

Latin America: Integration or Fragmentation?

In one of the most distinguished gatherings of public intellectuals in recent Latin American history, diplomats, scholars, government officials, novelists, representatives of international financial institutions and non-governmental organizations came together in Mexico City on April 17-18, 2007, for the conference “Latin America: Integration or Fragmentation?” Co-sponsored by the Latin American Program, the Argentina- and Mexico-based Fundación Grupo Mayan, the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México ITAM), and *Foreign Affairs en Español*, the conference was aimed at exploring Latin America’s current role in the international system, including the relationships between countries of the region and Latin America’s place overall in the globalized world.

The conference built on two prior workshops, one held at the Wilson Center in May 2006, and another in Nuevo Vallarta, Mexico, in January 2007, in which experts from ten different countries analyzed recent developments in hemispheric relations: the paralysis of sub-regional integration, a widening gap between northern and southern Latin America, the growing importance of extra-regional actors such as China, different and



Clockwise From Top Left: Ricardo Lagos, Javier Solana, Ana María Sanjuán, and Pamela Cox

at times opposing strategies for managing the relationship with the United States, the resurgence of energy as a source of conflict within and among countries of the region, and the role of poverty and inequality in shaping foreign policy capacity.

In the keynote address, Peruvian novelist *Mario Vargas Llosa* argued that Europeans since colonial times have viewed Latin America through the eyes of fantasy and myth, as a “fictitious reality”

Latin America: Integration or Fragmentation?	1-4	Director's Forum: Brazilian-U.S. Relations	16
The United States and Mexico: Strategic Partners or Distant Neighbors?	4-5	Creating Community in the Americas	17-18
The Global Dynamics of Biofuels	5-7	U.S.-Mexico Agricultural Cooperation: Challenges within NAFTA	18-21
Strategic Scenarios and Interstate Relations in MERCOSUR	8-9	International Trade Symposium	20
Bolivia: Social Movements, Populism, and Democracy	9-10	Briefing on U.S. Policy in Latin America	21
Democratic Challenges in Mexico	10-12	Fighting Corruption in the Americas: Is the Inter-American Convention Living up to its Potential? Views from Four Countries	22-23
Rule of Law and Transparency in Mexico	12-13	Strategies for Promoting Gender Equity in Developing Countries: Lessons, Challenges, and Opportunities	23-25
Brazil's Innovation Challenge	13-14	Energy in Mexico: Oil as a Comparative Advantage and Strategic Resource?	25
Argentina's 2007 Presidential Elections: Key Economic and Political Issues	14-15	Governing the City	26-27
Legal Standards and the Interrogation of Prisoners in the War on Terror	15-17	Antonio's Gun and Delfino's Dream: True Tales of Mexican Migration	27

onto which they have projected their own political deceptions and utopian visions. Many Latin Americans have adopted rather than confronted these idealized images of themselves. This tendency has generated magnificent literary production, Vargas Llosa said, but has had adverse, and even catastrophic, effects in the political arena. Latin America has never been able “to overcome the basic obstacles” that have slowed its development, Vargas Llosa said, citing artificial national boundaries, conflicts that have wasted plentiful resources, as well as racial, social, cultural and linguistic differences within each country.

Leading off a discussion of internal political models and their relationship to questions of regional leadership, *Carlos Pérez Llana*, Universidad Torcuato di Tella, Argentina, said that the political dichotomy between populism and Latin America’s variant of social democracy had important explanatory capacity. Social democracies in the region sought to build institutions, create wel-

fare via active state policies, uphold the rule of law, and regulate the workings of the free market. By contrast, he said, populist regimes had a profound disrespect for institutions, emphasized personal leadership, and believed in a “benefactor state” that distributed benefits and intervened arbitrarily in the economy. In the realm of foreign policy, he said, social democratic regimes viewed the world primarily in terms of opportunity rather

than danger, whereas populist governments saw the international arena as a place of confrontation between clashing geopolitical interests. However, *Ana María Sanjuán* of the Universidad Central de Venezuela rejected the “false polemic” marking a division between liberal democracy and democracy defined in terms of social justice, noting that sacrificing civil and political rights in the name of social goals was just as unacceptable as asking the poor to be satisfied with political, not social goods. Taking place throughout the region, but with particular intensity in the Andes, she said, was a reconfiguration of the relations between the state, society, and the market, in which new social groups were

engaging in novel forms of political action to confront globalization and internal fragmentation.

OAS Secretary-General *José Miguel Insulza* identified some of the persistent problems that have blocked past efforts to achieve Latin American integration. The entire region must work to reduce poverty and inequality, he argued, and improve not only access to education but also its quality. Common problems complicating the search for economic development included poor governance, fragile institutions, and high levels of crime and organized crime. Insulza called attention to recent economic improvements across the continent: lower debt levels, higher international reserves, better discipline and order in all aspects of public finance. Insulza urged all Latin American countries to build upon that progress and maintain open economic policies to foster export growth. He sharply criticized developed countries for high import barriers that discriminate against Latin American products and called the industrialized world’s agricultural subsidies “a great international injustice.”

Former Chilean President *Ricardo Lagos* concurred with Insulza that “the state is part of the solution” in reducing poverty and inequality. He said Latin America should study the European model for integration, in which larger countries sacrificed on behalf of smaller nations to achieve common goals and overcome differences in size and economic strength. Lagos pointed out that Latin America has experienced four years of uninterrupted economic growth and 12 democratic elections in the past year alone, and recommended conversion of the Rio Group into an entity similar to the G-8 group of industrialized countries. Lagos said the Rio Group, which fosters political cooperation among Latin American states, might one day be used to resolve political and economic differences and move the members toward greater unity.

Speaking via videoconference, British historian *Eric Hobsbawm* defined globalization as “the development of the world as a single unit within which transactions and communications are unhampered by local or other boundaries.” While other theorists have pointed to the existence of a world system originating in the 16th century, Hobsbawm argued that the process today marks an “unprecedented triumph” of a capitalism relying on the global mobility of all factors of production, coupled with the resolve of governments not to interfere



Mario Vargas Llosa



with the market's allocation of resources. Such neo-liberal globalization, he said, has increased economic and social inequality internationally and within states, increased economic instability and intensified the impact of economic fluctuations, and reduced the ability of governments to influence economic activities on or relevant to its own territory. Hobsbawm described the world economy as in transition, with North America and the European Union in decline and the newly-dominant powers to be Asian-oriented. Latin America, he said, with some 8 percent of world GDP, was not likely to raise its stake dramatically.

In a discussion of poverty and inequality, World Bank Vice-President for Latin America and the Caribbean *Pamela Cox* identified the region's low and volatile growth and its persistently high inequality as issues that must be addressed simultaneously if Latin America is to imitate the so-called "Asian tigers." She called for institutional innovation to make governments and markets less exclusionary, improved access for the poor to education, infrastructure, and credits, and reforms to expand the progressivity and effectiveness of the tax system. *Nora Lustig* of the United Nations Development Program noted that Latin America's potential role as an interlocutor in the international system was great, given the absence of the wars, profound macroeconomic instability, and fundamentalism that so plagued other regions of the world. One obstacle to playing a greater international role, however, was the region's internal fragmentation due to social divisions and inequality. Lustig joined Cox in criticizing the region's tax structure, comparing the 35-45 percent tax rates in European countries to the 10-24 percent rates in Latin America. *Luis Maira*, Chilean ambassador to Argentina, noted the centrality of the issues of poverty and inequality to the outcomes of presidential elections throughout the hemisphere and discussed the learning curve regarding the implementation of effective social policies. Improving access to basic services, infrastructure, and markets, he said, is necessary to overcome the isolation of which poverty is a function. While underscoring the central role of the state in social policy, he emphasized that overcoming poverty is a responsibility of society as a whole.

Scholar and author *Francis Fukuyama* argued that the package of economic reforms known as the "Washington Consensus" was formulated as a response to the economic crises of the 1990s. And,



From left to right: Erika Ruiz Sandoval, Roberto Russell, Cynthia Arnson, and Rafael Fernández de Castro

although the policies functioned to a certain extent, they were not sufficient by themselves to achieve rapid economic growth or reduce poverty in Latin America. Free markets alone are not "a universal remedy for poverty," he said, because such policies must also be supported by "strong institutions, the rule of law, and inclusive political systems" that can resolve problems peacefully and provide services free of corruption. According to Fukuyama, the United States has erred by projecting onto other societies its own experience with democracy and free markets as the means for achieving social mobility and inclusion; in many Latin American countries, social systems are characterized by entrenched hierarchies and ethnic exclusion that inhibit social mobility.

Javier Solana, the European Union's High Representative for Foreign Policy and Common Security, argued that integration would help the continent achieve its full potential. He told the conference that Europe has now overcome its multiple languages, capabilities, and historical experiences in a union with common political, economic, and monetary goals. Solana maintained that the global trend is toward further integration in Latin America, the Asia-Pacific region, and even Africa. He said, however, that the big question for Latin America is whether the political will exists to push for "the big battle" to create a regional edifice that can become a global player.

Other participants in the April 17-18, 2007, forum included conference organizers *Cynthia Arnson*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; *Roberto Russell*, Fundación Grupo Mayan and the Universidad Torcuato di Tella, Argentina;

Rafael Fernández de Castro, ITAM/ *Foreign Affairs en Español*; and *Erika Ruiz Sandoval*, ITAM; as well as *Arturo Fernández Pérez*, (ITAM); *Jorge Domínguez*, Harvard University; *Monica Hirst*, Universidad Torcuato di Tella, Argentina; *Wolf Grabendorff*, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Chile; *Riordan Roett*, The Johns Hopkins University-SAIS; *Emilio Lozoya*, World Economic Forum; *Ana Covarrubias*, El Colegio de México; *Celso Lafer*, Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil; *Guadalupe González*, CIDE, Mexico; *Enrique Krauze*, Letras Libres, Mexico; *Porfirio Muñoz Ledo*, Centro Latinoamericano de la Globalidad (CELAG), Mexico; *Jaime Zabudovsky*, IQOM, Mexico; *Roberto Bouzas*, Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina; *Abraham Lowenthal*, University of Southern California; *Juan Gabriel Tokatlian*, Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina; *Rossana Fuentes-Berain*, *El Universal*, Mexico; *Sergio Sarmiento*, TV Azteca, Mexico; *Mariclaire Acosta*, Organization of American States; *Amalia García*, Governor of Zacatecas, Mexico; *Flor María Rigoni*, Casa del Migrante “Albergue Belén, Mexico; *Rolando Cordera*, UNAM, Mexico; *Juan Ignacio Zavala*, Editorial Santillana, Mexico; and *Javier Treviño*, COMEXI, Mexico.

Authors participating in the two-year research project also include: *Luis Miguel Castilla*, Corporación Andina de Fomento, Venezuela; *Francisco Leal Buitrago*, Universidad de los Andes, Colombia; *Maria Regina Soares de Lima*, Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; *Raúl Benítez Manaut*, UNAM, Mexico; *Pedro da Motta Veiga*, CNI and FUNCEX, Brazil; *Arturo Sotomayor*, CIDE, Mexico; and *Ricardo Senmes*, Prospectiva Consultoria Brasileira de Assuntos Internacionais, Brazil.

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The United States and Mexico: Strategic Partners or Distant Neighbors?

On June 5, 2007, the Mexico Institute brought together a binational group of academic and business leaders to discuss the state of the bilateral relationship between Mexico and the United States. In their opening remarks, *José Antonio Fernández*, FEMSA, and *Roger W. Wallace*, Pioneer Natural Resources, noted that the United States and Mexico are now



Arturo Sarukhan

much more than neighbors. The two countries are increasingly interdependent, and face common challenges which can only be resolved if they begin to think of the relationship as a strategic partnership.

Andrew Selee, Wilson Center, stated that at the center of the discussion is the idea that Mexico and the United States must move away from only responding tactically to specific issues to also thinking strategically about what each wants from the other. Mexican Ambassador *Arturo Sarukhan* argued that although the two countries have not reached a strategic relationship, they are not the distant neighbors that they were once were. The signing of NAFTA ushered in a more strategic era, but the relationship continues to be constrained by its focus on the short term. He asserted that the two countries need to identify what key issues unite them, and pointed to common prosperity and common security as potential strategic issues. He suggested that the United States and Mexico need to “stop playing checkers and start playing chess,” that is, move from tactical to strategic engagements with each other.

Former Congressman *Jim Kolbe*, Kissinger McLarty Associates, agreed that the pivotal change in the relationship was seen as a direct result of NAFTA. The most important impact of NAFTA, Kolbe suggested, has been political rather than economic. He commented that the relationship has matured since he began attending inter-parliamentary meetings in the 1980s, and now there is more agreement that issues such as drug trafficking and immigration are shared concerns to be addressed jointly. *Rossana Fuentes-Berain*, *El Universal*, countered that the United States and Mexico are not only living in a distant neighborhood, but a rough one. The booing



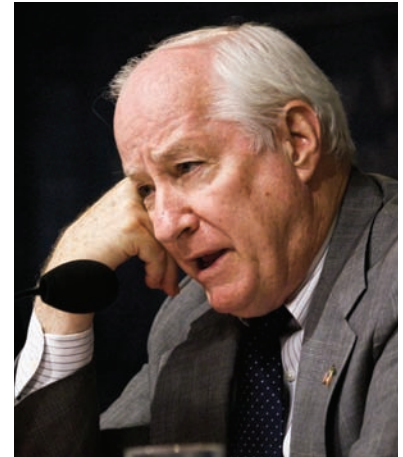
of the United States during a soccer game and of Miss USA herself during an event in Mexico only further reflects the extent of the difficulties the two countries face in achieving a strategic partnership.

Andrés Rozental, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, added that the major obstacle facing the bilateral relationship is a lack of a strategic vision on either side. The United States has clear objectives for its relationship with other countries, but one does not exist for its dealings with Mexico, nor does Mexico have a strategic vision for its relationship with the United States. Rozental urged a change of attitude on both sides of the border because the lack of a clear strategic vision is affecting the region's competitiveness. *Roderic Ai Camp*, Claremont-McKenna College, detailed contextual qualities that are important to understand when analyzing the U.S.-Mexico relationship. He explained that foreign policy rarely plays any role in Mexican domestic politics, unlike in the United States. In Mexico, the three most important policy issues in the past three presidential elections have been personal security, corruption, and economic growth and poverty. *Peter Smith*, University of California, San Diego, emphasized the need to define the term "strategic partners." In order to approach that relationship, the United States and Mexico must define what that partnership would look like, as well as what its goals and purpose would be. To this *José Antonio Fernández* suggested that because many of the two countries' goals are complementary, Mexico and the United States should work together to develop a shared long-term vision of what can be accomplished jointly.

Ginger Thompson, *New York Times*, commented on the schizophrenic nature of the relationship, and the tendency for each side to develop its opinions in seemingly parallel universes. Even fundamental differences in perspectives, like the U.S. view that Mexicans want to come to the United States, contrasted by the Mexican opinion that they are forced to, make the relationship very difficult to maneuver. *Susan Kaufman Purcell*, University of Miami, touched upon the issue of immigration and discussed the fragility of the proposed Senate bill. She asserted that the weak temporary alliances between members of Congress forged in the place of traditional ones would mean that any amendment could cause divisions and subsequently the failure of the bill. *Maria Echaveste*, Nueva Vista Group, analyzed the proposed immigration bill from a Democratic standpoint, arguing that this is a difficult

bill to accept because the proposed guest worker program essentially establishes a permanent underclass. Despite this drawback, however, she noted that the provisions allowing for legalization make it impossible to walk away from the debate.

Carlos Heredia, advisor to the governor of Michoacán, asserted that a fundamental piece of the immigration agenda for Mexican immigrants is the issue of mobility. If mobility is limited, Mexican immigrants will not be satisfied with the legislation. The real question, however, is whether Mexico can become more competitive with U.S. companies by challenging existing monopolies within Mexico. *Javier Treviño*, CEMEX, focused on reforms Mexico needs to undertake to move the two countries towards a more strategic alliance. The first step is that Mexico must recognize that the three crucial bilateral issues of migration, security, and competitiveness are all intricately related. The imperatives of creating better-paying jobs, doing away with monopolies, and confronting the drug crisis all must be addressed. Former Ambassador to Mexico *Jim Jones*, Manatt Jones Global Strategies, argued that the key solution to moving towards a more strategic relationship is improving each public's understanding of the other. He recommended creating a massive exchange program with different divisions, such as education, sports, and politics. Mexicans would go to the United States to explain, and Americans would go to Mexico to listen. Through this, the two nations would develop a deeper understanding that would pave the way for more effective dialogue and interactions.



Jim Kolbe

The Global Dynamics of Biofuels

As the world's largest producers of biofuels, the United States and Brazil pledged during Spring 2007 to embark upon a joint strategy of energy cooperation to promote technology-sharing and to encourage ethanol production and consumption globally. These initiatives, coupled with President George W. Bush's pledge to set a mandatory fuels



Marcos S. Jank

standard requiring the use of 35 billion gallons of renewable and alternative fuels in the United States by 2017, helped propel the issue of biofuels center stage in international debates concerning the future of global warming, environmental degradation, and energy consumption. The Brazil Institute organized a series of events to enhance ongoing discussions and foment further analysis about the potential economic, political, social, and public policy impacts of increased biofuel production.

On February 20, 2007, the Brazil Institute and the Program on Science, Technology, America, and the Global Economy brought together leading experts from both countries to assess the agricultural implications of increased production and trade of biofuels as an alternative to hydrocarbons. The discussion led to plans for the creation of a Global Biofuels Policy Research Network to be housed at the Wilson Center in close cooperation with partner institutions. The energy policies that the United States and Brazil follow have implications beyond their own borders, argued *Wallace Tyner*, professor of agricultural economics at Purdue University. Currently, investments in alternative energy sources are risky, given the lack of policy measures that ensure against major oil price drops. Alternative energy policies that protect against hydrocarbon price volatility, promote technological research, and stimulate investment can lead in the direction of less reliance on hydrocarbons and lower greenhouse gas emissions. One such policy advanced by Tyner is a combination of a fuel standard

(advocated by President Bush) and a price-activated variable subsidy, which would merge the best features of both policies and effectively share risks between the government and consumers.

There are significant tradeoffs involved in expanding U.S. ethanol production that need to be understood and addressed prior to the wholesale adoption of biofuels, argued *Bruce Babcock*, a professor of economics and the director of the Center for Agricultural and Rural Development at Iowa State University. One must take into consideration the probable agricultural and environmental repercussions such as changes in the costs and production of crops and livestock. Babcock predicted that higher corn prices—due in large part to the increasing demand for ethanol—will lead to a steep increase in corn planted acreage. *Marcos S. Jank*, who was then president of the research institute ICONE and has since been named president of UNICA, the São Paulo-based Sugar Cane Industry Union, stressed the significance of an effective U.S.-Brazilian partnership in order to develop ethanol into a global commodity. Brazil has the most advanced and efficient ethanol program in the world and is eager to collaborate with other producers to meet global energy needs. Its goals include establishing international standards, coordinating joint investments, and devising a common strategy to increase the number of producer and consumer nations. The benefits to ethanol use are substantial: it is a renewable energy source, emits low levels of carbon, and induces social development in rural areas. Jank argued that the expansion of sugarcane cultivation in Brazil will have only a negligible impact on the rest of the country's agriculture, as compared with the expansion of corn production in the United States.

Gregory Manuel, the special advisor to the secretary and international energy coordinator at the State Department, explained that the impetus behind U.S.-Brazilian energy collaboration involves bringing collective insights, talents, and know-how together with private sector competencies and technical capabilities. *Emerson Kloss*, a diplomat at the trade policy sector desk for agricultural issues at the Embassy of Brazil in Washington, argued that the U.S.-Brazilian partnership is one of many important joint ventures being pursued by the Brazilian government to expand the production and consumption of ethanol. Only with a truly international market for biofuels will Brazil have the structural market conditions necessary to



develop and expand its own internal market and increase the participation of biofuels within its own energy matrix.

To dispel certain myths and accurately assess the distinct environmental, economic, and social challenges posed by the current and projected expansion of Brazilian sugarcane-ethanol production, the Brazil Institute convened an invitation-only working lunch on April 18, 2007, with representatives of the industry, governments, and the environmental community.

Eduardo Carvalho, who at the time of the event was president of UNICA, explained that ethanol derived from sugarcane has become an increasingly integral part of the Brazilian economy—now accounting for 14 percent of the country's energy matrix—with current projections for the industry to expand its production capacity by a factor of 10 to 20 before 2015. While some consider the emergence of alternative energy sources like ethanol a “silver-bullet” for the world's energy problems, Carvalho maintained that ethanol is only *one* of many elements needed to resolve the hazards associated with global warming, environmental degradation, and energy security. For ethanol to become an internationally tradable commodity, Carvalho argued that more cooperation is needed to transfer technology and establish global standards, regulations, and certifications. Some attendees urged Brazil to engage with and sign on to nascent international measures to promote transparency and create industry standards.

Skeptics of the ethanol boom contend that increased production would expand sugarcane cultivation to environmentally sensitive areas, such as the Amazon and the Pantanal. Carvalho averred that the sugarcane boom would not encroach on these vulnerable habitats because the sugarcane plant requires both a cool/dry season and a hot/wet season; neither rainforests nor wetlands offers the necessary harvest conditions for the efficient cultivation of the crop. Despite this fact, many attendees charged that increased demand for sugarcane—and the resulting rise in land prices—may push other crops closer to sensitive (and less costly) areas. During the discussion, Carvalho also addressed labor concerns; he dismissed claims that the sugarcane industry has exploitative labor practices. While there are problems, he said, labor conditions are drastically improving. The industry directly employs over one million workers and another 3 – 4 million indirectly and,

after the soya industry, offers the highest pay within the rural sector.

In February 2007, during an International Trade Symposium panel (see box, p. 19) entitled “Ethanol Production and Trade: the New Frontier,” six panelists addressed the potential economic, political and policy impacts of increased biofuel production. Minister-Counselor *Carlos Alfredo Lazary Teixeira*, Chargé D’Affaires of the Brazilian Embassy, affirmed that cooperation between the world's two leading ethanol producers is essential to turn ethanol into a global commodity. *Brian Dean*, executive director of the Inter-American Ethanol Commission, explained that the primary objective of the IEC is to encourage more countries to produce ethanol by advancing research and development.

According to *Paulo Sérgio Strini Barbosa* of Sociedade Corretora de Álcool, Brazil is projected to double ethanol exports within the next five years. *James Boyd*, vice chair of the California Energy Commission, maintained that the state's shift towards alternative fuels has been driven by limited energy sources, air quality, and a desire to reduce the state's dependence on oil. *Roberto Giannetti da Fonseca*, director of Brazil's Department for International Relations and Foreign Trade, remarked that Brazil wants to develop a biofuels partnership with the United States to make production more efficient, increase cellulosic yields, decrease transportation costs, promote greater specialization, build an ethanol futures and options market, and provide developing countries with a sustainable development strategy. *Jon Doggett*, vice president of the Corn Growers Association, explained how the ethanol industry was able to develop and produce ethanol efficiently with the use of private and public funding.

In addition to these events, the Brazil Institute contributed to other discussions of biofuels with various media outlets. *Marcos S. Jank* was featured on *dialogue*, the radio and television program of the Woodrow Wilson Center in a conversation entitled, “Planting the Future: Brazil, America and Ethanol.” Director of the Brazil Institute *Paulo Sotero* analyzed the political impact of the U.S.-Brazilian biofuels pact in an op-ed piece—coauthored with Edward Alden of the Council on Foreign Relations—in the *Washington Post* entitled, “Building a Biofuels Alliance,” and in an interview on PBS's *Foreign Exchange* with Fareed Zakaria.

Strategic Scenarios and Interstate Relations in MERCOSUR

The Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR), a regional economic integration scheme involving Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, has recently come under intense pressure as conflicting national interests concerning investments, infrastructure, energy, trade, and the incorporation of new members (Venezuela) have increased tensions among its founding members. On May 15 a group of former high-ranking officials from member countries who took part in the negotiations to create MERCOSUR participated in an event that evaluated the bloc's current state, relations among its members, and the prospects for further consolidation and growth.

Reflecting on her country's role in MERCOSUR, former Paraguayan Minister of Foreign Relations *Leila Rachid* argued that her country embraces globalization for more than simple economic reasons. In her view, Paraguay actively pursues regional integration as an instrument for building a community through political, cultural, and social channels, as well as economic ones. This vocation comes in tandem with the consolidation of democracy in the country, giving a political motivation to Paraguay's participation in MERCOSUR. However, Paraguay has made regional asymmetries the cornerstone of its bargaining inside MERCOSUR. Ambassador Rachid claimed that collective action within the group has fallen short of Paraguayan government and private sector expectations. She identified a number of pressing issues if MERCOSUR were, in Paraguay's view, to become an effective instrument for regulating globalization. These issues include a redefinition of the common external tariff and the strengthening of supranational institutions for collective decision-making.

Former Brazilian Ambassador to the United States *Rubens Barbosa* claimed that MERCOSUR is paralyzed in all economic areas. Since governments seem to lack the political will to advance on the major economic goals of the Treaty of Asunción on which MERCOSUR was founded, they have replaced the original objectives with new ones, especially in the political and cultural realms. Ambassador Barbosa discussed three potential scenarios for MERCOSUR's



Leila Rachid and Rubens Barbosa

future: limping along in its current format; evolving into a free trade area; or evolving into a political pact in which each country retains its bilateral agenda. According to Barbosa, the lack of political will to make important sacrifices in reconciling conflicting domestic and international agendas has led to huge contradictions between ambition and results. A new phase of bilateral relations has replaced regional bargaining, with too many disputes among members discussed outside of MERCOSUR.

Former Argentine Under-Secretary of Foreign Trade *Félix Peña* shared his concern that MERCOSUR was becoming more and more irrelevant for Argentina. This seeming irrelevance is the result of 1) an overly ambitious initial roadmap that has not been fully implemented; 2) a changing global economic and political environment in which South American countries are only marginally relevant; and 3) the absence of clear win-win outcomes for MERCOSUR's members. In spite of these shortcomings, however, Peña noted that MERCOSUR continues to be a significant source of rules for intra-regional trade. It also contributes to regional political stability in South America, by serving as a symbol of integration among its members.

Reflecting on its institutional evolution, former Uruguayan Minister of Foreign Relations *Sergio Abreu* noted that the initial impulse for MERCOSUR was the linear progress in trade liberalization that peaked in 1994. The institutional agenda was inspired by the European supranational model; the organization also reflected a bilateral bargain between Argentina and Brazil within the framework of changing international trade patterns. Uruguay focused its efforts on developing an institutional structure that would keep MERCOSUR



from perpetuating the bilateral dominance of the larger countries. However, Senator Abreu argued that MERCOSUR today is a much different body, in which energy and infrastructure, not trade, have become the center of regional leadership at the same time that leadership itself is contested in the region. Considering its expanded membership and the new configuration of South American politics, Abreu stated that commercial integration is no longer a priority in MERCOSUR. The nationalism of new populist governments in the region is incompatible with regional integration, he argued.

Roberto Bouzas of the Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina, made several observations about MERCOSUR's performance as a customs union and its political environment. There is no shared understanding of what is required of each country to make the group work. According to Bouzas, MERCOSUR's problems are compounded by the lack of hegemonic leadership or the provision of any public goods, in a South American context where economic interdependence is low and the demand for regional coordination is uneven. As a result, the liberalization agenda of the 1990s—which tended to bring countries together—has given way to a developmentalist agenda that differentiates among countries and is based on national individualities. Bouzas envisioned a continued clash of national interests within MERCOSUR, although certain sectors or policy areas would be better able to find common interests.

Bolivia: Social Movements, Populism, and Democracy

In a Latin American Program seminar held on May 16, 2007, scholars explored the highly polarized issues of social movements, populism, and democracy in Bolivia and offered their analysis of the country's rapidly changing political situation. *Raúl Madrid*, University of Texas at Austin, stated that while political science literature expects ethnic parties to have a negative impact on democracy, the rise of an indigenously-based party in Bolivia has actually had a number of positive effects on the country's democratic system. Drawing on survey data, Madrid noted that the emergence of the MAS (*Movimiento al Socialismo*) has helped boost voter turnout in Bolivia's majority indigenous areas as well as levels of support for democracy in Bolivia, particularly among

the speakers of indigenous languages. The ascent of the MAS has also contributed to the consolidation of the Bolivian party system, and may indeed lead to its stabilization. The MAS has helped deepen Bolivian democracy by augmenting the political influence of traditionally marginalized groups, especially the majority indigenous population. Madrid noted, however, that President Evo Morales' record of democratic governance is a cause for some concern. Although the Morales administration has pursued moderate social and economic policies and has largely respected human rights and civil and political liberties, the government has sought to consolidate its power in ways that might undermine democracy in the long run, particularly by seeking to control the redrafting of the constitution. Regional polarization has also increased under the Morales administration and social protests continue at relatively high levels.

Brooke Larson, Stony Brook University and a 2006–07 Woodrow Wilson Center Fellow, pointed to a “curious disconnect” between the study of contemporary indigenous movements and the study of historic processes through which nations have attempted to integrate marginalized populations into populist or oligarchic states. The historic precedents of Bolivia's modern indigenous movement are deeply rooted in the hard-fought demands by indigenous groups for rights to land, schools, citizenship, and cultural self-determination since the early part of the 20th century. But the recent resurgence of Bolivian indigenous movements dates to the restoration of civilian democracy and the advent of neo-liberalism during the 1980s and 1990s. The 1994 Popular Participation Law, which opened up political spaces for increased indigenous mobilization and grassroots leadership, is a good example of how indigenous agendas began to influence Bolivia's normative institutions. The convergence of highland and lowland indigenous movements into a broad political coalition, beginning around 1990, was another benchmark in the redefinition of democracy around the values of indigenous solidarity, political inclusion, and cultural pluralism.



Brooke Larson

Against that backdrop, Evo Morales' electoral victory marks the crest of two decades of popular mobilization and re-democratization. Larson cautioned against judging the actions of the Morales administration at such an early point, despite the presence of certain negative tendencies. Instead, she pointed to instances of economic pragmatism and effective reform behind the revolutionary rhetoric—particularly in relation to the nationalization of Bolivian hydrocarbons—as hopeful indicators of the country's economic prospects. The sustainability of the Morales regime will be determined, in part, by its ability to redistribute new state revenues from hydrocarbon exports to the nation's poorest citizens in tangible ways (through education and health-care reforms, for example). To do this, according to Larson, MAS must advance the ideals of social and economic justice that have existed in the country's grassroots movements since the 1952 revolution.

René Mayorga, Centro Boliviano de Estudios Multidisciplinarios and a 2006-07 Woodrow Wilson Center Fellow, characterized the case of Bolivia as the most remarkable example of a populist resurgence in the region. However, the Bolivian case differs from traditional “outsider” theories of populism in that the resurgence has come from an internal indigenous movement. The MAS administration is also different from other populist governments in the region in that it is both a political party and a social movement. Mayorga warned that this “internal duality” is not accepted by the MAS, which continues to understand itself only as a social movement. He pointed to statements by Bolivian Vice President Álvaro García Linera which promote the MAS government as a reflection of an enhanced form of direct, participatory democracy. However, Mayorga stressed that political power is extremely concentrated in a small group of leaders at the top of a hierarchical structure. Despite the MAS's commitment to a more representative democracy, it has not changed its anti-institutional logic, as illustrated by its constant interventions in the Constituent Assembly and mobilization of peasants against the opposition. The MAS does not seem to want to improve the efficiency of the state, as reflected by its governance of the national petroleum company, which has changed directors four times since Morales came to power. This is indicative of a general lack of stability in the government's

institutions. Mayorga added that Morales' triumph did not mean absolute control of the government; he still faces opposition in the Senate, Constituent Assembly, and in the leadership of 6 of the 9 regional departments. These factors are preventing him from becoming “the next Chávez” and exerting expansive control over the state.

Democratic Challenges in Mexico

On June 22, 2007, the Mexico Institute invited the chapter authors of a forthcoming book on “Democratic Challenges in Mexico” to discuss their chapters. *Andrew Selee*, director of the Mexico Institute, emphasized that in order to understand the democratic consolidation process taking place it is crucial to assess three elements: the nature of the party system, the relationship between the state and society, and institutional change. *Jaqueline Peschard*, Instituto Federal de Acceso a la Información Pública (IFAI), argued that the 2006 presidential election revealed a great deal about the state of Mexican democracy, specifically the more balanced relationship between the executive and legislative branches, increased political relevance of voters, and the fragility of certain institutions. Mexican Ambassador *Arturo Sarukhan* explained that unlike other countries, Mexico's transition to democracy has not followed a clean or linear process marked by a specific date or event. Instead, Mexico's democracy has roots that date back prior to 2000 and it continues to consolidate itself today. He highlighted the transparency law as a huge achievement. He also commended the Congress for working in a politically divided environment in which parties are constructively engaging each other and the executive branch.

John Bailey of Georgetown University remarked that the evolution of democratic governability in Mexico is determined by the rhythms and pace of change, as some transformations move quickly and others slowly, and some create synergy while others produce tension. *Jean-Francois Prud'homme* of El Colegio de México, stated that there has been a significant reconfiguration of the Mexican political party system. While the system has seen the creation of new parties, it is still dominated by the three largest parties which capture 90 percent of the vote. The weakening of the traditional centrist party, the



María Amparo Casar

Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), has created a left-right polarization in the country. However, within the two sides, there are many internal struggles which must be resolved, and strategies put in place, in order for meaningful cooperation to take place within Congress.

Alejandro Moreno of the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM) and *Reforma*, noted that this past decade of profound change has resulted in a generally stronger faith in democracy among Mexicans and a political culture centered on elections. However, he emphasized that the prevalent distrust of politicians, the perception of lack of representation and political efficacy, and the belief that not all Mexicans are equal before the law, prevent Mexico from consolidating its democracy. *John Ackerman*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), suggested that the political turmoil following the 2006 political election may actually be healthy for Mexico's democracy. He argued that internal debates and struggles are part of the dynamic process of social change and force a strengthening of institutions.

Eric Olson of the Organization of American States, addressing the issue of institutional change, commented that democracy is commonly defined by elections that are free, open and fair. However, he argued that there is more to democratization than elections alone, and in Mexico, the institutional aspects of democracy matter greatly. *María Amparo Casar*, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), noted the critical change in the relationship between the executive and legislative branches of government, where the presidency has lost its centrality and Congress has emerged as key political actor. Although the

Congress has taken on a stronger role, there has been no substantial reform to its structure. Casar recommended several reforms, including legislative reforms that provide incentives for cooperation and thereby reduce gridlock, the introduction of congressional reelection, and the right of the president to set the agenda to ensure that certain issues are addressed in a timely matter.

Tonatiuh Guillén of El Colegio de la Frontera Norte explained that federalism has found a new space through democracy, but that today's institutions struggle to deal with the new intergovernmental challenges. He commented that while decentralization is a positive shift away from the old reality of the all-powerful president, it has in turn given state and local officials power that they are not accustomed to having. *Jacqueline Peschard* emphasized that since the federal electoral reforms were enacted in the late 1990s, there has been a general improvement in electoral reform on both the federal and local level. However, state electoral institutions are far from uniform in their performance, she said. *Raúl Benítez* of UNAM described the slow transformation of civil-military relations since democratization, with few advances in civilian oversight to date. He noted that the current "war on drugs" has created a fragile situation for civil-military relations in which officers are in contact with civilians more than ever, but have not received sufficient human rights training.

Francisco González of Johns Hopkins University-SAIS opened the third panel on state-society relations by observing that is important to understand the country's complex social stratification, geographically between north and south, and within individual states, in order to evaluate the democratic process. *Mariclaire Acosta*, Organization of American States, pointed out that although there is increasingly more political space for the participation of Mexican civil society, there is a lack of real involvement of civic organizations in the democratic process. She suggested that civil society has not exerted itself in part because of the hostile environment that fiscal policies and other laws have created, but also because civil society organizations have had very few viable ideas on how to take advantage of the new space for activism. *David Ayón*, Loyola Marymount University, addressed the paradox of the transformation of state-diaspora relations during democratization: the implementation of more inclusive Mexican policies towards the diaspora

community had no bearing on migrant participation in Mexican politics. Ayón argued that the miniscule turnout of Mexicans abroad in the 2006 elections can be attributed not to a lack of political agency—many of those eligible to vote participated in the massive immigration protests in the spring of 2006—but instead to the limitations that politicians imposed on the migrant voters.

Rule of Law and Transparency in Mexico

The Latin American Program's Mexico Institute has made a major commitment to research and dialogue on transparency and rule of law issues, including the prospects for U.S.-Mexico cooperation. Several forums addressed these issues.

On May 7, 2007, El Colegio de Frontera Norte hosted a meeting at its Mexico City location, co-sponsored by El Colegio de México and the Mexico Institute, to discuss "Security in the Relationship Mexico-U.S.-Canada." *Sergio Aguayo*, professor at El Colegio de México and chair of Fundar, argued that the growth of organized crime has taken place because of the lack of a sufficiently consolidated rule of law, including a justice system and police forces capable of enforcing the law and respecting human rights. *Tónatiuh Guillén*, president of El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, argued that organized crime was now finding its way into the interstices of the political system through local and state governments, due in part to the lack of consolidation of Mexico's federalism. *Andrew Selee*, Wilson Center, noted that it was in the interest of the United States and Mexico to assume shared responsibility for organized crime that affects both countries. However, the long-term solution to security problems is to be found in consolidating the rule of law in Mexico and reducing demand for narcotics in the United States, rather than the short-term strategies of police and military operations against drug traffickers.

On May 23, Mexican Supreme Court Justice *José Ramón Cossío* spoke at the Wilson Center, addressing the prospects for judicial reform in Mexico. He argued for a holistic approach to reforming the justice system, rather than the piece-meal approach of the past, and noted that the Supreme Court justices had recently called a meeting of all the judges in the

country to address some of these issues and develop common ethical standards. He described two different approaches to justice reform. One approach, which is much in vogue and represented by a recent presidential proposal, seeks to deal primarily with organized crime. It creates two kinds of cases: those related to organized crime, which would have federal jurisdiction and specific procedures, and all other cases. The second approach looks at reforming the system to make it more just for all citizens and includes oral trials, proportionality in crimes, the presumption of innocence, alternative legal remedies, and a profound revision of the system of *amparo*, which allows higher level courts to stay the rulings of lower level courts with minimal standards of proof.

On June 11, 2007, Fundar and the Mexico Institute celebrated the release of *Derecho a Saber: Balance y Perspectivas Cívicas*, in Casa Lamm in Mexico City. The book, edited by Jonathan Fox, Libby Haight, Helena Huffbauer, and Tania Sánchez-Andrade, addresses transparency in electoral processes, congress and political parties, the judicial system, economic, social, and environmental policymaking, and state and local governments. An English version will be available in October 2007. During the presentation, *Jonathan Fox*, professor at the University of California, Santa Cruz; *Jacqueline Peschard*, citizen counselor of the Federal Institute for Access to Information; *Miguel Treviño*, editor at *Reforma*; *Arturo Alcalde*, a labor lawyer and editorial writer for *La Jornada*, and *Tania Sánchez-Andrade* and *Jorge Romero* of Fundar commented on the book.



Alonso Lujambio



Andrew Selee and Justice José Ramón Cossío

On June 29, 2007, *Alonso Lujambio*, President of Mexico's Federal Institute for Access to Information (IFAI), discussed the importance of the Freedom of Information Act and recent constitutional reforms to require access to information in state and local governments. According to Lujambio, the IFAI has the mandate of overseeing access to public information, settling disputes between citizens and public agencies over the release of information, promoting the right of access to information, and training public servants regarding matters of access to information. From its founding in June 2003 through June 2007, the IFAI received 218,352 requests for information, amounting to more than 148 requests a day. Lujambio added that the IFAI is the first institution of its kind in Latin America and its success has been commended by organizations such as the World Bank and Human Rights Watch. He acknowledged that the recent passage of a major constitutional change that will require states and municipalities to adopt common standards for access to information is a significant step forward, but the implementation process will not be easy. Currently state access to information laws are extremely uneven, he noted.

Brazil's Innovation Challenge

The proven creativity and capacity of Brazilian companies for technological and managerial innovation has brought a new set of challenges to the country's policy thinkers and policymakers. On June 27, 2007, the Brazil Institute and the Program on Science, Technology, America and the Global

Economy (STAGE) convened a group of business leaders, scholars, and a government official in the first session of a series of conferences to address the growing impact of innovation on Brazil's economy and assess how the country's Intellectual Property (IP) system is evolving to meet these new business needs. The second conference in the series will be held in November 2007 in São Paulo, Brazil.

Jorge Ávila, president of Brazil's National Institute for Industrial Property (INPI), explained that as Brazil's economy has gradually opened and attracted more foreign investment, innovation has become a central focus for the competitiveness of the country's industries. As a result, INPI has gained a broader mandate and increased government funding which has bolstered the institution's efficiency and quality of services. Ávila explained how the organization strives to help the government and businesses build a strong IP system that fosters innovation and competitiveness throughout the economy by improving IP system rules in international agreements, domestic IP-related laws and regulation. According to *José Goldemberg*, professor and a former rector of the Universidade de São Paulo (USP), Brazil's ethanol industry provides an interesting case study for how IP can advance the industry's growth. Currently, the majority of ethanol plants only yield 8,000 to 8,500 liters per hectare, with only a few producing above 10,000. Goldemberg asserted that if all ethanol plants increase output yields to 10,000 liters per hectare or more by adopting new technologies and better species selection, the industry could increase productivity by 25 percent. The next step in expanding ethanol production lies in genetic modification of sugarcane. Developing a higher-yield strain of sugarcane could double production without increasing inputs, a process which requires government policies to reward such entrepreneurial initiatives.

Christopher T. Hill, professor of public policy at George Mason University, reflected on the status of the Brazilian innovation system. Hill discussed the impact that 1,200 industrial firms have had on Brazil's economy. It is significant that these firms have become competitive in the international export market for medium and high-technology goods. This signals the diversification of the Brazilian economy beyond the dominant agricultural and commodity-based sectors and highlights the pivotal role innovation and entrepreneurship play



Jorge Ávila

in the growth of these medium and high-tech firms. *Robert Atkinson*, president of the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation (ITIF), applauded Brazil's move to strengthen its IP system. He cautioned Brazil against orienting its economy towards production of high-technology and value-added goods, a development strategy common among emerging market countries. Instead, Brazil should focus on raising productivity levels in sectors such as manufacturing and agriculture. The key is to advance innovation policies that attract new technologies and allow market demand to diffuse the technology throughout the economy.

Ricardo Camargo Mendes, director of Prospec-tiva Consulting, noted that despite the infancy of Brazil's IP industry, the country has some distinct competitive advantages: a strong local scientific base, sizeable industrial capacity, large domestic market, biodiversity, well-developed telecommunications infrastructure, and significant purchasing power. Yet, with the many problems that Brazil's IP industry faces, involving companies in the design of innovation policies should be the government's main objective. *Flavio Grynszpan*, director of ANPEI and former president of Motorola in Brazil, asserted that to understand how IP works in Brazil, one must understand that "innovation is driven by market demand." While Brazil has a strong supply-side research base from which to produce innovative products, Grynszpan argued that weak capital markets limit product development. To rectify this deficiency, he contends that firms should aim to specialize in niche markets, attract R&D resources

from global companies, and promote greater international insertion of Brazilian companies to gain competitiveness and decrease costs. Given the risk involved in producing biopharmaceutical drugs viable for human use, *William Marandola*, executive manager of the Brazilian Consortium of Pharmaceutical Companies (COINFAR), advocated for greater inter-firm partnering. As a result of the complexities of the drug production process, he recommended that biopharmaceutical companies consider outsourcing certain services in order to reduce costs and gain access to specialized resources, technology and expertise. Furthermore, Marandola suggested expanding the reach of current tax incentives and recalibrating the tax system to encourage greater R&D investment.

Argentina's 2007 Presidential Elections: Key Economic and Political Issues

Argentina has witnessed a substantial recovery after experiencing one of the worst economic crises in its history in 2001-2002, triggered by a massive debt default that led to political breakdown and urban unrest. Although high growth rates and other favorable economic indicators abound, questions about this recovery have been frequently raised, from the sustainability of economic performance to the persistence of unemployment and poverty, as well as rising public insecurity and crime. As Argentines prepared to head to the polls in a general election in October, *Ricardo López Murphy*, founder of the RECREAR Party and former Argentine minister of defense and of the economy, explained his views about the challenges facing the country during an April 23, 2007, seminar, the first of three during the Argentine pre-election season.

López Murphy argued that Argentina confronts four major challenges. The first is institutional: the two pillars of the Argentine political system—a division of powers and federalism—are broken due to the delegation of authority and centralized control over fiscal resources, respectively. Moreover, the quality of education has seriously deteriorated. Crime continues to be a problem, despite the long-held assumption that a reduction in unemployment would automatically lead to a reduction in criminal activity. Finally, poverty remains high and income



distribution skewed, a problem that has been exacerbated by successive economic crises. Its causes, López Murphy claims, are found in the type of investment and education Argentina has been promoting.

Proposals for tackling these issues include a revamping of Argentine institutions to promote pluralism; a decentralization of the educational system to emphasize local solutions, the development of skills, and output indicators; promoting investment in a way that addresses labor conditions and demands for employment; and restructuring the tax system and the regulation of labor, to put emphasis on the development of the formal economy and ease the burden on workers.

Riordan Roett of The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) addressed the slow decline of Argentina's international position as a symptom of major and long-standing institutional and social problems. Using



Ricardo López Murphy

competitiveness data from the World Economic Forum, Roett discussed Argentina's precarious rankings (in comparison with other developing countries and emerging markets) in matters such as business environment, property rights, judicial independence, corruption, and education. He reflected on necessary policies to "reposition Argentina in globalization," the most pressing of which is educational reform. He put equal emphasis on the need for commitment to a long-term reform agenda, and on the reduction of polarizing tendencies in Argentina's current socioeconomic landscape, especially rural-urban tensions.

Legal Standards and the Interrogation of Prisoners in the War on Terror

Sharp differences about both the legality and the utility of coercive investigative techniques used by the United States on prisoners in the war against terror were expressed at a Wilson Center conference on June 6, 2007, co-sponsored by the Latin American Program, the Division of U.S. Studies, and the Division of International Security Studies. The conference's first panel focused on the discussion inside the U.S. government about the use of such techniques.

William H. Taft IV, a former legal advisor to the U.S. Department of State and a former Deputy Secretary of Defense, indicated that the International Convention Against Torture and Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions, which prohibit the cruel and humiliating treatment of prisoners of war, are binding upon the United States. He noted that the Army Field Manual declares extremely coercive techniques to be ineffective. Taft argued that the right to *habeas corpus* does not apply to the detainees at Guantánamo Bay as a matter of constitutional law but should be applied as a matter of policy. In conclusion, Taft noted, "How we deal with [torture] is something that we resolved under the Geneva Conventions and under the Army Field Manual guidelines. My own preference would have been to leave it where it was and not look to new methods."

Former legal advisor to the Counsel to the President, *David Rivkin*, however, interpreted Common Article 3 as permitting aggressive and humiliating interrogation techniques that stop short of torture and argued that the Geneva Conventions do not apply to "unlawful enemy combatants." The definition of torture, he added, may be culture-driven and context-driven – as, for example, having a man interrogated by a woman might be considered humiliating in some cultures but not in others. Coercive techniques do work, he continued, and have done so throughout history. Rivkin also suggested that extraordinary rendition is legal, assuming the United States receives assurances that torture will not be utilized.

Seth Stern, a reporter for *Congressional Quarterly*, summarized recent congressional action regarding the treatment of detainees. Revelations about the

abuse of prisoners in Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo led to the passage of the 2005 Defense Reauthorization Act prohibiting “cruel, inhuman, or degrading” treatment of prisoners and which binds the military but not the CIA to the interrogation guidelines in the Army Field Manual. The same year, the Supreme Court found the military tribunals proposed for the Guantánamo prisoners to be illegal because they were not authorized by Congress (*Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*). The Military Commissions Act of 2006, the result of President George W. Bush’s acknowledgment of the use of “aggressive” techniques at secret CIA facilities, established military commissions and eliminated *habeas corpus* for detainees.

The second panel focused on views from outside the U.S. government. *Amrit Singh*, staff attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union

(ACLU), argued that the debate must take into account information about what has happened on the ground related to the treatment of prisoners in U.S. custody abroad. She presented documents obtained by the ACLU, including internal memos and e-mails from both Department of Defense and FBI officials, as well as autopsy reports for prisoners who died in U.S. custody. One FBI document reported on a prisoner who was chained to the floor in a fetal position, in a cell with air conditioning, shivering and close to unconscious. Singh disputed the claim that techniques such as the use of stress positions and constant loud noise were ever intended to be used on captured prisoners citing an e-mail from the FBI that expressed its “documented position against some of DOD’s interrogation practices” and further indicated that

Director’s Forum: Brazilian-U.S. Relations

Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs *R. Nicholas Burns*, who traveled twice to Brazil and Latin America earlier this year, briefed the media and the policy community on current challenges and opportunities the United States faces in the Americas. Burns spoke at an August 6, 2007, “Director’s Forum”



R. Nicholas Burns

sponsored by the Brazil Institute and chaired by former U.S. Ambassador to Brazil Anthony Harrington. Ambassador Burns contextualized the discussion within the framework of the world’s changing power structure: rising powers such as Brazil, India, South Africa, and Nigeria are gaining in political and economic importance. The fact that these countries are playing greater roles in multilateral institutions and taking leading roles on multiple issues of global significance is evidence that the international political order is changing. Similarly, Ambassador Burns noted that the United States has responded to such changes by building partnerships and seeking further engagement with these countries. One such initiative—central to U.S. regional foreign policy efforts—has been the “strategic partnership” forged with Brazil. He remarked that the United States “can not negotiate a way forward or have an

effective foreign policy [in the region] without Brazil.” Burns said the “symbolic centerpiece” of U.S.-Brazil relations is the biofuels cooperation. Spurred by President Bush’s visit to Brazil and President Lula’s visit to the United States in March, the initiative has a three-fold purpose: 1) furthering research on and advancing biofuels production, 2) enhancing the distribution, production, and international market for biofuels by first encouraging regional production of such fuels, and 3) creating strong international biofuels standards in order to turn biofuels into a globally tradable commodity through the Brazil-led International Biofuels Forum, which is supported by the United States, the European Union, China, India and South Africa. Ambassador Burns additionally highlighted the striking similarities between Brazil and the United States. Both countries are dedicated to principles of democratic governance, are models of peaceful, ethnically diverse societies, and struggle with poverty issues. For Burns, furthering this strategic partnership means not only championing both countries’ successes, but addressing the challenges as well.



Tom Parker and Juan Méndez

“these tactics have produced no intelligence of a threat neutralizing nature to date.”

Juan Méndez, president of the International Center for Transitional Justice and a political prisoner in Argentina in the early 1970s, addressed the question of whether exceptional circumstances allow for permissible derogations of otherwise well-recognized and accepted human rights standards. International human rights law, he indicated, allows states to derogate substantive provisions in times of war or emergency, but does not permit the use of torture. Méndez criticized the lack of follow-up to ensure that prisoners subject to “extraordinary rendition” are not subsequently tortured in their home country, and said that the U.S. practice of clandestine detention came “very close” to the infamous “disappearances” widespread under Latin American military dictatorships. Calling torture “a crime against humanity” when practiced on a systematic basis, Méndez said that it was incumbent on the nation’s courts to investigate, prosecute, and punish acts of torture.

Tom Parker, a former counterterrorism official from the United Kingdom, described himself as an investigator who “likes to put bad guys in jail.” Referencing the British experience in Northern Ireland in the early 1970s, Parker asserted that torture was simply not effective. He stated that “actionable intelligence” is obtainable only within 48 hours of an individual’s capture and that holding prisoners for three or four years, as is the case in Guantánamo, has no practical utility. Good interrogators do not use violence but build rapport with a suspect, he said, and the use of torture is a sign of poor intelligence work.

Creating Community in the Americas

The “Creating Community in the Americas” project held a number of successful meetings and workshops throughout the region as part of its longstanding mission to foment strategic debate over matters of human, national, regional, and hemispheric security. “Updating Foreign Policy: Priorities and Agendas in the Region,” a workshop on the foreign policies and strategic scenarios of countries of the Southern Cone, took place in Santiago, Chile, April 23-27, 2007. Co-sponsored by the Facultad Latinoamericana de las Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) and the Escuela Diplomática de Chile, this workshop brought foreign policy officials, journalists, and members of the military academy together to explore new scenarios in hemispheric affairs. Workshop participants included the ex-Vice-Minister of the Interior of Peru, *Carlos Basombrío*; professor of international security and international negotiations of the Torcuato Di Tella University in Argentina, *Rut Diamint*; the ex-Foreign Minister and ex-ambassador of Bolivia in Brazil, *Edgar Camacho*; and the former director of the Latin American Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars *Joseph S. Tulchin*. Additional presentations were made by *María Teresa Infante*, director of the Division of Borders at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; *Oswaldo Rosales*, director of the Division of International Commerce in the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC); *Claudio Fuentes*, director of FLACSO-Chile; *José Rodríguez Elizondo* of the Iberoamerican School of Government and Policy at the University of Chile; *Francisco Rojas*, secretary general of FLACSO; and *Carlos Portales*, director of Foreign Policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Chile. Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs *Alberto Van Klaveren* closed the event.

A second training seminar took place on June 11-14, 2007, in San Salvador, co-sponsored by Fundación Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo (FundUngo), concerning new challenges in the security agendas of Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. Among the lecturers were *Raúl Benítez Manaut*, Centro de Investigaciones sobre América del Norte (CISAN) of Mexico’s National University; *Lilian Bobea*, FLACSO-Dominican Republic, *Luis Guillermo Solís* of the Universidad de Costa Rica,

Orlando J. Pérez, University of Central Michigan; Jeannette Aguilar of the Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas, El Salvador; and Ricardo Córdova Macías, director of FundaUngo. This four-day course included sessions on the conceptual debate over human, democratic, and citizen security; organized crime as a new challenge to governability in Latin America; democracy, security, and governability in Central America; the security in the United States and Canada; civic-military relations in Latin America; defense and security reform in Central America; new security threats in Latin America; and the case of Haiti and the UN mission, MINUSTAH. Course participants were from Mexico, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and the Dominican Republic, representing civil society organizations, academic institutions, and government ministries of defense and of foreign relations.

A regional forum on the challenges of Andean cooperation and interstate relations took place on May 3, 2007, at the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, Colombia. The forum sought to identify and evaluate possible points of contention among Andean countries, especially in relation to security, and to offer perspectives on achieving cooperation. Armed conflict in Colombia, as well as an ideological division between Álvaro Uribe and his counterparts in Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia, have made it difficult to construct cooperative relations on mutual security, although profound subregional interdependence—particularly between Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador—have prevented the complete deterioration of Andean relations. Following a closed workshop of government officials, ambassadors from Andean countries, and security analysts, the project sponsored a public forum co-organized by Colombia's leading weekly news magazine, *Semana*. Participants in the public forum included Arlene Tickner, Universidad de los Andes; María Emma Wills, Universidad de los Andes; Daniel García-Peña, Planeta Paz y Polo Democrático Alternativo; Cynthia Arnson, Woodrow Wilson Center; Pablo Celi, Universidad Central del Ecuador; Ana María Sanjuán, Universidad Central de Venezuela; Socorro Ramírez, Universidad Nacional de Colombia; María Luisa Chiappe, Colombian-Venezuelan Chamber of Commerce; Tomás Uribe, Secretary General of the Comunidad Andina de Naciones; Rodrigo Pardo, *Revista Semana*; Rut Diamint, Universidad Torcuato di Tella, Argentina; and Raúl Benítez Manuát, Universidad Autónoma de México.

The Bogotá event was followed by a May 7–8, 2007, conference on the challenges of Latin American regional integration and regionalism in Caracas, Venezuela, co-sponsored by the Instituto Venezolano de Estudios Sociales y Políticos (INVESP) and the Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales (ILDIS). Panels addressed the challenges to regionalism from a U.S. perspective, the Bolivarian alternative for the Americas, the impacts of the Haitian conflict on Caribbean integration, Central American integration, the crisis of Andean integration, regionalism and Mercosur, and energy integration. Participants included Kurt-Peter Schutt, ILDIS; Antonio de Lisio, INVESP; Francine Jácome, INVESP; Edgardo Lander, Universidad Central de Venezuela; Elías Daniels, Ministerio del Poder Popular de Relaciones Exteriores; Antonio Romero, Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe (SELA); María Teresa Romero, Universidad Central de Venezuela; José Raúl Perales, Woodrow Wilson Center; Rut Diamint, Universidad Torcuato di Tella; Luis Fernando Hernández, Instituto Nacional de Fronteras; and Rafael Quiróz, Banco Central de Venezuela.

Finally, on June 18–19, 2007, a group of researchers from Argentina, Mexico, and Colombia met with Cuban security and foreign relations experts for a two-day workshop on the challenges of hemispheric security at the Centro de Estudios e Información de la Defensa (CEID) in Havana, Cuba. The workshop explored contrasting perspectives on the state of hemispheric security, Cuba's national security, and its role in a changing international system. Panels and debates focused on the state of the armed forces in Latin America, particularly in relation to questions of democratic governance and state-military relations; security scenarios in conflict countries like Haiti and Colombia; and the likely prospects for new issues such as environmental disputes to gain prominence in the future security agenda of Latin America and the international system.

U.S.-Mexico Agricultural Cooperation: Challenges within NAFTA

On January 1, 2008, the remaining provisions of NAFTA yet to be implemented will go into effect. The full implementation of these trade provisions



has been a contentious topic both in the U.S.-Mexico relationship and within each country. On April 13, 2007, the Mexico Institute hosted an event to discuss the agricultural implications of NAFTA for each country and for the relationship itself.

In his keynote address, *Alain de Janvry*, University of California, Berkeley, discussed the World Bank's *World Development Report 2008*, which examines agriculture as a tool for development. He emphasized that there is a duality in the agricultural economy, with highly successful commercial farmers who have inserted themselves successfully into the global market and more numerous small-scale farmers whose livelihood is declining. He noted that for countries like Mexico, with a high level of rural poverty that has not declined concurrently with growth, the challenge becomes how to insert these groups into the 'supermarket' economy. Urban poverty has been increasing as well, in part because of rural-to-urban migration. Inequality, the lack of access to land and public goods, and the need for economies of scale are some of the reasons behind this. De Janvry also noted that although *Oportunidades*, the Mexican money transfer program that promotes education, is a good program, it prepares rural citizens to be better migrants than farmers or rural entrepreneurs. He added that the political will to change this situation is lacking, given the disconnect between ministries in capital cities and their rural populations. Finally, de Janvry said the challenge for Latin America is governance. He explained that ministries of agriculture in Latin America are not doing well and that decentralization has not been effective for agriculture.

Víctor Suárez, National Association of Rural Producers, argued that the final implementation of NAFTA in 2008, when tariffs on corn and beans are phased out, will negatively impact maize and bean growers in Mexico. Imports of cheaper U.S. corn and beans have driven down the price that small-producers receive for their crops. Furthermore, there has been a significant polarization between the northern and southern regions of the country, a growth in rural poverty, and an increase in malnutrition. Suárez warned that the liberalization of trade of white corn and beans in 2008 will cause a price increase in these basic staples, which are essential to Mexican cultural identity and national security, even though producers will see no benefits



Kirsten Appendini, John Burstein, Katherine Ozer, and Alain de Janvry

from this increased price. *Carlos Vásquez*, Minister for Agricultural Affairs at the Mexican Embassy, reiterated that there are many domestic agricultural problems in Mexico left to solve, especially the need to improve rural infrastructure and better allocate public resources. Moreover, Vásquez noted that the United States and Mexico will continue to be strategic partners, and that NAFTA is a beginning point for further negotiations rather than a final one.

Katherine Ozer, National Farm Family Coalition, noted that on the U.S. side the challenge is the debate around the proposed farm bill and U.S. trade policy. She argued that contrary to popular belief, there are still family farmers in the United States trying to farm full time, and for them it is essential to get a fair price for their produce both domestically and internationally. She encouraged the establishment of a price-based system instead of a subsidy-based one, where a ceiling is put in place that ensures stability by setting a fixed range of what prices will be. *Kirsten Appendini*, El Colegio de México, noted that throughout rural areas in Mexico, remittances from relatives abroad are becoming the main source of local income. Households have transitioned from units of production to units of consumption, and in many rural localities there is a growing informal economy that is not linked with agriculture, leading to extremely low productivity. Among many policy recommendations, Appendini emphasized the need for support of vulnerable and poor farmers on the local level through differential policies of credit and technical assistance, the protection of biodiversity, the strengthening of local and regional markets, and the establishment of criteria for the balance between domestic and imported supplies of maize.

Steve Zahniser, U.S. Department of Agriculture, noted that there is currently no broad support for a bilateral agricultural policy between the two countries, and argued for regulatory coordination and the sharing of information. In pointing to the connection between NAFTA's effect on Mexican agriculture and Mexican migration to the United States, he discussed the potential for the USDA and the U.S. federal government to encourage rural development in Mexico.

Timothy Wise, Tufts University, characterized the effect of NAFTA on Mexico's current agricultural situation as the cause of its "state of emergency," especially regarding the drop in price

of maize, the lack of agricultural biodiversity and pressure on the environment. He connected the loss of biodiversity to the general decrease in household income, and increases in poverty and domestic and international migration. In the face of the globalization of market failure, Wise suggested that Mexico find administrative means to slow the implementation of the final provisions of NAFTA without violating the treaty itself. He also agreed with Appendini's call for price differentials, technical assistance, crop failure insurance and credit for small rural farmers. Antonio Yúnez-Naude, El Colegio de México, pointed out that other factors besides NAFTA have affected the

International Trade Symposium

On February 16, 2007, the Brazil Institute and the ABCI Institute of Brazilian International Trade Scholars convened the third annual "International Trade Symposium." This event attracted more than 150 guests and consisted of four panels: 2007 Trade Policy Outlook: WTO Major Players' Perspectives; Developments in Antidumping and Countervailing Duty Investigations; WTO Dispute Settlement and Compliance Issues; Ethanol Production and Trade: the New Frontier (see related article on biofuels, p.5).

On the first panel, *Angelos Pangratis*, the deputy chief of mission for the E.U. Delegation in Washington, argued that while agriculture is key to unlocking the Doha round negotiations, the opening of markets for industrial goods must also be high on the agenda. *Matt Rohde*, deputy assistant U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) for WTO Affairs, expressed cautious optimism over trade talks and the ensuing increase in meaningful trade flows by acknowledging intense behind-the-scenes diplomacy. *Banashri Harrison*, the minister for commerce at the Embassy of India, explained that trade agreements require intense negotiations and more concessions from all parties now that the developing world is better informed and more capable of pressing its demands. This means that development must remain the central goal of the Doha Round. *Tim Reif*, the staff director of the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee, fears that unless a Doha trade breakthrough is substantive and meaningful, Congress will dismiss many potential trade deals. Minister *Roberto Carvalho de Azevedo*, undersecretary for economic and technological affairs at the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations, questioned Pangratis' analysis and maintained that the Round's primary emphasis is agriculture, especially because it is the sector with the largest trade distortions.

Speakers on the second panel included *Fernando de Magalhães Furlan*, director of the Brazilian Trade Remedies Department, *Cláudia Marques* of Veirano Advogados, *Dan Ikenson* of the Cato Institute, and *Terence Stewart*, of Stewart & Stewart. Panelists discussed the future of the Doha Round and new developments in antidumping and countervailing duty investigations initiated in the WTO. *Flávio Marega*, of the Dispute Settlement Division of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, *Welber Barral*, law professor at the Federal University of Santa Catarina in Brazil, *John Greenwald*, of Wilmer Hale LLP, and *James Bacchus*, senior partner at Greenberg Traurig LLP, served on the third panel. The speakers debated various trade issues related to the Dispute Settlement System (DSS) of the WTO, including the success and challenges of compliance measures adopted during the Uruguay round. Brazil's role in WTO trade disputes, as well as the procedural functions of the DSS, were also discussed.



Cláudia Marques



evolution of Mexican agriculture and the rural sector, specifically internal political and economic changes during the 1990s. He noted, however, that there has not been enough collaboration between the United States and Mexico on the issues of agriculture and rural development.

Briefing on U.S. Policy in Latin America

On March 6, 2007, the Wilson Center hosted a media briefing to discuss U.S.-Latin American relations in advance of President Bush's March 8-14, 2007, trip to Brazil, Uruguay, Colombia, Guatemala, and Mexico.

Cynthia Arnson, director of the Latin American Program, provided an overview of current political trends in the region, particularly the increasing number of presidents that openly identify as on the Left. While this "swing to the left" is not universal (Colombia, Peru, and Mexico are notable exceptions), Arnson argued that the results of the thirteen elections that have taken place in the region over the past two years reflect a deep *desencanto*, or disenchantment, with the lack of capacity and/or willingness of their leaders to resolve the pervasive social and economic problems that shape their everyday lives. Arnson emphasized that "there is probably no issue that serves more as a common denominator defining today's left in the region than the desire to address the massive poverty and social injustice that exist, in varying degrees of severity, throughout Latin America." Noting that the Bush administration had demonstrated a growing awareness of the need to focus more seriously on poverty and inequality in Latin America, Arnson pointed out, however, that this year's foreign aid budget for the region had been cut. With the exception of Colombia, she said, proposed development assistance to the region had been reduced by 25 percent.

Director of the Brazil Institute *Paulo Sotero* predicted that the upcoming meeting between President Bush and President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva would concentrate almost solely on ways the two countries can increase cooperation on the production of alternative energy sources and expand the ethanol industry. Forty percent of all fuel in Brazil is comprised of ethanol, and Brazil is the world's most efficient, environmentally-friendly producer

of this energy source. Given the Bush administration's keen desire to reduce its dependency on foreign oil (as well as, Sotero ventured, its desire to detract attention from the unpopular situation in Iraq) the U.S. has been particularly interested in Brazil and in forging a healthy biofuels alliance with the Lula government.

Another political dimension of this relationship, said Sotero, is the fact that the Bush administration views Lula as a progressive as well as cooperative and democratic leader. This is important, Sotero explained, due to the growing network of largely anti-American and increasingly cavalier heads of state in Latin America, such as Hugo Chávez of Venezuela. Bush sees Lula as a crucial ally in promoting regional stability in the southern hemisphere. He will therefore continue to expend considerable energy in building this relationship. Sotero concluded that a positive U.S.-Brazil partnership could yield substantial benefits for both countries, particularly with regard to their cooperation on biofuels.

Andrew Selee, director of the Mexico Institute, discussed the likely outcomes of Bush's visit with President Felipe Calderón. He stressed that expectations of these talks, among both Mexicans and Americans, are extremely low, especially in comparison to those that were raised during the administration of Vicente Fox. At that time, people had high hopes that the United States and Mexico would develop a close and productive relationship, but were ultimately disappointed as Bush and Fox failed to meet their perceived potential. Now, Selee explained, the situation is the reverse: Calderón has barely begun his tenure as president (he took office on December 1, 2006), while Bush is entering his 'lame duck' phase, and so expectations are particularly low with regard to what these two can accomplish over the coming year.

Selee underscored the importance of Bush's upcoming trip to Mexico, however, noting that it will set the tone for the neighboring countries' interactions with one another and help focus their bureaucracies on common enterprises. According to Selee, the top issues will be security—dealing with organized crime and creating an environment of cooperation; migration, which is perhaps the biggest concern for Mexicans, both politically and symbolically; and economic relations. Mexico will likely pressure the United States about U.S. exports of corn and beans, which continue to flood the Mexican market, putting small farmers in southern Mexico out of business.

Fighting Corruption in the Americas: Is the Inter-American Convention Living up to its Potential? Views from Four Countries

On June 25, 2007, the Latin American Program and Transparency International hosted representatives of Transparency International chapters in Mexico, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, and Venezuela, to discuss their recent evaluations of anti-corruption initiatives in these countries within the context of the Inter-American Convention against Corruption.

According to *Cynthia Arnson*, Latin American Program, corruption is widely considered a threat to democratic consolidation and democratic institutions, and as an impediment to growth and development.

According to polls by *Latinobarómetro*, in the last few years there has been modest improvement in reducing the public's perception of corruption within their respective governments, but a majority of the population still believes public officials are corrupt. *Nancy Zucker Boswell*, Transparency International USA, stated that the multilateral efforts to fight corruption began in 1994 at the Summit of the Americas. The Inter-American Convention against Corruption, developed within the framework of

the Organization of American States (OAS), establishes the minimum standards around areas such as codes of conduct, access to information, whistleblower protection, and procurement, among others. In 1999 Transparency International convened experts from across the region and asked them how the convention could be better enforced. It was decided that the convention needed a peer review and a follow-up mechanism to track the progress of its recommendations. This follow-up mechanism is now in its second round of review.

As explained by *Eduardo Bohórquez* of *Transparencia Mexicana*, the challenge to good governance

is finding a balance between public opinion and effective governance. Ten years ago, Mexico began a period of "moral renewal," in which the government sought to hold formal institutions and citizens accountable for behavior. This resulted in new legislation, but the administration quickly realized that even new legislation could be easily influenced by particular interests within the government. Under the Zedillo administration, the focus shifted to the modernization of the state and executive accountability. Despite subsequent reforms, there is still a need for better coordination between the different government branches.

The Access to Public Information Law met several goals of the reformist agenda because it received adequate funding to create an autonomous agency, linked government to civil society, and engaged both citizens and private interests. Nevertheless, analysts caution against allowing local governments to prematurely approve laws of greater access to information without having the necessary tools to provide such access. *Bohórquez* concluded that corruption is not a result of disregard for moral integrity but rather a reflection of government failure. The popular approach of creating an anti-corruption czar is not a solution and incarceration alone as a punishment for corruption has not been enough to convince people of a change.

Carlos Fonseca, PROÉTICA-Consejo Nacional para la Ética Pública, noted that anti-corruption legislation in Peru outlines and prohibits almost every act that could be considered corruption. The problem is that few people are ever tried or convicted for such crimes. Also, the work required of the judiciary exceeds the operational capacity of this institution. In the realm of hiring public servants, *Fonseca* noted that government lacks a clear and inclusive strategy and has made the mistake of adhering too severely to austerity by drastically reducing wages. The administration is rigid and inefficient; there is a lack of public service, an abuse of discretion, and a deepening disparity between responsibilities and salaries for public servants. In addition, there is no protection for whistleblowers and legislation on the subject has not been debated, as there are disagreements about the responsibilities of each government branch in the process. *Fonseca* noted that the government does not promote citizen participation, and thus the most effective avenues for the involvement of civil society are informal.



Mercedes de Freitas



Victor Hart, Trinidad and Tobago Transparency Institute (TTTI), situated the state of corruption reforms in Trinidad and Tobago within a society experiencing an economic boom from petroleum and approaching parliamentary elections in the fall. One of the principal areas of suggested reform centers on the highly unregulated processes for public procurement. Currently, procurement is largely carried out by statutory corporations that, although created by the government and state enterprises, operate outside the legal framework of the Central Tenders Board, established in 1961 as the exclusive authority for procurement. However, the government is hesitant to adopt TTTI's recommended reforms because it fears certain policies may limit its ability to "fast-track" specific projects. According to Hart, this is a major concern leading up to the fall elections; a new political party in power may curb or further delay the adoption of the reforms. Additionally, there is concern over high-cost "mega-projects," funded by the petroleum boom and developed outside of both the existing procurement regulations and the recommended reform legislation. Hart decried the government's non-compliance with the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (passed in 2005), which aims to promote transparency in contracts within the extractive sector. Given these concerns, Hart emphasized that the Inter-American Convention against Corruption can only be effective if its recommendations are adopted by government and implemented urgently.

Mercedes de Freitas of Transparencia Venezuela explained that the hiring process for public officials in Venezuela lacks competitiveness, despite the country's ample laws regulating the hiring process. This is evidenced by official government statistics which show an increase in the number of public officials hired without a competitive hiring procedure, from 4,694 in 2004 to 11,581 in 2006. In addition, the infamous Tascón and Maisanta lists—which publicized the names of those who supported referendums against Chávez, as well as the official party membership lists for Chávez's Socialist party—identify the names of those eligible for government hire based on their political loyalties. On the subject of procurement, De Freitas concluded that the ambiguity of procurement law has resulted in a less transparent process and has standardized direct adjudication, particularly evidenced

by highly-funded, popular, social welfare programs (called *misiones*) that are not factored into the country's overall budget.

Regarding whistleblower protection, de Freitas noted that while the 1999 Penal Code attempted to establish protections for victims of crime, it did not make any provisions for public officials who report corrupt practices. This is further complicated by an overall distrust of the judicial system; whistleblowers fear that they will be jailed, threatened, or lose their job because of their actions. In addition, Venezuela's has recently increased enforcement of *desacato*, or "insult" laws, which punish anyone who criticizes a public official.

Alfonso Quiroz, Baruch College and Graduate Center, City University of New York, highlighted the importance of issues raised by the speakers: 1) discrepancies between recent advances in legal structures regarding corruption and the actual implementation of anti-corruption measures; 2) the way in which public opinion diverges from the pace of reforms; and 3) the extent of negative public opinion resulting from state inefficiency. In addressing these issues, Transparency International has played an important role, inspiring an historical benchmark in the fight against corruption in Latin America by providing governments with multifaceted recommendations. Quiroz pointed out that despite recent legislative successes in the region, additional challenges to implementing basic anti-corruption reforms remain, ranging from complicated bureaucracy and the lack of consensus within civil society, to the existence of "despotic regimes" such as those in Venezuela and Peru.

Strategies for Promoting Gender Equity in Developing Countries: Lessons, Challenges, and Opportunities

Over the last several decades a number of strategies have evolved to promote gender equity in development efforts. Yet debates regarding the relative efficacy of these strategies remain. On April 26, 2007, junior staff from seven Wilson Center programs and projects, including the Latin American Program, convened a group of experts to share

perspectives, experiences, and lessons regarding the best ways to promote gender equity and increase development effectiveness.

Keynote Speaker *Nyaradzai Gumbonzvanda*, East and Horn of Africa Regional Office of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), asserted that gender mainstreaming must challenge and change the embedded value systems in the global community that perpetuate gender inequalities and prevent women's empowerment. In Kenya, development "is becoming less about communities, social movements, and investing in people's organizing, and more about investing in the abstract policy reform which does not trickle down to impact people's real, daily lives." According to Gumbonzvanda, the centralization of power and resources results in a lack of access to essential public services and to public infrastructure such as roads and electricity. She stressed the urgency of responding to the nexus of patriarchy, HIV/AIDS, violence, and poverty. "Women in Sudan cannot talk about achieving gender equality when there is violence," said Gumbonzvanda. She also urged a "paradigm shift," in which the international community stops perceiving women as those suffering from entrenched poverty or those who need to be "saved." Rather, she argued that women should be viewed as wealth-creators, as producers, and as vital actors in a society who provide subsidies for basic social services through their unpaid reproductive, child-rearing, farming, and manual work.

Jane Jaquette, Occidental College, explained that in the United States, the onset of an unprecedented internationalization of capital, trade, business, and production in the 1980s and 1990s led to the desire to find a different model for gender equity through Gender and Development (GAD), which emphasized gender mainstreaming through changing how bureaucracies function in international development. *Aruna Roy*, Gender at Work, clarified that gender mainstreaming theory defines the implications of all legislation, policies, and programs for women while GAD in practice has become about "adopting a gender policy" – creating a gender unit in bureaucracies that initiate gender trainings, or address gender equity and representation in the organizational leadership and staff. Roy pointed out that there have been positive gains for gender equity since the adoption of the Beijing Platform



Angelina Aspuac

for Action, including the strategic partnerships forged between women's movements and policy reformers, and, between the countries that have enshrined gender equality in their constitutional provisions, public policy, and legal frameworks.

Cathy Feingold, American Center for International Labor Solidarity, asserted that there is an ongoing feminization of poverty in the global economy as women workers constitute the driving labor force behind export production and rural-urban migration. Feingold also described innovative strategies of leveraging strategic relationships, such as those between multinational companies and global unions, and the use of cross-border organizing efforts, such as migrant workers unions for Indonesian women working in Hong Kong.

Andrew Levack, Men as Partners, underscored the importance of "transformative programs" that challenge gender stereotypes, particularly in public health programs that address HIV/AIDS, gender-based violence, sexual and reproductive health, and family planning. However, one of the key challenges of transformative programs is that men's role in gender equality is not yet being taken to scale by the public sector, or being addressed through policy formulation, and there is very little work with men and boys that addresses "broader socio-economic conditions."

Lyn Beth Neylon, Women's Legal Rights Initiative, explained how her organization worked to promote women's rights in local NGO's and legal institutions in Albania and Benin while



carefully avoiding agenda-setting behavior and acknowledging customary traditions and needs, which often had more salience in the society than laws. She highlighted how her organization learned to frame their work through “continuing education” programs and ensured the participation of men at every level. *Angelina Aspuac*, Asociación Femenina para el Desarrollo de Sacatepequez, Guatemala, described how her association originally formed in order to meet the basic needs of women in the

community in such areas as child malnutrition and food self-sufficiency. Soon, they started receiving financial support from the Inter-American Foundation, Washington, D.C., which enabled them to access credit, expand their membership, monitor their work, and engage in training opportunities. Aspuac stated that her association has inspired solidarity among the women in her community, and has worked to promote literacy and education in order to encourage civic participation.

Energy in Mexico: Oil as a Comparative Advantage and Strategic Resource?



Luis de la Calle

Although Mexico is one of the world's leading suppliers of oil, there are increasing signs that its oil reserves may be on the decline. It is widely believed that the Mexican government will need to develop creative solutions if oil is to serve as a strategic resource to address the country's development needs. On July 13, 2007, the Mexico Institute invited experts in the field to assess the prospects for energy sector reform and to suggest creative approaches for the future.

The panelists commented that of the many challenges facing the Mexican government in its effort to reform the energy sector, the role of public opinion is perhaps one of the most influential. The majority of Mexicans have resisted the idea of energy reform, especially measures that may open up the sector to foreign investment. However, according to *Luis de la Calle* of De la Calle, Madrazo & Mancera, S.C., Mexicans are more willing to accept change if it will benefit them and if it is not the result of special interest pressure. He cited the possibility of linking structural reform to pension reform as one option, since oil workers' pensions may be in jeopardy in the future if no reform is carried out.

The panel also noted that issues of government over-regulation, weak rule of law, monopoly pricing, and lack of competition remain large obstacles to modernization of the oil sector. They emphasized the importance of differentiating between creating sound energy policy and saving PEMEX, the latter of which has been the Mexican government's focus. Calderón's strategy of saving PEMEX through exploration, technology, transformation, transparency, and efficiency has not included competition. *José Luis Alberro*, Law and Economics Consulting Group, and de la Calle agreed that competition is essential for the improvement of Mexico's energy sector.

Panelists argued that energy reform does not need to be debated solely as an issue to be dealt with in Congress, but can also be addressed from within the executive branch. Only federal laws must be changed in order to open some investment and trade in natural gas, for which Mexico is now a net importer. This would open the energy sector to free trade, thereby ensuring supply and quality and that assets that belong to Mexico are put to the best use. De la Calle also pointed out that the constitution does not indicate that Mexico should have a monopoly of the selling and trading of oil; therefore a market within Mexico can be created without giving up ownership. However, *Pamela Starr*, Eurasia Group, argued that until there is public support, there will be no political will from the executive branch to push through controversial changes. Instead, the government will continue with fiscal reform to PEMEX, which, although not a solution, will be passed in Congress. She predicted that President Calderón will spend his first three years trying to get more popular reforms through Congress in hopes of winning a majority in the Chamber of Deputies in 2009 so that he can undertake more controversial measures. If he can get a majority for his party, only then would President Calderón try to open refining and petrochemicals to foreign investment. She emphasized that reform will only come when he has more political capital and strength.

Governing the City

With more than half of the world's population expected to live in cities by next year, properly managing urban development and controlling urban crime and violence are crucial public policy priorities for many Latin American governments. To address these two pressing issues of urban governance, the Brazil Institute and the Comparative Urban Studies Project (CUSP) co-sponsored two events. On March 21, 2007, a conference on "Urban Crime and Violence" analyzed research emerging from the field of urban development about the causes, costs, and consequences of inner-city violence, and highlighted potential policy responses to the problem. A conference on May 17, 2007, focused on how participatory requirements in Brazil's City Statute have reshaped the way urban policy is formulated.



Rubem César Fernandes

During the March 21 conference, *Rubem César Fernandes*, anthropologist and director of Viva Rio, discussed the work of his organization to overcome violence and social exclusion throughout Rio de Janeiro. He noted that despite the success of a program helping 100,000 high school dropouts to re-enroll in school and to prepare them with job-training skills, it has been difficult to convince centrally-financed public schools to make the program part of their official education policy.

Brookings Institution Senior Fellow *Caroline Moser* discussed her research concerning the impact of violence and insecurity on the lives of the poor in Latin America. She noted that while the scale of urban violence varies among cities and countries, the

phenomenon is linked to inequality and exclusion rather than poverty, and is commonly associated with urban growth rates, not city size. Moser also addressed future challenges to combating urban crime and violence in Latin America, citing a universal lack of confidence in state capacity to control or prevent crime. Integrated approaches that recognize the plurality of actors and the complexity of the problems are needed to tackle the multidimensional nature of violence.

Diane Davis, professor of political sociology and associate dean in the School of Architecture and Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, discussed the impact of urban violence on the quality of life and the future of Latin American cities. Davis highlighted how the police force contributes to violence and discussed the impacts of the correlated rise in private security. Urging consideration of short- as well as long-term solutions, Davis outlined four areas in which violence served as a catalyst for positive change in the social, spatial, economic, and political arenas. Davis concluded that work at the community level does not do enough. She argued that policy actions to reduce crime and violence must take into consideration large urban scales, spatial interconnections, and sectoral tradeoffs to balance metropolitan planning.

Brazil, a country notorious for its spatially segregated cities and concentration of wealth and power, served as a telling case study for how urban policy and planning can improve the quality of life of city dwellers. During the seminar held on May 17, director of the Brazil Institute *Paulo Sotero* acknowledged the salience of democracy at the local level—the level that matters the most to citizens. Studying the new generation of urban policies in Brazil, *Teresa Caldeira*, professor of city and regional planning at the University of California at Berkeley, analyzed the recent trend of requiring citizen participation in urban policy and planning through Brazil's *Estatuto da Cidade* (Law of the City) and São Paulo's Master Plan.

The *Estatuto da Cidade* is the federal law mandated by Brazil's 1988 constitution requiring that 40 percent of Brazilian municipalities reformulate their Master Plans (MP) by October 2006 in accordance with the principle of popular participation in urban reform and municipal administration. Although the progressive urban policy aimed to democratize and equalize the urban planning process, Caldeira's findings show MPs have complicated the fight for social justice.

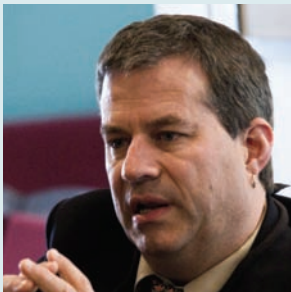


The two basic tenets of São Paulo's MP were to use urban policy to address urban dispersal and socio-spatial inequality by encouraging greater residential concentration in places where infrastructure already exists and discouraging the growth of illegal settlements in the periphery. Caldeira found that while popular participation in urban policy planning enforced the *principle* of social justice, in *practice*, popular participation actually contested social justice. Whereas inequality was formerly expressed through illegality—the poor peripheries were informal and thus illegal—Caldeira argues that with the implementation of MPs, “inequality is expressed in legality.” Despite these negative consequences, these urban policies have nonetheless marked a turning point in how the government responds to urban development challenges: instead of expelling residents from the periphery, laws are now aimed at improving the quality of life of low-income citizens.

Marcia Leite Arieira, senior social development specialist at the Inter-American Development Bank

(IDB), observed that Brazilian urban policies targeting these zones have recently undergone a significant transformation, particularly in São Paulo. Instead of targeting *favelas* with traditional physical infrastructure improvements—regardless of the needs and wants of residents—these new policies have given coherence to these improvements, with the concept of transforming the *favela* into a regular neighborhood. Such success is less evident in Rio de Janeiro, according to *Bryan McCann*, associate professor of history at Georgetown University. As with many other urban policy initiatives, Rio's *Estatuto da Cidade* has produced unintended consequences: Rio residents with informal or illegal living arrangements have not legitimized ownership of their residencies even though new laws make them eligible to do so. This is attributed to the influence and power of *favela* leaders elected to help rewrite Rio's MP, whom saw to it that their low-income neighborhoods either remained outside the realm of legality or in a form of legalized inequality.

Antonio's Gun and Delfino's Dream: True Tales of Mexican Migration



Sam Quinones

One of the Mexico Institute's key projects is an initiative on Latin American immigration to the United States. The initiative examines and compares the reality of Latin American immigrant civic and political participation in six cities around the country. As part of this study the Institute welcomed *Los Angeles Times* correspondent and author Sam Quinones on May 15, 2007, to discuss his most recent book, *Antonio's Gun and Delfino's Dream: True Tales of Mexican Migration*, University of New Mexico Press, 2007. According to Quinones, his inspiration for the book—a collection of reports on personal stories of Mexicans who have migrated north—originated from his visits to the small towns that have been left desolate following waves of migration to the United States. There, the large houses built from remittance money stood as icons of success abroad, and represented the paradox that the migration

phenomenon has created: millions of people make the journey across the border to achieve the dream of creating a better place to live, and then never return home. Instead, towns across Mexico are left depopulated, as their inhabitants use their skills abroad instead of in their native country.

Migration is motivated as much by the desire to prove oneself as it is by economics, Quinones said, and immigration breeds more immigration by showing those back home what a person can achieve abroad. People feel pressured to be a part of a culture of departure; what motivates them to leave is the promise of the house waiting for them when they return home, he added. However, after twenty years abroad, those who migrated have lives centered in the United States, and the previous way of life in their towns and villages of origin has all but vanished.

Recent Publications

Reports on the Americas

Jonathan Fox, Libby Haight, Elena Hofbauer, and Tania Sánchez Andrade, eds., *Derecho a saber: balance y perspectivas cívicas* (Mexico City: Fundar and Woodrow Wilson Center, 2007).

Reports and Bulletins

Instituto Venezolano de Estudios Sociales y Políticos, Woodrow Wilson Center, and Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales, *Nuevos retos de la integración en América Latina y el Caribe: profundización o fragmentación del regionalismo?* Caracas, septiembre de 2007.

Elizabeth Bryan with Cynthia J. Arnson, José Raúl Perales, and Johanna Mendelson Forman, "Governance and Security in Haiti: Can the International Community Make a Difference?" Creating Community Bulletin No. 27, September 2007.

Cynthia J. Arnson, Leslie Bethell, et. al., *The 'New Left' and Democratic Governance in Latin America*, August 2007.

Alan M. Wright, "Brazil's Innovation Challenge," a joint publication of the Brazil Institute and the Science, Technology, America and the Global Economy Program, August 2007.

Daniel Nogueira Budny, "Democracy and the City: Assessing Urban Policy in Brazil," A joint publication of the Brazil Institute and the Comparative Urban Studies Program, August 2007.

Brazil Institute Special Report No. 3, "The Global Dynamics of Biofuels: Potential Supply and Demand for Ethanol and Biodiesel in the Coming Decade," April 2007.

Elizabeth Bryan, "Understanding Cuba," Creating Community Bulletin No. 26, March 2007.

Win Savenije, María Antonieta Beltrán, and José Miguel Cruz, *Temas de Actualidad No. 3*, "Exclusión social, jóvenes y pandillas en Centroamérica," March 2007.

Brazil Institute Annual Report 2006–2007.

Thinking Brazil

Thinking Brazil Updates are available for download at www.wilsoncenter.org/brazil under our Publications section.

Brazil Update No. 26: "Jaques Wagner Reflects on Politics and Democracy in Brazil"





Forthcoming Publications

For additional information please visit www.wilsoncenter.org/LAP.

Cynthia Arnson and Philippa Strum, eds., *Legal Standards and the Interrogation of Prisoners in the War on Terror*, December 2007.

John Burstein, *U.S.-Mexico Agricultural Trade and Rural Poverty in Mexico*, Policy Report, November 2007.

Luis de la Calle, José Alberro and Pamela Starr, *Energy as a Strategic Resource in Mexico?*, December 2007.

Asia Program, Latin American Program, and The Johns Hopkins University SAIS, *Enter the Dragon? China's Presence in Latin America*, February 2008.

Guillermo O'Donnell, Joseph S. Tulchin and Augusto Varas, eds., *New Voices in the Study of Democracy in Latin America*, January 2008.

Andrew Selee, *More Than Neighbors: An Overview of Mexico and U.S.-Mexico Relations*, December 2007.

Annual Report, Mexico Institute, December 2007.

Staff Notes

In May 2007, the Latin American Program welcomed *Adam Stubits* as a Program Assistant. Prior to coming to the Wilson Center he served as a Special Assistant to the Executive Director of International Accounts at the Corporate Executive Board and before that as a Development Officer with Partners of the Americas. Adam has received both a BA in Political Science and a Masters of Public Administration from The American University.

The Latin American Program welcomed *Alan Wright* as the first, full-time Program Assistant for the Brazil Institute in June 2007. Alan was an intern with the Brazil Institute during the spring 2007 semester. Prior to joining the Wilson Center, Alan worked for the Haiti Reborn and Quest for Peace programs of the Quixote Center, a non-profit organization focused on community and economic development in the Americas. He completed his BA in Economics at the University of Maryland, College Park, earning the honor of Department Scholar, and is due to receive his second degree in Government & Politics upon completion of his Senior Honors Thesis on Brazilian foreign policy in December 2007.

Diana Rodriguez joined the Latin American Program in July 2007 as the Program Assistant for the Mexico Institute. Prior to joining the Wilson Center she was the Assistant Director of the Group of Fifty, an association of Latin American business leaders, which is sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Diana is Mexican American and was raised in California. She received her BA in Political Science and Latin American Studies from the University of California, San Diego. As an undergraduate she studied at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, the Universidad de La Habana, and the Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro.

We bid a fond farewell to Program Assistant *Kelly Albinak*. Kelly played a key role in the coordination of the Junior Scholars in Democracy project as well managing the Program's day to day operations. Kelly joined the Peace Corps as a volunteer in Nicaragua. We thank her for her years of service and wish her the best in her future endeavors.

We also bid a fond farewell to Daniel Nogueira Budny. Daniel worked for two years with the Center, first as an intern with the Latin American Program and then as Program Assistant for the Brazil Institute. He completed his M.A. in Latin American Studies at Georgetown University in the spring of 2007, and began a Ph.D. in government at the University of Texas at Austin in the fall of 2007. Daniel is studying political parties and social policy reform in Brazil. We thank him for his many years of service and wish him the best in his academic career.

Interns

The Latin American Program has been fortunate to have had the assistance of several very capable interns during the spring and summer of 2007. We thank the following interns for their energy, hard work, and willingness to share their talents and skills with us:

Antonio Delgado, Georgetown University
Alex Steffler, George Washington University
Katie Putnam, Pomona College
Kristin Smith, Georgetown University
Sarah Fink, George Washington University

Fellows and Public Policy Scholars

The Latin American Program is delighted to welcome *Lucia Dammert*, Director, Security and Citizenship Program, Faculty of Latin American Social Sciences (FLACSO), Chile and *Frances Hagopian*, the Michael P. Grace II Associate Professor of Latin American Studies, University of Notre Dame as Wilson Center Fellows from September 2007 – May 2008. Dammert's project is titled "Diffusion and confusion: The importation of U.S. Public Security Policies to Latin America." Hagopian's project is titled "Reorganizing Political Representation in Latin America: Parties, Program, and Patronage in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico."

The Wilson Center and the Mexican Council on Foreign Affairs (COMEXI) run a joint scholars program. We were fortunate to have had two scholars in residence at the Wilson Center in 2007:

Alejandro Anaya, Professor, Iberoamerican University, Mexico City, "Human Rights and Security in Mexico."
Jorge Hernández Díaz, Professor, Benito Juárez Autonomous University in Oaxaca, "Indigenous Rights and Governance in Oaxaca."

We are pleased to host *Javier Diez Canseco*, former Peruvian senator and professor at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú as a Public Policy Scholar from August – November 2007. His project is titled "Fujimori: Neoliberalism, Neosultanism, and Corruption."

Latin American Program

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 Diana Rodríguez, Program Assistant, Mexico Institute
 Adam Stubits, Program Assistant
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