



*The Leadership Council for  
Inter-American Summitry*

# ADVANCING TOWARD QUEBEC CITY AND BEYOND

Policy Report III





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Policy Report III  
by the  
Leadership Council for Inter-American Summity  
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The views expressed in this paper are those of the Leadership Council for Inter-American Summitry, not the North-South Center, the APEC Study Center, the Institute for International Economics, or FOCAL, which are nonpartisan, public policy and research institutions.

### **Monitoring Implementation of the Summit of the Americas**

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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This is the third major Report of the Leadership Council for Inter-American Summitry. The Leadership Council launched its first Report, *From Talk to Action: How Summits Can Help Forge a Western Hemisphere Community of Prosperous Democracies*, prior to the Second Summit of the Americas, held in Santiago, Chile, in April 1998. The second Report, *Mastering Summitry: An Evaluation of the Santiago Summit of the Americas and Its Aftermath*, published in March 1999, noted the decline in senior-level focus on summitry in the Americas and offered suggestions for more effective execution of Summit mandates.

This third Report of the Leadership Council — whose membership has been expanded to include some two dozen distinguished citizens — reviews more recent Summit successes and failures and proposes initiatives for the Third Summit of the Americas in Quebec City, Canada, on April 20-22, 2001. We believe that the hemisphere has learned important lessons and may now be poised to make major strides forward at Quebec — if the leaders seize this very promising moment in inter-American relations. It is in this hopeful spirit that the Leadership Council issues this new Report.

As with past Reports, we have profited immensely from a series of specially commissioned working papers that surveyed implementation of key Summit initiatives, notably in the areas of trade, education, counter narcotics, women's rights, and sustainable development. We wish to express our deep appreciation to those authors whose names are acknowledged in Section VIII of this Report. In addition, our Report has benefited from the flowering of other policy studies targeted in large measure at the Quebec City Summit and the new U.S. administration, including *Thinking Strategically About 2005: The United States and South America* (Center for Strategic and International Studies — CSIS); *The United States and the Americas: A Twenty-first Century View* (The American Assembly); *A Time for Decisions: U.S. Policy in the Western Hemisphere* (The Inter-American Dialogue); *The Western Hemisphere: An American Policy Priority* (The Americas Forum); *The Case for An Early and Sustained Engagement in the Western Hemisphere* (The Dante B. Fascell North-South Center, University of Miami); and *Recommendations by Civil Society Organizations for the 2001 Quebec City Summit* (Corporación PARTICIPA, Fundación

Esquel, and the Canadian Foundation for the Americas, FOCAL). In drafting this Report, we also took note of proposals from a hemispheric conference at The Carter Center, October 16-18, 2000.

We would like to express our appreciation to the Government of Canada, particularly the Canadian Prime Minister's personal representative for the Quebec City Summit, Ambassador Marc Lortie, and Ambassador Peter Boehm, Canada's Senior Summit Coordinator and Permanent Representative to the Organization of American States (OAS), for their strong and consistent support of civil society involvement in inter-American summitry and in the OAS. At the OAS, we are grateful to Dr. Jaime Aparicio, director of the Office of Summit Follow-Up, and his excellent staff for providing a wealth of information related to the art of inter-American summitry.

Richard E. Feinberg and Robin L. Rosenberg have served as co-directors of this project. Generous support has been provided by Qualcomm, Inc., the Ford Foundation, the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), and The Dante B. Fascell North-South Center at the University of Miami.

The members of the Leadership Council wholeheartedly endorse this Report's overall content and tone and support its principal recommendations, even as each member may not agree fully with every phrase. Members subscribe as individuals; institutional affiliations are for purposes of identification only.

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*March 2001*

### **MISSION STATEMENT OF THE LEADERSHIP COUNCIL FOR INTER-AMERICAN SUMMITRY**

The Leadership Council for Inter-American Summitry, established in 1997, is an independent, nonpartisan initiative composed of citizens from throughout the Americas working in private business, legislatures, academia, public policy institutes, the scientific community, and other civic organizations. While many members have held high public office, none is currently employed in the executive branch of government. The Leadership Council is united in its aim to strengthen the forces fighting for effective democratic governance, market-oriented economic reforms, and social justice. These same goals are embedded in the declarations issued at the 1994 Summit of the Americas in Miami. The Leadership Council believes that periodic summits that gather the Western Hemisphere's heads of state and government can make a significant contribution toward achieving these goals but that significant reforms are required in the summitry process if its promise is to be fully realized.

The Leadership Council seeks to serve as a bridge between experts outside the executive branch of governments and the officials who organize the summits, between organized civil society and the public sector, and, in the spirit of inter-American summitry, between the northern industrialized nations and the southern developing nations of the region. The Council's membership includes individuals active in the civil society of their nations as well as individuals with extensive experience at senior levels of government and in summit meetings in the Americas, the Asia Pacific region, and the industrialized world.

## **ADVANCING TOWARD QUEBEC CITY AND BEYOND: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The Third Summit of the Americas provides the peoples of the Western Hemisphere with an historic opportunity to enter into the twenty-first century with a visionary and detailed agenda to manage together the challenges presented by globalization. The moment is ripe, and the stakes are high, as the hemisphere stands poised on a cusp between sustained progress and renewed crisis. The April 20-22, 2001 meeting at Quebec City could prove to be a defining moment in inter-American relations.

### **A Review of the Record: Summit Successes and Failures**

In assessing the results of the Miami (1994) and Santiago (1998) Summits, the Leadership Council for Inter-American Summitry found real progress in many respects — more progress than is generally recognized — although much more work remains to be done.

Summits have contributed to the legitimacy of collective action to deter threats to the interruption of democratic rule. In countries where the essential institutions of democratic governance are fragile, the multilateral development agencies and some bilateral donors are increasingly directing resources to overcoming this democratic deficit — and these agencies and donors should do more.

The core integrationist vision of summitry is embodied most concretely in the prospective Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). Despite progress in the preparatory talks, many issues in the process are still unresolved. Governments must create the conditions for a successful, early completion of the FTAA negotiations.

Summits have also successfully reshaped the inter-American system and have catalyzed a series of functional ministerials that have dramatically broadened the inter-American agenda. In addition, summits have reinvigorated the Organization of American States (OAS) by providing it with mandates to pursue a contemporary agenda.

The Inter-American Convention Against Corruption has been ratified by 20 countries.

However, the new OAS monitoring process should be adequately funded and submit an annual progress report on implementation of the Convention in the region.

Activities undertaken to fulfill commitments regarding women's rights and participation made at the Summits of the Americas and other international forums have also been impressive. Nonetheless, the transformation of abstract rights into concrete rights has been hampered by insufficient institutionalization and funding.

The Justice Studies Center is being established in Santiago, Chile, although it has not yet secured a firm base of funding. The aim of this important Center is to establish and document best practices in the justice sector.

Notwithstanding these partial advances, the gap between Summit promises and accomplishments is so wide as to have created a public crisis of confidence in summitry. The Leadership Council found significant disappointments in various areas, including education (the centerpiece of the Santiago Summit), sustainable development, and in promotion of civil society participation.

### **Institutionalization and Implementation: Lessons Learned**

The Leadership Council concluded that Summits have successfully focused leaders' attention on policy initiation, but governments have paid insufficient attention to policy implementation. Summit initiatives should be responsibly crafted to contain practical goals, quantifiable targets, and realistic timetables. Initiatives should be assigned to follow-up mechanisms with adequate technical and financial resources. To assure accountability, transparency, and adequate information feedback, monitoring responsibilities should be assigned for each initiative.

A fortified OAS Office of Summit Follow-Up should establish effective systems to monitor and evaluate implementation of Summit initiatives. In establishing feedback systems, summitry should enlist the talents of independent, objective experts as well as form joint public-private evaluation teams.

While some progress has been made, the multilateral development banks should be more fully integrated into the Summit process. Especially in the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the executive board should accept as their own the mandates issued by their heads of state and government.

Western Hemisphere summitry has taken a lead in bestowing official legitimacy on the participation of civil society, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the private sector, in regional diplomacy. To fulfill this goal, civil society organizations should be called upon to assist at all stages of Summit initiatives, from design to implementation to evaluation.

### **Major Recommendations for Quebec City**

***Recommendation 1.** Create the conditions for completing negotiations for the FTAA by end-2003, so that the FTAA can be approved by national legislatures by end-2004 and implementation can commence in 2005.*

The FTAA negotiating groups have teed up a draft agreement — now is the moment for the Hemispheric leaders to reaffirm their political will and to direct their negotiators to resolve the remaining bracketed disagreements.

Especially in the larger countries where protectionist interests are strong, leaders must repeatedly make the case for the benefits that trade can bring to economic development.

The multilateral development banks and the more developed governments in the region should provide financial and technical assistance to the less developed nations, to help them create domestic institutions with the capacity to negotiate and implement the FTAA accords.

In its first Policy Report, the Leadership Council proposed that the Santiago Summit accelerate the target date for completion of negotiations to 2002. The Council now asserts that 2003 is a reasonable goal and one that takes into account the political calendars in key countries, if governments act promptly to create the pre-conditions for success.

**Recommendation 2.** *Adopt a democracy clause that limits participation in future Summits and in the FTAA to nations with democratic rule.* A democracy clause would provide a broad, strategic framework to enrich the debate for FTAA ratification and to widen its political appeal. Most important, a democracy clause would serve as a deterrent to those who might contemplate interrupting democratic governance.

**Recommendation 3.** *Develop a credible multilateral mechanism for counter-narcotics cooperation.* If credible, the OAS's new Multilateral Evaluation Mechanism (MEM) could reduce the distrust — and the unilateral impulse — which bedevils counter-narcotics cooperation. The Quebec City Summit should name an independent commission to help improve and enhance the legitimacy of national evaluation procedures.

**Recommendation 4.** *Establish a \$100-million "Summit Fund."* Too many Summit-approved ideas have languished for lack of money. To begin to close this gap, leaders should mandate the IDB to donate \$100 million from its reserves for implementation of Summit initiatives.

**Recommendation 5.** *Strive to further empower women.* The full and equal participation of women is central to achieving the key Summit goals of democratic participation and economic development, and such participation should be mainstreamed throughout Summit implementation. To take full advantage of the multiplier effect of investments in women, international lending agencies and national governments should invest more to empower women and to implement laws that promote gender equality.

**Recommendation 6.** *Encourage funding to overcome the digital divide in the Americas.* At Miami and Santiago, leaders recognized the importance of information technology and telecommunications to economic development. Multilateral agencies, bilateral donors, and private firms should help countries to rapidly implement or design such programs, especially in technologically marginalized communities.

**Recommendation 7.** *Institutionalize formally summitry in the Americas.* To ensure continuity among participants and impetus for follow-up, Summits should be held bian-

nually. Every other Summit might be held in conjunction with the OAS General Assembly.

An efficient, representative management structure should be created to guide and evaluate implementation between Summits. The OAS's Office of Summit Follow-Up should be upgraded into an effective Summit secretariat fully capable of screening new proposals and monitoring implementation of Summit mandates. Summitry in the Americas can be further strengthened by better engaging ministries of finance and the multilateral development banks and by incorporating the many talents of civil society into the Summit process.

## POLICY REPORT III

### I. THE SETTING: AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY

The Third Summit of the Americas provides the peoples of the Western Hemisphere with an historic opportunity to enter into the twenty-first century with a visionary and detailed agenda to manage together the challenges presented by globalization. The moment is ripe, and the stakes are high, as the hemisphere stands poised on a cusp between sustained progress and renewed crisis.

The leaders of the region appear ready to engage enthusiastically at Quebec City on April 20-22, 2001. The newly inaugurated U.S. President, George W. Bush, has signaled his special interest in the Western Hemisphere. President Vicente Fox Quezada is steering Mexico toward more active and constructive participation in multilateral projects. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien has reoriented Canadian diplomacy and commerce toward its own hemisphere. President Fernando Henrique Cardoso — who, like Chrétien, was present at the first Miami

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*The region has learned that it is one thing to agree on broad principles and visions, and quite another to find the means to realize these dreams.*

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Summit — brings unparalleled prestige and experience to Brazilian diplomacy. President

Fernando De La

Rúa is maintaining Argentina's globalist outlook, and recent political developments have returned Peru to a more cooperative posture. Many other leaders — including 15 for whom Quebec City will be their first hemispheric Summit — are looking toward the Third Summit of the Americas with heightened expectations.

At the first two Summits of the Americas, in Miami in 1994 and in Santiago in 1998, leaders bestowed upon the hemisphere a stirring collective vision: a region enjoying strong democratic institutions, integrated by open markets, and sharing expanding prosperity with greater equity. This integrated strategic vision came replete with lengthy, detailed plans of action that required continued multilateral dialogue and cooperation.

Among the major regions of the world, only Western Europe has achieved such a comprehensive strategic blueprint for concerted action. Nowhere else in the world have developed and developing countries so overcome the old North-South divide and joined forces to launch such an inspired enterprise.

#### The Road Since Miami

Since Miami, summitry in the Americas has experienced a mix of achievements and frustrations, but the broad trend has been toward the progressive institutionalization of periodic Western Hemisphere leaders meetings, enriched by a myriad of Summit-driven ministerials and working groups. The Summits of the Americas have taken their rightful place in the structure of global governance, alongside the annual meetings of the Group of Seven/Eight (G-7/8), the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Forum, and the opening sessions of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly. Western Hemisphere diplomacy has come of age.

At the same time, the collective optimism of Miami has given way to a more sober realism. The region has learned that it is one thing to agree on broad principles and visions, and quite another to find the means to realize these dreams. In many ways, hemispheric governance remains incipient and lacks effective instruments to transform lofty goals into tangible results. At the national level, too often, local institutions lack the capacities to fulfill Summit commitments.

It has become clear that not everyone shares the spirit of summitry. Some governments and elites fear that collective action threatens national sovereignty and that the more powerful nations may impose their will at the expense of the interests of the weak, just as some in the more powerful nations are reluctant to submit their freedom of maneuver to a collectivity of smaller

powers. In many countries, strong vested interests prefer national protections to open competition. There is a rising chorus of concern warning of the damages that globalization can cause to the environment, labor rights, employment, and social equity. Summitry must also contend with authoritarian political impulses that are impatient with the messiness of democracy.

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*Many democracies have not yet been able to overcome endemic corruption and glaring inequalities, and common crime endangers personal security in many cities.*

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The Miami Summit was a celebration of democratic consolidation and economic progress. Throughout Central and South America, nearly two decades had passed without a successful military coup against an elected leader. The debt crisis of the 1980s had given way to economic reforms and renewed growth. Good will infused the spirit of inter-American relations.

Yet, it is important that we not idealize the Miami moment. In the run-up to Miami, the hemisphere struggled to find common purpose to restore democracy in Haiti, nations quarreled over how best to democratize Cuba, and the bitter controversy over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) made plain that not all citizens in North America shared an integrationist vision. Already in 1994, Brazil and the United States sparred over leadership and their separate approaches to trade policy. Agricultural import policies in the United States and the European Union drove a wedge between some Caribbean and Latin American nations.

Still, hemispheric affairs seem more troubled today than they were in 1994. Since Miami, many countries have not been able to find firm economic footing, and they remain subject to destructive boom-and-bust cycles. Too many working families have suffered during recessions and not shared equitably during the upswings. Many democracies have not yet been able to overcome endemic corruption and glaring inequalities, and common crime endangers personal security in many cities. These frustrations have prompted many to question the benefits from globalization and the

capacities of Latin American countries to adjust rapidly enough to the accelerating pace of change in the global economy. Furthermore, while elections and the peaceful transition of power remain the norm, democracy now appears to be in danger in a number of countries. Especially in the Andean nations, the fragility and superficiality of democratic institutions have become more evident.

Today, there is no denying that multilateral diplomacy confronts a number of tough, potentially divisive issues: how to respond to the fears engendered by globalization and trade integration; how best to combat the production, trafficking, and consumption of illicit drugs; how to assist violence-torn Colombia to restore domestic peace; and how to respond to the new nationalism most evident in the Andean region.

### **The Quebec City Cusp**

It is against this complex backdrop that the leaders will convene in Quebec. The opportunity is apparent, but the risks are great. Based upon a sober reassessment of hemispheric capacities, a successful Summit could confirm a collective strategic vision and forge a forward-looking but realistic plan of action to help guide hemispheric behavior over the coming decade.

A failed Summit, however — one that avoids mid-course corrections, is unable to reach meaningful agreement on critical issues, and instead ends up mired in contentious matters — could return the hemisphere to a period of fragmentation, acrimony, and lost opportunities.

Quebec City could reaffirm the collective will to consolidate and deepen democracy and reinvigorate the momentum toward freer trade and job creation through open markets. But a failure at Quebec City could embolden the foes of freedom, economic integration, and hemispheric cooperation. The 2001 Quebec City Summit could prove to be a defining moment in inter-American relations.

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## **THE POWER OF SUMMITRY**

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The periodic convening of presidents and prime ministers can bolster hemispheric governance, as the summitry process in the Americas has already demonstrated. Moreover, as other summits have shown elsewhere in the world, such an assembly of power can advance the common welfare of the region in a number of important ways. Hemispheric summits can do the following:

- *Confirm and codify emerging consensus principles and norms and catalyze collective action behind shared goals.* Summits have given the Western Hemisphere the kind of strategic vision and rich policy framework that provide a strong foundation for collective action.
- *Force national bureaucracies — and eventually the top aides of the various government leaders — to address hemispheric matters and focus senior-level attention on critical long-term issues.* Leaders can break roadblocks, overcome inertia and bureaucratic resistance, and launch major new initiatives. Without the driving force of the Miami Summit, it is doubtful that governments would have agreed to negotiate a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) by a certain date.
- *Redefine regional governance.* Prior to 1994, the Inter-American System convened at the ministerial level and was largely confined to the Organization of American States (OAS). Since Miami, the Inter-American System has been elevated to the leaders' level, and it has been broadened and deepened to encompass a wealth of ministerials and associated working groups. The Inter-American System has also begun to develop mechanisms to embrace the private sector and civil society — critical to international diplomacy in the twenty-first century.
- *Create the institutional architecture that corresponds to the era of globalization.* Summit-born structures are providing the breath of issue coverage that hemispheric integration now requires.
- *Build personal relationships between leaders and networks among national bureaucracies, motivate cross-border ties among civil society organizations, and foster public-private sector partnerships.*
- *Bestow enhanced legitimacy on domestic reformers and social movements who share the democratic, market-oriented principles blessed by Summit leaders.*

There are, however, limits to summitry:

- Effective multilateralism is handicapped by the inherent tendency to settle for watered down, least-common-denominator rhetoric, and for leaders to give priority to strong domestic constituencies. *Summits cannot manufacture national political will where none exists.*
- *Rivalries among regional powers, or between neighboring states, can stifle cooperative spirits.* Inequalities among nations can breed arrogance, envy, and distrust.
- *In a globalized world, regional blocs alone cannot manage international markets.* For example, the Bretton Woods institutions have the mandate — as well as the expertise and resources — to help countries correct imbalances in their external finances.
- *Some concerns that most directly affect people's daily lives, such as education and health care, remain primarily within the jurisdiction of national governments.* In such areas, summits may assist at the margin, but nations will remain the primary locus of action.

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## II. A REVIEW OF THE RECORD: SUMMIT SUCCESSES AND FAILURES

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The Leadership Council has maintained a working brief to monitor and evaluate the Summit process (see Section VIII for a list of research authors and topics). Methodologically, it is often impossible to isolate or quantify summitry's precise contributions. This is because, in reality, summitry is typically part of a larger causal chain of actions. We must be satisfied with answering the following question: "Has a particular Summit initiative helped — along with other factors — to move the ball down the field toward the announced goal?"

As a result of undertaking such an assessment, the Leadership Council has found real progress in many respects — in fact, more progress than is generally recognized. At the same time, there have been significant disappointments. Among the most important successes and failures are the following:

### Summit Successes

- **Collective Defense of Democracy.**

Miami and Santiago both underscored the principle that democracy is the only acceptable political system in the Western Hemisphere. Summits have contributed to the legitimacy of collective action to deter threats to the interruption of democratic rule. Among the greatest achievements of hemispheric diplomacy during the past decade have been the concerted actions — in Guatemala, Haiti, Paraguay, Ecuador, and Peru — to stem repeated challenges to democracy.

Nevertheless, in a number of countries, the essential institutions of democratic governance — political parties, independent judiciaries, representative legislatures, effective oversight bodies, and credible electoral mechanisms — are fragile or eroding. As past summits have proposed, the multilateral development agencies and some bilateral donors are increasingly directing resources to overcome this democratic deficit — and these agencies and donors should do more to defend democracy.

There is also an urgent need for national governments to perfect their electoral mechanisms and to establish strong, independent elections oversight tribunals. The OAS' Unit for Democracy and other expert international organizations should support such national efforts.

- **The FTAA.** The core integrationist vision of summitry is embodied most concretely in the prospective hemispheric free trade area. Since negotiations were launched in Santiago, nine negotiating groups have been preparing a bracketed draft text for approval at a ministerial meeting in Buenos Aires just prior to the Quebec City Summit.

Yet much work lies ahead in the Summit process. Many complex trade issues are still unresolved. The questions of whether and how to treat labor rights and the environment are bitterly contested. Some developing countries protest that they lack domestic institutions with adequate capacity to negoti-

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*The core integrationist vision of summitry is embodied most concretely in the prospective hemispheric free trade area.*

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ate and implement multi-faceted trade accords. In some key countries, the political will — and popular support — to complete the FTAA is in question. Governments must create the conditions for a successful, early completion of the FTAA negotiations.

- **Reshaping the Inter-American System.**

Prior to Miami, the Inter-American System consisted essentially of meetings of Foreign Ministers under the aegis of the OAS. The Summits of the Americas have catalyzed a series of functional ministerials that have dramatically broadened the inter-American agenda. For example, Ministers of Finance now meet to review macroeconomic trends, promote banking reform, and combat money laundering. Ministers of Energy foster pilot projects enhancing energy efficiency and conservation. Ministers of Defense convene to promote civil control of the military and to advance confidence-building meas-

ures and inter-operability. Ministers of Justice and Attorney Generals gather to share experiences in law enforcement.

• **Summits Have Reinvanized the OAS.** Summits have provided the OAS with mandates to pursue a contemporary agenda. For example, the OAS Trade Unit, as part of the Tripartite Committee with the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (UNECLAC), has built valuable databases and published studies of trade, labor, and environment issues for the FTAA. The OAS is gradually becoming the secretariat for many summit follow-up functions, an evolution we applaud.

• **The Inter-American Convention Against Corruption.** A product of Miami, this unprecedented accord has been ratified by 20 countries. The OAS's Working Group on Probity and Public Ethics has been promoting the exchange of "best practices" and

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*International lending agencies and national governments should invest more to empower women and to implement laws that promote gender equality.*

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domestic legislature reform, and the Group is working to establish a mechanism for expert review of country-level compliance — an

innovation we wholeheartedly endorse and wish to see adequately funded.

Endemic corruption remains a blight on hemispheric democracies. The Leadership Council calls upon all governments to join in ratifying the Anti-Corruption Convention. Once authorized, the OAS monitoring process should consult amply with in-country civil society representatives and submit an annual progress report on implementation of the Convention to the OAS General Assembly.

To attack money-laundering and international tax evasion and to promote economic integration, national authorities should share financial data as appropriate and seek to harmonize relevant portions of national tax codes.

• **The Multilateral Evaluation Mechanism (MEM).** To monitor the progress of national and collective anti-narcotics efforts, the OAS's Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD) has established the MEM's annual evaluation

exercise. The Quebec City Summit will consider the first round of reports. If credible, the MEM could replace the unilateral U.S. "certification" process that is inconsistent with the more cooperative spirit of summitry.

• **The Protection of Labor Rights.** Labor ministers have drawn up an Action Plan to harmonize and enforce the rights of labor. This positive promotion of labor rights is more widely acceptable than seeking to promote such legitimate interests through trade sanctions. In many countries, however, funding remains inadequate to the task.

• **The Advancement of Women.** Researcher Mala Htun found that activities undertaken to fulfill commitments regarding women's rights made at the Summits of the Americas and other international forums have been "impressive."<sup>1</sup>

Most countries have made major advances in eliminating sex discrimination in the law, opening the doors of decisionmaking to unprecedented numbers of women, and adopting laws designed to reduce domestic and sexual violence. However, the transformation of abstract rights into concrete rights has been hampered by insufficient institutionalization and funding.

• **The Central America – U.S. Joint Accord (CONCAUSA) Has Promoted Regional Sustainable Development.** The increase in protected areas will safeguard biodiversity. National environmental laws and regulations have been modernized. Relevant ministers have mandated a process of periodic follow-up.

• **Summits Have Catalyzed a Number of More Specific Initiatives Throughout the Region:**

- Lead is being eliminated from gasoline.
- Measles has been virtually eradicated.
- A Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression, under the aegis of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, is monitoring free speech and media freedoms.

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1. Mala Htun, forthcoming 2001, *Advancing Women's Rights in the Americas: Achievements and Challenges*, Leadership Council for Inter-American Summitry, Working Paper Series.

- The Justice Studies Center is being established in Santiago, Chile, to train justice sector personnel and to establish regional standards and document best practices in that area. However, the Center has not yet secured a firm base of funding.

## Summit Failures

The number of action items approved at Miami and Santiago exceed 300. Therefore, a complete list of unfulfilled promises would be very long indeed. Moreover, the gap between promises and accomplishments, between words and deeds, is so wide as to have created a public crisis of confidence in summitry. This public skepticism is due in part to misperceptions and lack of information, but it also obeys a genuine gap between Summit declarations and the realities people experience in their daily lives.

Among the more disappointing Summit outcomes are the following:

- **Education Flunks.** Education was the centerpiece at the 1998 Santiago Summit. Yet, researchers Jeffrey Puryear and Benjamin Alvarez found that the coordinating mechanism established to implement the education initiatives failed to engage high-level interest among senior national-level officials, the multilateral development banks, or civil society organizations.<sup>2</sup>

World Bank (WB) and Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) lending for education actually trended downward since Santiago. Projects funded by the Summit process have been small and disparate, and these programs generally have not exploited the comparative advantages of governments (for example, creating region-wide standards and education statistics regimes). Many countries are unlikely to meet the 1998 Summit's key student enrollment targets.

- **Sustainable Development Flounders.** The Miami Summit Sustainable Development Partnerships (Pollution Prevention, Biodiversity, and Sustainable Energy Use) and the 1996 Santa Cruz, Bolivia, Summit of the Americas on Sustainable Development provided a promising regional framework for progress on the strategic goal of reconciling economic growth with environmental

protection. Unfortunately, the Miami initiatives — lacking adequate resources and political will — are largely stalled, and the OAS has only been able follow up on very few of the 65 mandates that it received from Santa Cruz. Areas of progress include the establishment of the Environmental Law

Network and

the elaboration, with support

from the UN Environmental

Program (UNEP), the

United States Agency for

International

Development (USAID), and the World

Bank's Global Environmental Facility (GEF),

of an Inter-American Strategy for

Participation (ISP) in Sustainable

Development Initiatives (ISP).

- **Civil Society Remains Largely**

**Marginalized.** Summit documents call for civil society — including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), academics, political parties, labor, and the corporate and financial private sectors — to participate in many Summit initiatives. Nevertheless, some governments remain distrustful of civil society involvement, and many civil society organizations have not taken advantage of the unprecedented opportunities opened up by the Summit Process for meaningful public diplomacy. Some non-governmental actors have chosen instead to stage protests or engage in a parallel “people’s summit.” A “Hemispheric Social Alliance” of activist organizations has emerged to challenge the gap between Summit leaders’ words and deeds.

More positively, the OAS has established an accreditation process for NGOs. The summitry process has regularized national consultations in some countries — with civil society representatives invited on official delegations to major conferences and negotiations — and an ongoing series of private business sector workshops (for example, the Americas Business Forum) at the FTAA Ministerial meetings. But such openings for civil society participation have been far too infrequent. The Leadership Council believes

*Unfortunately, the Miami sustainable development initiatives — lacking adequate resources and political will — are largely stalled, and the OAS has only been able follow up on very few of the 65 mandates that it received from Santa Cruz.*

2. Jeffrey Puryear and Benjamin Alvarez, 2000, *Implementing the Education Agreements of the Santiago Summit*, Leadership Council for Inter-American Summitry, Working Paper Series (Coral Gables, Fla.: The Dante B. Fascell North-South Center).

that, if offered the opportunity, many civil society organizations would become constructive participants in the Summit process.

The Leadership Council welcomes the establishment of the Foundation of the Americas, in accordance with the Santiago

Summit initiative, calling for new mechanisms to strengthen civil society and public participation. The Foundation deserves the political and financial support it will need to fulfill its important mandate.

### III. INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND IMPLEMENTATION: LESSONS LEARNED

In its first two major reports, the Leadership Council devoted considerable attention to assessing the Summit process, and studying the procedures whereby the Summit texts are compiled, the quality of the Summit texts themselves, and the mechanisms for post-Summit follow up. The texts approved at Miami and Santiago were praiseworthy in their vision and ambition.

The Plans of Action have been comprehensive and extensive, and they

*Summits have successfully focused the leaders' attention on policy initiation, but governments have paid insufficient attention to policy implementation.*

have sought to address the needs of the peoples of the hemisphere.

Summitry

among 34 sovereign nations, however, is an inherently difficult undertaking. The Leadership Council has pointed to a number of flaws in the Summit process:

As stated in Policy Report II, "There were far too many initiatives and action items. Some initiatives lacked the essential elements of good public policy — measurable goals, timetables, priorities, and accountability. Leaders failed to allocate sufficient technical and financial resources for some initiatives. Many governments did not have the requisite institutional and financial capacities to carry out some of the action

items. The regional organizations, notably the OAS and the IDB, sought to implement some initiatives but allowed other mandates to slip. Monitoring mechanisms and compliance regimes were weak to nonexistent."<sup>3</sup>

In short, Summits have successfully focused the leaders' attention on policy initiation, but governments have paid insufficient attention to policy implementation.

In response to these flaws, the Leadership Council has urged that Summit initiatives should be responsibly crafted to contain practical goals, quantifiable targets, and realistic timetables. Initiatives should be assigned to follow-up mechanisms with adequate technical and financial resources. To assure accountability, transparency, and adequate information feedback, monitoring responsibilities should be assigned for each initiative.<sup>4</sup>

The Leadership Council is pleased to note that many governments have become cognizant of the need for such reforms. Some Summit initiatives, including the MEM to fight narcotics trafficking and the OAS committee charged with overseeing implementation of the Anti-Corruption Convention, are seeking to create monitoring mechanisms. At Santiago, the IDB made specific financial pledges in support of such key initiatives as education and micro-enter-

3. Leadership Council for Inter-American Summitry, 1999, *Mastering Summitry: An Evaluation of the Santiago Summit of the Americas and Its Aftermath* (Coral Gables, Fla.: The Dante B. Fascell North-South Center) 4.

4. Leadership Council for Inter-American Summitry, 1998, *From Talk To Action: How Summits Can Help Forge A Western Hemisphere Community of Prosperous Democracies* (Coral Gables, Fla.: The Dante B. Fascell North-South Center) 17-18.

prises. Preparatory documents for the Quebec City Summit have underscored the desirability of a focused, practical, results-oriented process that identifies concrete, achievable initiatives. In the search for financial resources and for expertise — especially to assist poorer, smaller countries — governments have also recognized the need for greater coordination and engagement with the multilateral development banks. The importance of engaging the private sector and civil society in dialogue directed toward practical outcomes has also been noted repeatedly.

The September 2000 Brasilia summit of South American leaders provided a “best practices” example of disciplined summitry. In their “Brasilia Communiqué,” summit leaders focused on only five topics, limited themselves to just a few concrete action items under each heading, and specified implementation mechanisms for each of those initiatives. In their signed document, efforts were made to identify funding as well.

A learning process is underway by government and summit experts within the Summit process to determine how to conduct more effective leaders’ meetings. Still, it is agreed that there is much room for improvement.

## Management

The summitry process is struggling to design a governing structure to overcome the inherent tendency in multilateral diplomacy to produce unwieldy laundry lists of proposals, since back-scratching is easier than priority-setting. A “troika” of past and present hosts (the United States, Chile, and Canada) was established to provide leadership to the Summit Implementation Review Group (SIRG), which itself attempts to oversee the Summit process between leaders’ meetings, but the troika has lacked clear authorities.

The Leadership Council supports the notion of transforming and modestly enlarging the troika to include representatives of the major countries and sub-regions of the hemisphere and empowering this new “senior executive committee” to more effectively oversee the Summit process. Drawing on the

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*The OAS Office of Summit Follow-Up serves as the “institutional memory” of the Summit process....*

*The Office should be strengthened to allow it to function effectively as a responsible secretariat to an empowered senior executive committee.*

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experience of the G 7/8 and of the APEC Forum, powerful, knowledgeable “sherpas,” who report to presidents or prime ministers, can impose “double discipline” to curb the inherent bureaucratic tendency toward a proliferation of diluted initiatives. Combining authority and expertise, such senior officials can bring discipline to their own internal political process as well as to the diplomatic negotiations on the summit agenda. The current system of “national coordinators” provides the foundations for such a system, but it will require upgrading in some cases.

Created in July 1998, the OAS Office of Summit Follow-Up serves as the “institutional memory” of the Summit process, provides useful technical backup to the troika and the SIRG, and manages the valuable Summit web page ([www.summit-americas.org](http://www.summit-americas.org)). At this point, however, the Office should be strengthened to allow it to function effectively as a responsible secretariat to an empowered senior executive committee. More generally, governments should continue to strengthen the OAS and its capacity to implement Summit initiatives.

This new Summit management system should not impinge on the autonomy of the sectoral ministerials. A notable strength of the Summit process has been its functional decentralization. Of course, commanding leadership over summitry should remain with the heads of state and government.

## Transparency and Evaluation

The enhanced senior executive committee and fortified OAS Office of Summit Follow-Up should set as a primary goal the establishment of effective systems to monitor and evaluate implementation of Summit initiatives. It is increasingly routine in international diplomacy for agreements (whether formal treaties or “soft” agreements that lack juridical status such as those approved by hemispheric Summits) to include reporting requirements. Governments should accept

such feedback mechanisms as designed not to embarrass them but rather to promote progress toward agreed goals. Reporting and evaluation systems offer transparency and accountability — and the promise of greater credibility — to the entire Summit process.

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*Serious evaluations require good data. Only when it becomes possible to measure results will it be possible to assert with full confidence that Summit initiatives have attained their goals.*

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In establishing feedback systems, summitry should enlist the talents of independent, objective experts and form joint public-private evaluation

teams. Experts from national ministries and from international organizations should be tapped for the creation of such assessment teams.

Serious evaluations require good data. We recommend that the multilateral development banks build earmarked assistance into relevant loans for creating and maintaining data collection systems. The multilateral banks should also promote harmonization of databases across countries to facilitate comparability studies. Only when it becomes possible to measure results will it be possible to assert with full confidence that Summit initiatives have attained their goals.

Among its responsibilities, this enhanced senior executive committee, with support from a strengthened Office of Summit Follow-Up, could review initiatives being prepared for Summit approval. The committee could require that each proposed initiative meet the following criteria. Each initiative should be of sufficient priority as to merit the attention of the leaders, include mechanisms for assessment and reporting, and be assigned sufficient resources for completion. This “PARR” test — Priority, Assessment, Reporting, and Resources — could significantly bolster the realism and credibility of summitry in the Americas.

## Financial Resources

While some progress has been made in this area, the multilateral development banks should be more fully integrated into the Summit process. Especially in the IDB, the executive board should accept as their own the mandates issued by their heads of state and government. Within the development banks, senior leadership should assure that Summit initiatives receive appropriate financing by sending clear signals to everyone in their organizations, including officials in charge of resource programming as well as line operations.

Ministries of Finance should also be more fully integrated into the Summit process. The tendency to view summitry as essentially a foreign ministry operation must be overcome. As occurs in the APEC process, Finance Ministers should hold meetings either shortly before or at the Summits, and they should certainly attend the Summits themselves. Among their tasks, Finance Ministers should also seek to preempt adverse shocks — such as the Mexican peso crisis that broke a mere two weeks after the 1994 Miami Summit. In March 2001, the Finance Ministers will be meeting in Santiago, Chile, in the context of the annual meetings of the IDB, immediately before they convene in Toronto, Canada. The Ministers might seize these opportunities to devote a working session to reviewing the draft Summit texts, with a particular eye to whether adequate funding has been identified for key initiatives.

We applaud the establishment within the OAS of the Inter-American Agency for Cooperation and Development (IACD). Under strong leadership, and with the cooperation of the IDB, it is seeking to catalyze public-private partnerships to identify and multiply “best practices” as applied to the development needs that fall under Summit priority areas.

## **Civil Society Including Private Sector Participation**

Western Hemisphere summitry has taken a lead in bestowing official legitimacy on the participation of civil society in regional diplomacy. Such participation is critical, to give summitry democratic legitimacy, to broaden its constituencies, and to enhance its expertise and capacities.

To fulfill this promise, civil society organizations should be called upon to assist at all stages of Summit initiatives, from design to implementation to evaluation. The relevant private sector should be present at ministerials and working groups, as is already the case with trade ministerials.

To enhance their own credibility, civil society organizations should develop systems that assure transparency and accountability, and they should seize any opportunity to participate constructively in the Summit process.

In the preparations for Quebec, every effort should be made to integrate civil society organizations. National governments and Summit preparatory bodies should be accessible and open to their proposals. At Quebec, a “CEO Summit” could serve to allow private sector executives to interface with government officials (as occurs routinely at APEC Leaders Meetings). Mechanisms should be established to ensure that other civil society organizations also have access to information and decision makers. There should be neither the perception nor the reality of a wide breach between “the people” and the official events.

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*In the preparations for Quebec, every effort should be made to integrate civil society organizations. There should be neither the perception nor the reality of a wide breach between “the people” and the official events.*

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## IV. MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS FOR QUEBEC CITY

**Recommendation 1.** *Create the conditions for completing negotiations for the FTAA by end-2003, so that the FTAA can be approved by national legislatures by end-2004 and implementation can commence in 2005.*

Economic development and job creation through trade integration remains the centerpiece of summitry in the Americas and the benchmark by which Quebec City will be judged. The FTAA negotiating groups have teed up a draft agreement — now is the moment for the Hemispheric leaders to reaffirm their political will and to direct their negotiators to resolve the remaining bracketed disagreements and produce a comprehensive, WTO-consistent accord with high standards. Twenty months is adequate time to complete this task.

Leaders must take steps to lay the groundwork for further trade integration. Especially in the larger countries where protectionist interests are strong, leaders must repeatedly make the case for the benefits that trade can bring to economic development through the creation of good-paying jobs, more competitive and innovative industries, lower prices, and wider consumer choice.

In the United States, the Leadership Council welcomes statements by the new George W. Bush administration that it will seek “fast-track” authority from the U.S. Congress, and we urge the U.S. administration to marshal the political resources necessary to achieve bipartisan backing for that critical step this year.

The multilateral development banks and the more developed governments in the region should provide financial and technical assistance to the less developed nations to help them create domestic institutions with the capacity to negotiate and implement the FTAA accords. In determining phase-in schedules, the trade negotiators should take into account the capacities of the smaller, poorer nations.

In all countries, governments should put in place effective programs to assist workers displaced by international competition to find new good-paying employment.

The Leadership Council reaffirms its belief that bilateral and sub-regional trading arrangements can be constructive building blocks on the road toward the wider regional accord. Certain sub-regionals, such as the Canadian-Chile Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and the U.S.-Chile FTA now under discussion, can add impetus to the broader FTAA project. They may also yield useful precedents with regard to the treatment of labor and the environment; the Canadian-Chile accord omits any threat of trade sanctions but allows for monetary penalties in the event of non-compliance with national laws.

At Quebec City, the Western Hemisphere leaders should reaffirm their support for a new round of global trade negotiations in the World Trade Organization (WTO). Just as progress toward an FTAA can spur other regions to participate constructively in global trade talks, so could progress in WTO negotiations facilitate agreement in the FTAA forum.

In its first Policy Report, the Leadership Council proposed that the Santiago Summit accelerate the target date for completion of negotiations to 2002. We now assert that 2003 is a reasonable goal and one that takes into account the political calendars in key countries, if governments act promptly to create the pre-conditions for success. To continue to wait for the end-2005 deadline remains an excuse for further delay.

**Recommendation 2.** *Adopt a democracy clause that limits participation in future Summits and in the FTAA to nations with democratic rule.* A democracy clause would provide a broad, strategic framework to enrich the debate for FTAA ratification and to widen its political appeal. Formally connecting the two central Summit themes — democracy and free trade — would yield conceptual integration and instrumental strength. This linkage would emblazon regional integration in the Americas with a special Bolivarian character. Most important, a democracy clause would serve as a deterrent to those who might contemplate interrupting democratic governance.

As a successful precedent, the democracy clause of the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) was effectively invoked during

two Paraguay crises. In the September 1, 2000, "Brasilia Communiqué," the South American leaders proclaimed "that maintenance of the rule of law and strict respect for the democratic system ... are henceforth a condition for participation in future South American meetings." In this spirit, the hemispheric democracy clause could define democracy sparingly, to include respect for the rule of law, free and fair elections and the separation of powers.

**Recommendation 3.** *Develop a credible multilateral mechanism for counter-narcotics cooperation.* If credible, the OAS's new MEM could reduce the distrust and the unilateral impulse which bedevil counter-narcotics cooperation. The MEM's country reports should be made more transparent by utilizing standardized, electronic formats with clear baseline measurements and, where feasible, quantified objectives. The OAS's CICAD needs resources for on-site visits to assist country evaluations. The Quebec City Summit should name an independent commission to help improve and enhance the legitimacy of national evaluation procedures.

In Colombia, democracy is severely threatened by powerful narco-traffickers, recalcitrant insurgents, and deadly paramilitaries. In pursuit of civil peace in Colombia, we recommend that the Western Hemisphere community join forces to strengthen the Colombian state and society while promoting strict human rights standards and seeking to facilitate the peace process. To promote economic development and job creation in the troubled Andean region, the United States should renew and expand the Andean Trade Preference Act, which expires in 2001.

**Recommendation 4.** *Establish a \$100-million "Summit Fund."* Too many Summit-approved ideas have languished for lack of money. To begin to close this gap, leaders should mandate the IDB to donate \$100 million from its reserves for implementation of Summit initiatives. Potential recipients would include government agencies, OAS entities, and civil society organizations. The Fund could leverage its grants to enhance partnerships among these sectors. To assure its responsiveness, integrity, and transparency, at each Summit, the Fund should submit a detailed report to leaders, accounting for its activities.

**Recommendation 5.** *Strive to further empower women.* The full and equal participation of women is central to achieving the key Summit goals of democratic participation and economic development, and such participation should be mainstreamed throughout Summit implementation. To take full advantage of the multiplier effect of investments in women, international lending agencies and national governments should invest more to empower women and to implement laws that promote gender equality.

**Recommendation 6.** *Encourage funding to overcome the digital divide in the Americas.* At Miami and Santiago, leaders recognized the importance of information technology and telecommunications to economic development and international competitiveness. Many countries have declared universal internet access a national priority and have initiated national connectivity programs. Multilateral agencies, bilateral donors, and private firms should help countries to rapidly implement or design such programs through education and training, infrastructure development, and cost-effective access technologies, especially in technologically marginalized communities.

**Recommendation 7.** *Institutionalize for multilateral summitry in the Americas.* To ensure continuity among participants and impetus for follow-up, Summits should be held biannually. Every other Summit might be held in conjunction with the OAS General Assembly.

An efficient, representative management structure should be created to guide and evaluate implementation between Summits. The OAS's Office of Summit Follow-Up should be upgraded into an effective Summit secretariat fully capable of screening new proposals and monitoring implementation of Summit mandates. Such follow-up mechanisms are vital in order to inform citizens of the Summit process and achievements and to encourage governments to comply with their commitments.

Summitry in the Americas can be further strengthened by better engaging ministries of finance and the multilateral development banks and by incorporating the many talents of civil society into the Summit process.

## **V. SUPPLEMENTAL COMMENTS**

### **Winston Dookeran**

I am pleased to associate myself with this timely and laudable report. However, I wish to express my reservation concerning the recommendation that the negotiations be completed by 2003. While there is need for the expression of the political will to complete the process on the part of leaders, it is also important to maintain a credible timetable for the process. This is especially so since the more difficult issues are now beginning to emerge in the negotiations.

The need for a more measured approach to the negotiations also arises in the context of the responsibility to more fully incorporate civil society and marginalized groups into the process and to consolidate their support. This will also permit a smoother path to ratification of the final agreement in national legislatures.

### **Nobina Robinson**

I am pleased to associate myself with this timely and laudable report. However, in one area, I wish to add that it seems that the Quebec City Summit will not directly address the most pressing problem in the region, namely, that of poverty reduction and the income distribution gap. Of course, were all the Summit initiatives to be implemented and funded, some progress toward this end would be possible. Unfortunately, this has not been the case for the past two Summits, since economic inequities have continued to grow since 1994. The growing public skepticism about summitry is in part explained by the inability of governments of the hemisphere to formulate policies that strengthen their role as the agents for the distribution of wealth. Specifically, tax reform measures to reduce the growth in the informal sector and social safety nets are not mentioned in the Summit draft documents.

In addition, I caution that accelerating the deadline for the conclusion of the negotiations for the FTAA is not desirable at this time. In the current climate of lack of consensus throughout the hemisphere on labor

and environmental issues, continued concerns from the smaller economies of the region for measures to address their lack of capacity, the on-going lack of fast-track authority from the United States, Brazil's reluctance towards a hemispheric trade deal, combined with growing public opposition to the FTAA, the best that can be hoped for at Quebec City is the affirmation of political will from leaders that the FTAA is in the best interests of their domestic citizenry. Leaders should indicate that they are willing to tackle these tough issues and provide direction to the FTAA negotiations to overcome these obstacles by the time of the next Summit of the Americas. Should consensus not be achieved on acceleration at Quebec City, the perceived failure to do so will damage the vast amount of consensus building and negotiation that has already taken place since the Miami Summit to lay the foundations for the eventual hemispheric trade agreement.

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## VI. MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP COUNCIL FOR INTER-AMERICAN SUMMITRY

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## VII. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

**Sergio Aguayo**, Ph.D., has been a Professor at the Colegio de México's Center for International Relations since 1977. He received a doctorate from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. In 1990, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation awarded him a research and writing grant to examine national security issues of Mexico and the United States. He has been a visiting fellow or professor in several institutions, among others, the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California, San Diego; the Ortega and Gasset Foundation in Madrid; the New School for Social Research in New York; and the University of Chicago. He has also been active in the promotion of democracy and human rights through organizations such as Civic Alliance and the Mexican Academy of Human Rights. For those activities he was awarded the "Democracy Award" by the National Endowment for Democracies. He publishes a weekly column that appears in *La Reforma* and 14 other newspapers in Mexico.

**Bernard W. Aronson** is Managing Partner of Acon Investments LLC, a diversified private equity and venture capital firm. Prior to assuming this position, Aronson was International Advisor to Goldman Sachs and Co. Aronson served as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs from 1989 to 1993, the longest tenure of any holder of that office. In 1993, then-Secretary Aronson was presented with the State Department's highest honor, the Distinguished Service Award. Prior government positions include Deputy Assistant to President Jimmy Carter in the Office of the White House Chief of Staff and Special Assistant to Vice President Walter Mondale. He serves as a Director of Royal Caribbean Cruise Lines, Inc., and Liz Claiborne, Inc., is a member of the Advisory Board of Zona Financiera, is on the Board of Directors of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and Freedom House, and is a member of the Inter-American Dialogue and the Council on Foreign Relations.

**C. Fred Bergsten**, Ph.D., is Director of the Institute for International Economics, the only major research institution in the United States devoted to international economic issues. Dr. Bergsten has been Chairman of

the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Forum and of the Competitiveness Policy Council, created by the U.S. Congress. He has served as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs and as Senior Fellow at The Brookings Institution and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He has authored or co-authored 26 books on international economic issues, including *Global Economic Leadership and the Group of Seven* (1996). Bergsten also frequently testifies before congressional committees.

**Fernando Cepeda Ulloa** is Professor of political science at the Universidad de Los Andes in Bogotá and a visiting fellow at Saint Antony's College, Oxford University. He has been Colombia's Ambassador to England, Canada, the United Nations, and the Organization of American States. During the Barco administration (1986-1990), he served as Minister of Government and Minister of Communications. He also was Presidential Counsel during the latter part of the López Michelsen administration (1974-1978). Cepeda Ulloa has authored several books and essays on corruption, campaign financing, and Colombia's foreign policy, among other issues. His most recent paper is *The Summit of the Americas and the Fight Against Drugs* (North-South Center, 2000).

**Charles E. Cobb, Jr.**, is Chairman of the Board of Directors and the Senior Partner of the investment firm, Cobb Partners, Inc. He served as U.S. Ambassador to Iceland during the Bush Administration (1988-1992). During the Reagan Administration, he was Under Secretary and Assistant Secretary at the U.S. Department of Commerce with responsibilities for the nation's trade development, export promotion, and international travel and tourism. Cobb is a former Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Arvida/Disney Corporation and a member of the Board and Executive Committee of The Walt Disney Company. Prior to that, he was the Chief Operating Officer and a Board member of Penn Central Corporation. He is also a former President and General Manager of several subsidiaries of Kaiser Aluminum. Cobb earned undergraduate and graduate degrees at Stanford University. He was an officer in the U.S. Navy. He is active in many civic

affairs and corporate organizations and currently serves on the Florida Governor's Commission on Education as Chairman of the Florida Business/Higher Education Partnership. Cobb has also served as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University of Miami, among others.

**Guido José Mario Di Tella**, Ph.D., received his doctorate in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and a bachelor's degree in industrial engineering from the University of Buenos Aires. He has had a long and distinguished career of public service, serving as Argentina's Minister of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Worship (1991-1999); Minister of Defense (1991); Argentine Ambassador to the United States (1989-1991); and Secretary of Economic Coordination and Programming (1975-1976). Di Tella has been a professor and researcher at several universities, including the National University of Buenos Aires; Catholic University, Argentina; and St. Antony's College at Oxford University. He is the author of numerous publications, including *The Long View in Economics* (Macmillan 1982) and *The Political Economy of Argentina 1946-1983* (Macmillan 1986).

**Winston Dookeran** is Governor of the Central Bank of Trinidad and Tobago, a position he assumed in July 1997. Immediately preceding this appointment, he was Senior Economist at the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and was a Lecturer in Economics at the University of the West Indies. Currently, he is Trinidad and Tobago's Alternate Governor to the International Monetary Fund and the Caribbean Development Bank. More recently, he was appointed Chairman of the Investment Negotiating Committee of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). A former Planning Minister in the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, Dookeran has served on several occasions as Prime Minister. He is a graduate of the London School of Economics and Political Science, London University, and a former Fellow at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. In 1991, he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from the University of Manitoba, Canada. His publications include *Choices and Change: Reflections on the Caribbean*, published by The John Hopkins University Press for the Inter-American Development Bank, and *The Caribbean Quest: Directions for Structural*

*Reforms in a Global Economy*, published by the Institute of Latin American Studies, Stockholm University.

**Richard E. Feinberg**, Ph.D., is Professor and Director of the APEC Study Center, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS), the University of California, San Diego. Dr. Feinberg also serves as Editor-in-Chief of *Americas Insights*, a web-based journal published by the Institute of the Americas, and as coordinator of the APEC International Assessment Network (APIAN). Previously, he served as Special Assistant to President Clinton for National Security Affairs and Senior Director of the National Security Council's Office of Inter-American Affairs. He was one of the principal architects of the 1994 Summit of the Americas in Miami. Dr. Feinberg has served as President of the Inter-American Dialogue and Executive Vice President of the Overseas Development Council. He has held positions on the policy planning staff of the U.S. Department of State and in the Office of International Affairs in the U.S. Treasury Department. He has written more than 100 articles and books, most recently, *Summitry in the Americas*, published by the Institute of International Economics, where he is a visiting fellow.

**Alejandro Foxley**, Ph.D., is a Senator in the Chilean Senate and Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. He has served as Minister of Finance to the Republic of Chile, Governor of the Inter-American Development Bank, and Chairman of the Development Committee at the World Bank. Dr. Foxley earned a doctorate in economics at the University of Wisconsin. He has authored or edited 11 books on economics, economic development, and problems of democracy, including *Economía política de la transición* (Ediciones Dolmen, 1993).

**Irwin Jacobs**, Sc.D., is Founder, Chairman, and Chief Executive Officer of Qualcomm Incorporated. He has led the company, which has international activities in digital wireless telephony, mobile satellite communications, and internet software, through a period of rapid growth to its current level of more than 7,500 employees. He is a former President, Chief Executive Officer, and Chairman of Linkabit, which he also co-founded. From 1959 to 1966, Jacobs served as Assistant/Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and from 1966 to 1972 was

Professor of Computer Science and Engineering at the University of California, San Diego (UCSD). He is co-author of *Principles of Communication Engineering*. Jacobs is the recipient of many awards, including the National Medal of Technology Award bestowed by the President of the United States, the Alexander Graham Bell Medal, the Inventing America's Future Award, and the Albert Einstein Award. He is a member of the California Council on Science and Technology. Jacobs currently serves or has served on the boards of the National Academy of Engineering Industry Advisory Board, the University of California President's Engineering Advisory Council, UCSD Foundation Board of Trustees, UCSD Green Foundation for Earth Sciences, UCSD Cancer Center, the San Diego Symphony, and the San Diego Repertory Theater.

**C. Kent Jespersen** is Chairman of La Jolla Resources International Ltd. His distinguished career in business and government service includes positions as Special Assistant to the Prime Minister of Canada, Special Assistant to the Canadian Federal Minister of Agriculture, President of NOVA Gas Services Ltd. and Gas International Ltd., and Senior Vice President of NOVA Corporation in Alberta, Canada. Jespersen is active in many business and public policy institutions and serves as Chairman of the Institute of the Americas in La Jolla, California, and Chairman of C.D. Howe Institute in Toronto, Canada. He is a member of the board of directors of Bow Valley Energy, Calgary, Canada, and Telesystem International Wireless Ltd. of Montreal, Canada.

**Janet Kelly** has been a Professor of political economy at the Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administración (IESA) in Caracas, Venezuela, since 1982. She is Coordinator of the Center for Public Policy at IESA and has served there as Dean and Research Director. She has been a Professor at the Simón Bolívar University in Venezuela and the University of Massachusetts in Boston and a Research Fellow at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. She received her doctorate in International Relations from the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University. Kelley's forthcoming book, written with Carlos Romero, is *The United States and Venezuela Entering the 21st Century: Relations Between Friends*. She has written widely on the interface between

economics and politics, covering themes ranging from international banking regulation to privatization. Kelly is active in organizations dedicated to the promotion of better relations between the public and private sectors and is a Director of the Center for Conciliation and Arbitration of the Venezuelan-American Chamber of Commerce. She is a columnist for *El Nacional* in Caracas and contributes frequently to the public debate on issues of international economic and political relations.

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**Sylvia Ostry**, Ph.D., is Distinguished Research Fellow, Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto. She has a doctorate in economics from McGill University and Cambridge University. Ostry has held a number of positions in the Canadian Federal Government, among them, Chief Statistician, Deputy Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Chairman of the Economic Council of Canada, Deputy Minister of International Trade, Ambassador for Multilateral Trade Negotiations, and the Prime Minister's Personal Representative for the Economic Summit. From 1979 to 1983, she was Head of the Economics and Statistics Department of the OECD in Paris. Ostry has written numerous books and papers, most recently, *Who's on First? The Post-Cold War Trading System* (University of Chicago Press, 1997) and *Reinforcing the WTO* (Group of Thirty, Washington, 1998). She has received 18 honorary degrees from universities in Canada and abroad and the Outstanding Achievement Award of the Government of Canada. She is a Companion of the Order of Canada and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. She is a Director of Power Financial Corporation and a member of many distinguished councils and advisory boards. In 1992, the Sylvia Ostry Foundation annual lecture series was launched by

Madam Sadako Ogata, U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

**Héctor Osuna Jaime** is Senator for Baja California. In the Mexican Senate, he serves as Secretary of the North American Relations Commission and as Secretary of the Commission for Federalism and Municipal Development. Senator Osuna also acts as a regular member of the senatorial commissions for Foreign Affairs and for Communications and Transport, which includes policymaking on infrastructure, telecommunications, federal or interstate highways, and seaports, among other issues. Senator Osuna served as Mayor of Tijuana from 1992 to 1995. He is the founding President of the Asociación de Municipios de México, A.C. (Association of Mexican Municipalities), which includes more than 200 city councils throughout Mexico. He served on the State Political Council of the Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN) from 1991 to 1997 and has been a member of the National Council since 1995. As a member of Congress for Baja California, he was selected to serve as President of the Judging Committee for the certification of the 1989 elections. Senator Osuna earned a degree in architecture from the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara. His professional activities as an architect include working for the firm Arquitectura y Diseño as a planner, director of projects and design for Plaza Aguacaliente, and director for Grupo Múzquiz and Empresas GEO. He is also the founder and General Manager of the firm Osuna Jaime y Asociados.

**Sonia Picado Sotela** is a Congresswoman from Costa Rica, President of Partido de Liberación Nacional (social democratic party), and Vice President of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights. She served as Costa Rica's Ambassador to the United States from 1994 to 1998 and Justice and Vice President of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights from 1990 to 1994. She is also a former Director of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights. Picado Sotela was the first Latin American woman to be elected dean of a law school when she served as Dean of the University of Costa Rica School of Law (1980-1984). She has received many awards in recognition of her efforts to promote human rights and women's rights, including the United Nations Human Rights Award in 1993, an Inter-American Commission on Women Award, and the Max Planck Humboldt Award.

She was an Edward Larocque Tinker Professor at Columbia University, New York, in 1991.

**Beatrice E. Rangel** is currently the Senior Vice President, Corporate Strategy, of the Cisneros Group of Companies. She is a Personal Advisor to the Office of the Chairman and the Liaison between the Cisneros Group of Companies and governments and private enterprises for the development stage of projects. Rangel has served in a number of advisory positions in the private and public sectors of Venezuela. She was Advisor to former President of Venezuela, Carlos Andrés Pérez, and was elected Alternate Deputy of Congress for Miranda State. She served as General Secretary of the Ministry of Education in 1985 and the following year became Executive Secretary of the Presidential Commission in charge of drafting the National Education Reform Project. She later served as Minister of the Secretariat of the President. Rangel has served as a board member for several large companies and organizations, including Venezuelan Airways, The Vienna Institute for Development, and the Robert Kennedy Foundation for Human Rights. Rangel holds a master's degree in public administration from Harvard University and a master's degree in development economics from Boston University. Among her awards are The Order of Merit of May, conferred by the Republic of Argentina; Condor of the Andes Order, by the Republic of Bolivia; the Bernardo O'Higgins Order, by the Republic of Chile; the Order of Boyacá, by the Republic of Colombia; and the National Order of José Matías Delgado, by the Republic of El Salvador.

**Nobina Robinson** is Executive Director, Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), Canada's premier policy center dedicated to hemispheric issues. Robinson is a former Diplomat with the Canadian Foreign Service. At the Canadian Embassy in Havana, Cuba, between 1994 and 1997, she was responsible for monitoring the human rights situation and reporting on the emerging economic reform process. Upon her return, she was Coordinator for Canada's relations with the OAS. She was a member of the Canadian delegation to the Santiago Summit of the Americas in 1998. Robinson joined FOCAL in 1998 and held the position of Deputy Executive Director and Director of Policy prior to her appointment as

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**Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada**, as a Senator and Minister of Planning in Bolivia, gained popular recognition as the author of the 1985 economic "shock therapy" program, which brought Bolivia's 25,000-percent hyperinflation rate under control and created the foundation for future economic stability and growth. A graduate of the University of Chicago, he was inaugurated as President of Bolivia in August 1993 and served until August 1997. During his administration, Sánchez de Lozada implemented his "Plan de Todos," based on profound economic, social, and political reforms. The Plan's main elements were administrative decentralization, which strengthened Bolivia's democratic process by transferring decision-making authority and revenue sharing to local regions and communities; popular participation, which allowed all citizens to be included in the process of administering and controlling revenue sharing in their communities; education reform, which incorporated multilingual and multicultural education into the educational system; capitalization, involving equity contributions to state-owned monopolies by strategic foreign partners and the transfer of government-owned shares to privately administered pension funds, which now distribute a yearly lifetime bonus to people over 65 years of age; and judicial reform.

**Paula Stern**, Ph.D., is President of The Stern Group, an economic analysis and trade advisory firm in Washington, D.C. A former chairwoman of the U.S. International Trade Commission (ITC), Stern advises businesses on trade issues that affect their competitiveness in the international economy. She serves on the boards of directors of Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., Avon Products, Inc., Harcourt General, the Jerome Levy Economics Institute of Bard College, and the Atlantic Council of the United States. She served as a commissioner at the ITC from 1978 to 1987 and as chairwoman of the agency from 1984 to 1986. At the time, she

was the second highest-ranking woman in the U.S. government. In 1986, she was named by *Ms. Magazine* as one of the top women influencing the U.S. economy. Stern is a member of the President's Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations; former Co-Chairperson, International Competition Policy Advisory Committee for the Attorney General and the U.S. Department of Justice Antitrust Division; and a former Chairwoman of the Advisory Committee of the U.S. Export-Import Bank. She served as Senior Campaign Advisor on trade and international economic matters to President Clinton, an advisor to the Transatlantic Business Dialogue, a presidentially appointed member of the board of directors of the Inter-American Foundation, and as a legislative assistant to U.S. Senator Gaylord Nelson from 1972 to 1977. As a guest scholar at The Brookings Institution, she wrote *Water's Edge: Domestic Politics and the Making of*

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## **VII. RESEARCH AUTHORS**

The Leadership Council for Inter-American Summitry acknowledges the research contributions of the following authors in the indicated areas. Their original research provided an overview and analysis of the implementation of some of the major Summit of the Americas initiatives and helped to inform many of the Council's recommendations.

**Benjamin Alvarez**, Implementing the Education Agreements of the Santiago Summit

**Nancy Zucker Boswell**, Combatting Corruption

**Roberto Bouzas**, The FTAA Process

**Joan Caivano**, Advancing Women's Rights in the Americas

**Fernando Cepeda Ulloa**, The Summit of the Americas and the Fight Against Drugs

**Eric Dannenmaier**, Achieving Sustainable Development in the Americas

**Mala N. Htun**, Advancing Women's Rights in the Americas

**Richard L. Millett**, Human Security

**Jeffrey Puryear**, Implementing the Education Agreements of the Santiago Summit

**Jeffrey Stark**, Guaranteeing Democracy and Human Rights

**Gustavo Svarzman**, The FTAA Process

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