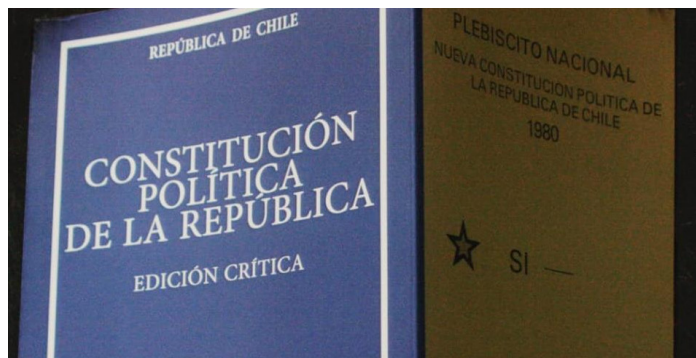


BOARD OF ADVISORS

- Diego Arria**
Director, Columbus Group
- Merike Blofield**
Professor of Political Science,
University of Hamburg
- Devry Boughner Vorwerk**
CEO, DevryBV Sustainable Strategies
- Joyce Chang**
Global Head of Research,
JPMorgan Chase & Co.
- Paula Cifuentes**
Director of Economic & Fiscal Affairs,
Latin America & Canada,
Philip Morris International
- Marlene Fernández**
Corporate Vice President for
Government Relations,
Arcos Dorados (McDonald's)
- Peter Hakim**
President Emeritus,
Inter-American Dialogue
- Donna Hrinak**
Director,
Adtalem Global Education
- Jon E. Huenemann**
Council Member,
GLG Inc.
- James R. Jones**
Chairman,
Monarch Global Strategies
- Craig A. Kelly**
Senior Director,
Int'l Gov't Relations, Exxon Mobil
- Barbara Kotschwar**
Professor of Political Economy,
Georgetown University
- John Maisto**
Director, U.S. Education
Finance Group
- Nicolás Mariscal**
Chairman,
Grupo Marhnos
- Thomas F. McLarty III**
Chairman,
McLarty Associates
- Beatrice Rangel**
Director,
AMLA Consulting LLC
- Ernesto Revilla**
Head of Latin American
Economics, Citi
- Gustavo Roosen**
President,
IESA
- Andrés Rozental**
President, Rozental &
Asociados
- Shelly Shetty**
Managing Director, Sovereigns
Fitch Ratings

FEATURED Q&A

Will Chileans Be Able to Agree on a New Constitution?



For the second time in as many years, Chileans appear to be souring on the draft of a proposed new constitution for the country. // File Photo: Chilean Government.

Q The committee tasked with drafting a new constitution for Chile approved a draft of the document this month that would enshrine right-wing provisions, including limits on the right to strike, restrictions on abortion and guarantees for the swift expulsion of undocumented migrants. More than half of Chileans say they will reject the charter in a referendum in December, according to a recent survey by pollster Cadem. Such a rejection would be the second defeat for a constitutional draft after Chileans last year voted down an earlier proposal that was criticized for being too progressive. Why are the committees tasked with writing a new constitution failing to adhere to what most Chileans want? What can the current committee do to win voters' approval for a new constitution? How well is the constitutional rewriting process serving Chileans?

A Sergio Bitar, nonresident senior fellow at the Inter-American Dialogue and former Chilean minister of mining, education and public works: "The aspiration of most Chileans has been to have a new constitution to replace that of Pinochet, 50 years after the military coup. Will we be able to reach a broad agreement, or will polarization prevail? This is Chile's dilemma, and this goal may fail for the third time. The first failure happened in 2017, when President Bachelet sent a draft new constitution to Congress but her successor, Sebastián Piñera froze the process. The second attempt was after the great social uprising of 2019. Given the risk of an institutional crisis, Congress agreed to draft a new constitution and consult citizens. In

Continued on page 2

TODAY'S NEWS

ECONOMIC

China Upgrades Diplomatic Ties With Colombia

China elevated its diplomatic ties with Colombia to a strategic partnership, a move that came as President Gustavo Petro visited Beijing.

Page 2

POLITICAL

Record Number of Cubans Have Entered U.S. Since 2022

Just under 425,000 Cubans have arrived at U.S. ports of entry in the 2022 and 2023 fiscal years, a record number, according to U.S. Customs and Border Protection.

Page 2

POLITICAL

Mexico's Gov't Deploys Troops to Guerrero State

Mexican President Andrés Manuel López Obrador deployed 300 troops to Guerrero state on Tuesday, a day after 13 police officers, including a local police chief, were found fatally shot there.

Page 2



López Obrador // File Photo: Mexican Government.

POLITICAL NEWS

Mexico's Government Deploys 300 Troops to Guerrero State

Mexico's government deployed 300 National Guard troops to Guerrero on Tuesday, a day after 13 police officers, including a local police chief, were fatally shot in the southern state, the Associated Press reported. In announcing the deployment, President Andrés Manuel López Obrador called the attack in El Papayo, in the township of Coyuca de Benítez, "practically an ambush." Some of the bodies were found handcuffed and face down, the AP reported, citing local reports. Among the victims was the municipality's security secretary, Alfredo Alonso López, and Municipal Police Director Honorio Salinas Garay, The New York Times reported, citing the Guerrero prosecutor's office. Two other people were injured in the attack. More than 34 law enforcement officers have been killed so far this year in Guerrero, making it the second most dangerous state in the country for law enforcement, according to Mexico-based organization Common Cause, which tracks the killings of police officers, The New York Times reported. More than 340 police officers have been killed this year in Mexico, and more than 400 were killed last year, the group said. At least six other people, including one police officer, were found dead Monday in the

neighboring state of Michoacán, the Associated Press reported Monday. The area has seen escalating violence due to gang conflicts, the AP reported. Earlier this year, three civilians and two police officers were killed in an attack blamed on the Familia Michoacana cartel.

ECONOMIC NEWS

China Upgrades Ties With Colombia During Petro's Visit

China elevated its diplomatic relations with Colombia to a strategic partnership, a move that came during President Gustavo Petro's visit to Beijing, Reuters reported. Petro met with President Xi Jinping and other top Chinese officials today. The visit marked Petro's first trip to China since he took office last year. With the elevation in ties with Colombia, China now has strategic relations with 10 of the 11 South American countries with which it has formal ties. It still has ordinary bilateral ties with only Guyana. China has imported a growing volume of products from Colombia over the last few years, making it the South American country's second-largest trading partner, after the United States, Reuters reported. Last year, Colombia exported \$7 billion worth of products to China, a 20 percent increase as compared to five years earlier, the wire service reported. China

NEWS BRIEFS

Hurricane Otis Strikes Acapulco as Powerful Category 5 Storm

Hurricane Otis battered Acapulco after striking Mexico's southern Pacific coast early this morning as a Category 5 hurricane, the Associated Press reported. The hurricane was expected to drop up to 15 inches of rain, raising concerns over landslides and floods. By Wednesday morning, Otis had weakened and was moving farther inland.

Record Number of Cubans Have Entered U.S. Over Past Two Years

A record number of Cubans have entered the United States since last year, according to data released by U.S. Customs and Border Protection, Politico reported Tuesday. Just under 425,000 Cubans arrived at U.S. ports of entry in the 2022 and 2023 fiscal years, with 200,287 arriving in the 2023 fiscal year, which ended Sept. 30, according to the agency. Most were apprehended at the U.S.-Mexico border, which was a change from previous migration waves from Cuba to the United States. [Editor's note: See related [Q&A](#) in the May 26 issue of the Advisor.]

Costa Rica Investigates \$6.1 Million Bank Heist, Country's Largest-Ever

Costa Rican investigators have opened an investigation into the theft of 3.3 billion colons (\$6.1 million) in cash from the country's national bank, anticorruption authorities said Tuesday, the Associated Press reported. The heist was the largest bank robbery in the country's history. Bank employees first noticed the money was missing from its vaults three weeks ago, although the robbery itself is believed to have taken place in August if not before, said Jaime Murillo, interim manager of Costa Rica's Banco Nacional.

FEATURED Q&A / Continued from page 1

2020, 80 percent voted in favor, and in 2021 a constitutional convention was elected. After a year of work, in 2022 the convention failed, and 62 percent of voters rejected the proposal. The parties in Congress decided to make a third attempt, and the election of a new constitutional council was called, and at the same time 24 experts were nominated to prepare a proposal for the council. The experts' wording was agreed upon from right to left and was a success. But the unthinkable happened, in a strange campaign dominated by personal insecurity and the

total indifference of the electorate, the extreme right, which had not participated in the political agreements, obtained a tremendous majority, 22 of the 50 council seats. The agreements were torn apart, and rejection appeared again. Less than two months before the Dec. 17 plebiscite, uncertainty is growing. Indifference and fatigue predominate in the electorate. For many, it doesn't matter, thinking, 'politicians are incapable of reaching an agreement and the constitution does not solve my problems.' The long-term consequences will be transcendent."

Continued on page 4

was also the first country to send vaccines to Colombia during the covid-19 pandemic. [Editor's note: See related [Q&A](#) in the Sept. 8 issue of the Advisor.]

Colombia Seeking to Launch Tender for Offshore Wind Blocks

Colombia is looking to launch, for the first time, a tender for the purpose of licensing offshore wind blocks in December, Ministry of Mines and Energy Minister Andrés Camacho said on Tuesday, Reuters reported. Camacho added that his department is still finishing the rules section of the bidding round's tender documents, whose release the ministry has delayed twice already. The ministry first announced in August of last year that it would grant permits for offshore wind farms that would enable investors to assess the strength of the projects, saying that permits would be awarded in the second half of 2023, Bloomberg Línea reported. "We hope in December to be able to launch the tender and the process of assigning areas," Camacho told journalists Tuesday on the sidelines of an industry forum in Cartagena organized by the private Colombian Petroleum Association (ACP), Reuters reported. Colombian President Gustavo Petro has sought to transition the country away from fossil fuels and toward renewable energy.

Food Production Accounts for 74% of Brazil's Emissions

Food production accounted for 74 percent of Brazil's greenhouse gas emissions in 2021, environmental group Climate Observatory said in a report released Tuesday, Reuters reported. Most of the emissions that enter the atmosphere result from deforestation that is used to create farms and pastures in Brazil, the world's largest exporter of beef and soybeans, according to the report. "This report should be read by agribusiness representatives and the government as a wake-up call," said Marcio Astrini,

THE DIALOGUE CONTINUES

Who Has the Edge in Argentina's Race for President?

Q Argentina's ruling Peronist coalition exceeded expectations in Sunday's presidential election in Argentina as Economy

Minister Sergio Massa emerged as the top vote-getter, with far-right libertarian Javier Milei coming in second. With no candidate garnering enough votes to win the election outright, Massa and Milei now head to a runoff on Nov. 19. What are the main reasons behind Sunday's result, and to what can Massa attribute his strong showing? What factors between now and the second round will decide the election? What's at stake for Argentines as they choose next month between Massa and Milei?

A Carlos Fara, president of Fara Veggetti in Buenos Aires: "What mainly happened is that Massa managed to get more people to vote who had not voted in the primaries, or who had voted blank or for other forces, these were votes disappointed with the management of Alberto Fernández and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. That put a ceiling on Milei, who had shown himself to be competitive in that segment in the primaries. Massa managed through his economic measures and his leadership attributes to show that he was up to the task, to face an

Climate Observatory's executive secretary, the wire service reported. "It demonstrates, beyond any doubt, that agribusiness will determine whether Brazil is a climate hero or villain," he added. Almost 78 percent of Brazil's greenhouse gas emissions in 2021 were related to beef production, including emissions tied to deforestation for the farming of livestock, as well as pollution from beef packing plants, according to the study. Abiec, a lobbying group of Brazilian beef producers, did not have an immediate comment to Reuters on the report. In

extreme economic crisis like the one that Argentina is going through. What happened on Sunday was not a plebiscite on Massa's economic management, but rather on the expectations of who can get Argentina out of the crisis that is clearly the main problem, basically fear. There is either more fear of Massa managing the economy or more fear of Milei due to his lack of experience and his extreme positions on symbolically sensitive issues for society. Is experience more important, compared to Milei's uncertainty and extremist attitudes? We saw some of that in Sunday's election, but everything will depend on the factors that come to fruition in November, whether it is the economic crisis or extreme positions. Annoyance and fear come into play: annoyance with Kirchnerism and Alberto Fernández's government, plus the weight of 140 percent inflation and the economic crisis versus the fear that someone without experience governs with extreme ideas about the resolution of the economic crisis and other sensitive issues for Argentines."

EDITOR'S NOTE: The comment above is a continuation of the [Q&A](#) published in Tuesday's issue of the Advisor.

July, Brazil's government announced that deforestation in the country had dropped 34 percent in the first six months of the year, as compared to the same period last year, NPR reported. The decline coincided with the administration of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, who took office Jan. 1 and has vowed to reverse escalating deforestation and protect the rainforest. Lula's predecessor, Jair Bolsonaro, eliminated some environmental protections and encouraged mining and agricultural production in the Amazon.

FEATURED Q&A / Continued from page 2

A **Riordan Roett, professor and director emeritus of the Latin American Studies program at the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies:** "There appears to be a potential constitutional crisis brewing in Chile. A draft document was submitted to the people on Sept. 4, 2022 and was rejected by about 60 percent of those voting. Voter interviews confirmed that most people thought it too progressive, or left wing. Last December, an 'Agreement for Chile' resulted in the election of a new constituent assembly, and that vote took place on May 7. The very conservative Republican Party of José Antonio Kast won overwhelmingly with 34 percent of the vote, giving the party the highest number of representatives — 23. President Gabriel Boric's left-wing coalition, with 28 percent of the vote, won 16 seats. Traditional right-wing parties placed third with 11 seats. A draft document was announced on Oct. 4, and a new constitutional referendum is scheduled for Dec. 17. Polling indicates that many Chileans are unsatisfied with the new draft. If the referendum fails, it is not clear what will happen next. Boric has lost much of his early popularity and appears at a loss for what to do next. What is apparent is that Chilean political culture remains a moderate center-right. The Boric-left has reluctantly admitted that it was rash in drafting the first document — supporting provisions like enshrining Indigenous rights — that were not widely popular. The strongest political movement — but not by a majority — is the Republican Party. There is limited time for a compromise among the competing parties before the December plebiscite. It appears clear that the left almost completely failed to understand that Chileans want to move forward from the Pinochet era constitution. The challenge for Boric and the progressive left to comprehend is that most Chileans want gradual, not radical, change. Kast needs to understand that few Chileans want to drift back to an authoritarian regime; he needs

to move closer to the political center. There is no apparent 'good faith' mediator on the scene. The prospect of a further stalemate in December is an unwelcome reality."

A **Peter M. Siavelis, professor of politics and international affairs at Wake Forest University:** "The release of Chile's latest draft constitution came days before the fourth anniversary of the estallido, the massive social movement marking the beginning of the country's experiment in constitutional design. At the outset, hope and optimism prevailed that Chile could become one of the only countries in the world where a social movement resulted in the adoption of a new constitution. Now, the country is mired in a constitutional stalemate, with a likely rejection of the new draft document. Rejection will leave Chile right where it started: with a constitution imposed by a dictatorship. The reasons for the stalemate are manifold. The first proposal was rejected, given its excessively expansive view of what constitutions are meant to do, a right-wing misinformation campaign and the use of a voluntary voting system for the constituent assembly and an obligatory vote for the final approval plebiscite—involving two radically distinct sets of voters in each step of the process. In elections for the second draft body, the Constitutional Council, the far-right Republican Party and its allies dominated, garnering 33 of its 50 members, and largely representing a rejection of the sitting Gabriel Boric government. The extraordinarily conservative nature of the new draft does not reflect the contemporary values of most Chileans and fails to provide a framework for change, handing supporters an uphill battle in convincing voters to approve it. Consequently, the burden of addressing Chile's deep-seated societal inequalities, which initially triggered the constitutional reform process, now falls upon future governments, and they must do so within a constitutional framework inimical to change and widely seen as illegitimate."

LATIN AMERICA ADVISOR

is published every business day by the Inter-American Dialogue ISSN 2163-7962

Gene Kuleta
Editor

Nili Blanck
Reporter



Rebecca Bill Chavez, President
Bruno Binetti, Nonresident Fellow
Sergio Bitar, Nonresident Senior Fellow
Álvaro Botero, Nonresident Senior Fellow
Joan Caivano, Senior Advisor
Kevin Casas-Zamora, Nonresident Senior Fellow
Cristóbal Cobo, Nonresident Senior Fellow
Ariel Fiszbein, Director, Education Program
Sandra García Jaramillo, Nonresident Senior Fellow
Rasheed Griffith, Nonresident Senior Fellow
Peter Hakim, President Emeritus & Senior Fellow
Selina Ho, Nonresident Senior Fellow
Edison Lanza, Nonresident Senior Fellow
Nora Lustig, Nonresident Senior Fellow
Michael Matera, Nonresident Senior Fellow
Ángel Melguizo, Nonresident Senior Fellow
Margaret Myers, Director, Asia and Latin America Program
Manuel Orozco, Director, Migration, Remittances and Development Program
Jeffrey Puryear, Senior Fellow
Michael Shifter, Senior Fellow
Daniela Stevens, Director, Energy Transition and Climate Program
Tamara Taraciuk Broner, Director, Peter D. Bell Rule of Law Program
Lisa Viscidi, Nonresident Senior Fellow
Carlos Winograd, Nonresident Senior Fellow

Latin America Advisor is published every business day, except for major U.S. holidays, by the Inter-American Dialogue at 1155 15th Street NW, Suite 800 Washington, DC 20005 www.thedialogue.org

The opinions expressed by the members of the Board of Advisors and by guest commentators do not necessarily represent those of the publisher. The analysis is the sole view of each commentator and does not necessarily represent the views of their respective employers or firms. The information in this report has been obtained from reliable sources, but neither its accuracy and completeness, nor the opinions based thereon, are guaranteed. If you have any questions relating to the contents of this publication, contact the editorial offices of the Inter-American Dialogue. Contents of this report may not be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted without prior written permission from the publisher.