

Andean-U.S. Dialogue Forum
Final Report

February 7, 2013

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willingness to embark on this adventure and ~~con~~tribute to a much deeper understanding among us all.

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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

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

The report finishes with the primary 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 border disputes among Andean countries and impede cooperation that could bring greater security and economic well-being for the Andean peoples, as well as progress in curbing 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. The 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 weaken, 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 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

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

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 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 for 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:

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

The final group included leaders of civil society organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), think tanks, social movements, the military, academics, and representatives from the private sector and the media. 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 do not have a proper gender balance (for example, a ratio of five men to one woman), no groups had maximum balance, as in the case of the United States, or close half and half, as in the case of Ecuador or Venezuela. Overall, about 30 percent of the members of the Global 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 of their countries.

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 (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.

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 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.

The first day consisted of dialogue between only the Andean members; the aim was for them to first consolidate understanding and elements for their 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 direct, bilateral dialogue with the United States. Furthermore, participants expressed concern about the underlying

The second dialogue session took place in Lima on June 21, 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.

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 include a dinner with the new Peruvian Foreign Minister, Rafael Roncagliolo (member of the Dialogue Forum); presentation and discussion with Former Colombian President César Gaviria about the title of a new report on drug policy developed 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*⁴, which had taken place since their last meeting. The

members presented, shared and provided feedback on the efforts and challenges of the dissemination process⁵.

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 most 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

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 prime 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 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 key 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

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 complicated 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 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 continued 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 sound great and look right on paper, it is

To develop the Common Agenda, the members agreed to 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 allowed 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 during a second dialogue session in Lima, Peru.

After discussing the draft document in their 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

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:

- x approach the climate change debate as an opportunity to diversify agendas; and
- x promote environmental protection (e.g., shared forests and agribusiness 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:

- x policy makers should attend to the high demand for citizen security, but broaden the cooperation agenda beyond drug transnational organized crime, including trafficking of arms, people, and contraband, and money laundering;
- x 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
- x 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:

- x promote the protection of human rights in a 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;
- x seek international cooperation mechanisms to protect journalists, with a particular focus on those who work in environments that are influenced by organized crime; and
- x 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.

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, where 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 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 to 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 c

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 the government's agreement with the report's

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 commercial 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.

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 favor of renewing the ATPDEA would be very relevant for Ecuador. The letter 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

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 *Últimas 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 broadcast audience of a further 300 people.

Últimas Noticias covered the event with official state media and private media. Both print newspapers and online editions dedicated a space to the event, quoting substantial portions of the discussions held during the meeting. In 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.¹⁵ The two main television channels in the country—state *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 Díaz Rangel, 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 newspaper articles and editorials about the work.

- x In an article in Colombia's *El Tiempo* Socorro Ramírez—a Forum member—refers to "citizen initiatives to encourage a common agenda," 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."¹⁶
- x In an article published in the Ecuadorian newspaper *El Universo*,¹⁷ Ecuadorian Forum member Manuel Chiriboga, using the Dialogue Forum as a source, refers to the importance of the U.S. president's visit to 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 were charged 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 agreements linked

¹⁵ See Annex G for a selection of articles covering the Common Agenda Report.

¹⁶ "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>.

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

- x 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.¹⁸

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 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 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 distort 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 Program to Strengthen Journalism in Venezuela, a series of meetings between Colombian, Venezuelan and U.S. journalists, media directors and editors were held between November 2010 and 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.

¹⁸ <http://www.paginasiete.bo/2011/02/28/Opinion/Destacados/Opi00128-06-1/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

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 with the purpose of analyzing the content of media coverage between the two countries. The methodology used 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 United 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)

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,

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 only 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 each 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 experienced knowledge. In the following discussions, all participants analyzed the characteristics of bilateral media coverage and the factors, dilemmas and limitations influencing it.²²

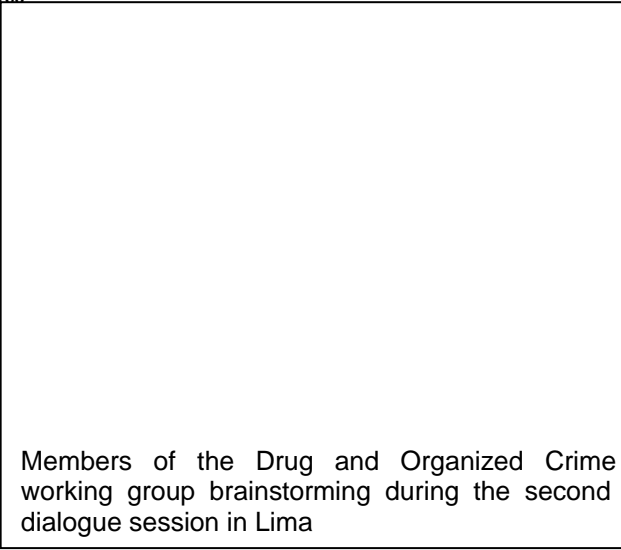
Participants emphasized the need to continue with initiatives of this kind. They noted that bringing journalists together has an important potential impact, given the significant lack of knowledge about the other countries, the deeper stereotypes that still persist and the domestic media's dependency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

²² Please see <http://blog.cartercenter.org/2011/07/19/faces-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”²³ the Andean-U.S. relationship, there was a consensus that the current policy was in urgent need of fresh reflection and new alternatives. The members of the Forum not only expressed 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 all 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 International Dialogue on Organized Crime and State Capture.²⁴ At that time, its members developed a number of initiatives to synthesize the results of the national

²³ 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/icas/andean-common-agenda-en.pdf.

²⁴ 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 failure of drug policies to date and offer possible alternative strategies, with the aim of participating in the international drug policy debate.²⁵

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," *The New York Times* on June 17, 2011. The article called for the U.S. government to

launched on December 15, 2011²⁸ 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.²⁹

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 would 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 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 several representatives of Congress, the U.S. Trade Representative and the U.S. Secretary of State. These efforts appear to have contributed to President Barack Obama's signing the law on October 21, 2011, which went into effect on November 5, 2011, extending the ATPDEA 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 its 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 were not yet included in the legislation.³¹

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 together with officials. Those contacts were made possible with assistance from the vice president of Colombia. Dialogues were also held with the

²⁸ Please see Annex K for the press release launching the report.

²⁹ Please see Section 3.1 and Annex D for more information on the declaration.

³⁰ Please see Annex F for the ATPDEA letter and the list of recipients.

³¹ The ATPDEA extension can be found in Title V of

private sector. These arrangements led the governments to continue 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, 2011.³²

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*³³ 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*,³⁴ which was drafted by two members of the Forum. The document outlines the changing political atmosphere in the Andean region and suggests that while *liberal* democracy is based on the protection of the individual rights of liberty and property from abuses by the

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 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 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 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 during collaborative

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

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 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 to 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 report issued by the Global Commission on Drug Policy at their last meeting and agreed to set 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 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. They are 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 Últimas 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 reporting patterns 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

The first objective is closely tied—in the language of multi-track diplomacy—to what is known as Track 1.5³⁶, 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 initiative³⁷, one factor in the selection of 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 official diplomacy, and in concert with levels that have higher level influence, such as Track 1, 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 pursued. 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 presidential 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;

³⁶ L. Diamond and J. McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy. A System Approach to Peace*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1996. Multi-track diplomacy frames 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.

³⁷ 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, even if 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 group 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 multicountry dialogue initiative

Project management is a fabric consisting of people, relationships and dynamics that make the project sustainable; in this case, there was an interconnection between the roles of the two organizations that jointly sponsored the initiative. The complexity of the project's

5 Conclusions

As has been demonstrated in this final report, the Forum ends with a number of concrete products and results of a more tangible nature. Looking ahead, 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 linkage 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 could 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,

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
<u>United States</u>	
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 o

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 Tiempo.

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 local 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

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 Cuestas 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 humanity 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 Transics

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

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 Navy (2004-2006).

Annex D. Declaration on drug policy in the Andean region

The following signatories are members of the 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 alternative 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

criminal networks and organizations linked to

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.15Y(Coib72s)z

Annex E. Selection of articles resulting from Andean country visits

Andean Backwardness, Where the Logical Is Strange³⁸
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 criticisms: 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 wake of recent cross border recrimination. In fact, a similar conversation with another Andean leader about drugs 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 wars 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 Colombia in its fight against drugs.

³⁸ 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 multimillion-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 cocaine 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 Latin American 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 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 to extend a lease to the U.S. military, which for ten years allowed U.S. 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 spurred an outcry from other regional leaders. But in an interview with Colombia's daily El Espectador, new Colombian Defense Minister

Has Incoming Colombian President Santos Inherited a "Captured State"?

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 80,000 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, joined in the paramilitaries through a demobilization program, and has made the country a safer place to live overall. They 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

extent to which the right-wing paramilitaries, allie

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 indigenous and Afro-Colombian lands that should be protected by law. In short, overall agricultural and i

A New Approach to Fighting Drugs in Latin America⁴⁰

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 gathered 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 see

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

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 (Ohio) – Minority Leader of the House
David Camp	House of Representatives (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 (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 (Florida) – Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere

Annex G. Selection of articles covering the Common Agenda Report

Las relaciones entre los países andinos y los Estados Unidos: conflicto o diálogo⁴¹
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 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 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 generarse disgustos entre los Estados. Una discusión amplia y profunda sobre el tema está pendiente, una alternativa 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 vi

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 Manuel Santos, el vino del norte ha dado señas y concretado acciones en busca de una mejor integración 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 T-11C. La actual administración se encuentra

“Acercamiento entre Colombia, Venezuela y Ecu

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

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

Peor es nada: Otra agenda es posible⁴¹
By Fernando Mayorga, July 15, 2011

El cuestionamiento del Gobierno a la Convención

En ese sentido, se privilegia una perspectiva “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 privilegia

La otra agenda de un diálogo⁴⁵
By Santiago Mariani, July 26, 2011

Cuando George W. Bush asumía la presidencia, predicaba hacia los “buenos amigos al sur de la frontera” auguraba, a comienzos del siglo, una era de relaciones fructíferas entre EEUU y A.

Andinos-EE.UU: ¿Es posible una Agenda Común?⁴⁶
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, 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 y proponer caminos, sendas, enfoques, prioridades?

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

¿Cómo avanzar en esta búsqueda compartida? Uno de los fundamentales radica en la premisa: a contra corriente de la tradición de intervenciónismo 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. es que con intimaciones, sabemos, no hay comunicación posible.

Así pues, el Foro de Diálogo que cuenta con el apoyo de Centro Carter y de IDEA Internacional, en poco tiempo y de manera rítmica, ha obtenido resultados destacables: formación de grupos de trabajo en cada país, se realiza 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, más bien tensas con otros), y habida cuenta de la persistencia de temas que están, estereotipos que separan, contraseñas que bloquean, ¿es realmente posible avanzar, como propone el Foro, hacia una agenda común?

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Hay consenso, por ejemplo, en la necesidad de impulsar, más allá del solo comercio e inversión,

or articles were formatted and introduced into 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: Nacional, Últimas Noticias, Tal Cual and Panorama; the latter is a newspaper published in Maracaibo, a 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,"⁴⁷ 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 behavior⁴⁸

A change in how the crisis between the two countries 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.

- x 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 an improvement in relations it began using expressions such as "opening the door for frank dialogue" and "turning the page;"
- x the Venezuelan newspaper El Nacional takes a thematic approach based on the notion of "political governance as disaster."⁴⁹ Its main thrust is aimed at the guerrillas and the conflict in Colombia, in addition to the commercial debt, weapons, drugs and terrorism;
- x 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;
- x 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
- x the Venezuelan newspaper Panorama is published in Zulia, a state bordering with Colombia. It therefore includes ample coverage of Colombian affairs.

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

⁴⁸ These references refer to a study carried out jointly by Dr. Rey and Dr. Salazar in 1998.

⁴⁹ "Political governance as disaster" is a term used by 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 presidents has diminished with the change of president in Colombia.

- x the former president of Colombia, Álvaro Uribe is mentioned three times more often in Venezuelan newspapers than Chávez in Colombian newspapers;
- x in Colombia, Revista Semanal places greater stress on the figure of the president than Tiempo does;
- x in Venezuela, the newspaper El Cual focuses more on presidents than El Nacional and
- x 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:

- x the weekly magazine Revista Semana

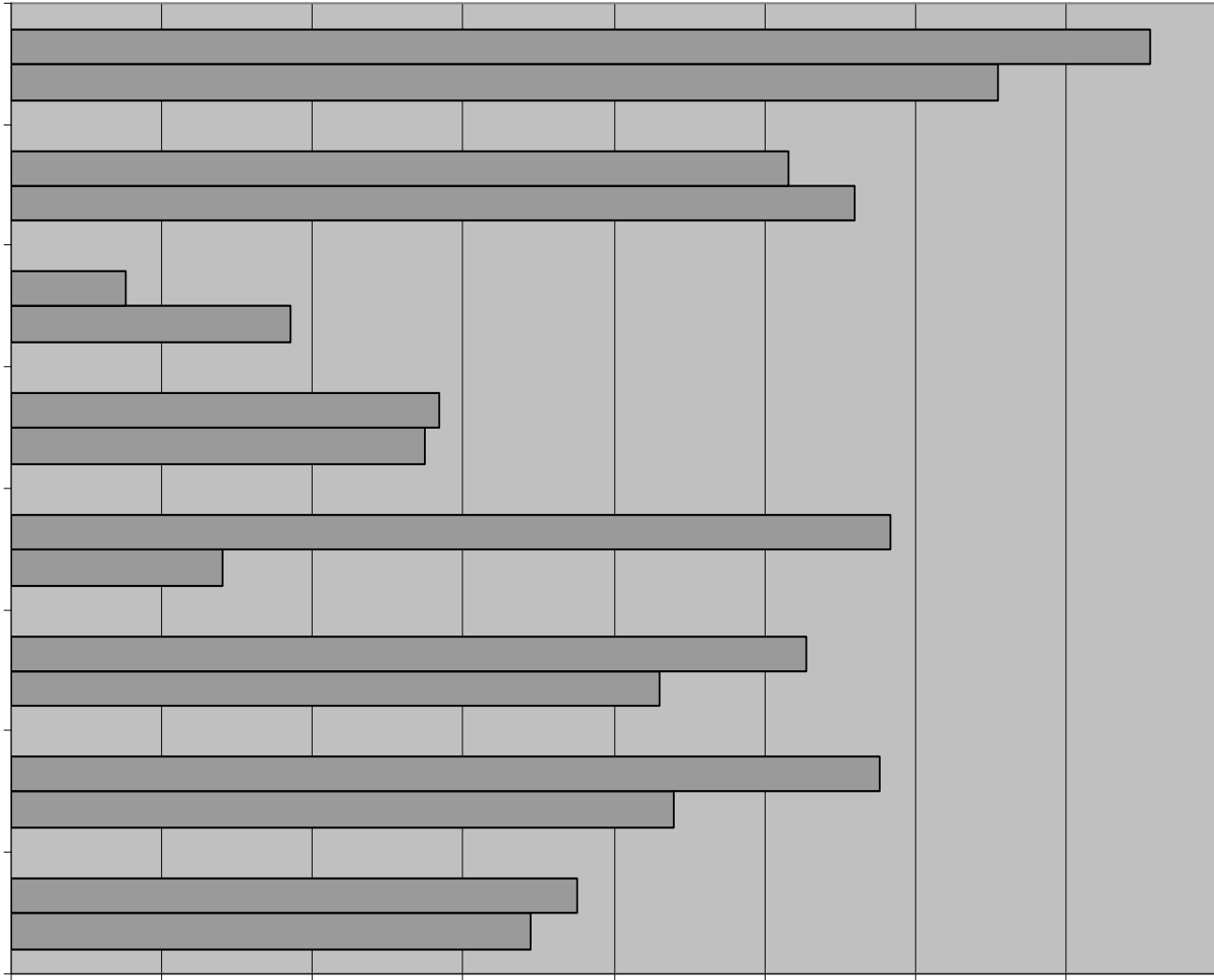
Germán Rey and Dr. Salazar in 1998 and in a consistent analysis study presented at the Second Meeting of Colombian and Venezuelan Journalists. The combined findings of both studies indicated that:

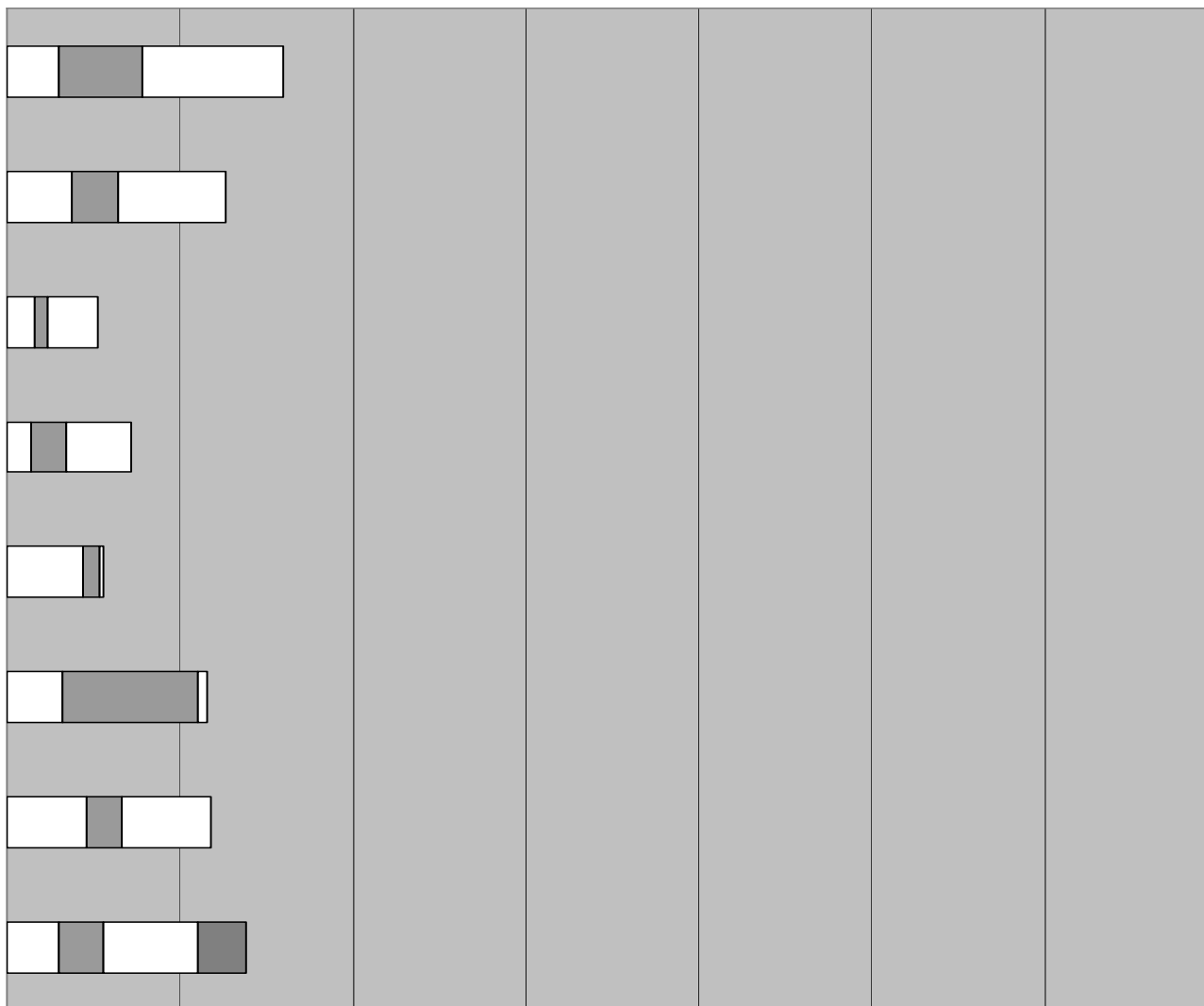
- x there is a greater flow of information about Colombia in Venezuela than about Venezuela in Colombia;
- x the journalistic agenda has focused on the internal conflict in Colombia. However, lately there has been an increase in attention to diplomacy;
- x the overall approach to information is based on the tension and conflict in the area. This was more evident during the Uribe-Chávez period;
- x 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;
- x 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;
- x along the border area, media coverage is based more on the economy or personal

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

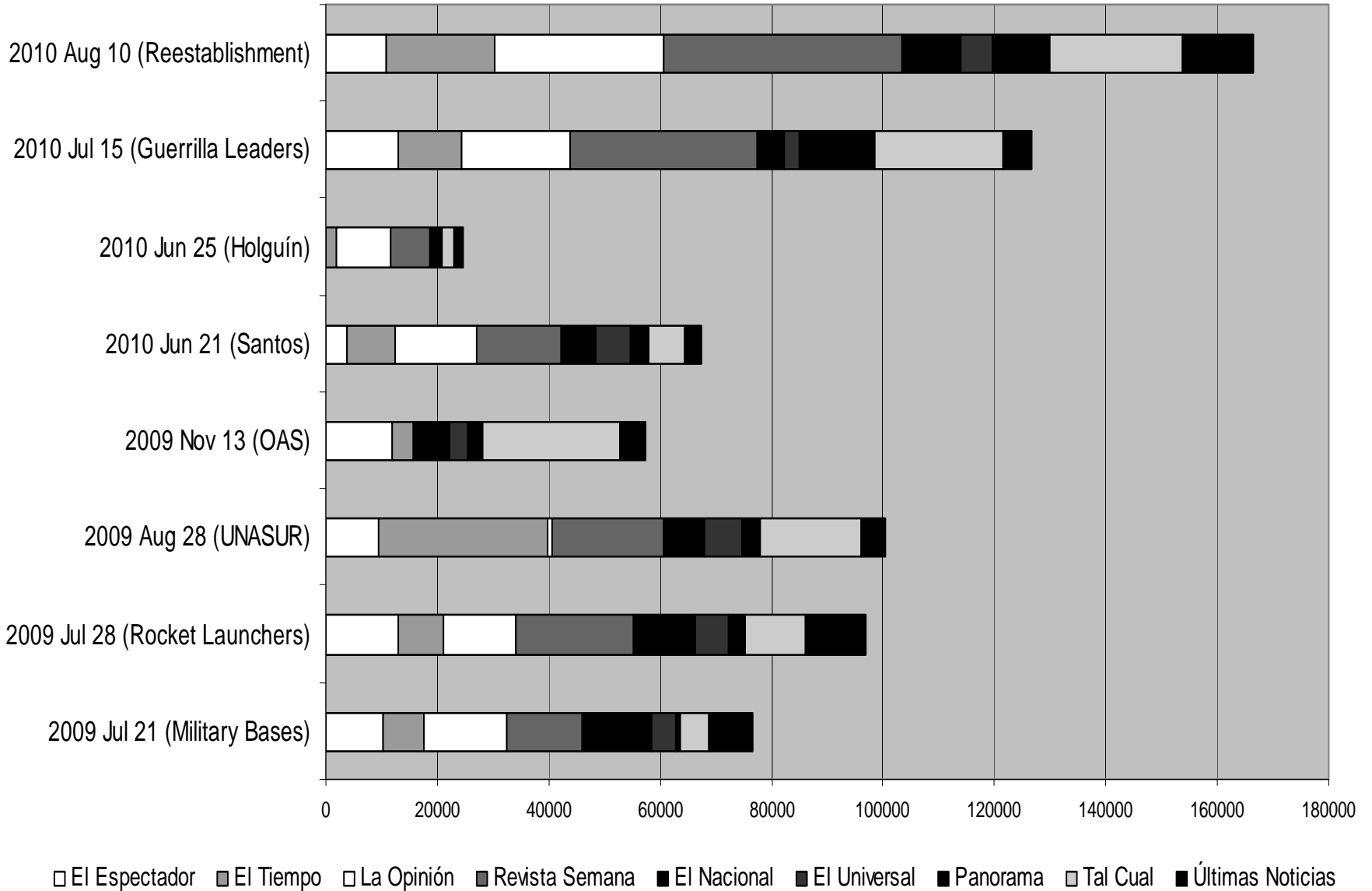
It is worth mentioning that this content analysis is purely quantitative. It does not analyze the content of each article. In the events studied, data do not indicate the position taken on the issue at hand. For example, the data on publications regarding U.S. military bases do not specify whether the articles tended to support or oppose the bases. Although this quantitative content analysis does not interpret the content of 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 Newspaper El Nacional and La Nación*, carried out by the Universidad de los Andes, Venezuela.



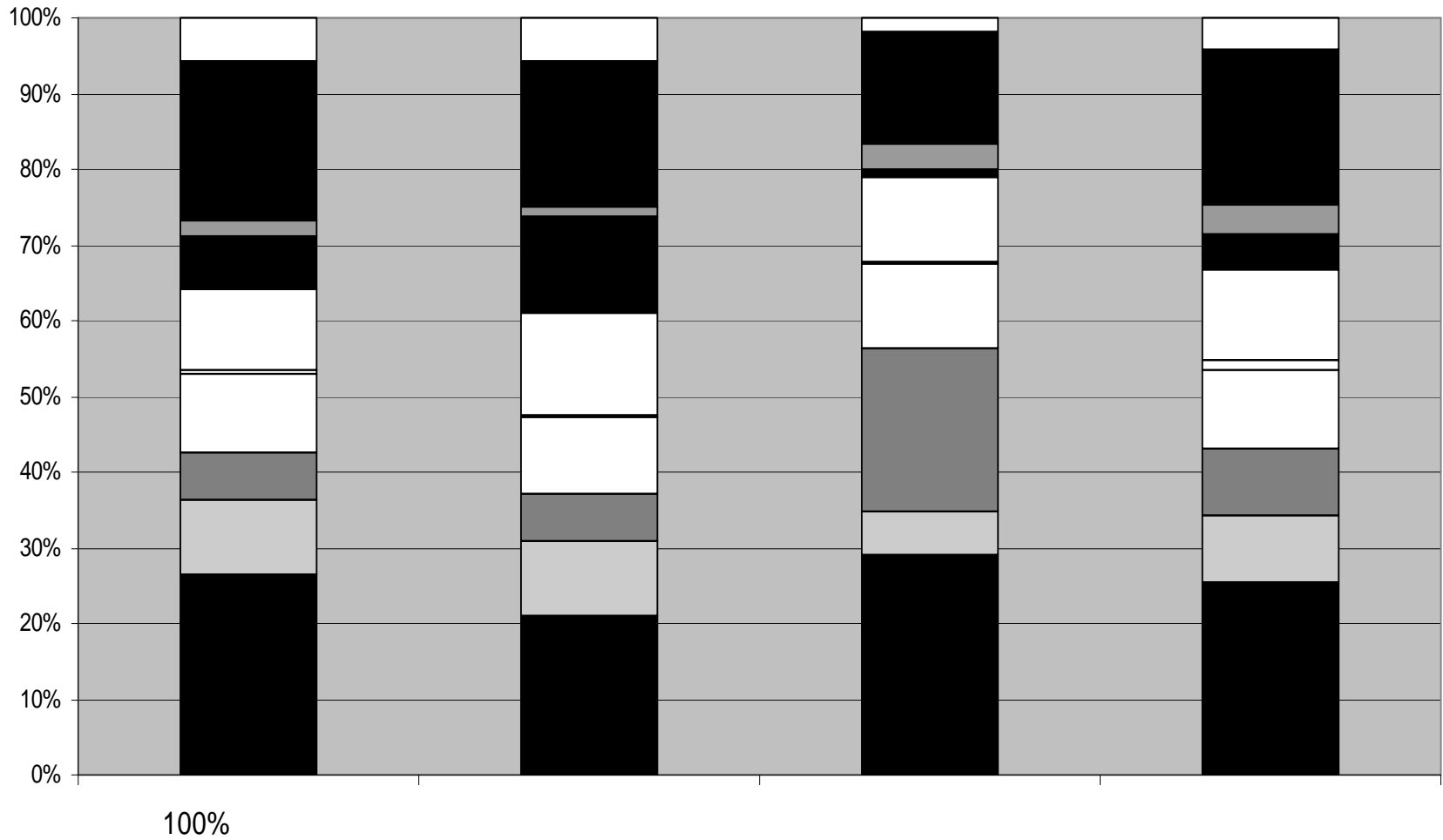


Thematic News Coverage of Selected Events from 2009-2010 of Venezuelan and Colombian Newspapers
 NUMBER OF WORDS PER NEWSPAPER



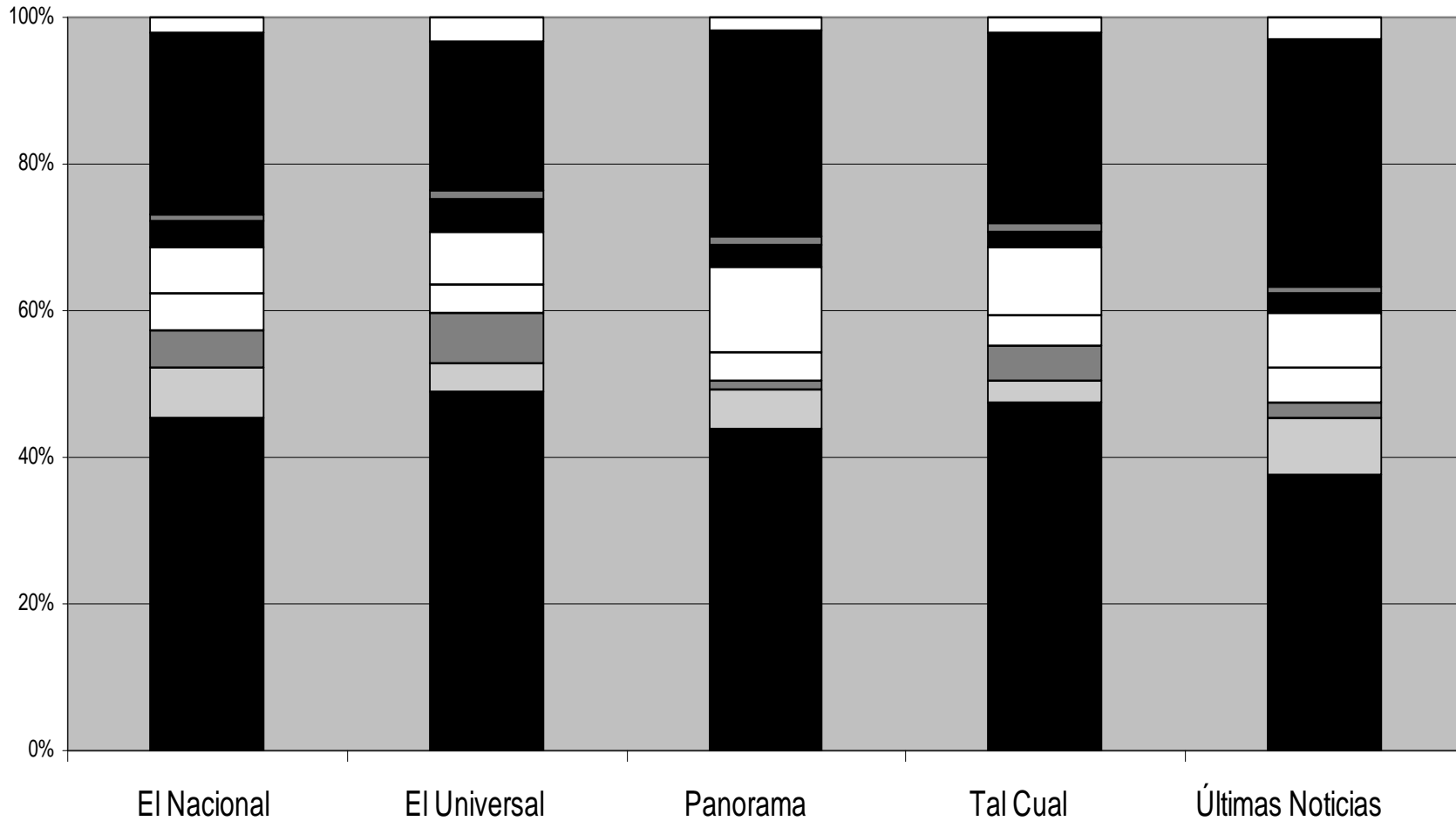
Thematic News Coverage of Colombian Newspapers Based on Keywords for Selected Events in 2009-2010

FREQUENCY OF ARTICLES



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

FREQUENCY OF 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, 2010 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 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 file 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" ⁵⁰
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 current 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

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 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:

- x broaden the discussion on alternative drug policies;
- x consolidate dialogue and agreements among Andean countries;
- x 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;
- x develop strong education and health policies to prevent the consumption of drugs while improving treatment available to problematic users;
- x decriminalize personal consumption and explore alternatives to incarceration for those who commit minor, nonviolent offenses; and
- x 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 dialogued responses are key to meaningful progress," said Kristen Sample, Andean Region Head 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 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://cartecenter.org/peace/americas/and-us-dialogue-forum/index.html>

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Annex L. Visions of democracy—notes for discussion

Note prepared for discussion at the And-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 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 therein 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 analysts 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

In spite of these divergences, North and South America adopted from independence very similar formal rules: constitutional republics, presidential 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 perfectioning 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 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 nationalist rhetoric from the Andean governments and their demands for mutual respect and independent foreign policies (which has also been manifested in the lack of cooperation with U.S. security and drug agencies), then many in the Congress and 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 20th 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. even 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 them 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 path rather than follow universal paths. Colombia suffers from a 50-year guerrilla war producing terrible displacement 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 history 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 these are 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 actions and conflicts we now experience.

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

Polarización influye en relación entre Bogotá y Caracas⁵¹
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 fuera 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 manejan la información, para bien o para mal, en beneficio o perjuicio de los dos países.

Germán Rey, director del Centro 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, gobiernos que manejan muy bien sus medios, generando una caída en la calidad de lo que ve el usuario. Estamos hablando de propaganda. Al final el afectado es el ciudadano".

En otra intervención, María Luisa Chiappe, 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 ven a Colombia y sus autoridades como elementos aliados del imperio, EEUU y fuerzas enemigas de Chávez.

Vemos programas en VTV como La Hojilla 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 colombiano-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 que es producto de los tratamientos de los medios. Según su visión antes "los colombianos eran los malos, donde provenía la violencia y la inseguridad. Ahora es al revés. Los malos están en Venezuela y desde allí se originan los males".

⁵¹ Published by El Universal Available at http://www.eluniversal.com/2011/02/16/pol_art_polarizacion-influye_2192438.shtml.

Pastel de chuchō⁵²

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 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 de lo que dedicaban al presidente Álvaro Uribe en un período igual. ¿Cómo explicar ese cambio?

Para algunos de los periodistas venezolanos el asunto 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. 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 se cardó 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) en Venezuela 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 paralelo con los niveles que tuvo durante los gobiernos de Uribe.

El mismo estudio revela que los cuatro medios venezolanos estudiados ofrecieron a la cuestión de las bases militares norteamericanas el doble del espacio que le dedicó la prensa colombiana, y en general, esta relación se repite en otros asuntos, a los

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 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 en 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 nos es en los países latinoamericanos.

NO PARECE que andan bien las cosas en el neoespartano. Lo deduce uno de las declaraciones de Enrique Fernández y un grupo de líderes 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 grupos 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”. Esto viene 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 bancapositora de la MUD no quedó nada bien en la última sesión de interpellaciones. Rafael Ramírez los vapuleó. ¿Cómo es posible que en esas materias no se preparen debidamente?... GRAN ORO del tachirense Larry Sánchez en el primer maratón oficial en Venezuela. Representó a la Ufa, y superó al venezolano Pedro Mora, que punteó durante 38 km., y al mexicano Sergio Paz. 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 de 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 colportador 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 Venezuela⁵³
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

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);

El contrabando mayor⁵⁴

By Eleazar Díaz Rangel, May 15, 2011

En el aeropuerto de San Antonio del Táchira, al 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 cortaderas que nos llevan a Cúcuta, se observan hileras y montones de piaspide de todo tamaño para la venta pública de gasolina. “A un tanque de 60 litros, que cuesta unos 6 bolívares, se can 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 en el encuentro de periodistas colombo-venezolanos, hubo abundante información sobre el voluminoso productivo contrabando de gasolina que tantas ganancias produce, que ha desplazado al tráfico. La primera fuente fue el padre jesuita Jesús Rodríguez, a quien todos llaman “T”, 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

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

-¿Dónde los llenan?

-Pues imagínese usted.

Conocida esa realidad, hice una pregunta que no tiene respuesta: ¿Por qué coinciden los gobiernos de Venezuela y Colombia en la vida y falta de decisión para enfrentar la presencia de esos grupos y radicar el contrabando?

El pasado 2 de noviembre los presidentes Chávez y Santos firmaron aquí un tratado de comercio y cooperación económica entre Venezuela y Colombia.

