

## Reflections on the Transition to Democracy Project 25 Years Later

**I**n October 2004, The Latin American Program marked the 25th anniversary of its Transitions from Authoritarian Rule initiative while launching a new comparative project to study the progress of emerging democracies around the globe.

The Transitions project began at the Wilson Center in 1979 and, over the course of several



Former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso

years, sponsored a number of meetings and conferences to explore key questions of democratic transition and consolidation. These meetings prompted a series of books, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), which included case studies, comparative and theoretical perspectives, and conclusions by scholars from Latin America, the United States, and Europe. The series was translated into numerous languages and, for more than a decade, was the most cited work of social science published in English. Building on the success of this initial project, the Latin American Program is spearheading a continuation of this comparative debate among a new generation of scholars who will assess the state of democracy around the world. *Guillermo O'Donnell* of the University of Notre Dame, *Philippe Schmitter* of the European University Institute, and *Laurence Whitehead* of Oxford University will lead the project, as they did the original, this time joined by Latin American Program director *Joseph S. Tulchin*.

Transitions project scholars advocated certain principles they deemed at the core of transi-

### INSIDE

Reflections on the Transition to Democracy Project 25 Years Later	1-4	The Economic and Social Consequences of Conflict and Peace in Colombia	16-17
White House Chiefs of Staff Talk About Trade Policy	4-5	Agriculture and the Environment in Brazil	17
Brazil Under Lula: Domestic and Foreign Perceptions	5-6	Mexico Institute Holds Washington Policy Forums	18-19
How Do We See Each Other? Perceptions and Media in U.S.-Mexico Relations	6-10	New Project on Decentralization, Local Democratic Initiatives Launched	19-20
The Peace Process in Colombia with Paramilitary Groups	10-12	Creating Community	20
Embraer: Building A Globally Competitive Company	11	Legislatures, Trade and Integration: Regional Initiatives in the Americas	21-23
Brazil-U.S. Relations: 2004 and Beyond	12-13	Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament: A Brazilian Perspective	21
The Role of the Media in the Consolidation of Democracy	13-14	Recent Publications	24-25
The Hispanic Challenge? What We Know About Latino Immigration	14-16	Staff Notes	26-27



Ambassador Heraldo Muñoz

tion: formal government institutions, informal cultural norms, “free and fair” elections, stable political parties, viable civil societies, and conceptions of citizenship, as well as the “old standards” of development and economic growth. Over the years, the lessons and experiences of different countries helped refine the theoretical discussion, leading to new approaches.

When scholars of Latin America proposed the Transitions project in 1979, all of the nations being studied were under authoritarian rule. Latin American Program Director *Joseph S. Tulchin* commented, “the scholars presumed—with great optimism—that democracy was

the natural mode of political organization and that this transition was impending and inevitable.”

At the October 1, 2004, Transitions anniversary event, former Latin American Program Director *Abraham Lowenthal* characterized the original initiative as “thoughtful wishing.” He noted that the whole notion of democratic transitions seemed unrealistic at the time the project was launched, given the political backdrop of brutal authoritarian regimes throughout Latin America. Rather than engage in wishful thinking, the project garnered intellectual as well as financial support from the Wilson Center and incorporated the views of practitioners, policymakers, and international academics from multiple disciplines into a rigorous inquiry.

*Guillermo O’Donnell* characterized the project as an act of “scholarly and personal solidarity.” He said the project was political in nature, with a practical interest in opposing dictatorships and pressing for their demise. Given the harsh political reality at the time, the academic effort began, and has continued, under the common belief that freedom from authoritarian rule was not only possible, but worth attaining.

O’Donnell was one of three project co-founders, along with Philippe Schmitter and *Fernando Henrique Cardoso*, who were members of the Latin American Program’s Advisory Board. Soon after, Cardoso entered the Brazilian senate and was subsequently elected president of Brazil. Laurence Whitehead replaced Cardoso as project co-director.

At the anniversary event, Schmitter said the Transitions project strove to break away from the mold of social science literature on democratization, which characterized the very idea of democratization as highly unlikely. However, the original project participants were correct in their assertion that countries would ultimately pursue a path toward democracy and, in fact, overestimated the difficulty of the transition to democracy, he said.

Whitehead echoed O’Donnell’s emphasis on the significance of the project in light of the events of the time. During the project’s first five years, from 1979–1984, tremendous changes took place in Latin America, including the Latin American debt crisis in 1982, the Malvinas War in Argentina, the Contra War in Nicaragua, and daily upheaval in Spain and Portugal. Yet some of these international events were not discussed in depth in the Transitions literature. In hindsight, Whitehead argued, the international historical context did and continues to have more to contribute to the understanding of democratization.

During an afternoon working session, over twenty distinguished scholars of democratic transitions and consolidation discussed the status of research on democracy. Each panelist was invited to critique existing approaches and offer fresh alternatives. Those participating included: *Ariel Armony*, Colby College; *András Bozóki*, Central European University; *Marcelo Cavarozzi*, National University of San Martín, Argentina; *Steven Friedman*, Centre for Policy Studies, South Africa; *Davide Grassi*, University of Turin; *Evelyne Huber*, University of North Carolina; *Jane S. Jaquette*, Occidental College; *Terry Karl*, Stanford University; *Robert Kaufman*, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey; *Lorenzo Meyer*, El Colegio de México; *Enrique Peruzzotti*, Torcuato DiTella University, Argentina; *Marc F. Plattner*, *Journal of Democracy*; *Alfred Stepan*, Columbia University; *Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida*, University of São Paulo; *Donna Lee Van Cott*, Tulane University; *Augusto F. Varas*, Ford Foundation; *Jorge Vargas-Cullell*, State of the Nation Program, Costa Rica; and *Kurt Weyland*, University of Texas.

At a dinner on October 1, the keynote speaker, Chilean Ambassador to the United Nations *Heraldo Muñoz*, observed that democracy has expanded since the 1970s and ‘80s as a result of the



from left to right: Guillermo O'Donnell, Abe Lowenthal, Philippe Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead

influence of globalization. According to Muñoz, globalization has fostered a growing awareness of the value of democracy and of respect for human rights and furthered the emergence of a global civil society. Another important variable was the shift in international focus after the end of the Cold War from containment to democracy promotion. Despite these advances, Muñoz described several challenges to democratic transitions: extending worldwide the idea of democracy as a legal obligation, curtailing what Guillermo O'Donnell has labeled “delegative” and self-complacent democracies (by limiting the power of politicians and promoting civic participation), and improving democratic governance to promote a better quality of life. In order to address these challenges, Muñoz argued that the international community should continue to promote democratic practices and values, take steps to prevent the breakdown of democracy, and suspend countries from participation in international organizations when there has been an interruption of the democratic process.

In the final session of the Transitions conference on October 2, panelists considered the possibilities for further scholarship on democracy. Rising inequality and poverty, growing *desencanto* (dissatisfaction) with the institutions of democratic governance, lack of participation or representation, and a resurgence of populist forms of government were among the issues identified as warranting further study, particularly in regard to their implications for the future of democratic consolidation. The time is ripe for scholars to assess what has been learned from the more than two decades of empirical research on Latin America and Southern Europe that emerged from the Transitions project and undertake new comparative inquiry. The new project will incorporate further debate and a new round of case studies on countries facing excep-

tional challenges in their transitions. In addition, a fellowship competition will be organized to allow younger scholars to complete their dissertations on the subject and add to the wealth of existing knowledge. The effort to consolidate democracies around the globe makes a new generation of comparative studies even more urgent and necessary.

Former President of Brazil *Fernando Henrique Cardoso*, a co-founder of the Transitions Project, addressed a special session at the Wilson Center on December 6, 2004. He said that at the time the project was launched, he and his colleagues had only a superficial comprehension of the relevance it would have for political transitions in Latin America. Cardoso said that the project was essential in creating an intellectual basis for democratization in the face of oppressive authoritarian regimes. In addition, the Spanish transition from the Franco dictatorship of 1936 – 1975 helped motivate and develop a network of democracy experts and advocates worldwide.

Cardoso expressed surprise over the pace of Latin American transitions and the new levels of political participation. The Internet, for example, has given citizens the opportunity to discuss and react to legislation even before it reaches congress. In Brazil, prior to the approval of the recently enacted Fiscal Responsibility Law, there was extensive public debate on the Internet and in other forums, adding legitimacy to the law passed in 2000.

In assessing the quality of Latin American democracies, Cardoso acknowledged there have been varying levels of success. He said that Chile stands out as the most successful, having built a stable democracy and a solid economy in the wake of harsh dictatorship. In Brazil, marked improvements in the political and economic spheres have helped attract a steady stream of foreign investment. Nevertheless, inequality remains a serious

problem. Cardoso noted that Argentina had been struggling to stabilize both economically and politically, but that the Argentine people appeared to have regained a belief in government. The Andean countries, including Colombia, Bolivia, and Venezuela, face the most serious challenges in the region. Despite the extraordinary economic potential of Venezuela's oil reserves, political conditions have seriously undermined its prospects.

In Latin America, Cardoso said, countries struggling to cast off authoritarian regimes and build strong democracies have been forced to endure the additional stress of globalization as it affects all areas of productive, industrial, and financial life. To succeed under these evolving and complex circumstances, Cardoso deemed it essential for Latin America to persevere in the strengthening of democracy. In that, both domestic and multilateral institutions were important.

## White House Chiefs of Staff Talk About Trade Policy

The Latin American Program joined with the Council of the Americas to host the May 10, 2004, forum "A Conversation with White House Chiefs of Staff on the Politics of Trade," which gathered the chiefs of staff of four presidential administrations to explore the political dynamics of U.S. trade policy.

Chief of staff for President George W. Bush, *Andrew Card*, opened the discussion by describing President Bush's view that the opening of markets and the encouragement of free trade will create a better and safer America by strengthening the economy and creating jobs. Card emphasized Bush's determination to expand free trade in the hemisphere; the President has pursued the expansion of NAFTA and the negotiation of CAFTA and the FTAA, at the same time concluding agreements with Chile, the Dominican Republic, Panama and the Andean countries. Together, these countries represent over two-thirds of the hemisphere's GDP. Card reiterated the President's opinion that economic isolationism will cheat the United States out of an opportunity for economic growth, job expansion, and hope for the future. A key challenge, he said, is to communicate with the American people and others around the world

about the importance of free trade for economic prosperity and freedom.

Moderator *Zanny Minton-Beddoes*, correspondent for *The Economist*, addressed the issue of U.S. leadership in the trading system and the increased complexity of contemporary trade policy. Trade liberalization creates both winners and losers, she said; but the losers are more mobilized in their efforts to oppose trade liberalization, while the beneficiaries are less visible. Several factors make negotiating trade legislation in the United States more complex, including new issues such as intellectual property rights and the presence of a "new referee"—the WTO—in dispute settlement.

Considering the domestic politics of trade policy, *James R. Jones*, former chief of staff to President Lyndon Johnson, asserted that it is easier for policymakers to support free trade legislation when they are able to quantify the impact of the policies with regard to job creation and economic development in different parts of the country. He noted the absence of bipartisanship regarding trade policy, and that what is needed is a dialogue between both parties in Congress so that legislation reflects the concerns of both. Business associations and other civic groups that believe that free trade is important must also become more active on the issue. Jones urged that labor and environmental protections be integrated into the trade negotiations, to ensure that the benefits of free trade are better distributed.

*John Sununu*, former chief of staff to President George H. W. Bush, argued that trade is both important and complicated, and that circumstances in the United States are often not conducive to the promotion of free trade. Because losses due to trade are felt strongly by specific groups of people while the benefits are distributed in modest amounts among many, it is difficult to obtain domestic support for trade liberalization. Sununu argued that the relationship between the executive and legislative branches further complicates the issue. While it is the president that defines trade policy, Congress's role in approving trade agreements makes it difficult for the executive branch to further its agenda without congressional cooperation.

The Clinton administration shifted from a focus on traditional foreign policy issues to emphasize economic development and trade, said *Thomas*



from left to right: Lee H. Hamilton, James R. Jones, John Sununu, Andrew Card, Zanny Minton-Beddoes, Joseph S. Tulchin, Thomas ("Mack") McLarty, and John Podesta

("Mack") McLarty, former chief of staff to President William J. Clinton. Healthy trade relationships and an increase in imports and exports were elements of the strong economic performance of the 1990s. McLarty asserted that open markets and democracy mutually reinforce each other, as the case of Mexico demonstrates following the passage of NAFTA. He added that opening trade with China is important not only in terms of economic development, but also because it has brought China into world relations. McLarty identified several remaining challenges, including the improvement of communication on trade issues and the need to deal with dislocations that occur as a result of trade liberalization.

John Podesta, also former chief of staff to President Clinton, added that budget and trade deficits are troublesome for maintaining consensus on trade policy. During the Clinton administration, Congress and the American public were skeptical about the administration's trade policy, and it was a constant challenge to make the case for trade liberalization. Skepticism extends throughout Latin America where 40-60 percent of people feel they have not benefited from free trade. Podesta stated that promoting free trade is more than just reducing barriers; fostering economic opportunities and encouraging good labor, environmental, and democratic practices are also involved.

## Brazil Under Lula: Domestic and Foreign Perceptions

Much to the surprise of opponents, political analysts, economists, and perhaps even loyal supporters, Brazilian President Luis Inácio Lula da Silva accomplished a great deal during the first two years of his administration. Initially skeptical analysts were mollified by Lula's implementation of orthodox economic policies. On December 8, 2004, *Brazil @ the Wilson Center* hosted *William Waack*, a journalist for the *Globo* Network and *Carlos Thomaz*, a Brazilian author and lawyer, to assess Lula's progress and the prospects for his administration and Brazil over the next two years.

According to Thomaz, Brazil has achieved tremendous progress over the past 10 years. Crucial measures were undertaken in an effort to control hyper-inflation and modernize state administration. Many important reforms have yet to be implemented, however, and Thomaz believes the Lula administration has a responsibility to carry them out. He agreed that the formerly outspoken Lula has hushed even the harshest critics, emphasizing pragmatism over leftist ideology. Brazil is currently experiencing a period of unprecedented economic growth and more profound democratic consolidation, giving Lula an opportunity to implement reforms.

Thomaz suggested the development of a two-fold program that promoted economic stability through job creation, and fulfilled basic needs through social spending. Job creation relies heavily on the continued application of appropriate macroeconomic policies, including inflation reduction and the maintenance of a floating exchange rate. He believes these policies should be complemented by increased incentives for private investors and the simplification of private industry regulation. Thomaz argued that fulfillment of basic needs will require a dramatic realignment of priorities. Increased attention should be paid to primary education and health care, he said, with clinics and immunization programs taking precedence over costly medical treatments. Social safety nets that protect and create opportunities for the poor are also necessary.

---

**Thomaz argued that fulfillment of basic needs will require a dramatic realignment of priorities. Increased attention should be paid to primary education and health care, he said, with clinics and immunization programs taking precedence over costly medical treatments. Social safety nets that protect and create opportunities for the poor are also necessary.**

In his review of Brazilian foreign policy, William Waack argued that the popular perception of the Lula administration as a coherent and unified entity is neither accurate nor historically founded. A closer look inside Brazil reveals an administration filled with ambiguity. The foreign policy of Lula's own *Partido Trabalhadores* (Workers Party) has been refracted by the presence of several internal discordant voices. Waack believes that Lula has exhibited a considerable lack of consistency when attempting to sell Brazil's image abroad. In particular the administration has sent conflicting signals when dealing with Presidents Chávez and Bush. This uncertainty finds echo in Lula's social policy; despite a serious personal commitment to address hunger through the *Fome Zero* program, for example, Lula's platform has been far from steady or effective.

Waack asserted that Brazil's quest for increased regional and international participation would

require a renewed national strategy and more coherent foreign policy. This strategy must be characterized by an increased willingness to focus on Brazil's relationship with the United States, a strengthened commitment to the non-proliferation of nuclear arms, and a serious reassessment of policies regarding global terror.

## **How Do We See Each Other? Perceptions and Media in U.S.-Mexico Relations**

Few neighboring countries have as intense and complex a relationship as do Mexico and the United States: united by a shared border, trade, and demography yet divided by legacies of history, culture, conflict and perceptions. Even as ideas and influences converge and goods are exchanged, each side retains a distinctive character and a strong sense of identity while often harboring misperceptions about "the other side." To explore the complex influence of perceptions on bilateral relations, and the role of journalists in helping interpret each other's societies across the border, the Mexico Institute sponsored a series of three seminars about perceptions and cross-border journalism.

On February 27, 2004, the Mexico Institute and *Letras Libres* magazine convened journalists, diplomats, and businesspeople from Mexico and the United States to explore how both countries view and interact with each other. Keynote speaker *Enrique Krauze* of *Letras Libres* noted that U.S.-Mexico relations follow cyclical patterns that policymakers and cultural elites seem unwilling or unable to break out of. "Are we condemned to be victims of our prejudices, stereotypes, and ghosts?" Krauze wondered. "Mexico has to overcome its most ancient and maligned illness, which is resentment," said Krauze. "The United States also has to overcome its most problematic trait—ignorance of the southern neighbor that all too frequently leads to arrogance, to a sense of superiority that really harms the relationship."

Writer *Richard Rodriguez* described the new geography of North America, in which citizens of the three NAFTA countries are coming to terms with their proximity on the same continent. "America is an East-West country," Rodriguez



Rossana Fuentes-Berain

noted. “The idea of the south does not come easy to us.” *Christopher Domínguez*, novelist and literary critic, noted that although Mexicans tend to be more aware of America, American authors have written in and about Mexico with much greater frequency than Mexican authors have written about the United States. He argued for a new dialogue between the literatures of the two countries. Best-selling author *Pete Hamill* described the richness of Mexican popular culture and hoped that Americans could learn from it. *Jesús Silva-Herzog Márquez* of ITAM described the growing professionalism of the media in both countries in covering each other’s country and described the role of the U.S. press in making Mexican leaders accountable to world opinion during the democratic transition.

A second panel explored the challenges of cross-border collaboration. *Jesús Reyes Heróles* of GEA/Structura and former Mexican ambassador to the United States observed that public perceptions in both countries have become less ideologically driven and more realistic in recent years. Americans tend to list poverty and cultural aspects most often in polls about their perceptions of Mexico; Mexicans tend to emphasize “money, work, and security” in referring to the United States, followed by “progress, power, and industry.” The perceptions each country’s citizens hold of the other appear to reflect real differences rather than stereotypes. *Jeffrey Davidow* of the Institute of the Americas and former U.S. ambassador to Mexico noted that since NAFTA, more formal

structures have been established to accommodate the daily interactions between the governments and businesses in both countries. However, he worried that single issues, such as drug trafficking and migration, could hijack the relationship. *José Antonio Fernández*, president of Latin America’s largest beverage company FEMSA and co-chair of the Mexico Institute’s Advisory Board, argued that Mexicans and Americans need “deep knowledge and fundamental understanding” to build a stronger partnership, and that this “requires both a historical framework and the will to build a partnership for the long term, incorporating our differences as well as our commonality.” *Brian Dyson*, former vice chairman of Coca-Cola, argued that “the more we trade, the more we grow together,” but emphasized that economic and political changes were not sustainable without changes in values and outlook.

In a second meeting on April 26, 2004, the Mexico Institute and *Foreign Affairs en Español* brought together U.S. and Mexican journalists to discuss the challenges of reporting on politics and broader social issues in each others’ countries and of covering news about the growing Mexican and Mexican-American community in the United States. *Roderic Ai Camp* of Claremont McKenna College highlighted significant areas in which journalists could take the initiative to promote better understanding, particularly in presenting the everyday realities of each other’s countries and anticipating new areas of policy debate.

*Dolia Estévez* of *El Financiero* emphasized the role of journalists in generating public opinion and shaping the space for policymaking. *Mary Beth Sheridan* of the *Washington Post* argued that journalists often report on the relationship in black and white terms, in part because it is easier to sell the stories to editors and the public. *Pascal Beltrán del Río* of *El Universal/La Revista* suggested that one-sided reporting may undermine the national interest by distorting the way that citizens view events in the neighboring country.

A panel on “Understanding Each Other’s Society” addressed the challenge of reporting on everyday issues that are not “the news of the day.” *Alfredo Corchado* from the *Dallas Morning News* noted that understanding the two societies is not an easy task, particularly when working with a diverse readership. Stories frequently must cater to



from left to right: Miguel Basáñez, COMEXI and Global Quality Corporation, and Carlos Heredia

a diverse mass audience for whom “what does it mean to me? How does it impact me?” is the central question. According to *Jim Cason* of *La Jornada*, stories with many shades of gray are the most interesting, despite the difficulty in getting them published. They are often trumped by stories with a splashier headline. *Jerry Kammer* of Copley News Service argued that correspondents need to contribute to an understanding of immigration by reporting on areas such as Georgia, North Carolina, and Illinois, which do not receive the majority of migrants.

---

**Americans were surprisingly concerned about “fixing” immigration policies, while Mexicans showed considerable flexibility in collaborating with the United States on security issues.**

Editors of three major news publications offered thoughts on the priorities and changing trends of journalistic coverage. *Philip Bennett* of the *Washington Post* maintained that coverage of Mexico-U.S. relations has become “de-institutionalized,” with journalists covering a broad range of topics outside of formal politics. Mexico, like China, had become a country of great priority for American newspapers. Mexico will also continue to separate itself from the rest of Latin America in terms of journalistic coverage, he said. *Rossana*

*Fuentes-Berain* of *Foreign Affairs en Español* noted that “editors are surely story tellers and in that sense the story we have been telling is incomplete.” Declaring that journalism is in a state of crisis, she noted the loss of objectivity in American journalism and that Mexicans’ self-censorship and official silence on key matters is the result of a collective mentality of self-censorship pervasive throughout the country. *Alejandro Moreno* of *Reforma* highlighted the growing number of news stories in Mexico on the results of public opinion polls. In 2003, *Reforma* conducted 150 polls, ten times more than the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*. Showing what average readers think is part of a trend in which information is democratized and does not simply reflect the views of political and cultural elites.

A final panel on “Covering Mexicans in the United States” sparked a vigorous debate about the coverage of immigrants, first generation Mexican-Americans, and other Latinos residing in the United States. Wilson Center fellow and Cornell University professor *Michael Jones-Correa* argued that reporters have a responsibility to contextualize and therefore tell a complete story. The media often cover migrants as though most were temporary and undocumented, whereas most are documented and determined to stay permanently in the United States. *Lynne Walker* of Copley News Service described a story she had covered on the effects of an influx of migrants, primarily Mexican, into a small, rural town outside of Springfield, Illinois, and how this had transformed ethnic relations in the town. *Enrique Gómez* from *A.M. León* asserted that over the last forty years, Mexican migration has been transforming the United States, as witnessed by the growth of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans as an economically and politically powerful group in cities such as Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York. The important lesson has been “the slow but inevitable fusion of two nations across family and economic ties.”

On September 29, 2004, the Mexico Institute hosted the launch of a ground-breaking study on *Public Opinion on Foreign Policy in Mexico and the United States*, undertaken jointly by the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI), the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) and the Chicago Council on Foreign



Relations (CCFR). By comparing American and Mexican public opinions, the study presents an in-depth and comprehensive look at foreign policy attitudes of these two neighbors.

In opening remarks, Wilson Center director *Lee H. Hamilton* stressed the importance of public support for and interest in sustaining foreign policy over time. COMEXI president *Andrés Rozental* praised the joint efforts of the three organizations and indicated that the survey, especially on the Mexican side, has already debunked some myths while confirming other trends. *Guadalupe González* of CIDE highlighted the innovative and important nature of the survey, which builds on the Chicago Council's pioneer efforts. *Marshall Bouton*, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, lauded the team effort as an opportunity to deepen the relationship between Mexico and the United States. *Antonio Ortiz Mena* of CIDE expressed his satisfaction with the results despite criticisms that the Mexican public was too disinterested, unformed, or dishonest about foreign policy to be surveyed.

*Christopher Whitney* of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and *Susan Minushkin* of CIDE provided an overview of the survey results. They pointed out that Mexicans and Americans are both interested in global engagement and have shared security goals, although Mexicans favor less U.S. and more multilateral intervention in international affairs. Americans were surprisingly concerned about "fixing" immigration policies, while Mexicans showed considerable flexibility in collaborating with the United States on security issues. Respondents in both countries were ambivalent about NAFTA, yet open to globalization more generally. *Robert Pastor* of American University emphasized the need to create a historical context for this survey, primarily by making comparisons with previous polls. According to Pastor, the survey points to the convergence of Mexican and American values and strengthened relations, to the surprise of cultural pessimists. *Andrés Rozental* highlighted the disjuncture between elite and public perceptions of foreign policy, with elites tending to adhere to historical principles while the public is more pragmatic.

*Antonio Ortiz Mena* of CIDE provided an overview of the findings on economic issues such as free trade, regional integration, foreign investment, globalization and employment. He high-



from right to left: **Richard Rodríguez, Christopher Domínguez, and Pete Hamill**

lighted the differences between Mexicans and Americans, as well as those between Mexican elites and the public and among diverse regions in Mexico. The most notable difference was in the area of foreign direct investment in the oil and gas sectors. *Carlos Heredia* of COMEXI expressed his surprise that Mexicans think globally, not locally, pointing to their favorable opinions of NAFTA and some forms of investment. He cautioned, however, that more precision was needed in some of the questions, in order to identify some of the nuances of opinion on these sensitive issues. *Sidney Weintraub* of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) argued that both Mexicans and Americans are interested in world affairs, but their interests are distinct.

*Guadalupe González* of CIDE argued that Mexican and American concerns on border security issues converge around the same critical threats such as terrorism and chemical and biological weapons. Mexicans are willing to cooperate with the United States on terrorism. However, they are more willing to delegate power and responsibility for handling security threats to multilateral actors such as the United Nations. *Jorge Chabat* of CIDE focused on the divergence between the rhetoric of politicians and the opinions held by the public. *John Bailey* of Georgetown University questioned whether the bilateral security relationship was U.S.-led or an independent foreign policy of Mexico, and suggested that trust of the United States would be the strongest determinant of

Mexican willingness to cooperate on bilateral security matters.

Former Mexican ambassador to the United States *Jesús Reyes Heróles* cautioned about the dangers of making decisions based on survey data. However, he noted that it was not surprising that Mexicans have global attitudes, considering that over 60 percent have relatives outside of Mexico. He noted that visionary leadership is needed to bring the bilateral relationship to a new level, as a quarter of Mexicans oppose a stronger relationship with the United States.

## The Peace Process in Colombia with Paramilitary Groups

On June 28, 2004, the Latin American Program's Project on Comparative Peace Processes held a conference to explore the numerous issues raised by the peace talks in Colombia with the major paramilitary organization, the *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia*.

In a keynote address, U.S. Ambassador to Colombia *William B. Wood* rejected the notion of "peace at any price." While insisting that national reconciliation was "first and foremost up to the Colombians," he outlined several conditions for U.S. support, including whether the peace process had a good chance of ending conflict with a particular faction, would reinforce democracy, justice, and the rule of law; and would reduce narcotics trafficking.

Ambassador Wood took aim at the prevalence of renown narcotraffickers in the AUC leadership, referring to their historic leader, *Carlos Castaño*, as a "drug trafficker, terrorist, and fugitive from U.S. justice." Since *Castaño's* disappearance in April 2004, Wood said, the leadership of the AUC was increasingly "in the hands of long-term narcotraffickers without even the veneer of a historical political agenda." He said that the AUC included some of the "hardest-core, most cynical, most cruel drug lords on the face of the earth," a mixed profile that the AUC shared with other armed groups. Nonetheless, Wood welcomed the mid-June 2004 re-opening of peace talks with the paramilitaries, in a zone subject to verification by the Organization of American States. Wood reiterated U.S. insistence on the extradition of Colombians

indicted in the United States on drug trafficking charges and the imperative to bring to justice those who had committed major human rights crimes. He concluded that finding a balance between peace and justice meant that "neither goal will be served perfectly."

*Carlos Franco*, director of the Colombian government's Presidential Program on Human Rights, emphasized the important role of paramilitary groups in regional economies as well as in narco-trafficking, noting that the size of paramilitary forces had diminished 10 percent per year under the *Uribe* administration, after having grown 54 percent in the previous eight years. He said that many in the country did not have confidence in the state's ability to provide security in the event of an eventual demobilization of paramilitary groups, but that the only legitimate and valid security was that provided by state forces.

Taking up the issue of the legal framework for demobilization, *Senator Rafael Pardo*, a key figure in the congressional and public debates over the government's proposed Alternative Penalties Law, said that a revised draft of the law was a substantial improvement over the original version, but that further changes were needed. *Pardo* criticized numerous aspects of the negotiations with the paramilitaries, noting repeated violations of the cease-fire declared in December 2002 and the lack of a government policy to provide security in zones dominated by paramilitary groups. Meanwhile, he said, there was no discernible policy to address the political and economic dimensions of paramilitary power. The aim of the negotiations, he said, should be to end paramilitarism, not recycle its leaders in a way that could lead to worse forms of violence. By contrast, *Congresswoman Rocío Arias Hoyos*, sponsor of legislation to amend the Colombian Constitution in order to suspend extradition requests for those who demobilize as part of a peace process, called extradition an "insurmountable obstacle" to peace. She said that the desire of illegal armed groups to seek peace requires reciprocal concessions from the Colombian government and from the United States. More than forty years of violence and conflict would not end, she said, if all that awaited combatants of left- and right-wing forces was prison time in the United States.

Addressing the practical issues involved in para-

military demobilization, *Gustavo Villegas*, director of the Peace and Reconciliation Program of the Medellín mayor's office, provided a detailed profile of the 868 members of the paramilitary *Bloque Cacique Nutibara* that demobilized in Medellín in November 2003. He said that the vast majority of individuals were between the ages of 18 and 25, and that close to forty percent had previously been involved in criminal activities. Because of the complex mix of political and criminal violence, Villegas said, his program had striven to devise a new model of intervention that takes into account not only guerrillas and *autodefensas* but also other primary actors in the conflict, especially local gangs. As a result of municipal and national assistance programs, Villegas reported that crime rates in Medellín's most dangerous neighborhoods had fallen dramatically in the early months of 2004.

*Michael Beaulieu*, liaison between the secretary-general of the Organization of American States and its Mission to Support the Peace Process in Colombia, outlined the various steps leading to the OAS decision to participate in verifying the cease-fire, demobilization, and reintegration of

AUC fighters. A January 2004 resolution establishing the OAS mission contained a broad mandate to support negotiations with guerrilla groups as well as paramilitaries, Beaulieu said, should talks with the insurgents go forward and the Colombian government request assistance. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, meanwhile, is mandated to provide advice to the mission on human rights issues. Beaulieu emphasized funding concerns, noting that in mid-2004, six regional OAS offices had only one to two staff persons.

State responsibility for the existence of paramilitary groups had to be acknowledged and addressed, argued former peace adviser *Daniel García-Peña*, who questioned whether the purpose of the peace talks with the AUC was to end paramilitarism or to demobilize specific combatants. He allowed that the paramilitaries' social base owed much to the guerrilla tactic of kidnapping and other attacks on the civilian population; nonetheless, he said, there was little evidence of a "war" against the paramilitaries, leading some in Colombia to reject the notion of a peace process

## Embraer: Building A Globally Competitive Company

At a May 4, 2004, meeting of the Brazil Working Group, *Maurício Novis Botelho*, president and CEO of Brazilian aerospace manufacturer Embraer addressed the company's ascent to the position of fourth largest aircraft manufacturer in the world. As Brazil's largest exporter, Embraer holds an

important share of the global market for 30-110 seat aircraft.

Given that the United States produces 73 percent of Embraer's aircraft components and is also the primary importer of Embraer planes, the company has an important place in the U.S.-Brazilian bilateral trade relationship. In 2003, Embraer

posted a net revenue of over \$2 billion, 95 percent of which came from exports. Currently, the company provides civil and defense aircraft to 58 countries on five continents.

Embraer's strategy is grounded in the use of top-of-the-line components and a well-trained workforce. Botelho explained that Embraer's success had much to do with a capacity to identify market niches and design aircraft that optimize a combination of cost, range, and seat availability. After suffering an initial reduction in the demand for its aircraft following September 11, 2001, Embraer discovered a new market niche for the mid-size aircraft it was already positioned to offer. Botelho foresaw a demand of 8,450 30- to 120-seat jets through 2023, and expressed optimism that his company would be able to fulfill most of that demand.



**Maurício Botelho**



clockwise from top left: Ambassador William B. Wood, Representative Rocío Arias Hoyos, Senator Rafael Pardo, and Daniel García-Peña

centered on a political agenda. Meanwhile, according to García-Peña, the political conditions favoring a peace process with the ELN guerrillas were unprecedented. He cited President Uribe's high levels of popular support, the armed forces' regaining of the military initiative, and the military's success in seizing of the banner of counterinsurgency from the AUC.

Director of the Bogotá office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights *Michael Frühling* argued that ending impunity, particularly for cases involving crimes against humanity, was critical to overcoming the armed conflict, and that allowing impunity for serious human rights crimes would only promote more crime. Insisting that the peace negotiations needed structure and content, he said that questions of human rights and international humanitarian law should be prominent in the negotiating agendas with all armed groups. Moreover, victims' rights to truth, justice, and reparations had to be honored. He argued for a "decontamination" of the Colombian state, emphasizing that severing the links between paramilitary groups and public officials was the stated policy of the Colombian government. The international community, he said, should support Colombia in this and other efforts to improve human rights.

OAS involvement in the peace process with the AUC was to be welcomed, said Human Rights Watch/Americas director *José Miguel Vivanco*, but he cautioned that to remain credible, the OAS mission must protect its independence and resist identifying with any of the actors in the process. Vivanco criticized the revised Truth, Justice and Reparations law presented by the Uribe government as too lenient with respect to such issues as jail time and the return of illegally-acquired assets, and that it concentrated too much power in the hands of the president. While extradition was only one tool in the effort to secure justice, in the Colombian case the threat of extradition to the United States constituted the only leverage in the process with the AUC, in that it was widely feared by paramilitary leaders.

---

*A report based on the conference, The Peace Talks in Colombia with the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia—AUC, was published by the Latin American Program in February 2005.*

## Brazil–U.S. Relations: 2004 and Beyond

On December 3, 2004 *Brazil @ the Wilson Center* hosted a rare public dialogue between two sitting ambassadors, when U.S. Ambassador to Brazil *John Danilovich* and Brazil's Ambassador to the United States *Roberto Abdenur* met to discuss all areas of the two countries' bilateral relationship.

Abdenur and Danilovich repeatedly emphasized that relations between the United States and Brazil are better than publicly perceived. Both contrasted Brazil's economic stabilization over the last two years with the many dire predictions that Brazilian President Luis Inácio Lula da Silva would derail macroeconomic and fiscal reforms put in motion by the previous administration.

Both made positive reference to the "Community of Nations" initiative launched in December 2004, which constitutes a renewed effort to promote trade agreements and physical integration in South America. Danilovich praised the initiative as a constructive step for South America, and reiterated the U.S. commitment to

free trade. Danilovich expressed optimism regarding the continuing negotiations for the Free Trade Area of The Americas (FTAA) and expressed hope that Brazil and the United States, as co-chairs, would produce an agreement in 2005.

Both ambassadors acknowledged conflicting visions on some foreign policy issues. Abdenur highlighted Brazil's strong commitment to the promotion of democracy but cited differences with the United States as to how to best promote that ideal worldwide. Recognizing that agricultural subsidies have been a stumbling block in the trade agenda, Danilovich reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to address this issue during 2005 in order to create the conditions for a free trade area. At the same time, Danilovich noted that the United States also expects Brazil to "put [issues] on the table" such as intellectual property rights, services, and government procurement.

Other points of divergence emerged over the role of multilateral organizations in world affairs. Abdenur reaffirmed Brazil's strong view that the United Nations is an "unavoidable necessity for international order," in contrast to some in the United States who question its relevance. Abdenur expressed Brazil's support for an expansion of the U.N. Security Council to include equal representation from developing nations, a current priority of Brazilian diplomacy.

Addressing the widely-reported controversy over the issue of inspections at Brazil's new uranium enrichment facility at Resende, Rio de Janeiro, Danilovich affirmed that the United States considers the issue of nuclear inspection in Brazil fully resolved. Referencing what it called its excellent record on non-proliferation over the last ten years, which includes membership in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), the Brazilian government reached a satisfactory agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Abdenur concluded by summarizing his nation's priorities for the bilateral relationship in 2005, mentioning Brazil's hope for a Bush visit perhaps scheduled at the time of the South American presidential summit to take place in Buenos Aires. Abdenur also stressed the desirability of additional interaction between Brazilian and U.S. legislators, as well as between the communications and commercial sectors.

## The Role of the Media in the Consolidation of Democracy

On November 15, 2004, the Latin American Program co-sponsored with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States (OAS) a conference on "The Role of the Media in the Consolidation of Democracy."

*Eduardo Bertoni*, OAS Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression, identified both traditional and non-traditional threats to freedom of the press in the Americas, including judicial harassment of and physical aggression against journalists, economic pressures faced by publications, media dependence on government-sponsored advertising and subsidies, and ethical self-control. *Cynthia Arnson*, deputy director of the Wilson Center's Latin American Program, noted that respected polls conducted in the region reflected high public trust in the broadcast media, even though the public continued to believe that *de facto* powers including the media—not the public interest—drove economic and political systems throughout the region.

*Carlos Eduardo Lins da Silva*, PATRI, Inc., Brazil, argued that the role of the media in democratic consolidation should not be overestimated given a general lack of economic independence and political autonomy. He expressed concern that a decline in newspaper readership is not being replaced by an increase in 'quality media' consumption; internet blogs, radio talk shows, and entertainment masquerading as news will not suffice to fill the gap. *Pablo Halpern*, Halpern & Compañía, described three phases in the role of the media and Chile's transition to democracy. During the democratic transition between 1988 and 1994, the media functioned as an important and active arena for public debate. Between 1995 and 2000, the number of media outlets—and hence, competition—expanded as a result of economic growth, inadvertently producing greater polarization among viewpoints. Finally, a crisis of public confidence in the media erupted as journalists aggressively investigated official corruption and other scandals, at times appearing excessively and even erroneously to target public figures. *Julia Preston* of the *New York Times* observed that one of the main challenges faced by the Latin American

news media is achieving greater independence and higher quality by building commercially successful journalism enterprises.

*Alejandro Junco de la Vega* of Mexico's Grupo Reforma emphasized the immense growth in press freedoms and journalistic ethics over the course of the last generation. A decade ago, for example, ethics and integrity were virtually unknown concepts in Mexico's compromised system of journalism. He described the role of community leaders in serving on editorial boards of his paper, arguing that such boards help ensure that the public sets the agenda for the newspaper, not vice versa. *Peter Eisner* of the *Washington Post* discussed the politicization of news coverage in the United States, to the point that publishing the names of the dead in Iraq is considered a political statement. He said that many journalists from Latin America did not understand the distinction between reporters and editorial writers at newspapers such as the *Post*, and viewed the *Post* as reflecting the policies and priorities of the U.S. government. However, he agreed with Latin Americans who argued that minimal press coverage of the region reflected the political priorities of policymakers in Washington.

*Darian Pavli* of the Open Society Institute's Justice Initiative addressed media-government relations and their implication for press freedom. He said that the less repressive governments become, the more likely they are to revert to less obvious forms of control, such as the withholding of government advertising. Unlike U.S. newspapers, which rely heavily on private advertising, some Latin American newspapers depend on government advertising for up to 60 percent of total advertising revenues.

In a keynote address, Columbia University President *Lee Bollinger* addressed press freedom in the United States, arguing that it was largely an invention of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and more specifically, of the last 40 years. He recalled World War I-era legislation that made it a crime to criticize the war, citing the conviction of even a presidential candidate. He called the 1964 Supreme Court case of *New York Times v. Sullivan* an important benchmark in the effort to define constitutional limits on press freedom. These time frames are important to keep in mind when thinking about transitional democracies in Latin America. Academic research within universities, meanwhile, has become too

abstract and theoretical, he argued, making journalism an important vehicle for bringing outside issues into an academic setting. Universities can contribute to the quality and character of journalism, just as they do in any other profession. However, journalism schools have spent too much time on 'skills' training, to the neglect of training that gives students a deeper understanding of the issues they will be covering.

## The Hispanic Challenge? What We Know About Latino Immigration

The Wilson Center's Mexico Institute organized two events dealing with immigrants and immigration. The first seminar, in Washington, D.C., dealt with immigration from Latin America while the second, in Houston, Texas, addressed the politics of immigration reform.

The March 29, 2004, roundtable organized by the Migration Policy Institute and the Wilson Center's Mexico Institute and Division of United States Studies raised fundamental questions about the nature and significance of Latino immigration to the United States. The program was organized in part as a response to the publication of Samuel Huntington's "The Hispanic Challenge," a controversial article which appeared in the March/April 2004 issue of *Foreign Policy*.

*Philippa Strum* of the Wilson Center and *Demetrios Papademetriou* of the Migration Policy Institute reminded the audience of both the crucial place of immigration in American history and the distaste and disrespect for immigrants that has always been part of the collective American consciousness. The long-standing trends toward racial stereotyping, as well as the perpetual fear of "the Other" throughout American history, provide an important context in which to assess current reactions to Latino immigration.

In the last decade, according to *Roberto Suro* of The Pew Hispanic Center, Latino immigrants have come from more diverse occupations and have settled in areas of the United States that previously had seen few such immigrants. This has changed the shape of the debate in the United States, as immigrants are integrated into more sec-

tors of American society. The influx of workers has resulted in a flattening of wages for both long-standing U.S. residents and new immigrants, creating an atmosphere in which immigrants are, ironically, chastised for working too hard and thereby taking jobs away from native-born Americans.

*Elizabeth Grieco* of the Migration Policy Institute presented a demographic analysis of immigration to the United States, highlighting the effect of the dispersion of Latino immigrants. Grieco drew on U.S. Census data to show that Huntington's suggestion that huge numbers of Mexicans have immigrated to the United States is an exaggeration. The foreign-born accounted for only 9 percent of the total U.S. population in 1990 and 11 percent in 2000. While the rate of Latino and particularly Mexican immigration to the United States has increased in recent years, in 2000 only 9.2 million of the country's foreign-born population was Mexican, out of 31.1 million total foreign-born American residents and a total population of 281.4 million. The absorption of these immigrants, however, is not uniform nationwide, with some states disproportionately faced with the challenge of integrating and acculturating newcomers to the United States.

Condemning Latino immigrants for failing to learn English and earn advanced degrees while simultaneously voting to eliminate bilingual education and affirmative action programs was inconsistent, said *David Gutiérrez* of the University of California, San Diego. Moreover, as *Ricardo Stanton-Salazar* of the University of Southern California noted, maintaining and encouraging bilingualism in young Americans, particularly in public elementary schools, produces significant results for educational attainment. He cited data showing that bilingual students, regardless of socioeconomic status, tend to earn higher grades and are less likely to drop out than their English-only counterparts. Students who retain capability in their native language, he suggested, are more able to make use of the support structures in their ethnic communities and are therefore less likely to become disaffected.

Gutiérrez also stressed the difference between American *immigration* problems and American *immigrant* problems. Barring a mass repatriation of the 38 million Latino Americans already residing in the United States, he reminded the audience

that issues of integration, both linguistic and cultural, are here to stay. And, added *Michael Jones-Correa* of Cornell University, so are the immigrants. Despite the ease of maintaining ties to home countries, there are still strong disincentives for immigrants to return to their nations of origin. Stressing the contribution of Latino immigrants to the American economy, Jones-Correa pointed out that while remittances of Latino immigrants to family and communities left behind accounted for nearly \$30 billion in 2003, that figure represented only 4.5 percent of Latino income in the United States. Thus even though a large amount of money flows back to Latin American economies, it is by no means a major part of the wages earned by Latino immigrants to the United States, most of which is reinvested in the American economy.

A few weeks later, the Wilson Center's Mexico Institute and the University of Houston's Center for Immigration Research sponsored a seminar on "Immigration Reform: Lessons from the Past, Directions for the Future," in Houston on April 22, 2004. Participants included *Néstor Rodríguez* (University of Houston), *Rodolfo Cruz* (El Colegio de la Frontera Norte), *Katharine Donato* (Rice University), *Joseph Vail* (University of Houston), *Karl Eschbach* (University of Texas, Galveston), and *Andrew Selee* (Wilson Center).

---

**The panelists agreed that many of the immigration reforms of the past have produced unintended consequences, often distorting the goals that they were intended to achieve.**

The panelists agreed that many of the immigration reforms of the past have produced unintended consequences, often distorting the goals that they were intended to achieve. President Bush's immigration proposal, while far from complete, offers an important opportunity to engage in a serious debate around the kind of immigration policies the United States should pursue that would regularize undocumented migrants currently in the country and reinstate a more cyclical flow of immigrants to and from the United States. At the same time, there is an important opportunity to coordinate policies with the Mexican government, since Mexico is now the leading source of both

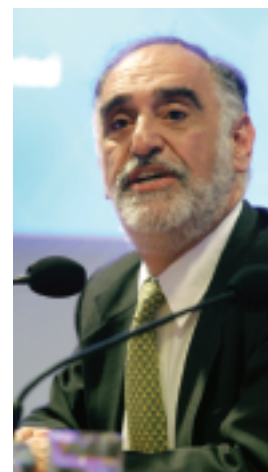
legal and undocumented migration. By instituting sensible, well-debated policies and pursuing coordination with Mexico, the United States could achieve greater productivity, ensure a more inclusive society, and avoid the current loss of life associated with undocumented migration.

## The Economic and Social Consequences of Conflict and Peace in Colombia

In 2003, both the World Bank and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) published lengthy studies of economic and social conditions in Colombia and their relationship to the armed conflict. To redress the relative inattention to these issues in the Washington policy debate over Colombia, the Latin American Program convened representatives of both institutions on May 13, 2004, to explore “The Economic and Social Dimensions of Conflict and Peace in Colombia.” They were joined by a senior official of the International Committee of the Red Cross, who addressed Colombia’s urgent humanitarian needs.

The World Bank’s resident representative in Colombia, *Alberto Chueca Mora*, expressed optimism regarding the outlook for economic development in Colombia, noting that the country’s growth rate of 3.64 percent in 2003 was the second highest in Latin America. Chueca Mora attributed economic improvements to international factors including the recovery of the U.S. economy, as well as domestic factors, particularly an improved security situation as a result of President Uribe’s democratic security policy. He underscored the conflict’s impact on growth (estimated at 2 percent of GDP annually) and its human costs, reflected in the number of deaths, internally displaced persons, and emigration, particularly of highly educated Colombians. Chueca Mora noted the approval of necessary but insufficient tax, labor, pension, and other public sector reforms. Of the many challenges ahead, he emphasized the need for higher growth as well as mechanisms to reduce inequality and generate social capital formation.

*Hernando Gómez Buendía* of the UNDP discussed the multiple roles of Colombia’s guerrilla and paramilitary organizations, which function as



from left to right: Alberto Chueca Mora, Hernando Gómez Buendía

armed bureaucracies, local powers, actors in social conflicts, and criminal organizations, among other roles. Underscoring the need for both a military and political response to the country’s armed actors, he outlined several policy priorities, including enhancing citizen security, providing widened humanitarian assistance, preventing recruitment into illegal armed organizations, and reducing drug trafficking. He emphasized local state capacity building, addressing social conflicts over land and labor issues, and “rediscovering politics” as keys to human development in the midst of conflict.

According to *Jean Pierre Schaerer* of the ICRC, since the collapse of the Pastrana government’s peace process with the FARC in 2002, the methods of the armed actors have radicalized and polarization increased. He condemned the armed groups’ “total disregard” for the distinction between civilians and combatants, stating that pressure to participate actively in the conflict exposed the civilian population to greater violence and retaliation. The unwillingness of the armed actors to recognize the applicability of international humanitarian law was exacting an unacceptable toll on the civilian population, as different armed groups attempted to control large segments of territory through terrorizing the local population. The peace process between the government and paramilitary groups, meanwhile, had led to reductions in certain kinds of violations, but the number of selective executions, indiscriminate attacks, disappearances, and forced displacement remain unacceptably high.



A Latin American Program Special Report, “The Social and Economic Dimensions of Conflict and Peace in Colombia,” published in October 2004, contains a more detailed summary of each of the presentations.

## Agriculture and the Environment in Brazil

*Brazil @ the Wilson Center* hosted two seminars on critical questions of agriculture and the environment. On February 6, 2004, the Project joined with Embrapa, the joint U.S.–Brazil USDA ARS/LABEX research program, and the Wilson Center’s Environmental Change and Security Project to explore Brazil’s sustainable agriculture revolution. The seminar focused on world population growth and the need to make current food production systems more sustainable.

*Dirceu Gassen*, manager of the Brazilian agricultural cooperative *Cooplantio*, discussed “no-tillage” agriculture in Brazil, a method used since the 1970s with increasing success. Gassen outlined the technique’s numerous benefits, including a 96 percent decrease in the rate of soil erosion, a 60 percent reduction in fuel needs, reductions in equip-



**José Gomes**

ment and fertilizer needs, significantly reduced crop tending time, increased microbial activity in the soil, and improved water infiltration and retention. The approach helps the environment by reducing emissions of carbon dioxide (a greenhouse gas normally associated with tillage). In addition, the surface level organic matter (detritus from previous crops) that is left in place reduces water runoff and pollution while increasing the soil’s nutrient retention.

Participants argued that the United States and Brazil stand at the forefront of advancements in agricultural technology and will play decisive roles in the future of agricultural production and agribusiness in the Western hemisphere. Despite their roles as competitors, the ability and willingness of both nations to share experiences and design cooperative research and development strategies will profoundly affect the future of this vital sector.

In a second meeting on June 21, 2004, co-sponsored with the Wilson Center’s Environmental Change and Security Project and The John Heinz III Center for Science, Economics and the Environment, the director of Brazil’s Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas da Amazônia (INPA), *José Antônio Alves Gomes*, discussed his organization’s role in promoting sustainable development in the Brazilian Amazon. INPA is the largest scientific research organization devoted to the environmental conservation and sustainable development in the Amazon basin. Its unique approach takes into account human welfare, culture, economics and national security issues in generating and disseminating scientific and technological knowledge.

INPA has worked for over 50 years with local communities to implement projects that make use of the Amazon’s resources without depleting them. To that end, INPA has introduced goods from the region, including new food products, juices, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, and various wood products. According to Gomes, INPA has ambitious plans to improve its administration, facilities and overall impact in the next three years, in order to increase knowledge on biodiversity issues. He emphasized the need for international collaboration not only to develop the economic potential of the region but also to conserve its resources.

## Mexico Institute Holds Washington Policy Forums

The Mexico Institute held several Washington Policy Forums over the course of the year addressing democratic change and the future of Mexico's relations with the world. Mexico's presidential elections in 2000 marked the end of a period of rapid democratic change; however, it also generated new challenges for deepening democracy and deciding Mexico's role in hemispheric and world affairs. These forums allowed key actors and observers of these processes to present their opinions on current debates in Mexico.

On April 23, 2004, the President of Mexico's Federal Electoral Institute, *Dr. Luis Carlos Ugalde*, discussed the future of Mexico's democracy. Ugalde noted that Mexico has successfully consolidated an electoral process that is trusted by most citizens, but the country still faces challenges that will affect the quality of the democratic process. Ugalde was cautious in venturing a prognosis on political reform in Mexico; however, he noted that there was basic consensus between the Fox administration and key political parties on important elements of a reform that could emerge from Congress in the near future. He worried about the logistical difficulties of allowing Mexicans abroad to vote, but underlined that this is a political decision to be made by the Congress and executive.

The Mexico Institute hosted a book launch of the book *Opening Mexico: The Making of a Democracy*, by Pulitzer Prize winning journalists *Julia Preston* and *Samuel Dillon* on May 13. Preston and Dillon, *New York Times* bureau chiefs in Mexico City from 1995–2000, argued that although the defeat of the long-governing Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in 2000 was revolutionary, there were significant internal events taking place in Mexico that had been revolutionizing the country for years. They stressed the role of civil society organizations and opposition political parties, in particular, in creating the conditions for political change.

*Manuel Angel Núñez Soto*, governor of Hidalgo and a self-declared presidential candidate, spoke at a June 7, 2004, event. Addressing political and economic reforms, Núñez Soto argued that Mexico needed to change the prohibition on



from right to left: Governor of Hidalgo Manuel Angel Núñez Soto and Ambassador James Jones

reelection in Congress and pursue key structural reforms to improve the country's competitiveness. He acknowledged that the quest for the consolidation of Mexico's democracy continues even though Mexico has undergone dramatic transformations in the last two decades.

On July 1, 2004, the Mexico Institute hosted *María Marván Laborde*, president of the Council for the Federal Institute for Access to Information (IFAI), to discuss the Federal Law for Transparency and for Access to Governmental Public Information, approved by the Mexican Congress. According to Marván, the law was designed to promote a culture of transparency and accountability. The Mexican Congress had passed the Transparency and Access to Information Law, providing citizens for the first time with access on demand to federal government documents in 2002. While journalists were the first to make use of the system, now academics, lawyers, and businesspeople are increasingly represented among the requesters.

Deputy Secretary of Foreign Relations *Gerónimo Gutiérrez* addressed a Director's Forum on May 3, 2004, in representation of Secretary Luis Ernesto Derbez, who was forced to cancel a trip to Washington to address mounting tensions in Mexico's relationship with Cuba. Gutiérrez noted that the two countries have come a long way since the days that they considered each other, in journalist Alan Riding's phrase, "distant neighbors." Today, he said, the countries are in the

process of becoming “strategic partners.” This presents an opportunity to “construct common visions between friends, neighbors, and partners on the common challenges we have.”

## New Project on Decentralization, Local Democratic Initiatives Launched

The Latin American Program launched a new initiative on decentralization, local initiatives, and citizenship in Latin America in 2004 with an international research team from six countries. The project, carried out in conjunction with the Inter-American Foundation and with the support of the Tinker Foundation, explores innovative municipal strategies for improving democratic governance and examines whether these policies are sustainable, replicable, and can have an impact in improving democratic outcomes at the national level. The research team includes *Gabriel Murillo* (Colombia), *Marcus Melo* (Brazil), *Enrique Peruzzoti* (Argentina), *Roberto Laserna* (Bolivia), *Leticia Santín* (Mexico), and *Luis Mack* (Guatemala).

The project held a first meeting in Mexico City on June 20, 2004, with the Grupo de Estudios para el Desarrollo Institucional. Panelists included *Leticia Santín* of FLACSO, *Tonatiuh Guillén* of El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, *Enrique Cabrero* and *Mauricio Merino* of CIDE, *Carlos Rodríguez* of the Centro de Estudios Municipales, and *Luis Pineda* of Equipo Pueblo. Participants agreed that municipalities are experimenting extensively with new mechanisms for encouraging citizen participation and ensuring government transparency. However, few of these experiences appear to be sustained over time since the institutional structure of Mexican municipalities does not create incentives for citizen engagement.

On September 10–11, 2004, the research team met at the Wilson Center to plan a future publication. The team agreed to focus its attention on several innovative experiences of participation and accountability in the region, including participatory budgeting (Brazil and Argentina), municipal

development councils (Guatemala), participatory planning (Mexico), the redesign of public space (Colombia), and the Popular Participation Law (Bolivia). The team is particularly interested in the question of whether these innovations lead to a substantively different kind of democratic governance and, if so, under what conditions they prosper or fail.

On December 17, 2004, the project held a third meeting in Buenos Aires to examine participatory budgeting as well as initiatives to promote transparency in Argentina. Hosted by Fundación Pent, the meeting included presentations by local and national government officials, non-governmental organizations, and leading scholars. *Leonardo Avritzer* of the Universidade de Belo Horizonte, Brazil, and *Roberto Laserna* of the Universidad de Cochabamba, Bolivia, provided comparative perspectives. The meeting found encouraging signs that some municipalities are attempting to construct institutional channels for citizen participation in decision-making and for government reporting of decisions to citizens. However, these experiences were mostly recent and still fragile.

---

**The meeting found encouraging signs that some municipalities are attempting to construct institutional channels for citizen participation in decision-making and for government reporting of decisions to citizens. However, these experiences were mostly recent and still fragile.**

In August the Latin American Program also launched the book *Decentralization, Democratic Governance, and Civil Society*, edited by Philip Oxhorn, Joseph S. Tulchin, and Andrew Selee (Woodrow Wilson Center Press and The Johns Hopkins University Press). The book examines decentralization experiences in six countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America (Chile, Mexico, South Africa, Kenya, Philippines, and Indonesia). A second volume, *Decentralization and Democratic Governance in Latin America*, was released in December as a Wilson Center publication. Edited by Tulchin and Selee, it examines decentralization

in five Latin American countries (Mexico, Guatemala, Venezuela, Brazil, and Argentina). Both volumes are concerned with the impact of decentralization on democracy.

## Creating Community

The project of the Latin American Program dedicated to international relations and security policy entered a new phase in its activities, with the renewal of its core support from the Ford Foundation. *Creating Community* now is focused on two related problems: 1) how traditional issues of national security (state threats, military defense, etc.) and the newer non-traditional security threats (such as drug trafficking, terrorism, and money laundering) are related to security issues previously understood as domestic questions, such as citizen security and human security; and 2) how the nations of Latin America can play roles as rule makers on the global level, the regional level, and the sub-regional level without entering into an adversarial relationship with the United States that reduces international relations to a zero sum game.

To deal with the first issue, *Raúl Benítez Manaut*, a member of the Creating Community team (along with *Luis Bitencourt*, *Lilian Bobea*, *Ricardo Córdova*, and *Rut Diamint*), put together a framework of analysis that considered security on different levels, from internal or domestic to global, and suggested that threats, traditional and non-traditional, might be perceived differently by the same set of policy makers as they play out on different levels. In other words, security must be understood as a multi-level game in which outcomes can be expected to vary. This means that countries in the region can seek ways to cooperate with one another and with nations outside the region on any of the levels on which a security threat might appear. Benítez's essay was published as a Latin American Program Report on the Americas, *Mexico and the New Challenges of Hemispheric Security*. He presented his argument to an October 2004 special meeting in Mexico of the OAS on security matters. In addition, Benítez and team member Rut Diamint made presentations on behalf of Creating Community at the Summit of Defense

Ministers of the Hemisphere, in Quito, Ecuador in November 2004.

Team member Lilian Bobea served as rapporteur at a special conference on regional security co-sponsored with the Frederick Ebert Foundation in Jamaica in September 2004; and Luis Bitencourt made the Creating Community framework a central part of the discussions at a conference in Brasilia, also co-sponsored by the Ebert Foundation in July 2004. The entire team, joined by *Arlene Tickner* of the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, made presentations of the project at the LASA meeting in September 2004.

The second problem – how to get Latin America to assume more active roles in global and regional affairs without entering into an adversarial relationship with the United States – was the subject of a special seminar conducted with the Ministry of Defense of Argentina. *Joseph S. Tulchin* and *Robert Litwak* of the Woodrow Wilson Center made presentations to an audience that included more than 200 civilian and military leaders of the Argentina policy community.

The interrelationships between sub-regional and global security issues was the subject of a seminar conducted by the Centro de Estudios de Información de la Defensa in Havana in December 2004, at which Joseph S. Tulchin gave the keynote address on the changes in the international system. A regional seminar, co-sponsored with the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá in October 2004, explored Colombian and regional security, the linkages between regional, hemispheric, and global issues, and the ways in which U.S. unilateralism affects the national interests of countries throughout the region. A policy bulletin resulting from the conference, “Percepciones Hemisféricas sobre la Crisis Colombiana,” was published in February 2005. In addition, Arlene Tickner is preparing a volume of papers from the conference to be published as a special edition of *Colombia Internacional*.

Over the coming year, the project will hold a series of sub-regional meetings to discuss key elements of the analytical framework with policymakers, local analysts, and the media. In this way, we hope to influence the policy process in many countries of the region and to have an impact on the academic debate on security throughout the hemisphere.

## Legislatures, Trade and Integration: Regional Initiatives in the Americas

On July 12-14, 2004, the Wilson Center's Latin American Program and *Brazil @The Wilson Center*, with support from the Inter-American Development Bank, hosted a delegation of senior Brazilian legislators—seven representatives and one senator—to meet with their counterparts in the U.S. Congress. In welcoming the group, Brazilian Ambassador to the United States *Roberto Abdenur* noted that this was the most senior delegation from Brazil's Congress ever to have visited Washington. Inter-American Development Bank President *Enrique Iglesias* underscored the importance of the exchange in helping Brazilian and American lawmakers achieve a better understand-

ing of their respective legislative processes and trade negotiations.

At an opening briefing at the Wilson Center, speakers discussed regional trade and trade agreements from the perspectives of international financial institutions and various U.S. stakeholders. Participants, including chief U.S. Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) negotiator *Ambassador Ross Wilson*, (Office of the United States Trade Representative - USTR), and *Paul Drazek*, formerly of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, emphasized that trade agreements are not popular in the U.S. Congress, particularly during an election year. Agreements can be inhibited by congressional polarization, vocal labor unions, and, as Drazek remarked, the growing belief among U.S. farmers that they cannot compete in the global market without assistance. Ambassador Wilson expressed his belief that trade agreements should

## Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament: A Brazilian Perspective

In partnership with the Wilson Center's Division of International Studies and the Los Alamos National Laboratory, the Brazil Project hosted a May 14, 2004, seminar to explore the controversy surrounding Brazil's nuclear program. Brazil's new ambassador to the United States and former representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) *Roberto Abdenur* framed contemporary concerns in the context of Brazil's nuclear history, in which an advanced nuclear sector has developed in tandem with the government's accession to the nonproliferation treaty regime.

Article IV of the NPT provides for access by non-nuclear weapons states to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes (such as energy generation). The U.S. fear has been that some signatory states, notably Iran and North Korea (and Iraq under Saddam Hussein) have exploited the Article IV provision in order to acquire technology and fissile material for a clandestine nuclear weapons program. Against this backdrop, the Bush administration was pushing for limitations on access to nuclear fuel cycle technology and for the adopting of a heightened IAEA inspection regime.

Ambassador Abdenur stated that, contrary to some press reports, the question was not whether Brazil would accept safeguards for its new uranium enrichment facility at Resende, but rather how they will be implemented.

The challenge, according to Abdenur, was to strike a balance between the IAEA's responsibilities and Brazil's legitimate right to protect proprietary commercial information related to its centrifuge technology. He also felt that, in addition to focusing on Article IV, the United States and the other nuclear weapon states recognized by the NPT should do more to fulfill their commitment under Article VI to achieve nuclear disarmament. Ambassador Abdenur argued that developments such as the Bush administration's Nuclear Posture Review document, which underscores the continued utility of nuclear weapons, appear to erode that commitment.



Roberto Abdenur



from left to right: Cresencio Arcos, Ramón Daubón

be considered of vital importance to both the United States and Brazil. He argued that it would be impossible to reach an FTAA agreement by January 2005 because of two major hurdles: Brazilian inflexibility on the intellectual property issue, and the United States' changing position regarding market access.

Several meetings on Capitol Hill exposed the Brazilian legislators to the staff support and services available to their American counterparts. *Angela Ellard*, counsel to the House Ways and Means Committee, explained the role of Congress in trade negotiations—in particular as it pertained to the passage of Trade Promotion Authority (TPA)—while underscoring concerns with the complexities of a “two-track FTAA.” Ellard and Brazilian Representative *Yeda Crusius* both highlighted an interesting byproduct of the congressional debate to approve the TPA: although the bill was meant to empower the executive branch, it also prompted lawmakers to become more involved in trade issues.

Staff from the Congressional Research Service and the Government Accounting Office discussed the roles of their organizations in the legislative process. In debates with political advisors and campaign experts, the Brazilian legislators garnered a new perspective on the manner in which trade negotiations operate in the context of political campaigns in the United States.

At a subsequent meeting that included fourteen U.S. lawmakers, *Senator Bob Graham* (D-FL) stressed

the importance of economic and trade issues in North-South relations, within a broader context defined by social policy and cultural understanding. He highlighted the role of Congress in the approval of trade agreements, making U.S. lawmakers important arbiters of trade policy.

Brazilian Senator and Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations *Eduardo Suplicy* described how his Congress is still struggling to attain a more active role in trade negotiations, referencing the TPA's Brazilian counterpart, Senate Bill 189. According to Senator Suplicy, Bill 189 is based on the premise that “Brazilian participation in international trade negotiations should be guided by the premise of using trade for economic and social development.” Suplicy also highlighted the “human aspect” of trade, and suggested models for eradicating poverty and creating wealth.

The final meeting witnessed an extraordinary exchange between members of both legislative bodies. Chaired by Representative *Cass Ballenger* (R-NC, Chairman of the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere of the Foreign Affairs Committee), Representatives *Robert Menendez* (D-NJ), *Donald M. Payne* (D-NJ), *Collin C. Peterson* (DFL-MN), *Charles W. Stenholm* (D-TX), and *Jerry Weller* (R-IL) emphasized cooperative bilateral relations between Brazil and the United States, even in the face of critical disagreements over particular provisions in the trade negotiations.

Ballenger noted that “a democratic and prosperous Brazil is a necessary part of U.S. interests,” and that “U.S.-Brazil relations are stronger than ever” after the initial meetings between President Bush and President Lula. The legislators raised key disagreements over such issues as the decision of the World Trade Organization to condemn subsidization of the U.S. cotton industry; some of the U.S. legislators participating argued that Brazil contributed to this outcome by reverting to litigation instead of negotiation.

*Thomas Nonô*, Brazilian House Minority Leader, responded by explaining that Brazil had requested WTO arbitration only after all efforts at bilateral negotiation were exhausted. “As it was clear that we had failed at the bilateral level, we moved to the multilateral level,” said Nonô. “We don't see the WTO as a battleground,” he continued, “but as neutral ground where the position of each side can be examined fairly.”

Brazilian Representative *Luiz Antonio Fleury* pointed out that the Brazilian and U.S. economies are complementary and suggested the formation of an inter-parliamentary group to promote better understanding and facilitate partnership between the two countries. Fleury emphasized that in order to make bilateral trade relations mutually advantageous, “we must learn from each other.”

Several other issues unrelated to trade emerged during the discussion. The Brazilian legislators clarified Brazil’s positions on non-proliferation, the environment, Cuba, and human rights. They portrayed their country as a strong defender of non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament, implying the need for more assertive positions and leadership from the current nuclear powers.

On questions of the environment, the Brazilians summarized political and technological initiatives that—despite implementation problems—have made Brazil a leader in the area of environmental legislation since 1992. Taking issue with their U.S. counterparts, the Brazilian delegation maintained that the best strategic policy toward Cuba and Fidel Castro should not be one of isolation and embargo, but instead should promote assembly and engagement with democracies in the region. Brazil’s policy of non-intervention precludes open criticism of the domestic policies of other nations, they said.

In a related event on trade policy, the Mexico Institute joined with the Hispanic Council on International Relations on October 19, 2004, to



from right to left: Brazilian Senator Eduardo Suplicy and members of the Brazilian Congressional delegation

hold a forum on “Integration in the Americas: Trade, Investment, Development and Security.” *Anne Alonzo* from the National Foreign Trade Council argued that trade is needed to promote development, but that labor and environmental concerns are important to address. *Ramón Daubón* of the Inter-American Foundation argued for expanding trade in the context of political reform that gives everyone access to its benefits, or at least a level playing field to compete in the market. *Cresencio Arcos* of the Department of Homeland Security argued that in the long term, the most important issue will not be the movement of goods, but rather the movement of people; thus, the challenge is to find ways of harmonizing multiple objectives at the border, especially security, trade, and the flow of people.

# Recent Publications

## Books

Robert R. Kaufman and Joan M. Nelson, eds. *Crucial Needs, Weak Incentives* (Baltimore, MD: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

Joseph S. Tulchin and Ralph H. Espach, eds. *América Latina en el nuevo sistema internacional* (Barcelona: Ediciones Bellaterra, 2004).

## Woodrow Wilson Center Reports on the Americas

Raúl Benítez Manaut, *Mexico and the New Challenges of Hemispheric Security*, No. 11, September 2004.

Joseph S. Tulchin and Andrew Selee, eds., *Decentralization and Democratic Governance in Latin America*, No. 12, December 2004.

Cynthia J. Arnson, ed., *The Peace Process in Colombia with the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia—AUC*, No. 13, February 2005.

Fernando Lorenzo and Marcel Vaillant, eds., *Mercosur and the Creation of the Free Trade Area of the Americas*, No. 14, February 2005.

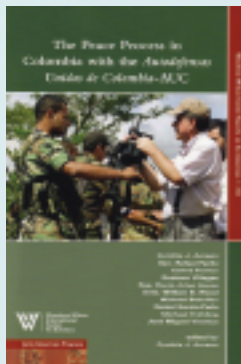
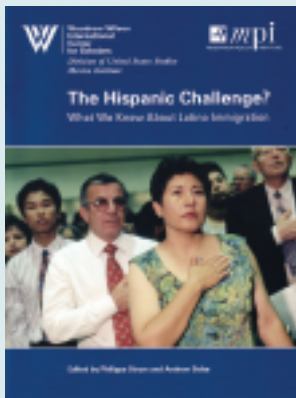
## Conference Reports

*Human Rights in the International System: Enforcing Global Governance*, July 2004.

*The Hispanic Challenge? What We Know About Latino Immigration*, Philippa Strum and Andrew Selee, eds., August 2004.

## Special Reports

Cynthia J. Arnson, ed. *The Social and Economic Dimensions of Conflict and Peace in Colombia*, October 2004.



## Woodrow Wilson Center Updates on the Americas

*Updates on the Americas* are available for download online at

[www.wilsoncenter.org/lap](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/lap) under our Publications section.

Rut Diamint and Arlene B. Tickner, *Creating Community*, No. 16, “Percepciones Hemisféricas sobre la Crisis Colombiana,” February 2005.



## Woodrow Wilson Center E-Updates on the Americas

*E-updates on the Americas* are available for download online at [www.wilsoncenter.org/lap](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/lap) under our Publications section.

Philip Oxhorn, *E-update on the Americas*, No. 1, “Decentralization, Local Initiatives, and Citizenship in the Andes and Southern Cone,” June 2004.

Tamara P. Taraciuk, *E-update on the Americas*, No. 2, “Toward a More Engaged Citizenry: A Citizen Security Action-Research Project,” September 2004.



## Thinking Brazil

*Thinking Brazil Updates* are available for download online at [www.wilsoncenter.org/brazil](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/brazil)

*Brazil Update*, No. 9 “Sowing the Seeds of Sustainability: Brazil’s Next Agricultural Revolution,” February 2004.

*Brazil Update*, No. 10 “Trade Agreements in the Americas: MERCOSUR and the Creation of the FTAA,” March 2004.

*Brazil Update*, No. 11 “Legislatures, Trade and Integration: Regional Initiatives in the Americas,” August 2004.

*Brazil Update*, No. 12 “Brazil-United States Relations: 2004 and Beyond,” November 2004.

*Brazil Update*, No. 13 “Cardoso Commemorates 25th Anniversary of Transitions from Authoritarian Rule,” December 2004.

*Brazil Update*, No. 14 “Brazil Under Lula: Domestic and Foreign Perceptions,” December 2004.

## U.S. Mexico Policy Bulletin

*U.S. – Mexico Policy Bulletins* are available for download online at [www.wilsoncenter.org/mexico](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/mexico)

Peter Andreas, *U.S. – Mexico Policy Bulletin*, No. 1 “U.S. – Mexico Border Control in a Changing Economic and Security Context,” January 2005.

## Program Reports

Latin American Program Interim Report 1999-2004

Mexico Institute Report 2003-2004

Brazil @ the Wilson Center Report 2003-2004

# Staff Notes

We bid a fond farewell to Program Associate *Meg Ruthenburg*, who headed up our programs on citizen security, decentralization, and citizenship. Meg most recently edited the forthcoming volumes *Toward a Society Under Law: Citizens and Their Police in Latin America* and *Citizenship in Latin America* and assisted with the forthcoming *Citizens and Democracy: Participatory and Deliberative Experiences in Mexico*.

*Cristina Jiménez* joined us as a Program Assistant in January 2005. A recent graduate of the University of Michigan, Cristina has experience working with Colombian refugees and was an intern with the Organization of American States.

## Interns and Researchers

The Latin American Program is been fortunate to have had the assistance of several very capable interns during the summer and fall of 2004. We thank the following for their many contributions to the Latin American Program:

*Jessica Varat*, Wellesley College  
*Jorge Guzmán*, University of California at Berkeley  
*Kelci Lowe*, Georgetown University  
*Kristen Jancuk*, George Washington University

We also welcome *Alana Parker* of the University of Texas at Austin to our internship program during the spring of 2005.

## Fellows

*Jonathan Fox* and *Mark Ungar* joined the Wilson Center as Fellows for the 2004–2005 academic year.

*Jonathan Fox* is professor of Latin American and Latino Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz. His research compares reforms in international organizations and Mexican social policy. The project is entitled “Testing the Power of Sunshine: When Does Transparency Lead to Institutional Accountability?”

*Mark Ungar* is associate professor of political science at Brooklyn College, City University of New York. His project is entitled “Creating Change: Citizen Security Reform in Latin America.” The volume that will result from his research will explain why urgently needed police and security reform in Latin America is being undermined and will propose specific ways to overcome the obstacles faced.

## Public Policy Scholars

*Jesús Velasco Grajales* joined us as a Mexico Institute/Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales (COMEXI) short-term scholar from July – December 2004. He is professor of international relations at the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) in Mexico City. While in residence, he worked on a project entitled “The Influence of Neo-Conservatism on American Foreign Policy during the Reagan and George W. Bush Administrations.”

*Arturo Alvarado Mendoza* joined us from El Colegio de México in Mexico City as a Mexico

Institute/Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales (COMEXI) short-term scholar for work on his project, “Constructing the Rule of Law: Public Security, Justice, and Democracy Building in Mexico.” He was in residence in November 2003 and from May – June 2004.

Senator *Eduardo Matarazzo Suplicy* joined us from January – February 2005. Senator Suplicy is president of the Foreign Relations and National Defense Committees of the Brazilian Senate. His project is entitled “The Gradual Introduction of the Citizen’s Basic Income in Brazil.

We welcome *Jacqueline Peschard*, a professor at Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) and former citizen counselor of the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) in Mexico. She is also a Mexico Institute/Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales (COMEXI) short-term scholar and will be working on “Electoral Federalism in Mexico” during her stay from January – June 2005.

Ambassador Emilio J. Cárdenas of Argentina joins us as a short-term scholar from February to April 2005. He currently serves as co-chair of the Human Rights Institute of the International Bar Association. He has served as Argentina’s ambassador to the United Nations and is former president of the International Bar Association. While at the Center, he is working on a project entitled “Administrative Screening Mechanisms to Counter Possible Corruption Among Federal Judges.”

## The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Lee H. Hamilton, President and Director

### Board of Trustees

Joseph B. Gildenhorn, Chair; David A. Metzner, Vice Chair. Public Members: James H. Billington, Librarian of Congress; John W. Carlin, Archivist of the United States; Bruce Cole, Chair, National Endowment for the Humanities; Margaret Spellings, Secretary, U.S. Department of Education; Condoleezza Rice, Secretary, U.S. Department of State; Lawrence M. Small, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution; Michael O. Leavitt, Secretary, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Designated Appointee of the President from within the Federal Government: Peter S. Watson. Private Citizen Members: Joseph A. Cari, Jr., Carol Cartwright, Robert B. Cook, Donald E. Garcia, Bruce S. Gelb, Charles L. Glazer, Tamala L. Longaberger

### Wilson Council

Bruce S. Gelb, President. Elias F. Aburdene, Jennifer Acker, Charles S. Ackerman, B.B. Andersen, Russell Anmuth, Cyrus A. Ansary, Lawrence E. Bathgate II, Theresa Behrendt, John Beinecke, Joseph C. Bell, Steven Alan Bennett, Stuart Bernstein, Rudy Boschwitz, A. Oakley Brooks, Donald A. Brown, Melva Bucksbaum, Richard I. Burnham, Nicola L. Caiola, Mark Chandler, Peter B. Clark, Melvin Cohen, William T. Coleman, Jr., David M. Crawford, Jr., Michael D. DiGiacomo, Beth Dozoretz, Elizabeth Dubin, F. Samuel Eberts III, I. Steven Edelson, Mark Epstein, Melvyn J. Estrin, Sim Farar, Susan R. Farber, A. Huda Farouki, Roger Felberbaum, Julie Finley, Joseph H. Flom, John H. Foster, Charles Fox, Barbara Hackman Franklin, Norman Freidkin, John H. French, II, Morton Fungler, Gregory M. Gallo, Chris G. Gardiner, Bernard S. Gewirz, Gordon D. Giffin, Steven J. Gilbert, Alma Gildenhorn, David F. Girard-diCarlo, Michael B. Goldberg, Richard N. Goldman, Roy M. Goodman, Gretchen Meister Gorog, William E. Grayson, Ronald Greenberg, Raymond A. Guenter, Cheryl F. Halpern, Edward L. Hardin, Jr., John L. Howard, Darrell E. Issa, Benjamin Jacobs, Jerry Jasinowski, Brenda LaGrange Johnson, Shelly Kamins, James M. Kaufman, Edward W. Kelley, Jr., Anastasia D. Kelly, Christopher J. Kennan, Willem Kooyker, Steven Kotler, Markos Kounalakis, William H. Kremer, Raymond Learsy, Dennis A. LeVett, Francine Gordon Levinson, Harold O. Levy, Frederic V. Malek, David S. Mandel, Jeffrey A. Marcus, J.W. Marriott, John Mason, Jay Mazur, Robert McCarthy, Linda McCausland, Stephen G. McConahey, Donald F. McLellan, Charles McVean, J. Kenneth Menges, Jr., Kathryn Mosbacher, Jeremiah L. Murphy, Martha T. Muse, John E. Osborn, Paul Hae Park, Gerald L. Parsky, Jeanne L. Phillips, Michael J. Polenske, Donald Robert Quartel, Jr., Bruce Ratner, John L. Richardson, Margaret Milner Richardson, Larry D. Richman, Carlyn Ring, Edwin Robbins, Robert G. Rogers, Juan A. Sabater, Roger Sant, Alan M. Schwartz, Timothy R. Scully, J. Michael Shepherd, George P. Shultz, Raja W. Sidawi, Kenneth Siegel, Ron Silver, William A. Slaughter, James H. Small, Shawn Smeallie, Gordon V. Smith, Thomas F. Stephenson, John Sitolides, Norman Kline Tiefel, Mark C. Treanor, Anthony G. Viscogliosi, Christine M. Warnke, Ruth Westheimer, Pete Wilson, Deborah Wince-Smith, Herbert S. Winokur, Jr., Paul Martin Wolff, Joseph Zappala, Richard S. Ziman, Nancy M. Zirkin

### **The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars**

*Lee H. Hamilton, President and Director*

The Center is the living memorial of the United States of America to the nation's twenty-eighth president, Woodrow Wilson. Congress established the Woodrow Wilson Center in 1968 as an international institute for advanced study, "symbolizing and strengthening the fruitful relationship between the world of learning and the world of public affairs." The Center opened in 1970 under its own board of trustees.

In all its activities the Woodrow Wilson Center is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization, supported financially by annual appropriations from Congress, and by the contributions of foundations, corporations, and individuals. Conclusions or opinions expressed in Center publications and programs are those of the authors and speakers and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Center staff, fellows, trustees, advisory groups, or any individuals or organizations that provide financial support to the Center.

### **The Latin American Program**

The Latin American Program serves as a bridge between the United States and Latin America, encouraging a free flow of information and dialogue between the two regions. The Program also provides a nonpartisan forum for discussing Latin American and Caribbean issues in Washington, D.C., and for bringing these issues to the attention of opinion leaders and policy makers throughout the Western hemisphere. The Program sponsors major initiatives on Decentralization, Citizen Security, Comparative Peace Processes, Creating Community in the Americas, U.S.-Brazilian relations and U.S.-Mexican relations.

ONE WOODROW WILSON PLAZA, 1300 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20004-3027



**Woodrow Wilson  
International  
Center  
for Scholars**

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION  
OFFICIAL BUSINESS  
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE \$300