



# 2012

ANNUAL REPORT  
*Setting the Stage for the  
Next 30 Years*

## OUR MISSION

The Inter-American Dialogue brings together public and private leaders from across the Americas to build cooperation among Western Hemisphere nations and advance a regional agenda of democratic governance, social equity, and economic growth.

Cover photos: Michael Shifter, Michelle Bachelet; Leonel Fernández, Carla A. Hills; Michael Shifter, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Madeleine Albright; Xavier Becerra; Jimmy Carter

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## MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear Friends,

In presenting the Inter-American Dialogue's 30th anniversary year Annual Report for 2012, I am reminded of 1982, when I had the opportunity and privilege to be at the conference that launched the Dialogue. What was then a conference has become the centerpiece of a well-established institution focused on hemispheric affairs whose fundamental mission and vision endure.



The purpose was, and remains today, to bring together people from varied perspectives to discuss shared concerns, probe differences, and seek common ground in pursuit of cooperative approaches and constructive solutions to problems. The Dialogue's most treasured asset continues to be its distinguished members.

We close 2012 with a sense of strength, recognizing that this is a moment of transition for the Dialogue, as it is for the Americas. We are encouraged that the prospect for rebuilding constructive relations is still better in Latin America than in almost any other region of the world. As the Dialogue looks forward, we must focus on how to make our efforts stronger and more effective within the changing global environment.

Those of us engaged in the Dialogue's work every day are inspired to be part of an independent forum devoted to fostering openness and dialogue based on mutual trust. We are mindful of our rich history and appreciate the enormous debt we owe to the individuals who conceived and shaped the organization, and helped give it the credibility it enjoys today. In equal measure, we appreciate the enormous contributions of the many individuals who share our priorities and continue to work with us to accomplish our goals.

In particular, the Dialogue staff wishes to thank our Board of Directors, our Members, and the many friends who contribute to our work. As we look to a vibrant and meaningful future for the Dialogue and the Americas, we reach out to you for your continued engagement, participation, and your loyal support.

With best wishes,

Michael Shifter  
*President*

## MESSAGE FROM THE CO-CHAIRS

Dear Friends,

It is with great pleasure that we present the 2012 Annual Report of the Inter-American Dialogue that commemorates its historic 30th Anniversary year. We are proud to be a part of the Dialogue's high quality and influential work.

We believe you will agree that the Dialogue has built a valuable institution over the last three decades. The past year's programmatic accomplishments attest to the stellar work of the Dialogue's staff and fellows, and to the rich contributions of its Members, the organization's most cherished asset. We anticipate many productive years to come as the Dialogue launches its ambitious plans for the future.

The Inter-American Dialogue's mission is to bring together public and private leaders from across the Americas to build cooperation among Western Hemisphere nations and to advance a regional agenda of democratic governance, social equity, and economic growth.

The Inter-American Dialogue's 30th Anniversary Gala, the 2012 Sol M. Linowitz Forum, and its broad range of 30th year activities illustrate the spirit of excellence and commitment with which the Dialogue implements its mission. We express our heartfelt appreciation for the generous support the Dialogue received that enabled it to make its 30th year activities possible. Implementing the Dialogue's mission is only possible with the contributions of many individuals, corporations, foundations, international institutions, and governments. We thank each of our supporters for recognizing the importance of our mission in hemispheric affairs.

Inter-American relations will face challenges in the years ahead—along with opportunities for further progress. Your continued support and engagement are critical to the Dialogue's ability to seize the opportunities to make a difference. We hope we can count on your support to ensure that the Dialogue can continue to carry out its mission, which has never been more important.

With our best regards,

Michelle Bachelet  
*Co-Chair*

Carla A. Hills  
*Co-Chair*





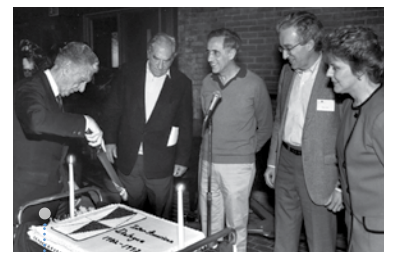
1982

“The Western Hemisphere today faces challenges more serious than any since World War II, or perhaps even the Great Depression.”  
*Americas at a Crossroads. A Report of the Inter-American Dialogue* (April 1983)



1990

“The Sandinista Front in Nicaragua and the Pinochet regime in Chile both held free elections and peacefully transferred power to opposition movements. The Mexican and US governments have initiated negotiations toward a free trade agreement.”  
*The Americas in a New World. The 1990 Report of the Inter-American Dialogue*



1992

“We cannot recall a time when the opportunities for constructive and sustained cooperation among Western Hemisphere nations have been greater—or when potential payoffs from cooperation have been larger. The Cold War is over and US policy toward Latin America is no longer shaped and constrained by a preoccupation with security matters.”  
*Convergence and Community: The Americas in 1993. A Report of the Inter-American Dialogue*

## SHAPING THE POLICY AGENDA FOR 30 YEARS

The Inter-American Dialogue began with a conversation on a park bench. Abraham F. Lowenthal and Peter D. Bell had arrived a few minutes early for a meeting with Sol M. Linowitz, former US Ambassador to the Organization of American States. At the time, Lowenthal was a Mellon Scholar at UCLA and Bell a senior associate at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Both men were troubled by the breakdown in communications within the Americas during the Malvinas/Falkland War and by how US leaders had shut themselves off from Latin Americans anxious to embrace democracy. Lowenthal and Bell wondered: Would it be possible to assemble citizens from throughout the hemisphere to set a new regional agenda?

When they entered the meeting, they continued the park bench discussion. Linowitz joined in, proposing creation of an “inter-American dialogue.” He tested the idea with Galo Plaza, the former president of Ecuador and past secretary general of the Organization of American States. As the proposal gained energy, Fernando

Henrique Cardoso of Brazil, Gabriel Valdés of Chile, Daniel Oduber of Costa Rica, and others became involved. The Inter-American Dialogue was born.

Galo Plaza became the Dialogue’s first Latin American co-chair with Linowitz as its US co-chair, a position that Bell would later hold. Lowenthal became the organization’s founding director.

The Dialogue’s first plenary meeting of members took place in 1982 outside of Washington, DC, as an ad hoc conference of about 50 leaders from throughout the hemisphere. Ronald Reagan was in his first term in the White House, and Latin America was struggling with a debt crisis, civil wars in Central America, efforts to restore democracy, and the Malvinas/Falklands conflict. In addition to organizing a second meeting, the participants called for their findings and recommendations to be disseminated to a wider public, thus launching the Dialogue tradition of issuing comprehensive policy reports following each plenary.



## 1994

“Following US Congressional approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) Vice President Albert Gore, on a visit to Mexico, announced that the United States planned to call a meeting of the hemisphere’s democratically elected leaders. The ‘Summit of the Americas’ is now scheduled to take place on December 9 and 10 in Miami.”  
*The Americas in 1994: A Time for Leadership. A Report of the Sol Linowitz Forum*



## 1999

“Most democratic governments in the region have failed to satisfy the demands of their citizens for steadier economic growth, accelerated social progress, full political participation, and greater personal security.

Democratic politics and market economics are on trial, and are at grave risk in some countries. Encouraging advances toward hemispheric cooperation are now stalled.”  
*The Americas at the Millennium: A Time of Testing. A Report of the Sol Linowitz Forum*



## 2009

“US relations in the hemisphere remain near their lowest point since the end of the Cold War... Yet Latin America today may offer better conditions than ever for the building of a long-term, robust partnership with the United States.”  
*A Second Chance. US Policy in the Americas* (March 2009)

## 2003

“With US policy focused on international terrorism and the prospect of war with Iraq, Washington’s response to Latin America’s strains has been sporadic and uneven... Today’s Latin America is being compared to the lost decade of the 1980s, when almost every nation was overloaded with debt and stumbling backwards economically.”  
*The Troubled Americas. Inter-American Dialogue Policy Report 2003*

After two years of work, the Dialogue opened a small secretariat to plan meetings and reach out to policymakers, executives, and media across the hemisphere. It didn’t take long for the audience to exceed the Dialogue’s ability to produce materials. That’s when it broadened its focus from member meetings and policy reports to include a think tank component—including conferences, task forces, a congressional working group, and forums for Latin Americans visiting Washington, DC. The Dialogue increasingly commissioned articles and policy memoranda for wide distribution, and its staff began to publish in leading newspapers and journals.

The next growth spurt came with the inauguration of the Sol M. Linowitz Forum in 1996, which strengthened the Dialogue’s role as a thought leader. President Bill Clinton spoke at the gala event launching the Forum, which pays tribute to Ambassador Linowitz for his many contributions to US-Latin American relations, and is designed to enhance the

Dialogue’s periodic plenary meetings of its members. The Linowitz Forum Endowment Fund, established to support Forum activities, has helped assure that the Dialogue remains an independent, balanced, and effective voice in Western Hemisphere affairs. At this stage, the organization became more inter-American by increasing its presence in Latin America and the Caribbean, incorporating more Latin Americans onto its staff, and developing partnerships with policy centers in the region.

The Dialogue now reaches leaders across a wide spectrum of sectors and activities, maintaining strong ties to the policy and government communities but also expanding corporate and nongovernmental organizations’ involvement. It has responded to Latin American and Caribbean governments and institutions, public and private, seeking greater visibility and presence in Washington. It has done this largely through more frequent Washington-based forums that add diverse voices and perspectives to US policy debates on inter-American issues.



# 30TH ANNIVERSARY GALA CELEBRATION



**M**ore than 300 dignitaries from across the Americas—including Latin American presidents, past and present, the president of the World Bank, Dialogue co-chair Carla A. Hills, and Board member Enrique García, president and CEO of CAF – Development Bank of Latin America—came together in 2012 for a gala celebration to mark the 30th anniversary of the Inter-American Dialogue.

Guests at the gala retraced the dramatic changes in the United States, Latin America, and the Caribbean, as well as in the state

of inter-American and hemispheric affairs, in the 30 years since the Dialogue's 1982 inaugural conference.

In the three decades that followed, the Americas underwent a marked transformation, and the Dialogue shifted its focus in response. That evolution was addressed in formal remarks at the June 7, 2012, anniversary gala hosted in the Hall of the Americas at the Organization of American States. Speakers such as President Juan Manuel Santos of Colombia (via video), World Bank President Robert Zoellick, US Rep. Xavier Becerra (D-CA), former President





“This Dialogue should aim high: so that future historians will title the next chapter, not ‘The Passing of the New World,’ but ‘Globalization: Made in the Americas.’”

—Excerpt, Robert Zoellick’s 30th Anniversary Gala Speech

Carla A. Hills, Peter D. Bell, Enrique García; Elena Viyella de Paliza, Xavier Becerra; Robert Zoellick; Roberto Russell, Michael Shifter; Billie Miller, Jorge Domínguez, Francis Fukuyama

of Chile Ricardo Lagos, and His Eminence Theodore Cardinal McCarrick reflected on the implications of those changes. Ray Suárez, senior correspondent of PBS NewsHour, served as emcee.

The Dialogue used the anniversary celebration to unveil its first Award for Civic Engagement, presented to the Coalición Educación Digna for its role in the campaign that pushed the Dominican Republic to invest 4 percent of its GDP in public school education.





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“Though the agenda today is different, the role of an independent policy forum devoted to building mutual trust and improving well-being in the Americas remains crucial.”

—Excerpt, Michael Shifter’s 30th Anniversary Gala Remarks

Roberta Jacobson, Fernando Henrique Cardoso; Ray Suárez; Harriet Babbitt, Lázaro Cárdenas; Ricardo Lagos; José Miguel Insulza, Sonia Picado, Carla A. Hills; Fernando Cepeda, Hilda Ochoa-Brillembourg

## THE INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE AWARD FOR CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

### The Inter-American Dialogue

Award for Civic Engagement recognizes extraordinary effectiveness in promoting good policy in Latin America and the Caribbean. The award’s first recipient, the Coalición Educación Digna, spearheaded the successful “4% campaign” for educational reform in the Dominican Republic. The Inter-American Dialogue’s education program, in conjunction with its local counterparts, EDUCA and FLACSO, produced documents that contributed to the 4% campaign agenda.

For two years the Coalición Educación Digna energized a civic movement that rallied support across sectors and political tendencies for compliance with a 1997 law mandating that 4 percent of GDP be invested in education. All of the 2012 presidential candidates, including then President-elect Danilo Medina, promised to abide by the 4 percent mandate.

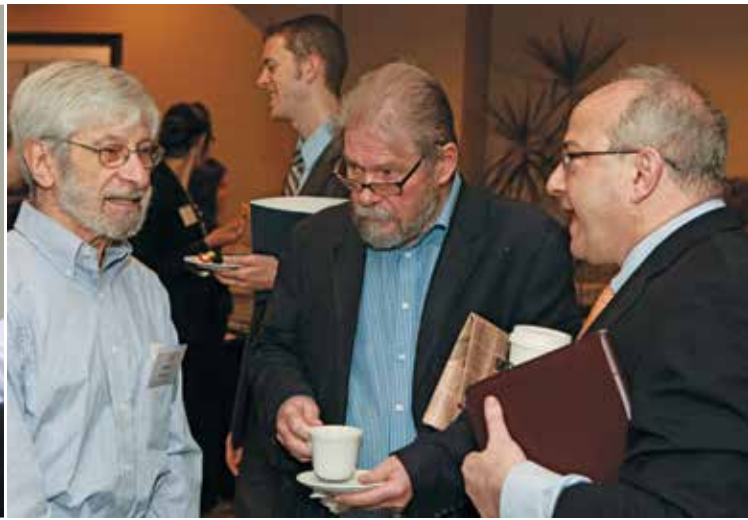
“These kinds of broad, multi-partisan civic crusades are uncommon—although growing—in Latin America,” said Dialogue Board member Elena Viyella de Paliza in



presenting the award. “We are inspired by this example of civil society holding government accountable. That’s what democracy is all about.”

Magda Elizabeth Pepén Peguero, the coalition’s advocacy coordinator, accepted the award on behalf of the coalition.

# SOL M. LINOWITZ FORUM



Since 1996, the Sol M. Linowitz Forum has sought to elevate the quality of debate around Western Hemisphere issues. Once every two years the Forum, which pays tribute to the Dialogue's founding chairman, connects Dialogue members with select, outside experts to address the most pressing challenges in the Americas.

The ninth meeting of the Sol M. Linowitz Forum in June 2012 sparked wide-ranging dialogue, with the rise of Latin America's new middle class, drugs and violence, the region's energy future, and the "Latinoamericanization" of the United States leading the agenda. Four former presidents—Ricardo Lagos of Chile, Jorge Quiroga of Bolivia, Martín Torrijos

of Panama, and Nicolás Ardito Barletta of Panama—and Enrique García, president of CAF – Development Bank of Latin America, took part.

At the time of the gathering, the US elections were being watched with interest. In a dinner presentation, Scott Wilson, White House correspondent for *The Washington Post*, offered insight on how the election results might affect Latin America.

During the Forum, Dialogue staff videotaped a series of long-form conversations with the Dialogue's most prominent members. The top journalists and Dialogue members who conducted the interview style exchanges expanded



"[Our] mission, or purpose, has been a simple, yet powerful one: To bring together people from varied perspectives to discuss shared concerns, probe differences, and seek common ground in pursuit of cooperative approaches and constructive solutions to problems."

—Excerpt, Michael Shifter's  
30th Anniversary Gala Remarks



Pierre Pettigrew;  
Albert Fishlow, Scott  
Odell, Michael Reid,  
Michael Shifter;  
Donna Hrinak, Billie Miller;  
Abraham Lowenthal,  
Jorge Domínguez;  
Edward Schumacher-  
Matos, Rafael Fernández  
de Castro, Renate Rennie;  
Lourdes Flores Nano,  
Epsy Campbell Barr,  
Genaro Arriagada

on some salient themes examined at the Forum that promise to be particularly relevant for the Americas in coming years. The video commentaries, which serve to highlight the quality and diversity of Dialogue members, are featured prominently on the Dialogue website and have been disseminated broadly through social media outlets. This exercise is yet another method the Dialogue employs to help shape the policy debate and agenda.

## Background papers from the 2012

Linowitz Forum formed the basis of the Dialogue's commemorative anniversary volume, *The Americas in Motion: Looking Ahead*. A highlight of the volume is a 30-year retrospective of change in the region by Abraham F. Lowenthal, the Dialogue's founding director. The volume further features Stanford University Professor Francis Fukuyama's analysis of the politics of Latin America's new middle class, and a look at social trends in the Western Hemisphere by George Gray Molina, the United Nations Development Programme's chief economist for Latin America and the Caribbean. The volume also examines the role of China in the region, Latin America's energy future, and global trends in development.





# MEMBERS FROM LATIN AMERICA, THE CARIBBEAN, AND CANADA

## CHILE

Michelle Bachelet  
Sergio Bitar  
Alejandro Foxley  
Hernán Larraín  
On Leave:  
*Andrés Allamand*  
Chair Emeritus:  
*Ricardo Lagos*

## ARGENTINA

José Octavio Bordón  
José María Dagnino  
Pastore  
Alfonso Prat-Gay

## URUGUAY

Enrique Iglesias  
Emeritus:  
*Julio María Sanguinetti*

## PARAGUAY

Sebastián Acha

## BRAZIL

Luiz Fernando Furlan  
Marcos Jank  
Ellen Gracie Northfleet  
Jacqueline Pitanguy  
Marina Silva  
Roberto Teixeira  
da Costa  
On Leave:  
*Henrique Campos  
Meirelles*  
Chair Emeritus:  
*Fernando Henrique  
Cardoso*

## BOLIVIA

L. Enrique García  
George Gray Molina  
Carlos D. Mesa  
Jorge Quiroga  
Emeritus:  
*Gonzalo Sánchez  
de Lozada*

## PERU

Lourdes Flores Nano  
Diego García-Sayán  
Mario Vargas Llosa  
Emeritus:  
*Javier Pérez de Cuéllar*

## ECUADOR

Roberto Baquerizo  
Yolanda Kakabadse  
Emeritus:  
*Oswaldo Hurtado  
Larrea*

## COLOMBIA

Fernando Cepeda Ulloa  
Sergio Fajardo  
Antonio Navarro Wolff  
Marta Lucía Ramírez  
On Leave:  
*Juan Manuel Santos  
Rafael Pardo*

## VENEZUELA

Jonathan Coles  
Moisés Naim  
Teodoro Petkoff  
Alberto Vollmer

## PANAMA

Stanley Motta  
Martín Torrijos  
Emeritus:  
*Nicolás Ardito-Barletta*

## COSTA RICA

Óscar Arias  
Epsy Campbell  
Sonia Picado

## NICARAGUA

Ernesto  
Fernández-Holmann  
Emeritus:  
*Violeta Chamorro*

## EL SALVADOR

Roberto H. Murray-Meza  
Joaquín Villalobos

## GUATEMALA

Salvador Paíz  
Eduardo Stein

## MEXICO

Alicia Bárcena  
Lázaro Cárdenas Batel  
Eugenio Clariond  
Reyes-Retana  
Claudio X. González  
Guajardo  
José Ángel Gurriá  
Nora Lustig  
Beatriz Paredes  
Andrés Rozental  
Arturo Sarukhan  
Jesús Silva-Herzog  
Ernesto Zedillo

## DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Leonel Fernández  
Elena Viyella de Paliza

## HAITI

Carl Braun

## BARBADOS

Billie Miller

## JAMAICA

Oliver F. Clarke  
Earl Jarrett

## TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

On Leave:  
*Edwin Carrington*

## CANADA

Joe Clark  
Barbara J. McDougall  
Pierre Pettigrew

# MEMBERS FROM THE UNITED STATES

Cresencio Arcos  
Washington, DC

Bernard Aronson  
Washington, DC

Michael Barnes  
Washington, DC

Alan Batkin  
New York, NY

Xavier Becerra  
Washington, DC

Peter D. Bell  
Cambridge, MA

Julián Castro  
San Antonio, TX

Joyce Chang  
New York, NY

Lee Cullum  
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David de Ferranti  
Washington, DC

Karen DeYoung  
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Jorge I. Domínguez  
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Albert Fishlow  
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Francis Fukuyama  
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Bob Graham  
Miami Lakes, FL

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New York, NY

Lee Hamilton  
Nashville, IN

Carla A. Hills  
Washington, DC

Donna J. Hrinak  
São Paulo, Brazil

William Hybl  
Colorado Springs, CO

Alberto Ibarguen  
Miami, FL

Jim Kolbe  
Tucson, AZ

Abraham F. Lowenthal  
Los Angeles, CA

Mónica Lozano  
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Douglaston, NY

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## THE DIALOGUE'S FELLOWS AND SCHOLARS

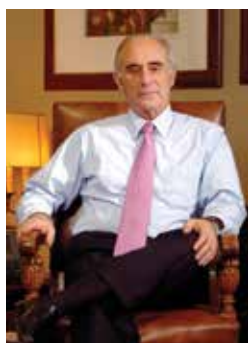


### Genaro Arriagada

Arriagada, a Dialogue senior fellow since January 2008, spearheads the energy program and brings thoughtful attention to the politics of energy policy—including its link to security—through his frequent comments and columns in Latin American media. Arriagada leads the Dialogue's Energy Policy Working Group, a regular meeting of top US and regional experts to discuss Latin America's energy future. His recent paper, "Energy in Latin America 2010–2020: Headed for a Lost Decade?" appears in the

Dialogue's 30th anniversary commemorative volume.

Arriagada's expertise is the product of a long and distinguished diplomatic career. He served as minister of the presidency of Chile and ambassador of Chile to the United States. He was also chairman of the Board of Radio Cooperativa and national director of the "NO" Campaign, which defeated General Augusto Pinochet in the plebiscite of October 1988.



### Sergio Bitar

The Dialogue's Global Trends program provides governments, banks, corporations, universities, think tanks, and other institutions in Latin America with fresh information and analyses on relevant trends and future scenarios from throughout the world. Bitar, a Dialogue member and senior fellow, leads its work.

In addition to increasing access to existing analysis from outside of the region, the Global Trends program seeks to strengthen Latin America's own capacity to conduct and disseminate similar studies. Bitar's "The World of 2030: Risks and Opportunities for Latin America,"

a synthesis of studies in global trends from across the world, appears in the Dialogue's 30th anniversary commemorative volume.

Bitar has a long trajectory of public service in Chile. He was minister of public works under President Michelle Bachelet from 2008 to 2010. Prior to that, he served as minister of education, minister of mining, a senator, and president of the Party for Democracy (PPD) on two occasions. He has written numerous books about Chilean politics and international relations. His latest is *Un futuro común: Chile, Bolivia, Peru* (Siglo XXI).





### Nora Lustig

The core of the Dialogue's Social Policy Program is the Commitment to Equity (CEQ) project, led by Dialogue member and senior fellow Nora Lustig and president emeritus Peter Hakim, and conducted in partnership with Tulane University. CEQ is an innovative and rigorous approach to assessing and bringing public attention to Latin America's long-neglected social agenda. The project analyzes the impact of taxes and social spending on inequality and poverty, and provides a roadmap for governments, multilateral institutions, and nongovernmental organizations in their efforts to build more equitable societies.

Nora Lustig is Samuel Z. Stone professor of Latin American economics at Tulane University. Previously she was Shapiro visiting professor of international affairs at the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University; director of the poverty group at UNDP; president and professor of the Department of Economics of the Universidad de las Americas in Mexico; senior advisor and chief of the Poverty and Inequality Unit at the Inter-American Development Bank; senior fellow at the Brookings Institution; and professor at the Center of Economic Studies of the Colegio de Mexico.

Sergio Bitar, George Gray Molina; Earl Jarrett, Manuel Orozco; Nora Lustig, Ricardo Lagos, Abraham Lowenthal



### Margaret Myers

Myers joined the Dialogue in 2011 as director of the China and Latin America program. Under her leadership, the program has grown tremendously. The Dialogue is now a leading center for information and analysis on Sino-Latin American relations. Through the program's China-Latin America Working Group, Myers brings together scholars and experts from China, Latin America, the United States, and other regions to discuss political and economic

developments. Her China-Latin America blog has attracted more than 50,000 views and she is currently working on an interactive database to track information on Chinese loans to Latin America.

Prior to joining the Dialogue, Myers studied US-China relations at the Johns Hopkins University/Nanjing University Center for Chinese-American Studies. She also traveled extensively in Latin America and East Asia as an analyst for the US government.



## Manuel Orozco

Orozco is frequently sought by US and Latin American media to comment on his specialty area: migration and the global flow of remittances. He tracks trends in remittances and biennially issues a scorecard ranking remittance service providers. Orozco, as a senior associate at the Dialogue and director of its Remittances and Development program, oversees important initiatives, such as a project focused on financial literacy in Latin America. His latest book, *América Latina y el Caribe: Desarrollo, migración y remesas* (Editorial Teseo), includes a discussion with top

Nicaraguan bank executives and migration experts. It was released at a Dialogue meeting in Managua in 2012.

In addition to his work at the Dialogue, Orozco chairs the US Foreign Service Institute's division on Central America and the Caribbean. He is a senior researcher at the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University and an adjunct professor at the School for International Service at American University.

## IN GRATITUDE: VIRON PETER VAKY



**Viron Peter "Pete" Vaky** helped the Dialogue launch its Inter-American Breakfast Roundtable in 1987, became a member of the Dialogue a year later, and spent 17 years as a Dialogue senior fellow. His November 2012 death at age 87 removed a wise voice and rare sensibility from the organization.

"He generously shared his deep knowledge and infinite wisdom, and in many ways, he was the soul of the organization—or, at least, of what the organization strived to become," said Dialogue President Michael Shifter. "His spirit, wisdom, and judgment will be deeply missed."

The diplomat and former US ambassador to Costa Rica (1972–74), Colombia (1974–76), and Venezuela (1976–78) dedicated thirty-one years to the Foreign Service and saw a series of assignments in Latin America. While in Guatemala during the early stages of the country's internal armed conflict, Ambassador Vaky famously warned that US support for the "counter-terror" tactics of the country's military dictatorship would corrode Guatemala's political development and tarnish US credibility in the region. His views, unpopular at the time, were revealed when his cables to Washington were declassified decades later.

In 1969 to 1970, he served as a senior staff member for Latin America on the National Security Council. In July 1978, he was appointed assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, a position he held until his retirement in 1980. Ambassador Vaky then was named associate dean and research professor in diplomacy at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, a post he held until 1985. He remained at Georgetown as an adjunct professor of diplomacy until 1994. He was also a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The Dialogue hosted a service and published a memorial volume to commemorate Vaky's life and work.





John Maisto, Gene Kuleta; Jeffrey Puryear, Barbara McDougall, Tamara Ortega Goodspeed; Thomas Mackell, Erik Brand; Paula Stern, José Octavio Bordón, Joan Caivano; Claudio Loser

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*Mexico*

Eduardo Stein,  
*Guatemala*

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*President*

Alexis Arthur  
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Erik Brand  
*General Manager,*  
*Publishing*

Joan Caivano  
*Deputy to the*  
*President & Director*  
*of Special Projects*

Cameron Combs  
*Program Assistant*

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*& Administration*

Peter Hakim  
*President Emeritus*

Amy Herlich  
*Grants & Development*  
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Catherine Hufnagel  
*Program Assistant*

Mariellen Malloy Jewers  
*Associate, Social Policy*

Eugene Kuleta  
*Editor, Latin America*  
*Advisor*

Margaret Myers  
*Associate, China and*  
*Latin America*

Saul Nuñez  
*Office Administrator/*  
*Accounting Assistant*

Scott Odell  
*Program Associate*

Manuel Orozco  
*Senior Associate,*  
*Remittances,*  
*Migration, &*  
*Development*

Tamara Ortega  
Goodspeed  
*Senior Associate,*  
*Education*

Patricia Ortigoza  
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*Social Policy*

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Jennifer Van Winkle  
*Receptionist*

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*Program Assistant*

## Senior Fellows

Genaro Arriagada

Sergio Bitar

Claudio Loser

Nora Lustig



## China and Latin America

The Dialogue's China and Latin America program keeps academics, policymakers, and private sector leaders apprised of evolving themes in China-Latin America relations. It accomplishes this through panels and working groups composed of experts from China, Latin America, and the United States, and publications focused on pertinent issues.

Since its launch in 2011, the working group has convened four times. At each meeting, approximately fifteen experts from the United States, China, Latin America, Europe, and Australia gathered for a lively day-long debate. In 2012, those discussions ran the spectrum from strategies for addressing disparities in the China-Latin America relationship to the future of China-Latin America ties. The group has produced six working papers and a series of China and Latin America economics briefs.

The China and Latin America program also features a blog that Program Director Margaret

Myers maintains with original commentary, summaries of Chinese news coverage of the region and social media references to Latin America.

In 2012, the program began designing an interactive database for information on Chinese loans in the region. The database, the only one of its kind, will be accessible on the Dialogue website in late 2013.

## Energy

The Dialogue launched its Energy Policy Group in September 2009 with the support and cooperation of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). Dialogue senior fellow Genaro Arriagada, a distinguished Chilean analyst and former minister of state, leads some 20 energy analysts, corporate leaders, and policymakers who meet two or three times a year to tackle the region's most important energy policy issues.

The group brings new perspectives to national and regional policy debates on Latin America's energy challenges. Its goal is to heighten



Theodore Cardinal McCarrick, Alberto Vollmer, Judith Morrison; Rosario Green, Victor Rico, Lázaro Cárdenas Batel, Diego Canepa, Luciana León; Carla A. Hills, Ernesto Zedillo; Michael Shifter, Kathleen Kennedy Townsend; Mzukisi Qobo, Augusto de la Torre; Jim Kolbe, David De Ferranti, Fernando Henrique Cardoso

the attention placed on energy issues and to encourage multilateral cooperation in addressing them. The group's meetings in 2012 looked at electricity integration in Central America, shale gas exploration, and reforms of Mexican oil company PEMEX.

In addition to its regular Energy Policy Group meetings, the Dialogue also organized several sessions with business leaders in Washington and Latin America to discuss Latin American energy policy in the decade ahead. Arriagada and Dialogue President Emeritus Peter Hakim traveled to Mexico in September 2012 to speak with business leaders, Pemex Board members, President Enrique Peña Nieto's transition team, and other key players in the policy arena. As part of the trip, the Dialogue co-hosted a meeting with the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) to bring together private sector energy experts. The gathering drew representatives from Iberdrola, ExxonMobil, IHS, IMCO (Instituto Mexicano para la Competitividad), CIDE (Centro de

Investigación y Docencia Económica), and ITAM (Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México).

### Drug Policy

The Inter-American Dialogue project on drug policy, supported by the Open Society Institute and CAF – Development Bank of Latin America, has grown out of the recognition that Latin American leadership on drug control policies is vital. Countries in the region face escalating risks—and repercussions—as a result of the crime, violence, and instability linked to the drug trade. Current anti-trafficking policies have been, at best, ineffective and, at worst, counter-productive.

The project builds on the Dialogue's extensive work on drug policy issues since 2008. Guided by a small advisory group of senior policy officials and analysts experienced in drug and public security issues, the project supplies independent analysis to Latin American governments and nongovernmental organizations. The



“Latin America’s challenge over the next two decades is not one of resources but, rather, one of institutions.”

—“Latin America’s Energy Future” by Roger Tissot, Energy Policy Group Working Paper



drug policy project encourages regional leaders to examine non-traditional drug strategies, build support for those alternatives, and introduce fresh perspectives into Washington policy debates.

In 2012 private, off-the-record exchanges included leaders such as former President of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso (Dialogue Chair Emeritus) on the work of the global commission on drug policy, OAS Secretary General José Miguel Insulza, and Guatemalan Foreign Minister Fernando Carrera. In January 2013, a discussion in Bogotá featured former President of Colombia César Gaviria, former Chief of Colombia’s national police, General Óscar Naranjo, Colombian Ministers of Justice and Defense Ruth Stella Correa and Juan Carlos Pinzón, and former Minister of the Interior of Mexico, Alejandro Poiré.

### Security and Migration

In 2011, the Inter-American Dialogue kicked off a three-year initiative focused on two of the most critical policy challenges facing Mexico and Central America: the threat that escalating crime and violence poses for democratic governance and the political, social, and security problems linked to migration to the United States. The initiative operates as a joint program involving leading think tanks and research centers in Mexico and Central America.

The Dialogue hosted two international meetings of the initiative in 2012: in Guatemala City in February and in Managua in October. It also published two working papers. In one, Roberto Cajina looked at why Nicaragua’s security landscape differs from the rest of the region. In the other, Guatemalan journalist Julie López examined organized crime and insecurity in Belize.

Security and migration led the agenda at the Guatemala gathering, which drew forty-five public and private sector participants

who considered policy recommendations for the “northern triangle” countries of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. The Guatemala meeting was held in cooperation with the citizen advocacy think tank ASIES and the Central American think tank La RED, which focuses on development. Guatemalan President Otto Pérez Molina; Attorney General Claudia Paz y Paz; Francisco Dall’anese, the head of the UN Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala; and US Ambassador to Guatemala Arnold Chacón participated.

In Managua, some thirty analysts, journalists, business leaders, and public officials from across Central America attended the day-long meeting organized with help from Nicaraguan think tank Instituto de Estudios Estratégicos y Políticas Públicas (IEEPP) and the Universidad

Americana. At a public event prior to the meeting, Manuel Orozco, the Dialogue’s senior associate, released his new book *América Latina y el Caribe: remesas, migración y desarrollo*.



In conjunction, speakers from Nicaragua’s financial sector joined migration activists in a panel discussion co-sponsored by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and independent online journal *Confidencial*.

In 2012, the program designed and built a web portal to curate research, analysis, government documents and other resources related to security in Central America. This interactive tool, designed to support policymaking in the field, was launched in early 2013.



## Women's Leadership

Since the first Summit of the Americas in 1994, the Dialogue has worked to advance the leadership and political participation of women in the hemisphere. Its program on women's leadership uses public events, publications, and commentary to turn attention on that challenge, as well as to raise awareness of issues of concern to women. Project director Joan Caivano wrote articles published by *Americas Quarterly* and Center for Women's Policy Studies on advances and setbacks to women's reproductive rights in the Americas.

The Dialogue held public roundtable discussions with prominent female leaders, including Vanda Pignato, the first lady of El Salvador and the country's secretary of social inclusion, and focused important attention on two World Bank reports on issues of concern to women, "Work & Family: Latin American and Caribbean Women in Search of a New Balance" and "Smart Economics in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Multiplier Effect on Women's Economic Power."



In 2012, the program planned and organized a conference of female judges from Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States to explore the role of the courts in protecting women's rights, women's representation in the judiciary, and the influence of international law.

That conference, "Women and the Rule of Law: A View from the Americas," was co-sponsored by the League of Women Voters and International Association of Women Judges in 2013.

## Democratic Governance

The Dialogue's Democratic Governance program tracks the state of democracy and the rule of law in the countries of the Western Hemisphere. It also fosters exchanges aimed at compliance with regional and international democratic commitments. Through a series of public roundtable discussions throughout the region, the program examined developments such as the elections in the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Venezuela; risks faced by journalists in Central America; public opinion within Latin America's growing middle class; and the implications of President Fernando Lugo's ouster in Paraguay.

Justices Carmen Alanís, Vanessa Ruiz, Janet Tello, María Eugenia Villaseñor, Desiree Bernard, María Francisca Zapata, Catalina Botero; Victor Rico, Ana Maria Sanjuan, Teodoro Petkoff; Bill Richardson, Cris Arcos, Francisco Villagran



Marta Lucía Ramírez, Jeffrey Puryear, George Gray Molina; Eduardo Stein; Juan Manuel Santos, Michael Shifter

The program's centerpiece is the *Constructing Democratic Governance* book series, coordinated by Dialogue President Michael Shifter and Harvard University's Jorge Domínguez, a Dialogue member. The volumes undertake a systematic and wide-ranging examination of democratic governance in Latin America, including country-by-country analysis. Johns Hopkins University Press has published three volumes. The fourth is scheduled for release in mid-2013.

### Remittances and Development

The Dialogue's Remittances and Development program examines policies governing the flow of remittances, as well as private sector financial and remittance services. It also looks at how migration affects development and the type of financial access available to migrants and to the families that receive remittances. Through research, policy analysis, technical assistance, product development, and project implementation, the program has raised awareness and forged partnerships among public and private institutions in more than 80 countries.

In 2012, the Remittances and Development program researched the marketplace for money transfers in Latin America and in Asia. It also plumbed the depths of issues such as how the Dodd–Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act might affect remittances.

As part of its push for greater financial literacy, the program designed a toolkit, brochure, and curriculum for both remittance recipients and migrants and introduced the materials—and a methodology—to Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Paraguay (and, outside Latin America, to Georgia and Azerbaijan). To date, more than 85,000 remittance recipients have received financial education. More than 20 percent of those moved from being remittance recipients and are now clients of financial institutions.

### Social Policy/Commitment to Equity (CEQ)

The Social Policy program brings public attention to Latin America's long-neglected social agenda. In partnership with Tulane University, it collaborates on the Commitment to Equity (CEQ) project, which assesses, compares, and publicizes whether government efforts help or hinder social progress in Latin America. The program produces policy briefs that spotlight key issues on the social agenda and circulates articles and new research to help opinion leaders and policymakers stay abreast of best practices.

In May 2012, the CEQ project presented its preliminary research at a Washington, DC, conference titled "Winning the War on Poverty and Inequality in Latin America." The gathering featured presentations by the CEQ director and Dialogue senior fellow Nora Lustig, as well as World Bank economists Augusto de la Torre and Otaviano Canuto, and IDB economist Norbert Schady. After the conference, the Dialogue and Tulane University honored past IDB President



Enrique V. Iglesias for his contribution to economic and social development in Latin America. IDB President Luis Alberto Moreno, World Bank President Robert Zoellick, Dialogue Co-Chair and former USTR Carla A. Hills, and former Chilean Finance and Foreign Minister Alejandro Foxley spoke at the event.

## Education

The Partnership for Educational Revitalization in the Americas (PREAL) promotes better and more equitable education in Latin America by helping governments and civil society organizations identify and implement policy reforms. PREAL partners with national NGOs, organizes events, and produces state-of-the-art publications to drive informed debate on education policy. It also identifies and disseminates best practices.

Dialogue Vice President for Social Policy Jeffrey Puryear and Marcela Gajardo from the Corporation for Development Research (CINDE) in Santiago, Chile, co-direct PREAL.

During 2012, PREAL worked with partners to complete national report cards for Jamaica and Paraguay and to undertake policy audits in Chile and the Dominican Republic. The Central American and Dominican Chapter of PREAL's Working Group on the Teaching Profession (CCAD/GTD) collaborated with national and international partners to develop a series of events focused on teacher policies in Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. PREAL also carried out two study tours for Central Americans, one in Toronto for school principals and administrators and the other in Boston for young education analysts and leaders.

**“It would be hard to find a better value for the money invested than PREAL, anywhere.”**

—Albert Motivans, Head of Education Indicators and Data Analysis, UNESCO Institute for Statistics

PREAL's Education Research Fund (FIE) produced nine studies on the teaching profession, providing empirical evidence on effective education policies in seven countries. In addition, PREAL and its partners organized 52 events on key policy issues and published 30 documents with user-friendly analysis and policy recommendations for government and civil society leaders. A refreshed and expanded version of the PREAL blog was unveiled in 2012.

## Regional Programs

Political, economic, and social developments in the Southern Cone and Brazil, the Caribbean, Central America and Mexico, and other geographic blocs are the focus of the Dialogue's regional programs. The Andes region emerged as one of the most actively addressed, as the Dialogue hosted roundtables on Venezuela's elections, Bolivia's economy under Evo Morales, US policy in the Andes, human rights and extractive industries in Peru, and Chinese investment in Colombia and Ecuador. The Dialogue also focused heightened attention on Mexico and its 2012 presidential elections, which coincided with US elections.

The Dialogue has placed special focus on the progress and challenges of the peace process to end fifty years of internal armed conflict in Colombia. In January 2013, a half-day conference looked at the prospects for a peace agreement and discussed post-conflict scenarios.



## Sixteenth Annual CAF Conference

Every September, CAF – Development Bank of Latin America, the Inter-American Dialogue, and the Organization of American States sponsor a high-profile hemispheric affairs conference for Washington officials and opinion leaders. This sustained collaboration underscores the importance of US economic and political relations with Latin America. It also provides a detailed review of hemispheric economic and political developments.

The XVI Annual CAF Conference in September 2012 drew more than 500 people, among them US and Latin American government officials, international economists, lawmakers, policy analysts, journalists, and corporate and financial leaders. Discussions centered on challenges to democratic norms, economic uncertainty, and difficulties in overcoming poverty and inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean. Former President of the Dominican Republic Leonel Fernández and former US President Jimmy Carter made keynote speeches.

## US-Mexico Commission

The confluence of presidential elections in Mexico and the United States offered a propitious opportunity to both review a bilateral relationship that is crucial for the two countries and to develop ideas for strengthening cooperation on shared challenges.

In 2012, a commission of Mexican and US members of the Dialogue, chaired by former Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo and Dialogue Co-Chair Carla A. Hills, prepared a report focused on opportunities for Mexico and the United States to forge a closer and more productive partnership. The report underscored a range of ways to accelerate growth, create jobs, and elevate both nations' global competitiveness.

Immigration reform in the United States and security challenges in Mexico were seen as particularly salient issues on the bilateral agenda.

The Dialogue launched the report at two public gatherings in February 2013. A Washington, DC event included commentary by Hills, former US Representative Jim Kolbe, and Andrew Selee, vice president for programs at the Woodrow Wilson Center. In Mexico City, a similar event was organized in cooperation with COMEXI (Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales).

## Congressional Members' Working Group

The Congressional Members' Working Group (CMWG) on the Americas is a closed-door dinner forum where elected officials join senior US and Latin American government officials, key staff of international organizations, and leading independent policy experts to exchange ideas on the pivotal issues in Western Hemisphere affairs.

In July 2012, the Dialogue organized a CMWG roundtable on the future of US-Mexico relations. Representatives Kay Granger (R-TX), Sam Farr (D-CA), Devin Nunes (R-CA) and Jean Schmidt (R-OH) hosted the gathering. Andrés Rozental, former deputy foreign minister of Mexico, and Alejandro Hope, a Mexican security expert and former national intelligence official, led the program with remarks on what the election of President Enrique Peña Nieto would mean for US-Mexico cooperation on issues such as security, trade, energy, and migration.

The Dialogue's Congressional Program also held two public events on Capitol Hill in 2012. In April, it marked the release of Michael Shifter's report *Countering Criminal Violence in Central America*, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, with a public discussion on US security cooperation in the region. At a June panel discussion organized by the Dialogue, Senator Chris Coons (D-DE) and Representative Xavier Becerra (D-CA), who is a member of the Dialogue, shared observations from their February 2012 Congressional delegation to Colombia, Cuba, and Haiti. They also offered their vision for how to strengthen hemispheric ties.



## Latin America Working Group

The Dialogue's Latin America Working Group, which debuted in 2001 as the Colombia Working Group, is a private roundtable discussion series featuring some 35 experts from across the region. Its participants include analysts, scholars, journalists, private sector leaders, and former officials. It meets twice a year—in Washington and in the region—to discuss the challenges to democratic governance and innovative solutions for addressing them.

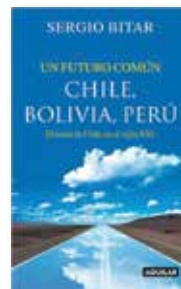
The Dialogue hosted two meetings of the group in 2012. In January, the working group convened in Bogotá for its 22nd meeting, which focused exclusively on Colombia. Participants discussed pressing political, economic and security challenges facing the administration of President Juan Manuel Santos. The group's considerations were then communicated through private meetings with Foreign Minister María Ángela Holguín, US Ambassador Michael McKinley, and President Santos.

In July 2012, the group met in Washington, DC, for a debate that was broad in scope. Participants discussed the election of Enrique Peña Nieto to the Mexican presidency, the challenges that faced Ollanta Humala during his first year as Peru's president, developments in Colombia, and political scenarios in Bolivia,

Ecuador, and Venezuela. Ricardo Zúñiga, senior advisor on Latin America policy at the National Security Council took part in a special lunch session marked by a back-and-forth that provided insight into US foreign policy and offered an opportunity for the group to share its concerns and priorities.

The Latin America Working Group published two widely disseminated working papers and a report in 2012. Long-time group member Gino Costa, director of Peruvian think tank Ciudad Nuestra, released a working paper in April 2012 on citizen security in Latin America. The working group also published a paper by Mexican security expert Alejandro Hope. That report, "Peace Now? Mexican Security Policy after Felipe Calderón," offered a rigorous analysis of the security challenges facing the Peña Nieto administration. Dialogue staff members Cameron Combs and Tim Heine released their report on the prospects for peace in Colombia in light of negotiations between the government and the FARC.

Jorge Quiroga, Diego García-Sayán; Leonel Fernández, Jimmy Carter, Enrique García; Changyong Rhee, Harinder Kohli; Diego Canepa, Moisés Naím



## DIALOGUE REPORTS AND WORKING PAPERS

### Inter-American Dialogue Books and Reports

*The Americas in Motion: Looking Ahead*, 30th Anniversary Sol M. Linowitz Forum Commemorative Volume, Inter-American Dialogue, April 2013.

*A More Ambitious Agenda: A Report of the Inter-American Dialogue's Commission on Mexico-US Relations*, Inter-American Dialogue, February 2013.

*The Market for Money Transfers in Latin America: 2012 Scorecard Report*, by Manuel Orozco, Inter-American Dialogue Report, December 2012.

*Future Trends in Remittances to Latin America and the Caribbean*, by Manuel Orozco, Inter-American Dialogue Report, May 2012.

*Remaking the Relationship: The United States and Latin America*, Inter-American Dialogue, April 2012.

### Inter-American Dialogue Working Papers and Briefs

"The World of 2030: Risks and Opportunities for Latin America," by Sergio Bitar, *Global Trends and Latin America's Future Newsletter*, Inter-American Dialogue, April 2013.

"Debating the Prospects for Peace in Colombia," by Cameron Combs and Tim Heine, Latin America Working Group Report, Inter-American Dialogue, April 2013.

"Organized Crime and Insecurity in Belize," by Julie López, Inter-American Dialogue Working Paper, January 2013.

"Capitalizing on the China Cycle: Time is Running Out for Latin America," by Kevin P. Gallagher, *China and Latin America Economics Brief*, Inter-American Dialogue, December 2012.

"Security in Nicaragua: Central America's Exception?" by Roberto Cajina, Inter-American Dialogue Working Paper, December 2012.

"China's Free Trade Agreements in South America," by Carol Wise, *China and Latin America Economics Brief*, Inter-American Dialogue, November 2012.

"Latin America's Energy Future," by Roger Tissot, Inter-American Dialogue Energy Working Paper Series, August 2012.

"What is US Drug Policy?" by Peter Hakim and Kimberly Covington, Inter-American Dialogue Working Paper, July 2012.

"The United States, Latin America, and China: A 'Triangular Relationship'?" by Evan Ellis, Inter-American Dialogue Working Paper, April 2012.

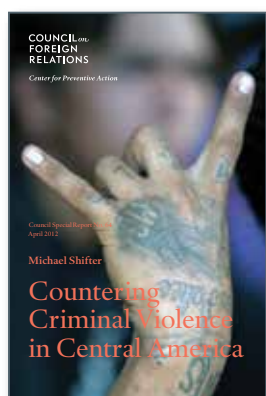
"Citizen Security in Latin America," by Gino Costa, Inter-American Dialogue Working Paper, February 2012.

"The New Banks in Town: Chinese Finance in Latin America," by Kevin Gallagher, Amos Irwin, and Katherine Koleski, Inter-American Dialogue Working Paper, February 2012.

# STAFF PUBLICATION HIGHLIGHTS

## Articles and Op-eds

Leading policy journals and top foreign policy groups tapped the Dialogue's expertise in 2012. Michael Shifter published the highly touted *Countering Criminal Violence in Central America* for the Council of Foreign Relations' Center for Preventive Action. The report, directed toward US policymakers, assesses the security landscape in Central America, suggesting ways to enhance US cooperation. Shifter also published in *Foreign Policy*, including "Caracas or Bust" on



the implications of Iranian President Ahmadinejad's visit to Latin America; "Land of the Lost," offering the prospects for a shift in hemispheric policy under Barack Obama and Mitt Romney; and "Sea Change in Spain"

examining how Latin America's economic growth and Europe's debt crisis have turned Ibero-American relations upside down. *Foreign Affairs* published Shifter's "So Long, Chávez," *Current History* featured "The Shifting Landscape of Latin American Regionalism," and *Americas Quarterly* published his article on what the rest of the region can learn from Plan Colombia.

Peter Hakim, the Dialogue's president emeritus, also wrote an article for *Foreign Policy* on US-Mexico relations. *Política Exterior* ran his reports on frictions in the US-Brazil relationship and the shrinking vision of the United States in Latin America.

Dialogue staff generated more than 100 articles and interviews in newspapers, including *The Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times*, *El País*, *Americas Quarterly*, *El Tiempo*, *O Estado de São Paulo*, *ideele*, *El Espectador*, *El Colombiano*, *Infolatam*, *El Faro*, *World Politics Review* and *Confidential*. They addressed topics such as the US-Brazil relationship, the Summit of the

Americas in Cartagena, rethinking US drug policy, Colombia's peace process, post-conflict reconstruction in El Salvador, advances and setbacks to reproductive rights, and elections across the hemisphere.

## On the Air

Dialogue experts provided broadcast media with analysis and commentary on the elections in Colombia, drug policy alternatives, and other pressing developments in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States.

Following the death of Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, Michael Shifter was featured on PBS NewsHour, ABC News, CBS News, NPR, CNN, MSNBC, The Tavis Smiley Show, and Democracy Now! He also appeared on a Dan Rather Reports feature about Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos. In addition, Shifter shared his thoughts on US security assistance in Honduras, US-Mexico relations, and the Colombian peace process with Patricia Janiot, CNN en español's lead anchor. On BBC Mundo, he talked about the 2012 presidential election in the United States and its implications for Latin America.



Peter Hakim discussed the 2012 US elections with CNN en español, as well as South American integration with CNN México, drug policy alternatives with Russia Today's "Crosstalk," and Canada's approach to the Americas with CBC News.



Manuel Orozco appeared on the Kojo Nnamdi Show to discuss the global flow of care workers and domestic help to the United States and other wealthy nations.

On two occasions in 2012 and 2013, Margaret Myers appeared on CCTV to discuss trade between China and Latin America and Latin America's influence on developing countries.



# CORPORATE PROGRAM

## CORPORATE CIRCLE

**B**usiness is an important stakeholder in the region's future, and representatives from more than 100 of the world's largest and fastest-growing companies made up the Dialogue's Corporate Circle in 2012. Business leaders of member companies shared private-sector viewpoints at the Dialogue's public and private events and regularly commented in the *Latin America Advisor* newsletters.

Arcos Dorados, Barrick Gold, Coca-Cola, and General Dynamics led the new companies joining the Corporate Circle in 2012.

The corporate program provides executives worldwide with the daily *Latin America Advisor* and weekly and biweekly *Advisor* titles on energy and financial services. During 2012, the *Advisor* published nearly 1,000 expert commentaries on questions posed by subscribers and editors.

The *Latin America Advisor* Board welcomed new member Gustavo Roosen, chairman of the Board of Envases Venezolanos and former CEO of Venezuelan telecommunications company CANTV. Joining the *Financial Services Advisor* Board were Pablo Barahona, president and CEO of Liberty Seguros in Brazil, and Rodolfo Pittaluga, principal with Deloitte Financial Advisory Services in Miami. Andrew Vesey, the chief operating officer and executive vice president of global utilities at AES Corporation, became part of the Board overseeing the *Energy Advisor*.

Circle members met face-to-face at Dialogue events throughout the year. At a special Board of Advisors meeting in January 2012, Craig Kelly, former US ambassador to Chile, led a discussion of important issues in the year ahead.



Also in January, the *Advisor* organized

an event around the new US Foreign Account Tax Compliance Act and its implications for the financial services industry. Earl Jarrett, the general manager of JNBS in Jamaica, was a featured speaker. In July, Luis Oganés of J.P. Morgan spoke at the Dialogue about Peruvian President Ollanta Humala's first year in office.

Corporate program staff worked on a number of special projects in 2012. Reporter Rachel Sadon produced a [Special China Edition of the Advisor](#), in collaboration with China Program Director Margaret Myers and her team. In June, *Advisor* Editor Gene Kuleta interviewed Board director Donna Hrinak, the president of Boeing Brasil, for the [Dialogue's 30th anniversary video series](#).



Circle members offer valuable input on new programs as well as financial support. The Dialogue is especially grateful to generous corporate sponsors of the 30th anniversary gala. They included BlackBerry, Boeing, CIFI, Forbes & Manhattan, GTECH, Laureate International, Mitsubishi, Popular, and Telefonica. (See full list on page 8.)

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Fernando Henrique  
 Cardoso, Craig Kelly;  
 Roberto Baquerizo;  
 Bill Irwin, Luis Oganés,  
 Gabriele Trabat; David  
 Nelson, Bill Richardson;  
 Genaro Arriagada,  
 Kazuko White



### Roundtable Meetings

Public roundtable meetings are the mainstay of the Dialogue’s work. They provide an important platform for discussion on the diverse viewpoints of US and regional policymakers, experts, and practitioners. They also open the way for Latin American and Caribbean voices to join US policy debates.

In 2012, the Dialogue held more than sixty-five public meetings. Roundtable topics ran the spectrum from insights on labor and social policy in Colombia with Minister of Labor Rafael Pardo, to perspectives on Chinese trade and investment in Latin America, as viewed by lead negotiators in Colombia and Ecuador.

During the year Dialogue roundtable sessions addressed a range of pressing issues in Latin America and the Caribbean as well as in US-Latin American relations. Topics included press freedom and electoral politics in Venezuela; Mexico’s education challenges; science, technology, and innovation in Brazil; human rights and extractive industries in Peru; gender equity throughout Latin America; and the implications for Latin America of the US elections.

The meetings drew US and regional journalists, academics, executives, and US government officials—most notably from the departments of State, Homeland Security, Defense, Justice, and Treasury. Members of the diplomatic corps from Latin America, the Caribbean, Canada, and Europe also attended.

Muni Figueres, Roberta Jacobson; Thomas “Mack” McLarty, William Cohen; Michael Shifter, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Madeleine Albright, José Miguel Insulza, Peter Hakim

In 2012, the Dialogue joined the OAS and the Center for International Policy in organizing a panel discussion on the 25th anniversary of the signing of Central America’s Esquipulas Agreements. Former presidents Óscar Arias of Costa Rica (also a Dialogue member) and Vinicio Cerezo of Guatemala provided keynote addresses. The Dialogue also co-sponsored with the Center for Strategic and International Studies a discussion on Panama’s political forecast, economic outlook, and challenges. The roster of public and private sector speakers included Panama’s vice president, Juan Carlos Varela.

### Policy Report

*Remaking the Relationship: The United States and Latin America*, the Dialogue’s 2012 policy report, offers one central message: After a decade of profound change, the United States and Latin America are increasingly going separate ways. According to the report, unless there is a recasting of policy around three stubborn problems—immigration, Cuba, and drug policy—the distance will grow, raising





the specter of new tensions and risks in the hemisphere. The report identifies critical opportunities for more productive cooperation and ways to build a sustained partnership between the United States and Latin America.

This 2012 Linowitz Forum report reflects the views of the Dialogue's membership, which is led by Chile's former president, Michelle Bachelet, and former US Trade Representative Carla A. Hills. The report's release was broadcast live on C-SPAN and featured Carla A. Hills and Dialogue member Moisés Naím of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

*Remaking the Relationship* also garnered the attention of other media, both in the United States and internationally. *Reuters*, *TIME*, *The Huffington Post*, *Bloomberg Business Week*, Colombia's *El Espectador* and *El Tiempo* covered it. The report was the subject of *The Economist's* widely read "Lexington Column."



### Innovative Web Tools

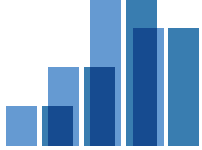
In 2012, several of the Dialogue's programs designed innovative web tools to support research and policymaking on critical issues in Western Hemisphere affairs. The Commitment to Equity (CEQ) initiative—carried out in collaboration with Nora Lustig of Tulane University—launched a new website in 2012 to showcase its analysis of the impact of taxation and social spending on inequality and poverty, and to provide a roadmap to guide governments, multilateral institutions, and NGOs in their efforts to build more equitable societies.



The Dialogue's initiative on security and migration in Central America and Mexico created the Central America Security web portal, a clearinghouse of research, analysis, government documents, and other resources related to security in Central America. The new tool aggregates this information to provide US and regional scholars, practitioners, and public officials a searchable database to support policymaking in this field. The web portal carries expert analyses and other interactive features that highlight developments and trends in regional security.

Following the Dialogue's successful publication of a study by Kevin Gallagher on Chinese lending in Latin America, the China and Latin America program began designing a first-ever interactive database for information on Chinese loans in the region. The database will be accessible on the Dialogue website and updated regularly. The China and Latin America program also began building an interactive, online forum for use by China and Latin America Working Group members and the growing global network of experts on China-Latin America relations. This 'virtual working group,' accessible in Chinese, Spanish, and English, will serve as a discussion platform, a repository for relevant documents and materials, an event notification mechanism, and a forum for networking among policymakers, practitioners, and academics.

These new digital services place the Dialogue at the forefront of research and analysis on Western Hemisphere and global relations. They promise to be a tremendous asset to scholars and practitioners.



## INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE

STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION AS OF DECEMBER 31, 2012  
WITH SUMMARIZED FINANCIAL INFORMATION FOR 2011

# FINANCIALS

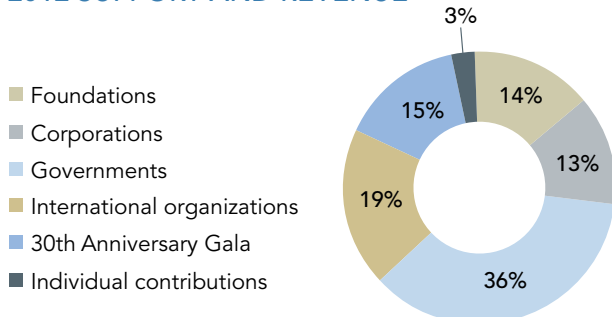
### ASSETS

	<u>2012</u>	<u>2011</u>
<b>CURRENT ASSETS</b>		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 211,798	\$ 634,948
Investments	5,297,244	4,910,387
Accounts receivable	166,473	905,143
Grants receivable	150,000	243,951
Prepaid expenses	59,930	67,012
Total current assets	<u>5,885,445</u>	<u>6,761,441</u>
<b>FIXED ASSETS</b>		
Fixed assets, net	<u>35,969</u>	<u>12,744</u>
<b>OTHER ASSETS</b>		
Deposits	19,605	19,605
Grants receivable, long-term portion	<u>50,000</u>	<u>-</u>
Total other assets	<u>69,605</u>	<u>19,605</u>
<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b>	<b>\$ <u>5,991,019</u></b>	<b>\$ <u>6,793,790</u></b>

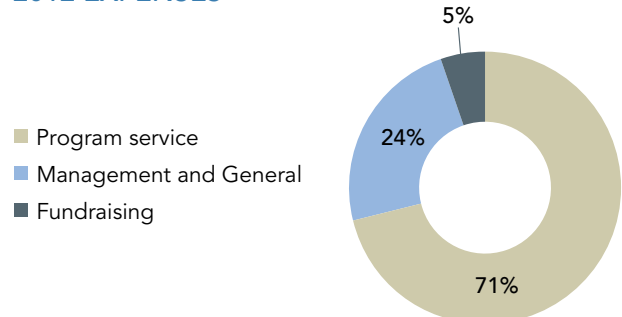
### LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS

	<u>2012</u>	<u>2011</u>
<b>CURRENT LIABILITIES</b>		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	17,259	108,372
Grants payable	62,558	697,257
Accrued benefits	88,034	80,201
Deferred rent abatement, current portion	17,036	10,750
Refundable advance	<u>1,265</u>	<u>25,842</u>
Total current liabilities	<u>186,152</u>	<u>922,422</u>
<b>LONG-TERM LIABILITIES</b>		
Deferred rent abatement, net of current portion	<u>90,568</u>	<u>109,047</u>
Total liabilities	<u>276,720</u>	<u>1,031,469</u>
<b>NET ASSETS</b>		
Unrestricted:		
Board designated endowment funds	3,952,861	3,566,003
Undesignated	<u>(320,845)</u>	<u>(33,418)</u>
Total unrestricted	<u>3,632,016</u>	<u>3,532,585</u>
Temporarily restricted	737,899	885,352
Permanently restricted	<u>1,344,384</u>	<u>1,344,384</u>
Total net assets	<u>5,714,299</u>	<u>5,762,321</u>
<b>TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS</b>	<b>\$ <u>5,991,019</u></b>	<b>\$ <u>6,793,790</u></b>

### 2012 SUPPORT AND REVENUE



### 2012 EXPENSES



## INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE

STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES AND CHANGE IN NET ASSETS  
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 2012  
WITH SUMMARIZED FINANCIAL INFORMATION FOR 2011

	2012			2011	
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted	Total	Total
<b>REVENUE</b>					
Grants, contracts and contributions	\$ 1,717,069	\$ 1,092,654	\$ -	\$ 2,809,723	\$ 2,704,103
Foundations	450,580		-		305,326
Governments	1,157,536		-		1,367,753
International organizations	603,573		-		742,496
Collaborating organizations	36,993		-		124,003
Annual giving	87,301		-		142,145
30th Anniversary Gala	461,653		-		-
Miscellaneous revenue	12,087		-		22,380
Restricted grants	(1,092,654)		-		(639,064)
Corporate Program	337,790	-	-	337,790	333,434
Operating investment gains	-	-	-	-	22
Other revenue	40,637	-	-	40,637	64,496
Net assets released from restrictions	1,240,107	(1,240,107)	-	-	-
Total revenue	<u>3,335,603</u>	<u>(147,453)</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3,188,150</u>	<u>3,102,055</u>
<b>EXPENSES</b>					
Program Services:					
U.S. Policy	585,742	-	-	585,742	576,749
Energy and Climate Change	124,444	-	-	124,443	112,548
Crime and Security	140,875	-	-	140,875	72,557
Democratic Governance	32,163	-	-	32,164	67,978
Remittances and Development	143,804	-	-	143,804	225,630
Social Policy	1,067,455	-	-	1,067,455	1,344,868
China and Latin America	93,180	-	-	93,180	62,501
Outreach and Communications	10,764	-	-	10,764	25,125
Corporate Programs	242,141	-	-	242,141	229,797
Linowitz Forum	90,890	-	-	90,890	-
Drug Policy	-	-	-	-	47,590
30th Anniversary	214,364	-	-	214,364	-
Total program services	<u>2,745,822</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2,745,822</u>	<u>2,765,343</u>
Supporting Services:					
Finance and Administration	676,850	-	-	676,850	690,762
Governance	36,129	-	-	36,129	14,271
Fundraising	164,228	-	-	164,228	111,435
Total supporting services	<u>877,207</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>877,207</u>	<u>816,468</u>
Total expenses	<u>3,623,029</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3,623,029</u>	<u>3,581,811</u>
Change in net assets before other item	(287,426)	(147,453)	-	(434,879)	(479,756)
<b>OTHER ITEM</b>					
Investment income (loss)	386,857	-	-	386,857	(178,095)
Change in net assets	99,431	(147,453)	-	(48,022)	(657,851)
Net assets at beginning of year	<u>3,532,585</u>	<u>885,352</u>	<u>1,344,384</u>	<u>5,762,321</u>	<u>6,420,172</u>
<b>NET ASSETS AT END OF YEAR</b>	<u>\$ 3,632,016</u>	<u>\$ 737,899</u>	<u>\$ 1,344,384</u>	<u>\$ 5,714,299</u>	<u>\$ 5,762,321</u>

JANUARY 1–DECEMBER 31, 2012

## Individuals

Sergio Abreu  
 Rafael Aguirre-Sacasa  
 Frank Almaguer  
 Anne Alonzo  
 Felix Alvarado  
 Roberto Alvarez  
 Nicolás Ardito Barletta\*  
 Ana Armijos  
 Bernard Aronson\*  
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 Adam Aulestia  
 Harriet C. Babbitt  
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 Catalina Botero Marino  
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 and Irene María Lipka  
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**David de Ferranti\***  
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 John Dinges  
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 Katherine Downs  
 Patricia Drijanski Jinich

Joseph Dukert  
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 and Daniel Vazquez  
 Viviana Krsticevic  
 Diane La Voy  
 Celso Lafer  
 Mark Langevin  
 Jorge Lara-Urbaneja  
 Hernán Larrain\*

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 Hilda Ochoa and  
 Arturo Brillembourg  
 Luis Oganés  
 Thomas O’Keefe  
 Maureen Orth  
 Gloria Ospina  
 Abelardo Pachano  
 Julia Paley  
 David Scott Palmer  
 Robert Pastor  
 Christian Paul  
 Helmut Paul

## THANK YOU

Individuals, corporations, foundations, and organizations provide crucial support needed for the Dialogue to fulfill its mission. As we complete our 30th year, having celebrated our accomplishments together, we look to a bright future. We are creating an enhanced role to facilitate and contribute to positive policy dialogue throughout the hemisphere. Our partners in the United States, the hemisphere and throughout the world are our most valued assets and we are most grateful for your steadfast participation and support.

Stephan Paul  
 Antonio Penteado Mendonça  
 Lorenzo Perez  
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 Sonia Picado\*  
 Arturo Porzecanski  
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 Harry Shlaudeman  
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 and Vivian de Torrijos  
 Irving Tragen  
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**Elena Viyella de Paliza\***  
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 Theodore Wilkinson  
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 Silverio Zebra Filho  
 Elizabeth Zechmeister  
 Pablo Zuñiga  
 Clarence Zuvekas

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 Permanent Mission of France to  
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Beatríz Rangel, Raúl Valdés-Faulí; Doug Becker, Joe Duffey, Jorge Brake; Juan Manuel Santos; Wendy Raymont, Rebecca Medrano, Luigi Einaudi



We are grateful to the Dialogue's many friends and supporters for making our 30th Anniversary Gala a celebration that surpassed all expectations.



Roberto Russell, Marcela Victoria Gianzone, Karla Eliza Chávez, Nicolas Wiedemann; Enrique García, Beatríz de Achá de García; Roberto Murray-Meza, Robert Patrick Murray



# ABOUT THE DIALOGUE

The Inter-American Dialogue is the leading US center for policy analysis, exchange, and communication on issues in Western Hemisphere affairs. The Dialogue brings together public and private leaders from across the Americas to address hemispheric problems and opportunities. Together they seek to build cooperation among Western Hemisphere nations and advance a regional agenda of democratic governance, social equity, and economic growth.

The Dialogue's select membership of 100 distinguished citizens from throughout the Americas includes political, business, academic, media, and other nongovernmental leaders. Sixteen Dialogue members served as presidents of their countries and more than thirty have served at the cabinet level.

Dialogue activities are directed to generating new policy ideas and practical proposals for action, and getting these ideas and proposals to government and private decision makers. The Dialogue also offers diverse Latin American and Caribbean voices access to US policy debates and discussions. Based in Washington, the Dialogue conducts its work throughout the hemisphere. A majority of our Board of Directors are from Latin American and Caribbean nations, as are more than half of the Dialogue's members and participants in our other leadership networks and task forces.

Since 1982—through successive Republican and Democratic administrations and many changes of leadership elsewhere in the hemisphere—the Dialogue has helped shape the agenda of issues and choices in inter-American relations.



1211 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 510  
Washington, DC 20036  
PHONE: 202-822-9002 | FAX: 202-822-9553  
EMAIL: [iad@thedialogue.org](mailto:iad@thedialogue.org)  
WEB SITE: [www.thedialogue.org](http://www.thedialogue.org)