



**Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum**

**Final Report**

**February 7, 2013**

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## Foreword

The Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum, formed in 2010 in a joint effort by The Carter Center and International IDEA, aimed to create a space for prominent citizens to address issues of common concern through dialogue and exchange of ideas. These influential members of civil society from Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, the United States and Venezuela share a common concern for human welfare and the prosperity of the region.

Members of the Forum were convinced that governments alone cannot solve the problems that the countries face. In this sense, the Andean-US Dialogue Forum supported the vital role of civil society in overcoming simplified stereotypes and generating creative and sustainable solutions to shared problems.

The members from the six countries came together believing that communication, empathy, and understanding have been the key to constructive and cooperative relationships. Absence of these elements has led to disputes, conflicts and even war. Among Andean countries and in their dealings with the United States, recent years have seen conflicts, broken diplomatic relations, and overheated rhetoric distorting reality and creating public misperception.

Over eighteen months, Forum members worked to increase mutual understanding, create collaborative initiatives and promote cooperation in pressing areas of concern, such as drug policy, media polarization and inclusive economic development. Under the Forum umbrella, dialogue sessions have been held in Atlanta, Lima and Washington, D.C.; U.S. members have visited each Andean country to broaden their awareness of each country's unique political, economic, and social situation; Colombian, Venezuelan and U.S. directors, editors, and journalists have reached a deeper understanding of how media coverage of bilateral agendas influence relations between the countries; and recommendations toward a common agenda between the Andean countries and the United States have been shared with key actors in all six countries.

This final report intends to document and share the experience of the Andean – U.S. Dialogue Forum. We would also like to thank the numerous persons in the six countries who have contributed to the success of this initiative. Our first project manager, Santiago Mariani, worked tirelessly to coordinate country teams in six countries. We appreciate his enthusiasm and passion for improving relations among us all. Our second project manager, Karin Andersson, ably organized our efforts, drafted eloquent reports and impressed us all with her professionalism and gentle prodding to ensure we all worked harmoniously and produced results. Francisco Diez contributed to the original idea for the project and capably facilitated our early meetings with his own creativity and passion. Country coordinators and advisors Alejandro Nató, José María Paz, Dolores Padilla, Camila Lanusse, Oscar Sánchez, Héctor Vanolli and Kelly McBride were the ones holding us together in each country. Socorro Ramírez provided her unending energy and creativity as strategic advisor to the project. The support of President Enrique García and Ana María Sanjuán of the Andean Development Corporation (CAF) were critical to the success of the project. Finally we thank all of the members of the Forum for their insights, ideas and

willingness to embark on this adventure and contribute to a much deeper understanding among us all.

Jennifer McCoy  
*Director, Americas Program*  
*The Carter Center*  
*Atlanta*

Kristen Sample  
*Head of Mission, Andean Region*  
*International IDEA*  
*Lima*

## List of Acronyms

ATPDEA	Andean Trade Preference and Drug Eradication Act
CAF	Andean Development Corporation (Corporación Andina de Fomento)
CAN	Andean Community of Nations (Comunidad Andina de Naciones)
DEVIDA	National Commission on Development and Life without Drugs of Peru (Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo y Vida sin Drogas, Perú)
EU	European Union
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia)
FLACSO	Latin American Faculty for Social Sciences (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales)
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IEP	Institute of Peruvian Studies
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OAS	Organization of American States
TCC	The Carter Center
UMSA	Universidad Mayor de San Andrés
UNASUR	Union of South American Nations (Unión de Naciones Suramericanas)
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VTV	Venezuelan Television (Venezolana de Televisión)
WOLA	Washington Office on Latin America

## Introduction

This final report summarizes the most relevant aspects of the Dialogue Forum and builds on various project documents, reports and an external evaluation of the initiative, which included interviews, anonymous surveys and a participatory evaluation exercise among the Forum members.

The report describes the regional context that inspired and influenced the initiative and covers the process of designing a multi-country dialogue initiative, including project methodology and implementation; the efforts undertaken to ensure political will among political leaders in the Andean region and in the United States; and the criteria for identifying the key building blocks of the project—its members. Finally, the complex staffing structure needed for this type of undertaking is briefly described.

Over the course of the project, Forum members engaged in a multitude of activities to promote mutual understanding and to create innovative policy proposals. This included four dialogue sessions between all Forum members: one in Atlanta, Georgia; two in Lima, Peru; and one in Washington, D.C. The main content and results of these sessions are outlined in this report. The Forum was designed to promote a deeper understanding of the diversity of the six countries, as well as each country's political, social and economic context. As part of these efforts, U.S. members visited each Andean country to learn more about their unique situations.

The members identified common ground in the area of improving relations and cooperation to address shared transnational challenges. To this end, Forum members developed an educational and advocacy document, *Toward a Common Agenda between the Andean Countries and the United States*, which explains the ties among the countries and presents new data on elite and public opinion of policy priorities and points of consensus for cooperation among the countries. This report was then disseminated in all six countries to decision makers, civil society, academia and the media.

Members from all six countries formed transnational working groups to explore priority issues such as drug policy and organized crime; the role of the media in relations between countries; inclusive development and trade; and conflicting conceptualizations of democracy. Highlights of their activities include the development of a publication on drug policy in the Andes to contribute to the global debate; four dialogues between prominent Colombian, Venezuelan and, later, U.S. editors, newspaper directors and journalists; and targeted advocacy efforts by Forum



Members of the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum at the first dialogue session at The Carter Center in Atlanta, February 2010

members on crucial economic policy issues. Their efforts are described in Section 3 of this report.

The report finishes with the preliminary findings of this civil society dialogue initiative and outlines some lessons learned from the project that can benefit the community of practice and other practitioners in the field of civil society dialogue.

## **1 The need for civil society dialogue between the Andean countries and the United States: regional context**

The Andes is a dynamic region of 127 million people with a wealth of natural resources that has demonstrated impressive development progress. Boasting a gross domestic product of \$1 trillion and \$100 billion in imports, the region has substantially matured over the past decade. The Andes weathered the financial crisis well, and poverty has been substantially reduced since the mid-1990s.

However, democratic stability and governance in the Andes are negatively impacted by a lack of cooperation in addressing shared threats among neighboring countries. Illegal armed actors, drug producers and traffickers, and criminal elements do not respect national boundaries. In addition, environmental damage spills over into neighboring countries, and internal turmoil and conflict produce displaced peoples and refugees and broken diplomatic relations, and ideological divides restrain trade. Strained relations with the United States contribute to the disputes among Andean countries and impede cooperation that could bring greater security and economic well-being for the Andean peoples, as well as progress on curtailing drug trafficking, increasing energy supplies, and creating stable commercial and investment relationships of interest to U.S. citizens. Likewise, policy makers in the United States often feel unfairly stigmatized by anti-imperialist and anti-American messages at the same time that Andean countries ask the United States to make greater contributions and policy changes.

At the outset of the project, relations between Andean neighbors were often tenuous, and included border disputes such as the trilateral maritime issue involving Bolivia, Peru and Chile; the year-long disruption of diplomatic relations between Colombia and Ecuador after a cross-border incursion; continued volatility on the Colombia-Venezuelan border; and tense relations between Bolivia and Peru. The formal integration scheme of the Andean Community of Nations (formerly the Andean Pact) continues to be weak, and today comprises only four countries. Ideological divides were obstructing negotiations on regional trade agreements with the United States and the European Union (EU), and bilateral trade and investment between Andean countries were negatively affected by political tension.

Relations among the Andean countries have affected (and have been affected by) their relations with the United States, ranging from Colombia, one of the largest American aid recipients in the world (Plan Colombia), to countries with no ambassadorial relationship with the United States. At the time of writing of this report, the United States did not have ambassadorial relationships with Bolivia, Ecuador or Venezuela. Peru and Colombia maintain good relations with, and favor free trade agreements with, the United States and the EU. Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela have



tense relations with the United States and desire fairer trade agreements that are more tailored to their needs. Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador are part of the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas, which seeks such changes to free trade agreements.

The historically difficult relationship between many of the countries in the Andean Region and the United States deteriorated still further during the Bush Administration, resulting in a decline in confidence and trust. During this period, misperceptions and misunderstandings between countries were inflamed by polarized and politicized media coverage and microphone diplomacy. Tensions rose in response to the Bush Administration’s hard-power approach to diplomacy and were made worse by an ill-fated, U.S.-applauded attempted coup against President Chávez in 2002 and increased military cooperation with Colombia.

Following the election of U.S. President Barack Obama in 2008, many in Latin America envisioned improved, strengthened relations between the United States and other countries in the hemisphere. President Obama pledged during the Fifth Summit of the Americas in Trinidad and Tobago in April 2009 that his administration would initiate a new chapter of engagement in the Americas that is built

on equal partnership, mutual respect, shared interests and common values. This perception of an interest in improving relations with Latin America was reinforced when Secretary of State Hillary Clinton emphasized these issues during her visit to Quito in June 2010. She stressed the need to be inclusive in order to achieve President Obama’s overall objectives, and indicated that collaboration, mutual respect and pursuit of common interests are impossible without the participation and contributions of all sectors of society, not just governments.

During the life of the project, however, the promises made by Obama and Clinton did not translate into major changes in policy toward the region. The United States focused its attention on the global economic recession, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and a tumultuous domestic political climate that demanded the administration’s attention in its initial years. Specific policies during the first year of the Obama Administration engendered disputes within Latin America and between individual countries and the United States. These included the U.S. response to the June 2009 Honduran coup and the signing of the October 2009 base-sharing agreement between the United States and Colombia, both of which caused great tensions and turmoil within the region and raised fears among some in the region of renewed U.S. interventionism.

Over the course of the project, diplomatic relations among the Andean countries improved dramatically, primarily due to a new government and outlook in Colombia. The Santos Administration changed Colombia from a country that was relatively isolated in South America

and dependent on its U.S. alliance to one that is now actively seeking integration into South America and cooperation with its neighbors.

Underlying the policy disputes is a divide between the Latin American insistence on greater respect and consultation from the United States and attention to its agenda of social justice, fairness in international relations and economic development—and the U.S. focus on its own interests, which are centered on security, trade and immigration.

The dialogue between the five Andean countries and the United States was designed in this regional economic, political and social context. The Carter Center and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) considered that the lack of a common understanding and agendas impeded cooperation and the ability to collectively respond to problems of mutual interest. Therefore these organizations sponsored the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum to help foster common understanding and contribute innovative policy proposals to some of the thorniest issues confronting the six countries.

## **2 Designing a multi-country dialogue initiative**

The Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum was designed based on the assumption that relations between the six countries cannot, and should not, be defined strictly through official diplomatic meetings or official channels of communication. Social, academic and business groups and public opinion-makers have a growing ability to influence government decisions and strengthen ties between societies. Individuals who are able to represent and give voice to these groups can contribute to a productive dialogue with similar actors in other countries, since they are not restricted by the political ties and ideologies of the government decision makers or opposition figures.

### **2.1 Ensuring political will: President Carter's visit to the Andean region**

President Carter visited several countries in Latin America between April 27 and May 5, 2009 to assess the political receptivity to the project. During his tour of the region, he met with Rafael Correa, president of Ecuador; Alan García, then president of Peru; and Evo Morales, president of Bolivia. In these meetings, all three presidents expressed positive interest in this proposed project. The presidents also nominated or agreed to nominate one person from each of their governments to serve as the point of contact for consultation about Forum participants, and agreed to discuss the issues of interest that could be addressed in the Forum.

President Carter also spoke on the phone with Alvaro Uribe, then president of Colombia, who also expressed his interest in the Forum and selected one of his advisors as the point of contact. Dr. Jennifer McCoy, director of The Carter Center Americas Program, spoke with Venezuelan Foreign Minister Nicolás Maduro during the Summit of the Americas, who showed interest in the project and requested a written description. Dr. McCoy later traveled to Venezuela in September 2009 to formally present the project to the Venezuelan government.

On the U.S. side, Dr. McCoy spoke with various key Latin American Republican and Democratic aides on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a Democratic aide to the

House Foreign Relations Committee. All expressed their willingness to participate in and support the exercise. She consulted with Thomas Shannon, outgoing U.S. assistant secretary of state for the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, who expressed interest in the project. He suggested that even though the United States may be able to develop a new dialogue under the Obama Administration, government relations will continue to be fragile in this area and civil society efforts like the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum will be greatly needed to reinforce the administration's official efforts. It is on the basis of these indications of support that International IDEA and The Carter Center designed the initiative.

President Carter and representatives of The Carter Center and International IDEA also met with Freddy Ehlers, the secretary general of the Andean Community of Nations (CAN), to share and exchange ideas for the initiative. Ehlers agreed that this initiative could help strengthen the CAN. The Dialogue Forum Secretariat ensured that representatives from the CAN subsequently attended Forum dialogue sessions to partake in the progress and initiatives originating in the meetings.

## **2.2 Project design**

The Carter Center and International IDEA entered a partnership to implement the Forum, drawing on the comparative advantages, strengths and experience of each institution. The reputation for impartiality and consensus-building of both organizations enabled governments and Forum members to trust the organizations to search for common interests without bias.

The initiative was based on The Carter Center - United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) successful Colombia-Ecuador Binational Dialogue Group (2007-09), which played a key role in reestablishing diplomatic relations between the two countries. In November 2007, the Center, in partnership with the UNDP, created a Bi-national Dialogue Group of approximately 20 Ecuadorian and Colombian citizens who had the ability to influence public opinion and decision makers within their governments. Although this project was originally designed to help create bridges between the distancing Ecuadorian and Colombian societies, the personal relationships that developed between the members allowed the group to become active in using their public platforms and unofficial back-channels to advocate for the restoration of diplomatic relationships and to exert pressure on their governments after relations broke officially in March 2008. This initiative helped inform the development of the methodology for the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum.

The Carter Center has a long record of experience in the Americas, with relationships forged at the highest political levels and with multiple civil society groups. The Center maintained continuous communication and liaison with all governments. Government representatives—ranging from foreign ministers, vice ministers, State Department officials, Congressional staffers, ambassadors and former presidents—attended the dialogue sessions. President Carter and Center staff also maintained communications with all the Andean presidents and the U.S. State Department, keeping them informed of the initiative's progress. Forum members kept foreign ministers in each country informed about the group's activities and proposals.

President Carter's presence and participation in key moments of the dialogue sessions contributed to a fluid and constructive dialogue.

International IDEA has promoted high-level dialogues in the Andean region since 2002. At the national level, International IDEA has facilitated multi-party political reform processes that have resulted in far-reaching legislation in Peru, Ecuador and Colombia. In Bolivia, International IDEA supports analysis and consensus building on the use of hydrocarbon resources for sustainable poverty reduction. International IDEA is widely recognized in the Andean countries as an impartial actor with a strong convening capacity. At the international level, International IDEA has accompanied the Grupo del Rio and Andean Community dialogue activities.

During 18 months of implementation (January 2010 to August 2011), the Forum was guided by its purpose of strengthening relations and cooperation between the Andean region and the United States. While this purpose guided the Forum's efforts, the concrete objectives that the initiative sought to achieve were to a) increase mutual understanding (among the group, government and society) and b) develop common agendas and creative solutions to common problems.

### **2.2.1 Implementation mechanisms**

The project advanced through the execution of a series of key mechanisms:

- the formation of small, cohesive core groups of influential citizens in each of the six countries, who committed to participating in Forum activities;
- identification of key advisors who could provide political and strategic advice to the core groups;
- periodic provision of facilitated space for interaction and dialogue between Forum members in order to share experiences, develop personal relationships, form inter-country thematic working groups and jointly plan activities;
- regular country group meetings to coordinate actions and messages, and to implement planned activities; members also maintained communication with their respective governments, although in certain cases this proved to be complicated;
- development of proposals toward creating a common agenda on issues of mutual concern among the six countries, such as trade, drugs, development, the environment, etc.;
- actions by inter-country thematic working groups to advocate for crucial issues, promote dialogue and understanding, or develop policy alternatives on contentious issues;
- direct communication and interaction between the members through videoconferences, participation in thematic seminars, and periodic information sharing and interaction through internal bulletins; and
- members wrote and disseminated the priorities discussed in the Forum through newspaper articles, op-eds and blog entries. The Carter Center and International IDEA continuously shared information via their web pages.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Please refer to: <http://www.cartercenter.org/peace/americas/andean-us-dialogue-forum/index.html>.

### **2.2.2 Identifying Forum members**

The project was based on the theory that change begins with adjustments to individual perceptions and understanding, which become the necessary foundation of and catalyst for subsequent political and social change. Therefore, the selection of members was crucial since they constituted the “building blocks” of the project. From the onset of the initiative, The Carter Center and International IDEA organized planning meetings in each country to identify potential Forum members. Members of each country’s core group were sought that represented different political ideologies, while ensuring gender, geographic, ethnic and age diversity in the final group.

There were approximately five participants from each Andean country, with a final group of around 25 Andean participants (with the expectation that four from each country would be able to travel on any given trip). Ten participants from the United States were identified. The most important characteristics of these individuals were that they:

- had direct access to the high-level decision-making process of their governments;
- demonstrated an ability to network and identify opportunities for collaborative action;
- were experts in their field; and/or
- exerted influence over public opinion.

The final group included leaders of civic or community organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), think tanks, social movements, the military, academics, and representatives from the private sector and the media.<sup>2</sup> The participants were chosen in a consultative process with actors in each country; while the governments were informed and consulted, they did not have a veto over the selection of participants. In terms of the diversity of the Forum members, although some national groups did not have a proper gender balance (for example, a ratio of five men to one woman), some groups had maximum balance, as in the case of the United States, or close to half and half, as in the case of Ecuador or Venezuela. Overall, about 30 percent of the members of the Dialogue Forum were women. Two national groups (Bolivia and the United States) included representatives of indigenous peoples, who had a long history of formally representing their interests in various spheres of government. Finally, for geographical diversity, an effort was made to include people from various regions of each country, to avoid capital-centric perspectives.

### **2.2.3 Project structure and management**

The overall coordination of the project was initially carried out from Lima (International IDEA regional headquarters) and later from Atlanta, Georgia (Carter Center headquarters). The project employed one project coordinator; senior political advisors in the United States, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru and Colombia; and one technical coordinator in each country. The project was jointly directed by the Head of Mission of International IDEA and the Director of the Americas Program of The Carter Center (TCC), and the contributions and time of International

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<sup>2</sup> Please refer to Annex A for a list of Forum members and Annex B for a list of their biographies.

IDEA and TCC staff facilitated the project's implementation. International IDEA and TCC also have field offices in five of the six countries, which improved coordination.

Monitoring and evaluation was continuously incorporated into the project's management from the design stage. As such, the project included systems for monitoring and evaluating the process and methodology, which took different forms: evaluation surveys of specific activities (e.g., evaluation forms were requested after each dialogue session and country trip); an informal mid-term evaluation after the second meeting in Lima; periodic reports by the country coordinators; and a final report, including an external independent evaluation. Those documents were invaluable sources of information that made mid-course adjustments to the project possible. These modifications improved the quality of implementation (e.g., the contracting of consultants for specific outputs) and contributed to the final project evaluation.

The management and coordination of the project was highly complex and time consuming, for several reasons: the number of people involved (both members and staff), geographic dispersion (six countries), and numerous activities at multiple levels (dialogue sessions, national group meetings, efforts of inter-country thematic working groups, country visits, ongoing communication with high-level government officials, adverse political environments in certain cases, and the development of concrete advocacy and policy documents).

The next chapter describes the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum's efforts to achieve its objectives.

### **3 Promoting Mutual Understanding and Creating Innovative Policy Proposals: Efforts Undertaken by the Forum**

The Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum was an initiative based on a multidimensional design and strategy to fulfill the objectives of the project. The stepping stones undertaken to reach the project objectives included the following key components:

- a) four carefully planned and facilitated dialogue sessions for Forum members, which were designed to build trust and deepen mutual understanding between the members and to advance specific policy proposals; sessions were held in Atlanta, Lima, Washington, D.C. and finally again in Lima;
- b) visits to the Andean countries by U.S. group members with an agenda of high-level meetings with government and civil society;
- c) development and promotion of an educational and advocacy tool to promote a common agenda between the Andean countries and the United States;
- d) bilateral and a trilateral media dialogues between journalists, editors and newspaper directors to encourage more balanced reporting on contentious international issues;
- e) contribution to the regional debate on alternatives to current drug policy;
- f) targeted advocacy efforts by Forum members to promote inclusive development and trade; and
- g) promotion of mutual understanding about differing conceptualizations of democracy.

This chapter is structured according to each of these key components.

#### **3.1 Advancing policy proposals, building trust and deepening mutual understanding: dialogue sessions between Forum members**

A series of four dialogue sessions, each involving around 30 Forum members, was hosted during the 18 months of project implementation. The dialogue sessions lasted between two and three days. These facilitated interactions were at the heart of the project and instrumental in producing both tangible and intangible results and spurring actions to advance the Forum's objectives.

The dialogue sessions combined plenary sessions for the whole group with breakout sessions for the thematic working groups. This mix allowed members to analyze each country's current political, economic and social context from the perspective of the members, who were knowledgeable insiders sensitive to the subtleties of their nation's fluid dynamics; to advance thematic analysis on key issues that cause tension between the countries; to interact with government officials and special invitees from the executive and legislative branches in the host country (including foreign ministers, vice foreign ministers, congressional staffers, U.S. State Department officials, regional entities (such as the CAN, Andean parliamentarians), the international community (such as the Andean Development Corporation, CAF), and other prominent personalities such as former presidents, journalists and representatives from think tanks and policy institutions); and to jointly plan activities. President Carter participated in and facilitated two of the four dialogue sessions.

Following each dialogue session, the participants filled out an anonymous evaluation of the meeting. Through these evaluations, the Secretariat observed a progressively higher level of trust among members and a better understanding of the different realities of the countries; this information also helped the facilitators adjust and improve the design of subsequent dialogue sessions.

**The first dialogue session**, held at The Carter Center on February 23-24, 2010, brought together approximately 30 Forum members.

Former President Carter joined the participants in the dialogue, as did Deputy Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs of the U.S. State Department, Christopher J. McMullen. During this first meeting, the Forum was established as a space for dialogue, and the members deemed it an important, strategic and promising new initiative given the political, economic and social dynamics in the Andean region and broader hemisphere.



**Kristen Sample of International IDEA and President Jimmy Carter at the first dialogue session in Atlanta**

The first day consisted of dialogue between only the Andean members; the aim was for them to first consolidate understanding and elements for further work. The U.S. members then joined the Andeans on the second day.

During the dialogue, it is worth mentioning that the Venezuelan and Bolivian groups initially doubted the value of participating in a regional dialogue initiative with other Andean countries. They stated that their primary interest was a direct, bilateral dialogue with the United States. Furthermore, participants expressed concern about the underlying misperceptions and misunderstandings that existed between the countries, which were recognized as an area where the Forum could make a substantial contribution. Members made a commitment to contribute toward a positive common agenda between the six countries, and agreed to consult with key government, civil society, academic and private sector representatives in each country based on a common set of questions.

An important result of this first session was the formation of working groups based on the identification of high priority transnational policy issues that cause tension between the countries.<sup>3</sup> These included the need for cooperation on drug policy, inclusive development and trade, the role of the media in relationships between countries, and differing conceptualizations of democracy.

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<sup>3</sup> See Annex C for a list of the working groups that were formed.

**The second dialogue session** took place in Lima on June 1-2, 2010; its plenary and working group sessions built on the February meeting in Atlanta.

The two days of discussion provided an opportunity for members to report on the progress they had made since the Atlanta meeting and to develop and present concrete proposals for the second phase of the project. The identification of drug policy as an important issue for the Forum generated an animated debate among the members. The Bolivian group members mentioned that they would not participate in the Forum if the topic was prioritized. However, the majority of the Forum members considered the topic to be crucial to address through dialogue since it has tended to generate tension between the Andean countries and the United States, and has tended to monopolize agendas for cooperation on other priority issues. The situation was overcome through an honest and frank exchange between the Forum members, but the Bolivian group members decided not to participate in the thematic working group on drug policy and organized crime.



**Forum members participating in a team-building exercise during the second dialogue session in Lima**

As agreed during the first meeting in Atlanta, a first draft of a report toward a common agenda for the six countries was presented and discussed by the participants. The report systematized consultations that had been carried out by the Forum members with key government, civil society, academic and private sector representatives from each country. This information created an initial map of the perceptions and expectations in terms of relations with the United States and among the Andean countries. Forum members agreed to carry out additional consultations with key actors from the six countries and to undertake a public opinion survey to ensure that solid data formed the basis for the proposals for a common agenda. Additionally, they decided to develop a brief analysis of each country's current political climate. They defined the objective as identifying, through analysis and data, the points of convergence and strengthening the common agenda as a key instrument of the Forum.

The working group on drug policy and organized crime identified that substantive change is taking place in the overall political, economic and social landscape related to drug policy. This working group, wishing to contribute to and promote a debate about the costs and benefits of new approaches to the problem, proposed including a meeting with national experts on organized crime and drugs during each trip that the U.S. members took to the Andean countries. They committed to arranging specific meetings with specialists on the issue in Washington, D.C. Andean and U.S. members also jointly planned the visits by U.S. Forum members to the Andean countries during the meeting.

A special guest, Ambassador Nestor Popolizio, Peruvian vice minister of foreign affairs, addressed the Forum on behalf of President García. He extolled the benefits of the Forum and the work of its members. Forum members also had the opportunity to interact with government representatives from Ecuador, Peru and the United States during a dinner at the prestigious Club Nacional. The dinner provided an important opportunity for the members to deepen their personal relationships. An anecdote worthy of mention is that the Club Nacional is known for its conservative and traditional rules, including maintaining a formal, Western dress code. However, given the participation of indigenous representatives in the Forum, the Peruvian hosts had been granted an exception. As a result, it was the first time an indigenous person in traditional attire had set foot in the club, and he was greeted with exceptional warmth by the Peruvian host.

**The third dialogue session** took place in Washington, D.C. on September 29-October 1, 2010.

During the first day of the meeting, Forum working groups reviewed their action plans and advances and held meetings with U.S.-based experts on the Forum's priority topics. These specialized meetings demonstrated the possibilities and limitations for the Forum working groups to present alternatives to current policies. The working groups later presented their plans for the remainder of the project in a plenary dialogue session.



**The Director of the Americas Program of The Carter Center, Jennifer McCoy, addresses Forum members and ambassadors from the Andean countries at a luncheon during the third dialogue session in Washington, D.C.**

The session also included presentations on and explanations of the U.S. political system, which were carried out by different experts. The presentations contributed to a deeper understanding of decision making, especially as it related to U.S. foreign policy, and they were complemented by Forum members addressing the changing political dynamic and electoral processes in Colombia and Peru.

The draft Common Agenda Report was presented, discussed and enriched by all Forum members. These discussions helped identify and prioritize a series of crucial messages to be presented to key U.S. government officials. As part of this session, Forum members identified a series of success stories to help strengthen the positive aspects of the agenda and to provide examples of successful policy alternatives to common challenges. Hosted and facilitated by President Carter, Forum members then presented the significant points from the Common Agenda Report to representatives of the U.S. State Department and staffers from the U.S. Congress. This interaction was important in advancing Forum messages and understanding U.S. government priorities and the political constraints on alternative proposals.

In an effort to maintain continuous communications and liaison with all governments, the Forum members also had a working lunch with the Andean ambassadors to the United States to brief them on the achievements of the Dialogue Forum.

**The fourth and final dialogue session** took place in Lima, Peru, on August 1-2, 2011. This closing meeting focused on presenting, analyzing and evaluating the accomplishments of the initiative and proposing ways to continue to advance the Forum's goals and principles.

Highlights of the meeting included a dinner with the new Peruvian Foreign Minister, Rafael Roncagliolo (member of the Dialogue Forum); a presentation and discussion with Former Colombian President César Gaviria about the outline of a new report on drug policy developed



**Group photo of Forum members at the fourth dialogue session in Lima together with invited guests and former Colombian President César Gaviria**

by Forum members; and a discussion on contending conceptions of democracy in the region and how they contribute to conflicts and impede cooperation among the Forum countries.

The members reviewed efforts to disseminate the report, *Toward a Common Agenda for the Andean countries and the United States*,<sup>4</sup> which had taken place since their last meeting. The

members presented, shared and provided feedback on the efforts and challenges of the dissemination process.<sup>5</sup>

The Forum benefitted greatly from the presence of César Gaviria, former president of Colombia and member of the Global Commission on Drug Policy and the Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy. Gaviria presented his views and recommendations on current drug policies and stressed that drug policy can only change in the western hemisphere when politicians enter the debate. Therefore, the media and influential members of society have an important role to play in opening and encouraging these debates.

Based on consultations carried out in the Andean countries during 2011, two Forum members drafted a report that summarizes the state of the debate on alternative policies in the Andean region. The report, *Drug Policy in the Andes: Seeking Humane and Effective Alternatives*,<sup>6</sup> was presented by the authors and discussed among the participants. The two authors welcomed the recommendations and committed to incorporating them in the final report.

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<sup>4</sup>Available at: [http://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace\\_publications/americas/andean-common-agenda-en.pdf](http://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/americas/andean-common-agenda-en.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> More information about the Common Agenda Report and its dissemination is available in Section 3.3.

<sup>6</sup> Available at: [http://www.cartercenter.org/news/publications/peace/americas\\_reports.html](http://www.cartercenter.org/news/publications/peace/americas_reports.html).

As a corollary to the discussion on drug policy, the Forum members developed a *Declaration on Drug Policy in the Andean Region*<sup>7</sup> that was widely disseminated together with the publication *Drug Policy in the Andes: Seeking Humane and Effective Alternatives*, mentioned earlier.

The members engaged in a dialogue on the differing models and perceptions of democracy in the Andean sub-region and the United States, how these differences create tensions between countries and how these obstacles could be overcome.<sup>8</sup>

With the aim of assessing the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum, the members dedicated a portion of the meeting to a joint evaluation focusing on the relevance of the activities, the efficiency, the effectiveness and the impact of the project, and the sustainability of the results. They concluded that, thanks to efforts during the course of the Forum—such as visits to the Andean countries by U.S. participants and ongoing in-country and cross-country dialogue—the fourth dialogue meeting clearly showed a dramatic increase in mutual understanding and trust between U.S. and Andean participants, and a new sense of a shared identity among the Andean members as Andeans.

The external evaluation shows that the members appreciated the overall design of the Dialogue Forum and the general meetings as opportunities for the participants to meet and broaden their knowledge. They also positively evaluated the opportunities for group work. One Forum member said, “The design of activities and work sessions strengthened the group and led to greater knowledge and integration among the members of the Forum.”

Throughout the four group sessions, comments were collected with the goal of increasing and enhancing the quality of plenary, group and even informal dialogue, which were considered vital to forging and nurturing bonds of trust. Between the first and fourth meetings, there was a noticeable increase in references to feelings of greater understanding, trust and mutual respect among members, even though differences of opinion persisted, which were mainly based on ideological differences. One member observed that, “The process has matured greatly since the beginning. There is greater confidence to express disagreements openly and to maintain a fluid dialogue. We understand each other better now!”

### **3.2 Promoting understanding of the diversity of the Andean region: country visits by U.S. members**

Following the second dialogue session held in Lima, pairs of U.S. members of the Forum visited the Andean countries. The country visits gave the U.S. participants a unique opportunity for in-depth analysis of the political and economic situation of each of the Andean countries and helped strengthen the personal relationships between Forum members. Each trip was planned by the country members and designed with an agenda of activities that included meetings with representatives from various sectors of society and government officials. Numerous articles were written by Forum members as a result of these visits.<sup>9</sup> At the conclusion of all the visits, the

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<sup>7</sup> Annex D. Declaration on drug policy in the Andean region.

<sup>8</sup> For more information, see Section 3.7

<sup>9</sup> Please refer to Annex E for a selection of articles resulting from the country visits.

Forum members engaged in a videoconference, in which they shared their experiences and impressions from the visits. Short descriptions of the country visits are provided below.<sup>10</sup>

### **Visit to Bolivia (August 9-10, 2010 and February 23-25, 2011)**

Three U.S. Forum members traveled to Bolivia during two separate visits. The first visit consisted of several meetings in La Paz and Santa Cruz with Bolivian Forum members, political officials and several civil society organizations. U.S. Forum members met with the U.S. *chargé d'affaires*, with whom they discussed the vision of the Forum and received a general overview of U.S.-Bolivian relations. This information was useful when the Forum members met with legislative deputies to further discuss bilateral relations. While there is disagreement between the ruling party and the opposition on the underlying reasons for the weak relations between Bolivia and the United States, they did agree that U.S. drug policy had been unfavorable to the country and that U.S. interference in domestic politics had been “ongoing and harmful” to relations. These views were echoed by members of the National Political Observatory and other civil society organizations, who emphasized the anti-imperialist tradition in Bolivia but expressed optimism that relations could improve, as long as they are based on “respect for dignity and sovereignty.” In a meeting with representatives of the New North Foundation, the Bolivian hosts expressed frustration with the continued suspension of the Andean Trade Promotion and Drug Eradication Act (ATPDEA)<sup>11</sup> and its implications toward U.S. investment in Bolivia.

Another U.S. Forum member traveled to Bolivia separately on February 23-25, 2011, on the invitation of the Bolivian Forum members, to focus on Native American and indigenous Bolivian issues. He attended several meetings with indigenous groups and organizations where they exchanged information on the status of the indigenous populations in their respective countries. Bolivian interlocutors primarily discussed the need for



**U.S. Forum member Rex Lee Jim with representatives of an indigenous women’s group in Bolivia**

their communities to benefit from greater representation in local and national governments, their continuing marginalization and the role of women in their society. The U.S. Forum member shared information with these groups about the customs, economic and social organization, and details on the unique sovereign status of the Navajo Nation within the United States. Both sides

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<sup>10</sup> Please refer to <http://www.cartercenter.org/peace/americas/andean-us-dialogue-forum/us-country-trips.html> for a thorough account of each visit and to read the impressions of the visiting Forum members.

<sup>11</sup> ATPDEA is a system of preferences under which the United States guarantees unrestricted access for a wide range of export products from four Andean countries—Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. The ATPDEA was extended by the U.S. Congress in an act that simultaneously approved the U.S.-Colombian Free Trade Agreement and was signed into law by President Obama in October 2011.

were mutually intrigued by what the other brought to the conversation and expressed a desire to strengthen ties among North and South American indigenous groups. The idea of an exchange between North American and Bolivian indigenous groups was raised as a tangible way to strengthen these bonds and to continue learning from one another.

The U.S. Forum member also met with several U.S. embassy officials in La Paz to discuss the possibility of expanding cultural and exchange programs in Bolivia. As this member reflected, “One hears of the importance of the indigenous [population in Bolivia], but until you are there it is difficult to fully comprehend.”

### **Visit to Colombia (July 27-29, 2010)**

The visit to Colombia took place immediately following the election of President Santos. The U.S. members met with some of the most prominent political figures in the incoming and outgoing governments, including the incoming foreign minister and vice president, as well as leaders of the political opposition. Meetings were also held with the National Commission for Reparation and Reconciliation, the vice minister of defense and the governmental entity Acción Social. The issues discussed during the visit included drug policy, citizen security, the internal conflict, economic development, human rights, democracy and foreign policy. All of these issues were discussed in the context of the challenges, priorities and visions of the incoming Santos government.

The greatest challenge facing the Santos Administration was deemed to be the continuing internal armed conflict and the threats it poses to citizen security, economic development, human rights and democracy. U.S. Forum members learned from their Colombian interlocutors how these issues shape the country’s relationships with and policy toward its neighbors and the United States and how the Santos Administration plans to address such issues by prioritizing policy toward its Latin American neighbors and broadening the scope of cooperation in its relationship with the United States. In this regard, one U.S. Forum member acknowledged that, “to the extent that civil society can play a bridge role in encouraging pragmatic discussions between countries [...] the Forum can be useful.”

### **Visit to Ecuador (July 20-21, 2010)**

The visit to Ecuador was centered on Ecuador’s interests with the United States and was designed to promote a deeper understanding of Ecuador’s internal political processes. Meetings were held with both government officials and civil society representatives. The agenda emphasized economic development, trade opportunities and immigration and, as one U.S. visitor reflected, the “dialogue was a lot more in-depth than expected.”

The director of intercultural education presented Forum members with the challenges of governing a country as ethnically and culturally diverse as Ecuador. He used the educational dimension to explain the complexities of the Ecuadorian political process. Forum members also met with rural and indigenous agricultural producers to better understand the importance of the ATPDEA to promote rural development and social inclusion in Ecuador. The continuation of the ATPDEA, which is a major foreign policy objective of the Ecuadorian government, is also seen as a major pathway to further social and economic development in largely rural, indigenous areas. Furthermore, the Forum members met with drug policy researchers and former

governmental authorities to discuss the regional security and drug trafficking agenda. Institutional weaknesses and the narrowly focused cooperation with the United States were examined as obstacles to improving the current situation. Bilateral cooperation on drugs, which largely centers on security, could prove more helpful if it were broadened to better meet the needs of the Ecuadorian government in the fight against organized crime and drug trafficking. Referring to these areas of discussion, one Forum member remarked that, “there is real opportunity for NGO and people-to-people interaction and problem solving.”



### **Visit to Peru (August 11-12, 2010)**

The visit to Peru focused on the economy, primarily examining the relationship between economic growth and poverty reduction, which is exemplified by the environmental and social impact of mining companies and their relations with indigenous groups. Other topics addressed were drug policy and Peruvian relations with its neighbors and the United States. To learn about these issues, U.S. Forum members interviewed then-President García<sup>12</sup>; met with Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Néstor Popolizio; participated in several roundtable discussions; met with the drug control agency DEVIDA; and visited northern Lima.

Over the past decade, Peru has seen continuous economic growth. However, inequality levels remain high. Economic growth is due, in part, to increased foreign and domestic investment in the mining, petroleum and energy sectors. There are, however, reasons to be cautious. As one U.S. Forum member warned, “[while] much appears to sound great and look right on paper, it is clearly more difficult to make things happen in practice. Most analysts regretted that the country’s institutions and governance still leave much to be desired.” Experts asserted that weak national drug control policies are contributing to drug trafficking becoming Peru’s greatest challenge; they explained that international cooperation and governmental involvement are needed to combat the problem. Additionally, the extractive industry model has led to increased conflicts with indigenous populations, who have faced growing land seizures without prior consultation, and has put pressure on the environment as there is little long-term government planning. In fact, an Environmental Ministry was only created in 2008, but it has since placed environmental policy among the nation’s highest priorities. Other advances in governmental policies can be seen in the improved relations with Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela.

### **Visit to Venezuela (November 17-18, 2010)**

The visit of U.S. Forum members to Venezuela was intended to provide insight into the country’s political dynamics, especially the new landscape created by the legislative elections that took place prior to the visit. The U.S. members met with government officials,

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<sup>12</sup> See Annex E for the article from the U.S. Forum member resulting from this meeting.

representatives of political sectors connected with the opposition and members of civil society in order to better understand the situation. These meetings addressed some of the most prominent issues facing Venezuela, including foreign relations, drug trafficking, political participation of opposition parties and human rights.

Forum members met with the *chargé d'affaires* of the U.S. embassy in Caracas, who was managing the mission in the absence of an appointed ambassador. He described U.S. relations with Venezuela and identified potential areas of cooperation between the two countries, such as humanitarian cooperation in Haiti and a Congressional exchange with members of the U.S. Congress and the Venezuelan National Assembly. Forum members also met with the head of the National Office of Drug Control, who highlighted Venezuela's counter-narcotic cooperation agreements with 50 other countries and expressed his desire to partner with the United States in this area. Furthermore, members met with key actors in the upcoming 2012 presidential election, such as the coalition of opposition parties known as *Mesa de Unidad Democrática*, which was optimistic about their prospects for victory, and *Ojo Electoral*, a Venezuelan NGO that specializes in monitoring elections.

It should also be noted that the third meeting in Washington, D.C., included an additional day during which the participants met with various political and social stakeholders from the United States. Those meetings revealed the complexity of decision making in the United States and the differences between power structures and dynamics in the United States and the Andean countries.

The external evaluation shows that the country visits enabled members from the United States to gain access to sources, contacts and information that they would not have had otherwise. They also provided an important opportunity for the Andeans to learn about Washington's views on the region.

### **3.3 Toward a common agenda between the Andean countries and the United States**

In the first dialogue session, Forum members committed to contribute to a positive agenda among the six countries in order to address the misperceptions and misunderstandings that exist between them, which have impeded their ability to collectively respond to problems of mutual interest.

As an opening product of the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum, the report was intended to spur conversations on more effective cooperation by identifying convergences and divergences in priorities among the countries and the citizens of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and the United States. It sought to open the door to a better understanding of the internal dynamics in each country and to reduce stereotypes that impede cooperation to resolve mutual challenges. The report highlighted the transnational issues of energy, climate change, trade and illegal drugs, and recognized that beneficial progress would require a collective response from all.

To develop the Common Agenda, the members agreed to first conduct a series of consultations in their respective countries with key government, civil society, academic and private sector representatives to identify current perceptions and hopes regarding the relations between the Andean countries and the United States. This enabled the members to map the perceptions and expectations in terms of relations with the United States and among the Andean countries. As a result, a first draft of a Common Agenda Report was presented in the second dialogue session in Lima, Peru.

After discussing the draft document in the Lima meeting, members recommended that a public opinion survey in each of the six countries; more interviews with key actors; and background research on the status of key issues of mutual concern such as trade, immigration, investment, environment and other topics of interest be undertaken. The findings and the new information included in the report were discussed again during the third dialogue session in Washington, D.C., and members had the chance to express their opinions and suggestions. As a result of this inclusive and participatory process involving all Forum members, a series of key messages was identified and prioritized for an interaction with U.S. government officials and Congressional staff. With President Carter hosting the meeting, the messages were presented; the interaction was important to advance the Forum's messages and to understand the priorities of the U.S. government and the political constraints on alternative solutions.

During the third dialogue session in Washington, D.C., the members identified a series of success stories to strengthen a positive agenda and to provide examples of successful policy alternatives to common challenges. They also developed a strategy to disseminate the Common Agenda Report upon its completion to key actors in the six countries. The participatory methodology employed during these three dialogue sessions turned the Common Agenda Report into a strategic instrument for the Forum in its effort to raise public awareness on misperceptions and shared interests between the six Forum countries. The main findings and recommendations of the Common Agenda Report are presented below.

### **Common ground for cooperation identified in the Common Agenda**

The report revealed that the top priority for a common agenda was greater respect and mutual understanding among countries. The report identified the urgent need to “de-militarize” and “de-narcotize” relations and put forth the following findings:

**Strong agreement exists on promoting a social agenda.** Policies to promote social equality (fighting poverty and inequality) generate strong agreement in all countries. These are problems shared across all countries—including the United States. The Common Agenda Report recommended the following:

- broaden the development agenda beyond the traditional issues of trade and investment;
- encourage inclusive trade and investment to include vulnerable and marginalized populations and to comply with environmental and intercultural standards;
- promote tailored trade agreements based on fairer rules of exchange, reflect unequal levels of development, include balanced negotiation processes; and
- advance comprehensive immigration reform as a policy priority to mitigate the problems caused by illegal immigration.

**There is general agreement on clean energy and environmental protection**, which suggests that such policies could be feasible and fruitful, and should be pursued more fully. The Common Agenda Report recommended the following:

- approach the climate change debate as an opportunity to diversify agendas; and
- promote environmental protection (e.g., shared forests and glaciers are a rich area for cooperation to reduce degradation and to improve food security).

**Ambivalence and divergence prevail on issues pertaining to citizen security.** While public opinion prioritizes citizen security, elite opinion is ambivalent about the issue. Therefore, the Common Agenda Report recommended the following:

- policy makers should attend to the high demand for citizen security, but broaden the cooperation agenda beyond drugs to transnational organized crime, including trafficking of arms, people, and contraband, and money laundering;
- foster a debate about the exhaustion of existing counternarcotics policies and work through multilateral forums for a comprehensive review and consideration of alternatives, while taking each country's social, economic and security environment into account; and
- take advantage of the current opportunity in the Andean sub-region and the United States to evaluate and advance new approaches and alternative policies in this area.

**There is ambivalence regarding the promotion of democracy.** The traditional U.S. approach of promoting democracy was met with ambivalence by respondents, potentially reflecting strong political connotations of perceived intrusion into national affairs by the United States. Therefore, the Common Agenda Report recommended the following:

- promote the protection of human rights in its broader sense to include social, economic and cultural rights in addition to political and civil rights—which could provide more common ground than the traditional democracy promotion approach;
- seek international cooperation mechanisms to better protect journalists, with a particular focus on those who work in environments that are influenced by organized crime; and
- analyze the growing concentration of ownership in the media sector, the political role of the media and the resulting effects on pluralism in the media.

### **Stereotypes impeding understanding**

The Common Agenda Report also presented some of the stereotypes that key stakeholders from the six countries would like to change, including the following:

**Bolivia's** process of change, with unprecedented improvements in social inclusion, national self-affirmation, constitutional reform and intercultural democracy, is not understood or appreciated.

**Colombia's** progress in combating drug trafficking and guerrilla insurgency is not well understood by external actors who fail to appreciate the evolution of this complex issue.

**Ecuador** is likened all too easily to the Chávez regime, which disregards the important differences between both political projects. Ecuador's efforts to intercept and control drug trafficking are not sufficiently acknowledged.

**Peru's** position in favor of consultation and coordination with the United States is misinterpreted by some Andean countries as economic and political subordination.

**The United States'** complex policy process is misunderstood in the Andes. Contradictory policies are interpreted as conspiracies, when in reality they are the result of compromises or a lack of coordination among agencies. U.S. policy today is unfairly stigmatized for its past historical interventionism.

**Venezuela's** political, economic and cultural changes have in general been stigmatized and demonized, resulting in simplistic characterizations that veil the real challenges. Less polarization could enable a relationship with others based on reality instead of stereotypes.

### **Dissemination of the Common Agenda Report**

The strategy to disseminate the Common Agenda Report was designed in accordance with each country's political context and the available resources. It was deemed important to first present the report to high-level government officials in each of the six countries and to partner with institutions that share the Forum's goals and have the capacity to convene large audiences in order to maximize the impact of the dissemination efforts. The section below details the efforts to distribute the report in each country between February and July of 2011. In addition to the meetings and presentations described below, the report was mailed to key actors and organizations at the national and regional levels.

#### **Bolivia**

The report was first presented to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, David Choquehuanca, and the question of how best to disseminate it in Bolivia was discussed. The Minister expressed his enthusiasm with The Carter Center's continued presence in Bolivia, and in particular with the Forum's progress as demonstrated in the Common Agenda Report. He also mentioned President Carter's call for dialogue, emphasizing the value of dialogue as a necessary element in improving relations between the United States and Bolivia.

The Bolivian group presented the report at a roundtable discussion with numerous renowned figures, including analysts, diplomats and journalists. They all emphasized the need to build trust and eliminate stereotypes among countries in order to build new channels for interaction in addition to traditional government and diplomatic relations. One Bolivian member shared his experience with the Forum and highlighted the importance of the initiative as a space where ideas on key issues could be exchanged to the region's advantage, emphasizing that the plenary meetings were conducted in a spirit of respect, with a desire to achieve mutual understanding. As this member noted, the resulting dynamic of being able to agree on certain criteria fostered greater trust and respect among participants.

The Bolivian group members emphasized the Andean countries' shared attributes and the need to strengthen inter-country ties in order to address external relations as a unified region. While Andean relations are critical, so are their relations with the United States; it is important to reach agreements based on mutual respect and understanding. Participants highlighted the importance of seeking alternative ways to confront drug policy, in order to free up attention for other issues on the bilateral agenda that have consistently been overshadowed by the issue of drug policy.

## **Colombia**

The first activity in Colombia was to present the Common Agenda Report to the government. Members of the Colombian group formally presented the report to the vice minister of foreign affairs and discussed the progress and proposals of each thematic working group of the Andean-U.S. Forum. The vice minister expressed her government's agreement with the report's recommendation to strengthen border areas through socio-economic development projects and demonstrated interest in the members of the Venezuelan group and their advocacy efforts with the Venezuelan government. President Juan Manuel Santos' proposed ideas on drug policy and the relevance of these proposals for the international community, given the renewed debate on drug policy in the region, were also analyzed. The Colombian Forum members and the vice minister together analyzed how this renewed debate could be linked to the Forum working group on drug policy.

The second activity was a dinner hosted by Vice President Angelino Garzón at his private residence. A member of the Forum presented the report, after which the vice president, on behalf of the Colombian government, commended The Carter Center's work in supporting the reestablishment of relations with Ecuador. He further confirmed the relevance of the Dialogue Forum in identifying issues common to Andean countries and their relations with the United States, such as drug policy and environmental issues. In reference to the proposal by the working group on drug policy, the vice president commented on the progress that the Colombian government had been making with other Latin American countries in the area of bilateral cooperation for security and defense. This progress is based on Colombia's accumulated experience in military and police intelligence and its tactical and operational capabilities. He also highlighted how this cooperation has strengthened Colombia's relations with other countries, such as Ecuador and Venezuela, and emphasized that it is not sufficient to limit these initiatives to the Andean nations. In response to the developments of the media working group,<sup>13</sup> Vice President Garzón highlighted the importance of understanding the complex internal situations of each country and the role that domestic dynamics play during moments of crisis. As an example, he mentioned the process of restoring relations with Ecuador and Venezuela and confirmed the Colombian government's priority to diversify the cooperation agenda as well as strengthen relations with Andean countries and the Latin American region as a whole.

A public event was held at the Universidad Javeriana to present the report and the proposals of the Forum working groups. This event was attended by members of the public, academics and Colombian members of the Andean Parliament. Forum members explained the process of developing the Common Agenda and gave a detailed explanation of the issues proposed in the report, highlighting how the initiative has engaged in constant dialogue with the governments of the countries concerned. The significance of focusing efforts on improving socio-economic conditions in the Andean countries' border areas was emphasized. The Forum members explained that, while the Forum cannot directly solve the countries' problems, it can facilitate better understanding and help members share different points of view with their respective governments.

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<sup>13</sup> See Section 3.4 for an account of the media working group activities.

## **Ecuador**

At a meeting with the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kintto Lucas, the report was presented to the Ecuadorian government; Ecuadorian foreign policy interests with the United States were addressed. The members of the Ecuadorian group emphasized ways in which the Forum could support advocacy and citizen diplomacy, and explained the methodology used to prepare the report. Forum members stressed that the Common Agenda Report proposes non-traditional recommendations to foreign policy concerns, and suggests new approaches to recurring issues in Andean-U.S. relationship, such as commerce and drug policy. The letter sent by Former President Jimmy Carter and Representative Jim Kolbe, which advocated renewing the ATPDEA, was also discussed with the vice-minister.<sup>14</sup>

The Ecuadorian members met with Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Francisco Rivadeneira. He identified the issue of trade, specifically the ATPDEA, as Ecuador's top priority in its relations with the United States. He mentioned that Ecuador was not only interested in renewing the ATPDEA, but also in using it to move toward establishing a bilateral trade agreement with the United States. The vice-minister also stated that any advocacy in favor of renewing the ATPDEA would be very relevant for Ecuador. The letter sent by Former President Jimmy Carter and Representative Jim Kolbe to various U.S. representatives and government officials, and the positive reactions that it elicited, were also mentioned to the vice-minister.

The report was presented to Ecuador's National Council on Narcotic and Psychotropic Substance Control authorities and to the Ecuadorian-American Chamber of Commerce. Members of the Chamber of Commerce expressed interest in sharing the report with important businesspeople and other members of the Chamber. The Forum members also presented the report to the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and addressed key issues between the United States and Colombia, such as trade relations, renewing the ATPDEA, and, to a lesser extent, drug policy.

## **United States**

U.S. Forum members organized an open panel event, co-hosted by the Council of the Americas, the Washington Office on Latin America and The Carter Center that also benefited from the participation of Forum members from Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. The objective was to present the findings of the Common Agenda Report by analyzing the role of dialogue in improving relations between Colombia and Ecuador, and between Colombia and Venezuela, and the potential implications for U.S. policy. The panel was attended by 35 participants, including U.S. government officials, professionals in the field of diplomacy, academics and members of civil society.

Participants discussed relations between Colombia and Ecuador since 2008, Colombian-Venezuelan relations under President Santos regarding trade and security, the interdependence between Andean countries, and the importance of cooperating on issues that affect the entire region.

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<sup>14</sup> Please refer to Section 3.6 for more information on this initiative. See Annex F for the letter sent by Former President Carter and Representative Kolbe promoting the renewal of the ATPDEA and a list of the letter's recipients.

The Ecuadorian Ambassador to the United States highlighted the report's importance, given the prevalent misperceptions about the U.S. political process, especially in light of the economic crisis, and the need for greater mutual understanding. Participants then discussed the surprising steps taken by President Santos to resolve pending issues with Ecuador, to start anew with Venezuela and to advance regional cooperation by steps such as withdrawing Colombia's objection to remove the prohibition on the coca leaf.

The report was also presented to advisors on Andean issues in the office of Senator Menendez. The discussion focused on issues within the region as a whole, including trade agreements, such as the U.S.-Colombia free trade agreement that at that point had been stalled in Congress for several years; Chavez's influence in the region; social programs in Colombia; and how to improve U.S. drug policy. Another meeting was held with Democratic staff members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs about the Obama Administration's attitude toward pushing forward trade agreements in 2012. Forum members also met with officials from the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs at the U.S. Department of State who expressed their support for the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum and highlighted the need for dialogue at all levels.

### **Peru**

Peruvian Forum members presented the Common Agenda Report to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, José Antonio García Belaúnde, who was sent by President García. When this meeting took place, a conflict was unfolding between Ecuador and the United States as a result of the leaked classified documents known as "Wikileaks." Meeting participants highlighted the importance of initiatives like the Forum in finding solutions to this type of conflict and the respect accorded to Former President Jimmy Carter, which helps improve relations between governments. The Peruvian group discussed the letter that was presented to U.S. authorities advocating the renewal of the ATPDEA with Minister Belaúnde, who stressed that initiatives like the Forum could serve as a space to discuss alternative paths to renewing the ATPDEA; he suggested permanent free trade agreements among the United States and the five Andean countries as a way to focus on trade issues from a more long-term perspective.

The Peruvian Forum members organized a breakfast for representatives elected to the Andean Parliament in order to reflect on the Common Agenda Report. They discussed the limited interest in and knowledge of citizens in regional integration bodies like the Andean Parliament. In terms of the Common Agenda Report, the Andean Parliamentarians considered that issues that are not typical of a multilateral agenda among governments, such as immigration, should have a greater presence in discussions on common challenges. Furthermore, it was agreed that a crucial task is to build an Andean agenda to approach relations with the United States as a group, since all Andean countries border the Amazon and are affected by the problems derived from drug production and trafficking. Closer Andean relations are critical in facing these common challenges.

### **Venezuela**

The Venezuelan group held a meeting with the Venezuelan ambassador to the United States, Bernardo Álvarez, who emphatically praised the initiative, pointing out its usefulness and relevance in promoting dialogue among the Andean countries and the United States. Ambassador

Álvarez recommended distributing the report as widely as possible among the country's political actors from both the ruling and opposition parties.

The main method of disseminating the report in Venezuela was a public forum (called “Venezuela-U.S. Relations: Review and Prospects”) that analyzed relations between the two countries. This activity was held as part of a series of forums (“Cultivating Paths to National Dialogue”) organized by the newspaper *Ultimas Noticias*, Venezuela's most well circulated newspaper, which is considered one of the most influential media outlets in the country.

Fifty people attended the event, including journalists from the country's media, academics, members of NGOs, members of chambers of commerce and diplomatic representatives (including representatives from embassies, the EU and the Organization of American States, OAS). In addition, the forum reached a webcast audience of a further 300 people.

*Ultimas Noticias* covered the event with official state media and private media. Both print newspapers and online editions dedicated ample space to the event, quoting substantial portions of the discussions held during the meeting. In print, the forum made the front page and two entire inside pages and was thus broadcast as one of the most important issues of the day.<sup>15</sup> The two main television channels in the country—state-run Venezolana de Televisión (VTV) and the opposition Globovisión—prepared ample reports on the meeting and showed a substantial part of the debate during primetime. A VTV primetime live interview was conducted with the newspaper's director, Eleazar Diaz Rangel—also a member of the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum—who spoke extensively about the Forum's objectives and results.

In addition, there were other complementary activities, such as the distribution of documents to the media and the publication of news reports and editorials about the work.

- In an article in Colombia's *El Tiempo*, Socorro Ramírez—a Forum member—refers to “citizen initiatives to encourage a common agenda,”<sup>16</sup> mentioning that “there were consultations and surveys about mutual perceptions in some countries, and the agenda stimulated dialogue in six key areas: reconstructing relations on a non-militarized basis, encouraging development to overcome poverty and inequality, stimulating investment and inclusive trade, addressing climate change, stopping transnational crime, and linking migration to development and human rights.”
- In an article published in the Ecuadorian newspaper *El Universo*,<sup>17</sup> Ecuadorian Forum member Manuel Chiriboga, using the Dialogue Forum as a source, refers to the importance of the U.S. president's visit to the Andean countries during his trip to Latin America and the need to promote a new agenda with the United States on positive and convergent issues. He draws on issues that emerged in Forum conversations, including: “poverty reduction, improving the quality and scope of policies, working on trade agreements that focus more on small producers and businesses and on agreements linked

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<sup>15</sup> See Annex G for a selection of articles covering the Common Agenda Report.

<sup>16</sup> “Diplomacia Oficial e iniciativas ciudadanas,” *El Tiempo*, 4 March 2011, available at <http://www.eltiempo.com/opinion/columnistas/socorroramirez/diplomacia-oficial-e-iniciativas-ciudadanas> 8963253-4.

<sup>17</sup> “Obama y los andinos,” *El Universo*, 20 March 2011. <http://www.eluniverso.com/2011/03/20/1/1363/obama-andinos.html>.

to migration issues that affect thousands of Andean migrants in the United States, promoting operational matters related to environmental issues such as clean energy and actions to slow climate change, promotion of honest dialogue about organized crime and drug-related crime, ensuring mutual commitments and shared responsibility among producer countries. ...”

- An interview with Bolivian member Jose Luis Exeni was published in *Página Siete* in which the former president of the National Electoral Court of Bolivia says: “[...] the challenge is to enhance common ground for cooperation based on the principle of respect ... The Dialogue Forum, which is supported by The Carter Center and International IDEA, has quickly and informally achieved noteworthy results, the formation of working groups in each country, dialogue sessions with participants from the six countries, bilateral visits and meetings, and most importantly, the development and proposal of a common agenda.”<sup>18</sup>

The external evaluation found that the report on the Common Agenda was a valuable advocacy tool for the sponsoring organizations. It presented information about political priorities based on the opinions of groups of elites and public opinion, and it recommended guidelines for reorientation of U.S. policy and points of consensus for progress among the countries involved.

### **3.4 Encouraging more balanced reporting through media dialogues: Colombia-Venezuela-United States**

During the first dialogue session of the Forum held in Atlanta, participants observed that misperceptions and misunderstandings between the six countries have often been inflamed by politicians who use microphone diplomacy rather than direct communication to pursue foreign relations, and by a polarized and politicized media. The media play an important role in providing information about the other countries to the domestic public and hence in contributing to positive or negative perceptions among the general public. Forum members pointed out that the media in all six Forum countries sometimes report distorted information related to bilateral and regional policy concerns, and thus may constitute an impediment to constructive dialogue between the Andean countries and the United States. Therefore, Forum members formed a working group to debate the media’s role in relations between the countries. Building on synergies with The Carter Center’s Program to Strengthen Journalism in Venezuela, a series of meetings between Colombian, Venezuelan and, later, U.S. journalists, media directors and editors were held between November 2010 and June 2011. Three of these meetings were bi-national events with participants from Colombia and Venezuela, while the fourth meeting also included their counterparts from the United States.

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<sup>18</sup> <http://www.paginasiete.bo/2011-06-28/Opinion/Destacados/18Opi00128-06-11-P720110628MAR.aspx>

The goal of these meetings was to provide an informal space in which media professionals could reflect on their role in generating and promoting mutual understanding, and to help forge and deepen the personal relationships and networks among them. The meeting also sought to improve the quality of the information available to participating journalists on issues that cause tensions among the countries, and to develop recommendations for ways to ensure that media coverage contributes to an informed citizenry rather than detract with politicized reporting.

Four meetings were held to further these objectives: one in Caracas on November 23, 2010; one in Bogotá on February 15, 2011; one in Cúcuta on May 11, 2011; and another in Atlanta on June 13, 2011.<sup>19</sup>



**Héctor Vanolli, coordinator of the Colombia-Venezuela media dialogue, interviewed by local media in Cúcuta, Colombia**

### **First Colombia-Venezuela media dialogue**

The participants of the first meeting in Caracas dealt with two central themes: analysis and discussion of bilateral relations between the two countries and media coverage of these relations. This meeting was designed to allow participants to exchange information, perspectives and experiences through presentations and remarks made by experts.

Dialogue began among participants in an atmosphere of mistrust, and heated discussions ensued over the relationships between the media, politics and power in both countries. This discussion dealt with the role of journalism in building either a good or a bad bilateral relationship, and covered the most sensitive points of tension and crisis. Participants agreed that the vulnerability of the bilateral relationship was due to the vast influence of the two presidents' personal popularity, which involves intense disputes between them; coverage of bi-national issues is often influenced by these personal attacks. Participants disagreed about whether the media should lean toward strengthening relations between the two countries or concentrate on conveying reliably factual information. It should be pointed out that the meeting succeeded in bringing together high-profile newspaper directors and editors from the private and public sector, even from opposing sectors within the same country, as in the case of Venezuela.

Throughout the conversations it became evident that deeper understanding necessarily entailed analysis of past media coverage to analyze the nature of its quality vis-à-vis major bi-national

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<sup>19</sup> Read more about these media dialogues at: [http://www.cartercenter.org/peace/americas/andean-us-dialogue-forum/media\\_dialogues/index.html](http://www.cartercenter.org/peace/americas/andean-us-dialogue-forum/media_dialogues/index.html)

issues beyond “value judgments” and perceptions. As a result, participants decided to conduct an analysis of media coverage.

### **Content analysis of Colombia-Venezuelan print media**

Following the first meeting, The Carter Center and Georgia State University undertook a quantitative content analysis<sup>20</sup> with the purpose of analyzing the content of media coverage between the two countries. The methodology consisted of gathering articles on selected landmark events that occurred in Colombia and Venezuela between 2009 and 2010.

#### **Chronology of landmark events in bilateral relations between Colombia and Venezuela during 2009 and 2010**

##### 21 July 2009

Chávez indicates that he intends to review relations with Colombia due to the latter’s negotiations with the United States about the establishment of U.S. military bases on Colombian territory.

**(Key word:** *military bases*)

##### 28 July 2009

The Swedish government confirms that several rocket launchers captured from the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) were sold by Sweden to Venezuela in the late 1980s.

**(Key word:** *rocket launchers*)

##### 28 August 2009

Meeting in Bariloche, Argentina, the leaders of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) seek ways to reduce the polarization caused by the military agreement reached between Colombia and the United States.

**(Key word:** *UNASUR*)

##### 13 November 2009

The Colombian ambassador to the OAS, Luis Alfonso Hoyos, protests bellicose “threats” from Venezuela.

**(Key word:** *OAS*)

##### 21 June 2010

Juan Manuel Santos is elected President of Colombia. The Venezuelan government, through its Ministry of Foreign Relations, issues an official statement congratulating the Colombian president-elect.

**(Key word:** *Santos*)

##### 25 June 2010

The former Colombian ambassador to Venezuela and representative to the UN, María Angela Holguín, is appointed Minister of Foreign Relations to Juan Manuel Santos’ new cabinet, presumably because her diplomatic experience may be helpful in trying to thaw out relations between the two countries.

**(Key word:** *Holguín*)

##### 15 July 2010

Colombia affirms it has evidence that several guerrilla leaders of the FARC and the National Liberation Army are in Venezuela, a situation that might further deteriorate relations with its neighbor.

**(Key word:** *guerrilla leaders*)

##### 10 August 2010

Presidents Hugo Chávez and Juan Manuel Santos “relaunch” diplomatic relations between Caracas and Bogotá.

**(Key word:** *relaunch*)

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<sup>20</sup> Please refer to Annex H for a summary of the content analysis.

In order to undertake a detailed analysis of the written media coverage and the agenda of the newspapers, events were examined not only on the date(s) they took place, but for a period of 15 days, in order to examine before, during and after each of them.

In Colombia *El Tiempo*, *El Espectador* and *La Opinión* (newspapers) and *Revista Semana* (weekly news magazine) were chosen. *La Opinión* is published in the city of Cúcuta, on the border with Venezuela; the other three publications are from the capital city of Bogotá. Due to the polarized situation in Venezuelan media, newspapers from both sides of the political spectrum were selected, as follows: *El Nacional*, *Últimas Noticias*, *Tal Qual* and *Panorama*; the latter is a newspaper published in Maracaibo, state of Zulia, which borders on Colombia, while the other three papers are from the capital city of Caracas.

The content analysis revealed that media outlets in both countries often emphasize negative events and under-report positive events. The study demonstrated that the media in both Colombia and Venezuela focus mainly on two issues: the presidents and the FARC. After these, the most frequently mentioned are the foreign ministers of both countries, diplomacy, the economy and, lastly, personal security (delinquency). The data also confirmed the personalization of diplomatic relations based on the relationship between the presidents as individuals rather than their governmental institutions, highlighting the importance of institutionalizing diplomatic relations.

### **Second Colombia-Venezuela media dialogue**

The second meeting in Bogotá centered on examining the content analysis. Exchanges took place around several issues, such as the relationship between information sources and the quality of journalistic work, transformation of bilateral relations between the two countries and media coverage of realities in the border area.

Responding to a need expressed at the first meeting, the second meeting benefited from the participation of journalists working in the border areas between both countries. This participation opened up dialogue on the need to transform the current approach, which is markedly linked with decisions made in the capital cities of both countries, to more closely consider the impact of confrontational relations on citizens living along the border. The presence and eyewitness accounts of two media professionals from the border areas helped to improve understanding of this issue.

At the end of the meeting, the participants wrote, signed and issued a press release on statements about diplomatic relations between the two countries and the role of the media.<sup>21</sup> In the communiqué, the participants acknowledged efforts to normalize relations and highlighted the importance of institutional steps in that direction. Based on the group's print media analysis, they also called attention to the media's tendency to overemphasize presidential statements and actions, as well as issues related to security and the FARC, and to underemphasize broader aspects of relations between the two societies. They stated that the role of journalists and the

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<sup>21</sup> Please refer to Annex I for the press release.

media should be to offer information from various sources, placing relations in context and reporting accurately on events. Finally, they called on the two governments to provide more information about relations between the two countries so the media can better inform citizens.

### **Third Colombia-Venezuela media dialogue**

The third meeting was held in the Colombian border city of Cúcuta. The nature of this meeting differed from prior meetings because of its thematic approach (the situation at the border) and because it took place within the social and geographical area being analyzed (the Colombian-Venezuelan border).

A local Venezuelan priest presented an overview of the difficult circumstances experienced by inhabitants of the border, including those stemming from illegal fuel trafficking and spillover effects from the internal Colombian conflict. He urged participants to consider border problems as a comprehensive, human problem and not merely from the perspective of security and economics. The ensuing dialogue dealt with the quality of media coverage regarding border issues and its consequences for inhabitants there.

Participants visited a community located along the border between Colombia and Venezuela. The visit served as an encounter for journalists, scholars and inhabitants.

### **Trilateral media dialogue: Colombia-United States-Venezuela**

The trilateral media dialogue among journalists, editors and newspaper directors from Colombia, the United States and Venezuela was held in Atlanta, Georgia in June 2011. This meeting was the result of the group's conversations on the importance of dealing with the triangulation that frequently affects U.S.-Venezuelan-Colombian relations and sought to offer an opportunity for prominent journalists, editors and media directors to share information on the characteristics of trilateral media coverage. The meeting lasted two days and alternated between presentations, commentaries and dialogue among participants.

The meeting began with presentations from three foreign policy experts from Venezuela, Colombia and the United States, all of which focused on the "triangulation" of relations between the three countries. The experts described how the triangulation phenomenon came about, how it is evolving and the potential risks of recurrence of the negative triangulation of relationships. The panel included a journalist from each of the countries who commented on the presentation based on his/her own experience and knowledge. In the following discussions, all participants analyzed the characteristics of trilateral media coverage and the factors, dilemmas and limitations influencing it.<sup>22</sup>

Participants emphasized the need to continue with initiatives of this kind. They noted that bringing journalists together has an important potential for impact, given the significant lack of knowledge about the other countries, the deep-rooted stereotypes that still persist and the domestic media's dependency on their respective government's view and information for their

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<sup>22</sup> Please see <http://blog.cartercenter.org/2011/07/19/forum-addresses-media-stereotypes-politicized-reporting-in-latin-america/> for a video from the dialogue session.

media coverage. Another lesson learned was the need to generate hard data on the characteristics of the media coverage to inform any dialogue on perceptions.

### **3.5 Contributing to the regional debate on alternatives to drug policy and organized crime**

When The Carter Center and International IDEA created the Dialogue Forum, drug policy was quickly identified as a top priority. While Forum members considered it important to “denarcotize”<sup>23</sup> the Andean-U.S. relationship, there was consensus that the current policy was in urgent need of fresh reflection and new alternatives. The members of the Forum noted with concern that drug policy had monopolized the diplomatic and economic agenda between the countries, contributing to tensions among the governments and impeding cooperation on other crucial priorities such as safeguarding democratic processes from criminal networks, economic development, trade and environmental challenges.



**Members of the Drug and Organized Crime working group brainstorming during the second dialogue session in Lima**

During the four-decades-long “war on drugs,” few battlegrounds have been harder hit than the Andes. For many years, Colombia’s image was inextricably linked to drug trafficking, having suffered the devastating impact of drug-related violence and the hijacking of key democratic institutions. Two other Andean countries—Peru and Bolivia—have felt the impact in terms of conflict with coca producers, the presence of organized crime and instances of human rights abuses. The drug trade has also affected non-coca producing countries such as Ecuador and Venezuela; the effects of the Colombian conflict have spilled over into their territory, and there are signs that drug-related organized crime is using these countries as a transit point. Consumption is on the rise in each of the Andean countries.

In this context, a working group on drug policy and organized crime was established at the first Dialogue Forum meeting in Atlanta. At the second meeting, which took place in Lima, a national consultation plan was designed and subsequently implemented that included meetings, events and expert interviews in the five Andean countries. At the third meeting in Washington, D.C., the group met with top government and congressional officials and representatives of academic institutions and NGOs specializing on the issue in the United States. In addition, the working group participated in the Inter-regional Dialogue on Organized Crime and State Capture.<sup>24</sup> At that time, its members developed a number of initiatives to synthesize the results of the national

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<sup>23</sup> As highlighted in the report *Toward a Common Agenda for the Andean Countries and the United States*, available at [http://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace\\_publications/americas/andean-common-agenda-en.pdf](http://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/americas/andean-common-agenda-en.pdf).

<sup>24</sup> Organized in Lima on February 7-8, 2011 by the New York University Center for International Cooperation, International IDEA, the Netherlands Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and the Open Society Institute.

consultations and evaluations about the failures of drug policies to date and offer possible alternative strategies, with the aim of participating in the international drug policy debate.<sup>25</sup>

In line with the efforts of the working group on drug policy, Former President Carter published an op-ed entitled “Call off the Global Drug War,” in *The New York Times* on June 17, 2011. The article called for the U.S. government to support reforms proposed by the Global Commission for more humane and effective policies.<sup>26</sup>

As an outcome of these efforts, two members of the group—Socorro Ramírez and Coletta Youngers—developed a report called *Drug Policy in the Andes: Seeking Humane and Effective Alternatives*<sup>27</sup> to contribute to opening a debate to improve the current situation. The report draws on the unique dialogue taking place among the Forum members, in-depth interviews with a wide variety of actors in all five Andean countries and existing research.



**Lima Mayor Susana Villarán, Peru Forum member Felipe Ortiz de Zevallos and U.S. Forum member Hattie Babbitt discuss the importance of working with cities and municipalities when looking for alternatives to current drug policy in the Andean countries**

The publication examines the principal drug-related challenges confronting the Andean nations. The authors take a hard look at the contradictory context that the “war on drugs” has generated in the hemisphere and describe the state of the regional debate on drug policy. The authors recommend that the discussion on alternative drug policy be broadened and inclusive and that dialogue and agreements among Andean countries be consolidated. They also recommend that resources be redirected toward integral rural development and adjusted to each local context in order to reduce the crops destined for illicit markets; that strong education and health policy be developed to prevent consumption and improve treatment; and that alternatives to incarceration for those who commit minor, non-violent, offenses be explored. The publication ends with a number of compelling policy recommendations directed toward governments, the media and civil society.

The report was presented and debated at the meeting of the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum in Lima on August 2-3, 2011. The meeting benefited from the participation and involvement of the former president of Colombia and former secretary general of the OAS, César Gaviria—in his capacity as a member of the Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy and the Global Commission on Drug Policy—and Susana Villarán, mayor of Lima. The publication was

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<sup>25</sup> Two initiatives were launched: 1) a presentation of the group’s proposals to the Ministry of Foreign Relations and the Office of the Vice President of Colombia (host country of the next Summit of the Americas), as well as to participants at the preparatory meeting held in Bogotá on March 13, 2011; and 2) monitoring of the debate in the U.S. Congress on the creation of a commission with the mandate to evaluate drug policy.

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/17/opinion/17carter.html>. Please refer to Annex J for full text of the article.

<sup>27</sup> Available at [http://www.cartercenter.org/news/publications/peace/americas\\_reports.html](http://www.cartercenter.org/news/publications/peace/americas_reports.html).

launched on December 15, 2011<sup>28</sup> and will be disseminated at the regional level, including at UNASUR and other hemispheric events such as the Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (Comisión Interamericana para el Control del Abuso de Drogas), and to key recipients together with the declaration on drug policy signed by Forum members.<sup>29</sup>

### **3.6 Inclusive development and trade: targeted advocacy efforts by Forum members**

The Forum members formed a working group on inclusive development and trade to contribute innovative policy proposals that could help improve economic relations between the Andean countries and the United States. The group sought to create targeted initiatives toward a more equal and inclusive economic environment and to break the connection between U.S.-Andean commercial preferences and antinarcotics efforts. The group focused its efforts on two collaborative initiatives:

***Letter for the renewal of the ATPDEA.*** A sub-group of members promoted a strategy to renew the ATPDEA. In a bipartisan advocacy initiative, they drafted a letter that, after consultation with the group, was signed by former Democratic President Jimmy Carter and former Republican Representative Jim Kolbe and sent to representatives of Congress, the U.S. Trade Representative and the U.S. Secretary of State.<sup>30</sup> These efforts appear to have contributed to President Barack Obama's signing the law's renewal on October 21, 2011, which went into effect on November 5, 2011, extending the ATPDEA's benefits. The extension of the law includes retroactive provisions by which the value of tariffs paid after the expiration of the legislation is reimbursed to importers who purchased products from Colombia, Ecuador or Peru. The legislation renews the ATPDEA until July 31, 2013. Although the members of the Dialogue Forum recommended that the legislation be extended for a longer period, preferably four years, this 18-month extension is the longest in recent history. The Forum members also recommended that the extension of the legislation include explicit incentives for greater trade participation by small farmers, small and mid-size businesses, industries and craftspeople, within the framework of so-called inclusive trade. Those elements are not yet included in the legislation.<sup>31</sup>

***Balance of trade and tariff restrictions.*** Another noteworthy initiative was aimed at strengthening bilateral relations between Ecuador and Colombia, linking the Dialogue Forum to the issue of balancing trade and tariff restrictions. In light of past tensions and their impact on trade relations between the two countries, the coordinators of the groups and the Forum members in the two countries moved ahead with a strategy to encourage collaborative negotiations between Ecuador and Colombia on those issues. The group's activities included a visit to Colombia by a member of the Ecuador group to meet with officials. Those contacts were made possible with assistance from the vice president of Colombia. Dialogues were also held with the

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<sup>28</sup> Please see Annex K for the press release launching the report.

<sup>29</sup> Please see Section 3.1 and Annex D for more information on the declaration.

<sup>30</sup> Please see Annex F for the ATPDEA letter and the list of recipients.

<sup>31</sup> The ATPDEA extension can be found in Title V of the United States-Colombia Trade Promotion Agreement Implementation Act. See <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/billtext.xpd?bill=h112-3078>.

private sector. These arrangements led the governments to commit to signing a memorandum of understanding on trade, with measures aimed at reducing the high trade deficit, not imposing restrictions, and collaborating on joint investment for development (agreements were signed in Sucre in April 2011 and meetings of ministers were held in Quito and Bogotá in October 2011). The efforts were reinforced by an editorial by one member of the Colombian Forum group in the magazine *Portafolio* on March 23, 2011.<sup>32</sup>

### **3.7 Different conceptualizations of democracy as an obstacle to cooperation**

The working group on democracy was formed during the first meeting in Atlanta, acknowledging that tensions between countries in the region are often exacerbated by differing perceptions of democracy. During the fourth dialogue session in Lima, the group members discussed and analyzed the issue in more depth. They discussed a UNDP/OAS report titled *Our Democracy*<sup>33</sup> with one of the collaborators of the report, Mr. Juan Pablo Corlazzoli, who participated via videoconference. Mr. Corlazzoli outlined the main points of the report while including some anecdotal support drawn from his experiences in the political realm and in civil society. The members debated the report's findings and the need to create a civic democracy in which the citizens have full civic, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

The Forum members also discussed a second document, *Visions of Democracy*,<sup>34</sup> which was drafted by two members of the Forum. The document outlines the changing political atmosphere in the Andean region and suggests that while U.S. democracy is based on the protection of the individual rights of liberty and property from abuses by the state and/or other citizens, in the Andean region the concept of democracy has primarily social and cultural roots. Furthermore, the document outlines how new political and social actors seek to encourage a concept of democracy with more emphasis on collective well-being and social justice than liberal democracy in order to establish new political models and practices. The Forum members raised the possibility that these models and practices could surpass preceding democratic models and make them stronger and more inclusive than the traditional western democratic model.

The Forum members also considered differing perceptions of democracy in the region as they related to the issue of term limits for elected officials. With members noting several examples challenging this idea, such as the possibility for Venezuelan elected officials to seek reelection indefinitely and the lack of term limits for members of the U.S. Congress, the lack of a universal definition of democracy became a focus of the conversation, with two prominent conflicting viewpoints. One viewpoint was that democracy without alternation of leadership is not democracy; this perspective defined democracy as an alternating governmental regime with a revocable mandate from the governed. Another invoked the Venezuelan case and emphasized the difference between a leader reelecting him or herself for consecutive terms versus seeking reelection by returning to the democratic process, noting that the collective decision of a population about which form of democracy to observe must be respected as long as that process

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<sup>32</sup> <http://www.portafolio.co/ecuador-aplicaria-freno-importaciones>.

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.nuestrademocracia.org/>.

<sup>34</sup> Please refer to Annex L to read the full document.

is free and fair. While acknowledging the validity of both viewpoints, a third member observed that the longer an individual remains in power, the more power he or she naturally captures, thus diminishing the competitiveness necessary for democratic governance.

Several members of the Forum noted the institutional fragility that plagues the Andean region and further complicates the exercise of democracy. This fragility has resulted in many countries lacking organized and effective political parties in which citizens can become directly involved. This lack of political participation has prevented populations from expressing the pluralistic characteristics of their societies, further eroding democratic conditions. In such cases, the systems tend to lack an effective institutional and political balance of power, which further deteriorates the exercise of democracy. If an effective balance of power existed in such contexts, one member suggested, the potential risks of not having term limitations would not be as significant. Many members agreed on the need for expanded civic democracy as a way to combat institutional weakness and build stronger balances of power to strengthen democracy in the region. Adding to this topic, one member emphasized the need for the media to play a prominent role in shaping public debate without threats or intimidation from any level of society, especially the government, and called for honest journalism and a minimum of guarantees from governments to achieve such a status.

The next chapter of this report outlines the main results and lessons learned that can be gleaned from the implementation of the activities outlined so far in this report.

## **4 Findings from the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum**

This chapter shares some of the findings and insights that have been gleaned so far from the preliminary results and lessons learned of the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum. While the long-term impact of this type of project can only be measured after months or years, some immediate results and achievements have been identified after 18 months of implementation. The lessons learned that have been collected throughout this process will also be discussed to contribute to the growing body of knowledge regarding civil society dialogue.

This chapter draws heavily on the findings of an external independent evaluation that was conducted after the project's conclusion. Part of this evaluation included a participatory assessment during the last dialogue session in Lima, Peru, which covered the relevance of the activities; the impact of the project; the sustainability of the results; the lessons learned and the challenges that the initiative faced.

### **4.1 Highlights of the results from the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum**

As has been described throughout this report, the Forum's results relate both to intangible results—linked to changing perceptions, building trust and relationships, and deepening mutual understanding—and to more tangible, concrete results.

First, the external evaluation confirmed the value of dialogue as an informal means of: 1) improving understanding of substantive information, 2) countering stereotypes about each country, which has different ideologies and policies, and 3) enhancing tolerance among the members by building trust through interpersonal relationships and driving collaborative initiatives. The evaluation also revealed the potential, demonstrated by some members of the group, to translate personal change into external social and political change. The Forum members mentioned that the initiative not only created the opportunity to build trust within a group where mistrust had previously existed, but that it also helped them understand what differentiates each country. For the Andeans, one of the most important aspects was the realization of what unites them as a region. In addition, various participants observed the shift that the Andean region is experiencing in its relationship with the United States. Within the framework of the Forum, according to some participants, it was evident that the Andean countries are looking more and more to their neighbors rather than to the north.

Second, the evaluation demonstrated that after 18 months, the initiative achieved concrete outcomes stemming directly from the collaborative efforts undertaken by the Forum members: two key advocacy documents (the *Report Towards a Common Agenda* and a publication on drug policy in the Andean region); a series of dialogues among media professionals from Colombia, Venezuela and the United States to promote more balanced media coverage; successful targeted advocacy efforts to renew the ATPDEA and to promote a greater trade balance between Colombia and Ecuador; and the design for a new Master's program on the Andean countries by a Bolivian Forum member.

Highlights of these intangible and tangible results are described below in more detail:

***Personal transformation and deeper mutual understanding***

The evaluation shows that members agreed that intangible objectives had been achieved, both in terms of personal transformation—with increased understanding of problems analyzed—and in the ability to establish personal bonds of trust (which may be latent, but which can be activated when necessary). As such, the Forum strengthened the platforms of strategic stakeholders in different countries, who demonstrated their ability and commitment to engage in collaborative activities, and who have the potential to influence situations in their countries when the opportunity arises. The Dialogue Forum provided an opportunity for the Forum members to interact, discuss and learn more about the diverse set of issues affecting the six countries. This space produced an increased knowledge and understanding of the countries and their priorities, constraints and opportunities, and how their political systems are evolving. The members reported that they developed personal relationships and expanded their understanding of situations in other countries, which made it possible to express and listen to various ideas and concerns with great honesty.

The project was based on the theory that alterations in individual perceptions and understanding serve as a catalyst for political and social change. According to the evaluation, Forum activities such as country visits and ongoing in-country and cross-country dialogue, produced a dramatic increase in mutual understanding, trust and respect among the members compared to the beginning of the project, although differences of opinion, mainly rooted in ideological differences, persisted. Furthermore, a new sense of a shared Andean identity emerged, particularly among Venezuelans and Bolivians, who began the project questioning whether they had much in common with the others.

The impact of these types of personal transformations can be measured more tangibly in participants who had the capacity to shape public opinion. This personal transformation was then reflected in articles and editorials that they wrote and published<sup>35</sup>.

***Contributing toward a Common Agenda between the Andean countries and the United States***

The Forum produced an educational and advocacy document that explained the ties among the countries, presenting new data on elite and public opinion of policy priorities, identified points of consensus for cooperation among the countries and recommended a reorientation of U.S. policy. Members presented the report to government officials, academia and media in each country, which generated valuable discussions about policy options. The external evaluation established that the Common Agenda became an important advocacy tool by presenting information about political priorities and recommending points of consensus to help the countries move forward.

***Formation of thematic working groups***

The evaluation shows that the formation of thematic groups promoted positive interaction between members from different countries on specific matters of interest, enabling them to promote strategic collaborative initiatives. These collaborations cemented the relationships between some members based on professional interests and created networks that can be

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<sup>35</sup> As an example, please see Annex M for a selection of articles from the media dialogues.

activated beyond the termination of the project. The results from these working groups are outlined below:

***Enhancing the regional debate on alternatives to drug policy and organized crime***

The group on Drug Policy and Organized Crime contributed to the regional debate on drug policy with a publication called *Drug Policy in the Andes: Seeking Humane and Effective Alternatives*.

The publication chronicles the partial and transitory successes of current drug policy, documenting the high social costs that undermine its very sustainability. The document presents the case for potentially more effective, sustainable and humane policy proposals now under discussion in Latin America, the United States and Europe, and ends with a number of compelling policy recommendations directed towards governments, the media and civil society. The regional advocacy strategy includes presenting the document to the new UNASUR drug policy committee, disseminating electronic and printed versions to key stakeholders and distribution at hemispheric events to stimulate discussion of alternatives to current drug policy. Forum members discussed this report and the recent report issued by the Global Commission on Drug Policy at their last meeting and agreed on a set of recommendations put forth in a public declaration. At the time of writing this report, 27 Forum members had signed the declaration.

In line with the goal of the working group, further contributions were made to the global debate by Former President Jimmy Carter, who published an op-ed piece in *The New York Times* entitled “Call off the global war on drugs,” in which he stated that the U.S. government should support the reforms proposed by the Global Commission to make policies more humane and effective.

***Inclusive development and trade: targeted advocacy efforts by Forum members***

According to the evaluation, the development group’s efforts to advocate for a renewal of the ATPDEA, bolstered by a joint letter by President Carter and former Republican Congressman Jim Kolbe, contributed to President Barack Obama’s signing of the law’s renewal on October 21, 2011. The extension, which took effect in November 2011, included retroactive provisions to reimburse importers of products from Colombia, Ecuador and Peru for tariffs paid after the legislation had expired. Although the Dialogue Forum members recommended that it be extended for a longer period, preferably four years, the 18-month extension is the longest in recent history.

Through advocacy efforts by Ecuadorian and Colombian Forum members, the group contributed to the Colombian and Ecuadorian governments signing a memorandum of understanding on trade, with measures aimed at reducing the high trade deficit between the two countries, not imposing restrictions and collaborating on joint investment for development. Agreements were signed in Sucre in April 2011 and meetings of ministers were held in Quito and Bogotá in October 2011.

### ***Encouraging more balanced reporting through media dialogues: Colombia-Venezuela-United States***

The media working group took on the task of promoting greater understanding of the media's role in relations between countries and more balanced coverage of issues that create tension between the Forum countries, with the additional goal of contributing to the development of interpersonal relationships and networking. The group connected with a Carter Center initiative for bi-national media dialogue between Colombia and Venezuela. This translated into three bi-national meetings, held in Caracas, Bogotá and the border city of Cúcuta, and a fourth and final trilateral session in Atlanta, United States, which included U.S. journalists. Various press articles described the discussions and content of those meetings, which were valuable outputs of this initiative.

All participants in the bi-national meetings mentioned the session held in the border city of Cúcuta as an outstanding learning experience. The impact was tangible for some participants, such as the director of *Ultimas Noticias* in Venezuela, who published articles based on information obtained during the visit. In addition to the formal meeting, the Cúcuta session included informal conversations that promoted closer relationships, and involved the active participation of local journalists and other stakeholders. This meeting gave participants a closer, first-hand look at a situation that is particularly complex for the two countries.

The external evaluation concluded that the media initiative achieved its expected outcomes by promoting greater understanding among the participants and enhancing the quality of information available to journalists in both countries. The objective of promoting more balanced coverage (and the necessary transformation in patterns of coverage that this implies) poses a more complex challenge. It is necessary to distinguish the contribution that a dialogue initiative can make in providing more varied, higher-quality information to participants, from other elements that are needed for changes in patterns of media coverage (for example, factors related to the definition of the editorial line or financial constraints).

## **4.2 Lessons learned from the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum**

During the participatory evaluation that took place in Lima, the members also discussed some of the lessons learned and the challenges that the initiative faced. The external evaluation revealed a number of lessons learned that are shared below, with the hope that they might benefit other practitioners.

### ***Project design: Track 1.5 vs. Track 2 initiatives***

The Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum was designed to achieve two objectives:

- increase mutual understanding through the creation of informal channels; and
- promote innovative solutions to common problems.

The first objective is closely tied—in the language of multi-track diplomacy—to what is known as Track 1.5,<sup>36</sup> because The Carter Center, through its founder and as a sponsor of the initiative, positioned the Forum at a level closer to decision makers (Track 1). This objective was inspired by the prior experience of the Colombia-Ecuador Bi-national Dialogue Group, sponsored by The Carter Center and the UNDP, which served as inspiration for the Forum. As noted in the description of the initiative,<sup>37</sup> one factor in the selection of the participants was their degree of influence on top levels of government or public opinion.

The second objective focuses on the promotion of civic initiatives rather than on the role of high-level political operators. This objective, oriented toward the “citizen diplomacy” of the Track 2 approach, does not necessarily take the form of political negotiations, but seeks to achieve an impact through development initiatives and academic, scientific, cultural, sporting and other types of exchanges. Citizen diplomacy feeds into official diplomacy, and in concert with levels that have higher level influence, such as Track 1.5, it gives greater weight to collaborative initiatives, as in the case of the Forum’s thematic working group initiatives.

While the two levels are complementary and reinforce each other, the perception of the project’s impact differs depending on the objective prioritized. For those who saw the Forum mainly as an exercise in high-level political influence, the initiative’s outcomes are not sufficiently important. For those who considered the priority objective to be establishing collaborative initiatives to promote creative solutions to the identified problems, the tangible results are noteworthy and significant.

### ***Role of Jimmy Carter***

The evaluation concluded that Former President Jimmy Carter’s involvement increased the Forum’s influence and its ability to attract interest. The former president presented the initiative and obtained the agreement of some presidents and ministers for its implementation; he also participated in two plenary meetings and supported an information and advocacy strategy, promoting concrete actions and ensuring that ideas and proposals emerging from the Dialogue Forum reached U.S. officials. Interviewees emphasized that his contribution was especially important in the case of the Andean countries.

### ***The importance of synergies with other initiatives***

To leverage networking, it is important that the sponsoring organizations help new initiatives, which emerge during the process, interconnect with other initiatives and become stronger. The media group is a successful example; it benefitted from:

- a) having a committed group of Dialogue Forum members to promote it;

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<sup>36</sup> L. Diamond and J. McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy. A System Approach to Peace*, West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1996. Multi-track diplomacy defines peace efforts as a framework of interconnected activities among stakeholders from diverse sectors and high-level negotiations. Track 1 diplomacy refers to negotiations between formal decision makers, while Track 2 refers to efforts by grassroots organizations and civil society.

<sup>37</sup> Please see Chapter 2 of this report.

- b) having a diverse group of participants, several of whom were already involved in activities under the pre-existing program, who helped establish the initiative's legitimacy for other journalists who joined it; and
- c) having the human and financial resources necessary to make the activities feasible.

The working group on drug policy is another example of these beneficial synergies, as it tapped into the existing expertise of group members and developed synergies with International IDEA's work on democracy and state capture, including the threat of drug trafficking to democracy.

### ***The importance of catalysts among dialogue participants***

The Forum's experience demonstrated that a core of strategic stakeholders who are committed to and capable of encouraging and infecting others with their enthusiasm can create more opportunities for collaborative action than if the effort is limited only to influential stakeholders. Therefore, in selecting members for this type of initiative, it can be strategic to include "catalysts" who have demonstrated their ability to network and identify opportunities for collaborative action and linkages with other projects or initiatives that are in line with the project's objectives. These types of people keep the initiative alive and bring in other influential stakeholders, when necessary, to achieve the project's outcomes and objectives.

### ***Considering different models of participation***

It is necessary to identify mechanisms and safeguards to guarantee the plurality of participants and their degree of political influence, taking into account the natural fluctuation in participation that can occur over the course of long-term, dynamic projects. Due to the challenges of involving stakeholders with busy schedules, one possibility to consider is a model that allows for different degrees of participation and ensures the inclusion of a more committed group to promote the effort, with the possibility that some of them might be compensated for their time and effort.

Another lesson learned is that, given that the initiative included influential stakeholders with significant expertise in their fields, achieving concrete outcomes depends largely on leveraging possible linkages with their agendas and with other initiatives in which they participate personally or through the organizations to which they belong.

### ***The importance of continuously reformulating objectives***

Political events—such as the positive change in President Santos' new policy toward the region, which translated into a greater ability to establish initiatives involving Colombia and its neighbors—reconfirmed the importance of incorporating mechanisms for a realistic review and reformulation of objectives and outcomes during the process. It is also important to formalize this mid-course assessment and communicate it to all relevant stakeholders, in order to target and optimize efforts and resources toward attainable outcomes.

In the case of the Forum, the structure and strategic focus of the project was reformulated halfway to focus less on the national groups and more on the thematic working groups. The interviewees described this reformulation positively in the external evaluation, since it allowed the members and supporting staff to focus on concrete initiatives.

### ***Designing and managing a multi-country dialogue initiative***

Project management is a fabric consisting of people, roles, relationships and dynamics that make the project sustainable; in this case, there was also an interconnection between the roles of the two organizations that jointly sponsored the initiative. The complexity of the project's management was directly related to its multidimensional nature and geographic scope, as well as the large number of people involved. The initiative was a major challenge for the sponsoring organizations because of the effort, time and energy it demanded from the people directing it. This was due to various factors: the number of people involved, both participants and coordinators; the many activities at different levels (plenary meetings in various places, meetings of national groups, international working groups, field visits to five countries and politically sensitive connections with high-level officials); lack of adequate funding; and an adverse political situation in certain countries. Given the challenges posed by the geographic dispersion and lack of adequate resources, however, a redesign of the structure and reformulation of objectives once the initiative was under way made it possible to achieve concrete outcomes. Such an ambitious initial objective, which depends to a large extent on the external context and the building of trust among participants, requires a longer-term view and a well-coordinated interconnection of organizational resources.

### ***Thematic working groups***

The thematic working groups formed by members from various countries provided an opportunity to establish relationships and linkages that led to the previously described concrete outcomes. The Forum's experience illustrates that the dynamism and productivity of the thematic groups was directly related to the following factors: greater clarity on the objectives of some groups; the capacity, time and availability of the group's members; the availability of financing for collaborative initiatives that allowed the achievement of concrete outputs; and impetus from key people, either formal or informal coordinators/advisers, who combined strategic vision with a practical ability to manage tasks and activities to achieve objectives. These factors gradually defined the initiatives that became more important under the umbrella of the Forum, such as those related to drug policy and the media.

### ***Dialogues for media professionals***

A strategic design for dialogues involving journalists, editors and newspaper directors should consider the particular profile of these participants, such as their need for more in-depth practical information, the importance of investigating specific issues, their use of time and the speed with which they are accustomed to working. A successful recipe from the Forum was to combine traditional meetings and discussions with *in situ* information gathering and reporting. The possibility of including practical elements in the design of the dialogues could be considered in different ways, such as setting up more of a workshop environment during parts of the dialogue, where participants from both countries could discuss emblematic cases, produce joint journalism pieces, or set aside time for reporting.

## 5 Conclusions

As has been demonstrated in this final report, the Forum ends with a number of concrete products and results of a more intangible nature. Looking ahead, it is the hope of The Carter Center and International IDEA that the results of this exercise in civil society dialogue will continue to foment better understanding and promote cooperation in crucial areas among the Andean countries and between the Andean countries and the United States. The initiative ended with the participating members expressing a great deal of enthusiasm for the new political framework and a deeper regional Andean vision. They proposed leveraging the relationship among the Andean countries through linkages or advocacy with stakeholders who could present the Forum's results to multilateral bodies such as UNASUR, the CAN or the OAS through the Summit of the Americas. Such a step would mark a strategic leap for demonstrating the impacts that are possible with this type of dialogue processes.

It is the wish of The Carter Center and International IDEA that the rich experience and lessons learned in areas such as media dialogues can be used as a model for other initiatives. In this sense, it is especially encouraging for the sponsoring institutions that the Foreign Ministry of Peru is considering replicating the experience by working with media representatives from Peru, Bolivia and Chile. This would be particularly important since a decision about Bolivia's access to the Pacific Ocean is expected in 2013. Deepening mutual understanding through more balanced media coverage could be an important way to contribute to preventing potential tensions.

The sponsoring institutions also wish that the efforts to promote a broader and more inclusive debate on the alternatives to current drug policy in the Andes will be capitalized upon and deepened. During the four-decades-long "war on drugs," the Andean countries have been hard hit, and the threats derived from drugs, delinquency and organized crime are now among the most serious challenges facing the region's democracies. If the Andean countries are to confront these problems, the time has come for a dramatic change to the current policy. It is the hope of The Carter Center and International IDEA that the contribution made by the Forum's working group will contribute to this crucial and necessary debate.

To conclude, the outcomes achieved by the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum reconfirm the value of dialogue as a tool for encouraging greater trust among participants, achieving greater understanding of controversial issues and promoting innovative collaborative initiatives to achieve crucial policy priorities. They also indicate the auspicious potential that some group members demonstrated for translating personal change into external social and political change. The Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum has been an invaluable learning experience for The Carter Center and International IDEA, and it is our hope that this experience and learning will serve other practitioners in the field of civil society dialogue.

## Annexes

### Annex A: List of members of the Andean – U.S. Dialogue Forum

#### Bolivia

Ricardo Calla Ortega	Researcher; international consultant; former minister of indigenous affairs
Germán Choque Condori	Founder of Indigenous Tawantinsuyu University; former member of Congress from La Paz
José Luis Exeni	Coordinator for Communication and Information of the Specialized Judicial Unit for Constitutional Development; Former president of the National Electoral Court
Fernando Mayorga Ugarte	Director, Center for Higher Education, Universidad Mayor de San Simón
Lourdes Montero Justiniano	Professor of Development Studies, Universidad de San Andrés; executive director, Gregoria Apaza Center for the Advancement of Women

#### Colombia

Ricardo Ávila Pinto	Director, <i>Portafolio</i>
Francisco de Roux Rengifo	Head of the Jesuit community in Colombia; recipient of the 2001 Colombian National Peace Prize
Eduardo Herrera Berbel	Retired General; rector, Universidad Militar Nueva Granada
Rodrigo Pardo García-Peña	Journalist; former foreign minister; former ambassador to Venezuela and France
Socorro Ramírez Vargas	Former professor, Universidad Nacional de Colombia; expert in International Relations
Luis Carlos Villegas Echeverri	President, National Association of Colombian Businessmen; president, National Business Council

#### Ecuador

Adrián Bonilla Soria	Director, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Ecuador
Susana Cabeza de Vaca González	Executive director, Fulbright Commission in Ecuador; former coordinating minister of production and competition
Manuel Chiriboga Vega	Director, Foreign Trade Observatory; researcher, Latin American Center for Rural Development
Eduardo Egas Peña	Executive vice president, Corporation for the Promotion of Exports and Investment
Carlos Espinosa Fernández Córdova	Professor of Humanities, FLACSO, Ecuador
Patricia Estupiñán de Burbano	General editor, <i>Vistazo</i> magazine
María Paula Romo Rodríguez	Member, National Assembly for <i>Acuerdo País</i>
Juan Fernando Vega Cuesta	Priest; former member of the Constitutional Assembly; professor of Theology

#### Peru

Cecilia Blondet Montero	Executive director, National Council for Public Ethics
Jorge Ortiz Sotelo	Executive director, Peruvian Institute of Economics and Politics
Felipe Ortiz de Zevallos	Former Peruvian ambassador to the United States; founder and president, Grupo APOYO; professor, Universidad del Pacífico, Lima, Peru

Ricardo Vega Llona Businessman; former president of the National Confederation of Private Enterprises; former senator  
Antonio Zapata Velasco Professor of History, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos; former advisor to the Peruvian Congress

**United States**

Hattie Babbitt Attorney; former deputy administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID); former U.S. ambassador to the OAS during the Clinton Administration  
Eric Farnsworth Vice president, Council of the Americas  
Kristen Genovese Senior attorney, Center for International Environmental Law  
Rex Lee Jim Vice President, Navajo Nation; Representative for the Navajo Nation at the UN and OAS on the Declarations on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples  
Stephen Johnson Director, Americas Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies  
Jim Kolbe Former U.S. Representative (R-AZ); senior fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States  
Marcela Sánchez-Bender Communications officer, External Affairs for Latin America and the Caribbean, World Bank  
John Walsh Senior associate for the Andes and Drug Policy, Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA)  
Coletta Youngers Senior fellow, WOLA; independent consultant; associate, International Drug Policy Consortium

**Venezuela**

René Arreaza Villalba Former coordinator for the vice-president of Venezuela; former Foreign Ministry official  
Eleazar Díaz Rangel Journalist; director of *Últimas Noticias*  
Orlando Maniglia Ferreira Former minister of defense; retired Admiral  
Ana María Sanjuán Coordinator on Security, State and Democracy for the Andean Development Corporation; professor, Universidad Central de Venezuela  
Maryclen Stelling de Macareño Coordinator, Venezuelan chapter of Global Media Watch

## **Annex B: Biographies of members of the Andean – U.S. Dialogue Forum**

### **Bolivia**

**Ricardo Calla Ortega** works as a consultant to international organizations, as an academic and as a researcher. He graduated with honors in Sociology at Washington and Lee University in the United States. He completed an MA in Social Sciences at the Latin American Faculty for Social Sciences (FLACSO) in Mexico, obtaining an academic recommendation to publish his graduate thesis. He later continued with graduate courses in Anthropology at Goldsmiths College, London University, United Kingdom. He specializes in Political Anthropology and Andean research and is the author of numerous publications on these topics. He has been the rector of the Cordillera University (post-graduate Program in Social Sciences) and a consultant on indigenous matters for the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the Women and Development Unit of the Economic Commission for Latin America, the UN and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Bolivia. Between 2004-2005 he acted as the minister for indigenous affairs and aboriginal peoples and as adjunct consul general of Bolivia in Santiago de Chile between 2005 and 2006.

**Germán Choque Condori** is a professor at Universidad Mayor de San Andrés (UMSA) and at the Simon Bolivar Teachers Training College. In his career, he was a congressional representative for La Paz (2003-2005), founded the Indian Tawantinsuyu University in 1999, and co-founded the National University of the XX Century in 1986 and the Alto Public University in 1999. As a member of the Aymara Indian community, Choque founded the Julián Apaza University Movement at UMSA, designed the present Wiphala (1979) and pioneered the return of the Aymara New Year, Tiwanacu (1979). In October 1992, Choque was named the Inka Chukiwanka on behalf of the return of the State of Oollasuyu. He has also authored several books: *Origin and Constitution of the Wiphala* (Orígen y constitución de la Wiphala); *Warrior Wiphala* (Wiphala guerrera); *Putting Stones Together* (Juntando piedras); *National Colonialist Anthem*, (Himno Nacional Colonialista) and *The New Kipu* (El nuevo Kipu).

**Jose Luis Exeni** is the coordinator in the area of Communication and Information of the Legal Union Specialized in Constitutional Development. He was the president of the National Electoral Court until 2009, when he renounced his position. Additionally, Exeni has authored several books, such as *Mediocracia de alta intensidad* (2011); *Democracia (im)pactada en Bolivia* (2008) and *Media Morfosis: Comunicación política e in/gobernabilidad en democracia* (2006), as well as many articles. He has a Doctorate in Political Science from FLACSO, Mexico and a multidisciplinary post-graduate degree in Development Sciences from UMSA.

**Fernando Mayorga Ugarte** has been a professor at the University of San Simón since 1984 and is currently the director of the Center for Superior University Studies. In 1993, Dr. Mayorga was advisor to Bolivia's vice president and in 2005 he formed part of the National Pre-Constituent and Pre-Autonomous Council. He serves as board member to various national organizations, including the PIEB Foundation, the UNIR Foundation, Transparency International Bolivia and the Center for Research and Promotion of Campesino Populations. He also forms part of the Expert Network in democracy-related issues for the Organization of American States (OAS) and is a columnist for the Bolivian newspaper *La Razón*. He has also been a consultant for UNDP Bolivia reports on Human Development and on global issues for the UNRISD in Geneva. He has authored various articles and studies on democracy, politics and discourse. Mayorga has a BA in Sociology from the National Autonomous University of Mexico and a PhD in Political Science from FLACSO in Mexico.

**Lourdes Montero Justiniano** is a postgraduate professor of Development Studies at the University of San Andres (CIDES-UMSA). She is also executive director at the Gregoria Apaza Center for the Advancement of Women, has a PhD in Social Economics, which she received in Mexico, and was the vice minister of the development of micro-businesses. She holds a Master's degree in Social Studies as well as a Doctorate in Economics and Labor Studies from the Autonomous Metropolitan University of Mexico (UAM), which she attended from 1998-2002. Additionally, she received the University Merit Award for being top of her class in the postgraduate program at UAM in 2002.

## Colombia

**Ricardo Ávila Pinto** has worked as the director of the leading Colombian business and economics newspaper, *Portafolio*, since 2007. He also works as the assistant director of the opinion section for the newspaper *El Tiempo*. He was economic advisor and private secretary to the presidency of the republic, deputy minister of international economic affairs for the Foreign Affairs Ministry and head of cabinet of the Office of the OAS Secretary General. On several occasions he has acted as a consultant for the IDB and the Andean Development Corporation (CAF). Ávila was also a member of the Ecuador-Colombia Bi-national Dialogue Group.

**Francisco de Roux Rengifo** is a Jesuit priest in the Compañía Jesuita Superior in Colombia. He has been recognized by civil society organizations and international cooperation as a leader of the peace movement and development initiatives for territories in conflict. He directed the pioneer program on these issues in the country. He has a Masters in Economics from the Andes University and the London School of Economics, as well as a Doctorate from the Sorbonne University.

**Eduardo Herrera Berbel** is a retired general of the republic and rector of the Military University of Grenada. He holds a professional degree in Military Sciences, a Master's degree in Security and National Defense from the Higher School of War and a specialization in National Defense Analysis and Conflict Resolution from the Military University of Nueva Granada. He served as the dean of the Department of International Relations, Strategy and Security at the Military University of Nueva Granada. He was director of the Higher School of War, and commander of the brigade and of the Institutes of Military Education.

**Rodrigo Pardo García-Peña** is the former director of *Cambio* magazine. He worked as the editorial director of *Semana* magazine, deputy director of the newspaper *El Tiempo* and director of the newspaper *El Espectador*. He served as professor of International Politics at Los Andes University. He has acted as minister of foreign relations and ambassador of Colombia to Venezuela and France. He studied Economics at Los Andes University and International Relations at Johns Hopkins University.

**Socorro Ramírez Vargas** is currently a columnist for the Colombian newspaper *El Tiempo*. She is a former professor at the Universidad Nacional in Colombia. Among other titles, she has a post doctorate at the Institut des Hautes Études de L'Amérique Latine, a PhD in Political Science from the Sorbonne University, a Masters in International Relations from the Sorbonne University and a Masters in Economic and Political Problem Analysis from the International Institute of Development.

**Luis Carlos Villegas Echeverri** is the president of the National Association of Entrepreneurs and of the National Guilds Council. Villegas, regarded as the most prominent spokesman for the private sector in Colombia, has also held several positions in the public sector, including foreign affairs deputy minister, senator of the republic and governor of the Risaralda Department. He has held especially recognized positions in the country, such as his position presiding over the Directive Council for the Reconstruction and Social Development Fund for the Coffee Axis following the severe earthquake that affected the country. He was also a member of the Bi-national Group for the Ecuador-Colombia Dialogue.

## Ecuador

**Adrián Bonilla Soria** is the director of FLACSO in Ecuador. During his career, he has been a visiting professor and lecturer at different universities and graduate institutes in several Latin American countries and the United States. He has published five books and a number of articles on foreign policy and conflict in the Andean Region, drug trafficking and international security. He is member of the Latin American Studies Association and the International Studies Association. He has a PhD in International Studies from the University of Miami, United States.

**Susana Cabeza de Vaca González** is the executive director of the Ecuador Fulbright Commission. During her career, Cabeza de Vaca has also been coordinating minister of Production and Competition during Rafael

Correa's presidency and has held several positions in Ecuador, Brazil, Portugal and the United States, including dean of the Development Administration Department at the San Francisco University in Quito. She was corporate director and director of Human Resources for the corporation Textiles Nacionales. Additionally, she has been a board member of the Quito Chapter of Fundación Natura, of the Ecuadorian Foundation for Women and Development, Sacha Jatún Foundation and the Antisana Foundation. She has worked in training rural micro companies and has written and published academic articles, poems and stories. She received her MA in Hispanic Literature at Michigan State University and is currently a PhD candidate in Hispanic Medieval Studies. She completed her university studies at Kalamazoo College on a Fulbright scholarship.

**Manuel Chiriboga Vega** serves as a principal researcher for the Latin American Center for Rural Development, as director of the Observatory for Foreign Trade, and as a regular editorialist for the newspaper *El Universo*. Additionally, Chiriboga is a member of the editorial committees of several magazines. Earlier in his career, he served as subsecretary of trade and chief negotiator for the Free Trade Agreement between the United States and Ecuador, as well as for the Commercial Politics and Investment wing of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock. Chiriboga has been the executive secretary of the Latin American Association of Organizations for Promotion and director of the Rural Development Program of the Inter-American Institute for Agricultural Cooperation. He has been president of the working group of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on the World Bank and of the International Forum on Institutional Strengthening of NGOs and a member of the International Coalition on Land and a consultant for international organizations. Furthermore, Chiriboga was a professor of International Trade at the Universidad Católica, the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, at the Universidad Central de Ecuador and at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador and has published seven books and many articles. He has a diploma in Economic Development from the Institute of Developing Countries and in Sociology from the University of Lovaina, Belgium.

**Eduardo Egas Peña** is currently the executive vice president of the Corporation to Promote Exports and Investments, as well as a commercial engineer with studies in economics. He worked with the Ecuadorian government during President Rafael Correa's administration as vice minister of foreign commerce, integration and international negotiations. He also has extensive experience in the areas of business and international relations, as well as regional and local development. In the academic arena, he has been professor of Economics and dean of the Economics, Administration, Auditing and International Management Department at the Catholic University of Santiago de Guayaquil.

**Carlos Espinosa Fernández de Córdova** is a professor of Humanities at FLACSO, with a focus on Security, Development and Narcotrafficking in the Andean Region. He holds a Doctorate in History from the University of Chicago. Supported by the Santo Domingo Visiting Scholarship, he conducted research at Harvard University, during which time he prepared a study on the Ecuador-Peru peace process and territorial conflicts, 1998-1999. Since 2002, he has been the coordinator of the International Relations Program at the San Francisco University of Quito. Since 2006, he has been a member of the Working Group on Regional Security, Friederich Ebert Stiftung. He also led the Research Group for Ecuador for the "Illicit Economy of Drugs in the Andean Region" research project sponsored by Development Alternatives Incorporated in 2004.

**Patricia Estupiñán de Burbano** is a journalist with a Masters degree in Political Science and Philosophy, specializing in International Law, Comparative Politics and Political Philosophy. Since 1985, she has worked at *Vistazo* magazine, which is part of the ECUAVISA Group where she has been the head of editorial staff, managing editor and general editor. She has won four Jorge Mantilla journalism prizes, and in 2000 she received second place in the Ortega y Gasset prize for her coverage of the 1999 banking crisis in Ecuador. She has been a correspondent for "Business Latin America" of the *Chicago Tribune* and *Poder* magazine. She has conducted interviews with the presidents and vice presidents of Ecuador; the presidents of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Brazil, Chile and Venezuela; and the secretaries general of the OAS. She was a member of the Bi-national Dialogue between Ecuador-Colombia.

**María Paula Romo Rodríguez** is a politician, lawyer and university professor. After a period of university leadership, activism and fully committed participation with democracy and women's rights, she became more formally involved in politics. At present she is the president of the Specialized Commission of Justice and State Structure of the National Assembly. She was also a member of the Montecristi Constituent Assembly.

**Juan Fernando Vega Cuesta** is a priest and has been professor of Theology and Social Thought at the University of Azuay since 1991. He is responsible for the Department of Human Mobility in the Diocese of Cuenca. He has ample expertise in matters of human mobility and social projects that benefit vulnerable groups. For the past 15 years he has been working with migrants in the United States. He was a constituent assembly member in Montecristi (2008) representing Azuay. He is currently an advisor to the National Secretariat for Migrants.

## **Peru**

**Cecilia Blondet** is a historian who works as the executive director of the National Council for Public Ethics, the Peruvian chapter of Transparency International. She is also a main researcher at the Institute of Peruvian Studies (IEP). Earlier in her career, Blondet served as Peru's minister of state in the Ministry of Promotion of Women and Human Development, general director of the Institute for Peruvian Studies and president of the Ethics Tribunal of the Peruvian Press Council. At present she is a member of the Board of Advisors of the Open Society Institute; the Advisory Council of the International Project for Children of the Millennium, sponsored by Save the Children UK; the Directive Board of the TRANSPARENCY Civil Association; and the Board of the Ancash Association of Antamina Mining Company. She is a consultant for international cooperation and the private sector on social and community matters.

**Felipe Ortiz de Zevallos** is a columnist, lecturer and independent board member to several important financial and mining corporations and non-profit organizations. In his career he has been an engineer, an entrepreneur, a journalist, an educator and a diplomat. From 2006 to 2009 he served as the Peruvian ambassador to the United States and helped manage the ratification of the Free Trade Agreement between the United States and Peru. Ortiz de Zevallos acted as head professor and vice-chancellor of the University of the Pacific in Lima. Additionally, he founded Group APOYO in 1977 and served as the group's president. He has been recognized with the Peruvian Institute of Public Administration Award (1990), the Jerusalem Journalism Award (1998) and the Manuel J. Bustamante de la Fuente Award (2008). In 2009, the Lima Chamber of Commerce honored him for his contribution to the social and economic development of the country. He studied at the UNI in Lima for engineering, the University of Rochester in New York and Harvard Business School.

**Jorge Ortiz Sotelo** is a naval captain who studied History in the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Perú and graduated in 1985. He completed specialization courses in Maritime History and the British Empire at Queen Mary College of the University of London and received his Doctorate in Maritime History from the University of Saint Andrews in Scotland. Dr. Ortiz Sotelo has researched and published extensively on topics of his specialty, such as *Apuntes para la historia de los submarinos peruanos* and *Monitor Huascar: una historia compartida (1985-2005)*.

**Ricardo Vega Llona** is currently president of the board and director for several companies in various sectors, such as Unimed Peru and Eldenor S.A., as well as an advisor to many businesses. He has been president of the School for Stock Exchange Agents, president of the Exporters Association and president of the National Confederation of Private Entrepreneurial Institutions. In the public sector, he has been a senator of the republic, executive director of the Investment Promotions Agency, executive president of Counter Drugs with the rank of minister of state, and president of the High Level Commission and Summit (Latin America and the Caribbean-EU). He studied Economic and Commercial Sciences at the Catholic University of Peru. He carried out higher courses of study at the Higher School for Business Administration for Graduates and of Business Management at the International Labor Organization in Milan.

**Antonio Zapata Velasco** is currently a columnist for *La República* newspaper, a professor of History at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Perú and a professor at the Diplomatic Academy of Perú in the areas of Political and Social History of the Republican Era. He is also an associate researcher for the IEP and has been an advisor to the Congress of the Republic in the field of anti-corruption. Additionally, for nine years he was the conductor of the history television program “Sucedió en el Perú” (It Happened in Peru), Peru National Television. He has a Doctorate in the History of Latin America from Columbia University.

## **United States**

**Hattie Babbitt** is an attorney in Washington, D.C. where she provides counsel at the intersection of law, policy and public interest. From 1997 to 2001 Babbitt served as deputy administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). As the second most senior official for U.S. foreign assistance programs, she oversaw programs in the fields of democratization, humanitarian relief, women’s empowerment, climate change, economic growth, education, health and the environment. Her responsibilities included oversight of USAID efforts to assist post-conflict reconstruction in the Balkans and East Timor. She represented USAID on the President’s Management Council and chaired the intra-USAID management committee. Babbitt served at the Department of State from 1993 to 1997 as U.S. ambassador to the OAS. Babbitt also served as a senior public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and spent almost 20 years as a litigation attorney in Arizona. Babbitt serves on a number of not-for-profit and for-profit boards. She is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

**Eric Farnsworth** is the vice president of the Council of the Americas. He is a recognized expert on hemispheric affairs and U.S. foreign and trade policy, having given congressional testimony on a number of occasions, and is a frequent commentator in the media. He has authored or co-authored articles in *American Interest*, *Americas Quarterly*, *Current History* and the *Journal of Democracy*, and is a monthly columnist for *PODER* magazine. From 1995-98, he oversaw policy and message development for the White House Office of the Special Envoy for the Americas. He served at the U.S. Department of State beginning in 1990 and was awarded the Superior Honor Award three times and the Meritorious Honor Award once. Farnsworth holds an MPA in International Relations from Princeton’s Woodrow Wilson School. He is a Harry Truman Scholar and an alumnus of Leadership America, Young Leaders of the (NATO) Alliance and the U.S.-Spain Young Leaders programs.

**Kristen Genovese** is a senior attorney for the Center for International Environmental Law’s (CIEL) International Financial Institutions Program and directs the Law and Communities Program. Prior to joining CIEL in June 2007, Genovese was international counsel at Defenders of Wildlife, where she focused on the implementation and enforcement of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora. Genovese was a law fellow at the Environmental Law Institute after receiving her law degree from New York University (NYU) School of Law in 2004. During her time at NYU, she interned at Centro Mexicano de Derecho Ambiental (the Mexican Center for Environmental Law) and Earthjustice’s International Program. Her BS in Environmental Policy and Behavior is from the University of Michigan School of Natural Resources and the Environment. Genovese interned at CIEL as an undergraduate and then worked for a year as a program associate for the Biodiversity and Trade Programs.

**Rex Lee Jim** is the vice president of the Navajo Nation. As a member of this governing body, he served on the Judiciary Committee, striving for access to a fair judicial service for the Navajo people and also chaired the Public Safety Committee, fighting for public safety services: police, fire and rescue, corrections, medical and emergency response, criminal investigations, and highway safety. He started teaching at the Rock Point Community School by teaching Navajo to students K-12. He also developed curricula for K-Graduate programs that are culturally and pedagogically appropriate for Navajo students. Later, while teaching for Dine College, the first Native American college to be established and run by a native nation, he fundraised for and organized student and faculty trips to the countries of South America. He helped work on the drafting and final passing of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples at the UN and continues to work with the Expert Mechanism, which is charged with the study and implementation of the declaration. He is also working

on drafting the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in the Americas with the OAS. Additionally, Jim has published in Navajo and has written and produced plays entirely in Navajo.

**Stephen Johnson** is currently the director of the Americas Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and has worked as an associate at Visión Américas, a Washington-based consultancy. From 2007 to 2009, Johnson served as deputy assistant secretary of defense for western hemisphere affairs, where he was in charge of U.S. hemispheric defense policies, strategies and bilateral security relations. Before that, Johnson was a senior foreign policy analyst at the Washington-based Heritage Foundation—authoring studies on Latin American politics, trade and security, as well as public diplomacy, youth gangs and immigration. His commentaries have appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Miami Herald*, *Business Week*, *Fox News.com*, *Diario Las Américas* and *El Comercio* (Peru). His broadcast appearances include CNN, Fox News, MSNBC, National Public Radio, Univisión, Telemundo and RCN-TV (Colombia). Johnson has lived in El Salvador, Honduras and Uruguay, and observed elections in El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico and Nicaragua.

**Jim Kolbe** is a senior fellow at the German Marshall Fund. Kolbe advises on trade matters and the effectiveness of U.S. assistance to foreign countries, on U.S.-EU relationships and on migration and its relationship to development. He is co-chair of the Transatlantic Taskforce on Development and an adjunct professor in the College of Business at the University of Arizona. Additionally, he serves part-time as a strategic consultant with McLarty Associates. From 1985 to 2007, he served in the U.S. House of Representatives, representing the eighth (previously designated the fifth) congressional district of Arizona. Throughout this time he served 20 years on the Appropriations committee, four years as chairman of the Treasury, Post Office and Related Agencies subcommittee, and six years chairing the Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Agencies subcommittee.

**Marcela Sánchez-Bender**, who has been a Washington-based journalist since the early 1990s, is currently a communications officer for the World Bank's External Affairs for Latin America and the Caribbean Program. Her weekly bilingual column on Latin American and Latino affairs has been syndicated by *The New York Times* since 2008 and was previously available through The Washington Post Writers Group. As one of Washington's most prominent journalists following Latin American affairs, she has interviewed most Latin American leaders visiting the U.S. capital and most of Washington's leading policy makers working on the region. Sánchez is familiar to television viewers inside and outside Washington through her frequent appearances on local, national and international broadcasts. Before joining *The Washington Post* in 1997, she was Washington correspondent for two of the major daily newspapers in Colombia, *El Espectador* and *El Tiempo*, as well as Colombia's En Vivo and QAP television newscasts.

**John Walsh** is a senior associate for the Andes and Drug Policy at the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA). In this position he directs WOLA's work on the Andes related to strengthening the rule of law, promoting respect for human rights and bolstering democratic institutions. Previously Walsh served as director of research at Drug Strategies, a policy research group that builds support for more pragmatic and effective approaches to U.S. drug problems (1995-2003). He also worked on the Rethinking Bretton Woods Project at the Center of Concern, an effort to forge consensus on ideas for reform of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and international trade arrangements (1993-1995). Walsh holds a Masters degree in Public Policy from Johns Hopkins University.

**Coletta Youngers** is an independent consultant, a senior fellow at WOLA and an associate with the International Drug Policy Consortium. She is an analyst of human rights and political developments in the Andean region and of U.S. foreign policy toward the Andes and an expert on U.S. international drug control policy. She is co-editor of *Drugs and Democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. Policy* (2005). Youngers was the director of WOLA's Drug Policy Project from July 2001 to May 2004 and was a senior associate at WOLA from June 1987 to June 2003. Prior to joining WOLA in 1987, Youngers was a project manager at Catholic Relief Services and on the editorial staff of *Latinamerica Press/Noticias Aliadas* in Lima, Peru. She holds a Masters in Public Affairs from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University. She is also the author of a book on the history of WOLA, *Thirty Years of Advocacy for Human Rights, Democracy*

and Social Justice (2005) and on the history of the Peruvian human rights movement, *Violencia Política y Sociedad Civil en el Perú: Historia de la Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos* (2003). She has published numerous book chapters, reports and articles on the impact of U.S. antinarcotics policy on human rights and democratization in the Andes, among other topics.

## **Venezuela**

**René Arreaza Villalba** is the former chief of staff for the vice-presidency of Venezuela and a former Foreign Affairs Ministry official. He served in this ministry for 30 years. Arreaza retired with the rank of ambassador and served as the chief of staff of the vice presidency of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela until 2007. He was also the chief of staff for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2002-2004), general director of human resources (2003), general director of the cabinet and acting general director, with the rank of ambassador of the Foreign Affairs Ministry (1992-1993). He represented the Venezuelan government in several international organizations, including the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. As an academic, he worked as a guest researcher in the Center for Latin American Studies at Georgetown University (2007-2008).

**Eleazar Díaz Rangel** is the director of *Últimas Noticias*, Venezuela's most distributed newspaper. He is the former president of the Venezuelan Journalists Association, director of the National Workers of the Press Union and founder of the Latin-American Federation of Journalists. In addition, he was the director of *Diario Punto* and the magazine, *Tribuna*. Further, Rangel was the director of the School of Mass Communication of the Universidad Central de Venezuela.

**Orlando Maniglia Ferreira** is a delegate to the Presidential Commission for the Delimitation of Marine and Submarine Waters of the Gulf of Venezuela and other Subjects in the Republic of Colombia. He is also a lecturer and professor on various topics of his expertise. He speaks four languages and has served as general commander of the Navy (2003-2004), inspector general of the National Naval Forces (2004-2005) and minister of defense (2005-2006). He has been recognized for his service not only by the Venezuelan government, but also by the governments of France, Italy and Russia. In 2010, he began his second radio show, called "Between the Lines." Maniglia earned his Master's degree in Maritime Strategy at the Higher School of Naval War of Venezuela after earning diplomas at the Universidad Central of Venezuela, the School of Joint War in Venezuela and the Interarms College of Defense in Paris, France.

**Ana María Sanjuán** is the coordinator on Security, State and Democracy for CAF. She is also a social psychologist and a professor at the Universidad Central de Venezuela. Sanjuán founded the Colombia, Latin America and Caribbean Professorship at the university. Additionally, she is a member of the Bi-national Colombia-Venezuela Academic Group and the Center of American Studies, as well as a consultant on governability, security and international relations issues for the IDB, OAS, Inter-American Institute of Human Rights and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung International.

**Maryclen Stelling de Macareño** is a sociologist who specializes in the analysis of modes of social communication. She teaches at la Universidad Católica Andrés Bello and la Fundación Escuela de Gerencia Social. Currently, she is working as the executive director of the Rómulo Gallegos Center of Latin American Studies and is the general coordinator of the Venezuelan chapter of Global Media Watch. She also hosts a weekly radio show, which airs on Radio Nacional Venezuela, and is a columnist for the newspaper *Últimas Noticias* (Venezuela).

## **Annex C: Working groups of the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum**

### **Common Agenda Working Group**

Ricardo Calla Ortega	Researcher; consultant; former Bolivian minister of indigenous affairs
Susana Cabeza de Vaca González	Executive director, Fulbright Commission in Ecuador; former coordinating minister of production and competition
Felipe Ortiz de Zevallos	Former Peruvian ambassador to the United States; founder and president, Grupo APOYO; professor, Universidad del Pacifico, Lima, Peru
Luis Carlos Villegas Echeverri	President, National Association of Colombian Businessmen; president, National Business Council
John Walsh	Senior associate for the Andes and Drug Policy, Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), United States

### **Drugs and Organized Crime Working Group**

René Arreaza Villalba	Former coordinator for the vice-president of Venezuela; former Foreign Ministry official
Adrián Bonilla Soria	Director, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Ecuador
Carlos Espinosa Fernández Córdova	Professor of Humanities, FLACSO, Ecuador
Eduardo Herrera Berbel	Retired Colombian General; rector, Nueva Granada Military University
Orlando Maniglia Ferreira	Former Venezuelan minister of defense; retired Admiral
Jorge Ortiz-Sotelo	Executive director, Peruvian Institute of Economics and Politics
Socorro Ramírez Vargas	Former professor, National University of Colombia; expert in International Relations
Coletta Youngers	Senior fellow, WOLA; independent consultant; associate, International Drug Policy Consortium, United States

### **Media Working Group**

Ricardo Ávila Pinto	Director, <i>Portafolio</i> magazine, Colombia
Eleazar Díaz Rangel	Journalist; director of <i>Ultimas Noticias</i> , Venezuela
Patricia Estupiñán de Burbano	General editor, <i>Vistazo</i> magazine
José Luis Exeni	Coordinator for Communication and Information of the Specialized Judicial Unit for Constitutional Development; Former president of the National Electoral Court
Eric Farnsworth	Vice-president, Council of the Americas, United States
Rodrigo Pardo García-Peña	Journalist; former Colombian foreign minister; former ambassador to Venezuela
Marcela Sánchez-Bender	Columnist, <i>The New York Times Syndicate</i> , United States
Maryclen Stelling de Macareño	Coordinator, Venezuelan chapter of Global Media Watch

## **Development Working Group**

Hattie Babbitt	Attorney; former deputy administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development; former U.S. ambassador to the OAS during the Clinton Administration
Manuel Chiriboga Vega	Director, Foreign Trade Observatory; researcher, Latin American Center for Rural Development, Ecuador
Germán Choque Condori	Founder of Indigenous Tawantinsuyu University; former member of Congress from La Paz, Bolivia
Eduardo Egas Peña	Executive vice president, Corporation for the Promotion of Exports and Investment
Kristen Genovese	Senior attorney, Center for International Environmental Law, United States
Stephen Johnson	Former deputy assistant secretary of defense for Western Hemisphere Affairs; associate, Visión Américas, United States
Jim Kolbe	Former United States Representative (R-AZ); senior fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States
Rex Lee Jim	Vice President, Navajo Nation; Representative for the Navajo Nation at the UN and OAS on the Declarations on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
Lourdes Montero Justiniano	Professor of Development Studies, University of San Andrés; Executive director, Gregoria Apaza Center for the Advancement of Women, Bolivia
Francisco de Roux Rengifo	Head of Jesuit community in Colombia; recipient of the 2001 Colombian National Peace Prize
Juan Fernando Vega Cuesta	Priest; former member of the Constitutional Assembly; professor of Theology
Ricardo Vega Llona	Businessman; former president of the National Confederation of Private Enterprises; Former senator, Peru

## **Democracy Working Group**

Cecilia Blondet Montero	Executive director, National Council for Public Ethics
Fernando Mayorga Ugarte	Director, Center for Higher Education, Universidad Mayor de San Simón
María Paula Romo Rodríguez	Member, National Assembly for <i>Acuerdo País</i>
Ana María Sanjuán	Coordinator on Security, State, and Democracy for the Andean Development Corporation; professor, Universidad Central de Venezuela
Antonio Zapata Velasco	Professor of History, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos; former advisor to the Peruvian Congress

## **Annex D. Declaration on drug policy in the Andean region**

The following signatories are members of the Carter Center and International IDEA's Andean-United States Dialogue Forum, which has met from 2010 to 2011 and in which prominent people from various sectors in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, the United States, and Venezuela participated. After a debate on the alternatives to current drug policy presented in the forthcoming report, "*Drug Policy in the Andes: Seeking Humane and Effective Alternatives*", we have reached the following conclusions and recommendations:

1) Drug policies have not had the desired results. There are partial and short term successes, but failure has prevailed. The threats derived from drugs, delinquency, and organized crime continue. The international debate on new approaches that focus on reducing the harm caused to the weakest sectors of society that are affected by the production, trafficking, and consumption of drugs has gained great momentum with the work of the Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy and the Global Commission on Drug Policy. Policy makers, regional experts and activists are searching for new strategies to contain growing illicit markets and to minimize the harm done to people, communities and states **We recommend broadening the debate in a plural and rigorous manner, with the participation of all relevant state institutions as well as the largest possible spectrum of health experts, media, NGOs, social and community organizations, churches and academics.**

2) The narrow range of policies currently in place and unilateral evaluations of drug policies have not permitted an integral vision of this complex phenomenon and have hindered mutual understanding among Andean nations, and between these countries and the United States. **We recommend reinforcing the dialogue and consolidating the agreements among Andean countries, hosting a regional meeting to discuss the construction of a common agenda regarding drug policy and institutionalizing UNASUR's South American Council on the World Drug Problem.**

3) The strategy of forced eradication of small-scale coca production has produced transitory and counterproductive results on a social and environmental level and has strained relations between neighboring countries. Furthermore, the substitution of crops is unsuccessful when it does not guarantee small farmers real alternatives for income generation or the provision of basic services. **We recommend redirecting resources towards integral rural development and adjusting strategies to each local context in order to reduce the crops destined for illicit markets.**

4) Drug consumption is growing across the Andean sub-region and prisons are overpopulated with those carrying drugs for personal consumption or small-scale dealers, many of whom, during their incarceration, become problematic drug users and involved in criminal organizations. **We recommend constructing a strong education and health policy aimed at the prevention of consumption and the treatment of those who need it, as well as alternatives to incarceration for those who commit minor, non-violent offenses.**

5) The corruption associated with drug trafficking-related crime weakens already fragile institutions and deepens insecurity. The response to transnational crime should not be reduced to military action. **We recommend reorienting law enforcement efforts towards dismantling**

**criminal networks and organizations linked to drug trafficking; improving and targeting intelligence gathering efforts; changing the way in which policy is put into practice; strengthening institutions; confronting corruption and empowering communities, particularly those located in border areas.**

The following members of the Andean-United States Dialogue Forum sign this declaration in a personal capacity. Their institutional affiliations are provided for informational purposes only.

**René Arreaza Villalba**

Former Coordinator for the Vice-President;  
Former Foreign Ministry Official,  
Venezuela

**Ricardo Ávila Pinto**

Director of the newspaper *Portafolio*,  
Colombia

**Hattie Babbitt**

Attorney; Former Deputy Administrator of  
USAID; Former Ambassador to the OAS  
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**Cecilia Blondet Montero**

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**Susana Cabeza de Vaca González**

Executive Director, Fulbright Commission;  
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**Ricardo Calla Ortega**

Researcher; International Consultant;  
Former Minister of Indigenous Affairs,  
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**Manuel Chiriboga Vega**

Director, Foreign Trade Observatory;  
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**Eduardo Egas Peña**

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**Carlos Espinosa Fernández Córdova**

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**Patricia Estupiñán de Burbano**

General Editor, *Vistazo* magazine, Ecuador

**José Luis Exeni**

Coordinator for Communication and  
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for Constitutional Development, Former  
President of the National Electoral Court,  
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**Eduardo Antonio Herrera Berbel**

Retired General; Rector, Universidad Militar  
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**Rex Lee Jim**

Vice President, Navajo Nation;  
Representative for the Navajo Nation at the  
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Rights of Indigenous Peoples, United States

**Stephen Johnson**

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States

**Jorge Ortiz Sotelo**

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**Felipe Ortiz de Zevallos**

Former Peruvian Ambassador to the U.S.;  
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Professor, Universidad del Pacífico, Lima,  
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**Rodrigo Pardo García-Peña**

Journalist; Former Foreign Minister; Former Ambassador to Venezuela and France, Colombia

**Socorro Ramírez Vargas**

Former Professor, Universidad Nacional de Colombia; Expert in International Relations, Colombia

**Francisco de Roux Rengifo**

Head of the Jesuits; Recipient of the 2001 Colombian National Peace Prize, Colombia

**Marcela Sánchez-Bender**

Former Opinion Columnist with The Washington Post and The New York Times Syndicate, United States

**Juan Fernando Vega Cuesta**

Priest; Former Member of the Constitutional Assembly; Professor of Theology, Ecuador

**Ricardo Vega Llona**

Businessman; Former President of the National Confederation of Private Enterprises; Former Senator, Peru

**Luis Carlos Villegas Echeverri**

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**John Walsh**

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**Coletta Youngers**

Senior Fellow, Washington Office on Latin America; Independent Consultant; Associate, International Drug Policy Consortium, United States

**Antonio Zapata Velasco**

Professor of History, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos; Former Advisor to the Congress, Peru

## **Annex E. Selection of articles resulting from Andean country visits**

### **Andean Backwardness, Where the Logical Is Strange<sup>38</sup>**

By Marcela Sanchez, August 27, 2010

LIMA, Peru -- I'm not often surprised in this job. You can't help but think you've seen it all covering Latin American politics and the likes of Alberto Fujimori, Daniel Ortega and Hugo Chavez for 17 years.

But this past week when Peruvian President Alan Garcia and I sat down in Lima for an interview, I have to admit I was taken aback by his candor and strong sense of solidarity for his country's neighbors, two traits not very evident among Andean regional leaders these days.

"Send us the Colombian police," he piped up when we talked about drug trafficking and the difficulties of combating it in isolation. "Send them and have them take over Callao," he added, referring to the country's largest international airport.

In Garcia's judgment, Colombian police have developed a level of expertise and sophistication second to none in the region, thanks in large part to Washington's multi-billion dollar support.

The Peruvian leader, of course, is not about to turn the security of his people over to a neighboring force. But he was making two critical points: the Andean region is in this together and Washington is not a threat but potentially a very strong ally.

These sentiments have been largely lost in the noise of recent cross border recrimination. In fact, a similar conversation with another Andean leader about drugs or security threats would likely devolve into expressions of suspicion -- suspicion of Colombians, Americans and their desires to violate national sovereignty.

In other words, tensions far more than cooperation have come to define regional relations. For nearly two years, for example, diplomatic ties between Ecuador and Colombia were severed after the Colombian military raided a camp used by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) in Ecuadorian territory in March 2008.

And, of course, relations between Venezuela and Colombia over the last couple years have been worse. Ambassadors have been withdrawn, trade frozen, war threatened, and full diplomatic ties cut off, all over security issues such as the raid in Ecuador, U.S. military presence in Colombia and accusations that Venezuela harbors FARC guerrillas in its territory.

During our interview, made possible by an initiative of The Carter Center to promote better understanding between the Andean nations and with the United States, Garcia lamented that Peru missed the boat when the U.S. agreed to help Colombia in its fight against drugs.

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<sup>38</sup> Published by the *Latin American Herald Tribune*. Available at <http://www.laht.com/article.asp?ArticleId=363836&CategoryId=13303>.

Garcia likes to recall his role, during his first term as president, in getting the U.S. to recognize its responsibility for the drug trade's destabilization of the region. In 1990 in Cartagena, Colombia, Garcia prodded President George H. Bush to back up Washington's stated desire to assist the region in combating drugs. "Where's the beef?" Garcia said he asked Bush.

Ten years later, the U.S. agreed to a multi-billion dollar package in support of Plan Colombia. Peru was largely ignored as it was less concerned with narco-trafficking than with bringing the Fujimori saga to an end.

Now, after a 16 year hiatus, Garcia is once again president and prodding another U.S. leader. During a visit to Washington in June, he told President Obama that because of successes in Colombia, drug trafficking problems are moving back to Peru. Indeed, according to the United Nations, Peru once again rivals Colombia in coca production. "It is the U.S.'s fault," he chided Obama, and suggested that Peru would benefit from the same kind of assistance Colombia has received.

Needless to say, other Andean leaders haven't exactly put themselves in a place to ask for assistance. Chavez is currently asking Obama to withdraw his nomination of Larry Palmer to be the next ambassador to Venezuela because Palmer has expressed concerns over Venezuela's ties with the FARC. Meanwhile, Bolivia hasn't had a U.S. ambassador for nearly two years since President Evo Morales accused Philip Goldberg of conspiring against democracy and expelled him from La Paz.

Both Morales and Chavez have expelled the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency ending decades of cooperation. And Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa unilaterally decided not extend a lease to the U.S. military, which for ten years allowed its personnel to carry out anti drug surveillance flights from a base in Manta.

To make up for the loss of Manta, Colombia agreed to allow the U.S. military to expand their use of seven Colombian bases, an agreement that produced an outcry from other regional leaders. But in an interview with Colombia's daily *El Espectador*, new Colombian Defense Minister Rodrigo Rivera defended the agreement as a logical extension "of a long tradition" of U.S.-Colombia cooperation against drug trafficking. "Those who know of security and defense understand that international assistance is key to confront that threat."

Garcia clearly understands this. Unfortunately, as criminals continue to create greater instability and insecurity region wide, few others have adopted his attitude.

## Has Incoming Colombian President Santos Inherited a "Captured State"?<sup>39</sup>

By Coletta Youngers, August 6, 2010

On Saturday August 7, 2010, former defense minister Juan Manuel Santos will be sworn in as Colombia's next president, surrounded by an estimated 380,000 members of the police and military and an array of foreign dignitaries. If all goes according to plan, one of those dignitaries will be Ecuador's president, Rafael Correa. However, Santos' initial efforts at rapprochement with Venezuela's Hugo Chavez, also invited to the inauguration, were nipped in the bud by sitting president Alvaro Uribe, whose dramatic accusations on July 21 of Venezuelan government tolerance of the FARC (including key leaders) in its territory led to a complete rupture in diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Uribe's legacy will no doubt be contested for some time. His admirers claim that he finally broke the back of the guerrillas, reigned in the paramilitaries through a demobilization program, and has made the country a safer place to live overall. Some go so far to say that Colombia is now in a post-conflict situation.

That would not be the view, however, of the country's estimated 4.5 million internally displaced persons or the Afro-Colombians and indigenous communities being pushed off their land by right-wing paramilitaries (now conveniently called "criminal gangs at the service of narco-trafficking") to make way for large-scale economic projects like the monoculture of palm oil and commercial gold mining or those in the squalid urban areas where crime has always been rampant. (And it is worth noting that even in cities like Medellín, crime is on the rise again.)

According to Uribe's critics (myself among them), his eight-year legacy includes:

An estimated 16,000 politically-motivated killings, including 4,000 by the "demobilized" paramilitaries. A doubling in the number of annual killings by the Colombian security forces, including a "false positives" scandal in which more than 2,000 poor Colombians were presented as guerrillas killed in combat.

The second highest number of internally displaced persons in the world (the Sudan is first) with ethnic minorities disproportionately affected and with over 40 displaced leaders killed in recent years for advocating for their rights. A total of one – just one – paramilitary leader convicted as a result of the Justice and Peace Law.

A scandal that Washington-based human rights groups call "Worse than Watergate," in which the notorious DAS security agency was spying on everyone from the children of human rights activists to Constitutional Court judges – and eavesdropping in on the Court's confidential sessions and sabotaging their activities, including by trying to link them to terrorist groups.

A complete lack of respect of judicial autonomy and full support for continued impunity for human rights violators. Increased inequality, poverty, and unemployment.

Moreover, the more than one-hundred local, regional and national politicians under investigation for links to paramilitaries (commonly known as the "*para-políticos* scandal") has revealed the

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<sup>39</sup> Published by Foreign Policy in Focus. Available at [http://www.fpif.org/blog/Colombia\\_alvaro\\_uribe\\_juan\\_santos](http://www.fpif.org/blog/Colombia_alvaro_uribe_juan_santos).

extent to which the right-wing paramilitaries, allied with drug traffickers and other local mafias, have infiltrated the Colombian state. During Uribe's government, these illegal forces (be they *paras*, guerrillas or from among various bands of criminals) allied with local political and economic elites have consolidated territorial control in resource-rich and other strategic areas of the country.

In short, Juan Manuel Santos has inherited what some Colombian analysts call a "captured state" and those forces remain at the center of his own base of political support. As a result, many assume that a Santos administration means continuity – more of the same but perhaps with a gentler face. It is true that Santos appears to be more even-tempered and has a less confrontational style than Uribe. However, there are other, incipient positive signs of change.

The cabinet that Santos has pulled together is composed largely of technocrats and is seen as representing a more modern Colombia, in contrast to Uribe's ties to traditional landed elites.

He has also included two widely-respected individuals – Juan Camilo Restrepo as Minister of Agriculture and Maria Angela Holguín as Minister of Foreign Affairs – who are considered critics of the Uribe government (and Uribe has made clear his displeasure with their incorporation into the cabinet). Restrepo was an outspoken critic of a subsidy program that gave large amounts of money to wealthy landowners rather than the small-scale farmers who were allegedly the intended beneficiaries (some would claim that was the plan all along), while Holguín resigned as Colombian Ambassador to the United Nations, complaining that President Uribe filled her staff with sons of his own political allies.

Holguín and Santos are already moving foreign policy in a new direction. As noted, the government-elect has sought to improve relations with Ecuador and Venezuela, both of which have complicated border issues with Colombia. The soon-to-be foreign minister and vice president both already visited Ecuador and full relations should be restored with that country soon. Venezuela will now take more time, but as a former Colombian ambassador in Caracas, Holguín should be well suited to moving talks forward after the Venezuelan elections. Early indications are that the new government will seek to play a more collaborative and less ideological role in regional forums.

On the domestic front, the most promising policy change is a new focus on land reform. The Santos administration plans to launch an ambitious program to redistribute land and provide land titles to small farmers. Widely respected academic Alejandro Reyes is in charge of a strategy to redistribute land to the displaced population. This is the first government in some time to attempt to tackle head on the land issue – which is at the heart of the problem of political violence – and if it moves forward as announced, it will deserve credit for doing so, even from those otherwise critical of the right-wing presidency.

The ability to carry out such a land reform program, however, faces two fundamental obstacles. First, while the government does have a significant amount of land in its hands to redistribute, much of it is now occupied by agro-business and others who are not likely to relinquish control easily. And at least a quarter, if not more, of the land abandoned by the displaced population is now in the hand of third parties backed by the "new criminal gangs." As Colombia's history and

recent murders of defenders of victims' rights make clear, any effort to deal with the land issue will no doubt lead to significant conflict and violence.

Second, the Santos government has stated that agriculture is to be the engine of economic growth in the coming years and that growth is to be based on an agricultural export-led model that inevitably favors large land-owners. The government is also banking on increased foreign investment in natural resources, including in indigenous and Afro-Colombian lands that should be protected by law. In short, overall agricultural and economic policies will continue to favor the economic and landed elite at the expense of the rights of small farmers and marginalized minorities.

In the end, there will likely be more continuity than change with the Santos government and some fear that the kinder, gentler approach will serve to mask the ongoing problems listed above. However, any movement away from the hard-line, authoritarian practices of the Uribe government is welcome. For its part, the Obama administration should take advantage of the change in government to broaden bilateral relations beyond the nearly myopic focus on drugs and security. Most importantly, it should put promoting human rights in Colombia at the center of its policies toward that country until measurable improvements are made, first and foremost in confronting the countries' legacy of impunity that will be passed from one president to the next on Saturday.

## **A New Approach to Fighting Drugs in Latin America**<sup>40</sup>

By Eric Farnsworth, September 26, 2010

Hillary Clinton's recent comments comparing Mexico's drug-fueled security crisis to Colombia 20 years ago have caused a stir in Mexico. Her intent was clearly not to provoke; she won wide praise during her trip to Mexico early in 2009 when she acknowledged the obvious role of U.S. demand for illegal drugs and called for partnership. But it seems that nothing having to do with the illegal narcotics trade is easy and, as in the 1990s, the U.S.-Mexico relationship is at risk of being defined primarily by efforts to fight drugs.

These issues have been gaining renewed prominence regionally, as well. A number of former Latin American presidents, most recently Mexico's former President Vicente Fox, have called for a new approach in the war on drugs. Until the United States dramatically reduces both the demand that pulls drugs north and the supply that sends automatic weapons south, the war on drugs will continue to be a major irritant in hemispheric relations, sparking a backlash negatively impacting U.S. interests.

Nowhere is this more evident than in Bolivia, ground zero of the drugs debate. Having recently returned from Bolivia myself, one thing is clear: whatever one thinks of President Evo Morales — and opinions in Bolivia run the gamut - there is little debate among Bolivians that he was elected and has been able to implement much of his social agenda as a result of the war on drugs. As a leader with deep roots in the coca-producing community, Morales has effectively mobilized a majority of Bolivians around claims that their traditional way of life, impoverished yet proud, is under assault.

The United States has borne the brunt of much of the president's rhetorical excess; it's simply too convenient to scare up the specter of North American political and economic domination in order to unify an otherwise badly fragmented Bolivian society while attempting to maintain support for populist reforms. A number of Bolivians I spoke with counsel that this is mostly domestic political theater and that the United States would only inflame things further by overreacting.

At the same time, actions that negatively impact U.S. interests have followed such words. The production of illicit coca and cocaine has actually increased in Bolivia since Morales took office in 2006. Ambassadors have been expelled from respective capitals, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration has been kicked out of Bolivia, USAID and the Peace Corps have unfairly been attacked, and the state has exercised a heavy hand in certain strategic sectors including natural gas. Bold steps will be required to get the relationship back on track.

A new approach to drugs is the key, taking as a point of departure President Morales' own popular slogan, "Coca yes, cocaine no." The outlines of a new U.S.-Bolivia partnership on drugs would continue to target the illegal production, transport and sale of cocaine, while essentially treating coca growing itself as an agricultural rather than criminal enterprise. (An imperfect analogy would be the manner in which the United States treats tobacco leaf versus finished tobacco products such as cigarettes.)

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<sup>40</sup> Published in the *Houston Chronicle*. Available at <http://www.chron.com/opinion/outlook/article/A-new-approach-to-fighting-drugs-in-Latin-America-1719025.php#page-1>.

The general outlines of the program would be as follows. First, the amount of Bolivian coca required for traditional uses such as the production of coca tea and other activities that mitigate the effects of high altitude would be determined and capped. Coca-growing plots in the traditional geographic areas would then be grandfathered and registered with the Bolivian government, which would purchase the coca at a guaranteed floor price to ensure the economic viability of the coca-growing communities. Licenses to grow coca would be granted and monitored in close coordination with the coca growers unions, thus giving the unions a stake in the success of the program and an incentive to ensure that the coca economy was transparent and that those operating outside the legally imposed limits were identified and sanctioned. Coca grown on unregistered plots would be assumed to be illegal, subject to continued eradication efforts from the Bolivian government and its partners. Coca grown on legal plots but sold on the open market, presumably to drug traffickers, would be illegal and growers who did so would lose their licenses and their livelihoods. The government would then have a monopoly on legal coca, and would make it available for traditional uses.

To encourage alternative development, growers who chose to switch production from coca to other products would be given a floor price for their goods higher than that set for coca. Funding for these new programs would come from money reprogrammed from U.S. and other enforcement activities. Brazil and other countries, like Spain, which are being overrun by cocaine from Bolivia, would be strongly encouraged to participate financially in the revamped coca program. In particular, they would be encouraged to support a dramatic increase in infrastructure development, thus ensuring that products, once produced, could actually get to the global economy in a cost-effective manner.

Such a program will not end the production of cocaine. Nonetheless, it could fundamentally change the political dynamic currently coursing through Bolivian and broader Andean politics. Rather than the United States being seen as trying to impose a solution externally, delegitimizing a whole segment of Bolivian society and its traditions, the United States would henceforth be seen more as a partner, actually supporting traditional Bolivian agriculture while offering options to those who would seek to produce other, non-coca related products. And it would allow the United States and others, including Brazil and Spain, to come alongside President Morales on one of his highest priority initiatives, the coca yes, cocaine no program, creating trust and building confidence in a manner that could serve as the basis for normalization in the relationship while jointly attacking the illegal narcotics trade.

The United States and Bolivia do not see the world through similar eyes at this point. But the reality is that Bolivia's leader is democratically elected and speaks for a majority of Bolivians. We need to find a more effective way to cooperate for mutual benefit. Rethinking the bilateral approach to coca is a promising place to start.

## Annex F. Letter requesting extension of the ATPDEA and list of recipients

THE  
CARTER CENTER



November 18, 2010

To Senator John Kerry

We write to you regarding the renewal and extension of the Andean Trade Promotion and Drug Eradication Act (ATPDEA), set to expire in December of 2010. We are members of a citizen-based dialogue forum seeking to improve understanding between the United States and five Andean countries in Latin America (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela) and have participated in discussions with our Andean colleagues about ways to improve employment opportunities for the poor as alternatives to the drug trade.

The ATPDEA is designed to promote economic development in the four Andean countries affected by the problem of drug production and shipment (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru) by offering economic alternatives, especially to low-income producers.

We recommend that the United States Congress renew the ATPDEA before it expires and do so for a longer period of time (preferably four years) than the previous short-term extensions in order to allow for planning and investment. We further suggest that the Act include explicit incentives for greater trade participation among small and medium-sized agricultural producers, industries, and artisans.

As a result of this program, Andean exports have increased between two and ten-fold in the last decade, depending on the country. Poverty has significantly declined, and small farmers in rural areas have fewer incentives to engage in drug trafficking for a livelihood.

The ATPDEA has been equally important to the United States. Together these four Andean countries represent a population of about 100 million and a market, as of 2009, of \$19 billion for US exporters and of \$16 billion for American investors. This commercial relationship also constitutes an important source of employment for the United States, not only in production, but also in commerce, retail, insurance and other sectors. In the flower business, for example, for each job created in Colombia or Ecuador, one is recruited in the United States.

We hope you will consider extending this important legislation.

Sincerely,

AMERICAS PROGRAM

ONE COPENHILL • 453 FREEDOM PARKWAY • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30307 • (404) 420-5175 • FAX (404) 420-5196

## List of Recipients of ATPDEA Letter

John Barrasco	Senate (R – Wyoming) – Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere
Max Baucus	Senate (D – Montana) – Committee on Finance
Howard Berman	House of Representatives (D – California) – Committee on Foreign Affairs
John Boehner	House of Representatives (R – Ohio) – Minority Leader of the House
David Camp	House of Representatives (R – Michigan) – Committee of Ways and Means
Hillary Clinton	State Department – Secretary of State
Christopher Dodd	Senate (D – Connecticut) – Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere
Eliot Engel	House of Representatives (D – New York) – Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere
Chuck Grassley	Senate (R – Iowa) – Committee on Finance
John Kerry	Senate (D – Massachusetts) – Committee on Foreign Relations
Ron Kirk	Department of Commerce – United States Trade Representative
Sander Levin	House of Representatives (D – Michigan) – Committee of Ways and Means
Richard Lugar	Senate (R – Indiana) – Committee on Foreign Relations
Connie Mack	House of Representatives (R – Florida) – Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere
Mitch McConnell	Senate (R – Kentucky) – Senate Minority Leader
Robert Menendez	Senate (D – New Jersey) – Committee on Foreign Relations, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere, Peace Corps and Narcotics Affairs
Nancy Pelosi	House of Representatives (D – California) – Speaker of the House
Harry Reid	Senate (D – Nevada) – Senate Majority Leader
Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	House of Representatives (R – Florida) – Committee on Foreign Affairs

## **Annex G. Selection of articles covering the Common Agenda Report**

### **Las relaciones entre los países andinos y los Estados Unidos: conflicto o diálogo<sup>41</sup>**

March 2011

En los próximos días, el Presidente estadounidense, Barack Obama, visitará América Latina, los destinos son Brasil, Chile y El Salvador. Si bien en la Región Andina se encuentran dos de los países con los que Estados Unidos mantiene muy buenas relaciones, Colombia y Perú, el viaje no incluye la región.

Sin embargo, la visita vuelve relevante las relaciones entre los andinos y el país norteamericano. Como lo señala el Informe “Hacia una Agenda Común para los Países Andinos y los Estados Unidos”, producto de un proceso de diálogo entre personalidades de la sociedad civil de Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Estados Unidos, Perú y Venezuela, auspiciado por el Centro Carter e IDEA Internacional, las oportunidades, desafíos y amenazas para los intereses nacionales de estos cinco países y los Estados Unidos son comunes, requieren de acciones conjuntas y de comprensión mutua y ser abordados a través de una agenda común.

El desarrollo, la superación de la pobreza y la desigualdad son intereses compartidos. Hay un acuerdo firme acerca de la necesidad de promover una agenda social, más allá del enfoque tradicional del comercio e inversión de los Estados Unidos. Los andinos identifican la necesidad de *desmilitarizar* y *desnarcotizar* las relaciones como condición para la ayuda para el desarrollo. El cuidado del medio ambiente, los derechos humanos, la migración, el combate al crimen organizado también son temas de la agenda.

Existe ambivalencia frente al enfoque tradicional de la promoción de la democracia, que en ocasiones suele ser percibido como injerencia en los asuntos internos de los países y es sin duda un punto de división y un tema difícil de abordar sin generar disgustos entre los Estados. Una discusión amplia y profunda sobre el tema está pendiente, una alternativa es incluir en esta concepción la protección de los derechos sociales y económicos, además de los políticos y civiles.

Estos temas son abordados por cada país con visiones políticas distintas y/u ocupan un rango distinto en las prioridades de cada uno. Desde los Estados Unidos las prioridades de política exterior, seguridad y los problemas internos han limitado el camino hacia la construcción de una relación de socios con los andinos, como lo planteó el presidente Obama durante la Cumbre de las Américas en el 2009. En los países andinos las prioridades en los temas de las relaciones no siempre coinciden con las de los Estados Unidos.

### **Tensiones y problemáticas que cruzan las fronteras**

Las diferencias generan tensiones en las relaciones, que no se circunscriben únicamente al ámbito bilateral con los Estados Unidos, sino también a las relaciones entre vecinos al interior de la Región. En más de una ocasión la relación bilateral de los Estados Unidos con cada país, y

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<sup>41</sup> Published by Quantum Informe

especialmente con Colombia, ha sido el detonante de un desacuerdo o un conflicto entre vecinos. Conflictos que como resultado profundizan los problemas que deben afrontar los ciudadanos.

La presencia de actores ilegales armados, el crimen organizado son problemáticas que no respetan las fronteras. Las diferencias ideológicas vulneran las frágiles relaciones diplomáticas y terminan por afectar no solo el comercio y las oportunidades de integración, sino también la cotidianidad y el desarrollo de quienes habitan las zonas de frontera, donde bastas áreas de territorio carecen hoy día de una presencia efectiva del Estado y se prestan para las actividades ilícitas.

Así, las temáticas que debe enfrentar cada uno de los seis países afectan al conjunto. Por poner solo algunos ejemplos, la producción, el tráfico, el tránsito y también el consumo de drogas se han convertido en una amenaza global, transnacional que requiere de soluciones multilaterales. Una de las principales fuentes de tensión entre los andinos y los Estados Unidos ha sido la política estadounidense para la lucha antinarcoóticos.

Los países andinos se sienten cada vez más afectados por las consecuencias que sobre sus instituciones han traído la falta de coordinación de la política antinarcoóticos con los Estados Unidos y, por el incremento del crimen organizado que debilita la capacidad de respuesta del Estado ante sus ciudadanos. Los países andinos reclaman la necesidad de un enfoque multilateral que reconozca la heterogeneidad de la región y también un debate sobre el aparente agotamiento de la política de drogas vigente, basada en el militarismo y el prohibicionismo. Las fronteras han demostrado ser muy permeables al crimen organizado, los problemas de desarrollo de las zonas fronterizas requieren de estrategias binacionales que a su vez dependen de una cooperación más efectiva y alineada, en la medida de lo posible, a los intereses de los países beneficiarios.

### **Oportunidades para la acción conjunta**

En este mismo escenario, algunos de estos países andinos, cada uno a su manera, con aciertos y desaciertos, han buscado replantear su relación con los Estados Unidos como una relación de iguales, tanto a través de los foros multilaterales, como en su relación bilateral. Dos ejemplos son Ecuador y Colombia.

Bajo el actual gobierno, el Ecuador propuso a Estados Unidos un mecanismo de diálogo bilateral como una manera de posicionar sus intereses en la relación con uno de sus principales socios comerciales, la cual busca ir más allá de un intercambio comercial para incorporar también como prioridades la cooperación para el desarrollo y temas de carácter más político como la migración. Una tercera reunión bilateral está por darse en las próximas semanas, en un escenario donde el país ha dejado de gozar de las ventajas del ATPDEA cuya posible extensión podría ser de muy corto plazo ante el compromiso de representantes estadounidenses de presionar y acelerar la aprobación del TLC con Colombia. En los medios de comunicación se ha anunciado la posible participación de Arturo Valenzuela, Subsecretario de Asuntos Hemisféricos, en la misma. A su vez el Ecuador estaría preparándose para jugar un rol estratégico que le permita sacar provecho de la misma, con un mayor enfoque en sus intereses, que le podría permitir moverse, en alguna medida, de las posiciones ideológicas a una relación más pragmática.

Colombia, percibida como el socio estratégico de los Estados Unidos en la región también ha buscado marcar su cancha y buscar una imagen independiente de su principal cooperante y socio comercial. Bajo el liderazgo del Presidente Juan Manuel Santos, el vecino del norte ha dado señas y concretado acciones en busca de una mejor relación con el resto de países de la región y América Latina, a la vez que le ha exigido a los Estados Unidos el cumplimiento de su compromiso en relación a la aprobación del TLC. La actual administración se encuentra trabajando en reparar sus lazos con Ecuador y Venezuela. A su vez el país mira con determinación al mercado asiático, bajo la premisa de diversificar sus socios estratégicos.

La necesidad de consulta, de prestar atención a las prioridades de cada país y a sus problemas internos es clave para alcanzar una agenda compartida que facilite el diálogo, limite el conflicto y tienda a una cooperación adecuada que permita potenciar las oportunidades de desarrollo y hacer frente de forma más efectiva a las amenazas.

## **“Acercamiento entre Colombia, Venezuela y Ecuador va por buen camino pero es frágil”: Expertos<sup>42</sup>**

By Sergio Gómez Maseri, March 11, 2011

### **Se requieren mecanismos que aseguren continuidad más allá de personalidades de sus mandatarios**

El panel de expertos reunidos en Washington a instancias del Centro Carter y del International IDEA, sirvió para lanzar oficialmente un nuevo reporte sobre las relaciones entre Estados Unidos y la Región Andina, **titulado, “Hacia una Agenda Común”**, el reporte es el resultado de un proceso de más de un año que buscó identificar diferencias y convergencias para tratar de reducir estereotipos, limitar tensiones y resolver temas comunes.

El panel estaba integrado por Jennifer McCoy, del Centro Carter, Eric Farnsworth, del Consejo de las Américas, Hattie Babbitt, ex embajadora de EE.UU. ante la OEA, Adrian Bonilla, de Flacso (Ecuador), René Arreaza, ex funcionario del gobierno de Hugo Chávez y Ricardo Ávila, director de Portafolio.

Los expertos también estuvieron de acuerdo en que la llegada de Juan Manuel Santos a la presidencia de Colombia había facilitado el proceso de acercamiento y que, incluso, generó sorpresa por su disposición y pragmatismo para enfrentar la delicada relación bilateral con ambos países.

Sin embargo, de acuerdo con McCoy, era importante reconocer que los individuos “van y vienen” y de allí la necesidad de reforzar el proceso a través de mecanismos institucionales y la participación de la sociedad civil para asegurar la continuidad y limitar las tensiones cuando estas se vuelvan a presentar.

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<sup>42</sup> Published by Protofolio.co. Available at <http://www.portafolio.co/economia/acercamiento-colombia-venezuela-y-ecuador-va-bien>.

## Obama y los andinos<sup>43</sup>

By Manuel Chiriboga Vega, March 20, 2011

El presidente Obama visita estos días tres países de la región: Brasil, Chile y El Salvador. El hacer esta gira, tardía debe decirse, reitera la voluntad de establecer nuevas relaciones con América Latina. Su viaje se produce en una coyuntura global crítica: la crisis nuclear japonesa a raíz del terremoto y tsunami y la decisión del Consejo de Seguridad de impedir vuelos militares libios que bombardean la insurgencia contra Gadafi.

La elección de países revela sentidos de política internacional, pero también las ausencias. Brasil es potencia regional y actor global, una potencia política y económica que reclama un puesto en el Consejo de Seguridad. Con la presidenta Rousseff, Obama buscará definir una alianza estratégica, del tipo logrado no hace mucho con la India: buscando coincidencias sobre aspectos globales, pero reconociendo diferencias importantes, como las relaciones con Irán, el tratamiento del acuerdo sobre uso de bases colombianas o del golpe en Honduras. Con Chile, la señal es otra, es el ejemplo que Estados Unidos postula para la región, por su modelo económico y social, cuanto como sistema político centrista, donde la transición desde la concertación a Piñera no marca ruptura significativa. Como me decía una colega, hoy, la izquierda allí reconoce la importancia del mercado y la derecha el papel del Estado; ambos defienden la estabilidad institucional. El Salvador, el pequeño pero potente país centroamericano, es también ejemplo de transición política, pero al revés, desde la derecha de Arena a la izquierda del FMLN, ambos contrincantes armados no hace mucho, pero capaces de diferir hoy en democracia. A ello se añade que la visita a El Salvador reitera el compromiso americano y espero la corresponsabilidad con los temas de seguridad y lucha contra las mafias mexicanas del narcotráfico.

No visitará la región andina, ni Colombia o Perú con quienes mantiene relaciones estrechas, ni Ecuador, con quien se ha construido una relación respetuosa, más allá de declaraciones altisonantes de algún funcionario locuaz. No llegará a países en que viven 127 millones de personas, con un PIB combinado de un billón de dólares e importaciones sobre 100 mil millones. Una región que por diversas vías de desarrollo ha crecido de manera sostenida, reducido de manera importante la pobreza y logrado mayor estabilidad de los gobiernos. Una zona que, sin embargo y a pesar de esfuerzos enormes que hacen los países, es gran productora de cultivos y procesamiento de drogas. Una región donde una visita hubiese ayudado a transformar la agenda de sus relaciones, alejándola de lo que fue aquella de los gobiernos republicanos anteriores a Obama: la seguridad y la lucha contra el narcotráfico.

Como bien lo ha señalado el grupo de trabajo sobre relaciones entre los países andinos, promovida por el Centro Carter e IDEA, una nueva agenda de relaciones puede construirse sobre temas positivos y confluyentes: reducir la pobreza y mejorar la calidad y cobertura de las políticas sociales, unos acuerdos comerciales, que den mayor centralidad a los pequeños productores y a las Mypimes y mejoren las condiciones laborales, acuerdos relacionados con temas migratorios que afectan a miles de andinos en Estados Unidos, coincidencia operacional sobre temas ambientales: energías limpias o acciones dirigidas a frenar el cambio climático, promover un diálogo honesto sobre crimen organizado y narcodelincuencia, pero asegurando

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<sup>43</sup> Published by *El Universo*. Available at <http://www.eluniverso.com/2011/03/20/1/1363/obama-andinos.html>.

compromisos mutuos y corresponsabilidad entre países productores y el mayor mercado mundial de drogas.

En fin, una agenda nueva de relaciones que hubiese podido despegar aprovechando la visita. Quizás pronto haya visitas que podrían ser nuestras a Estados Unidos.

## **Peor es nada: Otra agenda es posible**<sup>44</sup>

By Fernando Mayorga, July 15, 2011

El cuestionamiento del Gobierno a la Convención de 1961 por el mantenimiento de la prohibición del acullicu de hoja de coca saca a relucir una faceta más de las desavenencias con Estados Unidos, cuyas autoridades son acusadas de obstaculizar la campaña de despenalización que emprendió Bolivia hace varios meses.

Es otra de las razones que impidieron la suscripción de un nuevo acuerdo bilateral y el pleno restablecimiento de relaciones diplomáticas. Tarea ardua, sin duda, llena de kuti-vueltas. Y como telón de fondo, obviamente, el tema de la lucha contra el narcotráfico que pone en evidencia otro choque de perspectivas respecto a las políticas públicas contra este delito.

En ese contexto es importante resaltar la publicación de un informe suscrito por varias personalidades que conforman la Comisión Global de Política de Drogas, entre ellas cinco ex mandatarios y un ex secretario general de la ONU, que concluye dictaminando el total fracaso de la lucha contra las drogas, una “guerra” propiciada por EEUU desde los años 80.

Las recomendaciones caen por su propio peso, es decir, se trata de la búsqueda de políticas para la regulación legal de las drogas, entre otras acciones. Así de complejo es el tema en sus aristas nacionales y globales, pero también en su dimensión regional, entre los países andinos y su relación con Estados Unidos. Más aún si los resultados electorales en Perú pueden fortalecer el “giro a la izquierda” que predomina en el continente y debilitar aún más la influencia norteamericana en la región, quizás por eso Obama recibió a Humala al margen de protocolos. Y por eso la incertidumbre acerca del derrotero del nuevo gobierno peruano.

No obstante, al margen de los avatares gubernamentales en uno y otro lado, es importante resaltar una iniciativa que, desde principios de 2010, impulsan el Centro Carter e IDEA Internacional para propiciar la elaboración de una agenda compartida entre Estados Unidos y los países de la región andina. Una iniciativa basada en las labores de un Foro de Diálogo Andino-Estadounidense conformado por académicos, periodistas, ex funcionarios gubernamentales, empresarios y políticos de los seis países, bajo la inspiración de Jimmy Carter, cuya lucidez y convicción democrática y, sobre todo, su sensibilidad hacia nuestra región no tienen parangón en las filas de la élite política estadounidense.

Este Foro elaboró un documento que sistematiza las opiniones de sus miembros y de varias personalidades del mundo social y político de los distintos países. Este documento empezó a ser socializado en el primer semestre de este año con el título “Hacia una agenda común para los países andinos y los Estados Unidos” y plantea la necesidad de “buscar nuevas formas de tener mejores relaciones’ basadas en el respeto y en la inclusión de los intereses de ambas partes”. Y como punto de partida se formula la moción de “des-militarizar” y “des-narcotizar” la arena de relaciones internacionales.

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<sup>44</sup> Published by *Página Siete*. Available at <http://www.paginasiete.bo/2011-07-15/Opinion/Destacados/18Opi00215-07-11-P720110714VIE.aspx>.

En ese sentido, se privilegia una perspectiva de “agenda social” que comprende ampliar los temas de desarrollo sin circunscribirlos al comercio y la inversión, los cuales además deben contemplar la participación de los sectores sociales afectados y ajustarse a normas ambientales.

Precisamente, el tema medioambiental exige promover “energía limpia” y protección de bosques y glaciares en una mirada que privilegie la seguridad alimentaria. Otros temas cruciales, pero que son abordados con percepciones disímiles, tienen que ver con democracia y seguridad ciudadana.

Respecto a la democracia se sugiere despejar las dudas respecto a la “promoción” democrática que promueve Estados Unidos y que es percibida como “injerencia” en algunos países; por ende, se trata de proteger los derechos humanos en general, incluyendo los derechos sociales y económicos; y también se sugiere mayor protección a la labor periodística, así como analizar la concentración de propiedad mediática y sus efectos en el pluralismo. Las políticas de seguridad ciudadana, por su parte, no deben limitarse a los aspectos convencionales ligados al comercio ilegal de drogas sino a las diversas facetas del crimen organizado transnacional. Estos tópicos, y la manera de abordarlos, muestran que “otra agenda es posible” y, en ese afán, los esfuerzos desplegados por el Foro de Diálogo Andino-Estadounidense constituyen una iniciativa interesante que, como varias iniciativas de sociedad civil, está a la espera de las reacciones gubernamentales y busca eco en la opinión pública.

*Fernando Mayorga es sociólogo.*

## **La otra agenda de un diálogo<sup>45</sup>**

By Santiago Mariani, July 26, 2011

Cuando George W. Bush asumía la presidencia su prédica hacia los “buenos amigos al sur de la frontera” auguraba, a comienzos del siglo, una era de relaciones fructíferas entre EEUU y A. Latina. El ataque terrorista del 11-S cambiaría drásticamente las prioridades de la política exterior norteamericana y su forma de relacionarse con el mundo. El unilateralismo del gobierno de Bush impuesto bajo endebles justificaciones y sustentado en el uso del poder militar para afrontar la “guerra contra el terrorismo” dañaría profundamente las relaciones y la posibilidad de construir consensos con los “buenos amigos” de la región.

La llegada a la Casa Blanca del primer afroamericano, Barak Obama, portaba el simbolismo e idealismo necesario para generar la esperanza de una nueva etapa. En este contexto auspicioso el ex presidente Jimmy Carter realiza en 2009 una gira a los países andinos para recoger opiniones sobre el estado de las relaciones, los desafíos existentes y las posibles formas de abordarlos en conjunto. Luego de las consultas propone auspiciar desde el Centro Carter, convocando también para esta empresa a IDEA Internacional, un proceso de diálogo entre académicos, miembros de la sociedad civil, ex funcionarios de gobiernos, periodistas y empresarios de Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, EEUU, Perú y Venezuela. El Foro de Diálogo, consolidado como un espacio ciudadano a partir de visitas bilaterales que buscaron fomentar un mayor conocimiento de las distintas realidades y tres encuentros generales de todos sus miembros, logró plasmar el Informe: “Hacia una Agenda Común entre los Países Andinos y los EEUU”.

El informe, que representa un significativo aporte al debate de las relaciones andino-estadounidenses, logra sistematizar, a través de una consulta a líderes y a la opinión pública de los seis países, las áreas donde existe un terreno común para la cooperación y aquellas donde prevalece la ambivalencia y la divergencia. En cuanto a los consensos, destaca la necesidad de discutir nuevos enfoques para políticas migratorias, el impulso de una agenda social para lograr mayores niveles de inclusión e igualdad y la adopción de normativas que protejan el ambiente. Como divergencia señala la promoción de la democracia desde los EEUU y su percepción como una forma de injerencia mientras que entre las divergencias aparece el tema del narcotráfico frente al agotamiento de las políticas existentes para combatirlo.

La construcción de este instrumento colectivo, que representa otra agenda posible en las relaciones entre los andinos y estadounidenses, deja planteada a los gobiernos los caminos alternativos para el abordaje de los desafíos y las problemáticas que afectan a estos países. La consideración de esta iniciativa y sus propuestas será en beneficio de los gobiernos y de los ciudadanos que representan.

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<sup>45</sup> Published by *La República*. Available at <http://www.larepublica.pe/columnistas/desde-fuera/la-otra-agenda-de-un-dialogo-26-07-2011>.

## **Andinos-EE.UU: ¿Es posible una Agenda Común?**<sup>46</sup>

By José Luis Exeni, June 27, 2011

Deliberaciones. Si los estados, los gobiernos, no logran dialogar, ¿por qué no habrán de hacerlo las sociedades? O mejor: si los líderes políticos, con arreglo a intereses y valores, no consiguen ponerse de acuerdo y construir una agenda común, ¿qué nos impide, como ciudadanas y ciudadanos, también con arreglo a valores e intereses, discutir-proponer cimientos, sendas, enfoques, prioridades?

Con esa convicción, desde enero de 2010 se está impulsando una importante iniciativa, asaz meritoria, de diálogo andino-estadounidense con el propósito declarado, nada desdeñable, de explorar y en su caso alentar nuevas formas de relación entre Estados Unidos y los cinco países andinos. Tender puentes, desde el espacio público, sin ingenuidad, en lugar de dinamitarlos.

¿Cómo avanzar en esta búsqueda compartida? Creo que lo fundamental radica en la premisa: a contra corriente de la tradición de intervencionismo y de “relaciones” asimétricas (imposiciones, más bien), ahora el desafío consiste en abonar un terreno común para la cooperación bajo el principio categórico del respeto. Y es que con intimaciones, lo sabemos, no hay comunicación posible.

Así pues, el Foro de Diálogo, que cuenta con el apoyo del Centro Carter y de IDEA Internacional, en poco tiempo y de manera informal, ha obtenido resultados destacables: formación de grupos de trabajo en cada país, sesiones de diálogo con participantes de los seis países, reuniones-visitas bilaterales de (re)conocimiento y, lo más relevante, la elaboración de una propuesta de agenda común.

Ahora bien, considerando los vínculos diferenciados que existen entre Estados Unidos y cada uno de los países andinos (relaciones entusiastas con unos, más bien tensas con otros), y habida cuenta de la persistencia de temas que enfrentan, estereotipos que separan, contraseñas que bloquean, ¿es realmente posible avanzar, como se propone el Foro, hacia una agenda común?

La iniciativa está planteada. Y de entrada resulta fundamental que, desde nuestra diversidad y sin renunciar a nuestros procesos de transformación-desarrollo, acreditemos seriamente la necesidad/posibilidad, por una parte, de relaciones entre iguales (sin condicionamientos) y, por otra, de vínculos de cooperación “desmilitarizados” y “desnarcotizados” (sin “certificaciones”). No es poca cosa. El solo planteamiento ahuyenta estigmas.

Más todavía. Considerando, por supuesto, el interés nacional en cada caso (y también el posicionamiento subregional andino, desde el Sur), la agenda común del Foro de Diálogo hace un significativo aporte al identificar, en las percepciones de líderes y de ciudadanos, temas en los que existen acuerdos firmes y aquellos otros en los que prevalece la ambivalencia y la divergencia.

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<sup>46</sup> Published by *Página Siete*. Available at <http://www.paginasiete.bo/2011-06-28/Opinion/Destacados/18Opi00128-06-11-P720110628MAR.aspx>.

Hay consenso, por ejemplo, en la necesidad de impulsar, más allá del solo comercio e inversión, políticas para promover la igualdad y luchar contra la pobreza. Aquí habitan, como ejes, el intercambio justo y la inclusión. Ello incluye, desde luego, políticas migratorias de nuevo tipo. También existe acuerdo general respecto a la promoción de energía limpia y la protección del medio ambiente.

¿Y las ambivalencias y divergencias? La agenda de seguridad ciudadana es una de ellas. Aquí los formuladores de políticas habrán de requerir otros enfoques. Y también es de alta sensibilidad – diría que hasta de franco rechazo– la agenda estadounidense de “promoción” de la democracia. ¿Cuál democracia? ¿Qué derechos humanos? ¿Quién promueve-exporta qué? ¿Con qué parámetros?

Andinos-Estados Unidos. Otra forma de relación es ineludible. Una nueva agenda común es necesaria. Y útil. Bajo esta cobertura, por ejemplo, podrían darse los pasos que faltan, ora prácticos, ora simbólicos, para que Bolivia y Estados Unidos, sin más demora –libres de Goldbergs y de altisonancias–, suscriban un acuerdo marco y restablezcan relaciones diplomáticas “de tú a tú”.

*José Luis Exeni es comunicador social.*

## Annex H. Summary of content analysis

This content analysis of Colombian and Venezuelan media was undertaken for the purpose of analyzing the content of media coverage between the two countries. The methodology consisted of gathering articles on previously selected landmark events that occurred in Colombia and Venezuela between 2009 and 2010.

### Chronology of landmark events in bilateral relations between Colombia and Venezuela during 2009 and 2010

21 July 2009

Chávez indicates that he intends to review relations with Colombia due to the latter's negotiations with the United States about the establishment of U.S. military bases on Colombian territory.

**(Key word: *military bases*)**

28 July 2009

The Swedish government confirms that several rocket launchers captured from the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) were sold by Sweden to Venezuela in the late 1980s.

**(Key word: *rocket launchers*)**

28 August 2009

Meeting in Bariloche, Argentina, the leaders of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) seek ways to reduce the polarization caused by the military agreement reached between Colombia and the United States.

**(Key word: *UNASUR*)**

13 November 2009

The Colombian ambassador to the Organization of American States (OAS), Luis Alfonso Hoyos, protests bellicose "threats" from Venezuela.

**(Key word: *OAS*)**

21 June 2010

Juan Manuel Santos is elected President of Colombia. The Venezuelan government, through its Ministry of Foreign Relations, issues an official statement congratulating the Colombian president-elect.

**(Key word: *Santos*)**

25 June 2010

The former Colombian ambassador to Venezuela and representative to the UN, María Angela Holguín is appointed Minister of Foreign Relations to Juan Manuel Santos' new cabinet, presumably because her diplomatic experience may be helpful in trying to thaw out relations between the two countries.

**(Key word: *Holguín*)**

15 July 2010

Colombia affirms it has evidence that several guerrilla leaders of the FARC and the National Liberation Army are in Venezuela, a situation that might further deteriorate relations with its neighbor.

**(Key word: *guerrilla leaders*)**

10 August 2010

Presidents Hugo Chávez and Juan Manuel Santos "relaunch" diplomatic relations between Caracas and Bogotá.

**(Key word: *relaunch*)**

For the purpose of preparing a detailed analysis of the written media coverage and the agenda of the newspapers, events reported on were examined not only on the key date(s) they took place, but for a period of 15 days, in order to examine before, during and after each of them. Key words were systematized in every case in order to seek and select news stories. Once chosen, the stories

or articles were formatted and introduced to a software program called QDAminer. The program then counted the frequency with which certain words appear. This determined which issues receive the most coverage. The final results were compared among the selected newspapers.

In Colombia *El Tiempo*, *El Espectador* and *La Opinión* (newspapers) and *Revista Semana* (weekly news magazine) were chosen. *La Opinión* is published in the city of Cucutá, on the border with Venezuela; the other three publications are from the capital city of Bogotá. Due to the polarized situation in the Venezuelan media, newspapers from both sides of the political spectrum were selected, as follows: *El Nacional*, *Últimas Noticias*, *Tal Cual* and *Panorama*; the latter is a newspaper published in Maracaibo, state of Zulia, which borders on Colombia, while the other three papers are from the capital city of Caracas. Data collection was systematized and computerized, and given to Dr. Germán Rey, an academic, for analysis.

Dr. Rey is the director of the Centro ATICO at Javeriana University. He presented the results of the data analysis at the Second Bi-national Meeting of Colombian and Venezuelan Journalists, which took place in Bogotá in February 2011. The study, called “Media Coverage of Colombian-Venezuelan Relations: Change and Persistence,”<sup>47</sup> reveals a variety of media dynamics. It is divided into four parts: (1) references to media behavior; (2) thematic agenda; (3) issues or attitudes persisting over time; and (4) changes observed in newspaper coverage of events.

#### **References to media behavior<sup>48</sup>**

A change in how the crisis between the two countries is approached by the media was detected due to the shift in diplomatic relations between Colombia and Venezuela. The difference between coverage in 2009 and 2010 is noteworthy.

- the Colombian newspaper *El Tiempo* takes a prudent position in its news coverage. It describes diplomatic relations between Colombia and Venezuela as a “freezing of relations,” or “a tense setting.” With the improvement in relations it began using expressions such as “opening the door,” “frank dialogue” and “turning the page;”
- the Venezuelan newspaper *El Nacional* takes a thematic approach based on the notion of “political governance as disaster.”<sup>49</sup> Its main thrust is aimed at the guerrillas and the conflict in Colombia, in addition to the commercial debt, weapons, drugs and terrorism;
- the weekly newsmagazine *Revista Semana* (Colombia) offers ample coverage of the relationship between the new Colombian president, Juan Manuel Santos, and the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez Frías;
- the newspaper *Tal Cual* (Venezuela) mainly focuses on political coverage, but is beginning to adopt a more diversified agenda and now includes other matters of interest; and
- the Venezuelan newspaper *Panorama* is published in Zulia, a state bordering with Colombia. It therefore includes ample coverage of Colombian affairs.

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<sup>47</sup> It is worth mentioning that the analysis presented by Dr. Germán Rey covers only events that took place during 2009 and 2010.

<sup>48</sup> These references refer to a study carried out previously by Dr. Rey and Dr. Salazar in 1998.

<sup>49</sup> “Political governance as disaster” is a term used by Dr. Rey in an academic paper published in 2000. It describes the saturation of information by journalists intending to convey a disastrous context.

## **Thematic agenda**

The study demonstrated that the media in Colombia and Venezuela focus mainly on two issues: the presidents and the FARC. After these, the most frequently mentioned are the foreign ministers of both countries, diplomacy, the economy and, lastly, personal security (delinquency).

The data also confirmed that the coverage of diplomatic relations was based on the personal relationship between the presidents as individuals rather than the interactions of their governmental institutions. This is quite clear from the record of articles gathered for this study. Therefore, the challenge of institutionalizing relations between the two countries, thus strengthening the institutions involved, continues to be a priority.

Presidential coverage is mainly limited to information about the personalities of Álvaro Uribe and Hugo Chávez. However, Uribe gets more coverage than Chávez, as proven by the statistical data gathered on the contents of the material examined. At the same time, there is a transformation underway, as focus on the presidency has diminished with the change of president in Colombia.

- the former president of Colombia, Álvaro Uribe, is mentioned three times more often in Venezuelan newspapers than Chávez is in Colombian newspapers;
- in Colombia, *Revista Semana* places greater stress on the figure of the president than *El Tiempo* does;
- in Venezuela, the newspaper *Tal Cual* focuses more on presidents than *El Nacional*; and
- in border provinces, *La Opinión* (Cúcuta, Colombia) and *Panorama* (Zulia, Venezuela) are the papers that emphasize the respective presidents the least. The focus on presidents is a phenomenon of the capital cities in both nations. It is not nearly as pronounced in the border states.

Journalistic coverage also emphasizes the FARC. As concerns the armed conflict:

- the weekly magazine *Revista Semana* and the newspaper *Tal Cual* provide ample coverage of the armed conflict in Colombia; and
- the weekly magazine *Revista Semana* and the newspaper *Tal Cual* provide twice as much coverage of the armed conflict as *El Tiempo* and *El Nacional*.

The other four frequently raised subjects are the ministers of foreign relations of both countries, diplomacy, the economy and crime (in order of frequency, after the presidents and the FARC). The data examined indicate the following:

- in the Colombian newspapers, these four issues are covered more frequently than in their Venezuelan counterparts; and
- between the two newspapers published in border states, *Panorama* gives less importance than *La Opinión* to matters concerning the economy and personal security.

Finally, issues such as the paramilitary, hostages and kidnapped persons receive remarkably scarce coverage in the publications selected for this study.

## **Issues or attitudes persisting over time**

There are certain issues, based on the analysis of statistical data, which remain constant over time. These have been termed “persistent,” both in the aforementioned study carried out by Dr.

Germán Rey and Dr. Salazar in 1998 and in this content analysis study presented at the Second Meeting of Colombian and Venezuelan Journalists. The combined findings of both studies indicated that:

- there is a greater flow of information about Colombia in Venezuela than about Venezuela in Colombia;
- the journalistic agenda has focused on the internal conflict in Colombia. However, lately there has been an increase in attention to diplomacy;
- the overall approach to information is based on the tension and conflict in the area. This was more evident during the Uribe-Chávez period;
- coverage is based mainly on metropolitan relations between Bogotá and Caracas, and tends to overlook the vibrant economic, social and cultural aspects of bilateral relations;
- the notion of a “hot border” or conflict zone is an *idée fixe*. Relations at the border are considered by the media to be synonymous with diplomatic relations between the capital cities of Bogotá and Caracas;
- along the border area, media coverage is based more on the economy or personal security, and focuses less on the presidents or the events surrounding them;
- coverage continues to be framed within the idea of *governance as disaster* due to the fact that any minor criminal event is automatically connected to the president; and
- newspapers provide extensive coverage of events at their peaks, but often fail to follow up on news items.

### **Changes observed in media coverage**

Although both studies demonstrated tendencies that were consistent over time, certain changes in news coverage can be noted between the first study, carried out in 1998, and the second (2009-2010):

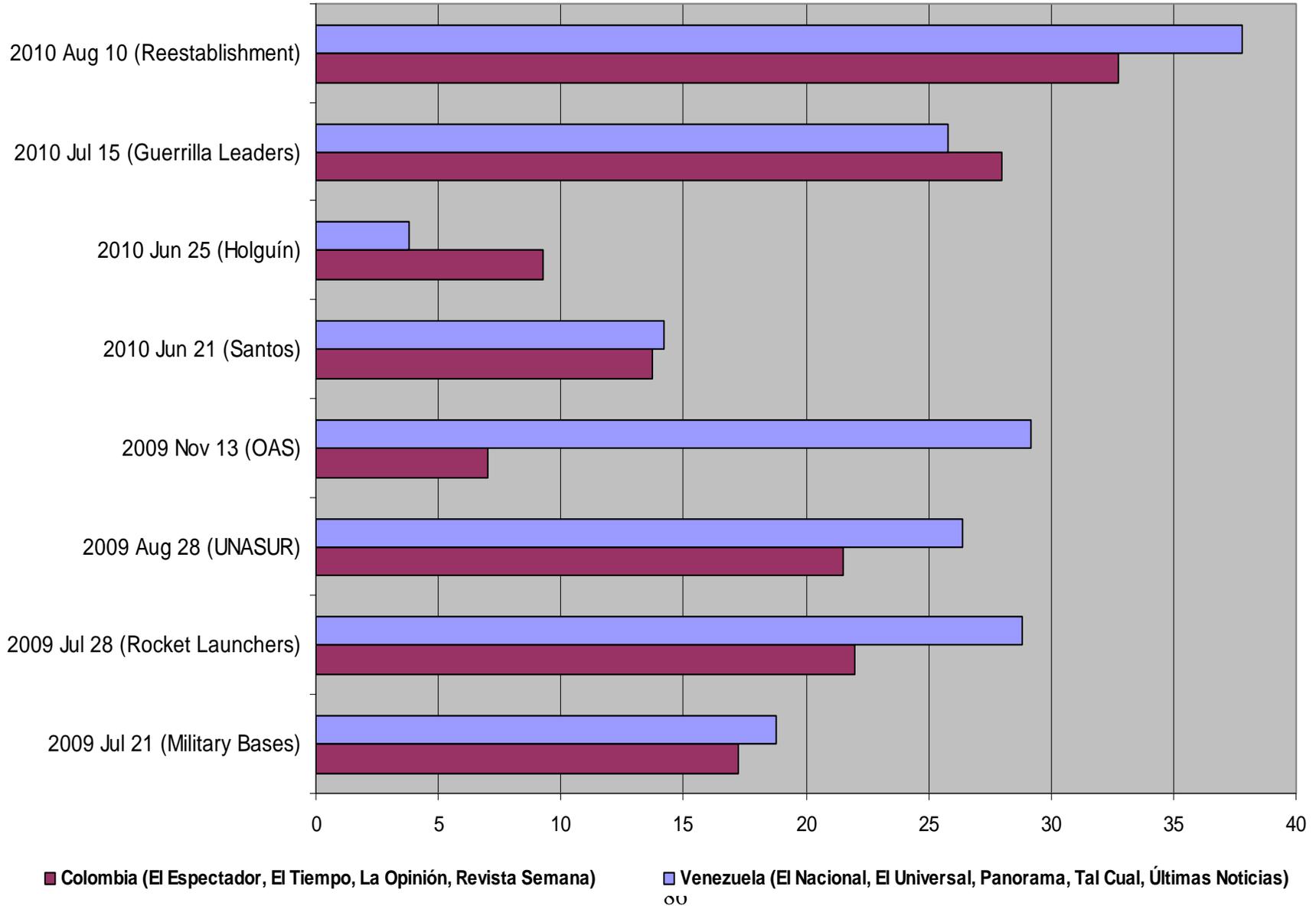
- starting eight to ten years ago, most media has focused mainly on presidential activities;
- coverage of events in Venezuela has increased in the Colombian media, although it focuses almost entirely on the disputes between the two countries;
- although the issues as such are persistent, the content of the coverage has changed. For instance, the coverage of diplomacy has changed to focus on border issues, which in turn has changed to emphasize the ruptures and recommencements in bilateral relations between Colombia and Venezuela;
- focus on the figure of the president as such (presidency) has diminished, and has shifted more to the influence that the personal characteristics of each president exercises on the other’s behavior, and relations between the two;
- the notion that Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez is the personality with the most appearances in the print media should be revised. This content analysis demonstrates that Colombian President Álvaro Uribe received stronger media coverage;
- the content analysis shows there has been a slight shift from the context of difficulties and disputes to the realignment and normalization of diplomatic relations. The media are now following the changes in bilateral relations and emphasize how fragile these still are; and
- themes in the news have diversified somewhat, although they are still very basic. At the same time, the recent militarization of relations demonstrates the weight that subjects such as the FARC and (military) security have in the coverage provided by the

Colombian and Venezuelan media. This situation is now receiving more coverage than presidential issues, the economy, personal security and diplomatic relations.

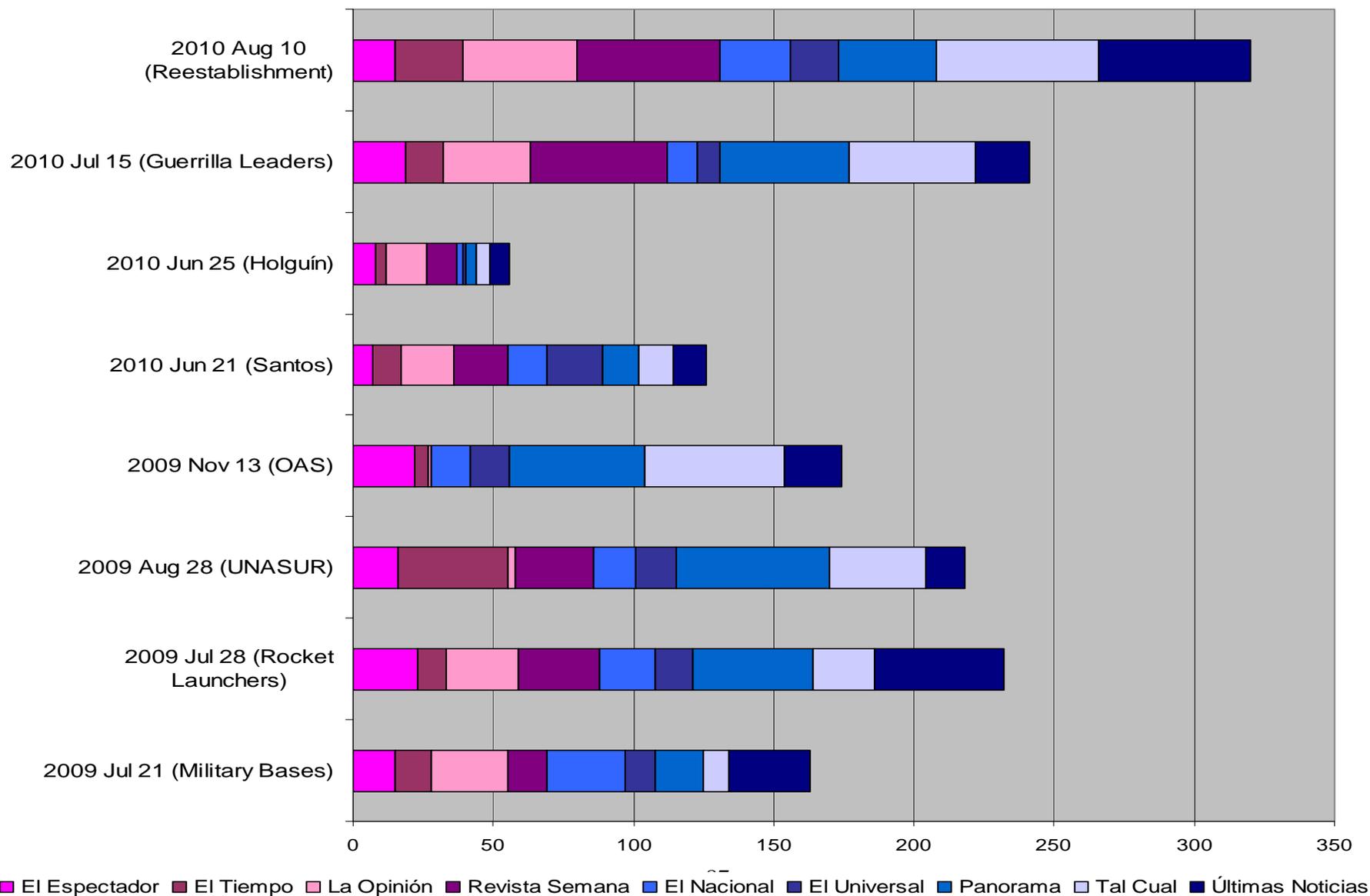
It is worth mentioning that this content analysis is purely quantitative. It does not analyze the content of each article. In the events studied, the data do not indicate the position taken on the issue at hand. For example, the data on publications regarding U.S. military bases do not specify whether the articles tended to support or oppose the bases. Although this quantitative content analysis does not interpret the content of the publications analyzed, the study confirms the perception that Colombian-Venezuelan relations are vulnerable and that the media have not followed up sufficiently on news items or set a broad enough agenda.

A future content analysis study should also take into account the opinion or tendency expressed in the articles (their qualitative aspect), to help understand the meaning or significance of the quantitative results. Another recommendation is to compare this content analysis exercise with the conclusions of a study titled *The Border in the Venezuelan Newspapers El Nacional and La Nación*, carried out by the Universidad de los Andes, Venezuela.

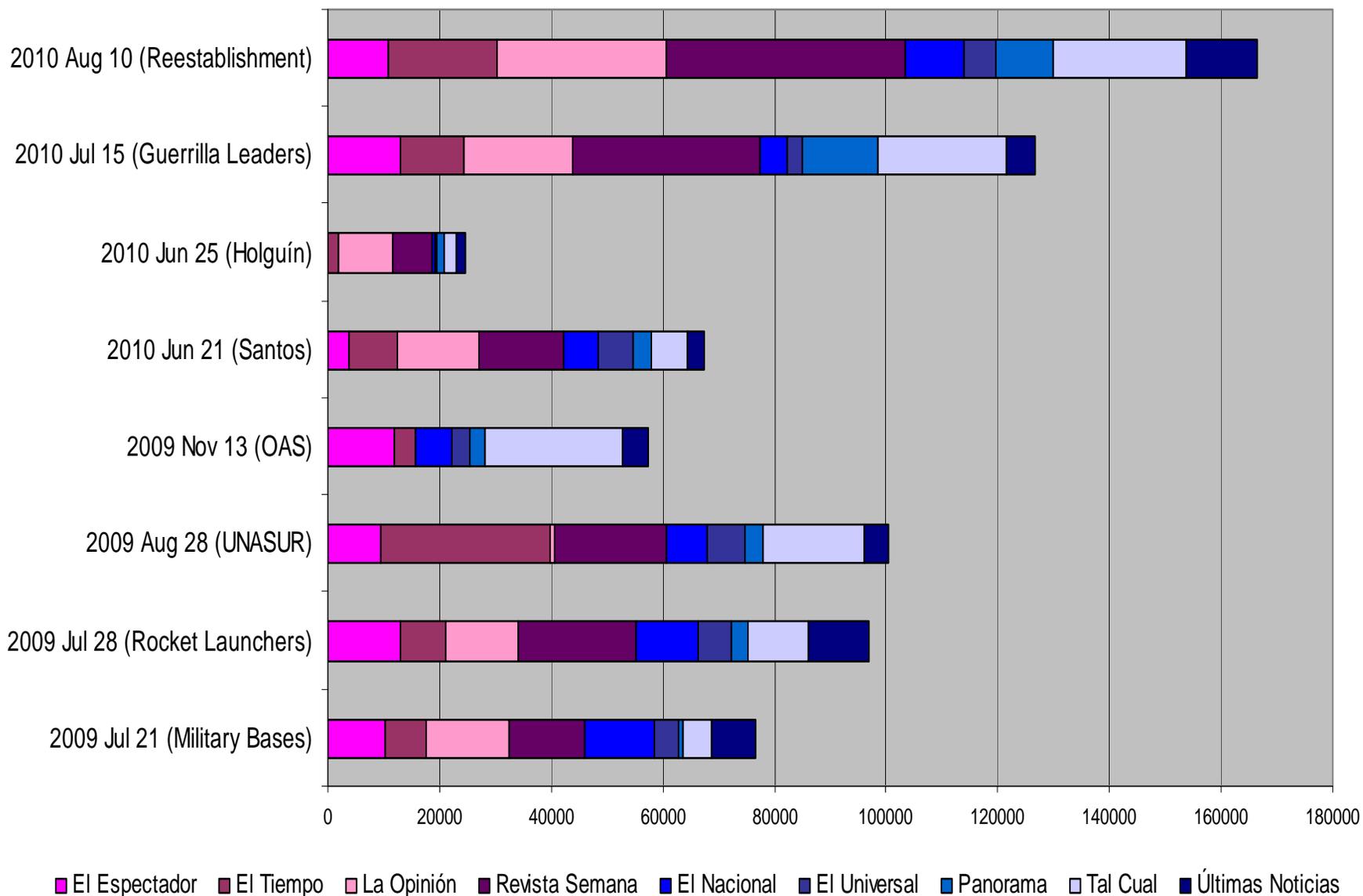
**Thematic News Coverage of Selected Events from 2009-2010 of Venezuelan and Colombian Newspapers**  
**AVERAGE NUMBER OF ARTICLES PER COUNTRY**



**Thematic News Coverage of Selected Events from 2009-2010 of Venezuelan and Colombian Newspapers  
NUMBER OF ARTICLES PER NEWSPAPER**



**Thematic News Coverage of Selected Events from 2009-2010 of Venezuelan and Colombian Newspapers**  
**NUMBER OF WORDS PER NEWSPAPER**

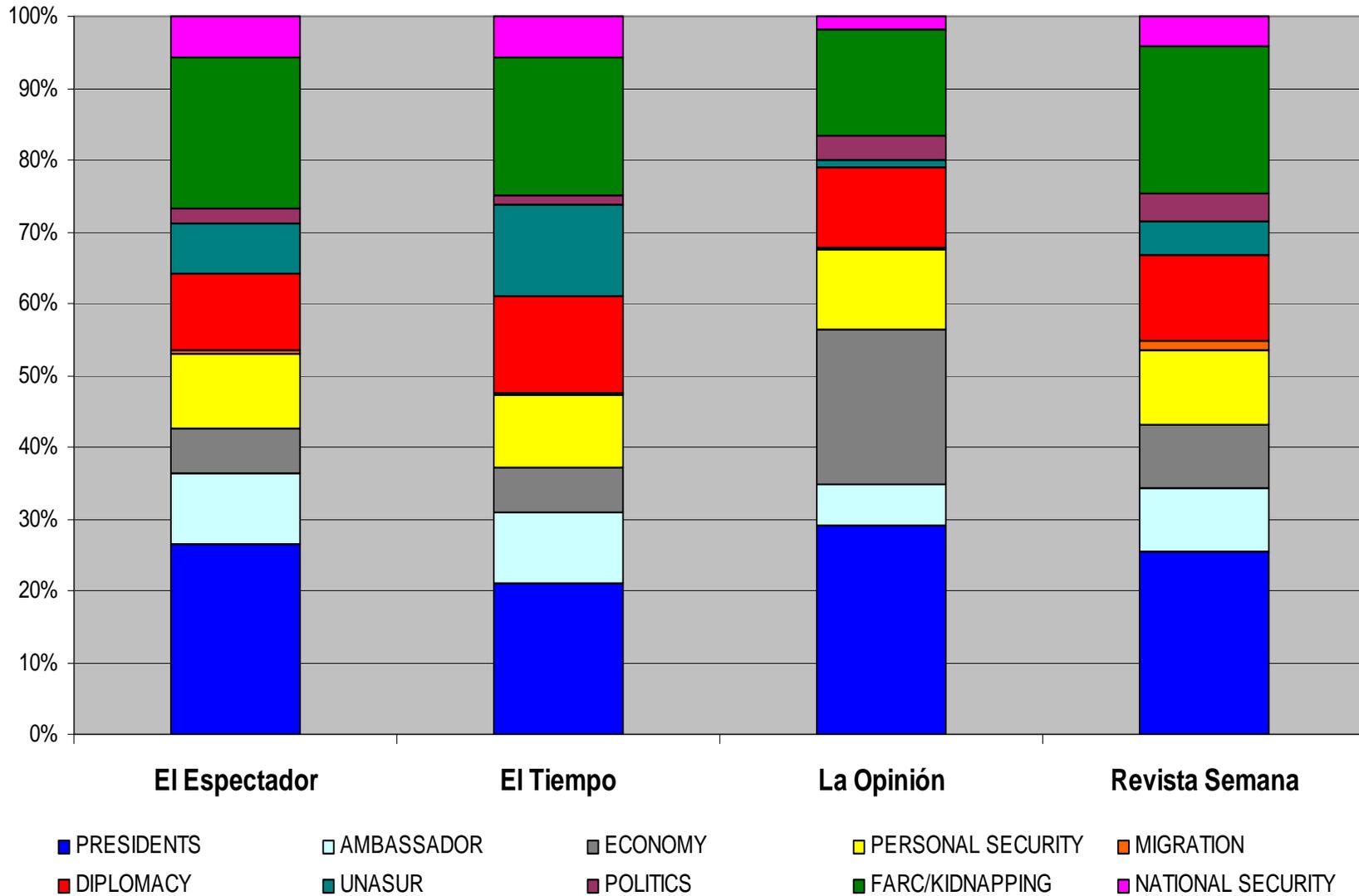


## Key Words

- Presidents:** Chávez, Santos, Uribe
- Foreign Ministers:** Holguín, Maduro, Bermúdez
- Economy:** Trade, Debt, Devaluation, Inflation, Investment
- Person Security:** Crime, Drugs, Homicides, Security
- Migration:** Migration, Refugees
- Diplomacy:** OAS, Re-establishment, Normalization
- UNASUR:** UNASUR
- Politics:** Election, Constitutional Reform, Constitutional Court, Supreme Court
- FARC/Kidnappings:** Armaments, Belligerents, Córdoba, Army, Guerillas, Insurgents, Rocket Launchers, FARC, Liberation, Mediation, Military, Negotiations, Paramilitaries, Hostages, Terrorists, Kidnappings
- National Security:** Threat, War, Invasion, Incursion

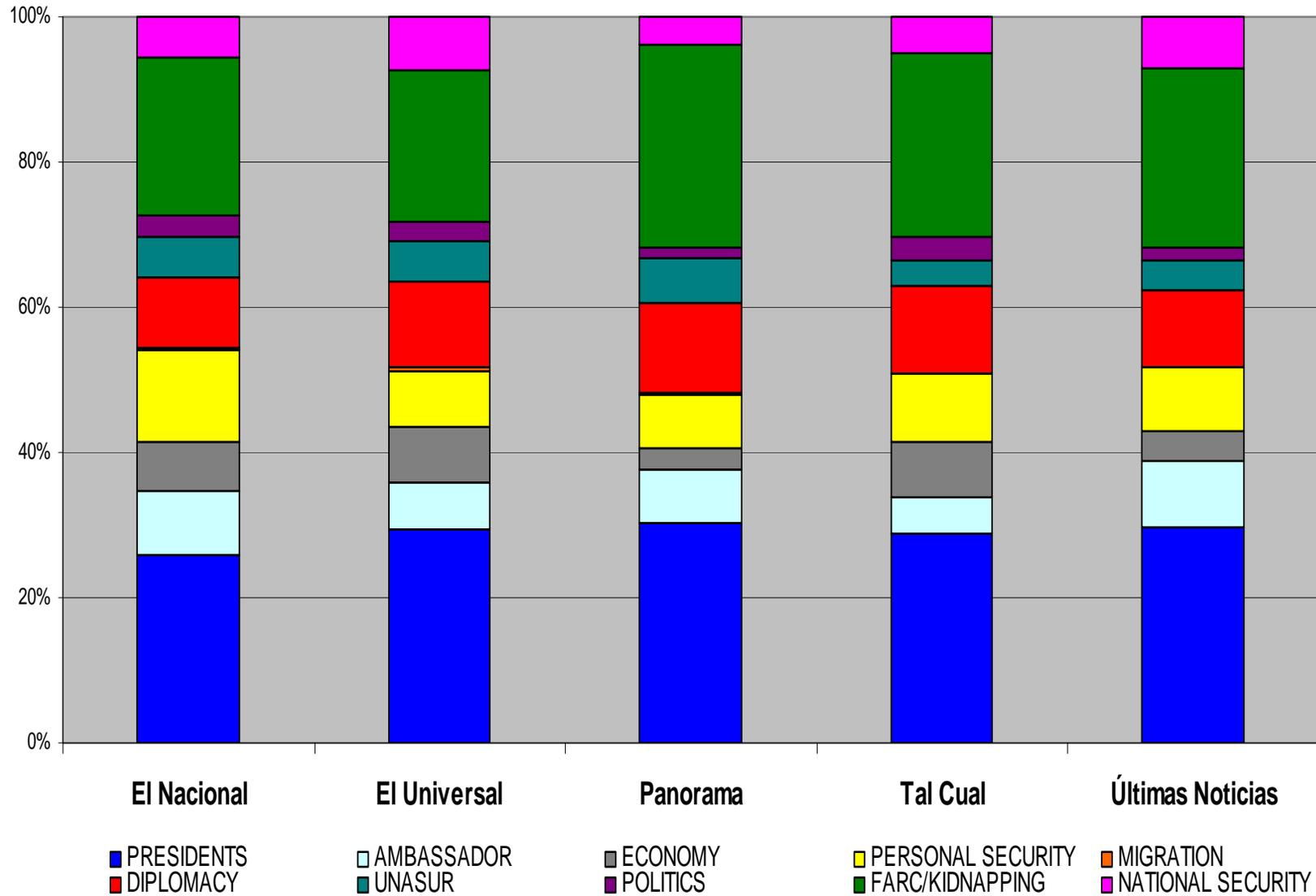
Thematic News Coverage of Colombian Newspapers Based on Keywords for Selected Events in 2009-2010

FREQUENCY OF ARTICLES



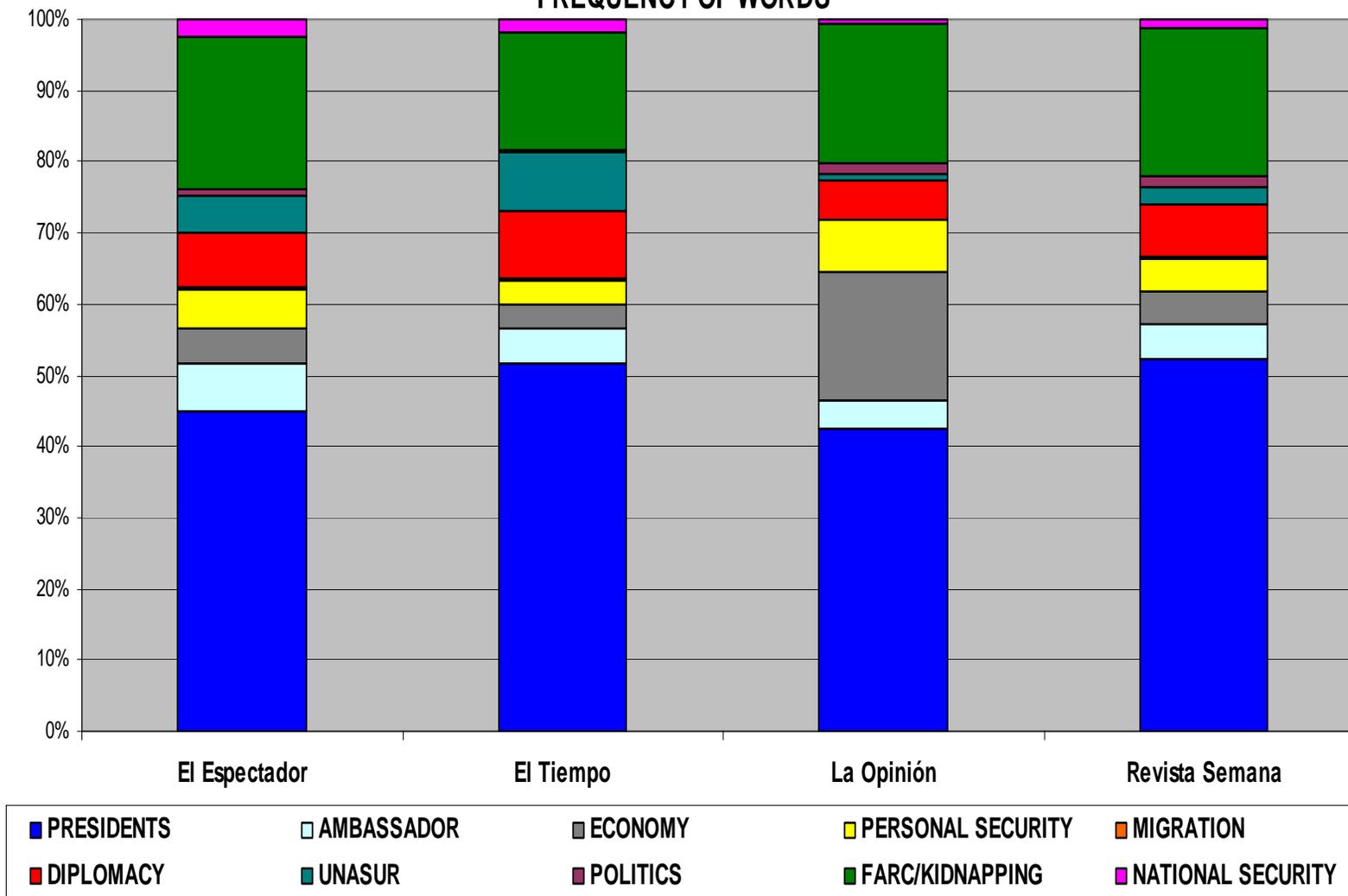
Thematic News Coverage of Venezuelan Newspapers Based on Keywords for Selected Events in 2009-2010

FREQUENCY OF ARTICLES



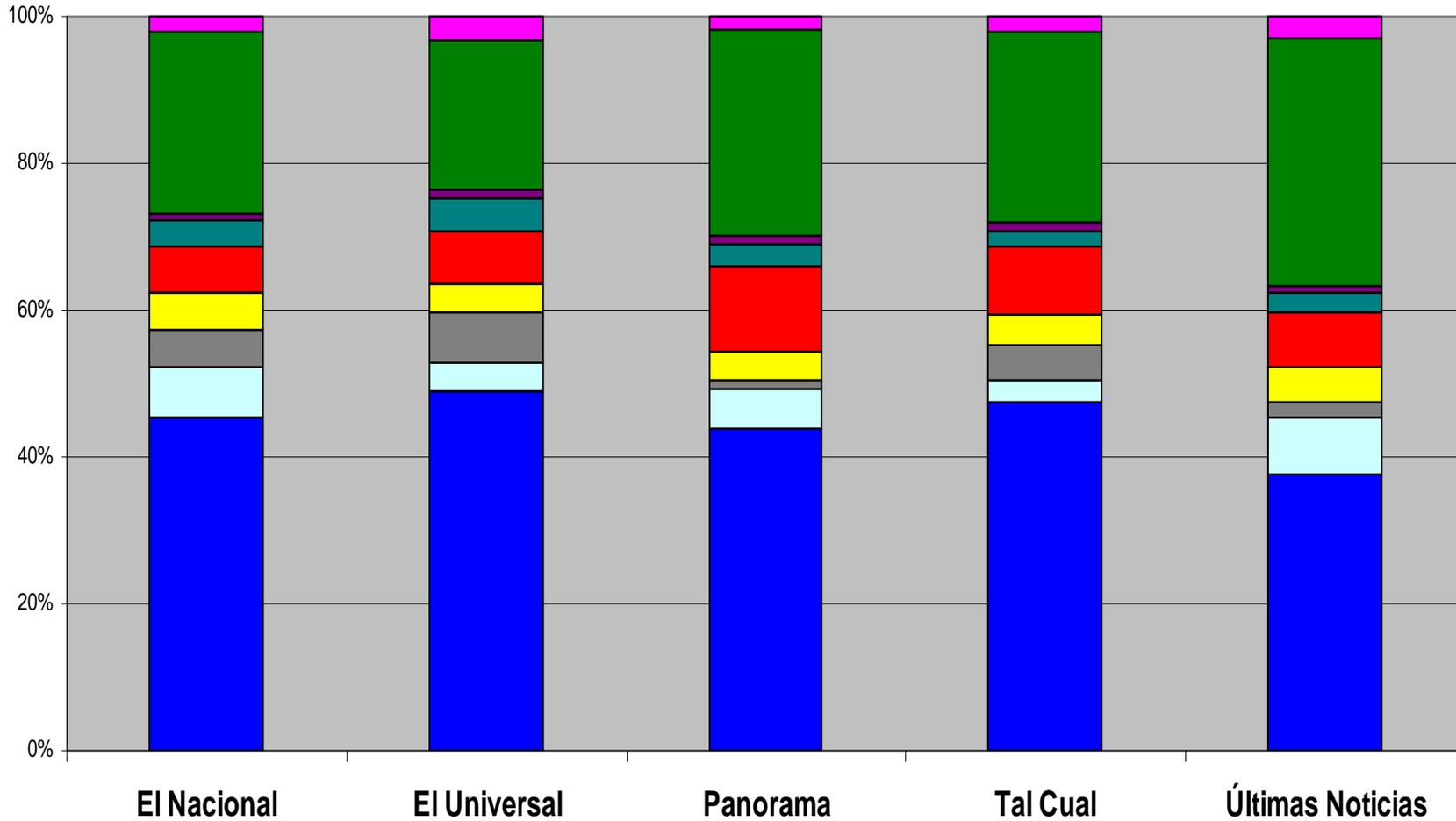
## Thematic News Coverage of Colombian Newspapers Based on Keywords for Selected Events in 2009-2010

### FREQUENCY OF WORDS



**Thematic News Coverage of Venezuelan Newspapers Based on Keywords for Selected Events  
in 2009-2010**

**FREQUENCY OF WORDS**



- PRESIDENTS
- AMBASSADOR
- ECONOMY
- PERSONAL SECURITY
- MIGRATION
- DIPLOMACY
- UNASUR
- POLITICS
- FARC/KIDNAPPING
- NATIONAL SECURITY

## **Annex I. Press release from bilateral media dialogue participants**

A group of editors and media directors from Venezuela and Colombia held a second meeting in Bogotá on February 15, 2011 to examine coverage of bilateral relations. The first meeting was held in Caracas on November 23, 2010. Both meetings were sponsored by The Carter Center. As part of this meeting, the participants agreed to issue the following statement:

We acknowledge efforts to normalize relations and we consider their institutionalization important.

We state that we have engaged in analysis of and reflection on the role of the media in the recomposition of relations, in which we concluded:

That we see a tendency for the media to overemphasize presidential actions and rhetoric and issues related to security/FARC, and downplay aspects of broader relations between the two societies.

We believe that the media and journalists should offer reports with a diversity of sources, placing relations in context and truthfully recounting events.

We ask both governments to provide more information about relations between the two countries, beginning with the results of the bilateral commissions, so people in both countries can be duly informed about processes that interest and affect them.

### **Signed**

#### **Journalists (Colombia)**

Javier Darío Restrepo  
Ricardo Avila  
Carlos Cortés  
Catalina Lobo-Guerrero  
Sergio Ocampo  
Francisco Miranda  
Rodrigo Pardo  
Cicerón Flórez (Cúcuta)  
Carmen Rosa Pabón (Arauca)

#### **Journalists (Venezuela)**

Aram Aharonian  
Silvia Allegrett  
María Inés Delgado  
Eleazar Díaz Rangel  
Omar Lugo  
Elsy Barroeta  
Elides Rojas  
Vladimir Villegas

### **Academics**

Socorro Ramírez (Colombia)  
Maryclen Stelling (Venezuela)  
Ana María Sanjuán (Venezuela)

## **Annex J: Op-Ed by President Jimmy Carter: “Call Off the Global Drug War”<sup>50</sup>**

By President Jimmy Carter, June 16, 2011

IN an extraordinary new [initiative](#) announced earlier this month, the Global Commission on Drug Policy has made some courageous and profoundly important recommendations in a report on how to bring more effective control over the illicit drug trade. The commission includes the former presidents or prime ministers of five countries, a former secretary general of the United Nations, human rights leaders, and business and government leaders, including Richard Branson, George P. Shultz and Paul A. Volcker.

The report describes the total failure of the present global antidrug effort, and in particular America’s “war on drugs,” which was declared 40 years ago today. It notes that the global consumption of opiates has increased 34.5 percent, cocaine 27 percent and cannabis 8.5 percent from 1998 to 2008. Its primary recommendations are to substitute treatment for imprisonment for people who use drugs but do no harm to others, and to concentrate more coordinated international effort on combating violent criminal organizations rather than nonviolent, low-level offenders.

These recommendations are compatible with United States drug policy from three decades ago. In a [message to Congress](#) in 1977, I said the country should decriminalize the possession of less than an ounce of [marijuana](#), with a full program of treatment for addicts. I also cautioned against filling our prisons with young people who were no threat to society, and summarized by saying: “Penalties against possession of a drug should not be more damaging to an individual than the use of the drug itself.”

These ideas were widely accepted at the time. But in the 1980s President Ronald Reagan and Congress began to shift from balanced drug policies, including the treatment and rehabilitation of addicts, toward futile efforts to control drug imports from foreign countries.

This approach entailed an enormous expenditure of resources and the dependence on police and military forces to reduce the foreign cultivation of marijuana, coca and opium poppy and the production of cocaine and heroin. One result has been a terrible escalation in drug-related violence, corruption and gross violations of human rights in a growing number of Latin American countries.

The commission’s facts and arguments are persuasive. It recommends that governments be encouraged to experiment “with models of legal regulation of drugs ... that are designed to undermine the power of organized crime and safeguard the health and security of their citizens.” For effective examples, they can look to policies that have shown promising results in Europe, Australia and other places.

But they probably won’t turn to the United States for advice. Drug policies here are more punitive and counterproductive than in other democracies, and have brought about an [explosion](#)

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<sup>50</sup> Published by the *New York Times*. Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/17/opinion/17carter.html>.

in prison populations. At the end of 1980, just before I left office, 500,000 people were incarcerated in America; at the end of 2009 the number was nearly 2.3 million. There are 743 people in prison for every 100,000 Americans, a higher portion than in any other country and seven times as great as in Europe. Some 7.2 million people are either in prison or on probation or parole — more than 3 percent of all American adults!

Some of this increase has been caused by mandatory minimum sentencing and “three strikes you’re out” laws. But about three-quarters of new admissions to state prisons are for nonviolent crimes. And the single greatest cause of prison population growth has been the war on drugs, with the number of people incarcerated for nonviolent drug offenses increasing more than twelvefold since 1980.

Not only has this excessive punishment destroyed the lives of millions of young people and their families (disproportionately minorities), but it is wreaking havoc on state and local budgets. Former California Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger pointed out that, in 1980, 10 percent of his state’s budget went to higher education and 3 percent to prisons; in 2010, almost 11 percent went to prisons and only 7.5 percent to higher education.

Maybe the increased tax burden on wealthy citizens necessary to pay for the war on drugs will help to bring about a reform of America’s drug policies. At least the recommendations of the Global Commission will give some cover to political leaders who wish to do what is right.

A few years ago I worked side by side for four months with a group of prison inmates, who were learning the building trade, to renovate some public buildings in my hometown of Plains, Ga. They were intelligent and dedicated young men, each preparing for a productive life after the completion of his sentence. More than half of them were in prison for drug-related crimes, and would have been better off in college or trade school.

To help such men remain valuable members of society, and to make drug policies more humane and more effective, the American government should support and enact the reforms laid out by the Global Commission on Drug Policy.

*Jimmy Carter, the 39th president, is the founder of The Carter Center and the winner of the 2002 Nobel Peace Prize.*

## **Annex K. Press release for launch of drug policy report**

### **FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

**Dec. 15, 2011**

**CONTACTS: Atlanta, Deborah Hakes 1 404 420 5124; Lima, María Inés Calle 511 2037960**

### **New Report Published on Drug Policy Alternatives in Latin America and the United States**

A report published today - *Drug Policy in the Andes: Seeking Humane and Effective Alternatives* - proposes innovative policy changes to address drug trafficking in Latin America and the United States.

The report was written by two members of the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum, a citizens' forum supported by The Carter Center and International IDEA to identify and contribute solutions to multilateral problems and tensions among the Andean region countries and the United States. Using the forum's rich reflections as a point of departure, two group members with decades of experience in drug policy – Socorro Ramírez and Coletta Youngers – developed the report to contribute to open debate on this complex subject.

“The report authored by Coletta Youngers and Socorro Ramírez draws on unique dialogue among forum members; in-depth interviews with a wide variety of actors in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela; and existing research to examine the challenges that drug trafficking presents and to recommend steps that the region can take along with the United States to address the problems,” said Jennifer McCoy, director of the Americas Program at The Carter Center.

Their report includes the following recommendations:

- broaden the discussion on alternative drug policies;
- consolidate dialogue and agreements among Andean countries;
- redirect resources towards integral rural development through policies that are adjusted to each local context in order to reduce the cultivation of crops destined for illicit markets;
- develop strong education and health policies to prevent the consumption of drugs while improving treatment available to problematic users;
- decriminalize personal consumption and explore alternatives to incarceration for those who commit minor, nonviolent offenses; and
- strengthen mechanisms that protect democratic institutions to prevent them from illicit political financing through drug trafficking.

“During the four decade-long ‘war on drugs’, there have been few battlegrounds harder hit than the Andes. There is growing consensus at the global level that this transnational threat is growing and that cross-border dialogue and responses are key to meaningful progress,” said Kristen Sample, Andean Region Head of Mission for International IDEA.

The Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum members include leaders of civic organizations, social movements, academic institutions, media organizations, the military, the private sector, parliaments, and former government officials.

Forum members discussed this report and the recent report issued by the Global Commission on Drug Policy at their last meeting and agreed on a set of recommendations described in the attached declaration.

The full report is available on the International IDEA and The Carter Center websites:

International IDEA: <http://www.idea.int/publications/drug-policy-in-the-andes/index.cfm>

The Carter Center: <http://cartercenter.org/peace/americas/andean-us-dialogue-forum/index.html>

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## **Annex L. Visions of democracy—notes for discussion**

Note prepared for discussion at the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum, Lima, August 2, 2011

*By: Jennifer McCoy and Ana Maria Sanjuán*

Divergent perceptions and aspirations about democracy – what it consists of and to what ends – have created significant tensions among Andean countries themselves and between them and the U.S. These tensions have affected other aspects of the relations and impeded cooperation vital to address transnational challenges such as counter-narcotics, environmental protection, personal security and the well-being of all citizens. For this reason it is important to understand the roots of these divergences and consider how to overcome them.

One important source of disagreement is the contrast in the different conceptions about the goals of democracy. In the U.S., a country founded by persons fleeing religious persecution, individual liberty is the supreme goal in its concept of democracy. Its democracy is defined as liberal democracy, with a particular emphasis on the mechanisms to protect the individual rights of liberty and property from possible abuses by the State or other citizens.

Latin America has been considered by many specialists as the most developing region in the world. Nevertheless after more than three decades of democratic restoration, greater political participation has not translated into greater social participation. Today the continent is the most unequal in the world, with large disparities not only in income, but also in access to elemental constitutional goods. In Latin America and especially in the Andean countries, from the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the democracies have experienced a process of deep change aiming to strengthen social citizenship. The social question has been introduced in the political agenda of societies searching for social inclusion through the exercise of democratic rights.

In the Andean region the concept of democracy joins the social theme as well as other social and cultural roots. On the social theme, the crisis of poverty contributed to a profound crisis of representative democracy and during the last decade those parties most sensitive to the social question have had greater access to political power. Among cultural roots include the communal and collective indigenous practices (including collective property); the concept of corporatism inherited from Catholic philosophy that views society as an organic and harmonious body; and more recently various leftist and Marxist ideologies. From these arise a concept of democracy with relatively more emphasis on collective well-being than in liberal democracy. More than simply expand representative democracy, in the majority of the Andean countries, the new political and social actors seek to establish new political models and practices based in their original experiences and cultural diversity that could surpass preceding democratic models, making them stronger and even more inclusive.

The search for political alternatives has clashed with visions of democracy more universalist, traditional and western, since they exacerbate the inherent structural tension between values of liberty and equality in democracy. With these processes of political change, we have observed in a majority of Latin American countries a “turn to the left”, including in the Andes, which have also increased their nationalist and sovereign positions.

In spite of these divergences, North and South America adopted from independence very similar formal rules: constitutional republics, presidentialist systems with separation of powers to protect citizens from abuse by the State. There is also a convergence in the goal of protecting fundamental human rights. If we analyze Latinobarometer surveys, we also see that citizens in both Andean countries and the U.S. define democracy in terms of competitive elections and free expression, in contrast, for example, to Brazil where social and economic equity are more the defining characteristics of democracy. It's also notable that these surveys indicate that Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru, which are occasionally strongly challenged by democratic issues, are among those that value most democracy in the region.

What, then, is the problem?

1. Some of the Andean countries have initiated democratic experiments to confront serious problems of social exclusion: the indigenous revolution in Bolivia; the citizen revolution in Ecuador; the Bolivarian revolution in Venezuela. Now, the new governments of Peru and Colombia have also underlined the necessity to tackle the brutal inequality in income and land distribution and social exclusion. These political changes shouldn't be considered as a threat to democracy; on the contrary they can be seen as the search for the extension of democracy to the whole population, albeit in processes with multiple contradictions, but that are seeking a substantive perfecting of the political system to include not only liberal precepts but also those of equality.
2. The reaction in the U.S. to these political changes arises from the dominant liberal democratic ideology and is reinforced by the fear of terrorism after 9/11. Consequently, the dominant perception in the U.S. (in government, media and academia) only sees a dangerous concentration of executive power in these Andean experiments that threatens individual rights of property, free expression and political dissent and that produces and protects corruption. When we add to this the nationalist rhetoric from the Andean governments and their demands for mutual respect and independent foreign policies (which has also been manifested in the breaking of cooperation with U.S. security and drug agencies), then many in the Congress and U.S. government see a security threat: ties with Iran, questioning of the counter-narcotics policies, migration, etc.
3. The Andean countries, on the other hand, view the U.S. through historic lenses: the 20<sup>th</sup> century military interventions, the unilateralism of George W. Bush, the arrogant attempt to impose its own concept of democracy and development on other countries. This has produced real and rhetorical reactions against the U.S., seen by parochial Congressional members as insults and resulting in turn in cut-offs of aid.

What can we do?

1. Recognize that we share many historical experiences: creation of independent and constitutional republics in light of European colonialism. But even more important, we share the experience of current societies affected by strong debates in the search for a consensus on the role of the state in the economy and the very ends of democracy: social inclusion versus protection of individual (and capitalist) rights.
2. The recent UNDP/OAS report, "Our Democracy," points out the need to construct States with greater capacity to achieve the wellbeing and security of citizens. This in turn requires fiscal (tax) reform to give the State sufficient resources to perform and to redistribute income in contexts of severe inequality. We should initiate debates in our societies on these points.
3. Equally, we should all recognize that each society has its own history and needs that motivate them to search for their own paths, rather than follow universal paths. Colombia suffers from a 50-year guerrilla war producing terrible displacements and trauma in the society; Bolivia suffers from discrimination against indigenous people for five centuries; Ecuador has sustained severe institutional instability and the capture of political institutions by private interests; Peru faces strong social exclusion; Venezuela suffered reduced petroleum income and a huge increase in poverty in the 1980s and 1990s; and the U.S. has faced a severe financial crisis since 2008, after 30 years of a growing income gap and now a political polarization that threatens to paralyze the government itself.
4. The U.S. should recognize the distinct histories of the Andean countries, and the Andean countries should recognize that opinion in the U.S. is not homogenous nor monolithic. There are positions, even if minority ones, that do recognize the achievements of participatory democracy, and not even the State is homogenous. Instead there exist many diverse voices that are often uncoordinated and conflict among themselves.

If we use as a point of departure the Common Agenda established on the basis of surveys conducted by the Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum, we could have a basis for cooperation instead of the counter-productive series of accusations and conflicts we now experience.

## **Annex M: Selection of articles from bilateral and trilateral media dialogues**

### **Polarización influye en relación entre Bogotá y Caracas<sup>51</sup>**

By Elides Rojas, February 16, 2011

Bogotá.- Devolver el papel de los medios de comunicación a su esencia y evitar la reactividad a la hora de procesar las informaciones fueron parte de las conclusiones consensuadas entre periodistas de Colombia y Venezuela durante un encuentro realizado en Bogotá patrocinado por el Centro Carter.

Durante la reunión a la que asistieron representantes de los medios de ambas naciones se resaltó cómo los líderes de Colombia y Venezuela generan la información, para bien o para mal, en beneficio o perjuicio de los dos países.

Germán Rey, director del Centro Ático de la Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá, explicó los alcances de un trabajo de investigación realizado sobre las publicaciones de los medios más importantes de ambas naciones.

Afirmó Rey que la característica fundamental de ambos gobiernos es que han invertido mucho dinero en reforzar su presencia mediática. Tienen buenas redes de medios electrónicos y cubren extensas áreas de la región. "Es decir, son gobiernos que manejan muy bien sus medios, generando una caída en la calidad de lo que recibe el usuario. Estamos hablando de propaganda. Al final el afectado es el ciudadano".

En otra intervención, María Luisa Chiappe, ex embajadora de Colombia en Venezuela, afirmó que lo político y la polarización son elementos que desvían el trabajo de los medios. "En Venezuela, por ejemplo, los medios oficialistas tratan a Colombia y sus autoridades como elementos aliados del imperio, EEUU y fuerzas enemigas de Chávez.

Vemos programas en VTV como La Hojilla, Contragolpe o Dando y Dando que no se verían en otros países. Por otra parte, los medios independientes y contrarios a Chávez ven en Colombia y sus políticas un factor para atacar al gobierno chavista. Eso es tremendamente perjudicial. Es necesario pues, ampliar la agenda y tratar temas diferentes".

Para Rodrigo Pardo, ex canciller de Colombia, las relaciones colombo-venezolanas siempre han sido conflictivas, pero algunos intentan culpar a los medios cuando se trata de un asunto de político y diplomático.

Ana María Sanjuan, socióloga, puntualizó que hay un profundo cambio en las percepciones de cada país, con un visible cambio, justamente producto de los tratamientos de los medios. Según su visión antes "los colombianos eran los malos, de donde provenía la violencia y la inseguridad. Ahora es al revés. Los malos están en Venezuela y desde allí se originan los males".

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<sup>51</sup> Published by *El Universal*. Available at [http://www.eluniversal.com/2011/02/16/pol\\_art\\_polarizacion-influye\\_2192438.shtml](http://www.eluniversal.com/2011/02/16/pol_art_polarizacion-influye_2192438.shtml).

## **Pastel de chucho**<sup>52</sup>

By Eleazar Díaz Rangel, February 21, 2011

### **MEDIOS Y PRESIDENTES**

En un reciente encuentro colombo-venezolano de periodistas, reunido en Bogotá, se examinaron varios asuntos de interés común, y sorprendió conocer el resultado de una investigación según la cual el espacio que los cuatro diarios venezolanos estudiados dedicaron al Presidente Juan Manuel Santos en seis meses, es la mitad del que dedicaban al presidente Álvaro Uribe en un período igual. ¿Cómo explicar ese cambio?

Para algunos de los periodistas venezolanos que asistimos fue sencillo. La política de Uribe contra el gobierno venezolano, y especialmente contra el presidente Chávez, era compartida por un alto porcentaje de los medios venezolanos, y el cambio operado con el acceso al poder de Santos, desde la reunión de julio en Santa Marta, que permitieron mejorar sensiblemente las relaciones entre ambos países, carece del apoyo de la mayoría de esos medios y en consecuencia, sólo le dedicaron la mitad del espacio para las informaciones y opiniones coincidentes con esa nueva política de Santos. “Mientras en Colombia había diarios críticos del uribismo, (aunque en radio y TV predominaba la tendencia favorable) allá teníamos prensa uribista”, dijo uno de los colegas venezolanos.

Otro hecho de significación, que igualmente revela la relación de los medios con la formación de la opinión pública en asuntos binacionales, es que el porcentaje de opiniones adversas a Chávez bajó en Colombia en esos seis meses, en contraste con los niveles que tuvo durante los gobiernos de Uribe.

El mismo estudio revela que los cuatro medios impresos venezolanos estudiados ofrecieron a la cuestión de las bases militares más del doble del espacio que le dedicó la prensa colombiana, y en general, esta relación se repite en otros asuntos, a los que en Venezuela se dio mayor cobertura, sin ofrecer las razones.

La investigación falla porque no ofrece explicaciones a esos resultados, ni se analizan las tendencias en cada caso. Por ejemplo, ante el tema de las bases militares, se pueden tener dos posiciones: crítico o de apoyo, y el estudio no se acerca a determinarlo. Ante esas críticas que formulamos, hubo el compromiso de profundizar esa investigación y despejar las interrogantes que subsisten.

### **MÁS Y MENOS AMISTOSOS**

En un estudio del Centro Carter e IDEA sobre las relaciones de EUA y los países andinos, resulta que los países más amistosos con EUA, según la opinión de los estadounidenses, son Venezuela y Perú con 20% cada uno y Colombia, que debía tener un porcentaje muy alto, apenas llega a

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<sup>52</sup> Published by *Reporte Confidencial*. Available at <http://www.reporteconfidencial.info/noticia/22284/pastel-de-chuchopor-eleazar-diaz-rangel/>.

14%. Y los menos amistosos son Venezuela con 35%, se comprende, y Colombia 27% (¿por qué será, si lo ayuda tanto?).

Las mismas preguntas hechas a sectores élite de venezolanos, tienen estos resultados: países más amistosos: Bolivia 50%, Ecuador 15% y Colombia 10%. Los menos amistosos son: EUA 60%, no se equivocaron; y Colombia 18%. En cuanto a Colombia, Venezuela es el menos amistoso: 85%, y Ecuador (que fue invadido) 5%, y los más amistosos son: EUA 80%, se entiende, y Perú 10%.

Naturalmente, la principal fuente de formación de esas opiniones son los medios.

## EL CONGRESO DE ANGOSTURA

Pareciera que la mayoría de los diputados de oposición no cayeron en la cuenta de que el Congreso de Angostura, cuya instalación el 15 de febrero de 1819 conmemoró la Asamblea Nacional, era un cuerpo con importante presencia de militares.

Bien marcado era el sello militar de ese Congreso, entre los 27 diputados estaban: Coronel Francisco Parejo, Coronel Eduardo Hurtado, por Barcelona; General en Jefe Santiago Mariño, General de Brigada Tomás Montilla, por Cumaná; General de División Rafael Urdaneta, Coronel Miguel Guerrero, General de Brigada Pedro León Torres, por Margarita.

Estos oficiales, apenas terminaron las sesiones del Congreso, partieron hacia sus puestos de comandos. Por ejemplo, Bolívar con su Estado Mayor fue a reunirse en el Ejército Occidental con Páez en Apure; Santiago Mariño a establecer su cuartel general en El Pao, y el general Urdaneta a tomar en Margarita el mando de las tropas inglesas hace poco llegadas.

La ausencia de los opositores el pasado 15 en Ciudad Bolívar pareciera confirmar lo que escribí aquí en Pastel de Chucho el lunes pasado.

## INJERENCIA DE EUA EN ESPAÑA

La mayoría de ustedes recordarán el intento de golpe de estado en España del 23 de febrero de 1981, del cual se cumplen el miércoles 30 años. Entonces, el Teniente Coronel Antonio Tejero asaltó el palacio del Congreso en plena sesión, en el tránsito del régimen franquista al democrático.

Desde entonces se han publicado varios libros, algunos producto del periodismo de investigación. El más reciente de ellos es “23-F, El Rey y su secreto”, del periodista Jesús Palacios, quien sostiene la tesis de que “no fue un intento de golpe de involución, sino una operación especial de corrección del sistema, que fue ampliamente ‘consensuada’ con la nomenclatura de la clase política institucional. Y con el beneplácito exterior de la administración norteamericana y del Vaticano”. El Rey, según esa versión, por supuesto estaba de acuerdo con lo que se intentaba hacer.

En un párrafo, se lee:

“Días atrás, (el embajador de EUA) Todman había comunicado al Secretario de Estado, General Alexander Haig, y al Pentágono, la operación que se iba a llevar a cabo en España, recibiendo instrucciones de apoyarla y de mantenerse muy atento e informar al momento del desarrollo de los acontecimientos... Cuatro días antes del 23 de febrero, todo el personal de inteligencia, técnico y militar de las bases de utilización conjunta de Morón, Rota, Torrejón y Zaragoza, se pusieron en estado de alerta... Todman había pedido un avión espía Awacs, que el 23-F estuvo listo en una base de Lisboa controlando las comunicaciones militares y gubernamentales”.

Queda claro que la injerencia no es sólo en los países latinoamericanos.

NO PARECE que andan bien las cosas en el chavismo neoespartano. Lo deduce uno de las declaraciones de Enrique Fernández y un grupo de voceros de varios municipios del Frente Social del PSUV a este diario. Demandan renovación del buró regional, que sean las bases las que elijan. Llegan a denunciar la presencia de corruptos en niveles direccionales. No sé hasta dónde puede ser verdad, pero debía ser motivo de preocupación para el comando chavista... ARISTÓBULO Istúriz planteó ayer en Caracas que el partido tiene que dejar de ser una maquinaria electoral: “los militantes tienen que salir a la calle y vincularse con la gente y a sus problemas, debemos ser autocríticos”. Ésto lo vienen diciendo hace tiempo, y parece que no avanzan en las tareas organizativas e ideológicas... SEGÚN la encuesta de SOL DE MARGARITA, un 80% cree que Guaiqueríos derrotará a Panteras en su encuentro de esta semana. Que así sea...

NO SÉ qué pensarán ustedes, pero la bancada opositora de la MUD no quedó nada bien en la última sesión de interpelaciones. Rafael Ramírez los vapuleó. ¿Cómo es posible que en esas materias no se preparen debidamente?... GRAN triunfo del tachirense Larry Sánchez en el primer maratón oficial en Venezuela. Representó a la Unefa, y superó al venezolano Pedro Mora, que puntuó durante 38 km., y al mexicano Sergio Pedroza. Se supone que cerca de 3.000 llegaron a la meta. La CAF dio una buena muestra de la organización de tan complejo evento, que comenzó con una misión de la FIA para certificar la distancia exacta: 42.194 m...

NO SERA fácil para la oposición escoger a su abanderado para las presidenciales de 2012. Por lo pronto no se ponen de acuerdo con el método para esa selección... CIEN AÑOS largos tiene el bolero reinando en la música latinoamericana, nacido en Santiago de Cuba en 1885. Aquí, simultáneamente aparecen el número 07 de la enciclopedia “Boleros y la música del Caribe”, con “el caudal creativo de México”, del editor y coleccionista Omar Uribe, y el libro No. 1 de la “Historia del Bolero”, de los pastoreños Santiago González y Reinaldo Vilorio, dedicado a “Cuba, no me vayas a engañar”...

## **Tercer Encuentro Binacional de Periodistas de Colombia y Venezuela<sup>53</sup>**

May 10, 2011

Cúcuta será epicentro hoy y mañana de uno de los encuentros binacionales más importantes de periodistas de Colombia y Venezuela.

La cumbre de profesionales de la comunicación organizada por el Centro Carter, por iniciativa del Foro Andino Estadounidense, es la tercera que se lleva a cabo entre los dos países y la primera que tendrá lugar en una ciudad de frontera.

El primer encuentro binacional de periodistas tuvo lugar en noviembre del año pasado en Caracas (Venezuela) con la participación de 20 comunicadores. El segundo se desarrolló en Bogotá, en febrero.

En esta oportunidad el objetivo es profundizar en los debates y las discusiones que se han dado en los dos primeros encuentros y analizar la forma en que se aborda el tema fronterizo en un corredor limítrofe como este.

Dentro del programa está contemplado un espacio para discutir acerca de la realidad de la frontera colombo-venezolana y sus principales problemas, desafíos y propuestas.

De la misma forma, se abordará el cubrimiento mediático que se hace a la situación de la frontera tanto en Colombia como en Venezuela.

Los periodistas invitados participarán además en un conversatorio en el sector de El Escobal, donde compartirán con miembros de organizaciones comunitarias, desplazados y refugiados. El encuentro está previsto la 1:30 de la tarde en el Hotel Bolívar y continuará mañana a partir de las 8:30.

Los invitados al Tercer Encuentro Binacional de Periodistas son directores y editores de los principales medios de comunicación de Colombia y Venezuela. Personajes que han estado vinculados a las discusiones anteriores y que ya vienen manejando un discurso y un debate sobre el tema de la frontera.

Griselda Colina, Coordinadora Técnica del Programa para el Fortalecimiento del periodismo en Venezuela, e integrante del comité organizador del evento confirmó la asistencia de:

Por Colombia: Carlos Cortés, Editor de La Silla Vacía; Francisco Miranda, Editor Internacional de El Tiempo; Alfonso Ospina, Editor Colprensa; Catalina Lobo-Guerrero, Columnista de Semana; Cicerón Flórez Moya, Subdirector de La Opinión; Omar Rincón, Director Ceper; Ricardo Ávila, Director de Portafolio, y Socorro Ramírez, académica.

Por Venezuela: Aram Aharonian, columnista independiente; Silvia Alegrett, Presidenta del Colegio Nacional de Periodistas (CNP); María Inés Delgado, Subdirectora de Redacción, Diario

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<sup>53</sup> Published by *La Opinión*. Available at

[http://www.laopinion.com.co/noticias/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=372784&Itemid=31](http://www.laopinion.com.co/noticias/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=372784&Itemid=31).

Panorama (Zulia); Elsy Barroeta, Jefa de Información de Globovisión; Elides Rojas, Jefe de Redacción, El Universal; Eleazar Díaz Rangel, Director, Últimas Noticias; Maryclen Stelling, Directora Ejecutiva Observatorio Global de Medios; Omaira Labrador, Jefe de Redacción de La Nación (San Cristóbal); Carlos Subero, Jefe de Corresponsalía, Diario La Calle (Valencia).

Como ponentes y comentaristas estarán:

- Jesús Rodríguez, Director de Radio Fe y Alegría, parroquia El Nula (Venezuela).
- Jennifer McCoy, Directora del Programa para las Américas del Centro Carter, Atlanta.
- María Teresa Ronderos, Revista Semana.
- María Eugenia Bello, Directora del Centro de Estudios Fronterizos, CEFI, ULA, (Táchira-Venezuela).

## **El contrabando mayor<sup>54</sup>**

By Eleazar Díaz Rangel, May 15, 2011

*En el aeropuerto de San Antonio del Táchira, mal mentado “Juan Vicente Gómez” (1), tuve el primer contacto con el contrabando de gasolina cuando una funcionaria me echó el primer cuento de la red de los 6 mil pimpineros, parte de una poderosa mafia; lo recaudado parece ir a diversas jerarquías del funcionariado. Después, en las dos cortas carreteras que nos llevan a Cúcuta, se observan hileras y montones de pimpinas de todo tamaño para la venta pública de gasolina. “A un tanque de 60 litros, que cuesta unos 6 bolívares, le sacan tres pimpinas de 20 que las venden hasta por 80 cada una. Imagínense lo que ganan, eso se lo reparten y todavía sobra”.*

Comenzando la tarde, instalado en Cúcuta el Encuentro de periodistas colombo-venezolanos, hubo abundante información sobre el voluminoso y productivo contrabando de gasolina que tantas ganancias produce, que ha desplazado al narcotráfico. La primera fuente fue el padre jesuita Jesús Rodríguez, a quien todos llaman “Txúo”, director de la radio Fe y Alegría en El Nula, periodistas de la región fronteriza, y la académica Socorro Ramírez.

Veamos un resumen de lo que dijeron:

Hasta hace poco, la zona fronteriza Táchira-Norte de Santander se caracterizaba por enfrentamientos armados entre los diversos grupos que operan en la región: Farc, FBL, AUC y el ELN, el más débil de todos, pero recientemente habrían acordado formas de convivir, de penetrar la sociedad, permear las instituciones, y gradualmente han controlado el contrabando, comenzando por el de gasolina, que les da un gran poder económico, e influyen en toda la vida, hasta en los divorcios y separaciones de parejas, y por supuesto, secuestros, sicariatos, reclutamiento de niños y adolescentes, para incorporarlos a los grupos armados y que las madres ni se atreven a denunciar por temor a represalias.

Entre El Nula y San Cristóbal hay 10 alcabalas controladas por estos grupos, nadie puede pasarlas sin pagar, se han en empresas gananciosas. Hasta en Puerto Contreras (Col) se encuentran con facilidad productos de Mercal que escasean en las poblaciones tachirenses. (“Mire, en Ecuador también llegan las cargas de Mercal, pero aquí uno tiene que hacer cola”, me contó en San Antonio un empleado que me reconoció).

-La Misión Identidad favoreció a los irregulares colombianos que tenían capacidad para obtener cédulas venezolanas, que las permiten recorrer la zona sin dificultad, en cambio tenemos compatriotas apátridas, sin documentos. (“Txúo” dixit)

El gran negocio es el contrabando de gasolina. Pdvsa surte a esa zona con 19 millones de litros al mes; estiman que a El Nula (20.000 hab) llega hasta un millón de litros, que van casi todos a vehículos colombianos, que compran el litro hasta 20 veces más caro, precio que crece en la medida en que se alejan de Venezuela. Los pimpineros apenas son una muestra; contaron cómo

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<sup>54</sup> Published by *Últimas Noticias*. Available at <http://www.ultimasnoticias.com.ve/opinion/firmas/los-domingos-de-diaz-rangel/el-contrabando-mayor.aspx>.

los llamados tractomulas (gandolas con tanques gigantes y hasta con depósitos especiales) pasan todos los puestos de la GN y alcabalas, pagando vacuna, por supuesto. “Por ahí se van miles de litros cada vez, y su precio permite que se los repartan hasta los de arriba”.

-¿Dónde los llenan?

-Pues imagínese usted.

Conocida esa realidad, hice una pregunta que quedó sin respuesta: ¿Por qué coinciden los gobiernos de Venezuela y Colombia en la pasividad y falta de decisión para enfrentar la presencia de esos grupos y erradicar el contrabando?

El pasado 2 de noviembre los presidentes Chávez y Santos firmaron aquí en Caracas un convenio sobre suministro de combustible a los departamentos colombianos fronterizos con Zulia, Táchira, Apure y Amazonas, hasta por 37 millones 156 mil 800 litros mensuales, equivalentes a 7.741 MMD. En ese convenio se lee:

“Decidimos fortalecer los esquemas de control en ambos lados de la frontera para erradicar el contrabando de combustible y desarrollar programas de reversión social y laboral”

La pregunta es aún más pertinente: ¿por qué en los seis meses transcurridos desde entonces no ha cambiado nada?

Quizá la respuesta está en algo que dijo el Padre Txúo:

-Antes, enviar a un oficial a esta zona era tenido como un castigo, ahora se lo sortean. Conozco el caso de un oficial de la Guardia Nacional que en una sola noche obtuvo 18 mil bolívares fuertes con paso de gasolina; al que se puede añadir el cobro por paso armas, paso de drogas, hoy muy secundario, hasta de alimentos de Mercal. Hace poco se volcó un camión y enviamos a dos reporteros, allí encontraron a militares y contrabandistas viendo cómo salvaban la carga. A nuestros periodistas los amenazaron”.

(1) Bautizado por un Concejo Municipal por un paisano de Gómez, nacido en La Mulera, y de nada han valido las propuestas para cambiarle el nombre. Increíble ese homenaje.

## **Denuncian gran guiso de la FAN en la frontera**<sup>55</sup>

By Daniel Suárez, May 22, 2011

*Consejos Comunales del municipio Páez, en el Alto Apure, denunciaron el fuerte contrabando en la frontera venezolana y las actuaciones irregulares de la Fuerza Armada Nacional y policías de la zona.*

A través de un comunicado que enviaron al Mayor General, Luis Motta Domínguez, Comandante General de la GNB, representantes de los consejos comunales "Pastor Villalonga", "Barrio Bolívar", "Polideportivo", "Bella Vista", "la T", "Barrio La Hormiga", "La Cañada", "11 de noviembre" y "Barrio Las Palmas" expresaron su preocupación ante las redes de presuntos contrabandistas que incluye a propietarios y trabajadores de varias de las estaciones de servicio ubicadas en El Nula (Apu) y en los municipios Fernández Feo, San Cristóbal y Libertador (Tách), así como a efectivos de los cuerpos de seguridad de ambos estados.

Explicaron que para llevar a cabo la irregularidad con estas actividades utilizan camiones "con 18 toneles de 220 litros cada uno, cargados de gasolina y diesel, llegando al descaro de instalar en estos vehículos enormes cisternas de hasta 12 mil litros de combustible" y así pasan por nueve puestos de control de la FAN.

Aseguran que el procedimiento es el pago de grandes cantidades de dinero a los funcionarios de turno en los puestos de control ubicados en: La Charca km 30; en el puente Sarare; el barrio Primero de Mayo, entre otros. Añaden que esta situación se vive igualmente con los productos de Mercal, los cuales se consiguen con gran facilidad en Colombia".

Lo mismo sucede con el gas doméstico y con productos de la cesta básica, "que aparte de la especulación, sufrimos la escasez por el contrabando hacia el vecino país.

Soluciones. Entre las propuestas expuestas por los voceros comunales destaca la rotación, en un lapso no mayor de tres meses, de los funcionarios adscritos a los puestos de control en la zona fronteriza. Proponen activar la Milicia Bolivariana para que coordine junto con las comunidades acciones de vigilancia en los puntos de control, amparándose en el art.29 de la Ley Orgánica de los Consejos Comunales.

Piden supervisar las casas de la población de El Nula, pues existen depósitos ilegales de combustible y, además, promover la creación de organizaciones socio-productivas para generar fuentes de empleo.

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