

THE
CARTER CENTER



Luis Aguilar

Luis Aguilar is General Counsel for the INVESCO U.S. Institutional Group. Attorney Aguilar joined INVESCO in March 1994. Prior to that time, he was a partner at Kilpatrick Stockton and Powell Goldstein Frazer & Murphy. Before joining Powell Goldstein Frazer & Murphy in 1982, Mr. Aguilar served as a Staff Attorney with the Securities and Exchange Commission. Mr. Aguilar has represented public companies in connection with their responsibilities and reporting obligations under federal and state securities laws. Mr. Aguilar has also represented clients in effecting international transactions, with emphasis on companies active in Latin America, and has served as Managing Director for Latin America for INVESCO. He was responsible for establishing INVESCO's office in Buenos Aires, Argentina and he represented INVESCO as the "leader" of AFP Futuro de Bolivia, S.A., one of two pension fund administrators that replaced the Bolivian social security system. During the establishment of AFP Futuro de Bolivia, S.A., Mr. Aguilar also served as co-chair in the establishment of INVESCO's office in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Mr. Aguilar is a 1979 graduate of the University of Georgia School of Law, and he received a Master of Laws degree in taxation from Emory University School of Law in 1985. He is admitted to the State Bar of Georgia.

Paulo Roberto de Almeida

Mr. Paulo Roberto de Almeida, of Sao Paulo, Brazil, received a PhD in Social Sciences from the University of Brussels, Belgium in 1984 and has been a career Diplomat since 1977. Presently, Mr. Almeida is Minister-Counselor at the Brazilian Embassy, in charge of Political and Financial Affairs. Besides his professional duties, he has been engaged in academic activities as a Professor of International Economics and Political Sociology. He is also a researcher in economic history and international economic relations of Brazil. Mr. Almeida has innumerable works published covering economic subjects such as economic integration (Mercosur, NAFTA), globalization, international economic relations, and economic history of Brazil. His publications include *Le Mercosud: un marché commun pour l'Amérique du Sud* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000); *O estudo das relações internacionais do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1999); *O Brasil e o multilateralismo econômico* (Porto Alegre, 1999); *Mercosul, Nafta, Alca: a dimensão social* (São Paulo, 1999); *Velhos e novos manifestos: o socialismo na era da globalização* (São Paulo, 1999); *Mercosul:*

fundamentos e perspectivas (São Paulo, 1998); and *Relações internacionais e política externa do Brasil* (Porto Alegre, 1998). Additionally, Mr. Almeida is Deputy-Editor of the Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional (the oldest Brazilian journal for the study international policy). Prior to his current position, Mr. Almeida was the Head of the Financial Policy Division, at the Ministry of External Relations in Brasília. In previous assignments abroad, Mr. Almeida served in the Embassies of Brazil in Paris, Berne, and Belgrade, as well as in multilateral groups, such as the Brazilian Delegations in Geneva (GATT) and Montevideo (Latin American Integration Association). In Brazil he was the Director of the Brazilian Institute of International Relations (Brasília, June 1997-June 1999).

Luis Alvarez

Luis Alberto Alvarez Vallejos is the current editor of the Chilean magazine, *Que Pasa*. Prior to this position, Alvarez spent three years as an editor of the Chilean daily newspaper, *La Hora*. Alvarez began his career in 1979 after having earned a journalism degree from the University of Chile. Since then, he has worked as a reporter, editor, and foreign correspondent for numerous national and international news organizations, including *Reuters*, *El Mercurio*, and *El Diario*.

Marco Arauz

Marco A. Arauz is Editor General of El Comercio, the biggest daily newspaper of Quito, Ecuador. He has worked as an editor for El Comercio for seven years. Prior to this, he spent ten years working as a reporter, editor, and coordinator for Hoy, the second largest newspaper of Quito. Arauz received an Honorable Mention in the "Jorge Mantilla Ortega" National Journalism Awards (1993). He is co-author of the books, *Los Presidenciables* (1987), *Ecuador frente al vértigo fatal* (1997), and *21 de enero, la vorágine que acabó con Mahuad* (2000). Arauz did his undergraduate studies in Literature at Catholic University of Ecuador and has participated in international seminars on journalism in Ecuador, Chile, and England.

Genaro Arriagada

Genaro Arriagada is a Member of the Board of Banco del Estado de Chile and a consultant for various firms and multilateral organizations. Appointed as Ambassador of Chile to the United States in July 1998, he resigned in August 1999 to become Head of the presidential campaign of the current President of Chile, H. E. Ricardo Lagos. Prior to those duties, Mr. Arriagada served as Ambassador-at-Large and Special Envoy of the President of Chile to the Second Summit of the Americas, which took place in Santiago, Chile in April 1998. From 1994 to 1996 he was Minister Secretary General of the Presidency. Among the positions Mr. Arriagada has held during his prolonged political career are National Director of the "NO" Campaign that defeated General A. Pinochet in the plebiscite of October 1988 and Chief of the presidential campaign of Eduardo Frei in 1993. Between 1979 and 1993, he was the Chairman of the Board of Radio Cooperativa, the most important radio broadcasting company in Chile. As part of his

commitment to the ideas of democracy, Arriagada has been an international observer in the elections in Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Dominican Republic, Bulgaria, and Mexico. In 1988 he was distinguished with the Averel Harriman Democracy Award, conferred by the National Democratic Institute of International Affairs, to those who have internationally excelled in their services to the cause of democracy. Today he is member of the Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy. As a political scientist, Arriagada has published several books, articles, and columns on political, social and economic issues. Among his works are *Pinochet: The Politics of Power* (Boston: Unwin & Hyman, 1988) and with Carol Graham, "Chile: Sustaining Adjustment during Democratic Transition" in *Voting for Reform, Democracy, Political Liberalization and Economic Adjustment* (Oxford University Press, 1994). Arriagada has also been a fellow of The Woodrow Wilson Center and The John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Debora Benchoam

Debora Benchoam is the Assistant to the Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression of the Organization of American States (OAS).

Luis Manuel Bonetti

Luis Manuel Bonetti is the former Secretary of Industry and Commerce of the Dominican Republic. He is now working in the private sector and is President of the Technological Institute of the Americas.

Oscar Camacho

Oscar Camacho is the Political Editor at the Mexican news magazine, *Milenio Magazine*.

Maxwell Cameron

Maxwell A. Cameron (Ph.D., California - Berkeley, 1989) is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of British Columbia. He has taught at Carleton University in Ottawa, the Colegio de Mexico in Mexico City, and has been a visiting fellow at the Kellogg Institute in Notre Dame and the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California in San Diego. Cameron specializes in comparative politics (Latin America) and international political economy. He wrote *Democracy and Authoritarianism in Peru* (1994), and co-edited a number of books including: *The Peruvian Labyrinth* (1997), and *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Land Mines* (1998). His most recent book is on the NAFTA negotiation process, and it is entitled *The Making of NAFTA: How the deal was done*. It was released this Fall by Cornell University Press. Cameron's current research focuses on the problems of democratization in Latin America. His next book will focus on presidents who close congress, suspend the constitution and rule by decree, and will include the cases of Fujimori in

Peru, Chavez in Venezuela, and Yeltsin in Russia. Related to this project, he is organizing an interdisciplinary workshop under the aegis of the Peter Wall Institute for Advanced Studies at the University of British Columbia on "Threats to Democracy in Latin America" to be held on 3-4 November 2000.

Santiago Canton

Santiago A. Canton is the Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression of the Organization of American States (OAS). Dr. Canton holds a law degree from the University of Buenos Aires and a Master degree in International Law from the Washington College of Law of American University. During 1998 he was Director of Public Information for the OAS. From 1994 to 1998 Dr. Canton was Director for Latin America and the Caribbean of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), a democratic development institute based in Washington, D.C. Dr. Canton has been a lecturer and guest speaker in numerous international events and is author of many articles in democratic development in Latin America.

Nancy Cardia

Nancy Cardia received her Ph.D. in Social Psychology from the London School of Economics and Political Science (1987). She is Research Coordinator at the Núcleo de Estudos da Violência, University of São Paulo. Her research foci are: attitudes, values and behavior towards violence and the criminal justice system; the monitoring of gross human rights violations; continued violence and authoritarianism; violence and political culture and external evaluation of police human rights training programs. Publications include the role of moral exclusion in human rights violations, urban violence and youth; death squad activities and the role of the criminal justice system; violence in urban areas and urban development.

David Carroll

Dr. David Carroll has worked at the Carter Center since 1991, first as the Associate Director of the Latin American and Caribbean Program, and since 1997 as Associate Director of the Center's Democracy Program. Dr. Carroll has worked on many of the Center's projects on democratization and development, including election monitoring projects in Guyana (1992), the United States (1992), Paraguay (1993), Panama (1994), Mexico (1992,1994), the West Bank/Gaza (1996), the Dominican Republic (1996), Nicaragua (1996), China (1997), Liberia (1997), Nigeria (1998, 1999), Indonesia (1999), and Mozambique (1999). He also led or participated in electoral assessment missions to Haiti, Guyana, Gabon, Mali, Ivory Coast, Zimbabwe, and Kenya, and currently manages the Center's Liberia program to strengthen civil society and promote human rights. Before joining the Carter Center, Dr. Carroll attended the University of South Carolina, where he received M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in International Relations and Political Economy / Development. He teaches periodically at Georgia State University, including courses on Latin American Politics, International Relations Theory, U.S. Foreign Policy, and International Political Economy.

Jimmy Carter

Jimmy Carter (James Earl Carter, Jr.), thirty-ninth president of the United States, was born October 1, 1924, in the small farming town of Plains, Georgia. He was educated in Georgia Southwestern College and the Georgia Institute of Technology, and received a B.S. degree from the United States Naval Academy in 1946. He later did graduate work in nuclear physics at Union College. In 1962, Carter won election to the Georgia Senate. He lost his first gubernatorial campaign in 1966, but won the next election, becoming Georgia's 76th governor on January 12, 1971. He was the Democratic National Committee campaign chairman for the 1974 congressional elections. Jimmy Carter served as president from January 20, 1977 to January 20, 1981. Noteworthy foreign policy accomplishments of his administration included the Panama Canal treaties, the Camp David Accords, the treaty of peace between Egypt and Israel, the SALT II treaty with the Soviet Union, and the establishment of U.S. diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. He championed human rights throughout the world. On the domestic side, the administration's achievements included a comprehensive energy program conducted by a new Department of Energy; deregulation in energy, transportation, communications, and finance; major educational programs under a new Department of Education; and major environmental protection legislation, including the Alaska Lands Act.

Rosalynn Carter

Former First Lady Rosalynn Carter has worked for more than two decades to improve the quality of life for people around the world. Today, she is an advocate for mental health, early childhood immunization, human rights, conflict resolution, and the empowerment of urban communities through her work at The Carter Center in Atlanta, Georgia. A full partner with the President in all the Center's activities, the former First Lady is Vice Chair of the Center's Board of Trustees. She created and chairs The Carter Center's Mental Health Task Force, an advisory body of experts, consumers, and advocates promoting positive change in the mental health field. Outside the Center, Mrs. Carter is president of the board of directors for the Rosalynn Carter Institute of Georgia Southwestern State University (RCI), which was established in her honor on the campus of her alma mater in Americus, Georgia. She also works for Habitat for Humanity, a network of volunteers who build homes for the needy, Project Interconnections, a public/ private nonprofit partnership to provide housing for homeless people who are mentally ill, and the Friendship force, a citizens exchange program in more than 40 countries.

Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo

Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo, former President of Guatemala from 1985-1991, has been a major figure in Guatemalan government and politics and a leader of the Christian Democratic Party of Guatemala. Cerezo earned his bachelor's degree from the University of San Carlos in Guatemala and has done post-graduate work at the Instituto Nacional de Administracion, Programa Gobierno de Guatemala and in Political Science at the University of Loyola in New

Orleans. Cerezo has held several positions within the Christian Democratic Party of Guatemala, notably as secretary-general from 1976-1985 and again in 1998. Cerezo was a congressional representative from 1974-1982 and was reelected to the Guatemalan Congress in 1991.

Hugo Chávez

Hugo Chávez Frias is the President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. President Chávez was born to a family of schoolteachers, grew up a noted baseball player, and graduated from the Venezuelan Military Academy with a degree in engineering in 1975. Concerned about corruption and inattention by political parties to the needs of the people, Lt. Colonel Chávez led a military action to depose the government in 1992. After a two-year jail term, he received a presidential pardon in February 1994, and then founded the political party Movimiento Quinta República (MVR). He was elected to the Presidency in December 1998, reformed Venezuela's constitution during his first year in office, and was re-elected in July 2000 to a six-year term.

Ken Churchill

Ken Churchill is the Vice President of Corporate Public Affairs for United Parcel Service (UPS). Ken began his career with UPS 15 years ago as a delivery driver in California. He has held a variety of positions in Operations and Business Development. The last four years Ken has been assigned to the UPS Public Affairs Office in Washington, DC. In his role as Vice President for UPS Public Affairs, his responsibilities include oversight of government relations in the areas of postal competition, taxes, environment, airline regulations, as well as international issues.

Oliver Clarke

The Honorable Oliver Clarke joined The Gleaner Company Limited in 1976 in the capacity of Managing Director and after several months was appointed as Chairman. Mr. Clarke served as President of the Inter-American Press Association (IAPA) from 1997 to 1998. In 1998, he was awarded the Order of Jamaica and, in 1997, was inducted into the Hall of Fame of the Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica (PSOJ). He received the Americas Award in 1990. He also serves as Director of Jamaica National Building Society, Independent Radio Company, Caribbean Media Corporation (CMC), and the Inter-American Dialogue and the Peace Education Foundation in Miami. Additionally, Mr. Clarke is Chairman of National Commercial Bank Ja. Ltd., Chairman of PALS Jamaica, which teaches conflict resolution in schools, and Chairman of the Commonwealth Press Union (West Indies Section).

Hugo Concha

Hugo Concha is the Advisor on Democracy and Participation to the Transition Team of Mexican President-Elect Vicente Fox. He received a B.A. in Law from the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), a Master's degree in International Relations from Johns Hopkins

University, and he is a Ph. D. candidate in Political Science at the University of Washington. He is a professor in the Law department at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM) and a researcher for the Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas at UNAM. He has published articles in a number of magazines and books specializing in democratic transition in Mexico.

Chuck Costello

Charles Costello became director of the Carter Center's Democracy Program in December 1998. Previously, he was director of the Center for Democracy and Governance at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) since shortly after its creation in 1994. From 1993-94, he headed the USAID mission in post-conflict El Salvador, overseeing programs to help demobilize forces, support reformed political institutions, and rebuild civil society. At USAID, where he began working in 1975, he also headed USAID missions in Ecuador and Guatemala and served in Kenya and Bolivia. A former Peace Corps volunteer in Guatemala and staff member in Colombia, he earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Michigan and a J.D. from the University of California at Berkeley.

Andrew Crawley

Dr. Andrew Crawley is Director of the Institute for European-Latin American Relations (IRELA), a European Union-financed research center in Madrid, Spain. He was previously the Institute's Deputy Director, a post in which he led the academic team working on IRELA's research program. In 1996, the European Commission designated Dr. Crawley as Chief of Mission of the EU's electoral mission to Nicaragua. He has also been a member of election observer delegations in Venezuela, Panama, Mexico and the Dominican Republic. Dr. Crawley has been the Appointed Expert to the Section on Foreign Relations of the European Community's Economic and Social Committee, and was designated by the European Parliament as Expert to the Central American Parliament. He is a consultant to the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). His latest book, *Somoza and Roosevelt: Good Neighbor Diplomacy in Nicaragua*, is forthcoming from Oxford University Press. Dr. Crawley has a doctorate in history and a master's in Latin American studies from Oxford University (St Antony's College). He received his bachelor's degree from Bristol University.

Joe Creamer

Jose Creamer is a Vice President and Labor and Human Resources manager for United Parcel Services' Corporate Development Group based in Atlanta. During his time at UPS he has held a variety of positions, including Department Coordinator of the UPS legal department. He is a graduate of Fordham University and Fordham Law School.

Joaquin Cuadra

Joaquin Cuadra Lacayo is president of the new political party, National Unity, which plans to participate in Nicaragua's 2001 national elections. Cuadra completed his bachelor's degree at El Colegio Centroamerica de los Jesuitas and studied law at the Universidad Centroamericana (Jesuit). He left his studies to become part of the guerrilla struggle against the Somoza dictatorship. General Cuadra has had a distinguished career in the Nicaraguan armed forces. Between 1980 and 1995, he served as a leader in the armed forces during the time of pacification and reconciliation. In February of 1995 President Violeta Chamorro named him Commander in Chief of the Nicaraguan army, a position he left in February of 2000. As Commander in Chief, Cuadra worked to hold military officers accountable for their crimes. Additionally, he worked to ban land mines with the help of the Organization of American States (OAS). He also helped to organize relief efforts following Hurricane Mitch in June 2000.

Juan del Aguila

Juan M. del Aguila is Associate Professor of Political Science at Emory University. Professor del Aguila's areas of expertise are Cuban Politics and Latin American Politics. His publications include, *Cuba: Dilemmas of a Revolution* (1984, 1988, 1994) and dozens of scholarly articles, book chapters and book reviews. At Emory University, he teaches graduate and undergraduate courses on Latin American Politics, Democracy in Latin America, Latin American Revolutions and Comparative Politics. He has lectured on various subjects in many Latin American countries and was a member of the Carter Center-National Democratic Institute delegation that assisted in the monitoring of the 1996 presidential election in the Dominican Republic. Dr. Del Aguila received his Ph.D. from University of North Carolina in 1979.

Pedro Pablo Díaz

Pedro Pablo Díaz H. is Vice President of the Latin America Group of The Coca-Cola Company and Global Communications Director for the Latin America Group. A native of Chile, Mr. Díaz joined the Coca-Cola business in 1977 as Marketing Manager of Embotelladora Andina and, in 1991, he was transferred to Atlanta, Georgia to assume his current responsibilities. Additionally, Mr. Díaz is the Chairman of the Board of the Fundación Ignacianos (this Foundation represents the Jesuits priests alumni in Chile). Mr. Díaz was appointed Honorary Consul of Chile in Atlanta by H.E. Patricio Aylwin, President of the Republic of Chile, between 1992 and 1996, and has recently been nominated as a member of the Board of the Fundación Tiempos Nuevos, by H.E. Ricardo Lagos, President of the Republic of Chile. Mr. Díaz serves on the Latin American Board of the Notre Dame University (South Bend, Indiana), is a member of the Advisory Boards of Universidad Diego Portales and Universidad Alberto Hurtado, and is Marketing and Communications Professor at the Universidad Finis Terrae of Chile. Over the last 20 years Mr. Díaz has been a member of the Faculty of Marketing and Communications in various Chilean universities. He also serves on the Board of Directors of private companies such as: Bancard, Chairman of "Editorial Los Andes" and Ladeco Chilean Airlines. Mr. Díaz holds

degrees in economics and business administration from the Catholic University of Chile and has studies in strategic marketing at Harvard Business School.

Leonel Fernández

Dr. Leonel Fernández was President of the Dominican Republic from 1996 to 2000. As President, Fernández took important steps to lead the Dominican Republic in playing a more dynamic role in the international arena, participating in such important forums as the United Nations General Assembly, Latin American and Central American Summits of Heads of State and Government, making official visits to sister countries, maintaining a climate of cordiality and cooperation in the relations with Haiti, and extending the Dominican participation in schemes of cooperation such as CARICOM, Lomé, The Central American Common Market, and the ACP Association of Countries. His administration is recognized for its strict respect for public liberties and human rights and for the notable drive that was given to the economic growth with stability and democratic institutionalism. Dr. Fernández was the first Head of State from the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD). Additionally, Dr. Fernández has stood out in academic life and as a professor since 1979. He has written numerous articles on communication, culture, history, and law, which have appeared in national and foreign publications. He has also authored several books, including *The United States in the Caribbean: From Cold War to the Plan Reagan, Roots of an Usurped Power*. After leaving the Presidency in August 2000, Leonel Fernández began the Global Foundation for Democracy and Development, which is dedicated to the study, investigation, debate, and education in the area of social, political and economic sciences, with the focus on the present and relevant topics in the national and international arena. The foundation aims to create awareness on these subjects and produce viable and innovative solutions to the existing problems. Dr. Fernández obtained the title Doctor of Law with honors from the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo.

Enrique García

Enrique García, has been the President and CEO of the Andean Development Corporation (CAF) since December 1991 and was re-elected to a second term for the period 1996-2001. Before becoming President and CEO of CAF, Mr. García held the position of Minister of Planning and Coordination and head of the Economic and Social Cabinet in his native Bolivia between 1989 and 1991. During this period he represented his country as Governor to the World Bank, the IDB, and as a member of the Development Committee. He was also Chairman of the Board of CAF. In the previous 17 years Mr. García held several senior positions in the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), such as Division Head in the Loan and Projects Departments, Representative in Argentina and Advisor to the President before becoming the Treasurer of the Institution. In the early seventies Mr. García was Under-Secretary of Planning and Coordination and member of the Board of Directors of the Central Bank of Bolivia. He was also involved in the private sector including managing positions in the Industrial Bank of Bolivia and as a member of the board of several industrial and financial undertakings. Mr. García taught at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés and Catholic Universities in Bolivia and is author of several publications on economic and financial matters. He is a member of the International Advisory

Board for the Center for International Development (CID) at Harvard University as well as a member of the Board of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Administration (IESA) in Caracas, Venezuela. He is a founding member of the Business Council for Sustainable Development-Latin America, and a Preferred Member of the Academy of Economic Sciences and of the Council of Science and Technology of the National Academy of Sciences of Bolivia. Mr. García holds a B.S. and an M.A. in Economics and Finance from St. Louis University and did doctoral studies at American University.

Manuel Antonio Garretón

Manuel Antonio Garretón is a Full Professor of Sociology at the University of Chile. He Graduated from the Universidad Católica de Chile and received his Ph.D. from Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris. Dr. Garretón has published numerous articles in different languages and several books as author, co-author, or editor. Among these books are *Hacia una nueva era política: Estudio sobre las democratizaciones* (Fondo de Cultura Económica, México DF-Santiago, 1995), *Dimensiones actuales de la sociología* (1995, co-editor), *La transformación socio-política y los partidos en América Latina* (1993, editor). His main research and teaching themes include democratizations and transitions, State and Society, authoritarianism and democracy, political parties, university and society, culture and education, social movements and actors, social sciences development, public opinion and social demands, and Latin American sociological theory. In addition, Dr. Garretón served as a member of the Executive Council of the Latin American Studies Association (1996-2000). From 1990-1994, he was Chief Adviser of Minister of Education. Dr. Garretón has been Visiting Professor or Visiting Fellow at the Universities of Oxford, Notre Dame, California San Diego, Chicago (Tinker Chair), UNAM-Mexico, Universidad Católica de Peru, Hebrew University at Jerusalem, Wilson Center, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Simón Bolívar Chair of Institut des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique Latine, Sorbonne Nouvelle, and FLACSO Mexico.

Carolyn Gomes

Carolyn Gomes is the Director of Jamaicans for Justice, a non-partisan citizens action group which works to bring about fundamental change in Jamaica's judicial, economic, social, and political systems in order to improve the present and future lives of all Jamaicans.

Guillermo González

Guillermo Enrique González is Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Argentine Republic to the United States of America. He is also a member of the United Nations Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters. From June to August 1999, Amb. González was President of the Conference on Disarmament (Geneva, Switzerland). The Ambassador was also Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office and other International Organizations in Geneva, Switzerland (1998-2000). Additionally, he has served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Principality of Liechtenstein (1997) and to the Swiss Confederation

(1996), and he served as Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1990). In 1993, Amb. González was Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Economic Negotiations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Buenos Aires, Argentina and, in 1994, was Deputy Assistant Secretary for Foreign Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Amb. González has been in the Foreign Service of the Argentine Republic since 1965. He speaks Spanish, English and Italian.

David Greeley

David Greeley is Senior Director, External Affairs for Merck & Co. Inc.'s Latin America Division, known in the region as Merck Sharp & Dohme (MSD). Merck & Co., Inc. is a global research-driven pharmaceutical company that discovers, develops, manufactures and markets a broad range of human and animal health products, directly and through its joint ventures, and provides pharmaceutical benefit services through Merck-Medco Managed Care. Merck's global sales in 1999 totaled \$36 billion. Merck operates throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Mr. Greeley is responsible for developing and implementing a regional strategy in Latin America to encourage pharmaceutical innovation and to improve patient access to medicines. He seeks to build support for intellectual property for pharmaceutical products; market-oriented health care reform based on choice and competition; transparency and ethical business practices in government and the private sector; improvement in the regulatory and registration process; and programs to inform patients about diseases, including options for prevention and treatment. Mr. Greeley's responsibilities include government, multilateral agency, non-government organization and media relations and as an advisor to senior Merck management on a wide range of policy issues. Before joining Merck, Mr. Greeley worked for over 15 years with non-governmental organizations, including Population Services International and CARE, and served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in West Africa. Mr. Greeley has lived and worked for five years each in Asia and Africa, including extended stays in India, Indonesia, Burkina Faso and Niger.

Ana Guevara

Ana Guevara was named Vice President of Public Affairs for the Americas in November 1999. In her new capacity she is responsible for all government related activities for United Parcel Service (UPS) in the Americas Region, and is based out of Miami. She will work closely with the Executive and Congressional authorities in the United States and countries in the Americas Region to ensure that policy and regulatory trends will allow UPS to operate efficiently in a level playing field with flexibility to best meet the customer's growing just-in-time and electronic commerce service needs. Prior to this position, Ms. Guevara was Public Affairs Manager for UPS in Washington D.C. for international issues, including trade, aviation and customs affairs. She has been with UPS since 1993. Prior to joining UPS, Ms. Guevara worked at the U.S. Department of Transportation (DOT) for four years as a Transportation and Trade Analyst in the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy and International Affairs. During that time she had the opportunity to shape international transportation policy and participate in formal negotiations with other countries, including the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Ms.

Guevara has a B.A. in International Affairs from the George Washington University (1985). She has also studied at Le Manoir in La Neuveville, Switzerland, and La Sorbonne, Paris, France.

Timothy Haas

Timothy J. Haas is Senior Vice President of The Coca-Cola Company and President of the Company's Latin America Group. In addition to his Company post, Mr. Haas is a director of the following Coca-Cola bottling concerns: Coca-Cola FEMSA, which operates bottling facilities in Mexico and Argentina; Panamerican Beverages Inc., which operates bottling facilities in Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Venezuela; Grupo Continental, which operates bottling facilities in Mexico; Coca-Cola Embonor, with bottling facilities in Chile, Peru, and Bolivia; Corporación Inca Kola, which has bottling facilities in Peru; and, Embotelladora Andina, which has bottling facilities in Chile, Brazil, and Argentina. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Council of the Americas and the Board of Advisors of Talus Solutions Inc. Prior to joining the Coca-Cola Company in 1979, Mr. Haas was employed by Lever Brothers Company. Mr. Haas received a bachelor's degree in business administration from the University of North Dakota and is a 1988 graduate of the Advanced Management Program at Harvard University.

John Hardman

Executive Director since December 1992, Dr. Hardman first became associated with The Center in 1989, when he headed the Initiative to Reduce Global Tobacco Use. Subsequently, he served as the Center's representative to the World Health Organization's Tobacco and Health Program, Director of the Center's Mental Health Program, and Associate Executive Director, before becoming Executive Director and Chief Executive Officer of the Center. Dr. Hardman has held faculty appointments in psychiatry and pediatrics at Emory University Medical School and was medical director of Peachford Hospital. He has held prominent positions with professional and community organizations, including serving as president of the Georgia Psychiatric Physicians Association, Georgia Council on Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, Leadership Georgia, and the Atlanta Historical Society, and was a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association of Private Psychiatric Hospitals. Dr. Hardman received his Doctor of Medicine degree from the Medical College of Georgia, and completed a psychiatry residency at the Mayo Clinic in 1971 and a child psychiatry fellowship at Emory University in 1973.

Jonathan Hartlyn

Jonathan Hartlyn is the Director of the Institute of Latin American Studies, Director of the Duke-University of North Carolina Program in Latin American Studies (a position which alternates between the two campuses every two and a half years), and Professor of Political Science at UNC-CH. He joined the faculty in Chapel Hill in 1988, after teaching for seven years at Vanderbilt University. He holds a B.A. degree from Clark University, and M.Phil. and Ph.D. degrees from Yale University. He is the author of *The Struggle for Democratic Politics in the*

Dominican Republic (UNC Press, 1998), *The Politics of Coalition Rule in Colombia* (Cambridge University Press, 1988; in Spanish translation by Tercer Mundo, 1993); he co-editor of three books, including most recently *Democracy in Developing Countries: Latin America*, 2nd edition (Lynne Reinner, 1999); and has also published numerous articles and book chapters. In the Spring of 2000, he was a recipient of the Johnston Award for Teaching Excellence at UNC-CH. Dr. Hartlyn has observed past elections with The Carter Center in Venezuela and the Dominican Republic.

Keith Henderson

Mr. Henderson is Co-Director of the Center for Transnational Crime and Corruption at American University. Prior to joining American University, he served as an Associate Counsel in the White House and as a Presidential Appointee and Senior Advisor to the Europe and New Independent States Bureau at the US Agency for International Development (USAID). While at USAID he also inaugurated and Co-chaired the Global Anti-Corruption Steering Group and held a rotational assignment in the Policy, Planning, and Coordination Bureau. Before joining the Clinton-Gore Administration, Mr. Henderson represented multi-national corporations seeking international markets and founded the Sunbelt Institute, a non-profit think take composed of CEO's, Governors, Congresspersons, and College Presidents focused on regional economic development and good governance federal policy and legislation. Mr. Henderson has a business degree from the University of Southern Mississippi, a J.D. from Mississippi College School of Law and an LL.M in International Law from Georgetown University. He has traveled to and worked on programs in virtually all countries of the former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe, as well as Asia and South America.

Oswaldo Hurtado

Oswaldo Hurtado was Vice-President of Ecuador (1979-1981) and later President of the Republic (1981-1984). He presided over the National Assembly (1997-1998) that prepared the Constitution, which entered into effect on August 10, 1998. Hurtado studied Political Science and Law at the Catholic University of Quito and has written numerous essays and books about Ecuadorian and Latin American politics and sociology. Of special importance is *El Poder Político en el Ecuador*. In Quito, he heads Cordes, a non-profit organization that studies the development problems of Latin America and Ecuador. In this capacity, he gives lectures and writes editorials for Ecuadorian newspapers and the Spanish Press Agency, EFE, which distributes his articles internationally.

Edmundo Jarquin

Edmundo Jarquin Calderon is the current Chief of the State and Civil Society Division of the Sustainable Development Department of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). Prior to this post, Jarquin worked as a Specialist on Public Policy for the same department of the IDB from 1992 to 1994. He also served as Nicaraguan ambassador to Mexico and Spain from 1984

to 1990. Jarquin has also been the Alternate Governor of the World Bank and the IDB; National Director of Investment for the Planning Ministry of Nicaragua; and Director of International Economic Relations of the Foreign Ministry. He is also director of the Institute for Human Advancement, the Center for Socioeconomic Research and Training of Nicaragua, and the newspaper *La Prensa*.

Felix Jimenez

Felix Jimenez is the former Secretary of Tourism of the Dominican Republic.

George Jones

Ambassador George F. Jones is Director of Democracy and Governance Programs at Development Associates, Inc., in Arlington, Virginia. From 1996-99 he was Director of Programs for the Americas at the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), Washington, D.C. From 1956-95 he was a career Foreign Service Officer, and served as Ambassador to Guyana in 1992-95.

Richard Joseph

Dr. Richard Joseph is Executive Director of the Institute of Caribbean and International Studies (ICIS) of St. George's University, Grenada and Asa G. Candler Professor of Political Science at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. He received an A.B. from Dartmouth College and a B.Phil. and D.Phil. (1973) from Oxford University. He has had previous appointments at University of Khartoum (Sudan), University of Ibadan (Nigeria), and Dartmouth College. He specializes in Comparative Politics (Africa), Comparative Democratization, and Problems of the Nation-State. His current research projects include state building and democracy, constitutionalism, and renewed democratization in Nigeria.

Daniel Kaufmann

Daniel Kaufmann is currently Senior Manager at the World Bank Institute, heading the Governance, Finance and Regulatory Reform Group. Regarded as a leading expert and advisor in the field of governance and institutional reform, he has published widely on academic and policy issues, pioneering new empirical and survey methodologies with colleagues at the World Bank and in academics. With his team, they support countries that request assistance in their efforts to improve governance and the environment for private sector development as well as civil society inclusion, and on efforts to build institutional capacity through a participatory and rigorous empirical, systemic and strategy-driven approach. He frequently advises State leaders, senior officials and civil society on strategies to improve governance, address corruption and institutional reform. Previously he was a Lead Economist at the Bank in the Development Economics Group and for countries in Transition. During the early nineties he was the first

Chief of Mission of the Bank in Ukraine, spearheading the initiation of a program with that country. He was a Visiting Scholar at Harvard University in the mid-nineties, where he provided policy advice on a range of economic and institutional issues to governments in emerging economies and in transition. He has published extensively in the leading economic and public policy journals on issues of economic development, privatization, investment productivity, governance, the unofficial economy, industrial and trade restructuring, corruption, transparency, urban poverty and labor economics. A Chilean national, Mr. Kaufmann received his Ph.D. and Master's degree in Economics at Harvard University, and a B.Sc. degree in Economics and Statistics from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Miriam Kornblith

Miriam Kornblith is an adjunct professor in the Political Science Department of Universidad Central de Venezuela (UCV) and a visiting researcher for the Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administracion (IESA). After earning her BA in Sociology from the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello in Caracas, Miriam Kornblith won a Fulbright fellowship to work as a visiting research fellow for Stanford University's Center for Latin American Studies from 1988 until 1991. She was a member of Venezuela's Presidential Commission of State Reform (COPRE) from 1994 to 1999; First Vice-President of the National Electoral Council (CNE) of Venezuela from February 1998 to March 1999; and Principal member of the CNE from March to December 1999. In addition to publishing numerous articles on Venezuelan institutional and constitutional reform, Kornblith has recently written a book about Venezuela's crisis of democracy in 1998, published by the IESA-UCV. Kornblith is a Ph. D. candidate at the Universidad Central de Venezuela (thesis pending).

Luis Alberto Lacalle

Luis Alberto Lacalle took office as President of Uruguay on March 1, 1990. While in office, President Lacalle signed the framework treaty creating the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR) along with Presidents Carlos Menem (Argentina), Fernando Collor de Mello (Brazil), and Andrés Rodríguez (Paraguay). Born in Montevideo in 1941, Dr. Lacalle earned his degree in Law at the University of the Republic, School of Law and Social Sciences (Montevideo). Dr. Lacalle has also received honorary doctorates from the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, the Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalem in Israel, the Universidad Autónoma in Guadalajara, Mexico, and the Universidad Nacional de Paraguay. Lacalle has been active in the National Party since he was 17, and has held many political positions, such as Representative in the lower house of Parliament, founder and Secretary General of the "Consejo Nacional Herrista," and member of the National Committee of the National Party. In 1984 Dr. Lacalle was elected Senator. While in this position, he worked on the Senate Finance Committee, the Transport Committee, and the Public Works Committee. He was also a member of the Special Committee on Political Parties. In 1987 Dr. Lacalle was named Vice-President of the Senate. Dr. Lacalle has published many essays and articles on key political and economic issues affecting Uruguay and Latin America.

Antonio Lacayo

Antonio Lacayo was the Minister of the Presidency during the Government of Doña Violeta de Chamorro in Nicaragua, from 1990 to 1995. He was in charge of the coordination of the government team, with direct responsibilities in the demobilization of the Contras, the reduction of the Army to one-sixth of its original size, the elimination of hyperinflation, the reduction of the foreign debt to one half, the structural adjustment program, the achievement of GDP growth of 4%, and the establishment of public liberties, independent branches of government, and reconciliation after ten years of civil war. Lacayo graduated from Georgia Tech as an Industrial Engineer and holds a master's degree in Management from MIT. Before entering public life as campaign manager for Doña Violeta in 1989, Lacayo was manager and director of several agro-industrial companies in Central America for 16 years. After leaving the government, he founded Proyecto Nacional, a centrist political party designed to continue the democratic transition process, and became its candidate for the presidency in the national elections of 1996. He was later denied the right to run due to new legislation forbidding relatives of the president to run. Since then, Lacayo went back to the private sector as a promoter of agro-industrial projects in Nicaragua and as a consultant to companies and organizations on a wide range of issues.

Marta Lagos

Marta Lagos is the director of Latinobarometro, an NGO started for the purpose of coordinating and conducting regular surveys on socio-political subjects in Latin America. The survey by the same name was conducted for the first time in 1995 in eight countries in Latin America and was conducted in 1996 in all 17 countries, with the exception of Cuba and the Dominican Republic. The results of Latinobarometro have been presented at summits of the Latin American presidents in 1996 and 1997. In 1990, Marta Lagos became director of CERC, where she founded Latinobarometro's predecessor, Barometro CERC. Through these polling initiatives, a database containing over ten years of trends in public opinion data has been created. It is the only database of its kind that has continuing information from dictatorship to democracy in the history of transitions to democracy. Her expertise in conducting comparative survey research has led to extensive consulting in the formation of regional opinion barometers, recently the Asian and Afro opinion barometers that follow the experience of the Euro and Latinobarometer. As a result of this experience a new organization has been built under her leadership, "Global Survey", that coordinates the comparative work that will be available from the four regional barometers, East Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America. Marta Lagos studied Sociology from Catholic University in Santiago Chile and her MA in Economics in Heidelberg Germany. She speaks Spanish, English, German, French and Italian.

Raj Lalsare

Raj Lalsare is the General Manager of Strategy and Business Development at Delta Airlines in Atlanta, Georgia.

Ramiro Larrea

Ramiro Larrea Santos is the President of the Commission on the Civic Control of Corruption in Ecuador. After having earned his law degree and teaching at the Universidad Catolica Santiago de Guayaquil, Larrea served as the Minister of Labor and Social Welfare from 1974-1975; the President and Justice of the Supreme Court from 1984-1989; and the President of an Anti-Corruption Commission since 1997. In addition to publishing articles on corruption and law, Larrea is a member of many professional and civic organizations in Ecuador.

Luis Lauredo

Ambassador Luis J. Lauredo is the U.S. Permanent Representative to the Organization of American States and National Coordinator for the Summit of the Americas (appointed by President William J. Clinton on December 22, 1999). At the OAS, Amb. Lauredo works with other hemispheric leaders to strengthen democracy, advance human rights, foster economic integration and promote peace and security throughout the Western Hemisphere. As the U.S. Government's Summit of the Americas Coordinator, Amb. Lauredo develops U.S. policy positions for the Summit and represents the U.S. in the three-country troika, which is spearheading preparations for the 2001 Summit in Quebec City, Canada. Amb. Lauredo previously served as the Executive Director of the 1994 Summit of the Americas in Miami. Prior to his appointment, Amb. Lauredo had an extensive career in the private sector, including serving as the President of Greenberg Traurig Consulting Inc., an affiliate of the international law firm Greenberg Traurig, where he specialized in international relations, energy, telecommunications, aviation, and banking issues. He was honored by *Hispanic Business* magazine as one of the nation's top "100 Influential Hispanics." Amb. Lauredo received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Columbia University. He also attended University of Madrid in Spain and Georgetown University Law Center.

Barry Levitt

From January through July 2000, Barry Levitt was Director of Political Analysis for the joint Carter Center / National Democratic Institute election observation mission in Peru. His previous work in international observation has included election monitoring in Mexico (August 1994) and observing the refugee return process in Guatemala (January - May 1995). Mr. Levitt has earned a BA and an MA in Political Science from McGill University and York University, respectively, and is completing a doctoral dissertation on political parties and electoral movements in Peru at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In 1998-99 he was a visiting scholar at the *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos*, Lima, Peru. Mr. Levitt is the author of several articles and book chapters on Latin American politics, and has received awards and fellowships from the National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Marc Lortie

On January 25, 2000, Mr. Marc Lortie was appointed as the Sherpa for the Third Summit of the Americas by Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. Mr. Lortie will be the Prime Minister's personal representative with overall responsibility for the Summit, which will be held in Quebec City from April 20-22, 2001. Mr. Lortie is a career diplomat with Canada's foreign service. He most recently served as Ambassador to Chile and is presently Senior Coordinator for Federal-Provincial Relations at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. Marc Lortie obtained a B.A. at the Séminaire de Québec and a specialized B.A. in Political Science (International Relations) at Laval University. In 1971, he joined the Department of External Affairs. He served abroad in Tunisia (1973-75) and Washington (1979-83). He was seconded to the Prime Minister's Office in 1985 where he was in charge of relations with the international media until 1987 when he was named Press Secretary. In 1989, he returned to the diplomatic service and served in Paris as Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs and as Personal Representative of the Prime Minister for La Francophonie. He was named Canadian Ambassador to Chile in 1993 and served in that position until 1997 when he was nominated Fellow at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. Mr. Lortie returned to Ottawa in September 1998 where he was appointed Senior Coordinator for Federal-Provincial Relations at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

Kenneth "Buddy" MacKay

Kenneth H. (Buddy) MacKay, Jr., serves in the Executive Office of the President as Special Envoy for the Americas. President Clinton created the position of Special Envoy for the Americas due to his recognition of the vital, unique and evolving importance of the relationship of the United States of America with the 33 other democratic nations in the Western Hemisphere. Gov. MacKay was appointed to the post on March 4, 1999 is only the second person to serve in this capacity. As Special Envoy for the Americas, Gov. MacKay advises the President and Vice President on hemispheric issues and concerns and works to advance Administration policies. Since his arrival at the White House, Gov. MacKay has traveled to 25 countries in the Americas and 18 cities in the United States working to promote hemispheric integration and improve understanding of issues such as the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Caribbean Basin Initiative, and strengthening democracies, hemispheric security, and human rights, among other issues. Gov. MacKay previously served as Lieutenant Governor of Florida from 1990 through 1998, and as Governor upon the untimely death of Governor Lawton Chiles. Among his many responsibilities and accomplishments as Lieutenant Governor, Gov. MacKay managed Florida's key role in the Summit of the Americas. Additionally, Gov. MacKay served three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, during which time he served on the Foreign Relations Committee and Drug Oversight Sub-Committee. Prior to his election to the U.S. House, Gov. MacKay was a member of the Florida State Senate from 1974 to 1980 and served in the Florida House of Representatives from 1968 to 1974. An attorney, Gov. MacKay received his Bachelor of Science degree in business administration from the University of Florida in 1954. He served in the U.S. Air Force as a pilot from 1955 to 1958, leaving military service to attend law school at his alma mater,

where he received his law degree in 1961. Gov. MacKay was in private law practice prior to entering the Florida House of Representatives.

Elena Martinez

Ms. Elena Martinez of Cuba was appointed Assistant Administrator and Regional Director of the Regional Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) on January 25, 1999 with effect from April 1, 1999. Ms. Martinez joined UNDP in 1972 as Assistant Program Officer, and was later appointed Associate Area Officer and then Regional Area Officer in New York (1972-75). She subsequently served as Assistant Resident Representative in Peru (1976-78); Assistant Resident Representative and later as Deputy Resident Representative in Venezuela (1978-80); Liaison Officer with the Regional Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC) in Chile (1980-82); Deputy Resident Representative in Mexico (1982-83); and Resident Representative in Venezuela (1983-88). Ms. Martinez then returned to Headquarters to serve as Chief, Division II (Central America in the Regional Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean (1988-92). She subsequently served as Deputy Regional Director (1992-93) and then as Acting Director (1993-95) of the Regional Bureau for Asia and the Pacific in New York. She served as Director, Office of the Administrator in New York (1995-97) and from September 1997 to April 1999, as Director of the Operations Support Group in New York. Ms. Martinez obtained a post graduate degree from the Institute d'Etudes Politiques in Paris, France and an MA in International Affairs from the University of Miami. In 1998, she successfully completed the World Bank Executive Development Program led by the Harvard Business School.

Shelley McConnell

Dr. Shelley McConnell is associate director of the Latin American and Caribbean Program. She supports the LACP director in tracking issues in inter-American relations, and plans and implements conflict resolution, anti-corruption, and democratization projects in coordination with the Council of Presidents and Prime Ministers of the Americas. She also is a visiting assistant professor in the Political Science Department of Emory University. She first joined The Carter Center as field office director for the Center's 1996 election monitoring mission in Nicaragua. Prior to that, she was an assistant professor of political science for four years and a Bard Center Fellow at Bard College in Annandale-on-Hudson, NY. Dr. McConnell earned both her doctorate and her master's degree in political science from Stanford University. In addition, Dr. McConnell authors conference papers and participates in roundtables, presentations and community education.

Jennifer McCoy

Dr. Jennifer McCoy was appointed director of the Latin American and Caribbean Program (LACP) in August 1998. She is also a political science professor at Georgia State University, and served previously at The Carter Center as associate director (1987-88) and Senior Research

Associate (1988-98). She has organized election missions in Nicaragua, Panama, Mexico, and Venezuela, and has been a member of election missions in Jamaica, Haiti, Guyana, and Suriname. Dr. McCoy directs the Carter Center's Transparency Project in Latin America, is organizing a hemispheric conference on Challenges to Democracy in Latin America for Fall 2000, and serves as Executive Secretary to the Center's Council of Presidents and Prime Ministers of the Americas. Dr. McCoy's research focuses on democratization in Latin America, the role of international actors in mediating processes of democratization, and global anti-corruption norms. She is editor and contributor to *Political Learning and Redemocratization in Latin America* (2000) and *Venezuelan Democracy Under Stress* (1995). Dr. McCoy received her doctorate from the University of Minnesota.

Elizabeth McQuerry

Elizabeth McQuerry is the coordinator of Latin America analysis in the Latin America Research Group (LARG) at the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. The LARG is a specialized research and analysis group in the Atlanta Fed's Research department, which studies economic, financial, and political developments in Latin America and the Caribbean. The analysis is used to assist in monitoring Latin American financial systems and in providing general assessments of macroeconomic conditions in the region. Dr. McQuerry holds a Ph.D. in government from the University of Texas at Austin. Her main research interests are the political economy of public sector reform and financial sector liberalization in Latin America. Prior to joining the bank in 1997, she taught at Trinity College and the University of Connecticut.

Johanna Mendelson

Johanna Mendelson Forman is a Senior Policy Advisor for Democracy and Governance at USAID's Bureau for Policy Planning and Coordination, where she directs the Agency's policy on post-conflict reconstruction, security and governance. For the last eighteen months she served as Social Scientist and Attorney at the World Bank's newly created Post Conflict Unit, on assignment from the United States Agency for International Development. Since 1994 she served as a Senior Advisor to the Office of Transition Initiatives, Bureau for Humanitarian Response. Her work focuses on security and development issues, with a special focus on civil-military issues, arms proliferation, internal security and peacekeeping. She has worked on Haiti's transition, in the design of the demobilization program for the former Haitian military. She also participated in the development of a communal governance program in Haiti, decentralizing resources and working to support democratic practices by providing funds for rehabilitation to local elected officials and community boards. As part of her work with USAID, she worked as designer of the Guatemala demobilization and incorporation program, which began in January 1997. She also holds an appointment as Scholar in Residence at The American University's School of International Service in Washington, D.C., where she teaches graduate courses on managing complex emergencies in the post-cold war world. For the last ten years she has directed a program to improve civil-military relations in Latin America, a groundbreaking effort to create a core of civilian leaders knowledgeable about military issues. Dr. Mendelson, who has been with USAID since 1993 and with The American University since 1986, previously

held positions at the Department of Justice, National Public Radio and the American Association of University Women, where she served as Director of public policy. She has published extensively on civil-military relations and democracy in Latin America. Dr. Mendelson holds a J.D. from Washington College of Law at The American University, a Ph.D. in Latin American history from Washington University, St. Louis, and a Masters of International Affairs, with a Certificate of Latin America Studies from Columbia University in New York. She is fluent in Spanish and Portuguese.

Juan Molinar Horcasitas

Juan Molinar has been an Electoral Advisor for the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) in Mexico since 1996. He is the author of *El tiempo de la legitimidad: elecciones, autoritarismo y democracia en México* (México: Cal y Arena, 1991 - first reprinting in 1993). Molinar holds a Master's degree in Political Science from El Colegio de México (1979-1981). His thesis was entitled, "Elecciones, Autoritarismo y Democracia en Mexico." He is a Ph. D. Candidate in Political Science at the University of California, San Diego.

Paco Moncayo

Paco Moncayo is the Mayor of Quito, Ecuador. He previously served as Head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces of Ecuador.

Ambler Moss

Ambler H. Moss, Jr. is the Director of the Dante B. Fascell North-South Center and Professor of International Studies at the University of Miami. He is of counsel to the law firm of Greenberg Traurig in Miami. He was the founding Dean of the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Miami, and held that position from 1984 to 1994. From 1977 to 1978 he was involved with the negotiation of the U.S.-Panama Canal Treaties and their ratification, and was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. In 1978 he was appointed Ambassador to Panama and member of the U.S.-Panama Consultative Committee, where he served until 1982. He was again appointed to the same Committee by President Clinton in January, 1995. Previously, as a career member of the Foreign Service, he served in Spain, in the U.S. Delegation to the Organization of American States, and as Spanish Desk Officer in the Department of State. Mr. Moss received his B.A. from Yale University in 1960 and his J.D. from the George Washington University in 1970. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations (New York), Royal Institute of International Affairs (London), International Institute of Strategic Studies (London) and Inter-American Dialogue (Washington). Mr. Moss is also a member of the Advisory Board of the Association of American Chambers of Commerce in Latin America. He was a member of the Steering Committee for the Summit of the Americas in Miami (December 1994) and is Special Advisor for International Trade and Commerce to the Latin Chamber of Commerce of the USA and the Hemispheric Congress. Mr. Moss is fluent in Spanish, French and Catalan.

Porfirio Muñoz Ledo

Porfirio Muñoz Ledo is Coordinator of the Mexican Commission for Reforming the State, a commission created by President-Elect Vicente Fox. He is the founder of the Partido de la Revolución Democrática and has been a major figure in Mexican government and politics. In 1995, Muñoz Ledo earned his Law Degree from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) and his doctorate in Political Science and Constitutional Law from the University of Paris in 1958. He has served as a Mexican diplomat to France; Secretary General of the IMSS (1966-1970); Undersecretary to President Echeverría (1971-1972); Minister of Labor (1972-1975); President of the PRI (1975-76); Minister of Education (1976-1977); and Special Advisor to the President (1978-79). From 1978 to 1985, Muñoz Ledo was the Mexican representative to the United Nations, where he was President of the Security Council and President of the G-77. He was a Senator of the Republic, representing Mexico City from 1988 to 1994. Additionally, from 1993 to 1996 he served as President of the Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD).

Adolfo Nanclares

Adolfo Enrique Nanclares is the Argentine Under-Secretary of Latin American Policy. He joined the Foreign Service in 1965 and, in 1999, was promoted to Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. His assignments include serving as Director of the South American Division of the Chancellery, Ambassador to the Kingdom of Morocco, Ambassador to Cuba, and Deputy Head at the Argentine Embassy in Washington, D.C. Ambassador Nanclares participated in numerous other assignments within the country as consulate, delegate, representative and civil assistant, and has served on overseas special assignments, such as head of Argentine Delegations in international conferences. Ambassador Nanclares also organized, coordinated and participated in significant cultural seminars, congresses, and events aimed at promoting Argentine culture. He has been decorated by the Governments of Japan, Spain, Morocco, Brazil, and Bolivia. Ambassador Nanclares studied law at the Law and Social Sciences School at Buenos Aires University and speaks Spanish, English, French, and Italian.

Laura Neuman

Laura Neuman is the Senior Program Associate for the Latin American and Caribbean Program at The Carter Center. She directs and implements transparency projects, such as editing a widely distributed booklet on fighting corruption in Jamaica and coordinating a transparency conference in Costa Rica. As part of her work on transparency, she facilitates a working group of leading Atlanta corporations on their work to promote ethical business practices. Ms. Neuman has also worked on election monitoring throughout the hemisphere, leading international observation delegations to the Dominican Republic and Venezuela. Prior to joining The Carter Center in August 1999, Ms. Neuman worked at Legal Action of Wisconsin, the state's largest legal services provider for low-income persons. Ms. Neuman was Senior Staff Attorney for the SeniorLAW program and supervised state benefits specialists in the delivery of legal services. In

1996, she won the prestigious Older Adult Service Providers' Consortium Advocate of the Year award. In 1997, Ms. Neuman worked in the Dominican Republic for one year, teaching AIDS awareness and education to over 1,000 students. She is a 1993 graduate of the University of Wisconsin Law School and received a bachelor's degree in international relations in 1989 from the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Maria O'Donnell

Maria O'Donnell has been the U.S. Correspondent for *La Nacion*, a newspaper from Buenos Aires, Argentina, since January 1999. Before moving to Washington DC, she worked for two years in *La Nacion* headquarters in Buenos Aires, as a correspondent for foreign affairs. She covered several meetings of the Grupo de Rio, the Cumbre Iberoamericana, Mercosur, and the second Summit of the Americas in Chile. Prior to joining *La Nacion*, O'Donnell spent six years working for *Pagina 12*, also dealing with foreign affairs and covering stories on former President Menem. O'Donnell graduated from la Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA) with a degree in Political Science and completed a Masters in Foreign Affairs at FLACSO (Facultad Latinoamericana en Ciencias Sociales). She did additional non-credit coursework at the School of International Affairs at John Hopkins University.

Michael O'Malley

Michael O'Malley is the Policy Planning Officer and Bureau Planning Coordinator (Resources) for US Department of State's Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs (WHA). Mike works in the Bureau's Office of Policy Planning and Coordination, the Bureau's regional affairs office where he oversees democracy issues and regional assistance programs. He joined the Foreign Service in 1987. Previous overseas assignments have been to Mexico, Iceland and Israel. Previous domestic assignments have been to the Colombia country desk in WHA and in the Secretary's Current Intelligence Office. He received a BA in History from Shepherd College, Shepherdstown, WV, and an MA in International Relations from the University of Pittsburgh.

Juan Esteban Orduz

Juan Esteban Orduz is Minister Deputy Chief of Mission at the Embassy of Colombia to the USA. He previously served as Legal Vice President at Cemex Colombia, Associate at Consultores Económicos & Jurídicos (economic and legal counselors), Adviser of Presidential Candidate Andrés Pastrana (current President of Colombia), Consul General of Colombia in Frankfurt, Germany, and Associate at the law firm Prieto, Montoya, Estrada & Associates. Dr. Orduz received a degree in law from El Rosario University in Bogotá and got a *Colegial de Número* distinction for academic performance. He also studied International Politics at the University of Vienna and has a post-graduate degree in Finance from Los Andes University in Bogotá.

Michael Orfini

Michael Orfini is a Captain in the United States Navy, currently serving as the Military Advisor for National Security Affairs to Vice President Gore. A graduate of Villanova University, University of Southern California, and Harvard University, he is responsible for staffing Western Hemisphere issues and global programs on the environment, counternarcotics, counterterrorism, and organized crime. He has served in the Office of the Vice President for four years.

Nelson Ortiz

Nelson Ortiz is an international consultant on economic and financial matters and a member of the Board of Directors of some of Venezuela's largest private corporations. He is also member of the board of the Caracas Stock Exchange, of *El Nacional* (Venezuela's leading newspaper), the Institute for Advanced Management Studies, IESA (a business school and think tank in Caracas), and Universidad Metropolitana and Museo Jacobo Borges (a modern art museum). He also chairs the economic committee of FEDECAMARAS, Venezuela's national chamber of commerce, the corporate finance committee of the Venezuelan Institute of Finance and is an advisor to Venezuela's Securities and Exchange Commission (Comisión Nacional de Valores). From 1992 to 1998 he was an advisor to the Latin America Merchant Banking Division at Bankers Trust, N.Y. Previously, he spent almost two decades at the Central Bank of Venezuela in different positions, including the President's Chief of Staff. On two occasions during his career at the Central Bank he was seconded to the economic cabinet where he served as its Technical Secretary. Mr. Ortiz was also the Coordinator of Venezuela's relations with the Multilateral Financial Institutions and member of the external debt restructuring team for the Brady Plan. Ortiz twice chaired the Committee of the Board of Governors of the Interamerican Development Bank. Mr. Ortiz is an economics graduate (1978) from Universidad Católica Andrés Bello in Caracas, Venezuela and holds both an MA in International Economics from Yale University (1981) and an MPA from Harvard University (1983). Mr. Ortiz is a frequent lecturer on finance and economics in Venezuela and abroad and regularly teaches a graduate course in financial economics. In 1985, his work won the Central Bank award for the best economic research of the year.

Phil Oxhorn

Phil Oxhorn is currently an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science, McGill University, Montreal. His research has focused on civil society and its role in both democratic transitions and the consolidation of new democracies in Latin America. His publications include *Organizing Civil Society: The Popular Sectors and the Struggle for Democracy in Chile* (Penn State University Press, 1995), as well as two co-edited volumes: *What Kind of Democracy? What Kind of Market? Latin America in the Age of Neoliberalism* (with Graciela Ducatenzeiler, Penn State University Press, 1998), and *The Market and Democracy In Latin America: Convergence or Divergence?* (with Pamela Starr, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999).

Robert Pastor

Robert Pastor has been Professor of Political Science at Emory University since 1985 and from then until 1998, was a Fellow and Founding Director of the Carter Center's Latin American and Caribbean Program and the Democracy and China Projects. He received his M.P.A. from the John F. Kennedy School of Government and his Ph.D. in Political Science from Harvard University. Dr. Pastor is the author or editor of twelve books and over 200 articles on U.S. foreign policy, human rights and democratization, trade policy, immigration, economic development, and Latin America and the Caribbean. As Executive Secretary (1986-1998) of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, a group of leaders chaired by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, Dr. Pastor pioneered the field of "election mediation" and organized the Council's efforts to monitor elections in 20 countries in the hemisphere, the Middle East, China, and Africa. The mediation in Nicaragua (1989-90) and Haiti (1990) resulted in the first elections in the two nations' history that were judged free and fair by all the political parties and the international community.

Jacinto Peynado

Jacinto Peynado is the former Vice-President of the Dominican Republic. Currently, he is working in the private sector.

Sebastian Piñera

Sebastian Piñera is the President of Fundación Futuro in Chile.

Eduardo Pizarro

Eduardo Pizarro Leongomez, a specialist on civil conflict in Colombia, is a Visiting Fellow at the Kellogg Institute of the University of Notre Dame. Earlier this year, Pizarro was the Edward Larocque Tinker Professor at the Institute for Iberian Studies of Columbia University in New York. After having earned his bachelor's degree in Political Science from the University of the Andes, Pizarro earned a Master's degree in International Relations from the Universidad Externado de Colombia, and a DEA from the Instituto de Estudios Politicos de Paris in Political Science. In addition to participating on several commissions on party reform and social conflict in Colombia, Pizarro has published numerous works on the Colombian peace process, party reform, and the guerrilla war in Colombia.

Juan Jose Pons

Juan Jose Pons is a Deputy of the Ecuadorian Congress, and served as its President from 1998-2000. He has also held office in the public sector as President of the Board of Directors of

Banco de Desarrollo del Ecuador (BEDE) during the administration of President Osvaldo Hurtado, and was Minister of Industries, Commerce, Integration, and Fishing during the first year President Rodrigo Borja Cevallos was in office. Additionally, Mr. Pons was a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of Ecuador in 1987. Mr. Pons has also worked in the private sector as General Manager of Costatrading and President of the Ecuadorian Federation of Exporters (FEDEXPOR). He also served as a member of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce of Guayaquil. Mr. Pons studied at the University of Guayaquil and at University of San Francisco, California, where he obtained his master's degree in business administration.

Beatrice Rangel

Beatrice E. Rangel is Senior Advisor to the Chairman of the Cisneros Group of Companies. In this capacity, she provides substantive support to the Chairman and CEO and the President of the Cisneros Group of Companies on corporate relations policies and strategies. The Cisneros Group of Companies is a pan Ibero American Internet centric multimedia platform with revenues in excess of \$4 billion and holdings in Europe, Latin America and the United States. From February-August 2000, Ms. Rangel was Interim President of Project Freedom, a Telecommunications company planning to launch a facility-based marketing strategy targeting U.S. Latino owned or led small to medium sized businesses. Prior to this, she was Senior Vice-President of Corporate Strategies of the Cisneros Group of Companies. Her accomplishments in this role include identifying and guiding Cisneros' early entry into the Caribbean media market through investment in the Caribbean Communications Network and designing, developing, and implementing a distance learning teacher-training project as complementary service to DIRECTV in Latin America. Ms. Rangel also was a member of the Board of Directors of AVENSA (1984-1990) and HOTURVENSA (1985-1989). From 1972-1992, Ms. Rangel worked for the Government of Venezuela in positions such as Chief of Staff of the Minister of the Secretariat of the Presidency, Advisor to the Minister of Science and Technology, Foreign Affairs Director of the National Council for Scientific and Technological Research (CONCIT), and Chief of Staff of Ministry of Education. Ms. Rangel received an MA in Public Administration from Harvard University (1981), an MS in Development Economics from Boston University (1975), and a BA in International Affairs from Central University of Venezuela (1972).

Ariel Rivera

Ariel Rivera is the Ambassador of Guatemala to the United States of America.

Kenneth Roberts

Ken Roberts is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of New Mexico with a specialization in comparative and Latin American politics. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford University in 1992. Among his many appointments, Dr. Roberts has served as Visiting Research Associate at the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales in Santiago, Chile. He is the author of numerous publications on democracy, elections and voting behavior, and conflict resolution in Latin America. He has been conducting research on

Venezuelan politics as part of a comparative study of the transformation of party systems in contemporary Latin America. He was also a member of The Carter Center's 1998 and 2000 election observation delegations to Venezuela.

Nobina Robinson

Nobina Robinson is currently Executive Director of the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL). Ms. Robinson has been a valued member of the FOCAL staff since joining in 1998 as Senior Policy Advisor. In July 1999, she was promoted to Deputy Executive Director and Director of Policy and has worked closely with FOCAL staff and Interim Executive Director John Graham in expanding FOCAL's network of experts and policy makers concerned with issues facing the Latin American and Caribbean region. Ms. Robinson has been the prime mover in developing new partnerships with the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy, International Institute for Sustainable Development, Florida International University, ESQUEL Group Foundation, and the Chilean NGO *Participa*, among others. She has been active in revitalizing FOCAL's relationship with the Inter-American Dialogue, and in developing a Cuba Research Forum with the Ford Foundation and the International Development Research Centre. Ms. Robinson spent seven years as a 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 Organization of American States. She was a member of the Canadian delegation to the Santiago Summit of the Americas in 1998. In addition to her membership in the Inter-American Dialogue, Phi Beta Kappa Honor Society and the Canadian Institute for International Affairs, Ms. Robinson was elected recently to the Board of Directors of the Canadian Association for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CALACS). She holds degrees from Amherst College (USA), Oxford University and Yale University.

Peter Romero

Peter F. Romero is Assistant Secretary of State (Acting/Designate) of the new Western Hemisphere Affairs Bureau (Canada to Chile). A 23-year career diplomat, he previously served *inter alia* as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, U.S. Ambassador to Ecuador, and Charge of our Embassy in San Salvador. The bureau he leads is responsible for promoting U.S. interests in the Western Hemisphere in support of strengthening democratic institutions, expanding U.S. trade opportunities and sustainable economic development, and fostering cooperation on counternarcotics, crime, and poverty reduction. Mr. Romero is responsible for defending budget proposals in Congress and executing an annual operations and assistance budget in excess of \$1.5 billion. Mr. Romero played a key role in support of the peaceful resolution of the border dispute between Peru and Ecuador. His diplomatic negotiations skills also bore fruit in the peace accords and their implementation between 1991 and 1993 in El Salvador. Mr. Romero is the highest-ranking U.S. Hispanic in the Department of State. Born in New York, Peter Romero received a Bachelor of Science Degree and a Master of Arts Degree in International Relations from Florida State University in 1971 and 1972, respectively.

Rafael Roncagliolo

Rafael Roncagliolo is a founding member of TRANSPARENCIA and has been General Secretary since 1994 (Peru). He is a sociologist and journalist, and has authored numerous books and articles on communications, which have been published in more than 10 languages. Mr. Roncagliolo is a member of the World Council for Radio and Television (sponsored by UNESCO) and Member of Honor of the Federation of Faculties of Communications of Latin America. In addition, Roncagliolo is a lecturer of postgraduate courses on communications in the University of Lima, Catholic University of Lima; and postgraduate courses on sociology in the National University of San Marcos (Peru). He has also been visiting lecturer of postgraduate courses on communications in the University of Quebec in Montreal, the Iberoamerican University of Mexico, and the Catholic University of Ecuador. On occasion, Mr. Roncagliolo has worked a consultant in communications for the UNDP, UNESCO, CEPAL, IDB, OAS and SELA, and for the governments of Germany, United States and Italy.

Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada

President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, as a Senator and Minister of Planning in Bolivia, gained popular recognition as the co-author of the 1985 economic “shock therapy” program, which brought Bolivia’s 25,000 percent hyper-inflation 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, President 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 in state-owned monopolies by strategic foreign partners and the transfer of government-owned shares to private pension fund administrators, which now distribute a yearly lifetime bonus to people over 65 years of age; and judicial reform.

Lloyd Erskine Sandiford

Lloyd Erskine Sandiford was the fourth Prime Minister of Barbados (1987-1994). He was a Member of the Parliament of Barbados for 32 years from 1967 to 1999, representing the Constituency of St. Michael South from 1971 to 1999. Additionally, he has held many positions in government and in the opposition, including serving as Deputy Prime Minister, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Leader of the House, as well as President, Vice President, and Secretary of the Democratic Labour Party of Barbados. Currently, Mr. Sandiford holds the position of Distinguished Fellow in the Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies at the

University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus, Barbados. Mr. Sandiford has taught at secondary and tertiary levels of education for some twenty years in Barbados and Jamaica and has been a Visiting Scholar in Residence at Penn State University. Additionally, he has lectured at numerous universities, including Seton Hall University, University of Maryland, Emory University, University of Miami, and Harvard University. Mr. Sandiford also has extensive experience in international affairs and has headed many delegations from Barbados to international meetings and conferences. Mr. Sandiford has authored books, numerous newspaper articles, six volumes of speeches, and a collection of poems. His most recent book is entitled, *Politics and Society in Barbados and the Caribbean, An Introduction* (Cassia Publishing Limited, Barbados, 2000). Mr. Sandiford holds an Upper Second Class Degree in English from the University of the West Indies and an MA in Economics and Social Studies from the University of Manchester.

Elias Santana

Elias Santana is the Executive Director of Queremos Eligir, a domestic electoral observation group in Venezuela. He is also the Ombudsman of the newspaper, *El Nacional*.

Jorge Santistevan

Jorge Santistevan de Noriega became Peru's first Ombudsman in April, 1996. Santistevan de Noriega earned his law degree from the Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru in 1975 after having done post-graduate work at the University of Wisconsin, and at University of New York as an Inter-American Law Institute scholar. He has worked for several research organizations, including the Center for Development (DESCO), Institute for Peruvian Studies (IEP), the International Organization of Labor, and for the United Nations' Refugees Unit. Santistevan has worked in San Jose de Costa Rica, Buenos Aires, Geneva, and Mexico. In addition to serving as Ombudsman, Santistevan is also the Vice President of the International Institute of Ombudsman (IOI), Vice President of the Latin American and Caribbean chapter of IOI, the First Vice-President of the Ibero-American Federation of Ombudsman (FIO), and is a council member for the International Association for Civilian Oversight and Law Enforcement (IACOLE).

Alejandro Santos Rubino

Alejandro Santos Rubino is Director of *Semana* magazine, the most influential political publication in Colombia. He is an Economist with post-graduate studies in Communications Law and has been an invited researcher at the Center for Latin American Studies - School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, Washington D.C. He received the National Journalism Award for the best press investigation in 1991 and 1997. Mr. Santos has also worked for the *Miami Herald*.

Margaret Sarles

Dr. Margaret Sarles is head of Democracy and Human Rights for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean (1996-present). In that capacity, she is responsible for regional democracy policy development and implementation, working with USAID missions in 16 Latin American countries in all aspects of democratic development, including justice, human rights and rule of law; elections and political parties; civil-military relations; democratic local governance and decentralization; governmental accountability, transparency and anti-corruption; and civil society development. She was previously Chair of Latin American Studies at the Foreign Service Institute/State Department, which prepares the U.S. public sector for assignments overseas (1989-96). As a political scientist, she has taught at several universities in Brazil (Fundacao Getulio Vargas and Pontificia Universidade Catolica/Rio de Janeiro) and in the United States (Lafayette College, American University, St. Mary's College), and has written on the process of Brazilian democratization and regional democracy issues. She is currently working on the process of justice reform in Latin America.

Michael Shifter

Michael Shifter has been a Senior Fellow and Program Director at the Inter-American Dialogue since April 1994. He develops and implements the Dialogue's program strategy in the area of democratic governance and human rights. He also commissions policy-relevant articles and edited books, and prepares policy reports and other documents. Since 1993, Mr. Shifter has taught Latin American politics at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. Mr. Shifter writes and talks widely on US-Latin American relations and hemispheric affairs. His recent articles have appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *Current History*, *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *Miami Herald*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Harvard International Review* and other publications. In the past several years, he has testified four times before Congress about US policy towards Latin America. Prior to joining the Inter-American Dialogue, Mr. Shifter directed the Latin American and Caribbean program at the National Endowment for Democracy and, before that, the Ford Foundation's governance and human rights program in the Andean region and Southern Cone, where he was based, first, in Lima, Peru and then in Santiago, Chile. In the mid-1980s, he was a Representative in Brazil with the Inter-American Foundation, where he also worked in the Office of Research and Evaluation. Mr. Shifter is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Latin American Studies Association. He is currently a contributing editor to *Current History* and serves on the Board of Directors of the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) and on the Advisory Board of the Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies at Columbia University. Mr. Shifter graduated summa cum laude from Oberlin College and got a Master's Degree in Sociology from Harvard University, where he taught Latin American development and politics for four years.

Horace Sibley

Horace Sibley is a Senior Partner of King & Spalding with 30 years of experience in national and international business transactions. Mr. Sibley is a member of the Corporate, Joint Venture, Latin American and Merger & Acquisition Practice Groups. Over the years, Mr. Sibley has represented a number of companies in the telecommunications, construction, e-commerce, software and health care industries and is currently representing companies doing business in Latin America and emerging technology companies. For 8 years, Mr. Sibley was lead counsel for the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, Inc., which organized the 1996 Centennial Olympic Games. In this capacity, he was responsible for the Olympic Committees 1.7 billion dollar world-wide marketing and licensing activities, negotiating broadcast rights agreements with leading world television broadcasters, and protecting the Olympic trademarks and other intellectual property worldwide. In addition to representing companies in international transactions, Mr. Sibley is Chairman of the Southern Center for International Studies, a member of The Carter Center Board of Councilors, a member of the Society of International Business Fellows, and a member of Rotary International. Mr. Sibley is also the Honorary Consul for the Dominican Republic in Atlanta. Mr. Sibley earned a Bachelors Degree from Vanderbilt University; a Doctor of Laws Degree from the University of Georgia with distinction, where he was Editor-in-Chief of the law school's *Law Journal*; and a Master of Business Administration Degree from Georgia State University. During the years 1964 through 1966, he served in the U.S. Army Infantry where he achieved the rank of Captain and was awarded the Army Commendation Medal for Meritorious Service.

Michael Skol

Ambassador Michael Skol is a pioneer in the field of anti-corruption, ethics and counter-money laundering services for governments, international institutions and private firms. He joined Decision Strategies/Fairfax International as Managing Director for Latin America in 1998. The Ambassador entered the private sector following a 30-year career in the U.S. Foreign Service. As Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs from 1993 to 1996, he was Washington's premier 'trouble-shooter' for crises in a number of Latin American countries. He negotiated the agreement with Cuba that ended the 1994 Cuban 'Rafter' affair and successfully mediated the disputed Dominican presidential election that same year. Ambassador Skol was the principal developer of the "No to Corruption" initiative agreed to at the December 1994 Summit of the Americas in Miami. From 1990 to 1993 he was U.S. Ambassador to Venezuela. Additionally, Ambassador Skol was the co-creator and original co-host of the weekly CNN-Spanish Television Network talk show, "Choque de Opiniones." He is also the Advisor on Transparency and Anti-Corruption to the Andean Development Corporation and represents it on the Donor Consultative Group on Accountability/Anti-Corruption in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Elizabeth Spehar

Elizabeth Spehar has been Executive Coordinator of the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy of the Organization of American States since January 23, 1995. In this capacity, she has spoken extensively on OAS and democracy issues as well as written on these themes for a variety of publications. Among other duties, she has been involved in organizing a number of the Organization's largest electoral observation missions and has also been strongly involved in the development of the Unit's expertise and activities in the emerging field of conflict resolution. Previous professional experience includes work as a development consultant for agencies such as the International Development and Research Centre (IDRC) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), particularly in the areas of Latin American regional organizations, human rights and women and development; United Nations Development Programme (Programme Officer); Match International, an NGO dedicated to women in development (Project Officer – Latin America). Her academic background includes a B.A. Honours from Queen's University at Kingston, Canada, Diplome d'Études Supérieures from the Université de Pau, France, and a Masters Degree in International Affairs (Development Studies – concentration in Latin America, Women in Development), from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.

Gordon Streeb

As The Carter Center's Associate Executive Director for the Prevention and Resolution of Conflict, Dr. Streeb oversees Center projects to promote democracy, human rights, economic development, and conflict resolution. Dr. Streeb came to the Center in 1994 as Diplomat-in-Residence near the end of a 30-year career in the U.S. Foreign Service, a professional path that included assignments in West Berlin, Mexico, Geneva, and New Delhi, culminating in his appointment as Ambassador to Zambia from 1990-1993. His Washington assignments included several policy positions in international economic development. An economist by training, for several years Dr. Streeb directed the Center's Global Development Initiative, an innovative project to assist emerging democracies in creating sustainable development plans. He also has directed the Center's Liberia Project. He earned his doctorate in economics from the University of Minnesota.

Alfredo Toro Hardy

Alfredo Toro Hardy is the Ambassador of Venezuela to the United States of America.

Eduardo Torres Cisneros

Eduardo Torres Cisneros is a lawyer and journalist in El Salvador. He is Editor-in-Chief of *La Prensa Grafica*. He also serves as Press Secretary to President Armando Calderon Sol, Director of the Editorial Board of *El Diario de Hoy*, Director of the Editorial Board of Telecorporación

Salvadoreña (channels 2, 4 & 6), and host of the daily morning political interview "Frente a Frente."

Harold Trinkunas

Harold Trinkunas is Assistant Professor in the Department of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. His research and writing focuses on Latin American politics, particularly on democratization. Recent publications include "Crafting Civilian Control in Emerging Democracies" in the *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* and "The Crisis in Venezuelan Civil-Military Relations: from Punto Fijo to the Fifth Republic" in *Latin American Research Review* (forthcoming). He is currently writing a book on civilian control of the armed forces in emerging democracies. In addition to being a faculty member in the NSA department, Professor Trinkunas also serves as the program manager for the U.S. National Guard Distance Learning Initiative at the Center for Civil Military Relations. Additionally, he served as the field officer for The Carter Center electoral observation mission in Venezuela during the highly contested 1998 congressional and presidential elections. He continues to participate in electoral observation missions with The Carter Center. Professor Trinkunas received a Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford University in 1999, having previously completed an M.A. at the same institution in 1994. He received a B.S. in Economics and a B.A. in Political Science from the University of Pennsylvania in 1991. He was a Stanford Ayacucho research fellow in Venezuela and Argentina (1994-95), and a MacArthur fellow at the Center for International Security and Arms Control in 1996.

Juan Gabriel Valdes

Juan Gabriel Valdes is the Chilean Ambassador to the United Nations. Prior to holding this post, he served as the Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs. From 1996 to 1999 he was Vice Minister for International Economic Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Between 1994 and 1996, he was director of the International division of the Chilean Ministry of Finance and Coordinator of the NAFTA Negotiating Team. In 1996, he was the Lead Negotiator of the Free Trade Agreement between Chile and Canada. Valdes has over 20 years of experience in matters related to international relations. He was also the Director of an academic center specializing in Latin American political and economic analysis. Valdes did his undergraduate work at the Universidad Católica de Chile Law School, received a Master's degree in Political Science and Latin American Studies from Essex University in Great Britain, and received a Ph.D. in Political Science from Princeton University.

Jorge Vargas Cullel

Jorge Vargas Cullel is the Deputy Director of Project State of the Nation in Sustainable Human Development (Sponsors: UNDP, European Union, Costa Rican Ombudsman and National Council of Public Universities). From 1998 to 2000, Vargas was Co-director of the Citizen's Audit on the Quality of Democracy in Costa Rica (Sponsors: UNDP/Swedish International

Development Authority (SIDA)). He spent 8 years working as a consultant for the InterAmerican Development Bank, UNDP, SIDA, and USAID throughout Latin America. Additionally, Mr. Vargas was the first Director of the Housing Subsidy Fund, National Housing Mortgage Bank from 1987-1990. Vargas received his bachelor's degree in Sociology from the University of Costa Rica and is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Government and International Studies at the University of Notre Dame, USA.

George Vickers

Dr. George R. Vickers is Executive Director of the Washington Office on Latin America, a center for policy analysis and advocacy that works to secure human rights in Latin America and to shape a U.S. foreign policy that advances human rights, democracy and equitable economic growth in the hemisphere. He has served as Executive Director since June 1993. From 1986 to 1993, Dr. Vickers served as Director of the Institute for Central American Studies in New York and, from 1975 to 1997, he was Professor of Sociology at the Graduate Center and Brooklyn College of the City University of New York. Dr. Vickers has served on numerous election observer delegations in Central and South America, and co-directed missions monitoring the implementation of peace agreements in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala. He is the author of several books and has written extensively on the dynamics of revolutionary movements and democratization processes in Latin America. Dr. Vickers is a member of the boards of directors of Hemisphere Initiatives, the Washington Office on Latin America, and the Institute for Central American Studies. He is a mentor at the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Public Policy. He did his undergraduate studies at Northwestern University, and earned his M.A. and Ph.D at Washington University in St. Louis.

Jose Miguel Vivanco

José Miguel Vivanco, a Chilean national, was born in Santiago on January 3, 1961. He first studied law at the University of Chile and Salamanca Law School in Spain, going on to receive an LL.M. from Harvard Law School in 1990. Since 1982, Vivanco has been active in the field of international human rights law, receiving several scholarships and fellowships and authoring numerous publications. During 1986 and 1987 he served as an attorney for Human Rights Watch (formerly known as Americas Watch). He then became legal advisor and attorney to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States (OAS). In 1990 he founded the Center for Justice and International Law (CEJIL), an NGO that files complaints for human rights violations before the United Nations and the OAS, and functioned as its Executive Director for the next four years. Vivanco took up his current position as Executive Director of the Americas Division of Human Rights Watch in September 1994. During the past year he has directed extensive research projects focusing on various Latin American countries, including Colombia, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Brazil, and Cuba. These projects are followed by a strong advocacy campaign to influence policy, consisting of meetings with high-level government officials including presidents, ministers, ambassadors, and politicians, coupled with an extensive media outreach campaign. In addition, he is adjunct

professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center and the School of Advanced International Studies of the John Hopkins University.

Glenn Weidner

Colonel Glenn R. Weidner, United States Army, is a foreign area specialist who has served in Security Assistance and joint-staff positions in Honduras, Chile, and Panama. In 1995 he led the U.S. contingent of the multinational observer mission that facilitated the resolution of the Peru-Ecuador border conflict. He is a graduate of the Inter-American Defense College, holds a Master's Degree in Spanish from Middlebury College, and was the Army's Senior Fellow at Harvard's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs in 1997-98. He has written on the Peru-Ecuador border rivalry and the Inter-American Military System. He currently serves as the Commandant, U.S. Army School of the Americas.

Kurt Weyland

Kurt Weyland is Associate Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt University. He is the author of *Democracy without Equity: Failures of Reform in Brazil* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996) and of articles on social policy, neoliberal reform, and populism in Latin America. His book manuscript entitled "The Politics of Market Reform in Fragile Democracies: Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Venezuela" is currently under review.

Laurence Whitehead

Laurence Whitehead is an Official Fellow in Politics at Nuffield College, Oxford University and Senior Fellow of the College. In 1986, the Johns Hopkins University Press published *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* (edited by Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead). Since 1989, he has been co-editor of *The Journal of Latin American Studies* published by Cambridge University Press. He is also editor of an Oxford University Press book series, 'Studies in Democratization'. The first book in the series *International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe and the Americas* (edited by Laurence Whitehead) was published in 1996.

Daniel Zovatto

Daniel Zovatto G. is a native of Argentina. He holds a degree in Political Science and International Relations from the Catholic University of Cordoba (1979-1980), a Law degree from the National University of Cordoba (1981), a post-graduate degree in Diplomacy from the Spanish Foreign Ministry School of Diplomacy, Spain (1984), a degree in Human Rights Law from the Complutense University, Spain (1984), a PhD. in International Law from the Complutense University, Spain (1987) and a Masters degree in Public Management from the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (1993). He has been the Assistant-Director

and the Deputy-Director of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights (1989-1996); the Executive Director of Centre for Promotion and Electoral Assistance (CAPEL --1989 -1996); the Founding and Chief Editor of “La Revista de Derechos Humanos” (1985-1996); the Founding and Chief Editor of “Boletín Electoral Latinoamericano” (1990-1996); the Executive Secretary of the “Protocolo of Tikal” (1989-1996); the Founding member and Executive Secretary of the “Protocolo de Quito” (1990-1996) and the Executive Secretary of the Inter-American Electoral Union (1991-1996). Additionally, Zovatto has undertaken dozens of electoral observation missions in Latin America and a large number of technical assistance missions for the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights and for CAPEL. More recently he has worked as a consultant for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights. He has published a large number of articles, as well several books on human rights, democracy and elections in Latin America. Daniel Zovatto joined International IDEA as a Senior Executive in May 1997.