



AN AGENDA FOR THE AMERICAS

REPORT OF A COLLOQUIUM ON ENERGIZING U.S.-HEMISPHERIC RELATIONS WHILE ENHANCING REGIONAL SECURITY

TUESDAY, APRIL 7, 2009
9:00 AM TO 12:30 PM

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
JACK MORTON AUDITORIUM

CSIS | CENTER FOR STRATEGIC &
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

INTER-AMERICAN
DIALOGUE

COUNCIL OF THE
Americas

The
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AN AGENDA FOR THE AMERICAS

Contents

Executive Summary	4
Report	5
Conclusions	15
Program Agenda	16
Program Hosts	17

AN AGENDA FOR THE AMERICAS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Latin American economies are relatively strong following an unprecedented stretch of prudent reforms and economic expansion, but they are still vulnerable to the financial turbulence buffeting the world. Indeed, new GDP figures from the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean project a slight contraction in the region in 2009. When the hemisphere's leaders meet at the Fifth Summit of the Americas on April 17, 2009, the global financial crisis – and its impact on the hemisphere – will be foremost on participants' minds.

But economic challenges are part of a broader hemispheric agenda that includes social issues, security and governance. With that in mind, The Center for Latin American Issues (CLAI) at The George Washington University, in collaboration with the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College, assembled experts from think tanks, universities, and corporate America to consider the most critical issues facing the region and to outline possible approaches for addressing those problems and for strengthening inter-American relations.

The top policy recommendations from the colloquium were:

- Restore the U.S. economy without raising trade barriers or unnecessarily burdening financial markets;
- Forge a deeper and broader relationship with Brazil in order to push forward the hemispheric agenda;
- Transform the Summit of the Americas into an active, problem-solving forum.

AN AGENDA FOR THE AMERICAS

With a global economic crisis as the backdrop for the Fifth Summit of the Americas, the United States has a rare opportunity to encourage a broad and collaborative agenda when heads of states assemble in Trinidad.

That was the consensus at “An Agenda for the Americas,” a half-day colloquium of panel discussions organized by The Center for Latin American Issues at The George Washington University, in collaboration with the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College. Two panels of experts on Latin America from think tanks, universities, and business identified the sweeping range of topics they said dominate discussion in Latin America and the Caribbean. Joining CLAI and SSI in co-hosting the event were the Council of the Americas; the Center for Strategic and International Studies; the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL); the Inter-American Dialogue; the Association of American Chambers of Commerce in Latin America; and The Heritage Foundation.

“Our sister republics to the south are incredibly important to the welfare of the United States,” said **Susan Phillips**, dean of The George Washington University School of Business, in opening the April 7 gathering. “Our event today aims to draw attention to our vital interests in the region and to spark attention in policy circles on the need to intensify and broaden those relations.”

The April 17-19 Summit of the Americas marks the first time U.S. President Barack Obama joins leaders from Central and South America, the Caribbean, Canada and Mexico to discuss the most pressing issues affecting the hemisphere. Panelists at the colloquium underscored the need for the United States to reshape its role in the region. They said the summit provides the opportunity.

The first summit, in Miami in 1994, raised the prospect of a Free Trade Area of the Americas, a 34-nation trade zone. The FTAA dominated the agenda until it lost momentum at the fourth summit, in Mar del Plata, Argentina, in 2005. With the FTAA off the table, the summit in Trinidad is shaping up as one where any number of pressing issues could be discussed.

“I’m not sure that existed quite the same way before,” said **Michael Shifter**, vice president of policy at the Inter-American Dialogue, in pointing out the potential breadth of the agenda. “That’s because Latin America has changed. That’s because the United States has changed. That’s because there’s an economic crisis and there’s not a lot of resources. And its because the United States is inundated with issues...”

Shifter’s words rang true for the panelists, who agreed that economic challenges would top of the summit’s agenda but identified a long list of other topics they considered critical. Among them: transnational crime, trade, U.S.-Cuba ties, the role of the military

in the region, a dearth of research and development in Latin America, Brazil's leadership position, drug trafficking, China's influence, police training, immigration and Haiti.

ECONOMIES AND SOCIAL ISSUES

The first panel looked at global economic turbulence and how it has affected Latin America.

"Talking about economics and social issues in the hemisphere at this time of crisis definitely represents a challenge," said **Inés Bustillo**, director of the Washington Office of the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and moderator of the first panel.

"The past five or six years have been outstanding for economic performance in Latin America and the Caribbean," Bustillo said, joining others at the colloquium who lauded the region for beating its boom-and-bust history. From 2002 to 2008, Latin America posted its best economic performance in 40 years. Rapid GDP growth was accompanied by a drop in poverty, improved income distribution in some countries, job creation, a decline in foreign debt and a rise in foreign reserves.

Those improvements are buffering the region from the brunt of the world's financial tailspin but do not make it immune. "Our latest estimates that we released last week put [the region's] economic growth in 2009 at minus 0.3 percent," said Bustillo. "It is a time of crisis."

The ECLAC official echoed Brazilian President Luiz Ignácio Lula da Silva in saying the best way the United States can help Latin America is to get the U.S. economy growing. "But in addition to growing again, we believe there are many things we can do together on economic and social issues as part of a common agenda in the hemisphere," she added.

Panelist **Peter DeShazo**, director of the Americas program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a public-policy research institute in Washington, D.C., said the region needs policies and reforms that promote long-term growth. Latin America may have seen economic expansion in recent years, but its long-term performance has been disappointing, especially when compared against Asia, he said.

"Yearly average GDP growth in Latin America was about 1.2 percent from 1975 to 2007, and that includes the latest spurt. GDP per capita as a percent of developed countries was over 35 percent in Latin America in 1975. It fell to 26 percent in 2007," DeShazo said. "The cumulative rise in real GDP was 44 percent from 1975 from 2007 while it rose 850 percent in China and East Asia."

Despite growth, Latin America failed to meet its full potential, DeShazo explained. That has left the region with old challenges unmet even as new difficulties surface. Among those problems are the failure to institute meaningful tax reform, low levels of energy

integration and an underdeveloped infrastructure. The latter is particularly problematic in places where exports have driven growth.

DeShazo said the region must improve health care, education, energy cooperation and the capacity to respond to natural disasters. “The United States should seek the partnership of Brazil in reaching out to the Americas,” he added.

He called for the teaching of English in primary and secondary schools in Latin America, a greater emphasis on technology education and increased funding for the Peace Corps.

He also said the summit should address the low levels of investment in science and technology in the region. There was nearly unanimous agreement among colloquium panelists on this point.

“According to the Inter-American Development Bank, in 2002 South Korea spent more on research and development than all of Latin America together,” DeShazo said.

He characterized growth in the region as crucial, not least of all because wealthier countries are better able to confront security-related problems. With U.S. direct economic assistance to the region unlikely to increase in the current economic climate, he pointed to another economic catalyst: trade.

“Trade has driven recent growth in the region and will continue to play an important role in the region’s recovery,” according to DeShazo. He predicted that commodity prices will rise again but said access to markets is required in order to foster real growth. He warned against protectionist measures, calling for the United States to abolish its tariff on Brazilian ethanol, reinstate trade preferences for Bolivia and make good on the G-20’s call to provide more support for the International Monetary Fund.

Eric Farnsworth, vice president of the Council of the Americas, also defended trade and investment as keys to regional growth.

Farnsworth said there are challenges. Although the Obama election sparked a spirit of goodwill toward the United States, “exceedingly high expectations must be managed.” He also noted that while Latin America’s economies are better run than in the past, they are still vulnerable to fluctuations in commodity prices.

“More than 90 percent of the region’s population depends in one way or another on commodity exports,” he said. “These days, commodities from agriculture to zinc have been taking a beating.

Farnsworth said anti-democratic trends in some countries – he cited Venezuela as an example – are troubling. But he noted that the current crisis has spotlighted a strength the United States takes to the summit. “If the current crisis has proven anything, it’s that regardless of politics or ideology, much of Latin America remains dependent on the United States,” he said.

Farnsworth called for open markets and access to credit as keys to job creation. “Economic stimulus programs could also be considered,” he added.

Farnsworth said the Mexican peso crisis in the mid-1990s proved that open markets and the rejection of protectionism could help lift economies out of recession. “The sound recovery strategy for the United States depends on increased integration with our partners in the region, not less,” he cautioned. “Trade and investment remain among the best tools the United States has to promote growth.”

Still, he said, trade and investment alone is not sufficient. He called for reforms that addressed corruption, improved the rule of law, adopted rational tax policies and resulted in greater personal security.

He urged passage of pending free trade pacts with Panama and Colombia, saying while no trade agreement is perfect, recent agreements have been tainted by misinformation and political agendas. “Those who claim Panama and Colombia are job-destroying agreements have no idea what they are talking about,” he said.

Characterizing the failure of the FTAA as a “lost opportunity,” Farnsworth said the United States should stop seeking regional consensus on trade agreements. Although he advocated working to bring existing bilateral and sub-regional pacts under one umbrella, he called for new “high-impact” trade agreements with nations around the world. He said that could build enough momentum to persuade resistant Latin American and Caribbean nations to embrace trade pacts.

The Council of the Americas executive said trade alone will not power regional growth but growth will not occur without trade and investment. “The region is not the same as it was five or 10 years ago. Governments have matured and economies have grown,” he explained. “We have an opportunity to launch a new agenda for the Americas based on common goals, common policies and partnership, not partisanship.”

Mustafa Mohatarem, chief economist for General Motors Corp., provided a voice of optimism, saying Latin America – along with China – is one of the strong regions for the auto giant.

“If you look at history, Latin American economies are doing much better than you would have expected,” he said. “Latin American economies have done relatively well. You’d be hard-pressed to say any of the major Latin American economies are in crisis mode right now.”

He said that when global economies are doing well, countries driven by commodity exports, like much of Latin America, not only do well but they see massive inflows of capital. When global economies are in trouble, as they are now, those capital flows evaporate.

Still, he said, “most Latin American economies appear to be navigating through this crisis much better than they have done in the past.” He said a long global economic crisis will erode that position, but he predicted that the U.S. economy would start turning around at the end of 2009.

Mohatarem said Latin America is doing better than expected thanks to the Washington Consensus which, although criticized, pushed most countries to adopt the tight fiscal policies that are now helping them weather the economic storm. He called Brazil “exemplar” in this sense, but also cited Chile, Colombia and Peru as countries “maintaining fairly sound economic policies.”

GM’s economist said Mexico is disproportionately affected by the U.S. economy, especially its manufacturing sector. “Mexico has been hit the hardest, not because of what it did but because of what the U.S. did.”

Although there are weak spots – Argentina has still not regained access to global capital markets – Mohatarem said all the countries used commodity windfalls in recent years to slash external debt and build monetary reserves. “They acted prudently. They acted proactively ... They have been able to avoid a deep crisis,” he said.

This contrasts with the United States, which recycled its economic boom not into productive assets but into housing, sending it to Trinidad as a player that has poorly managed its economy. Mohatarem said the United States needs to get serious about taking the advice it has long given Latin America.

“Think about the advice we’ve traditionally given Latin America. It’s based on open markets, open trade, prudent economic policies,” he said. “Are we going to follow advice that we’ve historically provided the region? That should be the first and foremost thing we need to do at this point in time.”

Mohatarem said Brazil could be an important ally for the United States. He also cautioned that the United States must also be careful of third parties – notably China – that now increased their economic influence in the region. “If we don’t do the right things with Latin America, we will find ourselves competing with China for influence in the region.”

Latin America views China as its market of the future, and the Asian powerhouse is responding in kind. It forged a trade agreement with Chile, is negotiating one with Peru, recently negotiated a swap agreement with Argentina and is turning to Venezuela for energy, Mohatarem said. China contributed greatly to the commodity-price surge that helped the region and now can offer something that the United States cannot: capital.

“China is a relatively poor country but it is sitting on the biggest pool of savings anywhere in the world,” the economist said. “Latin America is a savings poor region. You take a savings-rich region and a savings-poor region and you’ve got a perfect partnership.

“If we don’t do things right, and even if we do things right, China is going to be a much bigger player in the hemisphere,” he said. Still, he said, while China retains its role as the Latin America’s market for commodities, the United States will hang onto its position as the market for value-added products from the region.

Two countries, he predicted, will keep some distance from China. They are Mexico because of its tight economic linkages with the United States, and Brazil, because of its concerns about other regions exerting too much influence in Latin America

“The region is going to look to us to see how well we follow the advice we used to give the region. It’s going to look to us to see whether, in difficult economic times, we can maintain the open markets that we’ve traditionally advocated for everyone else. The region will look to us to make sure we don’t set up obstacles to the flow of capital to the countries that need it,” Mohatarem said. “We really have the opportunity now to partner with the region rather than to pontificate to the region.”

GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY

The second panel at the colloquium examined governance and security issues in the Americas. Panel moderator and colloquium co-host, **Douglas Lovelace**, director of the Strategic Studies Institute at the U.S. Army War College, set the tone for the discussion by saying that current security challenges involve social, economic, political and other factors. Within that context, he called good governance a necessary prerequisite for security.

“This new administration has a greater appreciation for the notion that security is a much broader concept than the military dimensions,” Lovelace said.

Carlo Dade, executive director for the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), said Canada could play a pivotal partnership role in “re-energizing” U.S. engagement in the hemisphere. He said the Americas are the Canadian government’s second policy priority after the war in Afghanistan.

Like the United States, Canada is focused on governance, security and prosperity in Latin America and the Caribbean and supports a common agenda on trade. Canada is heavily invested in Latin America, particularly in mining ventures. Where the two nations diverge most notably is their policy toward Cuba.

Dade urged the Obama administration to consider Canada’s role as a partner when the United States shapes its approach to Latin America and the Caribbean.

“There are two donors within the hemisphere, the United States and Canada,” Dade said. “Currently Canada is the largest bilateral donor in the Commonwealth Caribbean, and the second largest in Haiti.”

Dade said the importance of the Summit of the Americas has diminished in recent years, replaced in large part by smaller regional summits. But it remains the only hemispheric gathering where the leaders of Canada and the United States are invited to participate. Because of that, Dade said, the two countries need to invest the effort and resources necessary to make the summit a useful forum. He called for institutionalizing it within the Organization of American States.

Dade also spoke at length about security in the region, pointing out that security concerns were once rooted in ideology— such as guerrilla movements – but now are fueled by money, as evidenced by the growing power of narcotraffickers and gangs.

“But security policy has not shifted to respond to this,” he said. “We still fund military budgets when it’s obvious we need more funding for domestic security, police, justice. In certain countries, defense budgets are coming down – portions of Central America – but they need to come down further.”

Dade called for the United States to fund police reform in the region, saying it cannot come from development banks. He said Canada is engaged in training police forces in the region.

He said the United States and Canada could also work cooperatively on financial crimes, like money laundering. And a U.S. expansion of the Peace Corps, which Dade called “another entity involved in the development process,” would complement work by its Canadian counterpart, the Canadian University Services Overseas.

Panelist **Lino Gutierrez**, former U.S. ambassador to Argentina and Nicaragua and now adjunct professor at The George Washington University, offered a voice of caution. He said Obama will face a changed Latin America and those changes were not necessarily good. He cited deteriorating democracies, evolving narcotrafficking and other security concerns as leading examples.

And, like Dade, he said the Summit of the Americas had diminished as a forum for discussing the region’s problems.

However, he called on Obama to recommit to strengthening democracy in the region and praised indications that the new U.S. president will “listen” when he visits the region. “We have a golden opportunity to do some things right at a critical time,” Gutierrez said.

The former ambassador recited a historical list of military interventions and coups in the region, then said: “One tremendous achievement we have in the region is that the military is in the barracks. No one is calling for the military to come out any more and be the saviors. That battle has been fought and won.

“That is a significant achievement,” he said.

But security remains a major concern, especially in Mexico. Gutierrez said there needs to be a broad approach to ending drug trafficking, which he said is taking a toll on democratic institutions. “There has to be a coherent strategy that attacks corruption, education and some of the conditions that lead to the drug traffickers doing what they’re doing in Ciudad Juarez,” he said

Gutierrez praised Colombia’s security victories, even while acknowledging human rights problems. He called for continued support of Plan Colombia and passage of the pending free-trade agreement with Colombia.

Gutierrez was the first panelist to raise – and reject – drug legalization or decriminalization as a tool in fighting drug lords in Latin America. “I don’t think decriminalization is a solution that will advance our cause. I don’t want to tell my daughters and grandchildren that our response to the drug problem was to throw up our hands and say there’s nothing we could do.”

He also warned the United States against lifting the embargo against Cuba unless the Castro government agrees to move the island toward democracy. “At a time when the Cuban regime has become such a great anachronism in the hemisphere, to unilaterally lift the embargo and ask for nothing in return I don’t think sends a good signal for democracy.”

Gutierrez lamented the fact that, notwithstanding the Inter-American Democratic Charter, there has been an erosion of democracy in the hemisphere, “particularly in Venezuela, which has harassed and imprisoned opposition leaders, and in Nicaragua, where the Ortega government conducted fraudulent elections.”

Gutierrez said the summit offers the U.S. president a chance to leverage his popularity to foster open discussion. “President Obama has some assets going into the Summit of the Americas,” he explained. “His election has changed the dynamic of the hemisphere. He is a rock star, and not just in Europe. Every Latin leader will be trying to get their picture with President Obama.”

The university professor also encouraged “exchanges” as a strategy in the region. He said those could include student and scholarship exchanges, as well as technology exchanges. He called for the promotion of English as an international language, suggesting that Internet English classes be developed for Latin America.

The final panelist, **Michael Shifter**, vice president for policy at the Inter-American Dialogue, a Washington, D.C. think tank, identified three issues that he believed would dominate discussion at the summit: the economic crisis, transnational crime and Cuba.

Like the other panelists, he underscored that the region was entering turbulent economic times again. When it comes to transnational crime, much of it fueled by the drug trade, he said attention is understandably focused on Mexico. But he said narco trafficking has

worsened and spread. “This is a much wider regional problem,” Shifter said. “Even if you go to the southern cone, this is at the top of the agenda.”

He said there’s no greater risk to democracy in every country in the region than crime linked to drug trafficking. However, the United States no longer talks about the so-called war on drugs like it once did. He pointed out that U.S. President George H.W. Bush called two summits focused on drugs – one in Cartagena and one in San Antonio, Texas – to discuss drug issues but neither George W. Bush nor Bill Clinton followed suit when they were in the White House.

“There’s a lot less attention focused on it. There’s less debate, there’s less discussion, there’s no consideration of alternatives,” Shifter said, noting that it was not a campaign issue during the U.S. presidential campaign. “I lived in Peru 20 years ago for four years, under the first government of Alan Garcia, and there were debates constantly about the drug issue continuously. Today, 20 years later, despite Peru’s very impressive progress in economic area and other areas, the drug trade is by many accounts worse.”

“To not focus on and confront this issue at the summit seems to ignore the central problem,” he added. Shifter acknowledged that there was no clear solution but said “there should at least be an effort to raise the issue.”

In any security strategy, Shifter said, more professional training of police needs to be front and center. He said the United States could play a pivotal role in this. He also called for the United States to ratify the CIFTA treaty on illegal trafficking in firearms.

Meanwhile, Shifter categorized the “Cuba question” as the issue that has most divided Latin America and the United States. “If we are talking about real change, then Cuba is the test,” he said.

He said leaders in Latin America and the Caribbean are going to look at whether Obama leans toward reintegration of Cuba and how that is reconciled with democracy building. “These are issues that need to be discussed and there needs to be a good exchange,” he said. “What’s going to be different at this summit is that I think there’s going to be space to do that.”

Shifter said the poor economy is unlikely to strengthen democracies in the region. Yet, he added, democracy promotion does not resonate in the region as it once did. In particular, he said the United States framed the war in Iraq as being carried out in the name of democracy. “That has left a bad taste with a lot of people, with a lot of Latin Americans,” he noted.

Like other panelists, Shifter called for recognition of Brazil as crucial to relationship building in the region. He also said, despite controversial discussion of Mexico as a failed state, Haiti is actually the nation that most closely meets that description. He said security in Haiti is unlikely to improve, and Obama should be concerned about that country’s situation.

Shifter also raised an issue that others had not: that global solutions will guide policy making and, because of that, the United States should help bring Latin America into the global forum.

DIALOGUE WITH THE AUDIENCE

The first question in an audience dialogue portion of the colloquium foreshadowed one big challenge facing the Summit of the Americas: how to narrow down an agenda. When an audience member asked what single issue the United States could address to achieve the greatest impact, the panelists and moderators came up with a lengthy roster.

Farnsworth, at the Council of the Americas, offered a list of actions that would carry no significant cost to the United States. They included passage of the U.S.-Panama Free Trade Agreement, encouragement of Latin America to enter global discussions and lifting the most punitive restrictions on Cuba.

FOCAL's Dade took the Cuba issue farther, saying the United States had to go beyond lifting the travel ban and work to bring Cuba into regional forums and discussions. "If the hemisphere is on one side [vis-à-vis Cuba] and the United States is on the other, that's problematic and going to remain problematic."

Dade also categorized the signing of SIFTA as "hugely important."

Bustillo called for greater attention on the issues of research and development and innovation in the region. "Science and technology is one area where we could easily find a win-win agenda," she said.

Mohatarem, meanwhile, said reaching out to Brazil as a partner was the most important thing.

Other questions raised discussion on the need to diminish poverty and inequality, on how ties with Brazil could be forged through energy and environment issues and on why Central American nations need to think in terms of being a unified market rather than individual countries, especially when building trade and energy relationships.

In particular, DeShazo, at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, called for discussion at the summit of energy integration for Central America, with Brazil and the United States taking the lead on the issue.

Lovelace, meanwhile, said it is essential to reaffirm that civilian control must be the only model for military forces in the region. He predicted that there would be a tendency to bolster the military's role, as has happened in Mexico, in response to dramatic drug-related violence. The question he posed is whether everyone will understand Mexico's use of its military for law enforcement to be an aberration and not in the best interest of long-term civil-military relations.

Dade pointed out that especially in the Caribbean, where security may involve policing of extensive coastlines and international waterways, the military is often called to action because it is more effective. He said that reflects the difficulties of building strong police forces.

CONCLUSIONS

Wrapping up the discussion, James Ferrer Jr., director of the Center for Latin American Issues, said the arrival of a financial crisis while Latin America was experiencing one of its best growth stretches has created difficulties for the region. “The best thing the U.S. can do for Latin America is to resolve its own economic problems, maintain the trade flows and, in fact, increase the free-trade area agreements and make U.S. financial markets accessible to Latin America,” he said. “That means going ahead and maybe expanding NAFTA or making it richer, implementing the Colombian and Panamanian [trade] agreements and pushing forward with the Doha Round.”

The United States needs to recognize Brazil’s leadership role in the region and develop a broader relationship with Latin America’s biggest economy, Ferrer said. He underscored that development is tied to education and technology and Latin American governments need to adopt domestic policy toward that end.

Ferrer said it is clear that more U.S.-Latin America cooperation is needed, and the Summit of the Americas must be revived. He said it needs to exist as a forum where critical issues can be discussed honestly and openly.

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**TUESDAY, APRIL 7, 2009
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**THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
JACK MORTON AUDITORIUM**

PROGRAM

- 8:30 AM Doors Open
- 9:00 AM **WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION**
 Susan Phillips, *Dean and Professor of Finance, The George
Washington University
School of Business*
 James Ferrer, Jr., *Director, The Center for Latin American Issues,
GWSB*
- 9:10 AM **PANEL I – ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES**
 Panel Chair: **Inés Bustillo**, *Director, Washington Office, United Nations
Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean*
 Panelists: **Peter DeShazo**, *Director, Americas Program, Center for
Strategic and International Studies*
 Eric Farnsworth, *Vice President, Council of the Americas*
 Mustafa Mohatarem, *Chief Economist, General Motors Corporation*
- 10:10 AM Coffee Break
- 10:25 AM **PANEL II – GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY**
 Panel Chair: **Douglas C. Lovelace**, *Director, Strategic Studies Institute,
U.S. Army War College*
 Panelists: **Carlo Dade**, *Executive Director, Canadian Foundation for the
Americas*
 Lino Gutierrez, *Adjunct Professor, The George Washington
University; former U.S. Ambassador to Argentina and Nicaragua*
 Michael Shifter, *Vice President of Policy, Inter-American Dialogue*
- 11:25 AM **DISCUSSION AND DIALOGUE WITH THE AUDIENCE**
- 12:25 PM **CONFERENCE SUMMARY**
 James Ferrer, Jr.
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PROGRAM HOSTS

PRINCIPAL HOSTS

*The Center for Latin American Issues, The George Washington University School
of Business*

Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College

CO-HOSTS

Association of American Chambers of Commerce in Latin America

Canadian Foundation for the Americas

Center for Strategic and International Studies

Council of the Americas

Inter-American Dialogue

**Washington, DC
April 2009**