Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

NOTICIAS

LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAM NEWSLETTER FALL 2002

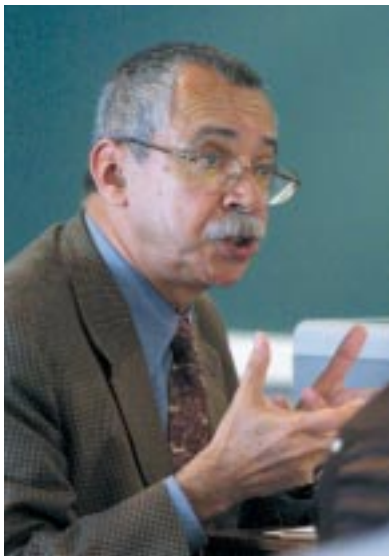
Seminar Series on Mexican Politics and Society

The Woodrow Wilson Center's Latin American Program has launched a new Mexico Institute to focus attention on U.S.-Mexico relations, provide in-depth analysis of political, economic, and social changes in Mexico, and foster new scholarship by both Mexican and U.S. researchers. In light of the growing importance of bilateral relations, the Institute holds seminars and conferences; sponsors an ongoing Mexico Public Policy Scholars program; and produces publications on Mexico and U.S.-Mexico relations.

As part of the Mexico Institute's activities, the Latin American Program hosted a series of seminars on the changing nature of Mexico's politics and society during the winter and spring of 2002. The seminar series began with a presentation on February 7, 2002, by *Felipe Calderón*, the coordinator in Mexico's Congress of the National Action Party (PAN). Calderón stressed the immense shift in Mexico's political system with the advent of a pluralist democracy. He noted that Congress is emerging as a key political actor and, for the first time, assuming its role as an initiator of legislation. Despite predictions that a divided

Mexican congressional leader Felipe Calderón

INSIDE



UNAM professor Rolando Cordera

Congress would lead to gridlock, a great deal of legislation has been approved, most of it with consensus among the major parties. He argued that this shows the capacity of the parties to learn how to work together in the new environment of plurality. With time, President Vicente Fox will submit major reform legislation to Congress, raising the stakes for Mexican pluralism.

On April 5, 2002, *Juan Molinar*, Deputy Secretary of the Interior, discussed the dispersion of power in Mexico. He noted that Mexican presidents always had enjoyed meta-constitutional powers, based on having a single party that controlled the executive and legislative branches and almost all state governorships. This ended with President Fox's election. Today most governors and a majority in congress belong to a different party than the president. This means that the old style of authoritarian rule is no longer possible and Mexican politicians need to learn to operate under different rules. According to Molinar, power today is highly dispersed among different political parties and between branches of government, and Mexicans are creating new rules for this democratic era.

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Rolando Cordera, professor at UNAM and a Public Policy Scholar at the Wilson Center, presented his work on "Globalization without Equity," on May 30, 2002. He argued that Mexico's greater integration into the global economy has not benefited the majority of Mexicans and has produced a growth rate much less than that which Mexico sustained from the 1950s through the 1970s. He maintained that it was vital to look for a way to "Mexicanize" globalization, by finding ways to link small and medium-sized businesses in productive chains with large exporting companies and by investing in education and healthcare. Mexico is currently experiencing a boom in its young adult population. This "demographic bonus" presents an opportunity to invest in human capital and seek strategies for re-energizing economic growth.

Two events focused on the conflict in the southern state of Chiapas. On May 23, 2002, *Jean Meyer* of CIDE and *Xochitl Leyva* of CIESAS-Sureste, presented different perspectives on the ongoing conflict. Meyer discussed the role of religion in Chiapas and emphasized the important cross-fertilization between the Catholic and Protestant churches. Leyva focused on the process of creating new municipalities in Chiapas, which has been a major demand of the Zapatista rebels. She noted that the municipalities that have been created largely responded to the interests of the ruling party, but these have often become seedbeds for change within the state. Both speakers emphasized that the election of new state and national governments had brought a new era of less violent conflict to Chiapas, although there was no sign of a final resolution any time soon.

At an August 1, 2002, seminar, *Miguel Álvarez,* director of Serapaz and a Public Policy Scholar at the Wilson Center, presented a CD containing the entire correspondence of the Chiapas peace process. The former executive secretary of the mediation team known as CONAI, Álvarez discussed the basic lessons that can be drawn from a review of the process. He maintained that the conflict was unlike any other previous civil conflict, since the Zapatistas' threat was more political than military. The mediation was also different, in that it sought broad civic engagement from a plural group of actors. He stressed the need to return to a peace process with the Zapatistas, and that this should be embedded within debates on building democracy and promoting human rights. *Eric Olson*, advocacy director at Amnesty International, agreed with Álvarez's assessment, and noted that the causes of the Chiapas conflict remain unresolved. Olson viewed the failure of the negotiations in terms of missed opportunities and miscalculations by the

actors involved. The Mexican government thought the conflict could be resolved through poverty alleviation, ignoring the political dimensions of the conflict; the Zapatistas failed to appreciate the importance of electoral reforms; and the mediation team underestimated the strength of the Mexican government.

Peace and Security in Colombia

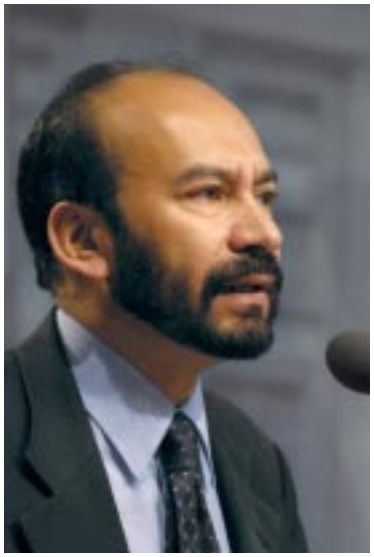
Co-sponsored by the Latin American Program, the International Crisis Group, and the U.S. Institute of Peace, with the cooperation of the Inter-American Dialogue, a June 20, 2002, conference on Peace and Security in Colombia explored the security, economic, and political dimensions of conflict resolution in Colombia. The meeting took place against three important backdrops: the May 26, 2002, first-round presidential victory of Álvaro Uribe Vélez; burgeoning conflict between guerrillas, paramilitary groups, and the state in the aftermath of failed peace processes with the largest guerrilla group, the FARC, as well as the smaller ELN; and the prospect of deepening U.S. involvement in the war in support of the Colombian government.

Keynote speaker *Lino Gutiérrez*, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, rooted the Colombian conflict in the limited government presence in large areas of the country, the expansion of illegal drug cultivation, endemic violence and social inequities. He described new authorities the Bush administration is asking of Congress that would recognize "the crosscutting relation between narcotics trafficking and terrorism." The new authority (approved by Congress over the summer) was to permit the use of counter-narcotics funds for counter-terrorism operations against the FARC and ELN guerrillas and paramilitaries of the AUC.

In a panel exploring the economic aspects of the crisis, *Nancy Birdsall*, president of the Center for Global Development, emphasized that the economic dimensions of peace have been in place for 20 to 30 years. She pointed out such factors as low inflation, steady growth in the 1980s and 1990s, sound macro-economic management, and progress in reforms including liberalization, privatization, and decentralization. Birdsall characterized U.S. policy as "distracted and incoherent," citing the initial failure to renew the Andean Trade Preferences Act as well as sanctions in the drug certification law that required the United States to oppose loans from international financial institutions. *David de Ferranti*, vice-president of the World Bank for Latin America and the Caribbean, described causal links in both directions between violence and economic performance, emphasizing that inequality was diminishing between 1964 and 1982, but increased after that year. Among the priorities he highlighted for the incoming Uribe administration were to enhance security and reduce violence, address social needs and spur economic growth, including by improving the investment climate for farmers and households as well as larger entrepreneurs. *Eduardo Aninat*, deputy managing director of the International Monetary Fund, called violence an "explicit development constraint" and said that economic policy should be designed to boost growth and mitigate poverty and social dislocation as well as lay the groundwork for the consolidation of peace. He urged the incoming administration to proceed forcefully in several areas, despite Colombia's current adverse circumstances. These included extensive structural fiscal reforms, preserving exter-

Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Lino Gutiérrez

Canadian Ambassador to Colombia Guillermo Rishchynski stated that despite the failure of the peace process during the Pastrana years, certain broad lines would serve as a foundation for the future.



Security analyst Alfredo Rangel

nal competitiveness, and, in the social area, the rekindling of employment growth. *Fernando Cepeda* of the Facultad de Administración, Universidad de los Andes decried the fragmentation and selectivity of national and international policies regarding Colombia, advocating an integrated approach that would simultaneously address crises in the social, economic, public order, and external relations spheres. The country's economic model over the last fifty years, he said, had excluded large sectors of the population, including entire regions, providing an opening to drug traffickers. U.S. policy, meanwhile, continued to focus on certain counter-drug units of the army and police, at the expense of the institutions as a whole.

Security analyst *Alfredo Rangel* underscored the difficulties of achieving peace at a time when the Colombian electorate had given a clear mandate to the President-elect to confront the guerrillas and paramilitaries. The FARC was attempting to undermine the governability of the country by systematic and massive attacks on the country's economic infrastructure, and by issuing death threats to mayors and local officials throughout the country. He faulted the government for failing to design a strategy to contain paramilitary and guerrilla expansion that could put future negotiations on a more solid footing. *Senator Rafael Pardo* linked the growth in the FARC's military capacity in the mid-1990s to the transfer of coca cultivation from Peru and Bolivia to Colombia. He criticized the view held by some Colombian elites that the United States would finance the war while poor Colombians would provide the soldiers to fight it. He said that reasserting territorial control entailed providing security as well as basic services to communities. Colombian Defense Attaché in Washington, *General Nestor Ramírez*, emphasized the relationship between military capacity and peace, arguing that violent actors needed to be convinced of the futility of armed struggle before an accord could be reached. Security was a requirement for development, he said, citing improvements over the last four years in the armed forces' mobility, communications, and intelligence, as well as the creation of new operational units.

Canadian Ambassador to Colombia *Guillermo Rishchynski* stated that despite the failure of the peace process during the Pastrana years, certain broad lines would serve as a foundation for the future. These included the involvement of a third party from the international community (the United Nations and a facilitating group of friendly countries), whose role grew from passive observation to a more catalytic effort to keep the process from collapsing. Certain illusions needed to be dispelled before a serious future effort could get underway, he said, including the illusion that one could negotiate irrespective of raging conflict around the talks. He said that the demilitarized zone, created to provide the necessary confidence for the talks to take place, did just the opposite. Ambassador Rishchynski stated that the conditions for a resumption of dialogue as laid out by President-elect Álvaro Uribe would not exist until the military, political, and diplomatic

Canadian Ambassador to Colombia Guillermo Rishchynski

Former Colombian Foreign Minister María Emma Mejía

"equilibrium" available to the parties changed, and until there were new incentives to alter behavior. *María Emma Mejía*, a participant in peace talks with both the FARC and the ELN, said that the failure of talks with both groups had discredited, within Colombia and internationally, the very notion of a peace process. In a context of escalating conflict, both the government and the FARC had increased their demands for initiating new talks, while the international war against terrorism served further to legitimize the use of force in confronting the insurgents. Mejía outlined several essential bases for putting future negotiations on a more solid footing, including the strengthening and modernization of the armed forces, the implementation of confidence-building measures such as a prisoner exchange, and the re-design and strengthening of the state apparatus for seeking peace. Political reforms were needed at the national level to broaden democratic participation, she said, while regional expressions of the war necessitated a regional response.

Several of the prepared presentations are posted on the Woodrow Wilson Center's website at http://wwics.si.edu/PROGRAMS/REGION/LAP/LAP.HTM. A rapporteur's report on the conference will be available in the Fall of 2002.

Hispanic Journalists in the United States

The growth of the Latino population is changing politics and society in the United States. In an effort to promote an open forum for discussion of Latino issues and the role Latinos play in the policy process, the Latin American Program brought together prominent Hispanic journalists on June 18, 2002, to discuss both their role as Latinos who report on Latin American affairs, and their views on the role Latinos play in fostering U.S.-Latin American ties. The seminar was organized as part of a Wilson Center initiative to enhance diversity within the Center and enhance awareness of diversity issues in the policy community.

The session was moderated by *Cecilia Alvear*, former president of the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ), and field producer for NBC News, and featured *Marcela Sánchez*, columnist for the *Washington Post*; *Alfredo Corchado*, columnist for the *Dallas Morning News*; and *Armando Trull*, Managing Partner of the Armando Group.

Latin American affairs are important to Latinos because the countries of the Western Hemisphere are increasingly interdependent.

Cecilia Alvear began with the observation that in the United States, one has to define what it means to be Latino. In this country, Simón Bolívar's dream of a united hemisphere is realized: Latinos from different countries tend to group together and look for common bonds that will unite them with other Latinos. President Vicente Fox of Mexico, in a June address to the NAHJ, courted Hispanic journalists as a way to reach Mexicans residing in the U.S. Alfredo Corchado stressed that his job as a journalist is to give a voice to those without a voice. The fact that he is a Latino can help, he said, but he is a reporter first. All of the panelists pointed out a central tension: advocates say they are not doing enough to cover positive news on Latinos, while mainstream reporters accuse them of being lobbyists for their ethnic constituencies because they

From left to right: Cecilia Alvear, National Association of Hispanic Journalists; Alfredo Corchado, *Dallas Morning News*; and Marcela Sánchez, *The Washington Post*.

do not cover enough negative news. The job of a journalist is to report the news to his or her community. What is important is to be able to report it in a balanced manner. Their goal is to bring into the mainstream media images of Latinos that are not purely negative. Furthermore, many Latino reporters do not want to cover either Latino issues or Latin America, sometimes referred to as the "Taco Beat," because they feel it can "pigeonhole" them while reducing their chances to grow in the journalistic field.

Marcela Sánchez believes that Latin American affairs are important to Latinos because the countries of the Western Hemisphere are increasingly interdependent. Traditionally, Latinos have been more interested in what is happening in the United States, rather than what is happening to their hemispheric neighbors. This is changing with the growth of globalization. A reason for the success of Spanish language media, for example, is that it is the only source for extensive news coverage of Latin America. During the Cold War, journalists covered Central America due to its existence as a battleground for proxy armies. After the fall of the Soviet Union, attention turned elsewhere, to areas considered more important. Yet Latin America remains important to the Latino community. Perhaps the mainstream media will soon begin to cover Latin America more. In the southwestern states, both demographics and economics are driven by Mexico and the region's relationship to Mexico. Alvear noted that NBC has just purchased Telemundo, and one hope is that NBC executives, through their new contacts, will become aware of Latin American news stories that they otherwise would not have covered. She believes that the U.S. media does not cover foreign news unless Americans are involved. It is still following the trend of, what was referred to decades ago as "Afghanistanism," meaning that a news agency does not, and should not cover news of distant places that have no effect on U.S. citizens. We are now seeing how much of an impact distant lands can have on this country. It won't be long before the English language media sees the importance of this dynamic. But Armando Trull believes that English media will only cover Latino issues when it believes it has gained a large enough share of the Latino audience.

Latinos are rapidly becoming a community without borders.

The Internet has become a major media channel for Latinos due to its ease of access; and Latinos are beginning to see it as the great equalizer. They can obtain as much Spanish language news as news in English. Now readers in Latin America can access the *Washington Post* online and read the Washington angle on their countries in their own language. Furthermore, Corchado stated, "Latinos are rapidly becoming a community without borders, increasingly sophisticated and complex." They want a voice both in the United States and in Latin America. According to Corchado, as a Latino journalist in the U.S., you can't know one side without knowing the other.

Panelists concluded that the growing Latino population is having a tremendous impact on the United States. At the time of the conference, more viewers tuned in to Univision to watch the Mexico-Italy World Cup match than to one of the major English language stations to watch the basketball championship. ■

Brazilian Foreign Policy

As the administration of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso drew to a close, Brazil @ the Wilson Center held a May 17, 2002, seminar to assess Brazil's foreign policy over the last eight years. The meeting included former Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs *Luiz Felipe Lampreia*.

Under Cardoso, Brazilian foreign policy has undergone extraordinary changes that have given Brazil a more prominent role both globally and in Latin America. Brazil has become an active proponent of a free market economy, environmental protection, and non-proliferation. Furthermore, Brazil's hosting of the first South American presidential summit two years ago played a role in reshaping hemispheric relations.

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil Luiz Felipe Lampreia

Cardoso benefited from having previously served as foreign affairs minister, as well as from the continuity provided by two terms in office. Unlike previous presidents, Cardoso took a keen interest in foreign policy and became intensely and personally engaged, displaying both great knowledge of world affairs as well as a robust and optimistic notion of Brazil's prospects in the world.

Non-governmental experts including *Amaury de Souza*, senior partner, Techne and MCM Consultores Associados, *Ambassador Anthony Harrington*, president, Stonebridge International, and *Ambassador Crescencio Arcos*, member of the U.S. Presidential Intelligence Advisory Board, concluded that under Cardoso, Brazil projected a positive image and catalyzed domestic interest in foreign policy. This latter aspect is evident in the current presidential race, where issues such as the FTAA are playing a role for the first time. A recent poll of 149 Brazilian opinion leaders showed that 74 percent believe that Brazil plays a more important international role than ten years ago. U.S.-Brazilian relations under Cardoso improved dramatically: the United States lent strong support during Brazil's 1999 financial crisis and Brazil took a leadership role in Latin America in the aftermath of September 11. Panelists agreed that the personal chemistry between Cardoso and former president Bill Clinton was a major factor in forging a more productive bilateral relationship.

Panelists echoed two criticisms of U.S. policy towards Latin America that directly affect Brazil's ability to participate in designing a more effective bilateral agenda. First, U.S. engagement in Latin America is episodic, intensifying when a clear U.S. interest—particularly a security interest—is at stake. Second, U.S. policymakers have traditionally held the view that regional policies should be defined in agreement with the United States. Brazilian ambitions to play a more active role independent and multilateral role have tended to clash with that perspective.

A second panel including *Ambassadors Lampreia, Gelson Fonseca,* Brazilian Permanent Mission to the United Nations, and *Rubens Barbosa,* Brazilian Ambassador to the U.S., presented a set of insider's views of Brazil's foreign policy. According to the panelists, Brazilian foreign policy is, for the most part, separated into policy towards the world and policy towards the United States. Although these policies are not mutually exclusive, it is clear that bilateral relations with the United States deserve special attention. In the multilateral arena, Brazil has taken on active roles in disarmament initiatives and in the social agenda including issues such as global poverty, humanitarian causes, and the environment; indeed, Brazil pursued what was described as a "multilateralism of values," i.e. engagement in the defense of the above issues in multilateral fashion. Finally, the panel emphasized that Brazil's foreign policy should be judged according to its continuity, professionalism and global reach, all of which have been strongly influenced by President Cardoso. Brazil's next president will face the extraordinary challenge of maintaining the same level of international participation that was maintained by the Cardoso administration. ■

U.S. engagement in Latin America is episodic, intensifying when a clear U.S. interest — particularly a security interest — is at stake.

Agriculture and the Environment in Brazil

Brazil @ The Wilson Center held a number of seminars over the past few months with senior Brazilian and U.S. officials involved in environmental and agricultural policy.

At a January 31, 2002, meeting, *Hamilton Casara*, president of the Brazilian Environmental and Renewable Natural Resources Institute (IBAMA), made an important announcement regarding improved enforcement against illegal deforestation and wildlife trafficking.

IBAMA is responsible for the monitoring, preservation, enforcement, and control of the sustainable use of natural resources in Brazil. The Institute also promotes research and conservation through several subordinate centers, which are focused on specific groups of species. Research to support conservation measures are integrated into the larger picture of maintaining biodiversity and ecological integrity.

IBAMA President Hamilton Casara

Diametrically opposed to the thrust of IBAMA's work is the illicit trade in animal species. According to Casara, this burgeoning multi-billion dollar industry is responsible for the loss of over 12 million specimens per year, and is currently the chief threat to indigenous species. Brazil's unrivaled diversity of exotic, rare, and endangered species has made the country the largest source for animal smugglers.

Additionally, illegal logging and deforestation remain as major problems for the entire region. In late 2001, Brazil completely suspended the mahogany trade after the environmental activists from Greenpeace documented the extent of illegal logging and deforestation. In order to strengthen IBAMA's enforcement capabilities and to specifically counter the illegal logging of mahogany, the government created a special department within the Brazilian Federal Police to combat environmental crimes.

Casara emphasized the serious gap between conservation policy and its actual implementation. Although much has been accomplished in the effort to protect Brazil's natural resources, much remains to be accomplished. Resources for environmental protection tend frequently to be diverted as a result of more compelling social demands. Despite IBAMA's focus and dedicaiton, environmental policy still suffers from a funding and staff shortage.

On March 6, 2002, a second meeting on environmental issues featured Brazilian Minister of Agrarian Development *Raul Jungmann*, who spoke on land reform and the preservation of biodiversity in the Brazilian Amazon.

Under Jungmann, a former president of IBAMA, the ministry has addressed agrarian development in the context of environmental protection. Jungmann designed three aspects of a strategy to accomplish both goals. First, he initiated an extensive review of land titles for tracts of land in the Amazon. As a result of this program, the Ministry has cancelled various fraudulent title deeds for 3,065 rural properties larger than 10,000 hectares, an area totalling 93 million hectares. Second, they have revamped the system for registering land in Brazil.

Finally, the Ministry designated about 20.4 million hectares (an area greater than the size

of Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, and New Jersey combined) as National Forests and Extractive Reserves; these areas fall under the protection of IBAMA for sustainable use. The reserves were selected for their importance in maintaining the biodiversity of a particular region. According to Jungmann, "this initiative will allow us to expand and consolidate the management of natural resources in public lands, making it possible to increase the supply of products from controlled sources, and contribute to the efforts to prevent and fight deforestation and the predatory exploitation of forest resources." This newly assigned area corresponds to over half (58.62 percent) of the total area of conservation zones already existing in the Amazon region. The designation of these reserves have helped to improve land distribution in Brazil improving it's positition relative to other countries of the hemisphere.

Brazilian Minister of Agrarian Development Raul Jungmann

A third seminar on May 23, 2002, brought together Brazil's Minister of Agriculture, *Marcus Vinicius Pratini de Moraes*, with senior officals from the USDA, the Brazilian government, and private industry to explore U.S.-Brazil cooperation in the science and technology of agribusiness. Given the importance of agriculture for the growing world population and the need to improve environmentally sustainable techniques, the seminar presented the latest developments in U.S. and Brazilian agribusiness initiatives.

Pratini underscored the importance of current U.S.-Brazil scientific and technological cooperation in agriculture in the context of the FTAA. He stressed that for the first time, agriculture and rural development will be considered as key variables in regional integration initiatives. He discussed the Labex Program, launched in 1998 to promote a scientific partnership between the USDA's Agricultural Research Service (ARS) and its Brazilian counterpart, the *Empresa Brasileira de Agropecuaria* (EMBRAPA). *J. B. Penn* of the USDA also emphasized the importance of this initiative, and reiterated the U.S. commitment to free trade. He justified recent policies subsidizing U.S. farms, by comparing them with similar programs in Japan and Europe. According to Penn, the United States pledges $19.1 billion in the farm bill whereas Japan and Europe spend $31 billion and $62 billion respectively.

From the private sector, *Bill Guyton* of the American Cocoa Research Institute discussed how the chocolate industry is heavily dependent on internationally produced cocoa, which generally loses one-third of total production to disease and pests. Under the auspices of the Institute, which acts in partnership with groups in the United States and abroad, the industry has stimulated many successful cooperative research initiatives resulting in positive scientific, social and financial impacts abroad.

Panelists also discussed prospects for more specific collaboration on important challenges, including Pierce's disease, germplasm exchange, and food safety. Speakers from both countries emphasized the importance of bilateral cooperation to improve research and disease-containing strategies.

Brazil @ The Wilson Center Working Group

The Brazil Project's Working Group continued its regular meetings on question of vital importance to Brazil and its relationship with the United States.

At a January 30, 2002, Working Group meeting, *Dr. Albert Fishlow*, executive director of the Center for Brazilian Studies at Columbia University, discussed the economic crisis in Argentina and its potential impact on Brazil. Considering per capita income, Fishlow indicated, Argentina dropped from 6th in the world, a position it held at the beginning of the last century, to 56th at the beginning of this new century. No other country in the world has moved so quickly in this fashion, he said.

Fishlow summarized the causes for the Argentine crisis, including the mistakes of several administrations that led Argentina to accumulate a fiscal deficit of close to 5 percent of GDP. The Argentine crisis has been devastating in Argentina, but at least initially, Brazil was shielded from negative ripples of the Argentine meltdown. There are three possible reasons for Brazil's initial resilience: first, despite the previous strength of the Argentine economy, trade relations between the two nations always have been unequal. Despite the relationship forged by Mercosur, the Brazilian economy is not considered dependent on Argentina's. In contrast to Brazil's 1998 economic crash, the Argentine crisis was hardly a surprise. Following its crisis, Brazil had adopted numerous protective measures to shield itself from external shocks.

At least initially, Brazil was shielded from the negative ripples of the Argentine meltdown.

At a March 25, 2002, Working Group meeting, *Piquet Carneiro*, chair of the Brazilian Presidential Committee on Public Ethics, discussed the need to adopt effective instruments to fight corruption within the public sector following Brazil's return to democracy in 1985. Most past initiatives aimed at institutional strengthening and state modernization were designed to produce a desired result, rather than address the root of the issue, such as the proactive measures to define an ethical standard for public servants. On May 26, 1999, the administration of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso established the Public Ethics Committee. Its goals were to 1) interpret civil society's expectations regarding the conduct of public servants; 2) establish standards for ethical behavior for those in the highest positions of the executive branch; and 3) generalize this standard for the rest of the public administration.

In 2000 a Code of Ethics was approved with the intention of preventing as opposed to repressing misconduct. The penalties for those who violate the code range from a public admonition to a recommendation for dismissal. The Ethics Committee has analyzed and made recommendations on government procurement and contract disbursement as well as campaign reform. They are also conducting surveys to determine how individuals in government perceive ethics and also how the average citizen evaluates public services.

Carneiro concluded that although the committee had achieved much in its first three years, much remains to be accomplished. With Brazil's approaching presidential election in October, continuity and further progress is anything but guaranteed.

Brazilian Minister of Development, Industry, and Foreign Trade *Sergio S. Amaral* discussed foreign and domestic barriers to Brazilian foreign trade at a session on May 6, 2002. Historically, Brazil was late to adopt economic policies that characterize the developed world. Now, however, and in contrast to growing protectionism in the United States, Europe, and Japan, Brazil has embarked upon an ambitious effort to increase exports and minimize domestic protectionist measures. It is quite clear, Amaral stated, that increasing exports has become tremendously important for the Brazilian economy.

Amaral outlined reforms undertaken during the seven years and four months of the Cardoso administration. The current primary surplus in the public sector is the product of major structural reforms involving deregulation or the privatization of key sectors. These include reforms in the banking sector and the social security sys-

tem, as well as the refinancing of states' debts and the adoption of a national policy built on fiscal responsibility. However, Brazil continues to maintain a current account deficit (which is expected to rise to US$20.6 billion by the end of 2002), a situation that has compelled Brazil to seek better export results.

Amaral identified several foreign and domestic obstacles to increasing Brazilian exports. On the international front, the United States imposes high a tariff on Brazilian orange juice, sugar, and textiles. Additionally the European Union imposes sanitary and phytosanitary restrictions on beef, chicken and sugar. Japan imposes escalating tariffs on sugar and soy oil, a blockade based on sanitary and phytosanitary restrictions for tropical fruits, high tariffs on footwear, and tariff quotas on leather.

Domestically, bureaucracy and export-related costs are the main impediments to trade expansion. The government has been streamlining infrastructure and promoting legislation which would reform a tax system that currently works to inhibit rather than promote Brazil's exports. Additionally, Amaral hopes that the administration will be able to create "a real Eximbank," to help finance expanded exports.

Another component of Brazil's trade strategy is to participate at "all negotiating tables," and be ready to develop joint initiatives with different countries. Brazilian entrepreneurs are also taking steps to circumvent foreign trade barriers through expanded financial and infrastructure investments abroad. For example, Brazilian firms have recently bought steel mills in the United States as a way of avoiding U.S. barriers to steel imports.

Finally, Amaral held that Brazil has always favored the creation of the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA). He pointed out that the United States itself, despite its advocacy the FTAA, has taken steps, including the recent tariffs on recently signed farm bill, that appear inconsistent with a commitment to open trade. Amaral reaffirmed Brazil's interests not only in the FTAA but also in Mercosur, the customs union that includes Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay as well as in pursuing a free trade agreement between Mercosul and the European Union. Last year, Brazil bought 60 percent of Argentine automobile production, a number that is expected to increase in 2002.

The Working Group discussed Brazil's October presidential election on June 17, 2002 and how, for the first time in Brazilian history, the approach of an election has generated ripples in the international financial sector. In July 2002 Brazil's credit rating was downgraded due to forecasts of economic turbulence, which many attributed to the lead held in the polls by Luis Inácio da Silva (Lula), presidential candidate for the leftist Workers Party (PT).

Serra is perceived by the international community as better equipped to handle the domestic and international challenges of the office.

Lourdes Sola from the University of São Paulo discussed the weighting of factors that make for reliable prediction of electoral results, the relative importance of incumbent party candidate José Serra's electoral strategies, and the challenges that a government under Lula would face. She emphasized that although Lula is ahead by a considerable margin in the polls, the electoral scene is still highly uncertain. This is due to the fact that the legally mandated period of television exposure—which has had a tremendous influence on previous election results—had not yet begun.

Sola noted that the designation of Rita Camata as Serra's candidate for vice-president brought an extraordinary boost to Serra's campaign, as it consolidated the alliance between the *Partido Social Democrática Brasileiro* (PSDB) and the *Partido do Movimento Democrática Brasileiro (PMDB)*. Lula's candidacy is facing additional difficulties in light of concerns, if not hostility, expressed by some in the international community. By contrast, Serra is perceived by the international community as better equipped to handle the domestic and international challenges of the office.

Riordan Roett of the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies emphasized that the transparency of Brazil's electoral process was indicative of the consolidation of democratic institutions in Brazil. He underlined the significance of the upcoming election, as it will shape Brazil's foreign policy on sensitive

hemispheric issues, including bilateral relations with the United States, the FTAA, Mercosul, the Doha Round of WTO trade negotiations, and the Argentine crisis.

Roett acknowledged the economic turbulence that the campaigns had triggered but doubted how long such concerns would remain. Roett stated that it would be in the interest of both Lula and Serra to offer clear indications of their economic intentions and respective plans for government, not only to improve their positions in the polls, but also to reduce overall uncertainty in the international community. ■

Argentina: Coping with Crisis

U.S. media and policymakers have accorded little attention to the crisis in Argentina during the past year. The insufficient coverage that the media did devote to the crisis often cast Argentina as a cartoon character – the bad relative – and provided little sense of the human tragedy that accompanied the dry words "default" and "devaluation." Officials in Washington, meanwhile, seemed callous to the situation.

To help remedy this lack of concern, the Latin American Program has begun a series of activities in Washington to inform the policy community about the crisis in Argentina. In three conferences hosted recently in Washington, government officials, journalists and scholars from both the U.S. and Argentina discussed issues including Argentina's export strategy, banking crisis, and foreign policy.

"Our mission is to foster market access to Argentine products based on two fundamental pillars: a strategy for multilateral negotiation and development of new markets."

Simultaneously, the Latin American Program convoked a Working Group in Buenos Aires to build confidence among those seeking policy solutions to Argentina's crisis and to help Argentines escape the political paralysis of the zero-sum society. In June, the Working Group met in Buenos Aires to discuss civil society in Argentina. The results of public meetings in Washington and excerpts of the policy debates will be posted on a new page of the Wilson Center website, "Argentina @ the Wilson Center." Your comments on this endeavor are most welcome.

The conference, "Argentina: Finance and the Future," held April 22, focused on the causes of Argentina's banking crisis and how the crisis might be resolved. *Dr. Mario Blejer*, governor of Argentina's Central Bank, emphasized that the Argentine government broke an important social contract by ending convertibility, the peso-dollar link that had prevailed for the past ten years. He stressed that Argentina needs to exercise fiscal and monetary restraint. Other participants included: *Paul Blustein*, *Washington Post* staff writer; *Joseph S. Tulchin*, Latin American Program director; and *Kent. H. Hughes*, director of the Project on America and the Global Economy.

During the April 29 conference, "After Default: Argentina's Role in World Affairs," the focus shifted to foreign policy. During the first panel discussion, *Rogelio Pfirter* of the Argentine Foreign Relations ministry underlined the similarities between Argentina and the United States, including a shared notion of being "lands of opportunity." *Dr. Ana Barón*, a *Clarín* correspondent, argued that to build support for Argentina internationally, Argentine political leaders must first work to inspire confidence domestically.

The second panel examined the economic aspects of Argentina's foreign relations. *Moisés Naím*, editor of *Foreign Policy*, said that a cheap peso would stimulate exports and the tourism industry, helping Argentina to recover from its crisis as Russia, Thailand and Mexico previously did. *Arturo Valenzuela*, Georgetown University professor, noted that strong infusions of international aid were needed in the past to help countries like those Naím mentioned to recover from economic crises.

The other participants in the conference were: *Gerard Gallucci*, Southern Cone director at the U.S. State Department; *Judith Evans*, of JE Analítica; *Pedro Lacoste*, APL Consultores

president; *Robert Devlin*, Deputy Manager of the Integration and Regional Programs Department, Inter-American Development Bank; and *Martín Granovsky*, *Página 12* managing editor.

The search for solutions to Argentina's problems continued on May 29 with the conference, "Getting out of the Economic Crisis." Participants agreed that Argentina needs to avoid economic closure and instead create a successful export strategy to overcome the crisis. *Martín Redrado*, Argentina's Secretary of International and Economic Affairs, noted that ensuring sustainable fiscal and trade balances is also essential. Redrado commented, "Our mission is to foster market access to Argentine products based on two fundamental pillars: a strategy for multilateral negotiation and development of new markets." *Esteban Bullrich*, of Generación 2000, suggested Argentina should focus on exporting services. Also participating in the conference were: *Felipe de la Balze*, of the Argentine Council for International Relations; *Jorge Campbell*, former State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; *Sidney Weintraub*, from CSIS, *Héctor Marsilli*, CEO of Cargill Argentina; *Carlos Yancarelli*, CEO of Vargas Arizu S.A.; and *Patricio Furlong*, Chief of Ministry Advisors for the Tierra del Fuego province.

Argentine Secretary of International and Economic Affairs Martín Redrado

Then, on June 26, the discussion moved to Buenos Aires, where the Working Group convoked by the Latin American Program met to discuss a paper about civil society by *Enrique Peruzzotti*, of the Universidad Torcuato di Tella. Peruzzotti's paper argued that the *cacerolazos* – the vast mobilizations of citizens banging pots and pans – are not a populist movement but rather part of the process of civil society politicization in Argentina.

For *Clarín* journalist *Ricardo Kirschbaum*, the cacerolazos express middle-class disappointment that upward social mobility has disappeared. *Miami Herald* columnist *Andrés Oppenheimer* warned that constant street protest could create a feeling of institutional fatigue as in Venezuela. Joseph S. Tulchin emphasized the lack of accountability and true citizenship in Argentina.

The views expressed in these public conferences and the Working Group meeting present an image of Argentina more complex than the "bad relative" caricature that often appears in the United States. Argentina is a country suffering through its most severe economic crisis ever – with about half its population living in poverty, as Granovsky recalled. Argentina is also a country of enormous resources working to boost its exports – with grain production increasing 92 percent since 1990 despite the absence of industrial subsidies, according to Marsilli. It is the hope of the Latin American Program that these discussions encourage U.S. media and policymakers to devote more attention to Argentina, and to have a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of what is happening there.

The Peruzzotti paper and comments by Javier Corrales, Ariel Armony, and Margaret Crahan are posted on the Woodrow Wilson Center website.

Forums on Decentralization in Latin America

One of the most striking political reforms in Latin America over the past fifteen years has been the increasing decentralization of government in almost all countries of the region. The Latin American Program has joined with researchers in five countries to explore the linkages between decentralization and democratic governance. As part of this study, the Wilson Center and partner institutions in Mexico, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic (following similar events in Brazil, Argentina, and Guatemala) held public forums on decentralization to bring together national and local government officials, civil society organizations, and business leaders to assess the impact of decentralization on democracy in each of the countries.

In Mexico, the forum focused on decentralization, democracy, and regional development. Hosted and co-sponsored by the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE) on May 21, 2002, the forum addressed the growing importance of state and municipal governments in Mexico and the future of decentralization reforms. Panelists included members of Congress, representatives of the executive branch, mayors of major cities, and scholars. They agreed that municipal and state governments have become significant institutions, but noted that inequities in fiscal arrangements and the different capacity of local governments have meant great disparities in the degree to which they carry out their functions. Several panelists discussed democratic innovations being carried out in municipal governments through synergies among government, civil society, and the private sector, but they noted that these innovative experiences are more the exception than the rule.

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In Venezuela, a June 13 forum was hosted by the Instituto para el Estudio Superior de la Administración (IESA) and co-sponsored by the Centro para Estudios del Desarrollo (CENDES) and the Fondo Intergubernamental para la Decentralización (FIDES). Panelists discussed the lack of coordination among levels of government and proposed a Federal Council of Government to serve as an institution for negotiating and reaching consensus between national and subnational governments. Other panelists addressed the need for fiscal decentralization to allow states and municipalities to have adequate funds to perform their responsibilities. Panelists also discussed the degree to which new patterns of participation are emerging in municipal governments and agreed that this is an important trend.

In the Dominican Republic, la Fundación para la Reforma hosted a two-day forum June 18-19 with the co-sponsorship of the Federación Dominicana de Municipios (FEDOMU), the Consorcio por la Municipalidad, Equis-Intec, Red por la Descentralización, and FLACSO. The forum included presentations by experts and dialogue among the participants, including local government officials, members of Congress, scholars, civic leaders, consultants, and members of the private sector. Panelists and participants noted that decentralization is relatively weak in the Dominican Republic, but that some municipalities have become important institutions for economic and social development and have implemented innovative approaches to citizen participation.

On balance, the three forums suggest that decentralization has become an important topic of debate throughout Latin America. Moreover, there are important experiences of innovative governance in local governments that have improved the relationship between citizens and the state. Nonetheless, decentralization reforms are generally quite limited and often include provisions that make them highly inequitable or restrain the ability of local governments to innovate. More detailed information about each of these reforms is available through policy bulletins in the Decentralization Series.

Police Reform in Peru

On February 28 and March 1, 2002, the Latin American Program joined with the Peruvian Ministry of the Interior, the Center for Development Studies in Santiago, Chile, and the Canadian Agency for International Cooperation, to host a conference on "Peruvian Police Reform in Light of International Experiences." The goal of the conference, held in Lima, was to share international perspectives on citizen security with Peruvians engaged in police reform efforts and facilitate the debate over the shape and pace of reform. The principal audience included approximately four hundred members of the Peruvian National Police (PNP), as well as Interior Ministry officials and other stakeholders in the reform process. A dynamic exchange between panelists from the United States, Canada, Spain, and members of the PNP took place after each session, opening channels of communication helpful to the reform effort. This was the third in a series of meetings LAP has organized with local stakeholders to advance police reform as a means to enhance citizen security. The first two were held in Santiago, Chile and Santo Domingo, the Dominican Republic. Subsequent meetings were held in Belo Horizonte, Brazil and Buenos Aires, Argentina. The Citizen Security Project has in press a volume that surveys the current condition of public security and crime in the hemisphere, *Crime and Violence in Latin America: Citizen Security, Democracy, and the State*. In addition, it publishes periodic policy bulletins which suggest solutions to policy dilemmas. Participating scholars and government officials included *Joseph S. Tulchin*, director of the Wilson Center's Latin American Program; *Hugo Frühling,* director of the Center for Development Studies at the University of Chile; *Susana Villarán*, counsel for the Peruvian Police and member of the restructuring committee; *Raúl Benítez*, Associate National Security Advisor to the President of Mexico; *Fernando Rospigliosi,* Peruvian Minister of the Interior; *Lilian Bobea,* of FLACSO-Dominican Republic; *General Rosso José Serrano*, former Director General of the Colombian National Police; *Alberto Föhrig,* of the University of San Andrés in Buenos Aires; *Cristian Barbot*, Police Attaché at the French Embassy in Bolivia and Peru; *Nubia Urueña* of the University of the Andes in Bogotá; and *Claudio Beato,* professor at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil.

From left to right: Peruvian Minister of the Interior Fernando Rospigliosi; Peruvian President Alejandro Toledo; José Tisoc Lindley, General Director of the PNP; Joseph S. Tulchin, Woodrow Wilson Center Latin American Program; Hugo Frühling, Center for Development Studies, University of Chile.

President Toledo as well as Deputy Interior Minister Gino Costa Santolalla reiterated that police reform is an integral part of the government's efforts to create a strong democratic nation.

In opening the conference, *Roberto Dañino*, President of the Counsel of Ministers, pledged President Alejandro Toledo's support for what he called an "essential reform process." President Toledo himself delivered the closing remarks at the conference, underscoring the importance of police reform for the government. Toledo described two great battles faced by Peru, the battle against corruption, drug trafficking, and terrorism, and the battle against poverty. President Toledo as well as Deputy Interior Minister *Gino Costa Santolalla* reiterated that police reform is an integral part of the government's efforts to create a strong democratic nation. They emphasized that Peru will draw upon the experiences of other countries in the region in the effort to reform the forces of law and order, and emphasized the significance of the contribution made by the WWIC.

Assessing the Quality of Democracy in Latin America

On March 7, 2002, the Latin American program held a meeting assessing the quality of democracy in Latin America. *Kurt Weyland*, professor of government at the University of Texas, Austin, noted that neo-liberal reforms have both strengthened and weakened democratic governance in the hemisphere. On the one hand, Weyland asserted that free trade has strengthened democracy due to international and local factors. Influential nations like the United States have exerted pressure from abroad, pushing Latin American nations to become more transparent and democratic through trade policies that promote openness and accountability. Locally, neo-liberal elites have strengthened their position vis-à-vis traditional groups on the left, including labor unions. These elites have supported and promoted an incremental infusion of investment by international corporations that do not fear the kind of backlash from organized labor, as often happened in the past.

On the other hand, neo-liberalism has limited democracy in that governments have less latitude in addressing the needs of the electorate. This is due to pressure from international agents such as corporations and international organizations, including international financial institutions. Increasingly, external pressures have forced governments to satisfy the interests of business rather than the needs of the people. Understandably, this has led to increased cynicism from an already distrustful populace. Overall, deregulation has weakened civil society, including unions and political parties, all of which are important elements of a vibrant pluralistic democracy.*

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Jonathan Hartlyn, professor of political science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, focused on the importance of free and fair elections in Latin America. Based on a methodological study of several cases, Hartlyn identified four main factors that explain electoral outcomes in Latin America: 1) behavior of political parties and their leaders; 2) the role of state institutions such as the judiciary; 3) the role of civil society and the media; and 4) the presence of international actors whose mission is to deter fraud and ensure transparency in the electoral process.

Hartlyn found that while international monitoring has become common in Latin America and has had a positive effect on elections, electoral processes in general are far from consolidated. Due to international and local scrutiny, different and more sophisticated methods of committing fraud have emerged. He characterized processes of consolidation as "rapid," "gradual," or "incomplete." Nations that have experienced gradual consolidation include Mexico and the Dominican Republic, while those that have experienced incomplete consolidation are Nicaragua, Haiti, and Guyana.

In his commentary, *Christopher Sabatini*, senior officer at the National Endowment for Democracy, maintained that economic and electoral factors did, indeed, help explain the weakness of Latin American democracies. However, he argued that the historical weakness of state institutions and the inability of governments to respond to social demands are more compelling explanations. He cited the lack of constituent representation by political parties as well as the way in which civil society increasingly exists in non-political environments.

Arturo Valenzuela, professor of government at Georgetown University, stressed the impact of recent history on Latin American democracies. Only a few years ago, much of Latin America was under dictatorship, whereas today we are assessing the quality of democracies. It is important to remember that many nations are only beginning to experiment with democracy and are in the early stages of developing political institutions. Valenzuela concluded by saying that the consolidation of democracy is a long

and arduous process. Issues concerning rule of law, electoral legitimacy, and corruption still need to be addressed.

*Professor Weyland is preparing for publication a volume titled *Learning from Foreign Models in Latin American Policy Reform* which discusses the influence of IFIs on domestic reforms. The chapters in the volume originated as presentations at seminars conducted at WWICS.

Toward a North American Community?

On June 11, 2002, the Wilson Center's Latin American Program, the Canada Institute, and the Project on America and the Global Economy hosted the first in a series of seminars on the future of North America. This seminar, titled "Toward North American Community?" was designed to generate dialogue in Washington about the future of integration in North America and the degree to which NAFTA has had an impact on identity, sovereignty, and political practices in the three participating countries.

The first panel looked at Canadian, Mexican, and American attitudes towards sovereignty and identity. Trade, political integration, and the nature of agreements among the three countries will largely depend on the way people in these countries define themselves and their interests, and the extent to which they feel there is something to be gained from further integration. *Stephanie Golob* of the City University of New York suggested that economic integration is not inevitable and that trade is intertwined with domestic politics and strong feelings of nationalism in the United States. She argued that Americans have two contradictory feelings about power, one that is highly nationalist and the other internationalist. U.S. foreign policy revolves around conflict and compromise between these contradictory impulses. She suggested that future decisions on greater integration would probably come about incrementally via "integration through protectionism," in which agreements to further integrate the three countries are coupled with measures that protect U.S. industries.

Alejandro Moreno of the Mexican newspaper *Reforma* observed that Mexican public opinion is strongly in favor of free trade. Attitudes toward NAFTA's current performance are much more ambivalent, although young people (the "NAFTA generation") tend to favor it. Mexicans are split on whether NAFTA has strengthened or weakened national identity, with a slightly higher percentage believing it has been positive for national identity. Mexicans are very enthusiastic about the possibility of a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), which would include other countries in the hemisphere; but they feel that the United States should remain Mexico's principal trading partner. This apparently reflects strong sentiment in Mexico that it should be open to countries in Latin America and in North America, as well as the pragmatic belief that the United States will continue to be the main strategic partner. *Laura MacDonald* of Carleton University in Ottawa noted that identities are not fixed but shifting and multiple, and that sovereignty is no longer limited to a national territory with a state. Nonetheless, she argued that most Canadians are highly patriotic and have a strong belief in the benefits of the Canadian way of life. She also noted that most Canadians live within a short distance of the U.S.-Canadian border. Thus, the border with the United States plays a much more significant role in Canadian identity than it does for either Mexicans or Americans, most of whose population lives further away from border areas.

While the two countries have had five decades of diplomatic relations, a stronger Mexico-Canada relationship has emerged since the passage of NAFTA.

The second panel looked at the emerging relationship between Canada and Mexico. While the two countries have had five decades of diplomatic relations, a stronger Mexico-Canada relationship has emerged since the passage of NAFTA. During the last decade, trade between the two countries has tripled, and

there are increasing governmental and academic exchanges. However, *Isabel Studer* of FLACSO-Mexico indicated that the Mexico-Canada relationship still looks underdeveloped when compared to the Mexico-U.S. and Canada-U.S. relationships. Canada has been hesitant to support Mexican President Vicente Fox's proposal to develop a "NAFTA plus," which would include a common market, development fund, migration agreement, and new institutions. Canada will continue to have concerns about stronger trilateral ties with Mexico as long as asymmetries exist between the two nations. However, Studer argued that there is an existing trilateral agenda, which includes trade and investment, education, environment, and energy, and that an expanded North American Community could include issues already on the agenda. Studer concluded by saying that competitive and economic considerations will prevail over identity concerns in the development of a North American Community.

How the United States deals with problems in North America influences how the country is perceived as a leader in the world.

Stacey Wilson-Forsberg of FOCAL indicated that Canadian government officials currently favor a "two-speeds model" of North American integration in which the Canada-U.S. relationship would continue to develop, and Mexico would be invited to join once it is on a path to modernization. Wilson-Forsberg finds this model worrisome: while she acknowledges there are many problems in Mexico, the Mexican economy continues to grow and an increasingly young, urban population means there is potential for a strong market. *Carol Wise* of the University of Southern California concurred that while there are asymmetries, they are not insurmountable.

Luncheon speaker *Bruce Stokes* of the *National Journal* indicated that the challenge of creating a North American Community is broader than most perceive. Polls conducted in the United States consistently demonstrate that three-fifths of Americans want to pull out of NAFTA and have a negative view of free trade in general. Stokes suggested that Canadians view NAFTA more favorably (two-thirds support it) and that Mexicans are ambivalent about the agreement, though generally supportive of free trade. However, building a North American Community means recognizing that there are also resentments in Canada and Mexico against the United States and that the relationship is highly asymmetrical. Stokes cautioned that how the United States deals with problems in North America influences how the country is perceived as a leader in the world. He stressed the importance of generating public dialogue about free trade and creating procedures for citizens of the three countries to have input into the current agreements on trade. He noted that when NAFTA was negotiated there was limited public discussion about it. He further argued that a North American consciousness is likely to develop out of economic relationships rather than from other processes. Integration will be forged in the heat of conflict over the relationship and the debate this generates, not only through rational discussion and good ideas.

The Wilson Center will hold a major conference on "NAFTA at Ten" on December 9 and 10, 2002, at which the three former chiefs of state will reflect on their efforts and specialists from all three countries will evaluate the experience of the last ten years and the future of North America.

Foro Virtual ~ Virtual Forum

Argentina in Washington has created a Foro Virtual / Virtual Forum on the Woodrow Wilson Center website. This forum will offer differing views on issues of vital concern to Argentina. Already posted are debates on the democratic tendencies of civil society and public health policy to deal with social crises. To be posted in the course of the next few months will be debates on citizen security, macroeconomic policy, and education.

New Joint Scholars Program with Mexican Council on Foreign Relations

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations have launched a Joint Public Policy Scholars Program.

Lee H. Hamilton, director of the Woodrow Wilson Center, and Amb. Andrés Rozental, president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, announced the Scholar's Program on September 17 at a press conference held at the Wilson Center. Both expressed their enthusiasm for the potential contributions this program could make to a better and more effective bilateral relationship.

The program will invite pre-eminent Mexicans from the public and private sector, academia, the press, and nongovernmental organizations to be resident scholars at the Wilson Center and conduct research projects on Mexico and U.S.-Mexico relations.

"This program marks the beginning of a close relationship between the Wilson Center and the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations in order to contribute to a better flow of ideas and information between the United States and Mexico."
-Lee H. Hamilton

Staff Notes

We bid farewell and offer our profound thanks and congratulations to two of our colleagues who have left to pursue advanced degrees. Program Associate *Heather Golding* will be attending the University of Connecticut Law School in the fall, and Program Support Assistant *Luis Guevara* will study international economic policy at American University. Both Heather and Luis contributed hard work and warm fellowship to the LAP. We wish them well.

We also would like to welcome our new staff members. Program Associate *Meg Ruthenburg* joins us from the University of Michigan, where she is a Ph.D. candidate in cultural anthropology. Meg has extensive experience teaching and translating and has lived and worked in Ecuador. Her expertise is in civil society. *Elizabeth Bryan* is the new Program Support Assistant. Elizabeth holds a B.A. in international affairs and Spanish from Wagner College, and previously worked at the Center for National Policy, where she worked on U.S.-Cuba policy.

Interns and Researchers

We would like to thank our summer interns at the Latin American Program. *Jonathan Goldberg* is a recent graduate of Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. *Samantha Newbold* is a first-year graduate student at Georgetown University, working towards a Masters in Latin American Studies. *Priyanka Anand* is a senior at the University of California – Berkeley where she is a B.A. candidate in economics and political science.

We also welcome Junior Scholars *Carolina Fernández* of the Universidad Torcuato di Tella and *Giselle Cohen* from the Universidad de Buenos Aires who will research U.S. – Argentine relations in collaboration with the Program and help us organize *Argentina in Washington*.

We take this opportunity to express our sincerest gratitude to *Craig Fagan*, who recently earned his Masters degree at the Johns Hopkins University-SAIS in international affairs with concentrations in Latin American Studies and development economics. Craig, a former intern, served as a consultant on many LAP projects, providing invaluable assistance to the Program.

Public Policy Scholars

We were fortunate in hosting the following Public Policy Scholars from Mexico and Brazil over the past few months:

Rolando Cordera Campos, Professor, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, "Structural Change Without Equity: Social Policy in the Times of Globalization."

Miguel Álvarez Gándara, Director, Servicios de la Paz, "Keys for a New Civic Strategy in the Chiapas Peace Process."

Lilia Bermúdez Torres, Professor, Instituto Matías Romero, "The Governments of Vicente Fox and George W. Bush with Regard to Hemispheric Security: Consensus and Discrepancy."

Gustavo Vega Canovas, Professor, El Colegio de México, "Dispute Settlement in NAFTA: Lessons from the First Eight Years."

Paulo Lucena de Menezes, Lawyer, São Paulo, "Affirmative Action: The U.S. Model as a Paradigm for the Brazilian Experience."

Diva Moreira, Former Visiting Scholar, University of Texas – Austin, anti-racist and human rights activist, "The State and Affirmative Action Policies: Differences and Similarities Between Brazil and the U.S."

Rosana Heringer, Director for Afro-Brazilian Studies, Universidade Candido Mendes, "The Challenge of Practice: Affirmative Action and Diversity Programs in Brazil and the U.S."

Wilson Center Fellows 2002-2003

Ariel Armony, Assistant Professor of Government, Colby College, "The Serpent's Egg: Civil Society's Dark Side."

Alfonso Quiroz, Professor of History, Baruch College and Graduate Center, City University of New York, "Curbing Global Corruption: Economic and Institutional Costs of Corrupt Administration in Peru."

Héctor Schamis, Assistant Professor of Government, Cornell University, "Democratic Capitalism and the State in Eastern Europe and Latin America."

Recent Publications

Books

Joseph S. Tulchin with Amelia Brown, eds., *Democratic Governance and Social Inequality* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001).

Woodrow Wilson Center Reports on the Americas

Joseph S. Tulchin and Heather A. Golding, eds., *Environment and Security in the Amazon Basin*, May 2002.

Joseph S. Tulchin, Ralph H. Espach, with Heather A. Golding, eds., *Paths to Regional Integration: The Case of MERCOSUR*, August 2002.

Woodrow Wilson Center Update on the Americas

Decentralization, No. 2, "Decentralization in Brazil: Urban Democratic Governance and Development," February 2002.

Decentralization No. 3, "Decentralization in Guatemala: The Search for Participatory Democracy," March 2002.

Decentralization No. 4, "Decentralization in Argentina: New Approaches to Municipal Governance," March 2002.

Creating Community, No. 3, "Challenges to Creating Community in the Americas," April 2002.

Creating Community, No. 4, "Terrorism and the Triple Frontier," April 2002.

Creating Community, No. 5, "Arms Control and Limitation in Latin America: An Elusive Goal," April 2002.

Creating Community, No. 6, "A New Generation of Social Reforms," July 2002.

Mexico, No. 3, "The Fox Administration After One Year in Power," February 2002.

Citizen Security, No. 2, "Paths Toward Police and Judicial Reform in Latin America," February 2002.

Citizen Security, No. 3, "Police Reform in Peru," April 2002.

Citizen Security, No. 4, "Seguridad Ciudadana, Gobernabilidad y Control Civil Democrático en América Latina," June 2002.

Citizen Security, No. 5, "Police Reform in Latin America: Observations and Recommendations," July 2002.

Citizen Security, No. 6, "Community Policing in the Southern Cone: Results, Problems, and Policies," August 2002.

Citizen Security, No. 7, "Crime and Social Policies in Latin America: Problems and Solutions," August 2002.

Working Papers

254. José Luis Orozco, "Contemporary Political Discourse in Mexico," February 2002.

255. Gustavo Verduzco and Kurt Unger, "The Development of Regions Experiencing High Levels of Out-Migration in Mexico: Analysis for Maximizing the Benefits of Migration for Sending Regions," February 2002.

256. Thaís Battibugli, "Political Culture of the Cold War in Brazil, 1947-1964," May 2002.

257. Robert R. Kaufman and Alex Segura-Ubiergo, "Globalization, Domestic Politics and Social Spending in Latin America: A Time-Series Cross-Section Analysis, 1973-1997," May 2002.

258. Erika Pani, "La calidad de ciudadano: Past and Present: The Nature of Citizenship in Mexico and the United States. 1776-1912, (forthcoming).

259. Thaís Battibugli, Amâncio Jorge de Oliveira, Francisco Rogido Fins and João Paulo M. Peixoto, "Brazilian Ministry of Culture Public Policy Scholars, 2000-2002," June 2002.

260. Luiz Pinguelli Rosa, Alexandre Salem Szklo, and Mauricio Tiomno Tolmasquim, "Searching for Sustainability: The Energy Sector in Brazil," July 2002.

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