop of the Working Group on Democratic Governance.
- “Free Trade with Panama and Colombia, Yes or No?” March 25. Angela Ellard, chief trade counsel for the House Ways and Means Committee, and Amber Cottle, chief international trade counsel for the Senate Finance Committee, reviewed the progress of the pending US free trade agreements with Panama and Colombia.
- “What’s Next for US-Latin American Relations? A Discussion of President Obama’s Trip,” March 24. Dialogue president emeritus Peter Hakim together with Sergio Bitar, former Chilean senator and most recently minister of public works spoke at a roundtable discussion on US-Latin America relations after the president’s visit to the region.
- “The United States and Cuba: Intimate Enemies,” March 17. The Brookings



Bill Richardson

Institution, the Cuba Study Group, and the Inter-American Dialogue hosted a discussion on US-Cuba relations featuring Marifeli Pérez-Stable, author of the new book *The United States and Cuba: Intimate Enemies* (Routledge, 2011).

- “A Conversation with the US Heads of Mission to the Andean Region,” January 24. US ambassadors Heather Hodges (Ecuador), Rose Likins (Peru), and Michael McKinley (Colombia), and two Chargé d’Affaires, John Caulfield (Venezuela) and John Creamer (Bolivia), discussed US policy toward the Andean region.
- “The Obama Administration and Defense Diplomacy in the Western Hemisphere,” January 24. Paul Stockton, US assistant secretary of defense for homeland defense and Americas’ security affairs and Frank Mora, deputy assistant secretary of defense for the Western Hemisphere, spoke on US defense strategy in the region.

### Published

**A Decade of Change: Political, Economic, and Social Developments in Western Hemisphere Affairs**, Inter-American Dialogue, September 2011.

**Michael Shifter:** “Obama: Causas y azares,” *Revista Ideele*, December 20; “Deseo mutuo de reducir tensiones,” *Perfil*, October 30; “The FTA, not such a happy story,” *El Colombiano*, October 18; “Obama and immigration reform,” *El Colombiano*, May 26; “Obama after Osama,” *El Colombiano*, May 10; “Los EE.UU y Ecuador,” *Expreso*, April 19; “Obama trip symbolic, not substantive,” *Oxford Analytica*, March 30; “Obama and Latin America,” *La Tercera*, March 24; “Obama’s Visit to Latin America,” *El Colombiano*, March 15; “Obama takes a positive step on Cuba,” *El Colombiano*, January 18; “Has the FTAs Time Come?” *El Espectador*, January 12.

**Peter Hakim:** “The United States and Latin America: The Neighborhood Has Changed,” *The International Spectator*, December; “Replantear la política antidroga de EEUU,” *Política Exterior*, October 31; “The Colombia and Panama Free Trade Deals: New Momentum for US-Latin American Relations?” *Infolatam*, October 13; “Brazil and the US: Remaking a Relationship,” *Foreign Service Journal*, June 9; “What Obama’s Visit Means for El Salvador,” *El Faro*, March 20; “Panaorama antes del viaje del presidente de EE.UU por América Latina: ‘Obama se dirige al Sur,’” *Infolatam*, March 14; “US Should Support Brazil’s Security Council Bid,” *The Miami Herald*, March 13; “Repensando la política de drogas de EE.UU.,” *El Espectador*, March

6; “US-Colombian Free Trade Agreement on Track to Approval,” *Infolatam*, March 2; “¿Por qué Estados Unidos y Brasil no tienen una buena relación?” *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*, March/April; “What Dilma Can Do to Improve US-Brazil Relations,” *O Estado de S. Paulo*, January 12.

**Sergio Bitar:** “Latin America and the United States: Looking Toward 2020,” *Inter-American Dialogue*, September; “The Impact of Bin Laden’s Death in the United States,” *El Mercurio*, May 5; “How to Take Advantage of President Obama’s Visit,” *El Mercurio*, March 19; “Obama’s Visit to Latin America: A View from the South,” *Inter-American Dialogue*, March.

## INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

The Inter-American Institutions program aims to monitor and analyze the developments of the Organization of American States, the Inter-American Development Bank, the United Nations, and other multilateral institutions operating in the Western Hemisphere.

The Dialogue offers a forum for leaders to identify collective policy priorities and has frequently been invited to assist in framing the agenda for hemispheric gatherings. The Dialogue hopes to encourage strategic, region-wide thinking and more productive integration among the hemisphere’s key leaders.

### SUMMIT OF THE AMERICAS INITIATIVE

The Inter-American Dialogue was involved in a variety of activities in preparation for the VI Summit of the Americas in Cartagena, Colombia in April 2012. To inform the debate that would take place among the presidents of the Western Hemisphere, the Summit Committee

commissioned the Dialogue to prepare a series of papers on topics central to the April 2012 meeting, including citizen security, poverty and inequality, and health and technology. In addition, the Dialogue is working with the Colombian Summit planning office to organize a meeting in Washington in March designed to enrich the quality and relevance of the summit.

- OAS Policy Roundtable, “The Road to Cartagena: Hemispheric Cooperation to Promote Access to and Use of Technologies,” January 17, 2012. Peter Hakim moderated the panel and spoke on his paper, “Digital Technologies: A Path to Improved Education and Health in Remote Communities.”

#### Published

**Michael Shifter:** “The ‘Other’ Latin America,” *El Colombiano*, December 13.

**Peter Hakim:** “Will CELAC Succeed Where Other Similar Efforts Have Failed?” *Infolatam*, December 14; **with Mariellen**



**Jewers:** “Digital Technologies: A Path to Improved Education and Health in Remote Communities,” commissioned by the government of Colombia in preparation for the VI Summit of the Americas, November 9; **with Kimberly Covington:** “Constructing Citizen Security in the Americas,” commissioned by the government of Colombia in preparation for the VI Summit of the Americas, September.

**Nora Lustig:** “Pobreza, desigualdad y Objetivos de Desarrollo del Milenio en América Latina y el Caribe,” commissioned by the government of Colombia in

preparation for the VI Summit of the Americas, September 23.



Nora Lustig and Ricardo Lagos

## LATIN AMERICA AND THE WORLD

### ANNUAL TRILATERAL MEETING: US-EUROPE-LATIN AMERICA

The 2011 Trilateral Conference convened on April 13 and 14 in Madrid. Discussions centered on governance and the media in Latin America; the growing challenge of crime and violence in the region; the political and economic impact of the BRIC countries; and US policy toward Latin America after President Obama’s visit to the region in March 2011. Special guests included former Costa Rican president Óscar Arias, former governor of Michoacán (Mexico) Lázaro Cárdenas, and governor of Nariño (Colombia) Antonio Navarro Wolff. Dan Restrepo, special assistant to the president at the National Security Council;



Dan Restrepo and Mary Beth Sheridan

Maria Otero, undersecretary of state for democracy and global affairs; and José Fernández, assistant secretary of state for economic affairs, joined the meeting from Washington via videoconference.

### CHINA AND LATIN AMERICA

The Dialogue’s China and Latin America program has grown considerably this year under the supervision of program director Margaret Myers, who arrived at the Dialogue after completing a year of research in Nanjing, China. Through panels, working group meetings, and publications, the China program engages and informs academics, policymakers, and private sector leaders from China, Latin America, and the United States on evolving themes in China-Latin America relations. The Dialogue’s China and Latin America Working Group seeks to determine areas of interest, identify shared priorities, and establish various means by which emerging relationships can be made productive for all countries involved.

## Program Initiatives

### China and Latin America Working Group

The Dialogue's China and Latin America Working Group was the centerpiece of China and Latin America program efforts in 2011. The working group's inaugural meeting took place on September 15, bringing together approximately fifteen experts on China-Latin America relations from the United States, China, Latin America, Europe, and Australia for an intensive one-day conference at the Inter-American Dialogue. Topics of discussion ranged from assessments of the field of China-Latin America studies to strategies for addressing disparities in the China-Latin America relationship. An area of overarching concern was that of formulating a coordinated regional response to China's growing presence in the region. The group has produced six working papers and a second meeting is scheduled for February 2012.

### China and Latin America Blog

Since its creation in 2011, the China and Latin America blog has attracted over 10,000 views. It features original perspectives on China-Latin America relations from program director Margaret Myers, as well as popular summaries of Chinese news coverage of Latin America and Latin America news on China. Posts range from commentary on China's environmental impact in Latin America to an interactive map of China/Chinese Studies programs in the region.

### Events

- "Beyond the China Boom: Latin America's Long-Term Growth Prospects," November 22. This public event featured highlights from World Bank economist Augusto de la Torre's 2011 report on economic growth in Latin America. De la Torre, the Dialogue's Claudio Loser, and IDB's Antoni Esteveordal all provided insights on the challenges

and possibilities for post-"China boom" growth in the region.

- "Reassessing China-Mexico Competition," September 16. This public meeting provided a comparative perspective on China-Mexico economic competitiveness following reports of slowing manufacturing activity in China's famed Pearl River Delta. China-Latin America relations specialists Adrian Hearn, Enrique Dussel Peters, and Yang Zhimin all took part as panelists.
- "Assessing Dilma Rousseff's Approach to Chinese Competition," August 29. The World Bank's Otaviano Canuto and Peterson Institute for International Economics senior fellow Gary Hufbauer examined President Rousseff's "Plano Brasil Major" policy, which was implemented in response to manufacturing sector competition from China.



Yang Zhimin

### Working Papers

"Challenges to a Regional Response to China," by Dani Nedal, Inter-American Dialogue China and Latin America Working Paper, September 2011.

"China's Energy Governance and the Role of the State," by Edward Cunningham, Inter-American Dialogue China and Latin America Working Paper, September 2011.

"A 'Triangular Relationship' Between the US, Latin America, and the PRC?" by Evan Ellis, Inter-American Dialogue China and Latin America Working Paper, September 2011.

"What China's Five-Year Plan Will Mean for Sino-Latin America Relations," Inter-American Dialogue China and Latin America Working Paper, September 2011.

## Published

**Margaret Myers:** “How Big of an Economic Threat Does China Pose to Brazil?” *Latin America Advisor*, September 21; “Testing the China-Peru Relationship,” *Miami Herald*, August 14; “How Is China Changing Latin America’s Energy Sector?” *Latin America Advisor*, July 22.

## Other Latin America and the World events

- “Egypt’s Transition: Perspective from Latin America,” March 9. Dialogue senior fellow Sergio Bitar shared his impressions of Egypt’s revolution in light of Chilean and other Latin American transitions.
- “What a Changing Global Economic Order Means for Latin America and the Caribbean,” April 22. Santiago Levy, vice president of the IDB and former deputy finance minister of Mexico, presented the report “One Region, Two Speeds?” about the new global economic order and the challenges and opportunities it presents for growth in Latin America and the Caribbean. Otaviano Canuto, vice president of the PREM network at the World Bank, offered commentary.

## ANNUAL CAF CONFERENCE

Every September, CAF—Development Bank of Latin America, the Inter-American Dialogue, and the Organization of American States sponsor a conference for Washington officials and opinion leaders on hemispheric affairs. The aim of this sustained collaboration is to demonstrate the importance of US economic and

political relations with Latin America, and to provide a detailed review of hemispheric economic and political affairs. Over two days of discussions, the XV Annual CAF Conference brought together over 400 people, including US and Latin American government officials, international economists, lawmakers, leading policy analysts, journalists, and corporate and financial leaders.

- The XV Annual CAF Conference took place on September 7 and 8 in Washington, DC. Select speakers included Enrique Iglesias, secretary general of SEGIB; Thomas Shannon, US ambassador to Brazil; María Emma Mejía, secretary general of UNASUR; Hector Arce, president of the Chamber of Deputies of Bolivia; José Miguel Insulza, secretary general of the OAS; former president of Panama Martín Torrijos; and former foreign ministers Guillermo Fernández de Soto (Colombia) and Gustavo Fernández Saavedra (Bolivia).



Carla Hills, Thomas Shannon, and Michael Shifter

# TRADE AND ECONOMICS

## LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIES ROUNDTABLE

The Dialogue, in conjunction with Tulane University, hosts the Latin American Economies Roundtable, bringing together a small group of leading economic analysts from government agencies, international financial institutions, the private sector, think-tanks and universities. The group meets periodically in closed sessions to analyze the state of Latin American and Caribbean economies, assess how they are affected by the external environment, diagnose potential problems, and exchange ideas about appropriate policy responses by governments and others. The following roundtables were held in 2011:

- “Different Outlooks for Developing and Emerging Markets,” October 5. The group addressed the economic prospects and perils of Europe, the United States, and Latin America. Jorge Mariscal of Rohatyn Group, LLC provided the lead-off presentation on the prospects for emerging markets amid the new global crisis.
- “Latin America’s Response to Global Instability,” August 30. Participants discussed the setbacks in the global economic recovery in the past two months. Rodrigo Valdes of the IMF and Steve Kamin of the Federal Reserve provided opening remarks.
- “Impact of Debt Crises in Europe and the United States on Latin America,” May 23. Participants weighed in on the Eurozone crisis and US economic instability and shared their thoughts of how these developments would affect Latin America. The meeting was attended by Santiago Levy, vice president for sectors and knowledge at the Inter-American Development Bank, and Augusto de la Torre, chief economist for Latin America and the Caribbean at the World Bank.

- “Latin America’s Rapid Recovery,” March 3. Participants discussed the state of global economic recovery and Latin America’s response in particular. Opening remarks were given by Uri Dadush, senior associate and director of international economics at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- “Uneven Progress in Latin America for 2011,” January 12. The group discussed role of the US and Chinese economies in growth patterns in Latin America. Lead-off presentations were given by Brian O’Neill, vice chair of Lazard International; Mauricio Cárdenas, director of the Latin America Initiative at the Brookings Institution; and Justin Lin, senior vice president and chief economist at the World Bank.

### Other Trade and Economics Events

- “The Global Economic Crisis: Impact on Poverty in Latin America,” December 19. Louise Cord, World Bank Poverty Reduction and Gender Group sector manager analyzed the impact of the global crisis on poverty and inequality in Latin America. Commentary was provided by Judith Morrison, the Inter-American Development Bank’s senior advisor for the Gender and Diversity Unit, and Jeffrey Puryear, the Dialogue’s vice president for Social Policy.
- “Beyond the China Boom: Latin America’s Long-Term Growth Prospects,” November 22. This public event featured highlights from World Bank chief economist Augusto de la Torre’s 2011 report on economic growth in Latin America. Antoni Estevadeordal of the IDB and the Dialogue’s Claudio Loser provided insights regarding the challenges and possibilities for post-”China boom” growth in the region.

- “Industrial Policy and Innovation in Brazil: Dilma’s New Approach,” November 10. Ricardo Camargo Mendes of Prospectiva Consulting and Otaviano Canuto of the World Bank offered their thoughts on the Brazilian government’s new innovation and technology policies, and Andrew Rudman of PhRMA and Saulo Porto of IBM Latin America discussed challenges and opportunities for their specific companies under the new policies.
- “A Conversation with Marcelo Zabalaga Estrada, President of the Bolivian Central Bank,” September 23. Zabalaga focused on Bolivia’s success as one of the fastest growing economies in the past decade, stemming from its unique economic model.
- “Rising Brazil: Domestic and International Trends,” September 22. Albert Fishlow, author of *Starting Over: Brazil Since 1985*, presented the critical aspects of Brazilian development, with commentary provided by Paulo Sotero, director of the Woodrow Wilson Center’s Brazil Institute, and the Dialogue’s Peter Hakim.
- “Reassessing China-Mexico Competition,” September 16. China-Latin America specialists Adrian Hearn, Enrique Dussel Peters, and Yang Zhimin provided a comparative perspective on China-Mexico economic competitiveness following reports of slowing manufacturing activity in China’s famed Pearl River Delta.
- “Assessing Dilma Rousseff’s Approach to Chinese Competition,” August 29. The World Bank’s Otaviano Canuto and Peterson Institute for International Economics senior fellow Gary Hufbauer examined President Rousseff’s “Plano Brasil Major” policy, which was implemented in response to manufacturing sector competition from China.

- “Discussion of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act,” July 8. In the few days remaining before the end of the comment period on the Dodd-Frank bill, representatives of major remittance providers met with Vivian Wang and Samantha Pelosi of the Federal Reserve Board at a Dialogue luncheon to discuss what many viewed as the legislation’s burdensome effects on the remittances sector.
- “What a Changing Global Economic Order Means for Latin America and the Caribbean,” April 22. Santiago Levy, vice president of the IDB and former deputy finance minister of Mexico, presented the report “One Region, Two Speeds?” about the new global economic order and the challenges and opportunities it presents for growth. Otaviano Canuto, vice president of the PREM network at the World Bank, offered commentary.
- “Free Trade with Panama and Colombia, Yes or No?” March 25. Angela Ellard, chief trade counsel for the House Ways and Means Committee, and Amber Cottle, chief international trade counsel for the Senate Finance Committee, reviewed the progress of the pending US free trade agreements.



Santiago Levy (r) and Paula Stern



Claudio Loser and Jorge Quiroga

- “Latin America 2040: Breaking Away from Complacency,” March 8. Harinder Kohli, president and CEO of the Centennial Group, and Dialogue senior fellow Claudio Loser discussed their new book *Latin America 2040—Breaking Away from Complacency: An Agenda for Resurgence*, which explores how the region can promote more rapid economic growth and faster reduction in disparities to avoid economic, social, and political upheaval.
- “Will Latin America Win the Economic Future?” February 11. Nicolás Eyzaguirre, director of the Western Hemisphere Department at the IMF, discussed the more complex reality behind Latin America’s promising growth rates.

- “Latin America’s Economic Outlook—How Should the Region Respond to Economic Success?” May 24. The discussion featured Rodrigo Valdés, senior advisor of the Western Hemisphere Department at the IMF.

### Published

**Michael Shifter:** “The Anemia of the United States,” *El Colombiano*, August 2; “Has the FTAs Time Come,” *El Espectador*, January 2.

**Peter Hakim:** “The Colombia and Panama Free Trade Deals: New Momentum for US-Latin American Relations,” *Infolatam*, October 13; “Latin America: From an Unhappy Past to a Promising Future,” *América Economía*, June 24; “US-Colombian Free Trade on Track for Approval,” *Infolatam*, March 2.

## ENERGY POLICY AND POLITICS

### ENERGY POLICY GROUP

The Dialogue established its Energy Policy Group in September 2009 with the support and cooperation of the Inter-American Development Bank. Led by Dialogue senior fellow Genaro Arriagada, a distinguished Chilean analyst and former minister of state, the Energy Policy Group consists of a professionally and politically diverse group of some 20 energy analysts, corporate

leaders, and policymakers. Energy Policy Group participants meet two or three times a year to discuss Latin America’s most important energy policy issues and choices. Activities are directed to informing and shaping national and regional policy debates on the energy challenges confronting the countries of Latin America, improving the quality of attention to those challenges, and encouraging multilateral cooperation to address them.

- Meeting of the Energy Policy Group in San Salvador, El Salvador, May 14. Participants from Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua, as well as Chile and the United States, discussed issues specific to each country and challenges facing the region overall.



Enrique García, Genaro Arriagada, and José Octavio Bordón

### Other Energy Policy events

- “Central America—the Politics of Electric Integration,” October 28. With the support of the Institute of the

Americas and the US Department of State, Teofilo de la Torre, the president of Costa Rica's national electricity company, Minor López, Guatemala's vice minister of energy, Carlos Trujillo of the Inter-American Development Bank, and Jeremy Martin of the Institute of the Americas, gathered at the Dialogue to discuss the challenges facing Central American electric integration.

- “Security and Energy Policy in Aruba: A Conversation with Prime Minister Mike Eman,” October 13. Prime Minister Eman addressed Aruba's political and economic successes, and commitment to clean energy future.
- Latin America's Energy Future,” May 5 and 6. Florida International University's (FIU) 29th Annual Journalists & Editors Workshop on Latin America and the Caribbean covered regional, national, and thematic issues affecting energy policy in Latin America. The workshop coincided with the launch of FIU's annual *Hemisphere Journal*, which in 2011 was guest edited by Peter Hakim and Genaro Arriagada, and featured articles from members of the Dialogue's Energy Policy Group. Several authors presented their findings at the workshop, alongside other regional experts, providing an overview of Latin America's energy profile, and outlining the major challenges for the region in its efforts to balance sustainable development with energy security.

## REMITTANCES AND DEVELOPMENT

The Dialogue's work on remittances and development focuses on policies governing the flow of remittances, private sector financial and remittance services, and financial access for migrants and remittance recipient families. Through research, policy analysis, technical assistance, product development and project implementation, the program has raised awareness and forged partnerships among public and private institutions in over 80 countries within Latin

### **Published**

**Working Papers** (appeared in *Hemisphere* magazine published by Florida International University, Volume 20, Spring 2011):

“Leading Energy Policy Issues in Latin America,” by Genaro Arriagada.

“Energy Conflicts: A Growing Concern in Latin America,” by Patricia I. Vásquez.

“Latin America's Nuclear Future,” by Jorge Zanelli Iglesias.

“What Climate Change Means for Latin America,” by Paul Isbell.

“Why the United State and Cuba Collaborate,” by Jorge Piñon.

“Challenges of Designing an Optimal Petroleum Fiscal Model in Latin America,” by Roger Tissot.

“Petrobras: The Unique Structure behind Latin America's Best Performing Oil Company,” by Genaro Arriagada and Chris Cote.

“Argentina's Energy Pricing Challenges,” by Pablo Fernández-Lamela.

“Energy Consumption: Challenges and Opportunities of Urbanization,” by Heidi JaneSmith.

“PetroCaribe: Welcome Relief for an Energy-Poor Region,” by Chris Cote.

America and the Caribbean, Africa, Europe, and Asia. This year the program continued to expand its focus to include migration and development, with research on the impact of informality on Latin American economies, financial education and financial inclusion of remittance senders and recipients, the economic participation of hometown associations in countries of origin, diaspora engagement, and other transnational activities involving migrants.

Specific initiatives of the Remittances and Development Program include: providing tools and a curriculum to teach financial literacy to remittance recipients and migrants in Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Paraguay; maximizing the potential of new channels of national remittance flows to Mexico, such as mobile banking; evaluating Western Union's 4+1 program that promotes diaspora investment in public-private partnerships that support migrant business initiatives in Mexico; impact analysis of the African Diaspora Marketplace, a pilot business plan competition and a private-public partnership among USAID, Western Union, and the Western Union Foundation; analysis of household migration and remittance customs along the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua; production and maintenance of a comprehensive database on remittance delivery networks and the availability, quality, and cost of services to send remittances from major US cities to Central American and Caribbean countries; coordination of the Migration Development Fund supporting projects related to remittances, financial access, and local development in migrant home countries in Africa; and management of a team of experts developing a strategy to transform Panama's informal business sector into a formal actor in the economy.

### Events

- "Discussion of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act." Federal Reserve Board representatives Vivian Wang and Samantha Pelosi along with the Dialogue's Manuel Orozco discussed the implications of the Dodd-Frank bill on July 8. The roundtable was attended by executives of major money transfer

companies, such as Viamericas, Wells Fargo, Microfinance International Cooperation, Jamaica National Overseas, among others.

- "Linking Economic Reforms and Micro-Entrepreneurship among Remittances Recipients in Cuba" featured associate professor of Black and Hispanic Studies at Baruch College (CUNY) Katrin Hansing with the Dialogue's Manuel Orozco on May 2.

### Published

**Manuel Orozco:** "México, Centroamérica y la política de inmigración en los Estados Unidos," *Confidencial*, December 12; "Tendencias migratorias: caso centroamericano," *Confidencial*, November 29; "Assessment and lessons learned from African Diaspora Market Place," with Mariellen Jewers, USAID, November; "Fighting for the Right: Community Participation in Latin American Post-Transitional Democracies," with Beatriz Slooten, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, September; "Estado del Arte en Banca Móvil," commissioned by the Programa de Apoyo al Sector Informal de Panamá, June; "Estado del Arte de la Corresponsalía No Bancaria," commissioned by the Programa de Apoyo al Sector Informal de Panamá, June; "A Country Profile on the Gambia: The Marketplace & Financial Access," with Anjali Banthia and Mariama Ashcroft, *Women's World Banking*, October; "A Commitment Amidst Shared Hardship: Haitian Transnational Migrants and Remittances," with Elisabeth Burgess, *Journal of Black Studies*, March; "Educación financiera y desarrollo: un modelo para Nicaragua," *Confidencial*, January 11.



## DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

In 2011, the Inter-American Dialogue hosted two meetings of the **Latin America Working Group** to discuss the most pressing challenges facing democratic governance in Latin America and to propose viable and innovative solutions for addressing them. (See page 25 for a full report.)

As part of its democratic governance initiative, the Dialogue held a workshop with the twelve authors of the forthcoming *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America* (4th Edition) to be published in 2013. The latest edition combines four chapters on pressing regional issues with eight updated country profiles.

- The volume's four thematic chapters are: "Constitutional Rewrites in Latin America: 1987-2009" by Javier Corrales of Amherst College; "Mass media and Politics in Latin America" by Taylor Boas of Boston University; "Security Challenges to Latin American Democratic Governance" by Lucia Dammert of the Global Consortium on Security Transformation; and "Natural Resources Boom, Institutions, and the New Latin American Political Economy" by Sebastian Mazzuca of Harvard University.
- The eight country chapters are, "Argentina: Democratic Consolidation, Partisan Dealignment, and Institutional Weakness" by María Victoria Murrillo of

Colombia University and Ernesto Calvo of the University of Maryland; "Brazil: Democracy in the PT Era" by David Samuels of the University of Minnesota;



Bill Richardson, Cris Arcos, and Francisco Villagrán

"Bolivia: Keeping the Coalition Together" by George Gray Molina of the United Nations Development Programme; "Chile: Beyond Transitional Models of Politics" by Peter Siavelis of Wake Forest University; "Colombia: Democratic Governance Amidst an Armed Conflict" by Eduardo Posada-Carbó of St Anthony's College; "Mexico: Democratic Electoral Advances and Security Limitations" by Shannon O'Neil of the Council on Foreign Relations; "Peru: Challenges of a Democracy without Parties" by Steve Levitsky of Harvard University; and "Venezuela: Political Governance and Regime Change by Electoral Means" by Angel Alvarez of the Universidad Central de Venezuela.

In conjunction with the Vidanta Foundation, on October 6th the Dialogue hosted a dinner with former governor of New Mexico and OAS special envoy Bill Richardson, who is also a Dialogue member. At the dinner, which was attended by Obama administration officials, diplomats, journalists, and other Washington policy experts, Richardson made a strong case for why US leadership must break with past policies toward Latin America.

### Other Democratic Governance events

- “Cuba: The Politics of Transition,” November 22. Harvard professor and *Temas* journal editor Rafael Hernández was joined by Julia Sweig, director of Latin American Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, for a discussion to explore political changes currently underway in Cuba.
- “Guatemala’s Electoral Outlook: A Conversation with Eduardo Stein,” October 26. Former vice president of Guatemala and Dialogue member Eduardo Stein discussed the November 2011 election.
- “A Conversation with Josefina Vázquez Mota,” October 21. Josefina Vázquez Mota the primary candidate for Mexico’s Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) participated in a private roundtable and a public discussion at the Dialogue, outlining her vision for Mexico’s future.



Josefina Vázquez Mota (r) and Alexandra Solano

- “A Conversation with Tibisay Lucena Ramírez, president of the National Electoral Council of Venezuela,” October 11. Amid uncertainty surrounding the health of Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez, who is also a candidate in the 2012 elections, the president of the Venezuelan National Electoral Council Tibisay Lucena discussed the upcoming electoral contest.
- “Prospects for Venezuela’s 2012 Presidential Elections,” September 28. Jose Antonio Gil Yépes, president of Datanálisis, a Venezuelan consulting company specializing in market and public opinion research, analyzed poll numbers and discussed the outlook for the 2012 elections.
- “Nicaragua’s Political Outlook,” September 19. Benjamin Lugo, head of the Coordinators for Civil Society of Nicaragua, Marcos Carmona, head of the Human Rights Commission of Nicaragua, and the Dialogue’s Manuel Orozco presented on Nicaragua’s 2011 election.
- “What’s next for Chile? A Conversation with Juan Pablo Letelier and Hernán Larraín,” September 8. Senator Juan Pablo Letelier of the Socialist Party and Senator Hernán Larraín from the governing conservative UDI Party (Independent Democratic Union) addressed the recent wave of student protests in Chile and its implications for the country going forward.
- “Democracy and the Rule of Law in Ecuador: A Conversation with Osvaldo Hurtado,” September 7. In a Dialogue event co-sponsored by the Due Process of Law Foundation and the University of Notre Dame Law School’s Center for Civil and Human Rights, former president of Ecuador and Dialogue member Osvaldo Hurtado discussed current challenges to democratic governance under the Correa administration.

- “Press Freedom in the Americas: Cause for Concern?” June 21. OAS special rapporteur for freedom of expression Catalina Botero and Americas Program coordinator for the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) Carlos Lauria outlined the challenges to press freedom and democratic stability in Latin America.



Catalina Botero (r) and Enrique Bravo

- “Post-Election Peru: Challenges and Possible Scenarios,” June 14. Carlos Basombrio, political commentator and columnist for Perú21, and Gino Costa, president of the Lima-based public policy group Ciudad Nuestra and minister of the interior during the Alejandro Toledo administration, analyzed the reasons for Ollanta Humala’s victory over Keiko Fujimori in the June 5 runoff elections and the implications of a Humala presidency for Peru’s future.
- “Peru’s Election and Beyond: What’s Next?” May 25. Patrick Esteruelas, vice president of the Sovereign Risk Group at Moody’s Investors Service; Saavedra-Chanduvi, acting director of the Poverty Reduction and Equity Group at the World Bank; José Luis Renique, an expert on Peruvian politics and professor of History at City University of New York; and Jose Gonzales, director of EMC Managers, weighed the potential economic, political and social repercussions of an Ollanta Humala versus Keiko Fujimori presidency leading up to Peru’s presidential election.
- “Discussing the 2010 Americas Barometer Survey: ‘Democratic Consolidation in the Americas During Hard Times,’” January 21. Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) director Mitchell Seligson and associate director Elizabeth Zechmeister discussed the results of LAPOP’s most recent survey. Todd Eisenstadt, assistant professor at American University, offered commentary.

### Publications

**Michael Shifter:** “The ‘Other’ Latin America,” *El Colombiano*, December 13; “Chavez, No Longer Such a Strongman,” *PODER*, July 15; “The Human Fragility of Chavez,” *El Colombiano*, July 5; “If Hugo Goes,” *Foreign Policy*, June 28; “What to Read on Venezuela,” *Foreign Affairs*, June; “Can a Chavista Become a Lulaista?” *Foreign Policy*, May 24; “In Peru, Hard-Won Democratic Gains at Risk,” *The Washington Post*, May 23; “Can Coups Still Take Place in Latin America?” Western Hemisphere Security Analysis Center, March; “Reasons to Be Optimistic About Latin America’s Future,” *El Tiempo*, February 11; “A Surge to the Center,” *Journal of Democracy*, January; **co-authored with Alexis Arthur:** “South America’s Governance Agenda,” *World Politics Review*, October 11.

**Peter Hakim:** “Will CELAC Succeed Where Other Similar Efforts Have Failed?” *Infolatam*, December 14; “Latin America: From Unhappy Past to Promising Future,” *América Economía*, June 24; “Progress and the Past,” *Foreign Affairs*, May; **with Kim Covington:** “Constructing Citizen Security in the Americas,” commissioned for the VI Summit of the Americas, September.

**Katherina Hruskovec and Cory Siskind:** “The New Opposition: A Serious Challenge to Hugo Chávez,” *International Affairs Review*, December.

**Claudio Loser:** “Mexico: How Far Have its Institutions Really Come?” *Latin America Advisor*, April 6.

**Genaro Arriagada:** “On Proletariats and Precariousness,” *El Mercurio*, August 2; “Chávez: Between Democracy and Hypocrisy,” *El Mercurio*, January 16.

## EDUCATION POLICY/PREAL

The Partnership for Educational Revitalization in the Americas (PREAL) promotes better and more equitable education in Latin America by helping governments and civil society organizations identify and implement key policy reforms. Through partnerships with national NGOs, events, and state-of-the-art publications, PREAL promotes informed debate on education policy, identifies and disseminates best practices, and encourages change on priority issues in education. Dialogue vice president for social policy Jeffrey Puryear and Marcela Gajardo from the Corporation for Development Research (CINDE) in Santiago, Chile, co-direct the PREAL program.

### PREAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES

During 2011, PREAL and its staff partnered with national organizations and members of the private sector to launch two national education report cards (in Honduras and the Dominican Republic); helped launch “United for Education”, a new cross-sectoral civil society initiative in Panama; opened a Central American and Dominican Chapter of its Working Group on the teaching profession; initiated its fourth region-wide education research competition; and planned three study tours that will bring young leaders to visit promising education programs in Canada, Chile and the United States in early 2012. In addition, PREAL co-organized more than 60 events with working groups and national partners, including two international workshops (on teaching and civil society involvement in reform) and two working group meetings in Santiago, Chile, and participated

in more than 60 events organized by outside groups. During the year, PREAL published 46 new documents designed to provide user-friendly analysis and policy recommendations to government and civil society leaders. PREAL also signed agreements with CECC/SICA, UNESCO-OREALC and UNESCO-UIS to cooperate on a variety of activities related to teacher policies, testing and testing systems, and monitoring progress toward international education goals.

### Select PREAL Program events

- “Assessment of Government Education Policies: 2008-2011.” A series of three meetings organized by PREAL partner in Guatemala the Center for National Economic Research (CIEN). The minister of education of the new government, Cynthia del Aguila, participated in two of the meetings. Guatemala City, Guatemala. December 21, December 2, and November 17.
- PREAL’s partner in Honduras, the Ricardo Ernesto Maduro Andreu Education Foundation (FEREMA) presented the results of the 2010 Honduras Report Card, *Education: An Urgent Challenge*, to the country’s Congressional Education Commission. The meeting was co-organized by FEREMA, USAID, the Honduran National Congress, the Secretary of Education, and EducAcción, a USAID initiative. Tegucigalpa, Honduras. December 15.
- “Education: An Urgent Challenge.” Co-organized by PREAL partners FEREMA and Fundación DIS in

collaboration with the Business Council of Latin America (CEAL). Former president Ricardo Maduro of Honduras provided the keynote address. Tegucigalpa, Honduras. December 7-8.

- An international workshop on attracting the best and the brightest to education professions. Organized with United for Education. José Luis Guzmán, coordinator of PREAL's Central American and Dominican Chapter of the Working Group on the Teaching Profession (CCAD/GTD) spoke. Panama City, Panama. December 5.
- PREAL's partners in the Dominican Republic, the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO) and Action for Education (EDUCA), presented key findings from PREAL's 2010 Dominican Republic Report Card, *Quality is the Challenge*, at the country's House of Representatives. Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. December 5.
- "100 Point Teacher Prize Award Ceremony." Organized by PREAL partner *Empresarios por la Educación*. Guatemala City, Guatemala. November 29.
- Experts meetings of the Working Group on School Management and Effectiveness and the CCAD/GTD. Santiago, Chile. November 23-25.
- "Assessment of Current Teacher Training in Central America." Organized by PREAL's partner in Costa Rica, Fundación Omar Dengo. Participants included Secretary General of the Central American Educational and Cultural Coordination (CECC/SICA) María Eugenia Paniagua. San Jose, Costa Rica. November 17.
- Launch of the second PREAL report card on education in the Dominican Republic, *Quality is the Challenge*. Co-organized with partners EDUCA and PLAN Dominican Republic. Speakers included vice ministers of Education Víctor Sánchez and Adarberto Martínez. Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. November 9.
- "What Should We Learn in Science and Citizenship?" Organized by PREAL's Working Group on Standards and Assessment (GTEE) with the Peruvian Institute for the Evaluation, Accreditation and Certification of Primary Education Quality. Speakers included Santiago Cueto, executive secretary of PREAL's Educational Research Fund and Eugenio González, a member of the GTEE. Lima, Peru. October 26.
- "Motivating Private Sector Participation in Strengthening Nicaraguan Education." Co-organized by PREAL partners Fundación DIS, EDUQUEMOS, and *Empresarios por la Educación-Nicaragua*, in collaboration with the Superior Council of Private Businesses (COSEP). Managua, Nicaragua. October 10-11.
- Presidential Candidates Education Forum. Organized by PREAL partner *Empresarios por la Educación* in Guatemala, in collaboration with the *Consejo Empresarial de la Publicidad* and *Gran Campaña Nacional para la Educación*. Presidential candidates shared their education proposals. Guatemala City, Guatemala. August 24.
- Workshop on the 2010 and 2011 Education for All Global Monitoring Report. Co-organized by PREAL's partner the Business Foundation for Educational Development (FEPADE), in collaboration with the Ministry of Education of El Salvador. Participants included CECC/SICA Secretary General María Eugenia Paniagua. San Salvador, El Salvador. June 30.
- Puryear gave the keynote address at the eighth Congress of the Latin American Institute of Educational

Leadership, which was organized by Nova Southeastern University of Miami and ten Dominican institutions, including PREAL counterpart *Acción por la Educación* (EDUCA). Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. June 28.

- “Will Economic Change Threaten Cuba’s Education Success?” Organized in collaboration with Florida International University’s Cuba Research Institute. Speakers included RTI senior education analyst Amber Gove and former minister of education and Dialogue senior fellow Sergio Bitar of Chile. Washington, DC. May 9.



Inés Bustillo and Sergio Bitar

- “Confronting Latin America’s Education Challenges.” Speakers included former minister of education of Colombia and visiting professor at Harvard University Cecilia Vélez, and Bitar. Washington, DC. April 29.
- Launch of the third education report card on Honduras, *Education: An Urgent Challenge*. Organized by FEREMA. Honduran minister of education Alejandro Ventura opened the event. Following the presentation, Honduran vice president Maria Antonieta de Bográn and vice minister of education Elia del Cid de Andrade provided comments. Tegucigalpa, Honduras. March 30.
- Discussion on education in Buenos Aires, Argentina with the city’s vice minister of education, Diego Fernandez,

and the leaders of seven Argentine teachers unions. Emiliana Vegas, a senior education economist at the World Bank, and Bitar also participated. Washington, DC. March 31.

- Roundtable discussion on the results of the International Civic and Citizen Education Study 2009. Organized by PREAL partner in the Dominican Republic the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), in collaboration with the Ministry of Education of the Dominican Republic. Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. March 23.
- A series of discussions to raise awareness of the new Honduran Law for Strengthening Public Education and generate suggestions for improvement. Organized by PREAL’s partner in Honduras, FEREMA, in collaboration with the National Congress and the Office of the Vice President. Honduras. February-March.
- A business-education study tour for Dominican business leaders. Co-organized with PREAL national partner in the Dominican Republic, EDUCA, in collaboration with the American Chamber of Commerce. Barranquilla and Bogotá, Colombia. February 20-24.

## PREAL Publications

### National Report Cards

- *Quality is the Challenge: A Report Card on Education in the Dominican Republic, 2010*. PREAL, EDUCA, and PLAN Dominican Republic. November 2011. Spanish.
- *Education: An Urgent Challenge. A Report Card on Education in Honduras, 2010*. March 2011. Spanish.
- *Overcoming Inertia: A Report Card on Education in Brazil 2009*. January 2011.

### **Special Reports**

- “Measuring Up: How Did Latin America and the Caribbean Perform on the 2009 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)?” By Alejandro J. Ganimian and Alexandra Solano Rocha. August 2011. English and Spanish.
- “Evaluation of the Costs of Primary Education in the Dominican Republic.” By Jeffrey Lizardo. Published in June 2011 as a product of PREAL’s Strategic Partnership in the Dominican Republic. Spanish.

### **Working Papers**

No. 59, “Teacher Standards and Evaluations in Mexico: The State of the Debate.” By Iván Barrera and Robert Myers. December 2011. Spanish.

No. 58, “What to Do with PISA Results in Latin America?” By Pedro Ravela. October 2011. Spanish.

No. 56, “A Comparative Study of Teacher Preparation and Qualifications in Six Nations.” By Richard M. Ingersoll. July 2011. Spanish.

No. 55, “Design and Experiences of Teacher Salary Incentives.” By Alejandro Morduchowicz. June 2011. Spanish.

No. 54, “Learning Standards in Chile: Mapping Progress and Levels of Achievement on SIMCE 2002-2010.” By Jacqueline Gysling and Lorena Meckes. May 2011. Spanish.

No. 53, “Do School Vouchers Promote Social Justice? A Case Study from Washington, DC.” By Patrick J. Wolfe. April 2011. Spanish.

No. 52, “New Teacher Policies: From Missing Link to Developmental Bridge.” By Carlos Marcelo García. March 2011. Spanish.

No. 51, “Teacher Competencies: Development, Support, and Evaluation.” By Charlotte Danielson. January 2011. Spanish.

### **Policy Series**

No. 39, “Lessons from Education Systems that Scored High on PISA: A Contribution for Reform Agendas.” December 2011. Spanish.

No. 38, “Improving Schools on a Large Scale. Challenges for Schools and Education Systems.” September 2011. Spanish.

No. 37, “Recent Findings: Factors that Affect Student Learning.” June 2011. Spanish.

No. 36, “Essential Supports for Improving Learning in Schools.” March 2011. Spanish.

### **Best Practices Series**

No. 38, “Strategies for Supporting Schools in Improving Learning: Experiences in England and Canada.” November 2011. Spanish.

No. 37, “School Leadership Training: Pioneering Programs in the United States.” August 2011. Spanish.

No. 36, “Ontario: Effective Reform on a Large Scale and in Diverse Contexts.” May 2011. Spanish.

**Education Synopsis Series:** Numbers 33-39. One-page briefs touching on topics ranging from teacher salary incentives to achieving effective schools in high poverty areas. Spanish.

**ProEducación Series:** Six editions. Business Education newsletter on a variety of topics. Spanish.

### Published

**Jeffrey Puryear:** “Where does Chile’s Education Budget Leave the Protests?” Published in the *Latin America Advisor*, December 16, 2011. English.

**Jeffrey Puryear:** “Educational Reforms Helping Students Make the Grade in Chile,” Published in the *Latin America Advisor*, June 3, 2011. English.

## SOCIAL POLICY

The Social Policy Program seeks to assess and bring public attention to Latin America’s long-neglected social agenda. It has developed, in partnership with the Stone Center for Latin American Studies at Tulane University, the Commitment to Equity (CEQ) project, which assesses, compares, and publicizes the extent to which government efforts help or hinder social progress in Latin America. The program produces a series of policy briefs that spotlight and summarize information on key issues of the social agenda, and circulates articles and new research to help opinion leaders and policymakers stay abreast of best practices.

- On November 10, Dialogue member and non-resident senior fellow Nora Lustig presented findings of the CEQ project to the Latin American and Caribbean Economic Association.
- On November 3 and 4, the Inter-American Dialogue and the Center for Inter-American Policy and Research (CIPR) at Tulane University brought together eleven researchers leading field studies for the CEQ in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay for a workshop to report on progress and obstacles and plan the next stage of work on the CEQ.

**Jeffrey Puryear and Tamara Ortega Goodspeed:** “How Can Education Help Latin America Develop?” in *Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies*, Vol. 3 No. 1. January 2011. English.

### Select Social Policy Program events

- “The Global Economic Crisis: Impact on Poverty in Latin America,” December 19. World Bank Poverty and Gender Sector manager Louise Cord led a roundtable discussion at the Dialogue on the impact of the global crisis on poverty and inequality in Latin America. The discussion was informed by the World Bank’s new report, “On the Edge of Uncertainty: Poverty Reduction in Latin America and the Caribbean during the Great Recession and Beyond.”
- “A Conversation with Michelle Bachelet,” November 14. Former president of Chile Michelle Bachelet on what must be done to protect the world’s vulnerable populations in this time of global economic downturn.



Michelle Bachelet (r) and Michael Shifter



- “Measuring Discrimination: Race and Data in Brazil,” October 20. The Dialogue hosted Brazilian scholar Marcelo Paixão to discuss Brazil’s new census data on race and class and what it reveals about the country’s African descendant population. The session featured comments from the IDB’s Judith Morrison.
- “Peru’s Election and Beyond: What’s Next?” May 25. Patrick Esterhuelas, vice president of the Sovereign Risk Group at Moody’s Investors Service; Jaime Saavedra-Chanduvi of the World Bank; José Luis Renique, professor of history at City University New York; and Jose Gonzales, director of EMC Managers, led the discussion.
- “Public Policies for Afro-Descendant Communities,” May 20. The Dialogue, the Gender and Diversity Unit at the Inter-American Development Bank, and

Phelps Stokes co-sponsored the roundtable discussion that featured Antonio Murillo, professor at Howard University; Marino Córdoba, spokesperson for the National Association of Displaced Afro-Colombians; and Paula Moreno, former minister of culture of Colombia.



Paula Moreno

### Published

**Nora Lustig:** “Poverty, Inequality and the Millennium Development Goals in Latin America and the Caribbean,” commissioned for the VI Summit of the Americas, October 1, 2011.

## COUNTRIES AND SUB-REGIONS

### THE LATIN AMERICA WORKING GROUP

The Inter-American Dialogue hosted two meetings of the Latin America Working Group in 2011. The group is comprised of some 35 experts from across the region, including analysts, scholars, journalists, private leaders, and former officials from the Andean countries as well as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. It meets twice a year—in Washington and in the region—to discuss the most pressing challenges facing democratic governance in Latin America and to propose viable and innovative solutions for addressing them.

- The group hosted its 20th meeting in Washington, DC on June 13-14. Participants focused on the recent election of President Ollanta Humala in Peru, as well as ongoing challenges facing Bolivian president Evo Morales; the future of Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez in the 2012 presidential

elections; the first year of President Juan Manuel Santos’ administration in Colombia; Ecuador’s outlook following President Rafael Correa’s referendum victory; and a discussion of Latin America-wide issues, including the rise of Brazil as a regional power and the role of regional institutions. Guest speaker Carlos Pascual discussed his new appointment as US special envoy for international energy affairs and reflected on his tenure as US ambassador to Mexico and the drug and security issues affecting the country.

- The group met again on December 15 and 16 for its 21st meeting in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in conjunction with the Getulio Vargas Foundation. The meeting covered the current political and economic situation in Brazil, including the achievements and challenges facing

the Dilma Rousseff administration; Brazil's role in the region; the human rights agenda in Brazil; and the changing nature of security challenges in Brazil and beyond, in particular the impact of drug trafficking.

## THE ANDEAN REGION

### Events

- “A Conversation with Salomón Lerner, Prime Minister of Peru,” October 25. Lerner discussed Peru's new model of development and social inclusion under President Ollanta Humala.
- “A Conversation with Tibisay Lucena Ramírez, President of the National Electoral Council of Venezuela,” October 11. Amid uncertainty surrounding the health of Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez, who is also a candidate in the 2012 elections, Lucena Ramírez discussed the upcoming electoral contest.
- “Prospects for Venezuela's 2012 Presidential Elections,” September 28. José Antonio Gil Yépes, president of Datanálisis, a Venezuelan consulting company specializing in market and public opinion research, analyzed poll numbers and discussed the outlook for the 2012 elections.
- “A Conversation with Marcelo Zabalaga Estrada, President of the Bolivian Central Bank,” September 23. Zabalaga discussed Bolivia's success as one of the fastest growing economies in the past decade, owing to its unique economic model.
- “Bolivia-Chile Relations,” September 9. This off-the-record, private dialogue convened a diverse group of top Bolivian and Chilean leaders to discuss ongoing challenges in relations between the two countries.
- “Democracy and the Rule of Law in Ecuador: A Conversation with Former President Osvaldo Hurtado,” September 7. Co-sponsored with the Due Process of Law Foundation and the University of Notre Dame Law School's Center for Civil and Human Rights. .
- “Venezuela's Political Outlook: A Conversation with Pedro Nikken,” July 19. Nikken, president of the International Commission of Jurists, analyzed the future of Venezuela's leader, and the country's political, security, and economic conditions.
- “A Conversation with Cayetano Llobet: Bolivian Politics in a Regional Context,” July 7. Prominent Bolivian political analyst Llobet discussed the rise and decline of President Evo Morales' popularity and critiqued his policies since taking office in 2006.
- “Post-Election Peru: Challenges and Possible Scenarios,” June 14. Carlos Basombrío, columnist for *Perú21*, and Gino Costa, president of the Lima-based public policy group Ciudad Nuestra and minister of the interior during the Alejandro Toledo administration, analyzed the reasons for Ollanta Humala's victory over Keiko Fujimori in the June 5 runoff elections and the implications of a Humala presidency on Peru's future.
- “A Conversation with the Mayor of Medellín, Alonso Salazar,” June 7. Alonso Salazar, who came to office in 2008, discussed continuing efforts to maintain security and focused on how his administration is working to transform Medellín into an even more important industrial and cultural center of Colombia.
- “A Conversation with María Ángela Holguín, Foreign Minister of Colombia,” June 1. Co-sponsored with Council of the Americas and Woodrow Wilson

International Center for Scholars. Holguín outlined the Santos administration's foreign policy agenda and discussed strengthening relations with the United States.



María Ángela Holguín

- “Peru’s Election and Beyond: What’s Next?” May 25. Patrick Esteruelas, vice president of the Sovereign Risk Group at Moody’s Investors Service; Saavedra-Chanduvi, of the World Bank; José Luis Renique, professor of History at City University New York; and Jose Gonzales, director of EMC Managers, weighed the potential economic, political and social repercussions of an Ollanta Humala versus Keiko Fujimori presidency leading up to Peru’s presidential election.
- “A Conversation with Members of Bolivia’s Asamblea Legislativa Plurinacional,” April 1. Participants from *Plan Progreso para Bolivia—Convergencia Nacional* included Senator Bernard Osvaldo Gutiérrez Sanz, Senator Marcelo Eulogio Antezana Ruiz, Representative Norma Alicia Pierola Valdez, and Representative Andres Ortega Tarifa.
- “Free Trade with Panama and Colombia, Yes or No?” March 25. Angela Ellard, chief trade counsel for the House Ways and Means Committee, and Amber Cottle, chief international trade counsel for the Senate Finance Committee, reviewed the progress of the pending US free trade agreements with Panama and Colombia.
- “A Conversation with the US Heads of Mission to the Andean Region,” January 24. US ambassadors Heather Hodges (Ecuador), Rose Likins (Peru), and Michael McKinley (Colombia), and two Chargé d’Affaires, John Caulfield (Venezuela)

and John Creamer (Bolivia) discussed US policy toward the Andean region.

- “A Conversation with Angelino Garzón, Vice President of the Republic of Colombia,” January 26. Garzón discussed the new directions taken under the Santos government in areas such as social and agrarian reform, peace, human rights, and foreign policy. He also addressed pending issues on the US-Colombia bilateral agenda.

### Published

**Michael Shifter:** “The ‘Other’ Latin America,” *El Colombiano*, December 13; “The FTA, Not Such a Happy Story,” *El Colombiano*, October 18; “Humala’s Foreign Policy: More Continuity than Change?” *Argumentos: Revista del Instituto de Estudios Peruanos*, July; “Chávez, no longer such a strongman,” *PODER*, July 15; “The Human Fragility of Chávez,” *El Colombiano*, July 5; “If Hugo Goes,” *Foreign Policy*, June 28; “What to Read on Venezuela,” *Foreign Affairs*, June; “Can a Chavista Become a Lulaista,” *Foreign Policy*, May 24; “In Peru, hard-won democratic gains at risk,” *The Washington Post*, May 23; “Una región sin rugir sables,” *Portafolio*, April 4; “Hugo Stay Home,” *Foreign Policy*, March 5; “Peru’s Path to Globalization; Opportunities and Obstacles During and After the Crisis,” *Perú ante los desafíos del siglo XXI*, March; “Can Coups Still Take Place in Latin America?” Western Hemisphere Security Analysis Center, March; “Reasons to Be Optimistic About Latin America’s Future,” *El Tiempo*, February 11; “A Surge to the Center,” *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 22, Number 1, January; “Has the FTAs Time Come?” *El Espectador*, January 2; **co-authored with Alexis Arthur:** “South America’s Governance Agenda,” *World Politics Review*, October 11.

**Peter Hakim:** “Will CELAC Succeed Where Other Similar Efforts Have Failed?” *Infolatam*, December 14; “The United States and Latin America: The Neighborhood

Has Changed,” *The International Spectator*, December; “The Colombia and Panama Free Trade Deals: New Momentum for US-Latin American Relations?” *Infolatam*, October 13; “Latin America: From Unhappy Past to Promising Future,” *América Economía*, June 24; “Progress and the Past,” *Foreign Affairs*, May 1; “U.S.-Colombian Free Trade Agreement on Track to Approval,” *Infolatam*, March 2; **with Mariellen Jewers**: “Digital Technologies: A Path to Improved Education and Health in Remote Communities,” commissioned for the VI Summit of the Americas, November; **with Kimberly Covington**: “Constructing Citizen Security in the Americas,” commissioned for the VI Summit of the Americas, September.

**Katherina Hruskovec and Cory Siskind**: “The New Opposition: A Serious Challenge to Hugo Chávez,” *International Affairs Review*, December.

**Genaro Arriagada**: “Chávez: Between Democracy and Hypocrisy,” *El Mercurio*, January 16, 2012.

## BRAZIL & THE SOUTHERN CONE

The Dialogue’s program on Brazil and the Southern Cone examines the most pressing challenges and opportunities facing Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Chile. Issues include democratic governance, energy, trade capacity building, the environment, and international relations. The program regularly hosts meetings and events that draw important political analysts, politicians, NGO and labor leaders, and economists.

### Events

- “A Conversation with Michelle Bachelet,” November 14. Former president of Chile Michelle Bachelet discussed what must be done to protect the world’s vulnerable populations in this time of global economic downturn.

- “Industrial Policy and Innovation in Brazil: Dilma’s New Approach,” November 10. Ricardo Camargo Mendes of Prospectiva Consulting and Otaviano Canuto of the World Bank offered their thoughts on the Brazilian government’s innovation and technology policies, while Andrew Rudman of PhRMA and Saulo Porto of IBM Latin America discussed challenges and opportunities for their specific companies under the new policies.
- “Measuring Discrimination: Race and Data in Brazil,” October 21. Marcelo Paixão, a distinguished Brazilian scholar and director of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro’s Laboratory of Economic Analysis, Historical, and Social Statistics and Race Relations discussed his new report on Brazilian census data and its implications for Afro-descendants. The IDB’s Judith Morrison commented.
- “Rising Brazil: Domestic and International Trends,” September 22. Albert Fishlow, author of *Starting Over: Brazil Since 1985*, presented the critical aspects of Brazilian development described in his latest work, with questions and commentary provided by Paulo Sotero, director of the Woodrow Wilson Center’s Brazil Institute.



Albert Fishlow and Peter Bell

- “What’s next for Chile? A Conversation with Senators Juan Pablo Letelier and Hernán Larraín,” September 8. Letelier of the Socialist Party and Larraín from

the governing conservative UDI Party (Independent Democratic Union) addressed the recent wave of student protests in Chile and their implications for the country going forward.

- “Assessing Dilma Rousseff’s Approach to Chinese Competition,” August 29. The World Bank’s Otaviano Canuto and Peterson Institute for International Economics Senior Fellow Gary Hufbauer examined President Rousseff’s “Plano Brasil Major” policy, which was implemented in response to manufacturing sector competition from China.
- “Argentina’s Political Outlook,” May 3. Political analyst Sergio Berensztein and Hernán Charosky, executive director of the Argentine civil society group Poder Ciudadano addressed the popularity of Argentine president Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and the challenges that lie ahead for her administration.

### Published

**Michael Shifter:** “The ‘Other’ Latin America,” *El Colombiano*, December 13; “A Mutual Desire to Reduce Tensions,” *Perfil*, October 30; “Reasons to Be Optimistic About Latin America’s Future,” *El Tiempo*, February 11; “A Surge to the Center,” *Journal of Democracy*, January; **co-authored by Alexis Arthur:** “South America’s Governance Agenda,” *World Politics Review*, October.

**Peter Hakim:** “Will CELAC Succeed Where Other Similar Efforts Have Failed?” *Infolatam*, December 14; “Brazil and the US: Remaking a Relationship,” *Foreign Service Journal*, June; “Progress and the Past,” *Foreign Affairs*, May; “US Should Support Brazil’s Security Council Bid,” *The Miami Herald*, March 13; “Why the US and Brazil Can’t Get Along—A Story of Turf, Ideology, and Interests,” *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*, March; “What Dilma Can Do to Improve US-Brazil Relations,” *O Estado de S. Paulo*, January 12; “Brazil’s Foreign

Policy Under Dilma Rousseff,” *Islamic Republic News Agency*, January 2; **with Mariellen Jewers:** “Digital Technologies: A Path to Improved Education and Health in Remote Communities,” commissioned for the VI Summit of the Americas, November; **with Kim Covington:** “Constructing Citizen Security in the Americas,” commissioned for the VI Summit of the Americas, September.

**Jeff Puryear:** “Educational Reforms Helping Students Make the Grade in Chile,” *Latin America Advisor*, June 3.

**Sergio Bitar:** “Obama’s Visit to Latin America: A View from the South,” *Inter-American Dialogue*, February.

**Genaro Arriagada:** “On Proletariats and Precariousness,” *El Mercurio*, August 2.

## THE CARIBBEAN REGION

The Dialogue’s Caribbean Region program focuses on Cuba, Haiti, and the Anglophone Caribbean.

The Dialogue has long sustained an active program on Haiti including publications and discussions on political and economic developments and US policy. Our recent work on Haiti has focused on engaging with the private sector.

The Caribbean Program also offers a forum for leaders from the Anglophone Caribbean to bring important policy attention to the issues of concern to that region.

## CUBA

The Dialogue’s work on Cuba focuses on establishing connections between Cuba’s economics community and the international financial institutions (IFIs). The Working Group on the Cuban Economy regularly brings together some 25 experts from around the hemisphere to discuss Cuba’s prospects for increased integration with the IFIs.

The Dialogue continued its program, launched in 2009, on Cuba and the Organization of American States that 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.

### Events

- “Cuba: The Politics of Transition,” November 22. Harvard professor and *Temas* journal editor Rafael Hernández was joined by Julia Sweig, director of Latin America Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, for a discussion on the political changes currently underway in Cuba.
- “The Cuban Diaspora in the 21st Century,” October 7. Florida International University’s (FIU) Guillermo Grenier was joined by co-authors Jorge Domínguez (Harvard University and Dialogue member), Orlando Marquez (director, Havana Archdiocese *Palabra Nueva* magazine), Jorge Duany (University of Puerto Rico), Uva de Aragon, and Juan Antonio Blanco (FIU) to discuss findings of their report, which explores the evolving relationship between the diaspora and its country of origin.
- “Cuba 1.5? The State of the Internet and Uses of Social Media in a Changing Cuba,” August 3. Larry Press, professor of information systems at California State University, and Ted Henken, professor of sociology and Latin American studies at Baruch College, discussed the current state and future of Cuban internet access.
- “Will Economic Change Threaten Cuba’s Education Success?” May 9. Amber Gove of RTI International joined Dialogue non-resident senior fellow Sergio Bitar to examine Cuba’s unique and relatively successful education system, and the likelihood that the country will maintain its advantage amid a recently announced economic reform package.
- “Linking Economic Reforms and Micro-Entrepreneurship Among Remittances Recipients in Cuba,” May 2. Dialogue senior associate Manuel Orozco and Katrin Hansing, associate professor of Black and Hispanic Studies at Baruch College (CUNY) presented results from a recent survey on Cuban remittance recipients and their interests in running micro and small enterprises.
- “The United States and Cuba: Intimate Enemies,” March 17. Brookings Institution, Cuba Study Group, and Inter-American Dialogue hosted a discussion on US-Cuba relations featuring Marifeli Pérez-Stable, author of the new book *The United States and Cuba: Intimate Enemies* (Routledge, 2011).
- “The State of the Cuban Economy,” March 11. Archibald Ritter, a research professor emeritus at Carleton University and fellow at the Canadian Foundation for the Americas, commented on Raúl Castro’s effect on the outlook of the Cuban economy.



Jorge Domínguez and Enrique García

## Other Caribbean Region Events

- “Security and Energy Policy in Aruba: A Conversation with Prime Minister Mike Eman,” October 13. Eman addressed Aruba’s political and economic successes, and commitment to a clean energy future.

## Published

**Michael Shifter:** “Obama Takes a Positive Step on Cuba,” *El Colombiano*, January 18.

## CENTRAL AMERICA & MEXICO

### Central America Working Group

The Dialogue’s Central America Working Group, co-chaired by former vice president of Guatemala Eduardo Stein and the director of CEPAL’s Mexico Office Hugo Beteta, remained active in 2011. 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 Working Group members include a politically diverse mix of some 45 policy analysts, political and labor leaders, economists, and NGO and business executives.

- The Central America Working Group convened its fourth meeting in San Salvador, on May 12 and 13 to discuss issues specific to each country and challenges facing the region. A variety of topics were covered including the potential re-election of Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua; the perception of El Salvador’s Mauricio Funes and the implications of Barack Obama’s visit to El Salvador; weak institutions and an election crisis in Guatemala; polarization after Honduras’ 2009 coup; political discord under Laura Chinchilla of Costa Rica; and the status of the drug trade and challenges to security and migration.



Rafael Fernández de Castro and Eduardo Stein

### Working Papers:

“Costa Rica Frente al Reto del Cambio,” by Adriana Prado Castro, May 2011.

“El Salvador: Country Report,” by Carlos Dada, May 2011.

“Panorama de la Realidad Guatemalteca,” by Gustavo Porras Castejón, May 2011.

“Guatemala: La Coyuntura Electoral 2011,” by Eduardo Stein, May 2011.

“Honduras: Un Difícil Camino por Delante,” by Hugo Noé Pino, May 2011.

“Claves Para Entender la Crisis y Escenarios Previos y Posteriores al Golpe de Estado,” by Manuel Torres, May 2011.

“Honduras: Golpe de Estado, Crisis e Inestabilidad,” by Leticia Salomón, May 2011.

“Nicaragua: Escenarios Electorales 2011,” by Carlos F. Chamorro, May 2011.

“Nicaragua: Un País con Baja Densidad Ciudadana,” by Arturo Cruz, May 2011.

### Security & Migration

The Inter-American Dialogue is carrying out a three-year initiative to develop a joint program of work with leading think tanks and research centers in Mexico and Central America on two of the most pressing policy challenges their countries now face: (1) the growing threat to governance, social

and economic progress, and the rule of law posed by escalating crime and violence, and (2) the failure of the United States, Mexico, and the nations of Central America to effectively address the multiple political, social, and security problems that have emerged from continuing migration flows to the United States.

- The Inter-American Dialogue, in cooperation with the Tinker Foundation, hosted its first meeting on security and migration in Central America and Mexico in Washington, DC on July 14. Participants from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico, as well as Colombia and the United States focused on the challenges posed by current migration and security crises in the region while also examining the prospects for shaping US policy on these issues. Select participants included Lázaro Cárdenas, former governor of Michoacán state; Julieta Castellanos, rector of the National Autonomous University of Honduras (UNAH); Doris Meissner, senior fellow at the Migration Policy Institute; Carlos Dada, editor of *El Faro*; and Kevin Casas-Zamora, senior fellow at the Latin America Initiative at the Brookings Institution.



Lázaro Cárdenas and Doris Meissner

- Participants in the security and immigration initiative joined in a private dinner discussion under the auspices of the Dialogue's Congressional Members Working Group. Entitled, "Violence, Crime, and Citizen Security in Central America and Mexico." The July 13 dinner was hosted by Representatives Michael McCaul (R-TX), Sam Farr (D-CA), and Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA) with Representatives Jim Gerlach (R-PA), Luis Gutiérrez (D-IL), Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX), Mike Kelly (R-PA), and Silvestre Reyes (D-TX). Guest participants included Helen Mack, former head of Guatemala Presidential Commission for Police Reform; assistant secretary of state for international narcotics and law enforcement affairs William Brownfield; deputy assistant secretary of state Roberta Jacobson; USAID assistant administrator Mark Feierstein; Ambassador Francisco Altschul of El Salvador; and Ambassador Jorge Hernández-Alcerro of Honduras.



Francisco Altschul (r) and Manuel Orozco



## Other Central America & Mexico events

- “Mexico’s Foreign Policy: The Issues and Choices Ahead,” December 7. Rafael Fernández de Casrto, former foreign policy advisor to President Felipe Calderón, and Andrew Seele, director of the Wilson Center’s Mexico Institute discussed Mexico’s foreign policy agenda.
- “Central America—the Politics of Electric Integration,” October 28. With the support of the Institute of the Americas and the US Department of State, Teofilo de la Torre, the president of Costa Rica’s national electricity company, Minor López, Guatemala’s vice minister of energy, Carlos Trujillo of the Inter-American Development Bank, and Jeremy Martin of the Institute of the Americas, led the discussion.
- “Guatemala’s Electoral Outlook: A Conversation with Eduardo Stein,” October 26. Former vice president of Guatemala and Dialogue Board member Eduardo Stein discussed the November 2011 election.
- “A Conversation with Josefina Vázquez Mota,” October 21. Vázquez Mota, the primary candidate for Mexico’s Partido Acción Nacional (PAN), participated in a private roundtable and a public discussion outlining her vision for Mexico’s future.
- “Guatemala’s Uncertain Future: Combating Crime and Impunity,” September 20. Mark Schneider and Javier Ciurlizza of the International Crisis Group and Anita Isaacs, professor of Political Science at Haverford College, analyzed the challenges of organized crime and impunity amid Guatemala’s 2011 election.
- “Reassessing China-Mexico Competition,” September 16. China-Latin America relations specialists Adrian Hearn, Enrique Dussel Peters, and Yang Zhimin led a roundtable discussion on China-Mexico economic competitiveness following reports of slowing manufacturing activity in China’s famed Pearl River Delta.
- “Nicaragua’s Political Outlook,” September 19. Benjamin Lugo, head of the Coordinators for Civil Society of Nicaragua, Marcos Carmona, head of the Human Rights Commission of Nicaragua, and the Dialogue’s Manuel Orozco analyzed Nicaragua’s 2011 election.
- “A Conversation with Guatemala’s Presidential Commission on the Declassification of Military Archives,” July 21. Members of Guatemala’s Presidential Commission for the Declassification of Military Archives, including Anibal Samayoa Salazar, deputy private secretary of the presidency; Marco Tulio Alvarez, secretary of peace; and General Eduardo Morales Alvarez, deputy chief of staff of the Guatemalan Army, discussed ongoing efforts to declassify documents detailing the country’s internal armed conflict.
- “A Conversation with Héctor Silva Argüello,” July 6. Silva Argüello, president of the Social Investment and Local Development Fund in El Salvador, highlighted the innovative social programs the country is using to prevent vulnerable youth from falling into a life of crime.
- “A Conversation on Crime and Security in Central America,” June 27. Dialogue Board member Eduardo Stein, former vice president of Guatemala and director of LaRed; Roberto Rubio of FUNDE in El Salvador; Enrique Saenz of FUNDESCA in Nicaragua; Ana Marcela Villasuso of CIDH in Costa Rica; and Javier Meléndez of IEEPP in Nicaragua discussed the need for regional cooperation in combatting organized crime in Central America.

- “A Conversation with Hugo Martínez, El Salvador’s Minister of Foreign Affairs,” March 10. Martínez discussed the implications of President Obama’s March 2011 visit to El Salvador.
- “A Conversation with René Castro-Salazar, Foreign Minister of Costa Rica,” March 3. Castro discussed Costa Rica’s agenda with the United States, relations with neighbors in Central America, regional security, and the country’s evolving relationship with China.

### **Published**

**Michael Shifter:** “Central America’s Security Predicament,” *Current History*, February 1.

**Peter Hakim:** “The Colombia and Panama Free Trade Deals: New Momentum for

US-Latin American Relations?” *Infolatam*, October 13; “What Obama’s Visit Means for El Salvador,” *El Faro*, March 20; **with Kimberly Covington:** “Constructing Citizen Security in the Americas,” commissioned by the government of Colombia in preparation for the VI Summit of the Americas, September.

**Manuel Orozco:** “México, Centroamérica y la política de inmigración de los Estados Unidos,” *Confidencial*, December 12; “Tendencias migratorias: caso centroamericano,” *Confidencial*, November 29; “Educación financiera y desarrollo: un modelo para Nicaragua,” *Confidencial*, January 11.

**Claudio Loser:** “Mexico: How Far Have its Institutions Really Come?” *Latin America Advisor*, April 6.

## **CORPORATE PROGRAM**

The Corporate Circle—a group of more than 100 of some of the world’s fastest-growing and most socially responsible companies— informs and shapes the Inter-American Dialogue’s work in important ways.

Business and financial executives are among the featured speakers at our public and private events. They regularly comment in our highly-regarded *Latin America Advisor* newsletters, provide valuable input on existing Dialogue activities, and offer fresh ideas for new programs.

Companies that enrolled in the Circle this year included Citigroup, Deloitte, Forbes & Manhattan, Mead Johnson, Oracle, and Western Union, among numerous others.

Importantly, their companies’ financial support helps sustain the quality of our work and make new projects possible. For example, donations from Circle members provided for the acquisition of high quality webcasting equipment this year. As a result, constituents worldwide can now tap into

dozens of live and recorded events held at the Dialogue in Washington.

Their financial support also helped make possible the launch of the *Latin America Advisor*’s first secure online, keyword searchable portal. More than 2,000 editions of the *Advisor* are now archived on the portal and available to researchers. The University of California at Berkeley, the University of Florida, Baylor University and other leading academic institutions have subscribed.

The *Advisor* newsletters continue to deliver high quality daily, weekly and biweekly content for business audiences, publishing nearly 1,000 expert commentaries on questions posed by subscribers and editors during the course of the year.

Four outstanding executives joined the Board of Advisors of the newsletters in 2011: Luis Maurette with Liberty Mutual, Luis Viada with MicroRate, Brian Doran with Banco Popular, and Charles Shapiro with the Institute of the Americas.

# PUBLICATIONS

## INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE REPORT

*Rethinking US Drug Policy*, by Peter Hakim, Inter-American Dialogue, February 2011.

### Inter-American Dialogue Working Papers

The following working papers were published in *Hemisphere* magazine, Florida International University, Volume 20, Spring 2011:

- “Leading Energy Policy Issues in Latin America,” by Genaro Arriagada.
- “Energy Conflicts: A Growing Concern in Latin America,” by Patricia I. Vásquez.
- “Latin America’s Nuclear Future,” by Jorge Zanelli Iglesias.
- “What Climate Change Means for Latin America,” by Paul Isbell.
- “Why the United States and Cuba Collaborate,” by Jorge Piñon.
- “Challenges of Designing an Optimal Petroleum Fiscal Model in Latin America,” by Roger Tissot.
- “Petrobras: The Unique Structure behind Latin America’s Best Performing Oil Company,” by Genaro Arriagada and Chris Cote.
- “Argentina’s Energy Pricing Challenges,” by Pablo Fernández-Lamela.
- “Energy Consumption: Challenges and Opportunities of Urbanization,” by Heidi Jane Smith.
- “PetroCaribe: Welcome Relief for an Energy-Poor Region,” by Chris Cote.

## PREAL PUBLICATIONS

### Reports

#### National Report Cards

- *Quality is the Challenge: A Report Card on Education in the Dominican Republic*, 2010. PREAL, EDUCA, and PLAN Dominican Republic. November. Spanish.
- *Education: An Urgent Challenge. A Report Card on Education in Honduras*, 2010. March. Spanish.
- *Overcoming Inertia: A Report Card on Education in Brazil 2009*. January.

#### Special Reports

- “Measuring Up: How Did Latin America and the Caribbean Perform on the 2009 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)?” By Alejandro J. Ganimian and Alexandra Solano Rocha. August 2011. English and Spanish.
- “Evaluation of the Costs of Primary Education in the Dominican Republic.” By Jeffrey Lizardo. Published in June 2011 as a product of PREAL’s Strategic Partnership in the Dominican Republic. Spanish.

#### Working Papers

No. 59, “Teacher Standards and Evaluations in Mexico: The State of the Debate.” By Iván Barrera and Robert Myers. December 2011. Spanish.

No. 58, “What to Do with PISA Results in Latin America?” By Pedro Ravela. October 2011. Spanish.

No. 56, “A Comparative Study of Teacher Preparation and Qualifications in Six Nations.” By Richard M. Ingersoll. July 2011. Spanish.

No. 55, "Design and Experiences of Teacher Salary Incentives." By Alejandro Morduchowicz. June 2011. Spanish.

No. 54, "Learning Standards in Chile: Mapping Progress and Levels of Achievement on SIMCE 2002-2010." By Jacqueline Gysling and Lorena Meckes. May 2011. Spanish.

No. 53, "Do School Vouchers Promote Social Justice? A Case Study from Washington, DC." By Patrick J. Wolfe. April 2011. Spanish.

No. 52, "New Teacher Policies: From Missing Link to Developmental Bridge." By Carlos Marcelo García. March 2011. Spanish.

No. 51, "Teacher Competencies: Development, Support, and Evaluation." By Charlotte Danielson. January 2011. Spanish.

### **Policy Series**

No. 39, "Lessons from Education Systems that Scored High on PISA: A Contribution for Reform Agendas." December 2011. Spanish.

No. 38, "Improving Schools on a Large Scale. Challenges for Schools and Education Systems." September 2011. Spanish.

No. 37, "Recent Findings: Factors that Affect Student Learning." June 2011. Spanish.

No. 36, "Essential Supports for Improving Learning in Schools." March 2011. Spanish.

### **Best Practices Series**

No. 38, "Strategies for Supporting Schools in Improving Learning: Experiences in England and Canada." November 2011. Spanish.

No. 37, "School Leadership Training: Pioneering Programs in the United States." August 2011. Spanish.

No. 36, "Ontario: Effective Reform on a Large Scale and in Diverse Contexts." May 2011. Spanish.

**Education Synopsis Series:** Numbers 33-39. One-page briefs touching on topics ranging from teacher salary incentives to achieving effective schools in high poverty areas. Spanish.

**ProEducación Series:** Six editions. Business Education newsletter on a variety of topics. Spanish.

## STAFF PUBLICATIONS

**Michael Shifter:** “Obama: Causes and Happenstance,” *Revista Idelee*, December 20; “The ‘Other’ Latin America,” *El Colombiano*, December 13; “A Mutual Desire to Reduce Tensions,” *Perfil*, October 30; “The FTA, Not Such a Happy Story,” *El Colombiano*, October 18; “The Risks of the ‘Libyan Model,’” *El Colombiano*, August 30; “The Anemia of the United States,” *El Colombiano*, August 2; “Humala’s Foreign Policy: More Continuity than Change?” *Argumentos: Revista del Instituto de Estudios Peruanos*, July 26; “Chavez, No Longer Such a Strongman,” *PODER*, July 15; “The Human Fragility of Chavez,” *El Colombiano*, July 5; “If Hugo Goes,” *Foreign Policy*, June 28; “What to Read on Venezuela,” *Foreign Affairs*, June; “Obama and Migration Reform,” *El Colombiano*, May 26; “Can a Chavista Become a Lulaista?” *Foreign Policy*, May 24; “In Peru, Hard-Won Democratic Gains at Risk,” *The Washington Post*, May 23; “Obama, After Osama,” *El Colombiano*, May 10; “The United States and Ecuador,” *Expresso*, April 20; “Una region sin rugir sables,” *Portafolio*, April 4; “Obama Trip Symbolic But Not Substantive,” *Oxford Analytica*, March 30; “Obama and Latin America,” *La Tercera*, March 24; “Obama’s Visit to Latin America,” *El Colombiano*, March 15; “Hugo Stay Home,” *Foreign Policy*, March 5; “Peru’s Path to Globalization; Opportunities and Obstacles During and After the Crisis,” *Perú ante los desafíos del siglo XXI*, March; “Can Coups Still Take Place in Latin America?” Western Hemisphere Security Analysis Center, March; “Reasons to Be Optimistic About Latin America’s Future,” *El Tiempo*, February 11; “Central America’s Security Predicament,” *Current History*, February; “Obama Takes a Positive Step on Cuba,” *El Colombiano*, January 18; “A Surge to the Center,” *Journal of Democracy*, January; “Has the FTAs Time Come?” *El Espectador*, January 2; **co-authored with Alexis Arthur:** “South America’s Governance Agenda,” *World Politics Review*, October 11.

**Peter Hakim:** “Will CELAC Succeed Where Other Similar Efforts Have Failed?” *Infolatam*, December 14; “The United States and Latin America: The Neighborhood Has Changed,” *The International Spectator*, December; “Rethinking US Drug Policy,” *Politica Exterior*, October 31; “The Colombia and Panama Free Trade Deals: New Momentum for US-Latin American Relations?” *Infolatam*, October 13; “Latin America: From Unhappy Past to Promising Future,” *América Economía*, June 24; “Brazil and the US: Remaking a Relationship,” *Foreign Service Journal*, June 9; “Progress and the Past,” *Foreign Affairs*, May; “What Obama’s Visit Means for El Salvador,” *El Faro*, March 20; “Obama Heads South,” *Infolatam*, March 14; “US Should Support Brazil’s Security Council Bid,” *The Miami Herald*, March 13; “Rethinking US Drug Policy,” *El Espectador*, March 6; “US-Colombian Free Trade Agreement on Track to Approval,” *Infolatam*, March 2; “Why the US and Brazil Can’t Get Along—A Story of Turf, Ideology, and Interests,” *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*, March/April; “What Dilma Can Do to Improve US-Brazil Relations,” *O Estado de S. Paulo*, January 12; “Brazil’s Foreign Policy Under Dilma Rousseff,” *Islamic Republic News Agency*, January 2; **with Mariellen Jewers:** “Digital Technologies: A Path to Improved Education and Health in Remote Communities,” commissioned for the VI Summit of the Americas, November; **with Kimberly Covington:** “Constructing Citizen Security in the Americas,” commissioned by the government of Colombia in preparation for the VI Summit of the Americas, September.

**Jeffrey Puryer:** “Where does Chile’s Education Budget Leave the Protests?” *Latin America Advisor*, December 16; “Educational Reforms Helping Students Make the Grade in Chile,” *Latin America Advisor*, June 3.

**Jeffrey Puryear and Tamara Ortega Goodspeed:** “How Can Education Help Latin America Develop?” *Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies*, Vol. 3 No. 1. January.

**Manuel Orozco:** “México, Centroamérica y la política de inmigración en los Estados Unidos,” *Confidencial*, December 12; “Tendencias migratorias: caso centroamericano,” *Confidencial*, November 29; “Assessment and lessons learned from African Diaspora Market Place,” with **Mariellen Jewers**, USAID, November; “Fighting for the Right Community Participation in Latin American Post-Transitional Democracies,” with Beatriz Slooten, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, September; “Estado del Arte en Banca Móvil,” commissioned by the Programa de Apoyo al Sector Informal de Panamá, June; “Estado del Arte de la Corresponsalia No Bancaria,” commissioned by the Programa de Apoyo al Sector Informal de Panamá, June; “A Country Profile on the Gambia: The Marketplace & Financial Access,” with Anjali Banthia and Mariama Ashcroft, *Women’s World Banking*, October; “Central America, Migration Flows and Remittances,” *Inter-American Dialogue*, March; “A Commitment Amidst Shared Hardship: Haitian Transnational Migrants and Remittances,” with Elisabeth Burgess, *Journal of Black Studies*, March; “Educación financiera y desarrollo: un modelo para Nicaragua,” *Confidencial*, January 11.

**Margaret Myers:** “How Big of an Economic Threat Does China Pose to Brazil?” *Latin America Advisor*, September 21; “Testing the China-Peru Relationship,” *The Miami Herald*, August 14; “How is China Changing Latin America’s Energy Sector?” *Latin America Advisor*, July 22.

**Sergio Bitar:** “Latin America and the United States: Looking Toward 2020,” *Inter-American Dialogue*, September; “The Impact of Bin Laden’s Death in the United States,” *El Mercurio*, May 5; “How to Take Advantage of President Obama’s Visit,” *El Mercurio*, March 19; “Obama’s Visit to Latin America: A View from the South,” *Inter-American Dialogue*, March.

**Claudio Loser:** “Mexico: How Far Have its Institutions Really Come?” *Latin American Advisor*, April 6.

**Genaro Arriagada:** “On Proletariats and Precariousness,” *El Mercurio*, August 2; “Chávez: Between Democracy and Hypocrisy,” *El Mercurio*, January 16.

**Nora Lustig:** “Poverty, Inequality and the Millennium Development Goals in Latin America and the Caribbean,” commissioned for the VI Summit of the Americas, September.

**Katherina Hruskovec and Cory Siskind:** “The New Opposition: A Serious Challenge to Hugo Chávez,” *International Affairs Review*, December.

# FINANCIAL REPORT

## Inter-American Dialogue

### Statement of Financial Position

| Assets:                                 | 2011             | 2010             |
|---|------------------|------------------|
| Cash and cash equivalents               | 634,948          | 515,809          |
| Accounts receivable                     | 905,143          | 1,232,145        |
| Grants receivable                       | 243,951          | 551,381          |
| Investments                             | 4,910,387        | 5,388,482        |
| Prepaid expenses                        | 67,012           | 32,090           |
| Property and equipment                  | 12,744           | 15,234           |
| Deposits                                | 19,605           | 19,605           |
| <b>TOTAL ASSETS</b>                     | <b>6,793,790</b> | <b>7,754,746</b> |
| <b>Liabilities:</b>                     |                  |                  |
| Accounts payable                        | 108,372          | 28,460           |
| Accrued expenses                        | 80,201           | 86,174           |
| Refundable advances                     | 25,842           | 36,550           |
| Grants payable                          | 697,257          | 1,063,356        |
| Deferred rent                           | 119,797          | 120,034          |
| <b>Total Liabilities</b>                | <b>1,031,469</b> | <b>1,334,574</b> |
| <b>Net Assets:</b>                      |                  |                  |
| Unrestricted                            | (33,418)         | (80,731)         |
| Temporarily restricted                  | 885,352          | 1,112,421        |
| <b>Endowment funds:</b>                 |                  |                  |
| Board-designated funds                  | 3,566,003        | 4,044,098        |
| Permanently restricted                  | 1,344,384        | 1,344,384        |
| <b>Total Net Assets</b>                 | <b>5,762,321</b> | <b>6,420,172</b> |
| <b>TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS</b> | <b>6,793,790</b> | <b>7,754,746</b> |

### Statement of Activities 2011

| Revenue                       |                  |
|-------------------------------|------------------|
| Foundations                   | 305,326          |
| Corporations                  | 355,814          |
| Governments                   | 1,367,757        |
| International organizations   | 742,494          |
| Collaborating institutions    | 124,003          |
| Individual contributions      | 142,165          |
| Miscellaneous program revenue | 64,496           |
| Investment income (loss)      | (178,095)        |
| <b>TOTAL REVENUE</b>          | <b>2,923,960</b> |
| <b>Expenses</b>               |                  |
| Program Services:             |                  |
| U.S. policy                   | 576,749          |
| Energy and climate change     | 112,548          |
| Crime and security            | 72,557           |
| Democratic governance         | 67,978           |
| Remittances and development   | 225,630          |
| Social policy                 | 1,344,868        |
| China and Latin America       | 62,501           |
| Outreach and communications   | 25,125           |
| Sol M. Linowitz Forum         | -                |
| Corporate programs            | 229,797          |
| Drug policy                   | 47,590           |
| Support Services:             |                  |
| Administration                | 690,762          |
| Fundraising                   | 14,271           |
| Governance                    | 111,435          |
| <b>TOTAL EXPENSES</b>         | <b>3,581,811</b> |

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# INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE

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