

# Program Report



## INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE ■ 2002 PROGRAM REPORT

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### SUMMARY AND HIGHLIGHTS

2002 was the 20th anniversary of the Inter-American Dialogue, which was founded in 1982 as a one-time conference on hemispheric affairs. Other highlights of this anniversary year were:

In May, the Dialogue held the 2002 meeting of the Sol M. Linowitz Forum. The Forum brings the Dialogue's membership together in Washington once every two years for an extended discussion of the most important issues in hemispheric affairs. This was the 13th time that Dialogue members have met in plenary session since 1982.

President Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil accepted our invitation to become co-chair of the Dialogue on completion of his term in January 2003. President Cardoso was a founding member of the Inter-American Dialogue, participated in its first plenary meeting in 1982, and was elected to the Dialogue's first executive committee in 1985. Succeeding him as president of Brazil was former Dialogue member Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.

Five Latin American presidents visited the Dialogue last year. Colombia's President Alvaro Uribe spoke at a September 24 discussion in Washington. On November 1, the Dialogue hosted a luncheon with Ecuadorian presidential candidate Lucio Gutiérrez, who went on to win the election. On June 13, President Jorge Quiroga of Bolivia addressed a day-long workshop. On November 12, his successor President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, spoke at the Dialogue. On February 11, we hosted a discussion with Guatemalan President Alfonso Portillo.

## “ President

**Fernando Henrique**

**Cardoso became**

**co-chair of the**

**Dialogue”**

In September, the Dialogue hosted its 6th annual Andean Development Corporation Conference, which included an intense review of the difficult economic and political circumstances confronting the countries of the region and a discussion of hemispheric trade challenges.

The Dialogue held two other major conferences on trade in 2002. A November 23 meeting on the FTAA analyzed a number of “deal-breaking” issues that could block a final agreement and sought to offer proposals for solutions. On February 20, the Dialogue hosted a one-day conference in the U.S. Senate on crucial international trade negotiations involving the Western Hemisphere—including FTAA, ATPA, the FTAs with Chile and Central America, and the new WTO round. Also on Capitol Hill, the Dialogue organized a conference on May 21 on political and economic trends in Central America, development assistance to the region, trade and integration, and migration and remittances. Senators Christopher Dodd (D-CT) and Mike DeWine (R-OH), and Representatives Mark Souder (R-IN) and Jim Moran (D-VA) participated.

The Dialogue’s Congressional Members Working Group hosted the foreign ministers of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru on February 12. Senator Bob Graham (D-FL) and Reps. Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Phil English (R-PA), Jim Moran (D-VA), and Mark Souder (R-IN) participated in this discussion, which focused mainly on the Andean Trade Preference Act. Other Working Group meetings included dinner sessions on Colombia, Brazil, and on the Brazilian elections.

The Dialogue’s program on education reform, the Partnership for Educational Revitalization in the Americas (PREAL), issued its first report card on education in Latin America, *Lagging Behind*, along with national education report cards in three

Central American countries. PREAL also organized a regional education research competition and established business-education initiatives in Panama, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras.

The Dialogue held two major conferences on freedom of the press in 2002. An April meeting in Miami produced the final report of a three-year project, *Advancing Democracy through Press Freedom in the Americas*, which was released at a discussion on Capitol Hill chaired by Congressman James Leach (R-IA) and led by Jack Fuller, Dialogue member and president of the Tribune Publishing company. In December in Buenos Aires, the Dialogue hosted a conference on access to information.

On February 8 and 9, the Dialogue held the second meeting of the Colombia Working Group. The meeting was part of the Dialogue’s continuing effort to engage key opinion leaders from throughout the Americas and Europe to generate realistic ideas and proposals toward a solution to the Colombian conflict. On September 13 and 14, the Dialogue held the third Colombia Working Group meeting. Several working papers issued from these meetings.

On April 21, two articles by Dialogue staff on the short-lived coup in Venezuela appeared in the Sunday opinion sections of the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. In 2002, staff also published articles in the *Los Angeles Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Current History*, *The National Interest*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Brazil National Political Science Review*, and several periodicals and journals in the region.

The Group of Fifty (G-50) held its ninth annual meeting in Washington, D.C. Members and guests examined sequences of events worldwide and how they will influence G-50 members, their companies, and their countries. The G-50 also conducted two conference call discussions: on

Argentina's economic crisis and on the global outlook and consequences for Latin America.

The centerpiece of the Dialogue's corporate program is the *Latin America Advisor*—a daily publication that every morning provides CEOs and other top executives from throughout the hemisphere with summary news and expert analysis on major political and financial developments in the Americas. This year, the Dialogue's corporate program produced a range of events, conference calls, private briefings and time-sensitive publications to explore Latin America's disappointing year economically. Executives at Bausch & Lomb, Banco Popular Dominicano, Timberland, and numerous others joined the corporate circle membership—now numbering well over 100 companies. They regularly participate in Dialogue events with our more than 350 Associate members.

Dialogue staff regularly appeared on television and radio, including NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, NBC's McLaughlin Group, BBC, Univision, CBC, C-Span, the Diane Rehm Show, NPR, Bloomberg TV and radio, Telemundo, World Net (Foro Interamericano), and CNN.

Staff testified before Senate and House committees on Capitol Hill on Argentina's financial crisis, Colombia, and remittances.

## Sol M. Linowitz Forum

The meeting of the Linowitz Forum took place from May 17 to 20. The sessions began with a review of the critical changes that have taken place in hemispheric affairs over the past 20 years, and a discussion of what the future agenda should be. From this overview, the members moved to a discussion about the impact of the September 11 attacks and their aftermath on inter-American relations. The subsequent discussions focused on issues that concerned us throughout the year—the economic and political

crisis in Argentina; Brazil's elections and the formation of the Lula government; Uribe's election and the intensifying warfare in Colombia; Venezuela's increasing bitter political confrontation; Haiti's political and economic distress; and the FTAA negotiations following U.S. Congressional approval of trade promotion authority. Other issues that were addressed included developments in Mexico's domestic politics and international relations; U.S. trade negotiations with Chile, Central America, and the Andean region; presidential elections in Ecuador and Bolivia; and evolving U.S. policy toward Cuba. Prior to the formal proceedings, the approximately eighty Dialogue members and guests were briefed by senior U.S. administration officials including Director of Policy Planning Richard Haass, Assistant Secretary Otto Reich, and Undersecretary for Economics Alan Larson of the State Department, and Treasury Assistant Secretary for International Affairs Randy Quarles—and by Congressman Jim Moran (D-VA). Celebrating the Dialogue's 20th anniversary, this year's Linowitz Forum began with dinner parties hosted by fourteen embassies from Latin America, Europe, and Canada. (The Forum agenda is attached as Appendix I.)

On February 28, 2003, the Dialogue released its policy report, *The Troubled Americas*—drawing on the discussion of its members at the Linowitz Forum. It assesses the state of hemispheric affairs and offers recommendations for policy and action.

## Trade, Finance and Economic Policy

### *CAF Conference on Trade and Investment in the Americas*

On September 5 and 6, the Dialogue, together with the Organization of American States and the Andean Development Corporation (CAF), hosted the sixth annual CAF Conference on Trade and Investment

“ The *Latin America Advisor* provides CEOs with expert analysis every morning ”

“‘Bridging the Divide’ analyzed deal-breaking issues that could block a final FTAA”

in the Americas. This year’s event opened with a dinner hosted by Amb. Luis Alberto Moreno of Colombia. CAF President Enrique García, OAS Secretary-General César Gaviria, Dialogue Board member Mack McLarty, and Peter Hakim opened the conference. The featured speakers were Rep. Cal Dooley (D-CA) and Deputy U.S. Trade Representative Peter Allgeier. The sessions at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace provided a forum for discussion of the most critical economic and political developments in the Andean community, U.S. policy toward Andean countries, the broader U.S. trade policy agenda in the hemisphere, economic prospects for Latin America, and challenges to social development in the region.

Speakers included former President Jorge Fernando Quiroga of Bolivia, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Victor Rico of Bolivia, Vice Minister of Finance Juan Ricardo Ortega of Colombia, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Otto Reich, IMF Deputy Managing Director Eduardo Aninat, and Executive Secretary of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries Dulce Maria Pereira, among others. (The agenda is attached as Appendix II.)

#### ***Policy Exchanges on Trade, Finance and Economics***

- ▶ On February 20, the Dialogue co-hosted a one-day conference in the U.S. Senate on crucial international trade negotiations involving the Western Hemisphere—including FTAA, ATPA, the FTAs with Chile and Central America, and the new WTO round. The purpose of this meeting was to explore the progress of the various negotiations, the potential obstacles they face, and their cross-effects on one another.

Participants included Roberto Dañino, prime minister of Peru; Peter Allgeier, deputy U.S. trade representative; Everett Eissenstat and Ted Posner, Senate

Finance Committee; Tim Reif, House Ways & Means Committee; Ambassadors Rubens Barbosa of Brazil, Andres Bianchi of Chile, Luis Alberto Moreno of Colombia, Alan Wagner of Peru, and Rene Leon of El Salvador; Jaime Zabludovsky of the IDB; Gary Hufbauer and Jeffrey Schott, Institute for International Economics; Dialogue members Sylvia Ostry, Munk Centre for International Studies and Paula Stern, Stern Group; and Brenda Jacobs, U.S. Association of Importers of Textiles & Apparel, among others.

- ▶ On November 23, the Dialogue held a full-day conference, “Bridging the Divide: Toward a Consensus on Free Trade in the Americas,” designed to analyze a small number of ‘deal-breaking’ issues such as agricultural subsidies, trade in services, environmental linkages, and labor linkages that could block a final FTAA agreement, and to propose ways to achieve the necessary compromises. Senator and former finance minister Alejandro Foxley of Chile and former U.S. trade representative Carla Hills opened the conference. Panelists included Daniel Esty, Yale University; Gary Horlick, Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering; Roberto Bouzas and Diana Tussie, FLACSO Argentina; and Gary Hufbauer, Institute for International Economics. (The agenda is attached as Appendix III.)
- ▶ In May, the Dialogue joined with the Inter-American Development Bank’s Institute for the Integration of Latin America and the Caribbean (INTAL) and the University of Toronto’s Munk Centre for International Studies to organize policy workshops in Brasilia and São Paulo on the Brazilian trade policy making system and the participation of non-state actors in the process. The workshops, presented at Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Federation of Industries of São Paulo (FIESP), were led by Sylvia Ostry of the University

of Toronto, Peter Hakim of the Dialogue, and Uziel Nogueira of INTAL. The sessions were based on the 2001 publication, *The Trade Policy-Making Process: Level One of the Two Level Game*, which sets forth the results of a recent study on trade policy in eight Western Hemisphere nations (Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, United States, and Uruguay). As part of the outreach campaign for the report, the workshops will be held in Uruguay, Chile, Mexico and Washington, DC in 2002 and 2003. The study has been extended to five countries in Central America.

- ▶ The Trade Policy Group, a Washington-based group of trade experts and policy-makers, continued to meet in 2002. On May 8, they focused on congressional consideration of Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) and the remaining issues in the U.S.-Chile free trade negotiations. Presentations were made by Richard Fisher of Kissinger McLarty Associates, Phil Potter of NAFTA Institute, and Alex Foxley of the Embassy of Chile. The group met again on June 18 to discuss Brazilian trade negotiating scenarios. Discussion was led off by Mario Marconini of the Brazilian Center of International Relations, Washington correspondent for *O Estado de São Paulo* Paulo Sotero, and Amb. Rubens Barbosa of Brazil. Following the passage of TPA, the group met on September 19 to discuss the next steps in negotiating the FTAA. The discussion focused on the challenges and opportunities that the governments of Brazil and the United States will have (as chairs of the final phase of negotiations), and on what is needed now to improve prospects for a successful conclusion in early 2005. Speakers included Angela Ellard and Timothy Reif of the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee; Frank Vargo of the National Association of Manufacturers; and Sidney

Weintraub of Center for Strategic and International Studies.

- ▶ On February 6, the Dialogue hosted a breakfast roundtable with World Bank Chief Economist Guillermo Perry and his colleagues Daniel Lederman and William Maloney along with Joaquín Vial of Harvard University to discuss their recently published report on the implications for growth and employment of Latin America's chosen path of integration into the global economy. On September 9, the Dialogue and the World Bank held a seminar on NAFTA and economic convergence in North America.
- ▶ Integrating North America, a joint project of institutions from the three NAFTA countries—the Dialogue, Brookings Institution, and National Policy Association from the United States; Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales and ITAM from Mexico; Public Policy Forum, Conference Board of Canada, and the Policy Research Initiative from Canada. On April 30, there was a meeting to follow up on a major conference for the project that took place in December of the previous year. Participants discussed the upcoming publication and what more should be done on this topic. *The Future of North American Integration: Beyond NAFTA*, edited by Peter Hakim and Robert Litan, was published by Brookings Institution Press in 2002.
- ▶ On February 7, the Dialogue, in conjunction with *Foreign Affairs in Español*, hosted U.S. Trade Representative Robert Zoellick. He provided a wide ranging review of U.S. trade policy in the hemisphere, and an assessment of the important opportunities for and obstacles to progress. In addition to promoting region-wide trade liberalization by January 2005, Zoellick assured that the United States is seriously pursuing bilateral trade negotiations with Chile.

“ USTR Robert Zoellick assured that the U.S. is pursuing bilateral trade negotiations with Chile ”

“ Orozco’s  
Senate testimony  
underlined the high  
cost incurred by  
Latin American  
immigrants when  
sending money to  
relatives ”

- ▶ The Dialogue held a roundtable discussion on June 6 with José Antonio Ocampo, executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). Ocampo led a discussion on what it will take—nationally, regionally, and internationally—to share the benefits of globalization, and to strengthen the quality of Latin American and Caribbean participation in world economic affairs.

### Remittances

- ▶ On May 16, the Dialogue organized a meeting of the major money transmitting companies, NGO and Latino community leaders, and policy officials. The purpose of the meeting was to increase the participants’ understanding of the range of issues surrounding the flow of remittances to the region, including their impact on development; reducing transaction costs; and the effect of regulations on competition among money transfer companies.
- ▶ Dialogue Associate Manuel Orozco presented in Port au Prince, Haiti, Kingston, Jamaica, and Havana, Cuba, the findings of his research on the developmental impact of remittances to Latin America and the Caribbean.
- ▶ Manuel Orozco gave testimony on remittances before the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs on February 28. His testimony underlined the high cost incurred by Latin American immigrants in the United States when sending money to relatives.
- ▶ Manuel Orozco published “Globalization and Migration: The Impact of Family Remittances to Latin America,” in *Latin American Politics and Society*, Summer 2002; and “Globalización y migración: el impacto de las remesas familiares a América Latina,” in *El Mundo de los Negocios*, Santo Domingo, N. 112.

### Telecommunications And Energy

- ▶ On June 12, Argentina’s former secretary of communications, Henocho Aguiar, led a discussion for telecom industry executives and investors on regulatory issues affecting the telecommunications sector in Latin America.
- ▶ On May 16, the Dialogue hosted a roundtable event on the troubled state of the telecommunications sector in Latin America. The exchange focussed on the lack of capital and financing accessible to the telecom sector, as well as regulatory challenges. *Latin America Advisor* editor Robert Simpson moderated the discussion, which featured panelists Marilyn Ehrhardt of Vitria Technology, Bob Lacy of Worldcom, and Umberto Pisoni of International Finance Corporation.
- ▶ On August 6, the Dialogue hosted senior energy industry executives and leading economists for a discussion on strategic hydrocarbon integration in the Americas, led by Ramón Espinasa of the Inter-American Development Bank and Luis Guisti, former president of Venezuela’s state oil company PDVSA. Latin America has the capacity to meet the large U.S. demand for gas, but governments will have to open up to increased foreign investment.

### Social Policy

#### *Washington Contentious: Policies for Social Equity*

On June 13, the Dialogue and the Center for Global Development (CGD) convened a day-long workshop in Washington to launch a major outreach effort to galvanize attention and political support for the proposals set out in the 2001 Dialogue report *Washington Contentious: Economic Policies for Social Equity in Latin America*, written by CGD president Nancy Birdsall and Augusto

de la Torre, Ecuador's former central bank governor. Four themes dominated the discussions: tearing down trade barriers; hazards and inequities of the international financial markets; privatization, corruption and governance; and growth after reform.

Speakers and panelists included President Jorge Quiroga Ramírez of Bolivia; Rep. Cass Ballenger (R-NC); Chile's former Minister of Labor Rene Cortázar; World Bank Vice President for Latin America David de Ferranti; IDB Chief Economist Guillermo Calvo; Stanford University Professor Terry Karl; Harvard University Professor Robert Lawrence; and Oxfam International's Simon Ticehurst, among others.

The workshop's findings and conclusions will contribute to a new edition of *Washington Contentious*, to be published by the Dialogue and the Center in early 2003.

### **Race Issues In The Americas**

The Dialogue program on race seeks to raise the visibility of race issues in Latin America and encourage policy responses to the challenges confronting Latin Americans of African descent. The Dialogue serves as the secretariat of the Inter-Agency Consultation on Race in Latin America (IAC), a coalition of development agencies concerned about race and development in the Americas.

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

In 2002, the work of IAC participating institutions had four goals: to foster initiatives to overcome social exclusion and discrimination; to use the Millennium Development Goals and the declarations of the 2001 UN race conference in Durban, South Africa and its regional preparatory meeting in 2000 in Santiago, Chile to measure the progress of Afro-Latins; to create opportunities to strengthen the capacity and influence of Afro-Latin American

leaders, and of Afro-descendant organizations; and to share information, analyses, and experiences of organizations that engage issues of race.

► The ten institutions that form the Inter-Agency Consultation on Race convened for their third annual meeting on June 19 and 20 at the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO). Participants examined the implications of race for education and health policy and discussed how traditional human rights mechanisms could advance racial equality. PAHO Director George Alleyne gave the keynote address. IAC members also discussed the Ford Foundation proposal that grant applicants create "racial impact statements." Participants included George A. O. Alleyne, Pan-American Health Organization; Myrna Cunningham, Universidad de las Regiones Autonomas de la Costa Caribe Nicaragüense; David de Ferranti, World Bank; K. Burke Dillon, Inter-American Development Bank; Robert Husbands, United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights; Alan Jenkins and Sara Rios, The Ford Foundation; Shelby Lewis, United Negro College Fund Special Programs Corporation; Diva Moreira, Woodrow Wilson Center; Romero Rodriguez, Mundo Afro; and Lynn Walker-Huntley, Southern Education Foundation.

► On October 15, the IAC with the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) co-sponsored a discussion led by Spelman College Professor Sheila Walker on the contributions of Afro-descendants throughout Latin America. Congressman John Conyers (D-MI), President and CEO of NCLR Raul Yzaguirre, and Venezuelan Chief of Mission Luis Herrera Marcano participated. Last December, the IAC sponsored a book launching for Walker's *African Roots, American Cultures: Africa in the Creation of the Americas*.

## **“The Dialogue seeks to raise the visibility of race issues in Latin America”**

““The Dialogue’s  
education program  
issued *Lagging  
Behind: A  
Report Card on  
Education in Latin  
America*””

- ▶ In November, Dialogue staff participated in the Todos Contamos II conference in Lima, Peru organized by the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, which focused on developing national statistics for racial and ethnic groups.

*The Dialogue Program on Race*

- ▶ In late June, the Dialogue hosted two Afro-Latin American legislators—Dialogue member Epsy Campbell of Costa Rica and Luiz Alberto Silva dos Santos of Brazil—and arranged a series of meetings for them in Washington and New York City. Campbell and Silva dos Santos met with the U.S. Congressional Black Caucus as special luncheon guests of Charles Rangel (D-NY) and William Jefferson (D-LA). The OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights hosted a meeting for them with representatives of human rights groups, civil rights organizations, and multilateral banks. The two legislators also spoke in New York City.
- ▶ On April 4, the Dialogue sponsored a meeting on law, human rights, and race in Latin America. The discussion was led by Gastón Chillier of the International Human Rights Law Group, Ariel E. Dulitzky of the OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, and Macarena Tamayo-Calabrese of the American Bar Association.
- ▶ On June 6, the Dialogue organized a meeting with representatives of U.S. civil rights groups and African-American organizations to encourage them to give significant attention to the problems of Afro-Latin Americans.
- ▶ On October 28 and 29, the IAC along with the Dialogue’s Partnership for Educational Revitalization in the Americas (PREAL), and the Group for Development Analysis (GRADE) organized a

conference in Lima, Peru, on ethnicity, race, gender and education.

- ▶ The Dialogue’s race program director Luiz Barcelos published on the issues: “La Sociedad Civil Redefiniendo las Relaciones Raciales en Brasil: La Movilización de los Grupos Negros,” *El 3er Actor: La Revista del Tercer Sector* (Chile), Spring 2002; and “Race Relations Among College Students in Rio de Janeiro,” *Brazil National Political Science Review*, Vol. 9, 2003.

**Education Reform**

- ▶ The Dialogue’s education program—the Partnership for Educational Revitalization in the Americas (PREAL)—issued a report, *Lagging Behind: A Report Card on Education in Latin America*, in Spanish, English and Portuguese, and distributed the document throughout the region. The report is endorsed by PREAL’s regional Task Force on Education, Equity, and Economic Competitiveness.
- ▶ In collaboration with expert policy centers in three countries, PREAL also launched national report cards: in Honduras (with the Fundación para la Educación Ricardo Ernesto Maduro Andreu-FEREMA); in Guatemala (with the Centro de Investigaciones Económicas Nacionales-CIEN and the Fundación Soros); and in El Salvador (with Centro Alfa).
- ▶ PREAL’s Task Force on Education Reform in Central America met in El Salvador in December to review the first draft of its education report card, scheduled for publication in 2003. The meeting was hosted by Task Force chair Cecilia Gallardo, editor-in-chief of *La Prensa Gráfica* and former minister of education, and Roberto Murray Meza, president of the AGRISAL Group and member of the Dialogue’s Board of Directors.



Rossana Castrellón, former head of the Panamanian Private Enterprise Council (CONEP) and Humberto Belli, former Nicaraguan minister of education, were chosen as incoming co-chairs.

- ▶ With support from the Inter-American Development Bank, PREAL continued its program of study tours, designed to acquaint outstanding teachers and community leaders from the region's poorer countries with educational innovations emerging elsewhere. Two groups of twelve to fifteen participants visited programs in Mexico, Guatemala and El Salvador.
- ▶ With support from the Global Development Network, PREAL launched the Latin American Education Research Fund, an annual research competition designed to improve education policy and strengthen research capacity. The program approved seven winners in 2002 and organized the second round of competition.
- ▶ At a conference in Guatemala City in March, PREAL launched a book of case studies on private education in Latin America, *Educación privada y política pública en América Latina*. Guatemala's Minister of Education, Mario Torres, opened the conference, which brought together researchers and analysts from Argentina, Chile, and Colombia, along with every country in Central America.
- ▶ PREAL expanded its efforts to promote greater effort by the private sector to address national education problems. The program has established business-education initiatives in four Central American countries (Panama, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Honduras) and is working to establish similar efforts in El Salvador and the Dominican Republic. It organized, in Guatemala City in November, the First Central American Conference of Business Leaders for Education. Nicanor Restrepo,

president of Suramericana de Inversiones, co-president of the Latin American Basic Education Initiative (LABEI) and member of the Inter-American Dialogue, gave the keynote address.

- ▶ PREAL participated in a meeting of national and multinational corporations in Miami in February to develop plans for the Latin American Basic Education Initiative (LABEI) in collaboration with the Latin American Business Council (CEAL). PREAL is providing the group with policy analysis and data, and developing its web-page.
- ▶ In October PREAL organized an International Conference on Ethnicity, Race, Gender and Education in Latin America, in conjunction with the Inter-Agency Consultation on Race in Latin America (IAC) and the Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo (GRADE) in Lima, Peru. PREAL will publish an edited volume of the papers and proceedings in 2003.
- ▶ PREAL's regional Working Group on Education Standards and Assessment organized a workshop on the use and dissemination of national achievement test scores for a meeting of the national coordinators of the Latin American Laboratory for the Evaluation of Educational Quality in Panama in May, sponsored by UNESCO. The group also completed a policy brief on how Latin American governments publicize test scores, which will be published by PREAL in 2003.

## Democratic Governance

- ▶ In 2002, Michael Shifter began writing a book on political leadership in Latin America. In the February 2003 issue of *Current History*, Shifter published "Latin America's New Political Leaders: Walking on a Wire" that contains some preliminary ideas on the topic.



**promoted greater effort by the private sector to address national education problems**

““ The Dialogue  
launched a new  
project on  
access to  
information ””

- ▶ In 2002, the thirteen contributing authors made final revisions to the second edition of *Constructing Democratic Governance*. This book project is co-directed by Dialogue member Jorge Domínguez of Harvard University and Michael Shifter. The authors examine challenges to democratic governance faced by Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Mexico, Argentina, and Chile, as well as such issues as political leadership, weak institutions, the widespread collapse of traditional political parties, civil-military relations, labor and unemployment, women's participation in politics, public opinion, market reforms, and executive-legislative relations. The book will be published by Johns Hopkins University Press early in 2003.
- ▶ On October 8, the Dialogue and the Inter-American Development Bank co-hosted a combined book launching—*Democracies in Development: Politics and Reform in Latin America*—and symposium on democratic governance and institutional reform in Latin America. The authors, Daniel Zovatto from International IDEA and Fernando Carrillo and Mark Payne from the IDB, presented their work. Commentary was offered by Thomas Carothers of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Daniel Kaufmann of the World Bank Institute, and Michael Shifter.
- ▶ The Dialogue and World Bank hosted a discussion on July 17 with Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto. De Soto addressed the central theme of his newest book, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*.
- ▶ On May 29, the Dialogue and Tomas Rivera Policy Institute (TRPI) hosted a discussion on Latinos and U.S. foreign policy. Panelists included Jorge Domínguez of Harvard University, Richard Betts of Columbia University,

Armand Peschard-Sverdrup of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and Michael Shifter.

- ▶ The Brookings Institution and *Foreign Policy* magazine joined with the Dialogue in sponsoring an October 31st roundtable discussion with Marta Lagos, founder of Latinobarómetro, who presented the findings from their 2002 survey of Latin American public opinion. Vice President of Brookings Carol Graham offered commentary.

### Press Freedom in the Americas

- ▶ The Dialogue project on press freedom in the Americas held a third meeting of some 40 editors, journalists, scholars, publishers, and government officials from Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States on April 22 and 23 in Miami, Florida. The purpose of the meeting was to complete a report on ways to reduce intimidation and harassment of journalists, advance constitutional and legal measures to protect the media and access to information, and generally to improve the quality of the press. The meeting also launched a new Dialogue project on access to information issues. Participants included Dialogue members Oliver Clarke, chairman of the Gleaner publishing company of Jamaica, Jack Fuller, president of the Tribune Publishing Company, and Alberto Iburguen, publisher of *The Miami Herald*; along with Walter Alban Peralta, ombudsman of Peru; Manuel José Cepeda, justice on the Colombian Constitutional Court; Senator Jaime Gazmuri of Chile; Claudio Grossman, dean of the Washington College of Law; Mark Hallett of McCormick Tribune Foundation; and Marcos Libedinsky, justice on the Supreme Court of Chile, among others.
- ▶ The Dialogue released the final report of this three-year project, *Advancing Democracy through Press Freedom in the Americas*, at a session chaired by Congressman

James Leach (R-IA) on Capitol Hill on November 13. The discussion was led by Jack Fuller, Dialogue member, president of the Tribune Publishing company, and Board member of the Inter American Press Association (IAPA); Congressman Xavier Becerra (D-CA) also participated in the discussion. Representatives from Freedom House, Committee to Protect Journalists, and the office of the OAS Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression presented findings from their reports on the topic.

- ▶ In collaboration with the OAS Office of the Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression, the Asociación por los Derechos Civiles (ADC), and the Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales (CELS) of Argentina, the Dialogue hosted a conference in mid-December in Buenos Aires on access to information. Participants included U.S. Congressman Jim Moran (D-VA), Senators Hugo Carvajal of Bolivia and Jaime Gazmuri of Chile, six legislators from Argentina, and Dialogue members José Octavio Bordon, with the ministry of economy; José María Dagnino Pastore, president of Consultas y Emprendimientos; and Beatriz Nofal, former legislator and under-secretary of commerce; along with judges, ombudsmen, publishers, journalists, and NGO leaders from around the hemisphere. The meeting generated draft recommendations for access to information laws in Latin America and the Caribbean.

## Other Policy Exchanges

- ▶ Nancy Birdsall of the Center for Global Development and John Williamson of the Institute for International Economics joined Dialogue staff for a press roundtable on August 7 to discuss recent developments in U.S. policy toward Latin America. Participants discussed the manageability of Brazil's debt and the symbolic importance of the Uruguay bailout.

Some argued that Brazil would be the bellwether for Bush administration policy.

- ▶ On March 20, the Dialogue hosted a press roundtable on President Bush's planned trip to Mexico, Peru and El Salvador.
- ▶ On May 10, the Dialogue joined with the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL) to host a day-long, follow-up seminar on the 2001 Summit of the Americas. The group reviewed the Inter-American Democratic Charter, the role of multilateral development banks in framing social policy, free trade in the Americas, and issues related to hemispheric security cooperation. Speakers included César Gaviria, Organization of American States; Roger Noriega, Permanent Mission of the United States to the OAS; John Maisto, National Security Council; and Marc Lortie, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, among others.
- ▶ The Inter-American Dialogue joined with the World Affairs Councils of the Americas to bring attention across the United States to key economic issues affecting the future of Western Hemisphere affairs. The initiative provides local officials and opinion leaders in major U.S. cities the opportunity to meet and exchange ideas with policymakers and leading analysts from the United States and Latin America. The inaugural event took place in Pittsburgh on September 25, with keynote addresses by Assistant United States Trade Representative Peter Allgeier and Chilean Ambassador Andrés Bianchi. Peter Hakim participated as keynote speaker in Dallas and San Antonio on October 15 and 16. Other speakers were USTR official Ira Shapiro and OAS Trade Unit Director José Manuel Salazar. During their stay in each city, speakers are involved in a series of activities, including speaking to a significant audience of

“The Dialogue and the World Affairs Councils brought trade policy makers to major U.S. cities”

““ Colombia’s  
President Alvaro  
Uribe was special  
guest at a  
September 24  
breakfast ””

World Affairs Council members; leading seminars at local universities; participating in discussions with corporate leaders, and city and state officials; and being interviewed on local radio and television, as well as meeting with the editorial boards of local newspapers.

## Country and Sub-Regional Programs

### Colombia

#### *Colombia Working Group*

On September 13 and 14, the Inter-American Dialogue held the third meeting of the Colombia Working Group. Members from Latin America, Europe, Canada, and the United States gathered to explore ways of helping Colombia address its multiple problems. Discussions focused on core challenges facing the Uribe administration, Colombia’s economic outlook, issues of human rights and security, the administration’s proposals for political reform, and the role of the international community. Participants met with U.S. Congressman Jim Moran (D-VA), National Security Council advisor John Maisto, and chief economist for Latin America and the Caribbean at the World Bank, Guillermo Perry. Working group members include four Dialogue members—former minister of foreign affairs Diego García-Sayan of Peru; former FMLN leader Joaquín Villalobos; former minister Fernando Cepeda of Colombia; and advisor to President Fox, Andrés Rozental of Mexico—as well as Senator Rafael Pardo of Colombia; Venezuelan scholar Miriam Kornblith; Oxford professor and historian Malcolm Deas; Brazilian analyst Monica Hirst, among others. The group has published working papers on the conflict in Colombia, the peace negotiations, and prospects for peace in Colombia.

- ▶ Colombia’s President Alvaro Uribe was special guest at a September 24 breakfast discussion co-sponsored by the

Inter-American Dialogue and several other Washington institutions. In Washington on his first official visit as president, Uribe spoke about Colombia’s deteriorating economic and security conditions and on the need to reduce public expenditures and increase fiscal revenues. Uribe underscored the three pillars guiding his administration: strengthening the military to enhance security, reforming state institutions, and reviving the economy.

- ▶ The Dialogue hosted Uribe’s Minister of Foreign Affairs Carolina Barco on December 12 for a policy forum. She explained how the Uribe administration’s democratic security strategy is integrated. Barco underscored the importance of sustained U.S. attention to the hemisphere, especially Colombia’s complex problems.
- ▶ On July 30, the Dialogue hosted Minister of Finance Roberto Junguito, who discussed Colombia’s economic challenges within the context of the country’s continuing security problems and political situation.
- ▶ On April 25, the Dialogue hosted a breakfast discussion with Colombian presidential candidate Luis Eduardo Garzón, former president of the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT).
- ▶ Michael Shifter gave testimony on Colombia before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Technology, Terrorism, and Government Information on March 13 and again on April 22 before the House Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere.
- ▶ The situation in Colombia was the subject of several published articles in 2002 by Dialogue staff. Michael Shifter wrote: “Latin America Is Unsettled By Washington’s Rhetoric,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 3; “Tentaciones y lecciones del

proceso de paz,” *Cambio* (Colombia), January 28; “Colombia: Proceso de paz entre la agonía y la esperanza,” *Ideele* (Peru), February; and in Oxford Analytica Latin America Daily Brief (United Kingdom), “Colombia/United States: Uribe Impact” on June 13, and with Victoria Wigodzyk, “Colombia/United States: Military Involvement?” on March 12 and “Colombia/United States: Uribe Visit” on September 30.

### **Bolivia**

- ▶ President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada of Bolivia addressed a session sponsored by the Dialogue and the Center for Global Development on November 12.
- ▶ On September 10, the Dialogue hosted the newly elected vice president of Bolivia, Carlos Mesa, for an exchange on U.S. Bolivia relations, trade issues, and financial and economic challenges.
- ▶ Guido Añez, president of the Bolivia Chamber of Deputies, and two other leaders of the Bolivian House of Deputies—Marlene Fernández and Erick Reyes Villa—spoke at an October 29 breakfast session.

### **Ecuador**

- ▶ On November 1, the Dialogue, in collaboration with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, hosted a lunch discussion with Ecuadorian presidential candidate Lucio Gutierrez. Gutierrez focused his comments on three main problems: corruption, poverty, and a lack of competitiveness. He asserted that major government investment is necessary in education and health care, and acknowledged the importance of foreign investment in agriculture, tourism, and mining. He made clear that he should not be considered a Hugo Chavez. Gutierrez emphasized plans to continue economic

reform efforts, pay Ecuador’s debt, and keep the dollar.

- ▶ Finance Minister Carlos Julio Emanuel of Ecuador addressed a Dialogue policy forum on May 22.
- ▶ On November 20, the Dialogue hosted a discussion on Ecuador’s presidential elections. Speakers included Peter Romero of Violy, Byorum & Partners, LLC; Dialogue Member Roberto Baquerizo of Pro Ventures; and Andrés Mejía Acosta of the Kellogg Institute.

### **Peru**

- ▶ The Dialogue hosted a discussion on economic and political developments in Peru on July 31 with the new Economy Minister Javier Silva Ruete. He laid out Peru’s economic record and stability in comparison to the rest of Latin America.
- ▶ On February 11, the Dialogue hosted former president Valentín Paniagua of Peru. Paniagua, who served as interim leader through July 2001 following Alberto Fujimori’s resignation in November 2000, talked about the need to rebuild constitutional ideals and respect for the rule of law in Peru.
- ▶ On February 6, the Dialogue organized a discussion featuring the top anti-corruption advisor to the Toledo administration, Martín Belaunde Moreyra. The session focused on the challenges of transparency and accountability in the context of Peru’s democratic transition.
- ▶ Peru’s Prime Minister Roberto Dañino and Ambassador Alan Wagner spoke at the Dialogue’s February 20 trade session on Capital Hill. (See entry under trade on page 4, above.)
- ▶ Michael Shifter analyzed Peru in a series of articles, including “Agenda agitada,”

**“Ecuadorian presidential candidate Lucio Gutierrez made clear that he should not be considered a Hugo Chavez”**

“Two articles  
by Dialogue staff  
appeared on April  
21 in the Sunday  
opinion sections  
of the *New York  
Times* and *The  
Washington  
Post*”

*Perú Económico*, January 5; “Hay tantas razones para visitar el Perú,” *Ideele*, March; “Peru Coming Unraveled,” *The Washington Post*, July 29; “Un hombre y una misión,” *Ideele*, September 23; and “¿Eje del mal o tercera vía?: Las dos caras del liderazgo político en América Latina,” *Ideele*, December.

### Venezuela

- ▶ On April 30, the Dialogue hosted a conference call for *Latin American Advisor* subscribers and Corporate Circle members on political and economic developments in Venezuela featuring Michael Gavin, head of Latin America Research at UBS Warburg, and Michael Shifter.
- ▶ On August 28, the Dialogue hosted Venezuelan politician and journalist Américo Martín who was in Washington as a representative of the coalition of opposition groups in Venezuela.
- ▶ On December 12, four senior representatives of the Venezuelan opposition *Coordinadora Democrática* led a discussion on political developments in crisis-ridden Venezuela. The representatives were Asdrúbal Aguiar, former advisor to the president and president of the National Commission on Human Rights; Carlos Ayala, former chairman, Inter-American Human Rights Commission; Pedro Niken, former chief justice of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights; and Rosario Orellana, former vice minister of external relations.
- ▶ Two articles appeared on April 21 in the Sunday opinion sections of the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. Peter Hakim’s “Democracy and U.S. Credibility” appeared in the *New York Times*, and Michael Shifter’s “Democracy in Venezuela, Unsettling as Ever” in *The Washington Post*. Other articles were “Rescuing Venezuela From the Brink” in *The Washington Post* on November 19 by

Shifter, and “The New Crop of Leaders Is No Cause for U.S. Worry” in *Los Angeles Times* on November 24 by Hakim.

### Cuba

- ▶ For the third consecutive year, the Dialogue arranged for representatives from international financial institutions to participate in the Annual Globalization and Development Meeting in Havana. The Dialogue delegation included three World Bank officials—chief economist for Latin America Guillermo Perry, director of development policy Ian Goldin, and senior economist Luiz Pereira da Silva—as well as Harvard University visiting scholar Ana Julia Jatar and Dan Erikson of the Dialogue. In Cuba, the World Bank officials presented their recent report, *Globalization, Growth and Poverty: Building an Inclusive World Economy*. The delegation met with Vice President Carlos Lage, Central Bank President Francisco Soberón, Minister of the Economy José Luis Rodríguez, and Armando Pérez Betancourt, executive secretary of Business Improvement.
- ▶ On June 7, the Dialogue organized a conference to review the political and economic situation in Cuba and assess Cuba’s relations in the hemisphere. The panels addressed Cuba’s political circumstances, the state of the Cuban economy, and Cuba’s relations with other nations in the Western Hemisphere. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Dan Fisk gave the luncheon address. Panelists included Dialogue member Bernard Aronson and Bill Rogers, former assistant secretaries of state for Latin America; Rubens Barbosa and Allan Wagner, ambassadors from Brazil and Peru; Shahid Javed Burki of EMP Financial Advisors; Dialogue member Jorge Dominguez of Harvard University; Dennis Hays of the Cuban American National Foundation; and Lorenzo Pérez of the IMF.

- ▶ The Dialogue's Cuba Working Group met on October 28 and again on December 19 to discuss current and future initiatives for the project on Cuba and the international financial institutions. Working group chairman Javed Burki was joined by representatives from the International Monetary Fund, Inter-American Development Bank, and World Bank.
- ▶ The Dialogue is currently facilitating a joint research project on social policy in Cuba for the World Bank's World Development Report 2004 on "Making Social Services Work for Poor People."
- ▶ Director of the Dialogue's Cuba project Dan Erikson wrote "The New Cuba Divide" for *The National Interest*, Spring 2002.

### Haiti

- ▶ The Dialogue's May 22 and 23 conference, "Haiti: Challenges in Development Assistance," included bilateral donors, multilateral organizations, members of Congress, as well as two dozen representatives from Haitian civil society organizations. Discussion focused on four topics: Haiti's political context, economic and social challenges, the status of current development assistance, and the role of multilateral institutions. Speakers included OAS Assistant Secretary General Luigi Einaudi; Representative John Conyers (D-MI); Senator Mike DeWine (R-OH); Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Lino Gutiérrez; Eliot Kalter of the IMF; Jacky Lumarque of Quisqueya University; Pierre-Marie Boisson of Sogebank; David Adams of USAID; Orsalia Kalantzopoulos of the World Bank; Gerard Johnson of the IDB; and Yves Petillon of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).
- ▶ In August, Peter Hakim and Dan Erikson traveled to Haiti for meetings with Haitian government officials, opposition leaders, civil society, and representatives of donor governments and international organizations.
- ▶ On October 30, the Dialogue hosted a breakfast discussion with Roger Noriega, U.S. permanent representative to the Organization of American States. Noriega spoke about OAS efforts to resolve the political stalemate in Haiti.

### Central America

- ▶ On May 21, the Dialogue organized a conference on Capitol Hill on political and economic trends in Central America, development assistance to the region, trade and integration, and migration and remittances. Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT) opened the meeting. Panels were chaired by Senator Mike DeWine (R-OH), and Representatives Mark Souder (R-IN) and Jim Moran (D-VA). The luncheon presentation was made by John Maisto of the National Security Council. Panelists included Dialogue members Eduardo Stein, former foreign minister of Guatemala, and Joaquín Villalobos, former FMLN leader of El Salvador; Vice President Carlos Quintanilla Schmidt of El Salvador; Peter Kranstover, USAID; Pablo Schneider, Central American Bank for Economic Integration; Miguel Martínez and Donald Terry, Inter-American Development Bank; Amb. René León of El Salvador; José Manuel Salazar, Organization of American States; and Mario Arana, Special Assistant to the Nicaraguan Presidency.
- ▶ The Dialogue hosted a discussion with Guatemalan President Alfonso Portillo on February 11. President Portillo brought attention to the adverse economic setbacks due to the coffee crisis, the drought, and the international economic recession.
- ▶ The Dialogue hosted a discussion on March 28 with former U.S. Ambassador

“**Guatemalan President Portillo brought attention to the adverse economic setbacks**”

“ Dialogue  
 president Peter  
 Hakim gave  
 testimony on  
 Argentina’s financial  
 crisis before the  
 Senate ”

to Costa Rica Tom Dodd on the second round of national elections.

- ▶ On June 14, Costa Rican Trade Minister Alberto Trejos and his special trade advisor, Anabel Gonzalez, presented the trade agenda of the newly inaugurated president, Abel Pacheco, and discussed the U.S.-Central American free trade agreement.
- ▶ On October 3, the Dialogue hosted a roundtable discussion on the proposed U.S.-Central American free trade agreement with a delegation of civil society leaders from the region. Speakers included Sinforiano Caseres, general secretary of the National Federation of Cooperatives of Nicaragua (FENACCOOP); Oscar A. Chacón, director of Enlaces América; Frank La Rue, director of the Center for Legal Action in Human Rights (CALDH) in Guatemala; Amado Ordoñez, executive director of the Humboldt Center; Roberto Rubio, director of FUNDE (National Development Foundation) in El Salvador; and Patricia Valdez, technical support in FUNDE for the CID Initiative.
- ▶ Minister of Economy Miguel Lacayo of El Salvador led a discussion on the prospects for a Central America-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) on November 19.
- ▶ Director of the Dialogue’s Central America program Manuel Orozco publishes a weekly column on the issues affecting the region in the Nicaraguan journal *Confidencial*.

**Argentina**

- ▶ On April 10, the Dialogue hosted a breakfast discussion with Eduardo Amadeo, spokesman for Argentine President Eduardo Duhalde. Amadeo said Argentina’s basic strategy was to restore credibility and confidence in the country.
- ▶ Former President Carlos Saúl Menem of Argentina addressed a Dialogue luncheon on June 12. Menem argued that, to tackle the crisis, Argentina must go forward with dollarization, attract foreign capital back into the country, and attack the main culprit for the nation’s problems: lack of leadership.
- ▶ The Dialogue sponsored an October 23 roundtable discussion on Argentina’s political and economic situation with Santiago Canton of the OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, José Luis Machinea of the Inter-American Development Bank, and Ted Truman of the Institute for International Economics. The outlook for Argentina’s next presidential transition was assessed, as was the economic situation.
- ▶ On January 14, the Dialogue hosted a luncheon discussion with Alberto Ades of Goldman Sachs & Co., Roberto Bouzas of the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), and Claudio Loser of International Monetary Fund (now a Dialogue visiting fellow) to discuss political and economic challenges confronting Argentina.
- ▶ The Dialogue hosted an off-the-record dinner on September 11, 2002, for Dialogue member José Octavio Bordón, who had recently launched his campaign for the presidency of Argentina in 2003. This was an opportunity for a small group of journalists and policy analysts to engage in an informal discussion of Argentina’s political and economic crisis, as well as its elections in the coming year.
- ▶ Dialogue president Peter Hakim gave testimony on Argentina’s financial crisis before the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs on February 28. Hakim’s article, “Aid to Argentina: Strings Attached,” was published in *The Washington Post* on March 5, 2002.



## Brazil

- ▶ On October 1, the CMWG met with a select group of experts on Brazil. Reps. Jim Davis (D-FL), William Jefferson (D-LA), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), Mark Souder (R-IN) and Nick Smith (R-MN) met with Joyce Chang of JP Morgan Chase & Co., Marcos Galvao of the Embassy of Brazil, Guillermo Perry of the World Bank, and Paulo Sotero of *O Estado de São Paulo* to discuss the possible outcomes of the Brazilian elections and their effects on global markets and economic and financial institutions.
- ▶ On November 13, the CMWG had another dinner on the Brazilian elections. Reps. Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), John LaFalce (D-NY), and Jim Moran (D-VA) met with Amb. Rubens Barbosa, Eliana Cardoso of Georgetown University, former U.S. Ambassador Anthony Harrington of Stonebridge International, and Paulo Sotero of *O Estado de São Paulo*.
- ▶ In May, the Dialogue joined with the Inter-American Development Bank's Institute for the Integration of Latin America and the Caribbean (INTAL) and the University of Toronto's Munk Centre for International Studies to organize policy workshops in Brasilia and São Paulo on the Brazilian trade policy making system and the participation of non-state actors in the process. See the discussion under Trade, Finance, and Economic Policy on page 4.)
- ▶ On February 27, the Dialogue and Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) hosted a session on political and economic developments. Leading the roundtable were David Fleischer of ISPN/Brasilia, Riordan Roett of SAIS, and Paulo Sotero, Washington correspondent for *O Estado de São Paulo*.
- ▶ On September 23, Ambassador Rubens Barbosa and Peter Hakim moderated a panel on Brazil's upcoming elections featuring two political analysts, Brazilian Bolívar Lamounier and Timothy Power of Florida International University, and two Brazil economic experts, Alberto Fishlow of Columbia University and John Williamson of the Institute for International Economics.
- ▶ On September 26, David Fleischer of the University of Brasilia led an exchange on the upcoming elections in Brazil and their implications for the country's future.
- ▶ On November 7, the Dialogue organized a breakfast discussion on the outcome of the Brazilian presidential elections. The panel featured Ambassador Rubens Barbosa, Riordan Roett of SAIS, and *O Estado de São Paulo* journalist Paulo Sotero. The discussion centered on what measures the incoming Lula administration will take, how domestic and international actors—especially financial markets—will react to them, and their possible impact on U.S.-Brazil bilateral relations.
- ▶ Three articles published in 2002 by Peter Hakim addressed issues facing Brazil, "Which Lula For Brazil?" *The Washington Post*, October 8; "Two Ways to Go Global," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February; and "The New Crop of Leaders Is No Cause for U.S. Worry," *Los Angeles Times*, November 24. Manual Orozco also wrote, "Lula, la izquierda y Washington" in the Nicaraguan journal, *Confidencial* on November 17.

## Chile

- ▶ Heraldo Muñoz, Chilean secretary general of government, discussed recent political and economic developments at a Dialogue roundtable on September 17. He noted that Chile's future is dependent upon the recovery of economic growth in the United States and the world, the government's ability to reach agreement with the opposition on broad issues, and the

“The Dialogue’s  
Congressional  
Working Group met  
twice on Brazil’s  
elections”

“**Andrés Rozental, advisor to President Fox, raised concern over reduced U.S. focus on the region**”

renovation of the *Concertación*, Chile’s governing coalition.

- ▶ The Dialogue discussed the Chile Free Trade Agreement in a variety of forums, including the September 5 and 6 CAF Conference on Trade and Investment in the Americas and the November 23 conference, “Bridging the Divide: Toward a Consensus on Free Trade in the Americas.” The May 8 meeting of The Trade Policy Group focused the issues in the U.S.-Chile free trade negotiations, and included a presentation by Alex Foxley of the Embassy of Chile. The February 20 conference in the U.S. Senate on trade negotiations included discussion of the FTA with Chile and featured Ambassador Andrés Bianchi and Assistant USTR Regina Vargo as panelists. On February 7, the Dialogue, in conjunction with *Foreign Affairs in Español*, hosted U.S. Trade Representative Robert Zoellick, who focused a portion of his remarks on the U.S. pursuit of bilateral trade negotiations with Chile. The inaugural event of the Dialogue’s joint initiative with the World Affairs Councils of the Americas—designed to bring attention across the United States to key economic issues affecting the future of Western Hemisphere affairs—took place in Pittsburgh on September 25, with a keynote address by Ambassador Andrés Bianchi.

### **Mexico**

- ▶ On February 6, Dialogue member Andrés Rozental, president of the Mexican Council of International Relations and advisor to President Fox, addressed a select group of policy analysts on Mexico’s role in Latin America. Rozental raised concern over the reduced U.S. focus on the region and the substantial change in the bilateral security agenda after 9/11.
- ▶ On April 16, the Dialogue held a breakfast discussion with Eduardo Medina

Mora, director general of Mexico’s Center for Research and National Security (CISEN). Medina Mora led a focused exchange on border programs and security matters related to Mexico.

- ▶ On September 16, the Dialogue hosted an informal discussion on Mexican foreign policy and U.S.-Mexican relations with the editor-in-chief of *Foreign Affairs in Español*, Rafael Fernández de Castro. He argued that Mexico has to become more active and on the offensive—otherwise, it will never get back on the U.S. agenda.
- ▶ The Dialogue hosted Jeffrey Davidow, former U.S. ambassador to Mexico, for a discussion on U.S.-Mexican Relations on November 15.
- ▶ With the Mexican Cultural Center, the Dialogue hosted a December 11 discussion of Mexico’s foreign policy in the first two years of Vicente Fox’s presidency. The session presented the book, *Cambio y Continuidad en la Política Exterior de México*. Panelists included book editor Rafael Fernández de Castro; Dolia Estevez of *El Financiero*; Carlos Rico of Embassy of Mexico; and Miguel Ruiz Cabañas of the Mission of Mexico to the OAS.
- ▶ In 2002, the Brookings Institution published the book, *The Future of North American Integration: Beyond NAFTA*, edited by Peter Hakim and Robert Litan, director of Brookings’ Economic Studies Program. The book resulted from a joint project of institutions from the three NAFTA countries: Brookings, the Dialogue, and National Policy Association from the United States; Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales and ITAM from Mexico; Public Policy Forum, Conference Board of Canada, and the Policy Research Initiative from Canada.

## Leadership Networks

### Legislative Initiatives

The Dialogue continued its work to engage legislators throughout the hemisphere in discussions on inter-American relations and critical issues facing policymakers in the region. Principally through two programs—the Congressional Members Working Group on the Americas and the Inter-American Network of Legislators—the Dialogue was able to engage more than 50 legislators in eighteen meetings.

#### *Congressional Members Working Group on the Americas (CMWG)*

In addition to regular dinner discussions, CMWG members participated in Dialogue seminars on Haiti and Central America, social policy and press freedom. They also participated in the Dialogue's Sol Linowitz Forum, and in dinner meetings with the Board. Members also spoke with participants in the Dialogue's Colombia Working Group and at a session with the Andean Development Corporation.

- ▶ The CMWG hosted the foreign ministers of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru on February 12 on Capitol Hill. Senator Bob Graham (D-FL) and Reps. Bill Delahunt (D-MA), Phil English (R-PA), Jim Moran (D-VA), and Mark Souder (R-IN) hosted Foreign Ministers Guillermo Fernández De Soto of Colombia, Heinz Moeller Freile of Ecuador, Gustavo Fernández Saavedra of Bolivia, and Diego García-Sayán of Peru. Discussion focused mainly on the Andean Trade Preference Act.
- ▶ On April 9, the CMWG organized a dinner discussion on Colombia and possible changes in U.S. policy hosted by Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT) and Representative Cass Ballenger (R-NC). Reps. Joseph Crowley (D-NY), William Delahunt (D-

MA), Sam Farr (D-CA), and Mark Souder (R-IN) were joined by Ambassador Luis Alberto Moreno of Colombia, John Biehl and Mark Schneider of the International Crisis Group, Janice O'Connell of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Alexander Watson.

- ▶ On October 1, the CMWG met with a select group of experts on Brazil. Reps. Jim Davis (D-FL), William Jefferson (D-LA), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), Mark Souder (R-IN) and Nick Smith (R-MN) met with Joyce Chang of JP Morgan Chase & Co., Marcos Galvao of the Embassy of Brazil, Guillermo Perry of the World Bank and Paulo Sotero of *O Estado de São Paulo* to discuss the possible outcomes of the Brazilian elections and their effects on global markets and economic and financial institutions.
- ▶ On November 13, the CMWG had another dinner on the Brazilian elections. Reps. Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), John LaFalce (D-NY), and Jim Moran (D-VA) met with Amb. Rubens Barbosa, Eliana Cardoso of Georgetown University, former U.S. Ambassador Anthony Harrington of Stonebridge International, and Paulo Sotero of *O Estado de São Paulo*.

#### *Inter-American Network of Legislators*

There were two occasions to bring together members of the Inter-American Network of Legislators. Four network members from the United States, Mexico, Colombia, Chile, and Peru joined other legislators from Peru for a regional meeting on democracy, governance and civil society held in Lima and convened by the UNDP, the Open Society Institute, and *Transparencia-Peru*. On the other occasion, five network members from the United States, Bolivia, Chile and Argentina joined a seminar on freedom of information, held in December in Buenos Aires.

“The Dialogue was able to engage more than 50 legislators in eighteen meetings”

““The Dialogue has commissioned surveys on the status of women in corporate management in seven Latin American countries””

### **Women’s Leadership Conference of the Americas (WLCA)**

- ▶ On July 17, the Dialogue hosted a roundtable discussion with fifteen women leaders in Washington from Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and Peru as part of the Vital Voices Global Leadership Institute. The discussion focused on the research produced by the WLCA on women’s leadership in politics and the foreign policy arena.
- ▶ The WLCA conducted research, under the direction of University of Maryland Professor Virginia Bouvier, to measure women’s influence and success in the field of international relations—in national governments and international organizations.
- ▶ In collaboration with Sylvia Maxfield of the Simmons Graduate School of Management, the Dialogue has commissioned surveys on the status of women in corporate management in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, El Salvador, and Venezuela.

### **The Group of Fifty (G-50)**

The Group of Fifty—an initiative co-sponsored by the Inter-American Dialogue and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace—is composed of a select group of executives from the most important private sector companies in the Americas. They have been meeting since 1994.

- ▶ The G-50 held its ninth annual meeting in Washington, D.C. and Keswick, Virginia from September 25 to 29, 2002. Nearly fifty members and special guests were joined by senior administration officials from President Bush’s Latin American team, including National Security Council advisor John Maisto and Assistant Secretary of State Otto Reich, as well as the heads of international institutions, OAS Secretary General César Gaviria, CAF President and CEO

Enrique García, and IDB President Enrique Iglesias. Former Bolivian President Jorge Quiroga Ramírez and former Peruvian Prime Minister Roberto Dañino also participated.

The opening scenario exercises examined sequences of events worldwide and how they will influence G-50 members, their companies, and their countries. Moderated by David Rothkopf, CEO of Intellibrige Corporation, distinguished experts on global and regional affairs participated, including Andrés Allamand, of the Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez in Chile; Dennis Ross, director of The Washington Institute for Near East Policy; David Sanger, senior White House correspondent for *The New York Times*; and Anoop Singh, director-designate of the Western Hemisphere department at the International Monetary Fund.

In sessions such as “Can Latin American Businesses Compete?” and “Confronting Security Threats in the Private Sector,” G-50 members and their guests examined what steps can be taken to identify areas of vulnerability and mitigate risk with renowned authorities such as Jules Kroll, executive chairman of the Board of Kroll Inc., and James Woolsey, former director of the CIA. During the session “The Crisis in U.S. Capitalism and What it Means for Latin America” the discussions were led by William H. Donaldson, co-founder of Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette and former chairman and CEO of the New York Stock Exchange. (Please see full agenda attached as Appendix IV.)

- ▶ In 2002, the G-50 also conducted two conference call discussions. In February the group discussed Argentina’s economic crisis with Michael Gavin, executive director of emerging markets research at UBS Warburg; Ricardo Hausmann, professor at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University; and Allen Meltzer, The Allen H. Meltzer Professor of Political Economy at Carnegie Mellon

University and Visiting Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. The G-50 also considered “The Global Outlook and the Consequences for Latin America” in December with Richard Lapper, Latin American editor of the *Financial Times* and David Malpass, chief global economist at Bear Stearns and Co.

## Corporate Programs

The Dialogue’s corporate program took account of the shaken business environment in the region. The *Latin America Advisor*—the Dialogue’s daily flagship publication—provides CEOs and other top executives from throughout the hemisphere with summary news and expert analysis every morning on major political and financial developments in the Americas. Subscribers can pose questions they want answered to a distinguished board of leaders in business, finance and politics. In addition, the Dialogue’s corporate program produced a range of events, conference calls, private briefings and time-sensitive publications. Executives at Bausch & Lomb, Banco Popular Dominicano, Timberland, Pearson Education and numerous others joined the corporate circle membership—now numbering well over 100 companies—for the first time in 2002.

- ▶ Private briefings with Inter-American Dialogue senior staff were organized on behalf of corporate circle member executives at several multinational companies to discuss a range of issues and concerns relating to their operations and new developments in the region.
- ▶ Individuals rotating onto the *Latin America Advisor* newsletter boards in 2002 included Mercedes Barreras at Nextel, Marta Castelli at Standard & Poor’s, Marilyn Ehrhardt at SabiaNet, Paul Laudicina at AT Kearney, Graham Makohoniuk at Globalvest Management, Robin Palmer at BearingPoint, Jose Antonio Rios at Global Crossing, Efrain Rivera at

Bausch & Lomb, and Tony Smith at Schmeltzer Aptaker & Shepard.

- ▶ More than 200 subscriber and editorial queries were addressed by the *Latin America Advisor*’s board of distinguished leaders in business, finance and politics. An additional 50 queries on the region’s evolving telecommunications sector alone were published in the weekly *Latin America Telecom Advisor* in the course of the year.
- ▶ “Forecasting Latin America in 2003,” an informal *Latin America Advisor* survey in December of more than a dozen economists and policy analysts, was published and circulated widely.
- ▶ The *Latin America Advisor* provided special coverage of Brazil’s elections during the months leading up to the election in October of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva through a weekly analysis feature by David Fleischer at the University of Brasília.
- ▶ The corporate circle hosted several special events: a global conference call on Venezuela for 100 guests shortly after the violent April coup attempt; a roundtable on the state of the telecommunications sector in Latin America; a discussion for telecom industry executives and investors with Argentina’s former secretary of communications, Henocho Aguiar; a session on strategic hydrocarbon integration in the Americas; and two discussions on Argentina’s political and economic situation.

## Publications

### Books

Peter Hakim and Robert Litan, eds., *The Future of North American Integration: Beyond NAFTA* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2002).

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“Colombia: Negotiate but What?” by Joaquín Villalobos, June 2002.

“Reflections on the Colombian Conflict: A Rapporteur’s Report of the Colombia Working Group,” by Daniel Mack and Victoria Wigodzyk, June 2002.

“Cuba: What Next?” by Daniel Erikson and Peter Wolf, October 2002.

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#### **Peter Hakim**

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## **Michael Shifter**

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## **Michael Shifter and Victoria Wigodsky**

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## **Luiz Barcelos**

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## **Dan Erikson**

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### **Manuel Orozco**

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‘La política es local’,” May 26; “Los Latinos y la política exterior de Estados Unidos,” June 9; “El realismo de lo posible: La lenta marcha de CA hacia el TLC con Estados Unidos,” June 23; “No hay visión de largo plazo; riesgo de parálisis en Nicaragua,” June 30; “Nicaragua frente a las paradojas de la ayuda externa,” July 21; “Cuarto creciente o cuarto menguante? Estados Unidos y Latinoamérica ante la situación actual,” August 11; “La doctrina antiterrorista y su repercusión en Centroamérica,” September 1; “Estados Unidos y Cuba: la historia oculta,” October 13; “Centroamérica y el TLC: ¿qué hay de nuevo?” November 3; “Lula, la izquierda y Washington,” November 17; “El rostro humano de la globalización: Remesas y migración, una oportunidad,” November 24; “Washington y Managua: El balance del año Bolaños-Bush,” December 22, 2002.

### **Manuel Orozco and Kenneth Blazewski**

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## 2002 PLENARY MEETING OF THE SOL M. LINOWITZ FORUM

May 16–19, 2002

### AGENDA

#### Thursday, May 16

7:00 p.m.–12:00 a.m.

Dinners hosted by Latin American, Caribbean, Canadian and European Embassies, followed by Gala event at the OAS Hall of the Americas.

#### Friday, May 17

8:45 a.m.–2:00 p.m.

#### Discussions with Bush Administration officials and Members of Congress

Richard Haass, *Director, Policy Planning Staff, State Department*  
 Otto Reich, *Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere*  
 Alan Larson, *Undersecretary of State for Economic, Business, and Agricultural Affairs*  
 Randy Quarles, *Assistant Secretary of Treasury, International Affairs*  
 Jim Moran, *U.S. Representative (D-VA)*

4:30–7:00 p.m.

#### Plenary Session I (Room 200) 20 years of the Inter-American Dialogue

What has changed in hemispheric affairs? What has gone right? What has gone wrong? What are the most important current trends?

#### Saturday, May 18

8:30–9:45 a.m.

#### Plenary Session II (Room 200)

How have the events of Sept. 11 affected hemispheric relations?

9:45 a.m.–6:00 p.m.

#### Plenary Session III—Country Discussions

- Argentina
- Brazil
- Mexico
- Haiti
- Venezuela
- Colombia

7:30–9:30 p.m.

#### Discussion on Cuba

Robert Pastor, *Emory University (who will have just returned from travelling to Cuba with President Jimmy Carter)*  
 Jorge Domínguez, *Harvard University*

9:00–12:00 p.m.

#### Plenary Session IV—Economic and Social Issues (Room 200)

- Reshaping the Washington Consensus: Economic policy as if social equity mattered.
- Free trade in the Americas: Where are we?
- Latin America and the Caribbean's economic future: Can the region achieve stable long-term growth?

**VI ANNUAL  
ANDEAN DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION CONFERENCE (CAF)  
TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN THE AMERICAS**

September 6, 2002—Washington, DC

**AGENDA**

- 8:15–9:00 a.m.      **2002—A Year of Transition in the Andes: Inaugural Remarks**  
L. Enrique García, *Andean Development Corporation*  
César Gaviria, *Organization of American States*
- 9:00–10:15 a.m.    **Economic Developments in the Andean Community**  
Rudy Hommes, *Violy, Byorum & Partners*  
Tobías Nóbrega, *Ministry of Finance of Venezuela*  
Hernán Alonso Perez Kakabadse, *Presidency of Ecuador*  
**Chair:** Fidel Jaramillo, *Andean Development Corporation*
- 10:30–11:45 a.m.   **Political Developments in the Andean Community**  
Milos Alcalay, *Permanent Mission of Venezuela to the United Nations*  
Eduardo Gamarra, *Florida International University*  
Eduardo Pizarro, *Princeton University*  
Victor Rico, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia*  
**Chair:** John Biehl, *International Crisis Group*
- 12:00–1:00 p.m.    **U.S. Policy in the Andes**  
Otto Reich, *Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs*  
Regina Vargo, *Office of the U.S. Trade Representative*  
**Chair:** Michael Shifter, *Inter-American Dialogue*
- 1:00–2:30 p.m.     **Working Lunch: The US Trade Agenda in the Hemisphere and Beyond**  
**Keynote Speaker:** Jorge Fernando Quiroga, *Former President of Bolivia*
- 2:45–4:00 p.m.     **Latin America's Economic Prospects**  
Joyce Chang, *JP Morgan Chase & Co.*  
Juan Ricardo Ortega, *Ministry of Finance of Colombia*  
Richard Lapper, *Financial Times*  
**Chair:** Moisés Naím, *Foreign Policy*
- 4:15–5:30 p.m.     **Challenges to Social Development in Latin America**  
Eduardo Aninat, *International Monetary Fund*  
Nancy Birdsall, *Center for Global Development*  
Dulce Maria Pereira, *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*  
**Chair:** Horst Grebe, *Andean Development Corporation*
- 7:00–9:30 p.m.     **Closing Reception at the Organization of American States**

## BRIDGING THE DIVIDE: TOWARD A CONSENSUS ON FREE TRADE IN THE AMERICAS

November 22–23, 2002–Washington, DC

### AGENDA

#### **Moving Forward on Freeing Trade in the Americas: Key Political Economy Issues in the Western Hemisphere**

Alejandro Foxley, *Senate of Chile*

Carla Hills, *Hills & Company*

Peter Hakim, *Inter-American Dialogue* (Moderator)

#### **Liberalizing Trade In Hemispheric Agriculture: Are equitable compromises possible? Can the FTAA process result in improved outcomes, or is the Doha multilateral negotiation preferable? Are time-bound commitments to reduce subsidies and improve market access viable and appropriate?**

Julio Nogues, *Torcuato Di Tella University*

Sherman Robinson, *International Food Policy Research Institute*

Sidney Weintraub, *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (Moderator)

#### **Subsidies, Anti-Dumping and Countervailing Duties: Can new, effective but trade-friendly mechanisms be found to enforce trade disciplines? Are the dispute resolution mechanisms contemplated in the FTAA effective or should new remedies be considered?**

Gary Horlick, *Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering*

Diana Tussie, *FLACSO Argentina*

James Durling, *Willkie Farr & Gallagher* (Moderator)

#### **Toward a Regional Agreement on Trade in Services: Focus on Financial Services and Regulatory Frameworks. Can the FTAA Improve on prospective WTO disciplines?**

Mario Marconini, *Brazilian Center of International Relations*

Linda Schmid, *Coalition of Services Industries*

Roberto Bouzas, *FLACSO Argentina* (Moderator)

#### **Lunch–Discussion: The Political Economy of FTAA in the United States**

Mac Destler, *University of Maryland*

#### **The New Trade Politics: Environmental Linkages and Possible Compromise Proposals**

Daniel Esty and Monica Araya, *Yale University*

John Audley, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

Richard Feinberg, *University of California–San Diego* (Moderator)

#### **The New Trade Politics: Labor Linkages and Constructive Compromise Proposals**

Kimberly Ann Elliott, *Institute for International Economics*

Thea Lee, *AFL-CIO*

Sandra Polaski, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* (Moderator)

#### **Summary Conclusions**

Alejandro Foxley, *Senate of Chile*

Gary Hufbauer, *Institute for International Economics*

## GROUP OF FIFTY (G-50) NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

September 25–29, 2002  
Washington, D.C. and Keswick, Virginia

### AGENDA

#### **Wednesday, September 25, 2002**

##### **Opening Reception**

The Washington Opera Young Artist Program will offer a short performance.

#### **Thursday, September 26, 2002**

##### **Introductory Comments**

Moisés Naim, *Chairman, Group of Fifty and Editor, FOREIGN POLICY*  
Jessica T. Mathews, *President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*  
Peter Hakim, *President, Inter-American Dialogue*  
Adrean Rothkopf, *Executive Director, Group of Fifty*

##### **Global and Regional Scenario Exercises**

###### **Part I: Global Scenarios**

In this opening session we will examine the impact on G-50 members, their companies, and their countries of such diverse but important unfolding events as the war on terrorism, instability in the Middle East, the fragility of financial markets, the future of the dollar, simmering global trade tensions, the growing trend to nationalism, and upcoming political changes.

Charles G. Boyd, *General, U.S. Air Force (Ret.) and President and CEO of Business Executives for National Security (BENS)*  
Dennis B. Ross, *Director, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy and former Peace Envoy for the Arabs and the Israelis during the Clinton administration*  
Kenneth Rogoff, *Economic Counselor and Director of Research, International Monetary Fund (IMF)*  
David E. Sanger, *Senior White House Correspondent, The New York Times*  
Allen Sinai, *CEO and Chief Global Economist, Decision Economics, Inc.*  
**Moderator:** David Rothkopf, *CEO, Intellibridge Corporation*

###### **Part II: Latin American Scenarios**

Latin America is now experiencing one of its most difficult periods, and the problems and risks are apparent. How is the situation going to evolve? What other threats are on the horizon and what hopes are there for the future? What are the main trends and what outcomes should we anticipate? What can be done?

Andrés Allamand, *Dean, School of Government, Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez*  
Peter Hakim, *President, Inter-American Dialogue and member of the Board of the Group of Fifty*  
Otto Juan Reich, *Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs*  
Anoop Singh, *Director-In-Charge, Western Hemisphere Department, IMF*  
**Moderator:** David Rothkopf, *CEO, Intellibridge Corporation*

## GROUP OF FIFTY (G-50) NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

### AGENDA (continued)

#### Luncheon Discussion with Enrique V. Iglesias, President of the Inter-American Development Bank

##### Can Latin American Businesses Compete?

Can Latin American private companies that are not subsidiaries of large multinational firms survive globalization? What are the secrets of the most competitive Latin American businesses? What are the principal obstacles to competitiveness? What can be done?

Guy Pfeffermann, *Director, Economics Department, International Finance Corporation (IFC)*

Enrique García, *President and CEO, Andean Development Corporation (CAF)*

Eduardo Lora, *Principal Advisor, Research Department, Inter-American Development Bank and principal author of an IDB study on the competitiveness of Latin America*

**Moderator:** *Moisés Naím, Chairman, Group of Fifty and Editor, FOREIGN POLICY*

##### Dinners Hosted by Latin American Embassies

Participants are invited to one of five dinners in their honor, hosted by Argentine Ambassador Diego Ramiro Guelar, Brazilian Ambassador Rubens Barbosa, Colombian Ambassador Luis Alberto Moreno, Salvadoran Ambassador René A. León, and Mexican Ambassador Juan José Bremer. At each of the embassies, one of our speakers will introduce a topic to be discussed with the dinner guests in a broad and informal manner.

##### Speakers:

Thomas Carothers, *Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

John Maisto, *Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Western Hemisphere Affairs, National Security Council*

Moisés Naím, *Chairman, Group of Fifty and Editor, FOREIGN POLICY*

Andrés Oppenheimer, *Foreign Affairs Columnist, The Miami Herald*

Michael Shifter, *Vice President for Policy, Inter-American Dialogue*

#### Friday, September 27, 2002

##### Confronting Security Threats in the Private Sector

In this session, we will look at how the changed global security environment has impacted and will continue to impact the businesses and sectors of G-50 members. Latin American businesses have long had to cope with security issues such as kidnappings and other acts of terrorism, theft and loss, natural disasters, and civil unrest. How have the events of September 11 affected the way Latin American firms deal with these concerns? How does the need for increased security impact employees and customers? Where are areas of vulnerability? How can businesses mitigate risk?

Mary Alice Davidson, *Publisher and Editor-in-Chief, Security Management, American Society for Industrial Security, the largest professional security association in the world*

Jules Kroll, *Executive Chairman of the Board, Kroll Inc., the world's premier risk consulting company*

James Woolsey, *Vice President, Booz Allen Hamilton and former CIA Director*

**Moderator:** *Stanley A. Motta, President, Motta Internacional, S.A.*

## GROUP OF FIFTY (G-50) NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

### AGENDA (continued)

#### **The Crisis in U.S. Capitalism and What it Means for Latin America**

From Enron to Worldcom, from Arthur Andersen to some of the grand old names of Wall Street, the titans of the U.S. business world have been rocked by scandal and it seems no one is safe or above suspicion. The results have sent stock prices plummeting, generated headlines worldwide and given ammunition to critics of the U.S. system. Will the lack of faith in the U.S. corporate model spread to Latin America? What effect will the crisis have on anti-corruption initiatives in Latin America? Will the prestige of the U.S. be irreparably damaged and will critics refine their anti-globalization message to be an anti-American capitalism initiative? What unforeseen consequences might this drama have on the hemisphere?

William H. Donaldson, *Chairman and CEO, Donaldson Enterprises, Co-founder of Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette and former Chairman and CEO of the New York Stock Exchange*

Alan Murray, *Washington Bureau Chief, CNBC*

Roger W. Sant, *Chairman of the Board, AES Corp.*

**Moderator:** Hilda Ochoa-Brillembourg, *President and CEO, Strategic Investment Group*

#### **Luncheon Discussion**

A candid, off-the-record and informal luncheon discussion with Gary Edson, *Deputy Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs and Deputy National Security Advisor.*

#### **Keswick Hall at Monticello**

##### **Cocktails and Dinner Discussion**

G-50 members, special guests and spouses will come to this working dinner prepared to discuss initiatives—within their enterprises or countries—that are so unique, successful and innovative that they wish to share them with the group.

#### **Saturday, September 28, 2002**

##### **Keeping Families Together in Troubled Times**

All families must face difficult situations, but some families grow during adversity while others are destabilized. In this informal conversation with Susana Feldman-Naím and Ivan Lansberg, we will explore the differences between those that emerge from hardship stronger and those that become weaker. What can we do to strengthen the family during difficult times when the external environment is particularly threatening? What can we do so that geographic fragmentation, immigration, business problems and personal security do not damage the unity and harmony of families? Roberto Bonetti Guerra, Executive Vice President of Sociedad Industrial Dominicana, C. por A., will moderate the discussion.

##### **Dinner Discussion—Is Democracy in Latin America in Danger?**

In this informal conversation with Roberto Dañino, César Gaviria, and Jorge Quiroga we will consider the key issues affecting the future of democracy in the region. Are people losing faith in the system? Is holding regular elections enough? What effect will any democratic setbacks have on Latin American businesses? Gustavo Vollmer A., President and CEO of Grupo Palmar, will moderate the discussion.

## FINANCIAL REPORT

### Statement of Financial Position 2002 and 2001

	2002*	2001
<b>Assets:</b>		
Cash and cash equivalents	2,032,851	2,141,539
Accounts receivable	17,647	92,428
Grants receivable - current	730,312	644,900
Investments	4,132,923	4,456,431
Other	25,597	26,648
Grants receivable - noncurrent		252,135
Property and Equipment	95,733	84,245
Deposits	17,416	13,591
<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b>	<b>7,380,238</b>	<b>7,158,732</b>
<b>Liabilities:</b>		
Accounts payable	11,501	57,125
Accrued expenses	87,808	62,039
Refundable advances	282,030	32,438
Other liabilities		2,815
<b>Total Liabilities</b>	<b>384,154</b>	<b>151,602</b>
<b>Net Assets:</b>		
Board designated endowment funds	189,633	456,643
Unrestricted	508,432	491,820
Temporarily restricted	1,663,907	2,326,124
Permanently restricted endowment funds	4,306,353	4,285,728
<b>Total Net Assets</b>	<b>6,668,325</b>	<b>7,560,315</b>
<b>TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS</b>	<b>7,052,478</b>	<b>7,711,917</b>

\*2002 figures are preliminary and unaudited

### Inter-American Dialogue Statement of Activities 2002

	2002*
<b>Operating Revenue:</b>	
Foundations	1,127,106
Corporations	538,707
Governments	548,252
International Organizations	469,344
Collaborating Institutions	52,155
Individuals	94,572
Interest/Royalties	32,924
Endowment income	175,000
<b>Total Operating Revenue</b>	<b>3,038,059</b>
Pass-throughs	1,055,144
<b>TOTAL REVENUE</b>	<b>4,093,203</b>
<b>Expenses</b>	
Program Services:	
Policy programs	1,241,157
Country studies	404,576
Networks	124,040
Sol M. Linowitz Forum	155,568
Outreach and communications	93,829
Corporate programs	200,652
Subgrants	1,055,144
Support Services	
Administration	643,984
Fundraising	149,347
Governance	11,012
<b>TOTAL EXPENSES</b>	<b>4,079,309</b>

\*2002 figures are preliminary and unaudited

## CONTRIBUTORS

### Grant Support

#### Foundations

GE Fund  
John D. and Catherine T.  
MacArthur Foundation  
Robert R. McCormick Tri-  
bune Foundation  
Rockefeller Foundation  
The Avina Foundation  
The Ford Foundation  
The Knight Foundation  
The Tinker Foundation  
U.S. Institute of Peace

#### Governments

Canadian International  
Development Agency  
Swedish International Devel-  
opment Agency  
U.S. Agency for International  
Development  
United Kingdom Department  
for International Develop-  
ment

#### International Organizations

Corporación Andina de  
Fomento (CAF)  
Inter-American Development  
Bank  
World Bank

#### Corporations

Chemonics International Inc.  
Western Union

### Linowitz Forum Donors

The Sol M. Linowitz Forum was inaugurated in 1996 to pay tribute to Ambassador Linowitz for his many contributions to U.S.-Latin American relations. The Forum assembles Dialogue members once every two years to address the most important problems affecting the Americas. Drawing on these discussions, the Dialogue publishes and widely circulates a comprehensive report that reviews the main issues and offers recommendations for hemispheric policy and action. The Linowitz Endowment Fund, established to support the Forum and other Dialogue activities, will help assure that the Dialogue remains an independent, balanced, and effective voice in Western Hemisphere affairs.

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## Inter-American Dialogue's 20th Anniversary Donors

In 2002, the Inter-American Dialogue celebrated the 20th anniversary of its founding in 1982. The generous support of donors to our 20th anniversary celebration has been enormously helpful to our long-term efforts to build a strong and diverse base of financial support for the Dialogue and assure the continuing independence and high quality of its programs to promote economic and political cooperation in hemispheric affairs.

### **Chairs of the Inter-American Dialogue's 20th Anniversary Committee**

Mr. L. Enrique García  
The Honorable César Gaviria  
The Honorable Carla A. Hills  
The Honorable Enrique V. Iglesias  
The Honorable Jim Kolbe (R-AZ)  
The Honorable Barbara J. McDougall  
The Honorable Thomas F. McLarty, III  
Mr. Roberto H. Murray-Meza  
The Honorable Javier Pérez de Cuéllar  
Mr. Robert Teixeira da Costa  
The Honorable John Whitehead

### **Honorary Guests**

Congressman Thomas Petri (R-WI)  
Congressman Silvestre Reyes (D-TX)  
Congressman Mark Souder (R-IN)  
Senator Bob Graham (D-FL)

### **Dinner Hosts**

Embassy of Argentina – His Excellency  
Ambassador Diego Ramiro Guelar  
Permanent Mission of Canada to the  
OAS – The Honorable Ambassador  
Paul Durand  
Embassy of Chile – His Excellency  
Ambassador Andrés Bianchi  
Embassy of Colombia – His Excellency  
Ambassador Luis Alberto Moreno  
Embassy of the Dominican Republic –  
His Excellency Ambassador Roberto  
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Embassy of El Salvador – His  
Excellency Ambassador René León  
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