

Setting the Agenda for Latin America in the Coming Decade

The transition from authoritarian rule to democracy has, without a doubt, dominated the academic and policy discussion of Latin America for over two decades. The region has made advances by leaps and bounds, holding what are by now routine, legitimate elections and peaceful transfers of power. Director of the Latin American Program *Joseph S. Tulchin* has been an active and innovative participant in that evolution over his sixteen years at the Wilson Center. To celebrate his career and commemorate his retirement in January 2006, the Latin American Program gathered 24 of the region's most prominent academics and public officials on December 5–6, 2005, to determine what new challenges Latin America will face in the coming decade and how best to ensure continued progress.

Members of a first panel provided an overview of the most significant challenges facing the region in consolidating democratic governance in coming years. *Augusto Varas* of the Ford Foundation, Santiago, highlighted four obstacles the region will face in the coming decade: poverty, weak democratic institutions, mass mobilization, and the absence of a single consensus on long-term strategies. *Jonathan Hartlyn* of the University of North Carolina focused on the importance of continuing progress in electoral governance.



Left to right: Joseph S. Tulchin, Augusto Varas, Jonathan Hartlyn, Lorenzo Meyer, Catalina Smulovitz, Ariel Armony, Frances Hagopian

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Amb. Luis Maira; Secretary General of the OAS José Miguel Insulza; Moisés Naím; Joan Nelson and Evelyn Huber

Despite improvements, the partisan composition of electoral institutions needs to improve. Future challenges involve regulating campaign finance, providing greater access to the media and using state resources more equitably. *Catalina Smulovitz* of Torcuato di Tella University in Buenos Aires described how recent social and political transformations in Argentina have led to a widening gap between rich and poor and a decrease in political participation by the poorest sectors of the population. A smaller state in Argentina has a lessened

Secretary-General of the Organization of American States José Miguel Insulza emphasized that inequality throughout Latin America has increased despite the highest regional economic growth in 25 years.

capacity to effect change, at the same time that a crisis of representation leaves many segments of the population underrepresented. Achieving representation for these groups will be Argentina’s greatest challenge in the coming years.

Calling for a paradigm shift in approaching the study of Latin America, *Ariel Armony* of Colby College called attention to three intellectual problems. First, academics must acknowledge that institutional failings affect all new democracies and that

bad results do not necessarily mean bad democracies. Second, the model of sequential waves of democratization needs rethinking, in that the process does not always evolve in a neat, linear fashion. Last, focusing on the state as the unit of analysis ignores the relationships between the center and the periphery and different experiences at various levels of government. *Francis Hagopian* of the University of Notre Dame voiced concern that the majority of Latin Americans do not have faith in democracy. Most Latin American countries have experienced lackluster economic growth during the transition to democracy. In addition, citizens feel underrepresented: accountability for politicians is problematic and policies lack legitimacy given limited participation in establishing them. Hagopian predicted that identity politics and issues of multi-culturalism would become more politically salient, as a result of long-standing inequality in the distribution of rights.

“The presence of the past” in Latin America threatens the future of democracy as authoritarianism persists, according to *Lorenzo Meyer* of the Colegio de México. Meyer cited corruption and a paucity of foreign assistance as factors that debilitate democratic progress in the region. Notably, the absence of a “great idea” behind democracy in Latin America limits its appeal. That is, it is necessary to move beyond democracy for the sake of democracy: for it to succeed it must be elevated to the status of a moral and just cause. *Amaury de Souza* of Techné, a Rio-based consultancy firm, warned against the risk of an over-ambitious agenda for democracy in Latin America and encouraged comparative approaches to evaluating the success of democratic governance. With increasingly routine elections and orderly transfers of power, de Souza called for a renewed focus on accountability as well as further electoral and party reform.

Secretary-General of the Organization of American States *José Miguel Insulza* emphasized that inequality throughout Latin America has increased despite the highest regional economic growth in 25 years. Insulza cited crime, corruption, and populism as the major challenges facing Latin America in the coming decade. He added that while populist expressions are often hailed as an outpouring of democracy, they are really not a sign of growth or progress. In the future, Latin America needs efficient and honest as well as stable government.

Turning to questions of economic growth and development, a second panel addressed the fact that since the early 1980s, democratization and economic reforms have generated growth but have failed to reduce poverty, generate employment, or improve education. *Moisés Naím*, editor of *Foreign Policy* magazine, called for analysts to set aside platitudes about full glasses, corruption viruses, or cultural impediments to long-term growth. He encouraged his colleagues to explore the problematic relationship between growth and human development, the lack of useful economic policy models, the rise of populism, and the complexities of financial market reforms. *Gustav Ranis* of Yale University presented data from a multi-country study suggesting that growth in economic and human development occurs only when investments in social development programs precede or accompany economic reforms. Economic growth without rigorous social policies tends to be uneven and unsustainable over the long-term: unless Latin American governments focus on social deficits and marginalization, the current growth cycle will have little impact on development. *Roberto Bouzas* of FLACSO-Argentina commented that Chile's aggressive trade promotion may be transferable to other countries with resource-based advantages, but requires a multidimensional approach to growth. Hemispheric trade promises fewer benefits to industrialized states competing in global markets distorted by North Atlantic protectionism and subsidies.

Carolina Atkinson of the International Monetary Fund discussed the regional implications of Argentina's debt restructuring. Atkinson noted the stability of Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, where growth based on sounder macroeconomic policies equals or exceeds Argentina. Nevertheless, recent export-led growth in the region relies on high international commodity prices rather than increased competitiveness. Ranis agreed, cautioning against over-reliance on commodity exports that undermine economic diversity and job creation while sustaining the region's staggering inequality.

In a keynote address, Chilean ambassador to Argentina *Luis Maira* expressed disappointment with U.S. indifference towards Latin America, especially given perceptions in the region that the U.S. emphasis on intensified global security threats is exaggerated. Maira outlined four regional security issues with implications for the United States: illegal immigra-

tion from Mexico, the presence of organized crime in Central America, drug trafficking from Colombia, and illegal activities in the triple border of Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay. Maira questioned the role of the United States in the consolidation of democracy in the hemisphere and implied that it was unclear whether U.S. involvement helped or hindered the process.

The challenges of democratic governance and economic development in Latin America are not isolated issues, but rather, intertwined with aspects of social reform. *Jorge Balán* of the Ford Foundation pointed out that weak political representation of social groups such as the poor and youth is a roadblock to democratic governance, just as widening inequality and persistent poverty hamper economic growth. According to Woodrow Wilson Center senior scholar *Joan Nelson*, a focus on education and health is crucial to social sector reform in Latin America. While access to these services has improved in the last two decades, Nelson argued that improved quality and increased utilization of the services must accompany this expansion. Moreover, decentralization of social service provision to state and local authorities in recent years carries opportunities as well as risks. Latin American countries lack a sustainable social contract and the ability to build up human capital, according to *Robert Kaufman* of Rutgers University. National leaders require incentives for transferring successful local social reform programs to the national level.

Social reform in the hemisphere has progressed in recent years, said *Evelyne Huber* of the University of North Carolina, and the issue is firmly embedded in the agendas of both international financial institu-

Recognizing social reform as a political, rather than technical, issue means that the commitment of political actors and civil society is necessary to advance the agenda.

tions and Latin American governments. Huber underscored the need for immediate poverty alleviation policies if future generations are expected to develop human capital and maximize their potential. Recognizing social reform as a political, rather than technical, issue means that the commitment of political actors and civil society is necessary to

advance the agenda. *Barbara Stallings* of Brown University took a different view, arguing that employment and economic growth are at the root of solving poverty and inequality in Latin America. Employment provides income to households, instills a sense of self worth, and often leads to increased political participation. The type of growth is important given that sectors such as agriculture and services are highly labor intensive and more likely to create jobs. *Marta Schteingart* of the Colegio de México cited a number of obstacles to social policy reform, including cuts in housing subsidies, poorly implemented decentralization strategies, and funding gaps. In Mexico, private developers build the majority of homes without necessarily emphasizing housing for low-income families or the linkages between housing policy and urban development. Schteingart called for a modification of the present housing

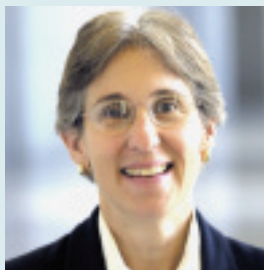
financial structure in order to provide financing through subsidized credit or commercial banks.

In a final panel on hemispheric relations, founding director of the Wilson Center's Latin American Program *Abraham Lowenthal*, University of Southern California, challenged his peers to anticipate the changes in U.S.-Latin American relations in the coming decade and to explicitly determine what can be done to facilitate continued progress. Although the shared struggle against the legacies of debt, inflation, and authoritarianism and the end of the Cold War offered a glimpse of hemispheric unity, it nevertheless failed to dramatically improve the complicated relations between states. *Heraldo Muñoz*, Chilean ambassador to the United Nations, highlighted an absence of regional consensus on political and economic issues. Politically, leaders are increasingly likely to be chosen through elections that are

Transitions in the Latin American Program

In January 2006, *Joseph S. Tulchin* stepped down after sixteen years as the director of the Latin American Program. Joe presided over a period of enormous productivity and growth in the LAP, a time that saw the establishment of the Mexico Institute and the Projects on Brazil and Argentina as well as the publication of numerous books, articles, and conference reports. In the words of Wilson Center Director Lee H. Hamilton, "Joe was an integral part of the Wilson Center for more than 16 years, and the growth and nurturing of the Latin American Program under his leadership and stewardship exceeded all goals." Hamilton appointed Joe a Woodrow Wilson Center Senior Scholar, and we look forward to his ongoing collaboration with the Latin American Program on the projects of Creating Community and Citizen Security as well as other initiatives. It was truly an honor to have worked with Joe and we wish him all the best in his future endeavors.

Assuming the post of director is *Dr. Cynthia J. Arnson*, who has served the Latin American Program with distinction during her eleven years



Latin American Program
Director Cynthia J. Arnson

at the Wilson Center, most recently as the deputy director of the program. She is the author or editor of several highly-regarded books, including *Crossroads: Congress, the President, and Central America, 1976-1993* (Penn State, 1993); *Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America* (Stanford, 1999); and most recently, with I. William Zartman, *Rethinking the Economics of War: The Intersection of Need, Creed, and Greed* (Johns Hopkins, 2005). Over the last decade Cindy created and managed the Latin American Program's Project on Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America, and has written or edited dozens of Latin American Program publications dealing with the politics of Central and South America (particularly in the Andean region) and U.S. policy toward the Western Hemisphere. Before joining the Wilson Center, Cindy worked as a senior staff member in the U.S. House of Representatives, taught at American University, and served as associate director of the Americas Division of Human Rights Watch. She is a member of the advisory board of *Foreign Affairs en Español* and of Human Rights Watch/Americas.

generally perceived as free and fair. Economically, however, the region is Balkanized, as a few countries integrate into global markets while the majority fall behind and have poor prospects for catching up. These differences in economic possibilities threaten efforts to tighten hemispheric bonds.

Cristina Eguizábal of the Ford Foundation, Mexico, argued that Latin America falls into three subregions: Northern (Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean), the Southern Cone, and the Andes. The northern group faces ever closer, asymmetrical relations with the United States based, increasingly, on migration and remittance flows rather than trade and investment. By contrast, countries of the Southern Cone have diverse and largely industrialized economies and seek partners across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The Andean countries are torn between a quest for U.S. investment and the high costs of the U.S.-funded counter-drug programs. At the same time, there is an absence of sustainable economic alternatives to reduce poverty.

Peter Hakim, president of the Inter-American Dialogue, stressed that success in the coming decades depends on whether or not Latin American economies sustain growth rates at or above 4 percent per year. Those that do may be able to address longstanding problems of poverty and inequality. Moreover, rising levels of crime and violence frequently linked to international cartels or gangs are an increasingly important part of the hemispheric agenda. Addressing them through a combination of military and police action, social policies, and judicial measures, at the same time that Latin American countries lack sufficient funds, are critical issues that require a multinational response.

Raúl Benítez of Mexico's National Autonomous University also emphasized a broadening regional security agenda that demands collective action. Transnational threats such as the Central American gangs or *maras*, aggressive social movements, rising militarism, and cross-border criminal networks bind these nations together as neighbors and allies. Benítez agreed with Hakim that regional institutions, especially the Organization of American States, have failed as instruments for regional cooperation. Yet growing interdependence across the region, at least in the security realm, will continue to require hemispheric cooperation and could provide the basis for more collaborative policies in other areas.

Mexican Migrant Civic and Political Participation

On November 4–5, 2005, the Mexico Institute and the Department of Latin American and Latino Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz, with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, the Inter-American Foundation, and the Ford Foundation, brought together researchers, migrant leaders, and immigrant rights advocates from around the United States and Mexico to discuss the civic and political engagement of Mexican migrants. The conference opened with a public session and was followed by a day-and-a-half of closed-door meetings in which the sixty-five participants addressed a range of issues, including electoral enfranchisement in the United States and Mexico, patterns of labor organization, faith-based organizing strategies, the role of Spanish language media, and the relationships between Latino and Mexican migrant organizations.

During the public session, conference organizer *Jonathan Fox* of the University of California, Santa Cruz, observed that while the number of Mexicans in the United States is recognized, the presence of Mexican society often is not. He argued that many Mexican migrant workers are trying to become full citizens of both countries, engaging in “civic binationality.” *Roberto Suro* of the Pew Hispanic Center emphasized that the rapid population growth of Latinos in the United States has not meant equally rapid growth in the Latino electorate: while the population of migrants grew by 5.7 million between the last two elections, 3.6 million of them were not eligible to vote. Suro also noted that the rate of participation in civic activities is much lower for foreign-born and non-naturalized citizens than for naturalized citizens, though churches and schools form important nodes for civic engagement of immigrant Latinos.

Gaspar Rivera-Salgado of the San Diego-based New Americans Immigration Museum and Learning Center and *Xochitl Bada* of Notre Dame University, both co-organizers of the conference, presented an overview of Mexican migrant organizations in the United States, especially hometown associations (HTAs). The rise in these migrant-led organizations contrasts with the overall decline in U.S. civic life. Rivera noted that these groups operate on three levels, including federations, which bring together HTAs from the same state in Mexico.



(From left to right) **Monica Lozano, Janet Murguía, Guadalupe Gómez, Ann Marie Tallman, Jesús García, María Elena Durazo, Jesús Martínez-Saldaña**

Many of the federations have become important channels through which migrants can integrate into U.S. society and shape public policy in both Mexico and the United States. These immigrant-run organizations address concerns in members' towns of origin, including by sending millions of dollars in remittances to community development projects; the organizations also help migrants adjust to life in the United States, by aiding in obtaining drivers' licenses, becoming naturalized citizens, and registering as voters. They appear to encourage "civic binationality," a process of dual, simultaneous incorporation into two societies. Addressing the specific case of Chicago, Bada presented the results of a compre-

the United States, from informal kinds of associations to more established institutions. She questioned the degree to which the agendas of migrant organizations overlap with those of major Latino organizations and how the degree of that intersection has an impact on the issue of civic binationality. The executive vice-president of UNITE HERE International Union, *María Elena Durazo*, asserted that while migrant and Latino organizations often share similar opinions on the issues facing their constituents, there is a disconnect between the two groups in terms of their relative priorities. Migrant organizations are far more likely to emphasize the importance of civic participation, citizenship, and workers' rights. She highlighted the fact that even non-citizens, who may not have money or votes, can still mobilize, volunteer, and establish themselves as a force to be reckoned with. *Guadalupe Gómez*, vice-president of the Federación de Clubes Zacatecanos in Southern California, rejected the notion that migrants, in particular Mexican migrants, only care about their countries of origin. He noted that the Federación was active both in sending remittances to home communities in Mexico and in promoting education and political engagement in the United States. He called for the creation of a truly binational civic agenda that would demand coordination between Latino and migrant organizations in developing long-term strategies and allow them to more effectively address common concerns.

Ann Marie Tallman, president of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund

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hensive investigation of the city's 270 Mexican hometown associations. The largest Mexican population in Chicago is from the state of Michoacán; its success in forming effective HTAs was recognized in 2000, when Mayor Daley declared the third week of June to be "Michoacán Culture Week."

During a second public panel on "Civic Leadership: Lessons and Challenges," moderator *Monica Lozano*, publisher and CEO of *La Opinión* newspaper, asked the participants to elaborate on the evolution of Mexican migrant organization in

(MALDEF), challenged the notion that Mexico's recent law allowing Mexican citizens to vote abroad poses a potential conflict of political and civic allegiances. While she reaffirmed the importance of integrating migrants into U.S. civil society, she disputed the assumption that they should then abandon all loyalties to their homeland. This kind of civic duality is made all the more possible by the growing influence of the hometown association infrastructure, which allows groups to provide services for migrants in the United States, but also to influence policy in Mexico. She stressed the positive reinforcement between migrants' engagement in their home country and their empowerment in the United States, and stressed MALDEF's increasing outreach to migrant organizations.

Jesús García, executive director of Little Village Community Development Corporation and a former state senator in Illinois, explained the importance of full enfranchisement for the migrant community if they are to have a serious impact on state and federal policy. García cited recent successes in Illinois, where the state has invested \$9 million over three years in a program called the New American Initiative, which aims to encourage 500,000 immigrants to become new citizens over the next several years. He added that some districts in Illinois are even making some migrant-friendly concessions, such as allowing non-naturalized community members to vote in school board elections. He noted that, despite his long involvement in U.S. politics, he also felt great pride to be able to vote in the Mexican election as a way of honoring his parents and his Mexican heritage.

The president and CEO of the National Council of La Raza, *Janet Murguía*, asserted that currently, the United States effectively has no immigration policy and the border states are dealing with the issue "in a vacuum." She urged a change in the debate on immigration, away from the mindset that immigrant workers come to the United States to steal jobs from American citizens. She emphasized the need for traditional Latino organizations, such as National Council of La Raza, to build bridges with newer migrant-run organizations and incorporate recent immigrants in policy debates about immigration reform and civil rights.

Jesús Martínez-Saldaña, a PRD state legislator in Michoacán and former professor at California State University, Fresno, argued that Mexico, too, is guilty of having no ascertainable migration policy

and that the mobilized migrant community in the United States has been gradually forcing the federal and state governments in Mexico to engage migrants in their policy making. The newly won right to vote for Mexicans abroad would further force Mexican politicians to pay attention to the Mexican community in the United States.

The Domestic and Foreign Policies of Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez

In the aftermath of Venezuela's December 2005 legislative elections, the Latin American Program hosted a January 26, 2006, seminar to explore Venezuelan political developments and foreign policy initiatives in advance of the country's December 2006 presidential elections. *Miriam Kornblith*, researcher at the Universidad Central de Venezuela and visiting fellow at the University of Notre Dame's Kellogg Institute, situated the discussion of Venezuelan politics within the broader debate over "third wave" democracies, in which concerns have arisen over the coexistence of formal democratic processes with practices that are deeply authoritarian. This phenomenon is also known as "competitive authoritarianism." While some see Hugo Chávez's presidency as having deepened democracy through expanding participation, others decry the erosion of critical aspects of a democratic regime. What Kornblith described as a decay of democratic standards is seen in the pro-government bias of the



Miriam Kornblith

national electoral board, the elimination of public financing for political parties, and the development of software that allows voters to be matched with the votes they cast, thereby undermining the principle of a secret ballot. Kornblith cited additional concerns over the military's growing involvement in functions related to elections and the harassment of voters associated with the opposition. Kornblith attributed the accelerated frequency of elections in Venezuela to Chávez's attempt to establish a new model of power in the country—one that uses elections and referenda to consolidate, not distribute, political control.

Kornblith maintained that the authoritarian side of the equation has grown in recent years, which poses a critical dilemma for the electoral opposition

to Chávez: should they participate in—and thus legitimate—dubious elections, or should they abstain, knowing that non-participation could result in a complete loss of power. Kornblith also pointed to growing debate within the governing coalition, as smaller parties question whether the current rules of the game benefit their own political aspirations.

Michael Coppedge, associate professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame, emphasized that the regime Chávez has created is no longer a liberal democracy, and that the events leading up to the country's 2006 presidential elections will be pivotal in determining the future of democracy in Venezuela. Coppedge predicted that Chávez will win in December, but that his current support of about 45–50 percent will decline by the

Junior Scholars in the Study of Democracy in Latin America

In October 2004, the Latin American Program held a conference to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the project, "Transitions from Authoritarian Rule." The conference included an extended workshop among some of the leading scholars of democratic governance, to take stock of where the study of democracy had gone and what remained to be explored. At the conclusion of the exchange, project leaders decided to stimulate innovative work among relatively junior members of the academic profession focusing on issues of democracy in Latin America. With support from the Ford Foundation, the Latin American Program sponsored a fellowship competition entitled "Junior Scholars in the Study of Democracy in Latin America," soliciting research proposals related to issues of citizenship and rights, poverty and inequality, reforms of the state, representation and accountability, and local government. Eight grantees were selected from the more than 160 proposals received from 19 countries: *Eduardo Alemán* and *Ernesto Calvo* (both of Argentina), "Public Opinion, Electoral Responsiveness, and Legislative Success in Democratic Argentina;" *David Altman* (Uruguay), "Mecanismos de democracia directa como agentes de 'vertical accountability;'" *Laura Flamand* (Mexico), "The New Role of Sub-

national Government in the Federal Policy Process: The Case of Democratic Mexico;" *Tanya Golash-Boza* (United States), "Afro-Peruvians in a Mestizo Nation: Mestizaje and Racial Democracy in Peru;" *Manuela Picq* (Brazil), "Rights, Norms, and the Politics of Difference: Women and the Indigenous Movement in Ecuador;" *Alejandro Poiré* (Mexico), "Money in Elections and the Quality of Democratic Representation: Do cash subsidies work?;" *Anny Rivera Ottenberger* (Chile), "Contrasting Modes of Local Governance and the Urban Poor in Chile;" and *Bárbara Sutton* (Argentina), "Racism and the Failure of Democracy in Argentina." On February 9, 2006, the grantees convened in Santiago, Chile, to present the drafts of their papers. Commentators included members of the evaluation committee, *Guillermo O'Donnell* of the University of Notre Dame, *Joseph S. Tulchin* of the Woodrow Wilson Center, and *Augusto Varas* of the Ford Foundation, along with *Claudio Fuentes*, FLACSO-Chile, *Evelyn Huber*, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, *Alexander Wilde*, formerly of the Ford Foundation, and *Enrique Peruzzotti*, Universidad Di Tella. The final versions of the papers will be made available to the public upon their completion this summer.

end of this year. He surmised that as the country becomes more authoritarian, voters will become disenchanted. Economics will also play a large part in declining support for Chávez: although the economy is growing rapidly, it is also experiencing inflationary pressures, shortages of basic goods, increased state micromanagement of the economy, and inefficiency in the private sector. The expropriation of rural lands and urban buildings, resentment over Venezuelan spending abroad in order to build political alliances, and the decay of basic infrastructure are additional challenges Chávez must confront. Over the next year, Coppedge predicted, the opposition will most likely agonize over whether or not to participate in the December elections. He echoed Kornblith's concerns about the government's power to manipulate these elections. While "a fair election will be close," he said, "a close election won't be fair."

Javier Pereira, political reporter for *El Nacional* in Caracas, noted that the Chávez administration has substantially repositioned Venezuelan foreign policy by replacing historic allies—the United States and the Andean Community—with Cuba and Mercosur, of which Venezuela expects to be a full member by the end of 2006. Venezuela exports approximately 95,000 barrels of petroleum per day to Cuba in exchange for social development assistance, and the leaders of the two countries espouse a common anti-imperialist platform. In the Andes, Chávez supports the insurgent candidacy of Ollanta Humala in Peru and closer relations with Bolivia, premised on Evo Morales' anti-imperialist discourse and eagerness to receive social development financing. Chávez has demonstrated pragmatism in resolving tensions between Colombia and Venezuela, and relations improved dramatically following President Álvaro Uribe's denunciations of Bogotá-based plots to destabilize the Chávez administration. As a result, relations between the two states passed from near-disaster to the closest level of collaboration in years.

According to Pereira, energy cooperation is a principal instrument of Venezuelan foreign policy. Pereira noted that Brazil and Venezuela are engaged in constructing an oil refinery in Pernambuco, Brazil. Venezuela also plans to build a \$30 billion gas pipeline from Puerto Ordaz to Buenos Aires in exchange for agricultural technology and expertise. Pereira pointed out the irony that oil revenues paid

by the United States help finance Venezuela's principal diplomatic tool: the conclusion of preferential oil arrangements with sympathetic heads of state throughout the hemisphere.

Political Corruption in Brazil

The corruption scandal in Brazil, known as the "*mensalão*" (monthly kickback) scandal, has dominated Brazilian politics since it first came to light in June 2005. It threatened to bring down the administration of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva who, until recently, was seen as immune from the cronyism and clientelism that have plagued Brazil for years. On October 21, 2005, Brazil @ the Wilson Center hosted a conference that brought together experts from the United States, Brazil, and Canada to debate the ramifications of the political scandal and address broader issues of corruption, good governance, and the very future of Lula's Workers' Party (PT).

Paulo Sotero, Washington correspondent for *O Estado de São Paulo*, described the current state of affairs as depressing, but said that he remained optimistic, predicting that Brazil would continue to grow and prosper as a democratic nation. He outlined two main arguments that the Lula administration has put forward to "spin" this recent corruption scandal. First, during a July interview in France, Lula defended the egregious acts of his fellow party members as behavior accepted by and expected of any other political party in Brazil. Sotero called this claim disappointing on many levels, but especially offensive in that the PT was elected in part on the basis of its claims to rise above the usual clientelistic practices of other parties. The second argument made by the Lula administration concerned the role of the media. The PT has tried to paint the scandal as a media conspiracy that has blown the evidence of impropriety out of proportion. To this argument, Sotero stated that the PT is "absolutely wrong," pointing out that the evidence in this case speaks for itself.

Wendy Hunter, associate professor of government at the University of Texas, Austin, reflected on the history of the PT and politics in Brazil, asking how it was that a party that claimed to be so clean and ethical could be caught buying votes in the Congress. In essence, she concluded that the PT has become just like other political parties in



Wendy Hunter, Riordan Roett

the country, reflecting a larger, systemic problem for politics in Brazil. She illuminated the severity of this particular crisis within the PT, explaining that, while it makes up 17 percent of the Brazilian Congress, over 60 percent of ministerial seats went to the party. This is a departure from standard practice in Brazil, in which ministerial appointments have been typically granted to other political parties to build alliances and reach across the political

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spectrum. Hunter also pointed out that Lula's administration, more often than not, has rewarded so-called "political competencies" rather than "technical competencies," which has arguably weakened government efficiency and capacity.

Hunter also addressed the effects of the corruption scandal on Lula's political career, noting the shifting support base of the president and of the PT as a whole. Educated, middle class supporters of the party have begun to see through the foibles of this administration and retract their support. Most middle class voters have viewed the scandal as *political* corruption rather than *personal* corruption. As a

result, many disillusioned tax-payers appear less inclined to pay taxes on the grounds that the funds will go to the wrong people. Traditionally composed of pragmatists and ideologues, the PT could not be more divided between these two factions, Hunter added.

Riordan Roett, director of Western Hemisphere Studies at The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, emphasized that the current scandal was "business as usual" for Brazilian government officials. Roett added, however, that the financial world, which he knows from the inside, could care less. He cited recent reports from such rating agencies as Fitch and Moody's Investor Service that are optimistic about Brazil's economic situation. Roett noted that Fitch Ratings, for example, was reporting that the "turmoil has not compromised the sound macroeconomic policies" of the Lula administration. Moody's, he continued, says the scandal confirms the resilience of Brazil to shocks of a different nature. Roett called for the building of a "firewall" between politics and economic policy in Brazil.

Catherine Conaghan, professor of political studies at Queen's University, moderated the discussion and framed the panelists' conclusions. Addressing the future of the PT and the Lula presidency, panelists generally agreed that the PT would continue to receive support from the less educated, working class segments of society. Social programs that target this bloc of voters will continue to attract support, regardless of whether or not the policies are sound. If Lula runs for reelection in 2006, panelists predicted that he would reach out in a more populist fashion to stimulate support from the working class base of the party. His approach will be more about image and less about concrete programs. The panelists agreed on one certainty: that the next time around, Lula will not be claiming that the PT is more ethical than other political parties in Brazil.

The Effects of U.S. Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building

On October 27, 2005, the Latin American Program joined with Vanderbilt University, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the University of Pittsburgh in hosting a presentation of the results



Mitchell Seligson

of a USAID-funded study of the effects of U.S. foreign assistance on democracy building worldwide.

Research team leader *Mitchell Seligson*, Centennial professor of political science, Vanderbilt University, said that the study focused on 165 countries from around the globe. Using the democracy indicators of Freedom House and Polity IV, the

study found that since the end of the Cold War, there has been a worldwide trend towards democratization. Seligson noted that democracy assistance is still a very small proportion of the USAID portfolio, but contrasted the steady erosion of AID assistance in areas not related to democracy promotion prior to 2001 with a consistent increase in assistance for democracy and governance programs. For purposes of measurement, the study divided assistance for democratic governance into the four categories used by AID: civil society (including the media), rule of law (including human rights), elections (including parties), and governance (including decentralization and anti-corruption programs). The study found that foreign assistance is divided fairly evenly across regions, although rule of law assistance was highest in Latin America.

Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, assistant professor of political science, University of Pittsburgh, described the methodology used in the study. He noted that the researchers looked at data from 1990–2003 and grouped some 280 variables into two categories. The first included variables such as economic growth and inflation that change from country to country and within countries over time. The second category consisted of constant factors within countries over time, such as the level of democratic gov-

Trade and Regional Integration Initiatives in the Americas

From November 28 to December 2, 2005, the Congressional Economic Leadership Institute and Brazil @ the Wilson Center sponsored a congressional delegation to Brazil. The initiative was supported by the Inter-American Development Bank. Congressmen *Phil English* (R-PA), *Michael E. Capuano* (D-MA), *Dennis Cardoza* (D-CA), *Jim Costa* (D-CA), *Mike Honda* (D-CA), and *Eddie Bernice Johnson* (D-TX) participated in the trip, the second in a series of exchanges between Brazilian and U.S. legislators.

The delegation traveled to São Paulo and Brasília to discuss issues related to the Doha Round of the WTO negotiations, to examine bilateral relations between the United States and Brazil, to participate in a dialogue with Brazilian legislators, and to set the foundation for ongoing

exchanges between U.S. and Brazilian legislators. The trip provided an opportunity to help foster mutual understanding prior to the discussions with Brazilian government leaders and legislators at the WTO Ministerial Conference in Hong Kong.

The trip concluded with a discussion of the challenges Brazil faces in eradicating poverty and of the government's programs to address inequality, a significant obstacle for the development of the Brazilian economy and society. The delegation left with a better sense of the economic and political realities that influence Brazil's negotiating position in the trade talks. They also came away with a sense of Brazil's enormous agricultural potential, and the possibility that ethanol may help fuel future growth in both the United States and Brazil.

ernance at the start of the study, the degree of ethnic fractionalization, and income inequality.

Steven E. Finkel, Daniel H. Wallace Professor of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, summarized conclusions of the study. The model showed that U.S. aid spending in the area of democratic governance had a consistent, albeit modest, impact on both the Freedom House and Polity IV indicators. He added that the regional effects of aid were strong. Looking at both the immediate (within one or two years) and the lagged (within three years) effects of aid, the team found that aid for elections and civil society had a more contemporaneous impact, while the impact of rule of law spending lagged. Civil society spending demonstrated a strong correspondence between outlay and effect, noting that aid obligations appeared to exacerbate human rights problems, possibly as latent abuses became more well-known. The governance category, meanwhile, showed no immediate or long-term change, perhaps due to the difficulties with measurement.

Peer reviewers commended the team for assembling the most comprehensive and rigorous study to date on the effects of aid on democratic governance. Michigan State University professor of political science *Michael Bratton* remarked, however, that the team did not match the powerful statistical model they used with an equally powerful conceptual or theoretical framework that would constitute a dynamic theory of democratic development. He also questioned the heavy reliance on Freedom House and Polity IV indicators, noting that while these are the two most comprehensive sources available, they may not fully capture the level of democratic governance.

Michael Coppedge voiced concern that wealthy western democracies were excluded from the analysis. Had they been included, he argued, a more negative trend might have appeared. He questioned whether fourteen years was long enough to establish a reliable trend. Coppedge also expressed concern that the report did not adequately control for the aid spending of other countries.

Pamela Paxton, associate professor of sociology, Ohio State University, suggested that future research examine in greater depth the regional trends that the study uncovered. She added that the cumulative effects found in the study indicate that qualitative information would be useful to enhance the understanding of the impact of aid.

Chile's 2006 Elections: A Chilean Perspective

On January 15, 2005, the results of a run-off between Chile's two leading presidential candidates showed the continuity of successful democratic governance by a center-left coalition since Gen. Augusto Pinochet surrendered power in 1989. Woodrow Wilson Center fellow *Felipe Agüero* of the University of Miami explained that, over the last decade and a half, two major blocs have competed for political power, functioning as a *de facto* two-party system. The elections that have taken place since 1989 (at all levels of government) have for the most part pitted a coalition of right-wing parties against a center-left coalition known as the Concertación. The Concertación brings together a variety of actors that united in opposition to Pinochet's military regime. Whereas the 1973 breakdown of democracy was the result of polarization in a multiparty system in which parties of the left, right, and center espoused distinctly separate agendas, the experience of repression and opposition to military rule united the center and the left. In fact, Agüero noted, one of the principal features distinguishing Chile's post-authoritarian democracy from the one that prevailed during most of the 20th century is precisely the union of the center (the Christian Democrats) and the left (the Socialist Party, the Party for Democracy, and the Social Democratic Radical Party). Sixteen elections in Chile over the past decade and a half have shown a remarkably stable voter preference for the Concertación.

According to Agüero, Socialist Michele Bachelet's victory over the opposition candidate in the second-round election reflects the Concertación's success in advancing democratization, promoting economic growth, reducing the poverty level from 40 to 17 percent, and bringing closure to the transition by reforming the Constitution inherited from Pinochet.

Under President Ricardo Lagos, the economy was strengthened through a myriad of trade agreements as well as substantial increases in social spending. While inequality in Chile remains among the highest in Latin America, significant progress in protecting civil liberties, promoting citizenship, and confronting past human rights violations pushed Lagos's approval ratings to nearly 70 percent at the

end of his term. Bachelet's election portends the continuation of policies in these areas.

However, Agüero argued, Bachelet's election also represents change. For the first time in Latin American history, a woman has come to power not through the status of her husband but because of her own capabilities and performance. According to Agüero, the election of Bachelet, an avowed agnostic and single mother of three, also disproves commonly-held assumptions about the conservative nature of Chile's society.

Bachelet appointed women to half the cabinet posts (including the ministers of defense and the economy) and announced these appointments independently of the parties in her coalition. Agüero posited that while this may be indicative of her style of governing, she must tread lightly in order to avoid tensions with her parties—which for the first time control a majority in both chambers of congress—as she pursues her legislative agenda. This agenda includes pension reform aimed at alleviating inequality, as well as electoral reforms to remove distortions in the system inherited from Pinochet.

Finally, Agüero pointed to the growing strength and legitimacy of the right. Despite its inability to win the presidency, it has twice been able to force a second round election, nearly winning a plurality in the first round in 1999 and obtaining a combined total of 48 percent of the vote in the first round in 2005. The right is now engaged in fierce competition over leadership, as well as an effort to purge from its top ranks Pinochet supporters who were active in his cabinet and government.

Social Policy in Brazil

While economic growth has improved the lives of many of Brazil's citizens, widespread poverty and income inequality persist. The federal government has enacted broad ranging social programs to ameliorate the situation, providing health care, basic education, cash transfers, and social security, and fostering greater social inclusion of ethnic minorities. The Brazil Project took stock of these issues by holding two meetings to analyze social policies addressing public health and poverty issues.

A December 12, 2005, seminar highlighted Brazil's successful programs to combat HIV/AIDS. The country was able to keep the number of HIV infections low through a strong central commit-

ment to prevention, treatment, and the strengthening of institutions. While Brazil has emerged as a leader of the developing world in its HIV/AIDS program, less politically charged epidemics such as tuberculosis, malaria, and dengue—once targeted with equal commitment—have recently faltered by comparison.

Maureen Lewis, a senior fellow at the Center for Global Development, enumerated several factors that explain Brazil's achievements in preventing the spread of AIDS: the government's early and swift response; strategic use of Brazil's decentralized government structure; and government-civil society collaboration. Brazil has had success combating diseases with known vaccines, such as polio and tuberculosis. However, many tropical ones, such as malaria and dengue, have boomed. The discrepancy between the success in combating HIV and failures in other diseases is rooted in the varied results of decentralization programs, leadership, the visibility of those infected, and the accountability of high levels of government and the global community.

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According to *Eduardo Gómez*, visiting scientist, Harvard School of Public Health, decentralization policy has been essential to the success or failure of disease-combating efforts. With AIDS, a globally recognized and politicized epidemic, decentralization has been used to reach more people while accountability remains centralized. However, prevention programs for less well-known diseases like dengue have suffered from decentralization, since many Brazilian municipalities lack the technical expertise and financial support needed to combat these illnesses.

Jorge Bermudez, chief of Essential Medicines, Vaccines and Health Technologies Unit, Pan American Health Organization, focused on Brazil's public health system and emphasized the importance of sustainability when assessing Brazil's HIV/AIDS model. Bermudez remarked that, according to the



Thomé Nicocelli, Jorge Bermudez, Maureen Lewis

1988 Constitution, access to medicine is a human right and a duty of the state, and that medicine should not be considered a commodity but rather a public good accessible to everyone.

On February 14, 2006, a seminar was held to examine social exclusion and inequality in Brazil. *Shelton Davis*, senior fellow at Georgetown University, argued that economic reform must be coupled with greater efforts to combat poverty and social inequality in Latin America. Brazil's lack of fundamental social reform complicates matters of sustainable democratic governance.

Margaret Keck, professor of political science at The Johns Hopkins University, pointed out Brazil's

unique social dynamics in which elites lack deep-rooted stakes in their societies. Because of this they feel unconcerned with the plight of their compatriots and see little need for reform. Keck also challenged the assumption that Brazil has a strong state. Its capacity to devise and implement entitlement policies to provide equal access is weak, as is the enforcement of the rule of law within its territory. Moreover, the absence of judicial reform results in court gridlock, and winning legal redress is complicated by the fact that rulings are often infinitely appealed. These features lend themselves to a judicial system biased against the poor, as those with resources outlast those without.

Estanislao Gacitúa-Marió, a senior social scientist with the World Bank, contrasted how procedural mechanisms for exclusion and socio-cultural prejudice exacerbate inequality in Brazil. Afro-Brazilians earn half the average income of the white population. He noted that Brazilians seem to accept great earning disparities that exacerbate prevailing patterns of inequality because of their perception of Brazil as a meritocracy, in which education is the equalizing, universal engine for mobility. Although Brazilians find fault with the government's capacity to enforce the rule of law, the discourse of equal rights contributes to the legitimization of the existing social structure. Labor markets and land tenure reform to benefit the informal and landless sectors would help level the playing field.

Simon Schwartzman, president of the Instituto de Estudos do Trabalho e Sociedade in Rio de Janeiro,

The 2006 Mexican Elections

As the 2006 presidential elections approach, the Mexico Institute has launched an ongoing series of activities that will include conferences, seminars, and publications that analyze the important changes taking place in Mexico's democratic process and the role of Mexico in world affairs.

In January, the Institute launched the 2006 Mexico Elections website, which serves as a one-stop resource for those who want to follow unfolding events in the Mexican electoral contest. The website features English summaries and links to the most important daily news, polls, and analy-

sis by leading scholars and commentators, and can be seen at www.wilsoncenter.org/mexicoelections. The Mexico Institute also continues to host conferences with political leaders and analysts to discuss the electric pre-election climate, including a September meeting with Ignacio Marván, professor at CIDE and advisor to PRD presidential candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador. In March, May, and July, the Institute will organize conferences on the changing nature of Mexico's democracy and the 2006 electoral process.

focused on implementation constraints of social services in Brazil. He argued that the government has the material resources to deal with pressing social problems, but lacks an efficient targeting, collecting, and expenditure system. The “Fome Zero” (Zero Hunger) program is an example of the wrong diagnosis leading to the wrong policy orientation. The program attempted to end hunger despite evidence from the Institute of Geography and Statistics that revealed Brazil’s obesity problem. Likewise, he argued, conditional cash transfers programs such as *Bolsa-Família* (the Family Fund) are wasteful, as they fail to capture the dynamism of their recipients’ decision-making process.

Homeland Security and the Bilateral Relationship between the United States and Argentina

On September 20, 2005, the Latin American Program convened a group of scholars and policymakers from the United States and Argentina to discuss the current state of bilateral counterterrorism cooperation. Georgetown University professor *Paul R. Pillar* addressed general security issues in the region while *Ana Baron*, a journalist with *Clarín*, focused on Argentine policies and strategies for combating terrorism.

Deborah McCarthy, senior advisor for counterterrorism at the Department of State, noted that the U.S. government devotes few resources to counterterrorism in Latin America. Instead, the majority of assets flow to counter-narcotics. The State Department’s approach, she said, had focused on the terrorist threat in the region within a broader effort to combat international criminal groups. Border security receives particular attention, including through a project to identify the visa requirements of individual nations in order to establish potential patterns of movement between countries. McCarthy mentioned the importance of the many partnerships the United States has with Latin American countries, including Argentina.

Jerry Kloski, director of TD International, described the shift in U.S. foreign policy priorities from trade to security following September 11, 2001, and how this strained relations with Latin America. According to Kloski, the Latin

American response to terrorist threats in the region has been slow and timid, allowing groups like Colombia’s FARC guerrillas to reach out to criminal organizations in such countries as Argentina and Brazil. Better law enforcement is the key to curbing terrorism, although this approach is complicated by the fact that the political leadership in many countries such as Argentina remains suspicious of law enforcement following the abuses of past military regimes.

Elizabeth Rindskopf Parker, dean of law at the University of the Pacific, described how U.S. policy has traditionally distinguished between national security and domestic law enforcement. September 11 highlighted the need for a security approach that bridges the gap between these two systems. Accordingly, Parker argued for developing a new legal system that would better address cross-border terrorism while maintaining the predictability and respect for civil rights and liberties.

Emilio Cárdenas, editor-in-chief of *Agenda Internacional* and former chairman of the Committee on Terrorism of the International Bar Association, spoke of the “unambiguous need for a universal definition” of terrorism and criticized the international community’s failure to reach a consensus at a September 2005 United Nations Summit in New York. Cárdenas argued that terrorism is a crime against humanity and therefore without a statute of limitations. Were such a definition to be adopted, however, Latin American govern-



Argentine Secretary of Security Luis Tibiletti

ments would be forced to deal with the presence of former terrorists in government positions, challenging local amnesties.

Argentina's secretary for security in the Ministry of the Interior, *Luis Tibiletti*, opened the afternoon session by discussing the government's efforts to strengthen security, particularly through institution building. Tibiletti noted that Argentina was the first Latin American country to enact a law creating a new intelligence system, which included the establishment of a National Directorate of Criminal Intelligence. Moreover, Argentina is increasing its capacity to enforce border security, train police officers, cooperate between agencies, and become involved in multilateral counterterrorism initiatives within Mercosur, the OAS, and the United Nations. Tibiletti outlined several specific areas of cooperation between the United States and Argentina, including FBI and DEA training of Argentine intelligence analysts.

Victor Beauge, special representative for terrorism and international affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke of Argentina's involvement in the United Nations. Argentina ratified twelve UN conventions on terrorism, signed a thirteenth convention, and—as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council—presented five reports related to terrorism to the Council. At the OAS, Argentina is active in the Inter-American Committee Against Terrorism and works on counterterrorism initiatives within Mercosur.

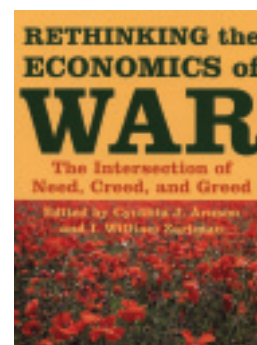
Eugenio Burzaco, president of the Fundar Foundation, was less optimistic about Argentina's response to terrorism. He argued that institutional weaknesses—limited budgets, political corruption, a lack of common enforcement laws between MERCOSUR countries, the absence of advanced securi-

ty technology, and a lack of interagency coordination—allow terrorists the opportunity to commit crimes. He offered several recommendations for areas to improve, including better intelligence sharing and legislative reform.

Juan Carlos Frías, secretary of the Bicameral Intelligence Commission of the Argentine Congress, spoke in detail of the legislative measures Argentina enacted to address terrorism, including changes to the penal code, reform of the intelligence system, and expanded powers to investigate terrorist financing.

The Economics of War

On November 1, 2005, the Latin American Program hosted a discussion of a newly-released book *Rethinking the Economics of War: The Intersection of Need, Creed, and Greed*, edited by Latin American Program deputy director *Cynthia*



J. Arnson and *I. William Zartman*, director of the Conflict Management Program at The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. The editors were joined by two local scholars, Georgetown University research associate professor *Marc Chernick*, author of the chapter on Colombia, and George Washington University professor of political science *Cynthia McClintock*, author of the chapter on Peru.

The book questions the adequacy of explaining today's internal armed conflicts purely in terms of economic factors and restores the importance of



I. William Zartman, Cynthia J. Arnson, Cynthia McClintock, Marc Chernick

identity and grievances as the primary causes of armed conflict within states. Arnson traced the evolution of the economics of war debate, focusing especially on the 1990s, as scholars as well as practitioners looked at Central Africa's devastating wars and attempted to identify the mix of incentives and disincentives needed to build peace. In countries such as Angola, Colombia, and Sierra Leone, the income from natural resource commodities such as oil, coca, and diamonds appeared to play a unique role not only in financing ever-higher levels of violence by rebel and state forces but also in redefining the very purposes of struggle. While economic resources had always been vital to sustain conflict, what appeared new was the degree to which the resources themselves emerged not as a means to an end but as the very object of struggle. Arnson highlighted the book's effort to apply and contextualize the notion of economic agendas, fitting them into a broader framework of complementary or alternative explanations rooted in history and politics.

Cynthia McClintock traced the convergence of need, creed, and greed in Peru's war against Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). She emphasized grievances as key to the origins and growth of the insurgency, noting that it took root in the poorest region of Peru at a time when the country's rural economy was in drastic decline. Creed played a role to the extent that Marxist principles and Maoist ideology appealed to those victimized by poverty and inequality. In explaining the "strategic defeat" of Sendero, McClintock argued that the insurgency never entered a greed phase; although Sendero benefited greatly from protecting the coca trade, economic resources themselves never became an objective of struggle. McClintock also emphasized the role of government social programs and the capture Sendero's leader, Abimael Guzmán, as critical to Sendero's weakening and defeat.

Marc Chernick noted that World Bank economist Paul Collier's argument about the greed-based nature of insurgency is attractive to governments, in that it delegitimizes insurgents, framing conflicts as

Conservation and Development: Lessons from Costa Rica

Between the 1940s and 1980s, most of Costa Rica's forests were destroyed and replaced with highly valued cattle farms and croplands. "We call this the striptease of Costa Rica," joked *Carlos Manuel Rodríguez*, Costa Rica's minister of environment and energy, at an event co-sponsored by the Wilson Center's Environmental Change and Security Program and the Latin American Program. Costa Rica's deforestation ultimately was reversed through the government's efforts to resuscitate the forest cover using creative market-based approaches to achieve both conservation and development.

After losing two-thirds of its forests, Costa Rica made deforestation illegal in 1992. According to Rodríguez, the government sought novel ways to enforce the law without using armed guards to protect the forests. Instead, the government offered income tax exemptions for people who planted trees and distributed additional compensation—\$50 per hectare—for environmental services provided by their land, including ensuring water resources,

mitigating greenhouse gases, protecting biodiversity, and offering scenic beauty. Initially, Rodríguez said, corporations were the most eager to replant trees to take advantage of the new tax shelter. But soon, the movement trickled down to communities and individuals, including indigenous populations. "We've been realizing lately that indigenous communities are the biggest beneficiaries of environmental service payments," Rodríguez continued. "Payments signify between 10 to 30 percent of income to 80 percent of the beneficiaries." Real money being placed in the hands of small farmers caused an explosion of participation. Between 2000 and 2004, indigenous participation in the program rose more than 100 percent and female farm ownership grew from 200 to 1600 farms. The intended results of the environmental services program were quickly evident: in the first five years "we went from 21 percent forest to 42 percent with this program," Rodríguez said. He ascribed a good measure of the program's effectiveness to the nation's history of political stability.

resource and profit driven. On closer look, Chernick argued, the greed thesis explains little if anything about how war is caused or how wars end. In Colombia, the conflict has changed drastically over time, with the country going through striking-

In countries such as Angola, Colombia, and Sierra Leone, the income from natural resource commodities such as oil, coca, and diamonds appeared to play a unique role not only in financing ever-higher levels of violence by rebel and state forces but also in redefining the very purposes of struggle.

ly different periods of commodity booms and resource extraction. In this current phase, FARC guerrillas have built a major army by relying on criminal activities centered on the cocaine trade. Greed, however, does not fully explain the existence and persistence of conflict in Colombia, Chernick said, highlighting the FARC's ability to maintain a political agenda over an extended period of time.

Co-editor *I. William Zartman* described all conflicts as being about basic needs, identity, and resources: to make a claim that only one aspect is at play is misguided. All three are significant, albeit at different stages in the conflict. Grievances ranging from political repression to economic deprivation ("need"), generalized belief and identity feelings ("creed"), and personal or factional ambitions of private gain ("greed") combine to produce conflicts with multiple, overlapping collective as well as private motives. Conflicts begin when a political

entrepreneur opportunistically feeds off a sense of deprivation or need among the population, casting an appeal in terms of identity or creed. Deprivation is thus framed as discrimination against a particular ethnicity, religious group, or identity. At this point, conflict can produce a number of outcomes: a clear victory for one side, a stalemate where grievances can be addressed, or what Zartman called a "soft, stable, self-serving stalemate," in which parties are unable to prevail over each other but are not necessarily suffering. It is in this stage, Zartman argued, that greed emerges. Parties are more and more reliant on resources to keep the conflict going, but at the same time are improving their fortunes and thus paying less attention to grievances. Because conflicts in the greed stage are very difficult to resolve, the goal of conflict resolution must be on prevention, addressing conflict-prone situations early.

Reporting Across the Border: Challenges of U.S.-Mexico Journalism

On January 20, 2006, the journal *Foreign Affairs en Español* and the Mexico Institute held a conference at the Wilson Center to launch their recent joint publication, *Writing Beyond Boundaries: Journalism Across the U.S.-Mexico Border*. This conference focused on cross-border coverage of elections and migration and was one of many conferences featuring the book, in cities including Mexico City; Monterrey, Nuevo León (organized with the Graduate School of Public Policy at the Tecnológico de Monterrey); and El Paso, Texas (organized by the



(From left to right) David Brooks, José Díaz Briceño, Gregorio Meraz, Claudio Sanchez

Department of Communications at the University of Texas, El Paso). An additional conference focusing on border journalism will be held on April 21, 2006, in Tijuana, Baja California, co-organized by El Colegio de la Frontera Norte.

Andrew Selee, director of the Wilson Center's Mexico Institute, observed that journalists play a key role in international affairs as the "eyes and ears" of citizens. In the case of Mexico and the United States, the role of journalists is even more critical, since these two countries are engaged in a rapid process of demographic and economic integration, and policy decisions made in one country often affect the other profoundly. This growing interdependence requires a new kind of journalism that provides context for political decisions, explores the changes going on in the other country's society, and covers the full story of migrant communities.

Rossana Fuentes-Berain, managing editor of *Foreign Affairs en Español*, acknowledged the obstacles journalists face in covering this relationship, including the lack of resources, the need to accommodate edi-

tors who give priority to other parts of the world, and the changing focus in each government's global agenda. However, despite these constraints, she argued that a new type of journalist has emerged. A "NAFTA generation" of journalists is trying to portray the reality of the two countries in a deeper and more nuanced way.

Keynote speaker *Phillip Bennett*, managing editor of the *Washington Post*, addressed the challenges of reporting on world affairs in the U.S. press, and emphasized the importance of editors taking more risks in order to cover the world responsibly. The media must hold governments accountable for their political actions as well as inform readers on issues about which they would otherwise be unaware. He pointed out that, as it stands today, coverage of Latin America and Mexico have fallen behind other priorities. One third of the *Washington Post's* international affairs budget goes towards its coverage in Iraq. As a result, the *Post* has gone from having five correspondents in Latin America a few years ago to only one today (although this number will increase slight-

The United States and Mexico: Forging a Strategic Partnership

On Thursday, October 6, 2005, the Woodrow Wilson Center's Mexico Institute, the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, and the Congressional Study Group on Mexico hosted a policy forum to launch the report *The United States and Mexico: Forging a Strategic Partnership*, in the U.S. Capitol Building. The report, the result of a binational working group chaired by *Ambassador Andrés Rozental*, president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, and *Dr. Peter H. Smith* of the University of California, San Diego, calls for redefining the relationship between Mexico and the United States as a "strategic partnership" with benefits for the competitiveness and security of both countries. Arguing that the relationship is on "auto-pilot" with little guidance from the governments of either country, the report calls for a new commitment from the leaders of both countries to find common areas of engagement. The report also presents a series of practical strategies that the two governments might use to address border security, trade, migration, infrastructure develop-

ment, energy, and education issues. (The report and several background documents on key issues in U.S.-Mexico relations are available at www.wilsoncenter.org/mexico.)

At the launch, *Rozental*, *Smith*, *Rep. Silvestre Reyes* (D-TX); Mexican undersecretary of foreign affairs *Gerónimo Gutierrez*; U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state *Elizabeth Whitaker*, *Steve Johnson*, a senior policy analyst for the Heritage Foundation; and Mexico's ambassador to the United States, *H.E. Carlos Alberto de Icaza*, exchanged opinions on creative ideas for moving the bilateral relationship forward. They coincided that greater political leadership was necessary but differed on specific policy proposals to make this happen. The report was also launched in Mexico City in the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, with the participation of several members of the Mexican congress, and has since been presented at forums at the Institute of the Americas in San Diego, California and at the Tecnológico de Monterrey, in Nuevo León, Mexico.

ly in the coming months). Bennett stressed that the *Post* was committed to fuller and better coverage in Latin America and was evaluating creative ways of meeting this challenge. One strategy will be to have a reporter who covers both El Salvador and the Salvadoran community in Washington and is assigned to both the metro and international desks.

One third of the *Washington Post's* international affairs budget goes towards its coverage in Iraq. As a result, the *Post* has gone from having five correspondents in Latin America a few years ago to only one . . .

The first panel on electoral coverage was chaired by *Marcela Sánchez* of the *Washington Post*. *New York Times* correspondent *Julia Preston* argued that the upcoming Mexican elections provide a great opportunity and challenge for the U.S. press to drive and create reader interest. One topic of interest is the candidates themselves, who for the first time will be judged based on their experience and

history as democratic leaders. *Alfredo Corchado*, correspondent for the *Dallas Morning News*, recognized this shift, commenting that while the 2000 elections were about change, the July 2006 elections will be more about issues and policy directions. *Dolia Estévez* of *Poder* magazine and Monitor Radio noted that in Mexico there is still limited understanding of how fragmented U.S. politics are. As a result, when Mexicans hear that legislation on such issues as immigration reform is being debated in the U.S. Congress, they have limited understanding of how policy decisions are made or what their effects may be. *José Carreño* of *El Universal* challenged his colleagues to find a better balance between reporting on scandals and reporting on substantive issues.

A second panel on journalistic coverage of migrants and migration was chaired by *Tamar Jacoby* of the Manhattan Institute. In discussing cross-border coverage of migration and migrants, *David Brooks* of *La Jornada* called the twentieth century the “century of immigration,” in which more people than ever before, all over the world, have left their home countries. Whether the Mexican

The Protection of the Amazon in Brazil

In August 2005, the Brazilian government announced that the rate of deforestation in the Amazon rainforest had declined more than 50 percent; that is, 3,515 square miles of forest had disappeared in 2005, compared with 7,229 square miles during the same period a year earlier. On September 21, 2005, the Brazil Project and the Center’s Environmental Change and Security Program hosted Brazilian minister of the environment *Marina Silva* to address environmental concerns, including the still-devastating rate of deforestation.

In the last decade, the Brazilian government launched several important initiatives to protect the Amazon region. One of these eliminated many of the fiscal incentives and credit lines that encouraged deforestation and the predatory occupation of the region. The government also created several protected areas and made significant progress in demarcating indigenous lands. Silva characterized these efforts as only a beginning.

According to Silva, the Lula administration is combating environmental degradation in four principal ways. First, it is heeding the work of previous administrations by continuing to improve upon those projects. Lula has emphasized social participation and control of the process of protecting the environment. Second, Lula has made sustainable development—social and cultural as well as environmental—a key priority. Third, the government has worked to strengthen environmental laws. Silva stressed that the federal, state, and local governments need to develop uniformly strong and consistent laws regarding the environment. Finally, the Brazilian government is collaborating with international NGOs and other organizations abroad, underscoring the importance of coordination across different segments of society and across national boundaries to protect the Amazon.



Marcela Sánchez, Alfredo Corchado

migration phenomenon is unique or part of a larger pattern, the complex issues surrounding it have challenged journalists covering U.S.-Mexico relations. NPR's *Claudio Sanchez* spoke of the evolution of demographic shifts throughout history, emphasizing the problems of U.S. public opinion and generational issues for immigrant youth. Televisa's *Gregorio Meraz*, in turn, noted immigrants' poor living conditions and the refusal of the public to recognize their contribution to the U.S. economy. *Jerry Kammer* of Copley News Service added that opportunities for upward mobility are disappearing for today's immigrants, as compared to those of previous generations.

Reforma correspondent *José Díaz Briceño* noted that typical Mexican press coverage does not include positive stories about immigrants' success, which he attributed to class issues in Mexico City. He called for more education and training of journalists, who should understand and capture the complexity of issues such as the macroeconomic effects of migration. *Armando Guzmán* of TV Azteca and Azteca Americas pointed to the visibility of laborers looking for work as a key story with resonance in areas of new immigration in the United States. As a journalist who works for television in both countries, he also noted the different ways that stories on migration need to be marketed to Mexican audiences in the United States and Mexico. While some panelists were optimistic about improved recent press coverage, they also expressed concern about the lack of resources available to cover issues in an in-depth manner, especially when breaking news often trumps coverage of other immigration issues.

Local Democratic Innovations in Latin America

The Latin American Program has recently completed a two-year study of Local Democratic Innovations in Latin America, with the support of the Tinker Foundation and the Inter-American Foundation. The study explores municipal initiatives that seek to generate more participatory and transparent local governance. To present the results of the study, researchers from six countries who had participated in the project met at the Wilson Center on September 2, 2005, to share their findings at a well-attended public conference.

The first panel, "Innovations in Participation and Accountability," began with *Marcus Melo* of the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco in Brazil, who analyzed participatory budgeting in Brazil. Melo argued that participatory budgeting was a step in the right direction, but that it often reinforced executive dominance by concentrating budgeting decisions even further in the mayor's office. He stressed that greater attention should be paid to improving representative bodies and implementing participatory institutions simultaneously. *Enrique Peruzzotti* of the Universidad Torcuato di Tella in Argentina addressed participatory budgeting in Buenos Aires, Argentina, which has allowed for greater citizen monitoring of public expenditures. However, he noted that the process appears to be only minimally institutionalized and serves largely as a means of engaging those already active in civil society organizations. *Luis Mack* discussed Guatemala's experience with municipal and regional development councils. He concluded that they served as a means for civil society and government actors to meet but they had limited effect on policy decisions or public expenditures. The problem derives in part from the confusing structure of Guatemala's decentralization and in part from the difficulty at constructing a political community in a country fractured by decades of war. Commentator *Jonathan Fox* suggested that there is a triangular relationship among transparency, accountability, and participation that needs to be addressed conceptually and he called for analyzing the relationship between municipal and higher levels of government.

In the second panel of the day entitled "Innovations in Public Space and Democratic Practice," *Roberto Laserna* of CERES discussed the



Marcus Melo

“failure of success” that Bolivia has witnessed in recent years. He argued that Bolivia’s Popular Participation Law had increased citizen participation and improved social spending, but that social unrest had still increased. Laserna noted that the Bolivian reforms were insufficient and that empowering social groups by granting rights without also clarifying obligations has contributed to the breakdown of the democratic process. *Leticia Santín* from the consulting firm Agora discussed participatory urban planning in Mexico, citing successful examples of such planning in cities such as Hermosillo, Sonora where citizens are engaged in setting priorities for municipal investments, public security, and the city’s development plan. Santín emphasized that these experiences are common throughout Mexico, though not always sustainable over time. *Gabriel Murillo* of the Universidad de los Andes discussed the process of redefining public space in cities in Colombia, especially in Bogotá. This redefinition has involved both tangible public space, such as parks, plazas, and public transportation, and intangible public space, such as norms and cultural diversity. A series of mayoral administrations focused on developing each of these kinds of public space, thus building both the physical infrastructure and bonds among citizens to make a more inclusive democratic community in the capital. Commentator *David Crocker* of the University of Maryland highlighted the importance of ethics in public decision-making

and challenged those who study democratic innovation to address what kind of participatory arrangements produce the ideal environment for responsible self-governance.

In a separate meeting on September 23, organized with Partners of the Americas and the Esquel Foundation’s Civil Society Task Force, municipal officials and NGO representatives from the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Colombia, and Paraguay described a series of initiatives in transparency and participation in their cities. These efforts included a youth council in Boyocá, Colombia and attempts to create fiscal transparency in Villarica, Paraguay. Participants concluded that these initiatives flourish when there is both leadership from the government and pressure from civil society organizations to ensure sustainability.

Embracing Genetically Modified Agriculture in Brazil

On November 17, 2005, the Brazil Project and the Wilson Center’s Environmental Change and Security Program co-hosted a conference on the debate over genetically modified (GM) agriculture in Brazil. *Michael Rodemeyer*, a senior consultant at the Pew Initiative on Food and Biotechnology, summarized the conflict over embracing GM agriculture. Unlike in neighboring Argentina, in Brazil a contentious debate erupted over GM technology, resulting in a temporary government ban on certain GM technologies. However, smuggled GM seeds are believed to be grown throughout Brazil. Rodemeyer highlighted Brazil’s important role in the global market for agricultural goods, in particular non-GM agriculture, arguing that an eventual decision by the Brazilian government to wholeheartedly embrace GM agriculture will have strong domestic and international repercussions, from the halls of Brazil’s Congress to the World Trade Organization.

Wellesley College professor of political science *Robert Paarlberg* argued that Brazil’s experience over the past seven years has helped to debunk a number of arguments against GM technologies. One such claim is that farmers who grow GM crops lose the option of saving and replanting their own seeds, leaving multinational corporations with a monopoly on technologies and thus benefiting at

the expense of farmers. The actual practice of GM agriculture in Brazil, however, disproves many of the claims of its critics: GM technologies in Brazil have been popularized by means of seed saving, not the purchase of new seed each year, and individual farmers have managed these technologies at the grassroots level. Despite his broad support for GM technologies, Paarlberg warned that were they to be used widely throughout Brazil, significant challenges would arise, including the establishment of international regulations and confronting the global (especially European and Chinese) demand for non-GM agriculture.

Jose Falck-Zepeda, a research fellow at the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), spoke about safety, regulation, and innovation in the area of GM herbicide resistant soybeans in Brazil. Falck-Zepeda argued for an expansion of the discussion of GM foods to include crops consumed locally, such as rice, beans, and cassava. IFPRI, an organization that urges caution in the development of policies for genetically modified food, promotes the use of this technology to benefit not only agribusiness exporters but also poor subsistence farmers. In addition to addressing the issue of better distributing the payoffs of GM technologies, Falck-Zepeda also mentioned other significant issues intertwined in the debate, including increasing global demand and threats to sovereignty over food security. Falck-Zepeda argued that rigorous biosafety regulations must be adhered to, but they must not deter the research and development of subsistence crops of critical importance to Brazil's poor.

José Geraldo Eugênio de França, director of EMBRAPA, the largest agricultural research organization in Brazil, argued that the unregulated proliferation of smuggled GM herbicide-resistant soybean seeds left destructive environmental footprints. EMBRAPA has taken on the task of both regulating and promoting the use of genetically modified soybean varieties and now works with the public and private sectors to develop a variety of soybean specifically adapted to conditions in Brazil. In what has been labeled the generation of conventional breeding, soybeans are now produced that both conform with new biosafety regulations and achieve a more symbiotic relationship with Brazil's environment. Eugênio praised the stricter safety laws that both stimulate scientific advance and pro-

vide protection. At the same time, he acknowledged that investment has still not occurred in the type of crops that would alleviate poverty and address environmental limitations such as drought and high temperatures.

The Politics of Education Reform in Peru

On September 29, 2005, the Latin American Program hosted Woodrow Wilson Center Public Policy Scholar *Nicolás Lynch* in a presentation of his study of education reform in Peru. Lynch served as minister of education in 2001–2002.

When Lynch first assumed his position, his goals were to implement long-lasting reforms and to make the education sector governable. In the wake of a tenuous political transition to democracy between former president Alberto Fujimori and current president Alejandro Toledo, Lynch called for programs that would support democracy and citizenship through education. He sought to guarantee children's universal access to education and to improve its quality. Reforms he promoted included a national bilingual program, more teacher training, decentralization of the educational system, and increased community and parent participation. The reform that received greatest attention was the establishment of a national exam in order for teachers to receive tenure. Among the 95,000 teachers who took the exam, the average score was 25 percent, and only 23,000 teachers were granted tenure—results that shocked the country.

Lynch relied largely on coalition building to promote desired changes. He found support among parent associations, dissidents within the teachers unions, certain government officials, and the general public, whose opinion of the reforms gradually became more favorable. The largest resistance came from international development banks whose programs he dismantled and from the national leadership of the teachers' unions.

Much of the opposition to reform stemmed from the structure of Peru's educational system. According to Lynch, political parties in Peru rely on elements within the education system, such as teachers' unions, for support. Many of these actors have a direct stake in the status quo. Most teachers' unions, for example, are dominated by radical political parties, such as the Maoist *Patria Roja*,

whose interest in education, Lynch argued, has more to do with its control over the dispensation of teachers' pension funds than with a genuine concern for educational reform.

Although many of his programs have not been continued, Lynch argued that the reforms were still a success; his administration was able to shift the debate on education reform in Peru to focus on the quality of education and increased community participation, rather than universal access to education alone.

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Commentator *Juan Carlos Navarro* of the Inter-American Development Bank commended Peru for its lively debate on education. Speaking in a non-official capacity, Navarro argued that educational policies in Latin America fall into two categories: 1) those in which the teachers unions believe they have a vital stake; and 2) those that balance the market share of education between the public and the private spheres. Policies that fall outside these norms, such as those implemented by Lynch, are not likely to succeed. This was seen in the case of the tenure exams, which the radical leadership of the unions believed went against their political interests. Finally, Navarro noted that groups like the Inter-American Development Bank actually have the same agenda as Lynch, but may have been perceived as opposing his reforms because they cannot enter into political debate or lead or invent reforms.

Fujimori's Peru: Deception in the Public Sphere

On October 20, 2005, the Latin American Program hosted *Catherine Conaghan*, former Woodrow Wilson Center fellow and professor of political studies at Queen's University, Canada, in a discussion of her new book, *Fujimori's Peru: Deception in the Public Sphere* (University of



Catherine Conaghan, Michael Shifter

Pittsburgh, 2005). Conaghan asserted there is incontrovertible evidence of the corruption that pervaded Fujimori's regime. Numerous top officials, including intelligence chief Vladimiro Montesinos, a former Supreme Court justice and former minister of the economy, have been convicted on a variety of corruption charges; Montesinos has also been charged with homicide for his involvement in death squad killings. Conaghan likened the Peruvian scandals to Watergate, saying that the regime unabashedly used state power to promote the personal political agenda of one man and then used state power to cover up the criminal acts of the regime. Fujimori faces 22 criminal charges, from embezzlement to crimes against humanity, and the Peruvian government has sought his extradition. [In early November 2005, Fujimori was arrested in Chile, apparently while attempting to return to Peru to run for president in the country's 2006 elections.]

Fujimori has denounced the criminal charges against him as a government campaign of political persecution, pointing especially to the findings of a government-commissioned investigation that, according to reports published thus far, failed to uncover secret bank accounts in Fujimori's name. Fujimori has argued that he was unaware of the crimes being committed by members of his administration and now refers to Montesinos as "the cancer of his presidency." Conaghan contrasted Fujimori's claims of innocence with the central narrative of his presidency: that he was an efficient manager and master of detail. Whether or not

Fujimori escapes actual criminal prosecution, Conaghan said, he will not escape the judgment of history; Peru's immersion in what novelist Milan Kundera called "the struggle of memory against forgetting" is deep and continuing, abetted by those in civil society (particularly the media) who challenged Fujimori even while he was in power.

Michael Shifter, Inter-American Dialogue vice-president for policy, referred to Conaghan's description of the Fujimori regime as the symbiosis of authoritarianism and criminality, adding that the extent and scope of abuses uncovered was far greater than imagined even by the regime's harshest critics. Shifter attributed *Fujimorismo* to the discrediting of political elites in Peru in the 1980s,

when the country was beset by economic crisis and political violence. Popular rage and resentment toward traditional elites help explain how Fujimori was able to take office and remain in power for an entire decade. Because of what some scholars have called the "precariousness" of Peruvian politics, the lack of institutions, and the disappointing results of the Toledo administration, it is possible that another "dark horse" will emerge in the April 2006 elections, Shifter predicted. He concluded that since 1992, when Fujimori staged an *autogolpe* and dissolved the institutions of representative democracy, the will of nations of the hemisphere to respond forcefully to breakdowns in the democratic process has declined.

Spring 2006 Activities of the Latin American Program

We've had an unusually busy and exciting Spring; and a good number of the events have taken place since this issue of *Noticias* went to press. (Look for descriptions of Spring events in our Fall 2006 issue!) Latin American Program activities not included in this issue include:

A Symposium on International Trade with ABCI ("Advogados Brasileiros Para o Comércio Internacional") Institute

U.S.-Mexico Relations at a Crossroads

Biotechnology Innovations in Brazil

NAFTA and the Future of Trade Governance

Colombia's Peace Processes: Multiple Negotiations, Multiple Actors

Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America

Mexico Election Review

The April 9th Presidential Election in Peru

Social and Cultural Dynamics of the U.S.-Mexico Border

Participatory Governance: Strengthening Democracy in Brazil

Enforcing the Rule of Law: Social Accountability in the New Latin American Democracies

Latin America and the United States: The Future of the Relationship

An Overview of Andean Economics

For summaries of these events, please see our website at www.wilsoncenter.org/lap

Wilson Center Accepting Applications for 2007-2008

The Wilson Center is accepting applications for the 2007-2008 fellowship competition. The Center awards academic year residential fellowships to men and women from any country with outstanding project proposals on national and/or international issues. Topics and scholarship should relate to key public policy challenges or provide the historical or cultural framework to illumine

policy issues of contemporary importance. Fellows are provided private offices, access to the Library of Congress, Windows-based computers, and research assistants. You can download the application at www.wilsoncenter.org. For more information: Tel: (202) 691-4170; E-mail: fellowships@wilsoncenter.org. Deadline: October 2, 2006

Recent Publications

Books

Information about ordering books published by the Woodrow Wilson Press and/or other publishers can be found at www.wilsoncenter.org/lap under our Publications section.

Conference Reports

Ambassador Andrés Rozental and Peter H. Smith with Rafael Fernández de Castro and Andrew Selee, *The United States and Mexico: Forging a Strategic Partnership*, September 2005, co-published with the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations.

Gabriel Murillo and Victoria Gómez, eds., *Redefinición del espacio público: Eslabonamiento conceptual y seguimiento de las políticas públicas en Colombia*, May 2005, co-published with the Universidad de los Andes.

Special Reports

Andrés Valencia; Cynthia J. Arnson, ed., “The Peace Process in Colombia with the ELN: The Role of Mexico,” March 2006.

Woodrow Wilson Center Updates on the Americas

Updates on the Americas are available for download online at www.wilsoncenter.org/lap under our Publications section.

Lilian Bobea, *Creating Community* No. 17, “Gobernabilidad y la Seguridad en el Caribe,” August 2005.

Melina Ginszparg, *Creating Community* No. 18, “Diplomacia Subregional: Cooperación y Seguridad en América del Sur,” June 2005.

Melina Ginszparg, *Creating Community* No. 19, “Taller de Reflexión: Diplomacia Subregional: Cooperación y Seguridad en América del Sur,” June 2005.

Thinking Brazil

Thinking Brazil Updates are available for download online at www.wilsoncenter.org/brazil

Brazil Update, No. 18, “The Mensalão Scandal and the Future of the PT,” March 2006

Brazil Update, No. 19, “Public Health, Poverty, and Social Inclusion,” March 2006

U.S. Mexico Policy Bulletin

U.S. – Mexico Policy Bulletins are available for download online at www.wilsoncenter.org/mexico

Staff Notes

In November 2005, the Brazil Project welcomed *Daniel Nogueira Budny* as a part-time Project Assistant. Daniel was an intern with the Latin American Program throughout the summer and the first half of the fall of 2005, and we are delighted to be able to continue to benefit from his exceptional work. Daniel, a Brazilian-American, is interested in pursuing human rights and social development in Brazil. He received a B.A. in political science from Columbia University and is currently pursuing his M.A. at Georgetown University in Latin American Studies, with a concentration in government.

Interns and Researchers

The Latin American Program would like to extend its heartiest thanks to the following interns for their energy, hard work, and willingness to share their talents and skills with us throughout the fall of 2005 and spring of 2006.

Joshua Smith, Georgetown University

Christina Yagjian, Southwestern University

Flavia Carbonari, Georgetown University

Julián Casal, Georgetown University

Ingrid García, Georgetown University

Lisa Kraus, George Washington University

Elvia Zazueta, Claremont-McKenna College

Public Policy Scholars

We were delighted to welcome back *Abraham Lowenthal*, founding director of the Wilson Center's Latin American Program, who joined the Center as a short-term Public Policy Scholar from November 2005–February 2006. He most recently served as a professor of international relations at the University of Southern California. While in residence at the Center, Abe continued to work on his project, "The Craft of Think Tank Institution-Building: Working at the Nexus of Thought and Action."

Leonardo Avritzer, associate professor of political science from the Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil, joined us as a Public Policy Scholar from February to April 2006. While in residence, he worked on a project entitled, "Citizenship and Participation in Democratic Brazil."

We were also pleased to welcome Public Policy Scholar *Jesús Rodríguez*, director of the Legislative Strengthening Program at FLACSO-Argentina. During a month in residence, Jesús worked on a project entitled "Argentina's Political Influence on the Chilean Democratic Transition."

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