LATIN AMERICA’S DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGES

Celebrating 40 Years
Latin American Program

Wilson Center

September 28, 2017
8:30 a.m. - 4:30 p.m.
Woodrow Wilson Center
Washington, DC
AGENDA

Latin America’s Domestic and International Challenges
Thursday, September 28, 2017

8:30 a.m. Welcome
Dr. Cynthia J. Arnson, Director, Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

9:00 a.m. The Political Impact of Corruption in Latin America
Former President of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso
Introduced by Dr. Abraham F. Lowenthal

9:30 a.m. Understanding the Historical Dimensions and Current Salience of Corruption in Latin America
Daniel Zovatto, International IDEA
Arturo Valenzuela, Covington & Burling, LLP
Margarita López Maya, Universidad Central de Venezuela
María Amparo Casar, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas
Chair: Sarah Chayes, Democracy and Rule of Law Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

11:00 a.m. Coffee Break

11:20 a.m. Strategies for Overcoming Corruption
Claudia Escobar, Former Magistrate, Guatemalan Court of Appeals
Jaime Alemán, Alemán, Cordero, Galindo & Lee
The Honorable Gabriela Hardt, Substitute Judge, 13th Federal Criminal Court in Curitiba, Brazil
Gonzalo Smith, Grupo Falabella
Ricardo Uceda, Instituto Prensa y Sociedad
Chair: Patricia Menéndez-Cambó, Greenberg Traurig

1:00 p.m. Break
2:30 p.m. The Changing Patterns of Regional Integration
The Honorable Heraldo Muñoz, Foreign Minister, Republic of Chile
Introduced by Dr. Joseph S. Tulchin

3:00 p.m. Understanding Changing Patterns of Regional Integration
Jorge Heine, Chilean Ambassador to the People’s Republic of China
Marisol Argueta, Head of Latin America, World Economic Forum
José Octavio Bordón, Argentine Ambassador to Chile
Caroline Freund, Senior Fellow, Peterson Institute on International Economics
Landon Loomis, Special Advisor for the Western Hemisphere and Global Economics, Office of Vice President Mike Pence
Chair: Carlos Eduardo Lins da Silva, Senior Consultant, São Paulo Research Foundation

4:15 p.m. Concluding Remarks

Acknowledgments
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We are also grateful to the International Sponsors and Patrons of our 40th Anniversary Dinner Gala for their support of this conference.

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Fernando Henrique Cardoso was president of Brazil from 1995 to 2003, and is a Brazilian sociologist, teacher, and politician. Cardoso entered the race for the presidency in 1994 and with the support of the nation’s business community won a decisive victory. In 1997, voters approved an amendment to the constitution that allowed the president to hold consecutive terms, and in 1998, Cardoso became the first Brazilian president to be re-elected for a second four-year term. Barred constitutionally from seeking a third consecutive term, Cardoso left office in 2003.

Cardoso entered politics in 1986 when he was elected senator from São Paulo. In 1988 he co-founded the centre-left Brazilian Social Democratic Party. In 1992, after President Fernando Collor de Mello was impeached for corruption and was replaced by Itamar Franco, Cardoso resigned his seat in the Senate to become foreign minister. In May 1993, he became finance minister, overseeing negotiations that produced a number of anti-inflation measures.

Cardoso became a professor of sociology at the University of São Paulo in 1958, but the military government that took power in 1964 blacklisted him, prohibiting him from teaching in the country’s university system. He went into exile, teaching at universities in Santiago, Chile, and Paris while continuing his research about the relationship between developing countries and the West. He returned to Brazil in 1968, founded the Brazilian Centre for Analysis and Planning, and established a reputation as one of the foremost members of the left-wing opposition.

He holds a Bachelor’s degree in Social Sciences, and a Master’s and Doctorate in Sociology from the University of São Paulo. He was a Fulbright Program 40th anniversary distinguished fellow, and was a visiting scholar and lecturer at Columbia University.
The Honorable Heraldo Muñoz has been the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile since he was appointed by President Michelle Bachelet in 2014. He previously served as Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, and Assistant Administrator and Regional Director for Latin America and the Caribbean of the United Nations Development Programme from 2010 to 2014.

Muñoz served as Ambassador-Permanent Representative of Chile to the United Nations from 2003 to 2010. He was the Chairman of the UN Peace-Building Commission, Facilitator of the UN Security Council Reform Consultations (2007-2008), and President of the UN Security Council (2004). Between 2009 and 2010, he was appointed by the Secretary General to be Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the assassination of former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

Muñoz has held several positions in the Government of Chile, including Minister Secretary General of Government (2002-2003) in the cabinet of President Ricardo Lagos, Deputy Foreign Minister (2000-2002), Ambassador of Chile to Brazil (1994-1998) and Ambassador of Chile to the Organization of American States (1990-1994). He was an active participant in the dissident movement against the Pinochet dictatorship (1973-1989), serving as a leading member of the Socialist Party. He was the co-founder of the Party for Democracy, and a member of the Executive Committee of the NO Campaign that defeated General Pinochet in the 1988 plebiscite.


Muñoz holds a Ph.D. in International Studies from the Korbel School of International Studies at the University of Denver. He also holds a Diploma in International Relations from The Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, and a B.A. in Political Science from the State University of New York at Oswego.
Daniel Zovatto has served as Regional Director for Latin America and the Caribbean of International IDEA since 1997. Zovatto is a political analyst for various Latin American publications, as well as CNN en Español and Univisión. He is a member of the Latino Barometer's International Consulting Council, the Consultative Committee of the Inter-American Center for Political Management, the Latin American Association of Political Consultants, the Program Advisory Board of the Wilson Center’s Latin American Program, and the Governance Report for Africa of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation.

Zovatto has designed, negotiated, and supervised over 100 technical assistance and political advisory programs related to democratic governance, elections, political parties, electoral management bodies, parliaments, judiciaries, ombudsman’s and human rights offices, reforms of democratic institutions, and constitutional reforms throughout the eighteen countries of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Arturo Valenzuela is Senior Latin American Advisor for Latin America for Covington & Burling, LLP. Prior to his association with Covington, Valenzuela was Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs in the U.S. Department of State in the first Obama Administration. During President Clinton’s second term, he served at the White House as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Inter-American Affairs at the National Security Council. In President Clinton’s first term, Valenzuela was appointed by the White House as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs with primary responsibility for the implementation of U.S. foreign policy toward Mexico, including the NAFTA side agreements.

Valenzuela headed the Council of Latin American Studies at Duke University from 1970-1987 before moving to teach at Georgetown University. His academic work has focused on the origins and consolidation of democracy, electoral systems, civil-military relations, political parties, regime transitions, constitutional reform, and U.S.-Latin American relations. In his academic and governmental roles, he interacted regularly with Latin American presidents, cabinet level officials, scholars, and leaders in the private and non-governmental sector. Valenzuela has been an advisor to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and consultant to the Senate Democratic Policy Committee.
Margarita López Maya is a professor at the Center for Development Studies at the Central University of Venezuela and a member of the Centro de Estudios Políticos at the Andrés Bello Catholic University. Her research has centered on the socio-historic process in Latin America and the contemporary sociopolitical context of the region, particularly Venezuela. She focuses on protests, the emergence of new parties, counter-hegemony political projects, social actors, and key issues in the chavista era.

López Maya has participated in various conferences hosted by national and international universities, and has been a columnist for Venezuelan newspapers. She has published many books and more than sixty articles in academic journals. She also directed the magazine Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales. López Maya served as a member of the Board of Directors of the Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, and was president of the Sección de Estudios Venezolanistas from the Latin American Studies Association. She holds a Bachelor’s degree in History and a Ph.D. in Social Sciences from the Central University of Venezuela.

María Amparo Casar is an External Consultant on political matters for the Coordination of Consultants at the Department of the Federal District in Mexico. She is also a professor and researcher in the Department of Political Studies at the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) since 1979. Since 2003, she has belonged to the Editorial Committee of the political section of the Fondo de Cultura Económica. Casar has been a member of the Editorial Committee at the magazine NEXOS since 1995.

Casar has served in the academic field as Coordinator of the Department of Political Studies at CIDE, Academic Consultant in the Program on North American Studies at the Latin American Institute on Transnational Studies (ILET), Secretary General of CIDE, researcher at ILET, and Director of the Division of Political Studies at CIDE. Casar’s political work began when she served as a member of the Sistema Nacional de Investigadores, and as a Consultant Coordinator for the Minister of the Interior from 2001 to 2005. Previously, she served as a member of the Unidad de Enlace with the Congress for the fiscal budget negotiations in 1997 at the Ministry of Interior. She holds a degree in Sociology from the National Autonomous Univeristy of Mexico (UNAM), as well as a M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Cambridge.
**Sarah Chayes** is a senior fellow in Carnegie’s Democracy and Rule of Law program and the author of *When Corruption is the Operating System: The Case of Honduras*. She is internationally recognized for her innovative thinking on corruption and its implications. Her work explores how severe corruption can help prompt such crises as terrorism, revolutions and their violent aftermaths, and environmental degradation. Before joining Carnegie, Chayes served as special assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Mike Mullen. She focused on governance issues, participating in cabinet-level decision-making on Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Arab Spring, and traveling with Mullen frequently to these regions. Chayes was tapped for the job after her work as special adviser to two commanders of the international troops in Afghanistan (ISAF), at the end of a decade on the ground there.

From 1996 to 2001, Chayes was NPR’s Paris correspondent. For her work during the Kosovo crisis, she shared the 1999 Foreign Press Club and Sigma Delta Chi awards. Along with *When Corruption is the Operating System*, she authored *Thieves of State: Why Corruption Threatens Global Security*, which won the 2016 Los Angeles Times Book Prize, Chayes is the author of *The Punishment of Virtue: Inside Afghanistan After the Taliban* (Penguin, 2006).

**Claudia Escobar** is a former magistrate of the Court of Appeals of Guatemala. Reelected in 2014 to a second term, she resigned due to executive and legislative interference in the judiciary and relocated to the United States owing to intimidation back home. She is also a respected legal scholar, who has taught at Guatemalan universities. In addition, she is founder of the Judiciary Institute and the Association for the Development of Democratic Institutionality and Comprehensive Development for Central America - Asociación FIDDI-, two organizations dedicated to promoting the rule of law in Guatemala.

Dr. Escobar obtained her Ph.D at the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, her law degree at the Universidad Francisco Marroquín in Guatemala and did college in Louisiana State University. During 2015 – 2016 she was a fellow at Harvard University, becoming the first Central American to be awarded a fellowship at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. On June 2017, she was recognized with the “Democracy Award.” The award is given annually by the National Endowment for Democracy’s Board of Directors to recognize the courageous and creative work of individuals and organizations that have advanced the cause of human rights and democracy around the world.
Jaime Alemán is a founding partner of the law firm Alemán, Cordero, Galindo & Lee (Alcogal). He previously served as Ambassador of Panama to the United States from 2009-2011. In 1988, he was appointed Minister of Government and Justice in Panama after serving as Special Advisor to former Panamanian president Nicolas Ardito Barletta from 1984-1985. From 1982-1984, Alemán was an Associate at Icaza, Gonzalez-Ruiz & Alemán.

Between 1978 and 1981, Alemán served as a Legal Advisor at the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington D.C. He received his B.A. in Economics from the University of Notre Dame and J.D. from Duke University.

The Honorable Gabriela Hardt has served as a Substitute Judge for the 13th Federal Criminal Court in Curitiba, Brazil since January 2014, which has criminal jurisdiction over money laundering crimes, criminal organizations, and crimes involving the national financial system, jury, and international legal cooperation. The 13th Federal Criminal Court of Curitiba is currently responsible for the trials resulting from Operation Lava Jato, and Hardt is the primary substitute for Federal Judge Sergio Moro. She also serves on the subcommittee that judges processes connected to the Federal Jail in Catanduvas, Paraná.

She assumed the position of substitute federal judge in January 2009, exercising jurisdiction initially in the judicial sub-sections of Paranaguá and Umuarama, in full jurisdiction units. She worked in the Public Ministry of the State of Paraná for two years, and for ten years at the Federal Court of Paraná in an administrative role, serving as legal advisor and president of the Bidding Committee. She has served as Inspector General of the corrections facility from June 2015 to June 2016. She holds a law degree from the Federal University of Paraná and a M.A. in Administrative Law from the Autonomous University Center of Brazil (Unibrasil).
Gonzalo Smith is the Chief Legal and Governance Officer of S.A.C.I. Falabella, Chile’s largest publicly traded corporation measured by market cap and with subsidiaries operating in the retail, financial services, and commercial real estate sectors through a large network of businesses. The company has a presence in Chile, Peru, Colombia, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Mexico.

Smith is an attorney admitted to practice in Chile and North Carolina. Prior to joining Falabella, Smith was Vice President and General Counsel for Latin America at Walmart Stores, Inc., a company in which he held different leadership positions within the Legal and Ethics department during 11 years, where he was based in Chile, Mexico, and the United States. Before his time with Walmart, Smith practiced corporate and securities law for ten years at firms in Chile (Carey y Cía.), New York (Davis Polk & Wardwell), and Madrid (Cuatreca-sas Abogados). Smith holds an L.L.M. from Harvard Law School, a J.D. from Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, and an M.B.A. from the University of Arkansas.

Ricardo Uceda currently directs the Instituto Prensa y Sociedad (IPYS) in Peru. He has been a journalist since 1974, serving as editor and director of various publications. He directed the Sí seminar and the Investigations Unit at the paper El Comercio. He has led the most important Peruvian journalistic investigations, such as the discovery of Grupo Colina, which falsified more than a million signatures from La Cantuta and Barrios Altos for the second reelection of Alberto Fujimori.

Uceda published Muerte en El Pentágónito (2004), a book on military crime investigations. He won the María Moors Cabot award in 2000 from Columbia University, a special distinction by the International Press Institute, and the Freedom of the Press Award from the Comité de Proyección de Periodistas in 1993.
Patricia Menéndez-Cambó serves as a Vice Chair of Greenberg Traurig. She is Chair of the firm’s Global Practice, Co-Chair of the Global Energy & Infrastructure Practice, and a member of the firm’s Executive Committee. Prior to assuming the leadership of the firm’s Global Practice Group, she headed the firm’s Latin American Practice. Menéndez-Cambó works on mergers and acquisitions, joint ventures, corporate governance, as well as capital markets and general corporate and securities law matters. She has been lead counsel on numerous first-time cross-border transactions.

Menéndez-Cambó previously served as Associate Director General for a Spanish multi-national broadband and telecommunications provider, and as General Counsel to a number of its subsidiaries and affiliates, assisting them with their global expansion. During her tenure as in-house counsel, she also served as director for a number of its entities throughout Latin America and Europe. She holds a J.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, and a B.B.A. from the University of Miami.

Caroline Freund is Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute on International Economics. Prior to that she was chief economist for the Middle East and North Africa at the World Bank, after working for nearly a decade in the international trade unit of the research department at the World Bank. She has also worked in the research departments of the International Monetary Fund and the international finance division of the Federal Reserve Board. Freund’s research examines international trade, trade policy, and economic growth. She is the author of Rich People, Poor Countries: The Rise of Emerging Market Tycoons and their Mega Firms.

Freund has published many articles on the effects of regional trade agreements and edited a volume on The WTO and Reciprocal Preferential Trading Agreements. Her work has appeared in academic journals, including: American Economic Review, Quarterly Journal of Economics, Review of Economics and Statistics, Journal of International Economics, and Journal of Development Economics. Freund was a member of the EXIM Bank advisory committee from 2014 to 2016. She is on the scientific committees of CEPII (Institute for Research of the International Economy, Paris) and the Economic Research Forum (Cairo), on the editorial board of the journal Economics and Politics, and is a member of the Centre for Economic Policy Research. She received a Ph.D. in economics from Columbia University.
Jorge Heine was named by Chilean President Michelle Bachelet as Ambassador of Chile to China in April 2014. He is CIGI Professor of Global Governance at the Balsillie School of International Affairs, Professor of Political Science at Wilfrid Laurier University, and a Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Latin American Program Global Fellow (on leave). Ambassador Heine served as Chile’s representative in India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka between 2003 and 2007, and to South Africa from 1994 to 1999. He was also the Cabinet Minister in the Chilean government, and served as vice-president of the International Political Science Association (IPSA).

Heine has held visiting appointments at universities in Konstanz, Oxford, and Paris. He has published fifteen books, the latest being *21st Century Democracy Promotion in the Americas: Standing up for the Polity* (Routledge, 2015; with Brigitte Weiffen) and some ninety academic articles. He has written for *The New York Times, The Washington Post, and The International Herald Tribune*, and was listed in 1997 and 1998 among the 100 most influential personalities in South Africa by Johannesburg’s leading newspaper, *The Star*.

Marisol Argueta de Barillas is the Head of Regional Strategies-Latin America and a member of the Executive Committee at the World Economic Forum. She previously served as the Foreign Minister of El Salvador. She was Senior Advisor to the Foreign Minister, General Director of Foreign Policy, and Minister Counselor at the Embassy of El Salvador in Washington, D.C. She was also an alternate representative of El Salvador to the United Nations. Argueta de Barillas was elected vice-president of the Organization of American States’ National Authorities Meeting for the Development of Women, and headed different Salvadoran official delegations in various international meetings.

Argueta de Barillas represented her country in the Presidential Commission for the revision of the Central American Integration System and was the national coordinator of El Salvador’s participation in all international presidential summits. She has led an international initiative on financing for development to enhance international cooperation for middle-income country development. Argueta de Barillas has also been an assistant professor of constitutional law and political law at a private university in El Salvador. She is a member of the board of directors of two private businesses and has been a member of Hogares CREA-El Salvador, The Salvadoran Foundation for the Elderly, and the International Institute for Women.
José Octavio Bordón is Ambassador of Argentina to Chile. He previously served as the director of the Center for Global Affairs at the Universidad Nacional de Cuyo and is a former deputy, senator, and governor for Mendoza Province. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of CARI (the Argentine International Relations Council) and President of the Advisory Council of the Center for the Implementation of Public Policies for Equality and Growth).

Bordón was elected governor of Mendoza Province in 1987 and stepped down in 1991. The following year he was elected to the Argentine Senate. He was also Minister of Culture, Education, and Sciences for the province of Buenos Aires and was president of the Ibero-American Parliamentarian Group for the 75th Meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Ottawa. He became President of the Fundación Andina in 1982 and in 1983 he was elected to the Argentine Chamber of Deputies as deputy for Mendoza Province. During that time, he was deputy chairman of the foreign affairs committee. Bordón also served as Ambassador of Argentina to the United States from 2003 to 2007. He graduated from the University of Salvador (USAL) with a degree in Sociology.

Landon Loomis is a Special Advisor for the Western Hemisphere and Global Economics in the Office of Vice President Mike Pence and a Foreign Service Officer on detail from the Department of Commerce. He most recently served as Commercial Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Brasilia where he led the Defense and Aviation Team, and managed a broad range of Commercial and Security-related policy engagements. Before arriving in Brazil, he served as a Policy Advisor at USTR where he successfully applied WTO rules to oppose protectionist measures in key markets, and served a five-year tour in Beijing where he managed the Aviation, Rail, and Healthcare portfolios.

Over the last 20 years, Loomis has lived and worked in ten foreign countries across Latin America, Asia and Eastern Europe. He holds a B.A. from Emory University and a M.A. in International Economics and Emerging Markets from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and received the Department of Commerce Lawrence Payne Memorial Award for innovative and successful promotion of U.S. rail and aviation exports. Landon speaks Spanish, Portuguese, and Mandarin Chinese.
Carlos Eduardo Lins da Silva is special advisor in communications affairs for the Presidency of FAPESP (a São Paulo Research Foundation). He has been a writer-in-residence at the Teresa Lozano Long Institute at the University of Texas at Austin (2003), a visiting scholar at the Center for Latin American Studies at Georgetown University (1991-1992), a visiting professor at the College of Communication Arts and Sciences of Michigan State University (1989), and a fellow at the Latin American Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (1987-1988).

In Brazil, Lins da Silva taught at various universities, including the University of São Paulo. As a journalist, he was deputy editor-in-chief of the daily newspapers Folha de S. Paulo and Valor Econômico. At Folha, he was also managing editor, U.S. correspondent, and ombudsman. He holds a Ph.D. and a post-doctorate degree from the University of São Paulo, as well as a M.A. from Michigan State University as a Fulbright scholar.