



d+i developing
ideas
LLORENTE & CUENCA

EMERGING LEADERS IN LATIN AMERICA, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN A GLIMPSE AT FUTURE LEADERSHIP

Madrid, June 2018

Index

Introduction	3
Composite sketch of the future leader	4
Argentina	5
Brasil	9
Chile	13
Colombia	17
Dominican Republic	21
Ecuador	25
Mexico	30
Panama	34
Peru	37
Portugal	40
Spain	43
Team of Specialists	47



Introduction

Political demands and needs have varied in content and intensity as a new generation of leaders is getting ready to take things on. The teams of public affairs professionals at LLORENTE & CUENCA have mobilized to identify who has the potential to take over from the present leaders in Spain, Portugal and Latin America.

This document analyzes the following countries: Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Chile, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Portugal and Spain. It should be noted that this paper does not aim to include every potential key player in the coming years. For this report, we have selected different figures, who due to their characteristics and political projection, have the potential to assume a leadership role in their respective countries' political landscape, in a future closer than far. At a second stage, each of the profiles selected answered a short questionnaire, and by analyzing this, we were able to provide prime insight on those who are currently in a position to influence the future decisions and directions of their respective countries.

“All the future leaders share a common idea about democracy and political freedoms, regardless of their political families”

Self-evidently, the profiles of the future leaders put forward differ but all share a common idea about democracy and political freedoms, regardless of their political families. Not questioning the common framework has not always been the case. Therefore, generally speaking, we are presented with men and women who defend the need to incentivize investment and economic growth but who, at the same time, insist this should be used to reduce socio-economic inequalities and be sustainable. Growth at any price is not an option – once again, something that has not always been the case in Latin America.

Another important aspect is the growing balance between the number of men and women who are attaining senior posts of responsibility. Historically, politics has always been a male preserve, with notable exceptions, but from the leaders who stand out, we can already find growing involvement by women, affording greater social sensitivity, pragmatism and a broad-based approach to the manner of doing politics in the region. The growing attainment by women of positions of responsibility has coincided with a greater focus on historically excluded collectives, particularly young people and women of humbler origins and indigenous minorities in countries such as Bolivia and Ecuador.

In summary, Latin America, Spain and Portugal are moving toward policies which are more environmentally sustainable, socially sensitive and ensure greater gender equality, underlining the commitment to the market economy and liberal democracy. The set of politicians we have put forward here, in view of their ideological diversity and their different local contexts, serve as a good illustration of undeniable progress.



Composite sketch of the future leader

Future politicians vary in gender, age and ideologies, which change depending on their local context. However, they also share characteristics beyond the realities of each country and the idiosyncrasies of their political systems. It is possible to create a composite sketch that takes into account this unalterable base, incorporating some more modern characteristics in a narrative marked by gender inequality and the scant presence of women in the most important political positions.



Gender

Male or female, in equal terms.



Fundamental Characteristics

Empathetic, active listener, communicative and brave enough to deal with challenges. Politics is only a means of achieving one's goals.



Ideology

Differences regarding state intervention.



Priorities conditioned by ideological stance

Societal and economic issues, inclusive growth, education, children's rights and sustainable development.



Type of leadership

Horizontal and cooperative. Centered on internal and societal consensus and pragmatism.



Challenges

Solid reputation to withstand the voting public's political indifference, reestablish trust in institutions, reduce inequality and poverty and create a sustainable socioeconomic future.



Social media

Fundamental communications tool. Social media has become a direct link to the public.



Argentina



Sebastián García de Luca
Secretary of the Interior



Sebastian Garcia de Luca (1980), born in the city of Chivilcoy in the province of Buenos Aires, shares some political characteristics and experiences with other prominent public functionaries. He is part of President Mauricio Macri's team, and it was during Macri's administration as chief of government of the City of Buenos Aires that Garcia de Luca stood out as the general director for relations with the provinces and the municipalities.

His stay in the Federal Capital during Macri's terms in office is something the Casa Rosada fed off of to form its teams once in the national government. With the arrival of the new president late 2015, he became the nation's secretary of the interior.

Garcia de Luca is an economist who graduated from Universidad Nacional de Cordoba. He has two children and, in contrast to the majority of his party and coalition associates, claims he is the heir to Peronism and deems Juan Domingo Peron his political role model.

He was the private secretary of Felipe Sol, former Peronist governor of the province of Buenos Aires, and chief of staff of Martin Lousteau, fellow Peronist and former minister of the economy. This has not prevented him from being a staunch defender of the liberal Macri and one of his mainstays in the most populated province of the country. And it is precisely this broad, cross-party profile that makes Garcia de Luca an active politician in a country leaning towards excessive polarization. Additionally, he has devoted a major part of his political and professional interest to the regions, raising his profile in a country which usually views the capital's elite with mistrust.

From 2000 to 2015, he has been the chairman of the consultancy Economía & Regiones, specializing in economic and financial consulting and public management. He also created the Foundation for Argentina's Economic and Regional Development Studies (Fundación de Estudios para el Desarrollo Económico y Regional de la Argentina - FEDERAR), and during his career, coordinated several United Nations Development Programme projects across various Argentine provinces.

As the true heir of Peronism, he has a less individualistic view of Argentine society, which he believes to still be dominated by short-termism and cultural inertia. This experience and his Peronist origins make him a politician who easily reaches out to and understands sectors that are more distanced from the government. Bearing this in mind, it is no surprise Macri's electoral team commissioned to him the campaign design in the north of the country in the successful 2015 elections.



Victoria Donda
National member of
Parliament for Libres del Sur



The fact that this national member of parliament was born in the province of Buenos Aires is significant: her mother gave birth to her at the Navy Petty-Officers School of Mechanics (ESMA) in 1977, when it was an Argentine military dictatorship detention and torture facility. Only until 2003 did she recover her identity, after contacting the groups Sons and Daughters for Identity and Justice Against Oblivion and Silence (Hijos por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio - H.I.J.O.S.) and the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo. The so-called National Reorganization Process of the dictatorship and its memory are one of the political flagships of the Argentine left, which Donda fits in with in her own right, though from a specific party angle.

Although she formed part of the Kirchnerist Front for Victory through the alliance with her Freeman of the South Movement, she is not a member of any traditional Argentine party, such as the Justicialist or Radical parties. A militant of Freeman of the South Movement, her activism is more closely concerned with causes involving specific human, environmental or social rights, which led her in 2011 to move away from Kirchnerism after profound disagreements with some laws approved by Cristina Kirchner, such as the Anti Money Laundering Law or the veto of the Glacier Protection Law. So, even though in



2007 she was elected member of parliament for the Kirchnerist front, she later regained her mandates with center-left spaces such as the Broad Progressive Front, led by socialist Hermes Binner (2011) and Progresistas (2015).

Her career path has been highly focused on domestic policy, in which she has stood out as a human rights activist, aided by her own past experience. As a lawyer from Universidad de Buenos Aires, she uses main social media platforms collaboratively—in other words, as a means to get closer to citizens—rather than for personal exposure. Although her political profile is focused on Argentine issues and she has no formative experience outside her country, Donda shows an interest in regional politics. Her political role model is the leader and founder of her party, Humberto Tumini, though she holds in high regard the statesmanlike figure of Fidel Castro, which is quite widespread on the Latin American left. However, this does not mean she is renouncing democracy or the parliamentary procedures in which she is fully involved, at least in terms of her critical stances towards major globalization processes and climate change.



Carolina Stanley

Argentine social development minister



The arrival in 2007 of President Mauricio Macri at the helm of the government of the Federal Capital caused the incorporation of a new generation of liberal and Christian democrat politicians. Many of those who were hardened in that difficult administration, which cohabited with a Kirchnerist government they opposed, have moved into the front ranks of the city or formed part of the presidential team of the now president Macri. This is the case for Carolina Stanley, the nation's current minister of social development as appointed by Macri. From 2011 to 2015, she had held the same role, but only for the government of the capital.

Born 1975 in Buenos Aires and a lawyer who graduated from the University of Buenos Aires, she joined the Macrist PRO 2003. She managed the Grupo Sophia, a think tank close to the party created by Horacio Rodriguez Larreta, the current head of the government of the autonomous city of Buenos Aires. Since then, and between 2004 and 2007, she has focused on attracting students from various fields, and with liberal, Christian democrat sensitivity, to prepare a sound team that could be incorporated into the national government in the future, which did indeed prove to be the case. In 2009, she was elected by the PRO as the legislator for Buenos Aires, a post she held until 2011, at which time she became minister of social development. Although her career has been focused on social policy, she speaks English and French and completed her education in Spain and the United States.

The daughter of an important financier of the '90s who was chairman of Citibank, her political vocation began at university. In 1998, and during the second mandate of Carlos Menem, she worked as a consultant for the North American and Western Hemisphere Affairs Directorate of the Foreign, Trade, International and Culture Ministry. Between 2000 and 2003 she was the political advisor of the Member of Parliament Laura Leguizamon. Her Catholic values are born out of her admiration for Pope Francisco, her international political role model, as well as her interest and insistence on matters related to assisting the underprivileged. In Argentine politics, she has declared her admiration for President Macri, who she believes has the commitment and perseverance required in a democracy that Stanley thinks is due for reform after 12 years of a Kirchnerist government.



Nicolás Massot

National member and head of the PRO block in Parliament



The career of this national member of parliament and leader of the ruling party's bench in Congress has switched from a more technical start to a far more political second stage. The nephew of the former owners of the daily paper La Nueva, from Bahía Blanca, a city in the province of Buenos Aires where he was born in 1984, graduated in economics from Torcuato Di Tella University. Just like so many other young politicians who now hold top posts in the government or the National Congress, Massot began his political career under the Mauricio Macri administration in the Federal Capital in 2007.

He was noted for his management as general director of political and institutional reform for the City of Buenos Aires' Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he drove forward the Single Electronic Ticketing system (BUE), used for the first time in the City of Buenos Aires elections in 2015. Two years prior, he was general director of housing in the City of Buenos Aires, and in 2014, left the position to move to the city of Córdoba and design the PRO presidential election campaign in said province. It was this very campaign that took him to the National Congress in 2015, where he is currently the president of the PRO block, which supports the Macri Government.

As Emilio Monzo's —Argentine lower house President— right-hand man, he is highly critical of the previous Kirchnerist governments. He is known, among other things, for his staunch opposition to the former government and his legislative drive while seeking the Chamber authorize the waiving of the arrest warrants of Kirchnerist members of parliament who still have criminal cases pending, like in the case of former Minister and Congressman Julio de Vido. He plays a major role in domestic politics, where he is one of the men behind the political strategy design and control in a parliament without clear majorities and with a bitter social debate.

Future political challenges in Argentina

Argentina has never been known for its stability, though the expectations of the government of Macri, who took over in late 2015, were that there would be more political and economic calm than during the 12 preceding years under Nestor and Cristina Kirchner. However, inflation has remained above 20%, and the hike in dollar interest rates has brought about an unsustainable devaluation of the peso. In mid-2018, the president asked the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a conditional loan for US\$50 billion to prop up the economy.

With the country going back to the IMF, one of the bugbears of the Argentinians por el “corralito” (informal name for the harsh economic measures taken in Argentina at the end of 2001) in the early 21st century, has raised the vision of old economic specters and has spurred on an opposition deeply split until now. Finance Minister Nicolas Dujovne admitted there will be more inflation and that the recovery will be delayed. Macri, in turn, has made a commitment to the IMF to bring forward the tax balance goals for 2020. In a country which had still not left the rut of the worldwide recession, this measure suggests cuts in expenditures and an increase in ill-feelings and protests. A backdrop against which Peronism and trade unionism shall have the right basis to join forces in their opposition to Macri. It is not clear yet whether the president will be re-elected in 2019, something which almost all the analysts took for granted just a few months ago.

With this being the case, the outlook for the immediate future seems turbulent, with an increase in protests owing to a rate hike, a cut in subsidies and inflation which, in turn, will now increase the grievances of some of the more aggressive trade unions. So, what is missing is a generation of leaders endowed with very firm beliefs, who also boast teaching and communications ability. As the political battle is set to be tough, it will also be important to have emotional strength and character to not get swept along by the current atmosphere and short-termism. This is a challenging task in a country that has put off economic, political and institutional reforms for too many years, owing to the uproar of a heated, stagnant debate.

“The outlook for the immediate future seems turbulent, with an increase in protests owing to a rate hike, a cut in subsidies and inflation which, in turn, will increase the grievances of some of the more aggressive trade unions”

Brasil



Alessandro Molon

Federal member of
Parliament for the Socialist
Party of Brazil



The political trajectory of the current federal member of parliament, Alessandro Molon, reflects the profound changes Brazil has undergone in its political composition in recent years. Born 1971 in Belo Horizonte, this teacher and radio broadcaster was a state member of parliament in Rio de Janeiro between 2003 and 2011 for the Workers' Party (Partido de los Trabajadores - PT), where he was a militant until 2015. A year earlier, he had been re-elected as a federal member of parliament, and in the midst of the total social and political turmoil, because of the economic and political crisis that would end in 2016 with President Dilma Rousseff, he announced his integration into the Sustainability Network (Rede Sustentabilidade - REDE), the ecologist party of the former Minister of Environment Marina Silva, under Lula. In 2016, he voted against the opening of the impeachment trial against President Rousseff.

His political career is linked to the state of Rio de Janeiro, for which prefecture he ran, and, in which parliament has spent much of his career. He left REDE in 2018 and now serves as a federal member of parliament for the Brazilian Socialist Party (Partido Socialista de Brasil - PSB), one of the usual left-wing partners of the PT. These changes in party, however, do not point to any particular change in priorities or in his main ideology. Molon believes in programs and laws that promote access to justice, the fight against slave labor, a regulatory framework for the internet and the redistribution of oil royalties.

Molon ran for mayor of Rio de Janeiro in 2016 and is now a pre-candidate for the state government, one of the most important roles in Brazil. With an academic background in history and law, he is currently pursuing a Ph.D. He is fluent in English, French, Italian and Portuguese and is an active social media user. A representative of the beleaguered Brazilian left, he looks up to Leandro Konder, a Brazilian Marxist philosopher who died 2014. In international politics, he speaks of Nelson Mandela as one of the leaders he admires for his fight against inequality.

The current state deputy of Rio Grande do Sul is, despite her youth, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Brazil (Partido Comunista do Brasil). Born in 1981 in Porto Alegre, her political career has been marked by her focus on social equality between men and women. Prior to her position, she was elected as a council member in 2005 for Porto Alegre, the youngest in the history of the city – a symbol of the worldwide globalization movement. She then became a federal member of parliament between 2007 and 2015 in Brasilia, as part of the Communist Party.

She began her political career in the student movement, a common approach among the new generations of Brazilian left politicians. Although she has never worked as a journalist, she uses social media skillfully as tools that allow her to become one of the most prominent politicians in cyberspace. She is, however, very critical of the taxation of the major companies of the new economy—a challenge which is part of her general distrust of big corporations, as is common on the Brazilian left.

In her different roles, she has focused on issues related to equality between men and women, as well as making working conditions more decent and improving democratic mechanisms and accountability. It is not surprising, therefore, that she declares her admiration for figures of the Brazilian left who opposed the military dictatorship established in 1964, such as Leonel Brizola. She also claims to be the heir of Getulio Vargas, the president who occupies a prominent place in the collective imagination of the left. D'Avila is now a pre-candidate for the presidency of Brazil.



Manuela D'Avila

State member of Parliament
for Rio Grande do Sul





João Amoedo

Presidential pre-candidate
for the Novo Party



An engineer and business administrator from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, Amoedo was born in 1962 in Rio de Janeiro. It was not until 2011 that he actively entered politics, founding the New Party (Partido Novo), for which he is now a pre-candidate for the presidency of Brazil in the upcoming 2018 elections. His interest in politics began some years prior when prominent people in society criticized the excess taxes and bureaucracy that prevents wealth generation and innovation. Both of these things are essential pillars in his liberal way of understanding the economy and society.

His approach is unusual in Brazil, because, although he supports the economic liberalism also defended by Michel Temer, Amoedo and the New Party are very critical of the political privileges derived from the lack of separation of powers. It is unsurprising Amoedo has professed sympathy and admiration for Margaret Thatcher as his political role model, the flagship of political positions seeking less state intervention and more liberalization and meritocracy, in addition to a scrupulous respect for the democratic rule of law and harsh criticism of widespread corruption. His position is unmistakably liberal, economically speaking, and sits on the center-right of the political spectrum.

In a country known for the recent history of its left, Amoedo represents ideals we are used to hearing in other political traditions in the Anglo-Saxon nations. It is worth mentioning that the New Party is proud of the fact that it is only financed by member and supporter contributions, not any public contributions. His past in the financial industry with Citibank and Unibanco means he is viewed with skepticism in a country where distrust of the sector is present even with a government like Temer's, who defends it too. His economic liberalism, on the other hand, has not swayed his conservative positions on issues such as abortion, the possession of weapons or the role of the Army in public security, one of the most sensitive issues for Brazilian public opinion.

Of Lebanese origin, born in 1963 in Sao Paulo, Haddad holds master's degrees in economics and philosophy from the University of Sao Paulo. He is currently a professor of political science at the same university, although his political career is certainly not over. He served as mayor of São Paulo from 2013, after winning the second round, to 2017. Prior to that, he served as the minister of education between 2005 and 2012 under the Lula and Rousseff, to whose PT Party he belongs. It is taken for granted that his name will be one of his party's candidates in 2018, either on the presidential ticket or as a candidate for the Senate or the Chamber.

Active on social media, he is a popular politician, and although he has devoted the past fifteen years to public service, his previous experience in private enterprise enhances his flexibility. He was an investment analyst at Unibanco, and amongst his most outstanding political achievements is the draft bill which introduced PPPs (Public-Private Partnerships) into Brazil when he was part of the Ministry of Planning, Budget and Management team. He claims to belong to the Brazilian left, always from a PT perspective, and boasts a technical profile which makes him particularly sensitive to economic approaches related to the importance of facilitating investments and generating inclusive growth.

He is currently the coordinator of the presidential candidacy for the PT, and he is focused on a political reform to put an end to the country's contradictions, as well as combating levels of economic and social inequality Haddad considers incompatible with the functioning of democracy. It is within this twofold battle where he considers the future of the Brazilian left to be.



Fernando Haddad

Coordinator of the
presidential candidacy for
the Workers' Party (Partido
de los Trabajadores)





Rodrigo Maia

President of Parliament for
the Democratic Party



The current president of the Chamber of Deputies belongs to the Democratic Party (Demócratas Party - DEM), the successor of the Liberal Front Party (Partido del Frente Liberal), a historical formation of the Brazilian center-right and one of the mainstays of President Michel Temer. Maia was born 1970 in Santiago de Chile, where his father, the former mayor of Rio and a federal parliament member, was exiled after the military coup of 1964. In 1973, they would return to Brazil, where he studied economics at the Candido Mendes University before working in the financial sector at banks such as Icatu and BMG.

He would soon enter politics; at 26 years old, he was appointed secretary of the municipal government for the city of Rio de Janeiro. Thereon, he promoted the Special Secretariat of Labor, the organization of fairs and street markets, in addition to creating the Citizenship Project, which helps families without resources in the city. Two years later, he was elected federal deputy for the first time, a position he has continued to hold for four consecutive elections. In July 2016, after the dismissal of Dilma Rouseff, he became president of the Chamber of Deputies, thus becoming the first in the line of succession to the presidency.

Since his years as a servant in the municipality of Rio, his political activity has focused on labor legislation. He stood out as the president of the Labor, Public Service and Administration Committee of Congress. His father, Cesar Maia, for whom he professes political admiration, would return to be mayor of Rio for two subsequent terms, the last one between 2001 and 2008, as well as pre-candidate for the presidency in 2006 and 2010 for the Democrats, although he decided not to contend. Rodrigo Maia is therefore part of a recognized political saga on the Brazilian center-right, and his name suggests a possible candidate for president or vice president. His name is also present in some of the cases related to the bribes of the Odebrecht construction company, so his future depends on how these investigations pan out.

Future political challenges in Brasil

Since the impeachment and removal of President Dilma Rousseff, Brazil has been living on the verge of civil strife, a situation exacerbated by the recent imprisonment of former President Lula da Silva, the real leader of the left in the country. The 2018 elections will put an end to a situation of tacit temporariness the country has been in since Michel Temer took over in 2016. During these months, the political crisis has been followed by an exponential increase in social protests, owing to the hike in prices and insecurity. Recently, a truckers' strike brought the country to a standstill for several days as they protested against a hike in fuel prices that hit profit margins hard.

Whoever takes up executive and legislative posts at various levels at the end of the year will find themselves faced by a country ravaged by various crises. On the economic side, the liberalizing reforms of the employment market and prices at the state-run Petrobras have increased the ill-feeling and pessimism, in addition to the number of protests. Politically speaking, Lula cannot stand in the presidential elections as he has been sentenced and is in prison, which makes the blood of his many supporters boil. On the other hand, the populism tinged with militaristic and evangelical overtones of Colonel Jair Bolsonaro has been standing out in the polls. His potential for destabilization is huge, and he may end up reaping the fruits of the country's instability. Institutionally, after the impeachment of Dilma, a considerable part of the country does not recognize the legitimacy of the incumbents of the main political offices in the country.

The level of corruption and its widespread nature have hindered the trust needed between the governing and the governed. Those involved in Petrobras and the "Lava Jato" operation, or the Odebrecht bribes in Brazil and the rest of the Americas, have engendered a smothering climate, which reeks of the end of an era and decadence. And so, any leader in the near future must be transparent, not be politically tied to any controversial figures and must know how to get around in an environment rife with enemies who need to maintain the status quo that protects them. This is a very complex situation that will require a good blend of natural talent, strength of character, training and luck.

“Be transparent, not be politically tied to any controversial figures and must know how to get around in an environment rife with enemies who need to maintain the status quo that protects them”

Chile



Felipe Kast

Founder and senator for
Political Evolution (Evolución
Política - Evopoli)



Born in 1977 in Santiago, he is the son of a former president of the Central Bank of Chile. Kast's trajectory is a perfect illustration of the changes the Chilean party system's configuration is undergoing. Splits or departures have been the norm in the communist left, the New Majority progressive coalition and the right and center-right. Kast, who is an economist from the Catholic University of Chile and holds a Ph.D. from Harvard University, was minister of state in the first government of Sebastian Pinera (2010-2014) and founded Political Evolution (Evolución Política - Evopoli) in 2012, a political party that brings together independent center-right politicians. To do so, he had to resign his position as the presidential delegate for emergency camps and villages, having been put in charge of meeting these needs after the devastating 2010 earthquake.

He was a deputy between 2014 and 2018, until he took up his position as senator for the new constituency of Araucania. His political vocation commenced at school where he presided over the Student Center, spurred on by the influence of his stepfather, Javier Etcheberry, who would be the minister of public works during the government of Ricardo Lagos. His international political model is David Cameron, who showed him the way to move between the usual Thatcherian inspiration of the Chilean right to more modern tenets, which are more attentive to social issues.

In terms of globalization and the economic system, Kast is a strong supporter of openness to the world, which he believes has worked well for Chile. He insists on improving education and professionalizing a state and an administration he sees as hostages to political parties. He is seeking to renew the center-right to end a tense and disrespectful political debate, an environment he defines as a Chilean "cold war," in which he sees a left based on nostalgia and political conflict.



Giorgio Jackson

Member of parliament for the
Democratic Revolution Party
(Revolución Democrática)



The student movement that protested strongly in 2011 had Giorgio Jackson as one of its outstanding leaders. At that time, he was studying civil engineering in information technology, which he completed, and serving as president of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile Student Federation (FEUC) and spokesperson for the Student Confederation of Chile (CONFECH). Born in 1987 in Vina del Mar, one year after the protests, he founded his own party, "Democratic Revolution" (Revolución Democrática), positioned on the left of the Chilean political spectrum.

One year later, in 2013, he was elected deputy for the period of 2014-2018, also with the support of the New Majority of the center-left, which did not nominate a candidate in his constituency. From 2016 on, he helped found the Broad Front (Frente Amplio), a Chilean political coalition made up of political parties and movements of the left, egalitarian liberals and citizens seeking to overcome the Chilean two-party system: New Majority and Chile Vamos. In 2017, he was re-elected, a position he continues to hold. Jackson was one of the architects behind the candidacy of Beatriz Sanchez for the Broad Front, who won 20% of the votes.

As a good representative of the Chilean left, one of his role models is Salvador Allende, although he also mentions Frida Khalo as a reference for cultural rebellion. A regular social media user, his experiences and interests are more focused on internal politics than global affairs. He emphasizes the urgent need to redistribute economic power and

combat inequalities and classism, in addition to fighting corruption. He has also focused on social issues, and in Congress, successfully formed an investigation committee for Critical Neighborhoods (Barrios Críticos), on the role of the police and the abandonment of the state in the most vulnerable sectors of the country. His mandates have been characterized by transparency, participation, closeness to citizenship and digital activism. Although he has stated he has no intention of staying beyond two terms, he is one of the most promising rising Chilean politicians.



Felipe Harboe

Senator for Party for
Democracy (Partido por la
Democracia)



The Party for Democracy (Partido Por la Democracia - PPD), which Felipe Harboe helped found, is defined as progressive, democratic and equal. He was part of the center-left consensus and of the New Majority that replaced it in the last presidential election. Harboe, born in 1972 in the Netherlands, was part of its various governments in positions such as deputy minister for the national police force in the Ministry of Defense and deputy interior minister during the presidencies of Ricardo Lagos and Michelle Bachelet. He later resigned to fill in as deputy for District 22, subsequently being re-elected for the period of 2010-2014.

In the parliamentary elections for the 2014-2018 term, he was elected senator. He is also member of the permanent committees of Agriculture and of Constitution, Legislation, Justice and Regulation. A lawyer who graduated from the Central University of Chile, he has also been a professor at its School of Government. His interest in security policies led him to complete his training in Spain and the United Kingdom, where he expanded his knowledge regarding security in stadiums. The improvements in this aspect in Chile earned him widespread praise.

His political vocation emerged during secondary school. He admires moderate figures of the Chilean center-left, such as Lagos. In the international arena, he has shown interest in the unifying legacy of John F. Kennedy and Winston Churchill, leaders who managed to bring a country together for great collective achievements. The fight against corruption, social inequality and lack of public spirit are among his political priorities. Although he declares himself the heir of the Chilean left, he believes his country's progressivism must leave behind the divisive debate of the military coup with a new generation of center-left leaders capable of pragmatically focusing on the new challenges.



Carolina Goic

Senator for the Christian Democratic Party (Partido Demócrata Cristiano)



The convulsive recent history of the Christian Democratic Party (Partido Demócrata Cristiano - PDC) in Chile is borne out of the trajectory of Carolina Goic, born in 1972 in Santiago. Although the PDC was part of the Concertación and the New Majority coalitions of the center-left that governed Chile for 24 of the 28 years since democracy was reinstated, the internal struggles of recent years have relocated the party, putting forward its own candidate in 2017. Carolina Goic obtained 5.88% of the votes against a complex background for its party, which had suffered the split-off of its most right-wing members. At the beginning of 2016, she was named president of the PDC, a position she would hold until the end of 2017.

She graduated as a social worker and holds a master's degree in economics from the Catholic University of Chile. Her political career began in 2002 when she was appointed Ministerial Regional Secretary (SEREMI) for Planning in Magallanes during the government of Ricardo Lagos. She was elected to parliament for the period of 2006-2010 and, subsequently, for the 2010-2014 term. In that year, she submitted her candidacy to the Senate, and, two years later, because of the resignation of the then president of her party, assumed the reins of the PDC. She later resigned from the Senate when was elected in 2017 as her party's candidate for the presidency that year.

The vision and political interests of Goic are closer to the traditional tenets of European Christian Democracy than to those of the economic liberalism of the Chilean center-right. Unsurprisingly, she declares her admiration for Angela Merkel and the moderate approach of Chile's former president, Eduardo Frei. In her various roles, she has insisted on the fight against corruption, which she sees as the main threat to democracy. She also delivers a strong message about the need to improve the quality of education, which should provide an overview that includes the care and attention to children in social exclusion. In her parliamentary work, she has highlighted the extension of post-partum leave, permission so parents with seriously ill children can take time off to look after them and the law to lower cancer rates.



Future political challenges in Chile

This Andean country has historically been a peaceful haven in a continent marked by instability. However, in recent years Chile has faced protests and mobilizations, signs of a changing trend. The student mobilization in 2011 was particularly significant. The global crisis has hit Chile too, although macroeconomic stability and the habitual switching have been maintained in the presidency between center-left and center-right.

Although at present the center-right of Sebastian Pinera – who had been the president between 2010 and 2014 – is governing, it is the left that has seen the most changes in recent years. Some social leaders, who today hold seats for parties on the left with great capacity to mobilize and to dictate the debate, came out of the student protest. Pinochet's legacy was a country committed to Chicago school liberalism, and the public higher education and health systems barely cater what is required. This was one of the reasons behind 2011. What's more, inequality levels are high, partly contributing to a social protection network smaller than in other economies, endowed with the size and development of Chile.

This is why the Chilean politician of the years to come needs to undertake a reform process that, by contrast with other countries, balances public and private participation in the provision of basic services, as well as reducing the gap between rich and poor against a global backdrop characterized by the rejection of inequality, one of the reasons for general ill-sentiment in liberal democracies. Fortunately, they can do so against a backdrop of political, social and economic stability.

“The Chilean politician of the years to come needs to undertake a reform process that balances public and private participation”

Colombia



David Barguil

Representative of Parliament and senator for the Conservative Party



Life in Colombia has greatly changed in recent years, thereby affecting the country's political arena. The Colombian Conservative Party, of which David Barguil is a member and led between 2014 and 2016, has changed direction—its position is now closer to that of former President Uribe, in firm opposition of Santos and with a highly critical attitude toward the Havana peace agreements. These were years of intense change in which congressman Barguil, born 1981 in Cerete, Cordoba, stood out as a representative of legislative initiatives affecting different sectors such as telephony, cement, electricity and banks.

He began his political career in 2000, for a campaign of a former minister for the Council of Bogota. At the same time, he studied finance, government and international relations at the Externado University of Colombia, specializing in contract law and legal relations for business. With a grant to study economics and politics at the University of Montreal, he completed his education and gained fluency in spoken English. He is currently pursuing a master's degree in positive leadership and strategy at the IE Business School in Spain. He joined the House 2010 as a representative of Cordoba in the Colombian Conservative Party. In the 2018 elections, he returned to Congress after having served in his party as chief debate advisor in conservative Martha Lucia Ramirez's 2014 presidential campaign.

Barguil is married to the daughter of former President and Colombian Liberal Party leader Cesar Gaviria and is an active social media user, a fitting trait given Colombia pioneered the use of Twitter as a political tool. He admires the tenacity and energy of Winston Churchill and is in favor of more inclusive economic globalization, which is in line with his political and legislative initiatives, some of which resulted in the prohibition of minimum-term clauses in mobile-phone contracts, sector players being hit with a historical fine and the end to the poor service Electricaribe provided its customers in the northern part of the country, a conflict that caused the government to step in and take control of the company.



Carlos Fernando Galán Pachón

Senator of the Republic



In Colombia, political families are common, but few seem to be the subject of such widespread consensus as Luis Carlos Galan, from the Colombian Liberal Party, who was executed 1989 by order of Pablo Escobar. He was on the verge of becoming the country's next president, but the position was ultimately filled by Cesar Gaviria. Carlos Galan, son of Luis Carlos, was 12 years old at the time but had previously accompanied his father to rallies and campaign events. Thus, Carlos Galan's political career began at a very early age, and his father's assassination was, in his son's words, a key moment in it. Another influencing factor was the proximity of President Gaviria when he was president of the Organization of American States (OAS) in Washington, DC from 2000 to 2001.

However, his political career is not associated with the Colombian Liberal Party but with the Radical Change Party of former Vice President German Vargas Lleras. He eventually became the party's leader, though he resigned due to an underlying conflict over how candidates were chosen. He also served as councilor in Bogota in 2007 and was at the forefront in the fight against corruption that ultimately put Mayor Samuel Moreno behind bars. In 2012, Juan Manuel Santos appointed him secretary of anticorruption and transparency. He served as senator between 2014 and 2018, resigning due to differences with his political party. He is currently one of the most popular contenders for the mayor's office of Bogota. One of the main priorities of his platform is the fight against inequality and corruption, and he proposes education, judicial and political reform in an attempt to lead the country to produce wealth in a more inclusive manner.

As a result of his education and experience, he speaks English and French fluently and has become involved in regional matters, such as Venezuela's crisis. He holds a degree in government, management and public affairs from the Externado University of Colombia and studied international relations at Georgetown University. He is also known for his journalism efforts. He was a correspondent for the magazine *Semana*, among the most influential magazines in Colombia, and political editor for the newspaper *El Tiempo*, for which he was awarded the journalistic accolade Premio Nacional de Periodismo del Círculo de Periodistas de Bogotá for his articles on the Colombian parapolitics scandal.



Claudia López

Senator for the Green Alliance Party



Colombia's political arena has been highly polarized in the past few years: some have defended former President Alvaro Uribe and others supported Juan Manuel Santos. As such, a political movement emerged, known as "ni-ni" ("neither-nor"), of which senator Claudia Lopez, born 1970 in Bogotá, forms a part. She is a member of the Green Alliance Party, and, although elected presidential candidate by her party for the 2018 presidential elections, she backed the Coalition Colombia party, led by former mayor of Medellín and former governor of Antioquia Sergio Fajardo, in a ticket that would have Fajardo as president and Lopez his running mate. This was ultimately the third most popular option in the elections, with over 23% of votes.

Her political career is marked by her commitment to the seventh ballot (*séptima papeleta*) student movement between 1989 and 1990, key in initiating the 1991 constitutional reform process. She holds a degree in finance, government and international relations from Externado University of Columbia and completed a master's course in public administration and urban politics at Columbia University in New York. She speaks fluent English and is pursuing a doctor's degree from Northwestern University in Chicago through a Fulbright grant. In 2009, she was one of 15 world leaders chosen by Yale University for its World Fellows Program.

She was previously a United Nations social projects consultant and a presidential advisor on youth-related matters and the district comptroller in Bogotá. In addition to her political career, she has been analyst and commentator for the most important television networks and newspapers in Colombia. An admirer of John F. Kennedy and the former U.S. president's mother, she gained a seat in the Senate in 2014, from which she has been highly critical of the connections between politics, paramilitary organizations and drug cartels. Her activism has made her the subject of her rivals' efforts to soil her name. She is well known for her efforts to fight corruption, search for greater transparency and achieve justice in a country that has historically fallen short of such expectations. This has given rise to her proposal of a popular consultation backed by a citizen-based initiative that seeks to apply seven anticorruption mandates.



Cristina Plazas

Executive director of
Reconciliación Colombia



At the end of President Juan Manuel Santos' term, he had garnered more admiration abroad than popularity at home, though he has left a lasting legacy his team has maintained. Cristina Plazas is one such team member. She was Santos' private secretary between 2012 and 2014, after which she oversaw the ICBF family-welfare institute until 2017, at which point she left the government. She is currently the executive director of Reconciliación Colombia, an initiative by 81 institutions that seeks to influence in the wake of the armed conflict and consolidate the peace agreements reached in Havana.

She holds a law degree from Pontifical Xavierian University in Bogota and a degree in administrative law from the Del Rosario University. She began her political career as councilor in Bogota for the Radical Change Party between 2003 and 2007 and went on to join the country's Ministry of the Treasury. Since then, she has accompanied the president as his private secretary. Her defense of peace and of Santos' talks with revolutionary armed forces FARC and ELN coincide with her admiration for the pacifism of Mahatma Gandhi.

A frequent social media user, her firm political stance against political corruption has put her in precarious situations that have always been resolved in her favor by the country's courts of law. This is her prime objective and how she would like to be remembered, although she also focusses her political efforts on children and their rights in a country with high levels of social exclusion and inequality. Her proximity to Santos has allowed her to have much greater access than most to the most influential statespeople of Colombia during a crucial period in the country's history.



Rodrigo Lara Restrepo

President of the Chamber
of Representatives for the
Radical Change (Cambio
Radical) Party



Colombia's recent history is marked by the 1984 assassination of Rodrigo Lara Bonilla, who was Minister of Justice under the administration of Belisario Betancur. Drug lords had become the number one enemy of the Medellin cartel leader Pablo Escobar. Bonilla's son, Rodrigo Lara Restrepo, is currently president of the House of Representatives and member of the Radical Change Party, as well as one of the country's most prominent young politicians. Born 1975 in Neiva, he spent his youth and formative years in Switzerland, the U.K. and France.

He returned to Colombia to study law at Externado University, though he soon returned to Europe to obtain a degree in international political studies from the Paris Institute of Political Studies (Sciences Po) and a master's degree from the École nationale d'administration (ÉNA) in France, from which many of France's leaders have emerged. This has made him perfectly fluent in English and French. He is an active social media user, using Twitter and Facebook for political issues and Instagram for more personal manners. He has been actively involved with the governments of Alvaro Uribe as advisor to the senior presidential advisor for social initiatives and director of the presidential program for efficiency, transparency and anticorruption.

Although his father's political career is known for its efforts to fight drug trafficking and its influence on the state, he has more closely associated with modernization of the state and its powers. Although he is not a conservative, he has openly expressed his admiration of Margaret Thatcher for her ability to overcome and triumph in a deeply patriarchal society. In Colombia, he finds inspiration in Maria Cano, a politician who fought for suffrage, trade unions and worker's rights in the 1920s, preceding the Marxist movement in Colombia. He is a pragmatic and reform-oriented politician. Between 2015 and 2017, he led the Radical Change Party, leaving the position to preside the House of Representatives.



Future political challenges in Colombia

The peace process with the FARC, culminating in the Havana Accords and the demobilization of the oldest guerrilla outfit on the continent, marks a before-and-after scenario in Colombia. Although the aim of demobilizing the ELN (the other main guerrilla group) is still pending, the security challenges of this Andean country shall be different, strictly police forces against criminal gangs born of paramilitarism. The challenge is not smaller, but it is one of a different nature, placing less constraints on the traditional political debate between progressive or conservative options—a dichotomy which has only existed in these recent presidential elections of Colombia. A tragic page in history has been turned and politics is set to change, too.

The challenges are great and they concern the integration into civilian life of guerrilla fighters, crop substitution and the fight against inequality in one of the unfairest countries in America. The outgoing president, Juan Manuel Santos, has made progress in these fields, but the Peace Agreement is recent, and it will undoubtedly be the generations to come who will be able to reach greater heights. What is certain is Colombia has it all: natural resources, access to two oceans, human capital and a good geographic position. It did not have general stability leading to the armed conflicts with the guerrillas, an aspect which has acted as a brake on making any major socio-economic reforms.

In turn, the country is highly polarized in political terms, which is natural after a peace process that did not please everyone. Former President Alvaro Uribe has taken advantage of this rejection in recent years and made political capital out of it by forming a new party, the Democratic Center (Centro Democrático), whose candidate for the presidency, Ivan Duque, is on the verge of entering “Casa de Nariño,” Colombia’s version of the White House. Uribe, now a senator, is a very popular politician, but he also incites rejection in many sectors, including the left and center. He has a great capacity to mobilize and dictate the political debate and so one of the virtues of the next Colombian leaders will have to be that of consolidating the accords and implementing social reforms without thereby awakening the suspicion of “uribismo” and of the conservative social sectors this represents. Whatever the case may be, the atmosphere will be an improvement over the one faced by the leaders of the past 40 years, so there is very reason to be optimistic about Colombia’s future.

“Consolidate the accords and implement social reforms without thereby awakening the suspicion of “uribismo” and of the conservative social sectors this represents”

Dominican Republic

The Dominican political arena took a turn 2014 when the historic Dominican Revolutionary Party (DRP) suffered a split from which the Modern Revolutionary Party (MRP) would emerge, a formation that would obtain 35% of the votes at the presidential elections in 2016, earning second place. It is this formation to which Faride Raful, born 1979 in Santo Domingo, belongs. At those same elections she earned her current role as national congresswoman and has been chosen as most voted member of Congress for the National District. She has stood out at parliament for her scrutiny of corruption, particularly with regard to the electrical sector.

She holds a law degree from the Pontifical Catholic University Madre y Maestra (PUCMM) and specialized in right to information, copyright and related rights at the University of Salamanca and the University of the Andes. She also holds a master's degree in telecommunications and IT technologies from the Charles III University of Madrid. This is tied to another one of her vocations and occupations, as Raful is a reporter and journalist. She takes part as presenter and analyst on programs such as Oye País, Enfoque final and Contrarreloj. At the moment she is presenting and producing the radio program Sin Tacones ni Corbatas. She is a regular and enthusiastic social media user.

Her political progress within the MRP has been very fast. While at the DRP in 2012, she coordinated candidate Hipolito Mejia's national campaign, the first woman to assume those duties at the national level. At the last ordinary internal convention, she was appointed national vice president, being the most voted leader among women in the entire country. In both her legislative and her organic role, she has three priorities: denouncing the debt policy and lack of control of public expenditure, putting an end to impunity and social injustice, and modernizing the contents of the state public education system.

Among the senior officials of the Dominican Republic is Jean Alain Rodriguez, currently attorney general. In 2016, he was appointed by the current president, Danilo Medina, and played an important political role coordinating and supporting his presidential campaign. In general, he has been very active at all the presidential elections since 1996. Born 1975 in Santo Domingo, his political vocation and militancy started at a very early age for the party founded by Juan Bosch, his public service reference for his leadership, conviction and innovative approach.

He holds a law degree from the Pontifical Catholic University Madre y Maestra (PUCMM) and three master's degrees in law from the Sorbonne (Paris), La Sapienza (Rome) and the Superior Public Administration School (Rome), including a master's degree in state administration criminal law. He has been a law professor at various faculties and mastered English, French and Italian, apart from his native language, Spanish. In his urge for innovation and in spite of occupying a sensitive position, he is a very frequent social media user.



Faride Raful

Member of Parliament for the Modern Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Moderno - PRM)



Jean Alain Rodríguez

Attorney-general of the Republic



Before being appointed attorney general, he was secretary of state and chief executive of the Dominican Republic Investment and Export Centre (2012-2016); legal consultant of the Directorate General of Customs (2004-2005) of the Dominican Telecommunications Institute (INDOTEL) (2004-2009) and the Ministry of Tourism (2004-2006); assistant attorney of the National District Fiscal Prosecutor's Office (1997); and deputy judge and member of the National District Electoral Commission (2010-2012). As priorities for his country, he insists on the need to improve citizens' education and technical qualifications, implement initiatives that support private enterprise development and strengthen the judicial system to more effectively fight against crime and corruption.

From another previous split of the DRP, the Dominican Liberation Party (DLP) arose in 1973, to which the president of the Republic belongs. Andrés Navarro, minister of education since 2016, joined its cabinet after two years as minister of foreign affairs. Born 1964 in Bonao, Dominican Republic, Navarro studied architecture at the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo. He holds a degree in urban planning from the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) and has completed other courses in Medellín, Guatemala City, Bogotá, Quito and at the Madrid Complutense University. In 2002, and following his political vocation, he studied public policy and governance at the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO).

As a result, he has worked as coordinator of various urban development plans, such as the Territorial Planning and Management Plan of the city of Santo Domingo de Guzman, in 2008. He has written various books on the matter, which have made him a top regional expert. His political references, however, are known for their general work. Such is the case of Juan Bosch, founder of his party, and Monsignor Arnulfo Romero, with whom he shares a Christian-socialism sensitivity. He speaks English and Spanish.

Of moderate and progressive inclination, in addition to managing and improving public education, his attention is centered on strengthening the country's institutional fabric and changing the shortsightedness for a longer-term approach that will permit the planning and refinement of relations with the national territory toward a socially responsible, economically beneficial, ecologically sustainable and politically democratic treatment.



Andrés Navarro

Minister of Education





Karen Ricardo

Member of Parliament for the Dominican Liberation Party (*Liberación Dominicana - PLD*)



Congresswoman Karen Ricardo also stands out in the Dominican Liberation Party (DLP), currently in power. Despite her youth (born 1975 in Santo Domingo), she has been a member of the National Congress for the Province of Santo Domingo, Circumscription 1, since 2006, and this is her third consecutive term after being reappointed in 2016. Her prompt political activism is however compatible with a nurtured training. She holds a law degree from the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (USAD), a master's degree in state administration from the University of Cadiz, is a fellow of the Leadership Program for Public Management of BARNA Management School together with George Washington University and has a post graduate degree in civil law from the UASD. She also specializes in industrial and intellectual property.

Her political work, however, is centered on youth. In parliament, she presided over the Permanent Commission for Youth and the Joint Standing Committee, which studied political groups and parties and the Central Electoral Board in addition to taking an active part on the tourism, sport, gender equality and environment boards. She has proposed the Bill on Youth Internships and First Jobs, the purpose of which is to promote socioeconomic and human development of Dominican youth, facilitating their incorporation into the labor market and into the national production system. Her recent initiatives include "Quiero Empoderarte República Dominicana," which aims to create a space that allows direct interrelation of citizens with lawmakers during the legislative processes, in addition to encouraging the empowerment of citizenry.

Given her conciliator approach, firm stances and social media use, Ricardo's national references are, Juan Bosch, founder of her party, and former President Joaquin Balague. In the international scenario, she admires Mother Teresa, because Ricardo initially had a religious public service vocation which, in the end, she would channel toward law and politics.

Future political challenges in Dominican Republic

In regional terms, the Dominican Republic is one of the most stable countries with the brightest economic prospects. All the more so if we bear in mind it shares an island with Haiti, one of the poorest countries on the American continent. Economically, it is set to grow less than in previous years, but the figure will still exceed 4% in the forthcoming quarters. It will continue to reduce its poverty level, which still exceeds 30%. There is political certainty too. In 2012, the country elected Danilo Medina, from the Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (Dominican Liberation Party - PLD), who was re-elected in 2016. Previously, another president from the same party, Leonel Fernandez, had governed between 2004 and 2008.

The challenges facing the politician of the immediate future in the Dominican Republic pertain to reducing poverty – which remains high – and achieving a more inclusive wealth distribution to reduce inequality levels. On the other hand, due to its geographic location prone to hurricanes and other extreme phenomena, the country is more vulnerable than others to climate change effects. In the coming years, it is set to face wholesale renewal of basic infrastructures related to electric and water supplies, not only because of natural phenomena but also to make the growth of its main industries (such as tourism) sustainable, and to ensure the supply of the agriculture, cattle raising and manufacturing industry.

In view of the economy's high debts, the Dominican Republic is still vulnerable to external shocks against a regional backdrop conducive to such events with hikes in interest rates in the United States or the budding trade war. So over the next few years, leaders have to commit to economic diplomacy in the continent, as well as to an infrastructure plan that affords stability to the economic model. With this in mind, and following on from the last point, it will be important to enhance the investment climate, affording the legal safety required to this end. Finally, growth that better distributes more of the wealth generated must be achieved. A social approach will be necessary, which maintains political stability and serves as a vaccination against extreme political options taken in other countries in the region.

“Growth that better distributes more of the wealth generated must be achieved. A social approach will be necessary, which maintains political stability and serves as a vaccination against extreme political options”

Ecuador



Patricio Zambrano Restrepo

Permanent representative at UNESCO



The Ecuadorian left wing is formally divided among partisans of former President Rafael Correa and his successor, Lenin Moreno. However, in high-ranking positions in the country, politicians who worked during the years of the former president remain. Such is the case of Patricio Zambrano, born 1969 in Quito, sociologist by the University of Paris VIII and permanent representative of the Republic of Ecuador at UNESCO. Following his years of studying in France, he now holds a master's degree in Latin American studies and international relations from the Simon Bolivar Andean University in Ecuador. He also has a diploma in public policy and integration from the Institute of Higher Studies for Integration and Legislative Development in Bogota, Colombia.

Due to spending years studying overseas, Patricio Zambrano speaks and writes in French. Before being appointed representative at UNESCO, he was Minister of Defense in President Moreno's cabinet and held various positions in the President Correa's administration, including vice president of the Ecuadorian representation in the Andean Parliament and president of the Special Commission for Transparency and Fight against Corruption. He is also national president of the Ecuadorian Socialist Party, among the oldest parties in the country that is still influential and powerful.

Given his socialist militancy and affiliation, and his time in France, his admiration for former President Francois Mitterrand comes as no surprise. In Latin American politics, he relates to Brazil's Lula da Silva, Uruguay's Jose Mujic and Chile's Michele Bachelet, social democrats in a polarized environment of liberal and Bolivarian discourse. It is in this intermediary position where the government of Lenin Moreno is situated, of which he forms part in a position of high responsibility.



Guillermo Celi

National president (E)



The decade of Ecuador's socialist leadership in the 20th century (2007–17) was a difficult period for freedom of speech. During these years, it was common to see political debates exhibit high levels of frustration; meanwhile, the pseudo-left was in full control not only of the country but the continent.

These circumstances gave rise to the need for new forms of leadership with a modern vision of society and the ability to listen to people's concerns. Guillermo Celi stands out in this new generation of politicians. He was born 1976 in Portoviejo to a family with a lengthy political history in Ecuador. One of his influences is Eloy Alfaro, who was born in the same province as Celi. Alfaro, former president and leader of the liberal revolution that took place between 1895 and 1924, sparked the movement that deeply transformed the country.

Since 2017, he has been a member of Congress, working in the combined areas of regional government committees, decentralization, competencies and territorial organization. He holds a law degree from the Catholic University of Ecuador, as well as a doctorate in law.

He established his public presence in 2009 with the creation of a citizens' group known as Pragmatic Ecuador and went on to participate in the regional elections the same year, running for the office of chief administrative officer of Manabi with the backing of several political organizations.

In 2012, along with thousands of Ecuadorians, he founded SUMA, a center-based political movement he presides and that promotes models of responsible government.

A member of the Academy, he taught at the Catholic University of Santiago, Guayaquil and the University of San Gregorio of Portoviejo. He has also been a freelance lawyer.

Like other regional center-right leaders, he defends individual and economic freedom while insisting on the need for greater reconsideration of the effects of commercial globalization and the opening of economies and societies to this phenomenon. His political efforts have focused on the need for greater job market flexibility, improving education to better adapt to new global dynamics and favoring a wide range of grant and loan programs for economically challenged students. He has been highly critical of Correa, whom he accuses of having deteriorated the quality of the country's institutions to levels on the verge of collapse, due to lack of transparency and rampant abuse of power. He is a modern liberal with profound societal convictions in a country that, according to Celi, has been subverted by party loyalty and corruption—a situation he believes must be remedied.

He is passionate about promoting Ecuador's technological transformation through the modernization of rural areas (with agro-industrial processes to benefit mid- and small-sized producers) and encouraging the creation of a broad platform of services for tourism and development centers.

He is convinced the road to a better Ecuador involves the country's institutions, independence and autonomy of state powers, as well as legal certainty.



**Fabricio Villamar
Jácome**

Member of the National
Assembly for the Pichincha
province



Within the heterogenous group of opposition parties to Rafael Correa is Movimiento CREO (Creating Opportunities) to which lawyer Fabricio Villamar, born 1969 in Quito, belongs. He chairs the regional management of Ecuador's capital and is a member of the National Assembly for the province of Pichincha, with a mandate until 2021. He forms part of the Commission for Sovereignty, Integration, International Relations and Comprehensive Security and is the deputy chairman of the Standing Committee to process the full reform of the traffic law in the country.

He earned a Ph.D. in case law from the Catholic University of Ecuador, studied municipal governance at the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences of Ecuador, holds a degree in governance and political leadership from IDE - Business School as well as from the Latin American Politics School of Salamanca University. In 2009, he became a city councilmember in Quito, where he stood out for his drive toward Ordinance 267 which regulates sports shows and stages. Although he holds a national political post, his ambition is to become mayor of Quito.

He has expressed admiration for former President Jaime Roldos, the first elected president after the country's return to democracy. Internationally, he focuses his attention on and is inspired by John F. Kennedy.

He is a frequent social media user and speaks English too. In his opinion, the country urgently needs to recover its institutions and restore the balance of the separation of powers, transparency and supervision. During the first year of his term, he has driven forward several legal initiatives, including the draft bill on the protection of those who report acts of corruption; the classification of acid attacks on women as an autonomous offense; and amendments to the Constitution so communications is regarded as a

human right and not as a public service. He was a questioner in the first impeachment undertaken by the opposition against the information and communications superintendent, who was criticized and dismissed by the Plenary Session of the National Assembly.

In line with this liberal stance, he is committed to Ecuador's return to the global economy after more than 10 years of a government he believes was very negative.



Cristina Reyes Hidalgo

Member of the National Assembly for the Social Christian Party (Partido Social Cristiano)



The political center and liberalism have not fared well in recent years in Ecuador. The country has been politically polarized and governed with a great deal of interventionism by Rafael Correa during his two mandates between 2007-2017. The arrival of Lenin Moreno, former vice president of Correa and now his opponent, marked a return to the pluralist, open atmosphere in which Cristina Reyes Hidalgo has emerged, born 1981 in Guayaquil and a member of the National Assembly for the Social Christian Party (Partido Social Cristiano - PSC).

She is a lawyer and holds a degree in social and political sciences from Catholic University of Santiago de Guayaquil, a city where she was a city council member after taking part in 2007 as a member of the Constituent Assembly for the PSC. She was later elected on two occasions as national assembly member, a position she currently holds until 2021. For some years, she juggled her early days in public life studying for a degree in social communications from the University of Loja, as well as post-graduate studies, such as a master's degree in political action from Francisco de Vitoria University.

A frequent social media user, she is politically moderate and supports openness and pluralism, which is why she admires Justin Trudeau, the Canadian Prime Minister. In him, she sees the respect and moderation characteristics of traditional liberalism, an ideology she views as the best one for strengthening the institutions in her country, which she believes suffered greatly with the previous president. In terms of domestic policy, she supports Jaime Nebot, the current mayor of Guayaquil, when she talks about leaders who inspire her. The main draft bills she has put forward are related to citizen and social participation, as well as the promotion of enterprises, the defense of the rights of workers, pensioners, women and young people and they serve as a good illustration of her political stances on essential themes. Finally, her mainstay has been her permanent struggle at an institutional level for transparency and against corruption.



Lourdes Tibán Guala

Member of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues



The focus of the opposition against Rafael Correa generally fell on the center-right wing parties, but there was also an opposition from the left, indigenous wing. Lourdes Tiban, who was a national assembly member until 2017 for the Pachakutik Movement and at present is member of the United Nations Permanent Forum on indigenous issues, stood out in said group. Born 1969 in Salcedo, she has focused on the recognition of rights of the indigenous population as well as the fight for equality between men and women. She speaks Kichwa and Spanish, and is a political benchmark of the indigenous movement.

She holds a doctorate in law from the Central University of Ecuador and holds four master's degrees: from the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, the University of the Americas, University of los Andes and is a fellow in human rights. These are a faithful reflection of her political priorities. She was considered by the Pachakutik Movement a candidate to the presidency of the Republic. Her candidature was, however, declined after expressing her support for the candidate of the Left Democratic Party.

She is a regular Facebook and Twitter user. In line with her interest in improving women's social position, her political references are Ecuadorians in recent history, such as former Magistrate Judge of the Constitutional Court Nina Pacari and Blanca Chancoso and Rose Elena Transito Amaguana. She believes Ecuador's state of democracy is very poor due to corruption, the lack of division of powers and the downturn in opinion spaces for dissension. Apart from all these issues, she aims to reduce another of the ills of Ecuador: inequality and poverty.



Future political challenges in Ecuador

The victory of the former vice president of Rafael Correa, Lenin Moreno, boded a period of relative continuity between the former incumbent and his successor, allies of the Latin American left. However, nothing could be further from the truth. The hostility between the two is irreversible, so much so Correa is now the main opponent to the president he supported. Lenin, endowed with a more moderate, open character, has renounced some of the reforms of his predecessor, and the political atmosphere has become more charged. The former president has returned from his retirement in Belgium to carry out full time opposition and has already put himself forward to defeat Moreno.

Notwithstanding, the situation does not seem serious enough to cast any doubt on the stability of the government. Correa has become increasingly unpopular in many sectors of Ecuador, contrary to what is happening to Moreno. What's more, the economic situation is stable after some difficult years with the devastating earthquake suffered in 2016 and the impacts of the global economic crisis, which arrived later in Latin America, but in more intense fashion.

The challenges facing the future politician of Ecuador will entail knowing how to calm down social and political moods with a reformist capacity matched by an equal ability to convince and reach agreements. In some cases, the support of the center-right and liberalism will be needed, which nearly won the second round of the presidential elections, and on other situations a more social approach will need to be based on the support of Rafael Correa supporters. It is certain that all kinds of reforms will be required, starting with those concerned with the workings of a dollarized economy against the backdrop of a hike in the greenback interest rate. On the other hand, the social challenges related with poverty, precarity and inequality are still huge. Experience and technical know-how will be needed along with social awareness and the political ability to achieve agreements.

“Experience and technical know-how will be needed along with social awareness and the political ability to achieve agreements”

Mexico



Ricardo Anaya Cortés

Presidential candidate for the For Mexico to the Front (*Por México al Frente*) party



In the last 80 years, Mexico's political arena has been dominated by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), a monopoly interrupted only by the administration of Presidents Vicente Fox (2000–06) and Felipe Calderon (2006–12), both from the National Action Party (PAN). At this time, Ricardo Anaya is attempting to surprise Mexico anew by earning the “Los Pinos” seat of power for his party, which has suffered from internal divisions for several years. Although he is far from holding a leading position, leftist Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador is ahead of the PRI (in third place), which would greatly benefit the PAN. This and his youth make him one of Mexico's most promising politicians.

He was born 1979 in Naucalpan de Juarez, and, at a young age, he combined his law studies at the Autonomous University of Queretaro with politics. At age 18, he became director of the youth-issues institute at the Youth Municipal of Queretaro and, three years later, ran for office in the local Queretaro government in an area that has historically showed little sympathy toward the party. He then broadened his education with a master's degree in tax law from the University of the Valley of Mexico and a Ph.D. in political and social science from the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). Between 2003 and 2009, he was the personal secretary of the governor of Queretaro Francisco Garrido Patron, and, between 2013 and 2014, was president of the Chamber of Deputies of Federal Congress. He served as PAN president from September 2014 to January 2015 and again from August 2015 to December 2017. He is presently a candidate for the presidency of the Republic.

A frequent social media user, he can speak and write in English, French and Spanish. He focuses his attention on fighting corruption, modernizing productive systems and competitiveness in a global economy he believes provides Mexico great opportunities to reduce its alarmingly high poverty rates. He maintains a liberal stance in economic matters and seeks to give more weight to private initiative and civil society, for which he considers state modernization to be indispensable. As a politician, he is essentially pragmatic yet always mindful of principles, an approach he observes in Luis H. Alvarez, a prominent figure of the PAN he admires.



Ángel Ávila Romero

General secretary for the Democratic Revolution Party (*Partido de la Revolución Democrática - PRD*)

Historically, Mexico's center-left and left parties have been represented by the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). The current presidential candidate Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador was a member of this party, although no president of Mexico has ever run under PRD, nor will one during the 2018 elections, given the party is running in coalition with center-right PAN. Nonetheless, the PRD does not deny its leftist position, a view shared by the party's current General Secretary Angel Avila, who has expressed admiration for Jose Mujica, former President of Uruguay and symbolic figure of the Latin American left.

Avila holds a degree in political science and public administration from the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), and his career in politics began when he was very young. At UNAM, he was student counsellor. Before that, at age 16, he was involved in the Brigadas Sol of the PRD. He became fully immersed in PRD politics as the national head of leftist youth between 2008 and 2011. In 2014, he was appointed president of the National Council of the PRD, stepping down from this position December 9, 2017 after being appointed the party's general secretary.

He routinely uses social media and focuses on Mexico's domestic politics. In accordance with the decision of forming an alliance with the PAN for these presidential elections, he defends the need to establish a coalition government for the first time in the country's history. For this reason, he often speaks in favor of plurality and respect, differing greatly from oft-heard predictions of gloom and doom in relation to the current state of democracy in Mexico. Although he does not deny there have been certain setbacks in some matters, he believes the country will have significant opportunities if it undertakes an inclusive form of modernization.



Sylvana Beltrones

Candidate for the Senate for the Institutional Revolutionary Party (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional* - PRI)



The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) governed anew in Mexico under the administration of Enrique Peña Nieto, who is now preparing to leave the government with a concerning level of unpopularity. For this reason, the PRI is having a hard time reconnecting with the general public, despite its extreme popularity for over 80 years. Sylvana Beltrones stands out in this scenario of work to be done in coming years. She is the daughter of Fabio Manlio Beltrones, former governor of Sonora, former president of the House and Senate, one of the prominent figures of the PRI and former leader of said party. Sylvana Beltrones, born August 11, 1982 in Obregon, is running for the Senate in representation of Sonora.

She holds a law degree from the Iberoamerican University and, despite her youth, has gained considerable political experience. Between 2010 and 2011, she was undersecretary of strategy and dissemination of the National Executive Committee of the PRI, and, between 2012 and 2014, was director of strategic management of the FONATUR national fund of promotion of the tourism industry. Between 2014 and 2015, she held positions such as assistant general secretary of the PRI's National Executive Committee and the National Confederation of Popular Agencies. In 2015, she was reelected member of Federal Congress, remaining in this position until 2018. She was also secretary of healthcare and tourism commissions, as well as member of the commission of the Public Finance Studies Center Committee and the Human Rights committee.

She frequents social networks and, as candidate for the Senate and current assistant secretary of the PRI, focuses her attention and political career on efforts to improve treatment and assistance for women with breast, cervical and uterine cancer. Her mother Sylvia Sanchez is actively involved in this cause from her position in the Beatriz Beltrones Foundation. She generally directs her efforts toward matters related to improvement of women's conditions in a country where there is still much progress to be made.



Luisa Alcalde

Member of the National Regeneration Movement (*Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional* - MORENA)



Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador has been and continues to be a sort of living legend for the Mexican left. Accusations of voting fraud in the presidential election he lost to the PAN candidate Felipe Calderon gave rise to a protest movement in which younger generations played a significant role. From this context, some recent leaders have emerged, such as the former member of Federal Congress Luisa Alcalde. Born 1987 in Mexico City, she holds a law degree from the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM).

Her political stance is clearly leftist, and she has expressed admiration for the leader of the National Regeneration Movement (MORENA), the aforementioned former head of government of Mexico City Lopez Obrador. The international figures she admires include leftist leaders from Latin America Lula da Silva and Evo Morales as well as South Africa's Nelson Mandela. In 2011, she was national coordinator of youth and students for MORENA.

For this Facebook and Twitter user, there are three fundamental aspects that must be changed and/or eradicated in Mexico. The first is violence, which has reached alarming levels in recent years. Second, and in close relation with her general interest in youth-related issues, she insists on the need for education reform to improve quality and accessibility of the public system. Third, Alcalde points out the importance of creating quality and dignified employment that would mark a departure from rampant practices of instability and abuse, in an attempt to reduce poverty and inequality levels.

In addition to the opposition parties represented by MORENA on the left and represented by PAN on the center-right, Mexico, in these difficult recent years, has seen the resurgence of civil-society movements that are challenging classic parties. One such movement is the personal undertaking of Pedro Kumamoto, who holds a degree in cultural management from the Western Institute of Technology and Higher Education. Born 1990 in Guadalajara, he won the 2015 elections in Jalisco, becoming a member of local government in representation of District 10. He was the first independent candidate to be appointed to office in the state.

Although he was raised in a context of civil society and views the classic actors of the political arena with skepticism, he admires the Uruguayan Jose Mujica as well as protest movements like Occupy Wall Street, points of view that place him within the new global left. It therefore comes as no surprise that his political priorities have to do with better distribution of wealth, ending privileges of the political elite and improvement of education, healthcare and workers' rights. He also insists on the need to fight political disenchantment, which, according to Kumamoto, is widespread among younger generations of Mexicans, who experience corruption, violence and lack of opportunities.

He is currently running for senator for Jalisco and plans to take to Congress the claims that made him one of the most disruptive political leaders in the country's history. He intends to put an end to privileged positions and promote clearer accounts of public expenditure. His profile is one of the new wave of political outsiders that, without failing to respect democracy and commitment, are challenging classic parties seen as outdated and old-fashioned tools that have not been adapted to fulfill the needs existing today.



Pedro Kumamoto

Independent candidate for the Senate of the Republic





Future political challenges in Mexico

When Donald Trump came to power in the United States, Mexico went on a state of alert. The anti-immigration speech and the threat to break off the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) affected both the economy and politics in a country whose identity is highly impacted by its bilateral relations with its northern neighbor. Economically speaking, during Enrique Peña Nieto's term (2012-2018), Mexico approved major liberalizing reforms to telecommunications and, in particular, energy. The oil reform entailed the break-up of the monopoly of the state PEMEX and the entry of investments and foreign capital. However, 2012 expectations were not met, and in addition to economic precarity, there was an uncommon increase in the levels of national violence because of the drug trafficking cartel war.

This blend of wounded national pride, economic uncertainty, social precarity and rising violence has the immediate political effect of strengthening the options of the left candidate, Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador, who will likely become president. Although campaign promises are open to negotiation once in power, Lopez Obrador and his party, MORENA, have promised to review the contracts the state signed with certain oil companies, as well as halt or modify major projects such as the new airport in Mexico City. It is not at all clear what path the country will take, but the priorities facing the new government are well-defined.

As the main political forces are considering the need to form a coalition government, leaders who are able to reach agreements and explain them will be particularly welcome. Mexican society mistrusts its political class and is suspicious of any kind of concession in such a polarized environment. Half of Mexico lives in poverty, so there is an urgent need to take measures to reduce such persistently alarming figures. The redistribution of wealth and the fight against inequality shall be important over the next few years, as well as the management of an economy that will not thrive if the United States keeps hiking up its interest rates. Finally, a lot of determination and bravery will be needed to fight against narco violence, as well as to put an end to their corrupt infiltration into state structures. These are huge challenges that require the most talented – and lucky – governors.

“More capacity to reach agreements and explain them will be particularly welcome. Mexican society mistrusts its political class and is suspicious of any kind of concession in such a polarized environment”

Panama

Corporate and civic leader, Planells heads the Independent Movement (MOVIN), a group of citizens that defends a liberal outlook with more social justice, transparency and less corruption in a country that has recently undergone political crisis. Panama has also been in the eye of the storm for its tax opaqueness, something that weighs on the quality of its democracy and its international reputation.

Planells' political awareness developed in the '80s, under dictator Manuel Antonio Noriega's "reign of terror." In 1985, the murder of dissident Hugo Spadafora provoked student protests in which Planells took part. It was then when she realized what a dictatorship meant and the importance of democracy, justice and freedom. It is in this context in which Planells admires former Vice President Ricardo Arias Calderon's democracy, restored after the fall of Noriega. On an international level, she follows Nelson Mandela's example.

MOVIN came to light in 2014, a year of presidential elections and a time of political crisis. In the end, Juan Carlos Varela became vice president from 2009 to 2014 and would accede to the nation's first magistracy. Planells studied electrical engineering at the Santa Maria La Antigua Catholic University and holds a master's degree in business administration from the INCAE Business School in Nicaragua. The talented, liberal-minded politician is a daily social media user, and, apart from Spanish, speaks and writes in English.

Panamanian politics have always been closely tied to the historic changes of the United States, where Ivan Chanis worked as legal and political consultant for the Permanent Mission of Panama at the Organization of American States (OAS) in Washington, DC . It is this former president for whom Chanis professes most admiration in the international sphere. In Panamanian politics, he looks up to his great uncle, who was briefly president of Panama. He defines himself as Americanist and is an enthusiastic scholar of Simon Bolivar's legacy.

Born in 1983, he studied law and political science at Santa Maria La Antigua Catholic University. He completed his training with post-graduate studies in international relations, diplomacy and communications at the Complutense University of Madrid and a master's degree in law, focusing in particular on international law at the New York University School of Law. He has also studied diplomatic protocol and human relations. In addition to his law career, he has had an extensive diplomatic career as an academic with studies not only in the United States but also for shorter periods in Brazil, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom.

His interests are focused on the fight against corruption, education reform, empowering civil society and improving the quality of Panamanian institutions. Chanis, who uses social media as a mandatory political practice, speaks English and Spanish, and is proficient in Italian. He aspires to hold institutional positions in ministries such as the Ministry of Foreign Relations or bodies such as the national parliament.



Annette Planells

Leader of MOVIN



Iván Chanis

President of *Fundación Iguales*





Gabriel Silva

Pre-candidate for member of Parliament in the 8-7 district



Among the independent politicians in Panama is Gabriel Silva, a lawyer, political scientist and pre-candidate to Congress for Panama City. He has worked as regional manager for Procter & Gamble and as adviser to the Ministry of Commerce and Industries in Singapore, whose great reformer, Lee Kuan Yew, Silva admires. He holds a law and political science degree from the Santa Maria La Antigua Catholic University, where, due to his good performance, he obtained a scholarship to pursue a master's degree in higher education. He later obtained another scholarship to earn a master's degree in public politics at Oxford University, as well as a Fulbright scholarship for a master's degree in law at Columbia University in New York.

He values former President Guillermo Endara's internal politics efforts, as well as his detachment and lack of interest in remaining in power. He also deems George Washington and Marco Aurelio notable historic figures who truly understood their purpose.

Silva is a regular Facebook, Twitter and Instagram user, and, due to his academic background and business experience, speaks fluent English and can converse in Italian. As a pragmatic and independent politician, he has cross-cutting interests targeted at fighting state bureaucracy, favoring education reform and judicial changes to fight corruption, cronyism and privileges.

Future political challenges in Panama

“It will be vital to have the skill to gradually reform Panama’s financial and fiscal opacity. Diplomacy, technical know-how and a belief in a long-term vision and principles will be crucial”

Since the fall of the dictator Manuel Noriega, Panamanian political life has run off peacefully and with relative stability, at least if we compare it with the situation of its Central American neighbors. The milestone of the return of the Canal by the United States in 1999 marked a stage of total sovereignty in a country economically dependent on these locks for its economic development. However, in recent years Panama has gone through unprecedented political upheavals for various reasons. On one hand, the delay and excess costs in the extension of the Panama Canal nearly brought about a diplomatic crisis with Spain, the country from which the main concessionaire company came from. In 2014, the presidential elections had a surprise in store when the vice president and enemy of the president, Juan Carlos Varela, became president.

Since then, major events have also occurred, such as the inauguration of the new Canal locks, but in particular the Panama Papers scandal, an international journalistic exposé which filtered data from international individuals and companies that used the country of the Isthmus for tax evasion and to conceal capital. This brought about a national crisis, forcing the country to reflect on the mainstays of its growth and stability based on the Canal as a place of passage and its opaque financial system, favorable to capital of shady origins. These two facts caused a reputational crisis in Panama.

Although it still boasts an enviable profile in the region, Panama needs to reinvent itself in the medium and long term, and it is endowed with sound stability and development conditions. Its geographic location, the extended Canal and its historic ties with two giants of the region like the United States and Colombia place it in a perfect position to look for new sources of legitimacy and wealth. Any politician in the immediate future in this Central American country must adopt diplomatic skills and contacts with its main neighbors, as well as with the main global companies that unify the Canal. On the other hand, it will be vital to have the skill to gradually reform Panama’s financial and fiscal opacity until replacement industries are found. Diplomacy, technical know-how and a belief in a long-term vision and principles will be crucial for any vying leaders.

Peru

The Peruvian political setting has been experiencing some of the most notable changes in the region. The presidential pardon granted by President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski to Alberto Fujimori was Kuczynski's downfall. Alberto Belaunde, who was congressman of the ruling party Peruanos Por el Kambio (PPK) at the time of the pardon, renounced his affiliation and has since become an independent congressman, a role he is expected to maintain until 2021.

Born in 1986 in Lima, his political vocation arose in primary school and, since then, coinciding with the agonizing end of Fujimorismo, his public commitment has been consolidated. He holds a bachelor's degree in law from the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP) and a master's degree in government and public management from the University of San Martin de Porres. He also completed the Global Competitive Leadership Program at Georgetown University and holds a diploma in public management and public policies from the PUCP, where he is a full-time professor.

He speaks English and maintains his own personal social media pages. Socially progressive, he admires Valentin Paniagua, the only president in the last 30 years without questionable ethics related to his political career. Regarding international politics, he looks up to Barack Obama due to his ability to inspire social change. His political vocation, which for the time being he wants to continue practicing as a congressman, is centered around human rights and promoting and recognizing LGBTI and different minority rights. He believes Peru is in a political and institutional crisis in need of immediate reforms to its political and justice system, as well as, in the long term, education—an aspect he hopes will provide real equal opportunities to a country with alarming exclusion levels.

Latin America is known, among other things, for the chaos in its mega-cities, such as Lima, the capital of Peru. Unfortunately, few leaders have shown substantial interest in Lima's planning. Lawyer Mariana Alegre Escorza is an exception. Although she holds a master's degree in human rights, she also holds a master's degree in urban design and social sciences. She is also interested in urban phenomena, sustainable mobility, public spaces and renewal with social integration.

She is general coordinator of Lima Cómo Vamos, a citizens' observatory in charge of measuring evolution in the quality of life in the capital. She is also a columnist for the newspaper Peru 21 and coordinator of the Social Management Unit for the Faculty of Administration and Senior Management of the PUCP, where she completed her law degree. She later earned a master's degree in urban planning and social sciences at the London School of Economics after receiving a Chevening scholarship. She admires her grandfather, writer Manuel Scorza; they never met, yet he is a constant stimulus through his works. In the international sphere, and specifically on urban planning matters, she highlights the leadership of Professor Jane Jacobs in promoting more compactness and more neighborhood-cities.

A regular Facebook and Twitter user, she speaks English and some Catalan thanks to her year as an exchange student in Barcelona. Her political priorities are centered on improving the country's system of institutions, the fight against corruption, reform in the public education model and implementing measures in favor of sustainable urban development. Although she does not rule out becoming involved in public elections and processes, she admits she is discouraged by the political system when it comes to taking such a step.



Alberto de Belaúnde

Congressman of the Republic



Mariana Alegre Escorza

Executive director of NGO
Lima Como Vamos



Peru has a rich biodiversity; it has desert and even part of the Amazon. However, historically, Peru's leaders have not focused on preserving the environment. A new generation of global leaders has emerged to remedy this shortcoming, with Bruno Monteferri, born in 1982, a prominent player. An environmental lawyer, he also obtained a master's degree in conversation leadership from Cambridge University in the United Kingdom. He speaks some German, as well as fluent English and Spanish.

His political philosophy revolves around environmental matters, to the extent that he has voiced his medium-term intention to live in the Amazon. Regarding Peruvian leaders who inspire him, he highlights the work of lawyers Pedro Solano and Jorge Cayo; in the international scenario, Edward Wilson, one of the notable representatives of the biophilia hypothesis and "inventor" of biodiversity. Monteferri is cautious in his use of social media. It is there to unite and play a role if used with critical dexterity.

He maintains Peru's 'set-up' needs to be reformed first, by putting an end to a centralism that is keeping regions distant and unattended, indifferent to Lima's power, then, by reducing pollution and, lastly, putting an end to deforestation, the indiscriminate cutting down of trees, forest burning and improper extraction of gold resources. Without ruling out a potential entry to some cabinet, his short and medium-term work focus on fortifying social awareness regarding environmental problems Peru is suffering.

Social exclusion is prominent in Latin America—quality education for all has not yet been achieved. Daniela Raffo, born in 1983 and at present managing director of Aporta, the Breca Group social innovation laboratory, has for many years been dedicated to improving the ratios in this sector. In 2009, she was one of the founding members of EnseñaPerú, an organization dedicated to encouraging education and the design and implementation of social strategies to put an end to the exclusion of large population groups from the education system.

She was also a founding member of Laboratorio +51, social innovation unit of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (PCM). Until April 2018, she worked as a consultant at the PCM's Sectoral Innovation and Government Compliance office. She holds an MBA from Stanford University and completed an exchange course in Italy while graduating in business management and administration from the University of the Pacific. Apart from Spanish, she speaks English, French and Italian.

She uses Twitter to communicate professional and political matters and Instagram as a more personal network. Her political vocation arose when she started university, strengthening while at Stanford. Her political benchmarks are world figures in the education sector, such as Paul Polak of IDE, and Jaqueline Novogratz of Acumen Fund. In the corporate world, she considers Paul Polman of Unilever a benchmark. In addition to reforming education to guarantee a more inclusive and complete training, Daniela Raffo thinks the short-term vision mentality of the country's political decisionmakers needs changing and that it is necessary to professionalize the administration and public services.



Bruno Monteferri

Director of NGO
Conservamos por Naturaleza



Daniela Raffo

Director of *Aporta Desarrollo Sostenible*, a social innovation laboratory of the Breca group



Future political challenges in Peru

President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski's recent resignation facing the threat of impeachment has again shaken the Peruvian political panorama. The scandal of buying votes from the opposition to avoid a first political trial revealed a practice that has cost the office of a president elected only slightly over a year ago, uniting the votes against Fujimorism. In his brief mandate, he had time to pardon former President Alberto Fujimori, who provoked a huge scandal and rupture with his allies in the government. Although Martin Vizcarra, his vice president, has taken over his office, thereby bringing a certain degree of calm, the Peruvian political life is still experiencing a permanent state of instability.

Former Presidents Ollanta Humala and Alejandro Toledo ended up in jail or were issued search and arrest warrants, and Alan Garcia and Kuczynski himself are under suspicion for having received bribes from the Brazilian construction company Odebrecht. They were all leaders chosen in a second round to restrain Fujimorism, now divided due to the scandal of buying congressional votes. The victories were, however, by very small margins, and as Fujimorism has been moderated, and the former presidents are all under the shadow of corruption, there is no longer assurance of Fujimorism gaining power at the next presidential elections, scheduled for 2021.

The big difference between the Peru of the '80s and '90s, however, is the correlation of this political instability is fair stability and economic consensus. Far from hyperinflation, the next leaders of Peru will have to make an important political transition to reconstruct the basic consensus of a highly discredited system. But they will do so in a far better economic context than that of other times. Even Fujimorism has assumed the basic principles of the functioning of the Peruvian economy, now bent on opening the attraction of investments and exports to the world. The politicians of the immediate future should therefore have great political weight and capacity to reach agreements and explain said agreements to their constituencies without the notion of betrayal that today follows any political commitment – a complicated task but not as complicated as in other occasions.

“The next leaders of Peru will have to make an important political transition to reconstruct the basic consensus of a highly discredited system”

Portugal

Portugal's right and center-right are essentially divided into two formations that are part of the European People's Party. The Social Democratic Party (PSD), the bigger of the two, has ruled during several periods of Portugal's history. The smaller formation is the People's Party (CDS-PP), to the right of its counterpart and occasionally used to form coalitions that permit conservative majorities. Portugal is currently governed by the Socialist Party and is to hold parliamentary elections in 2019. Adolfo Mesquita is in charge of preparing the electoral campaign of the People's Party, a process he expects will confirm his country's place in a global and economic world with free circulation, which he considers to be a singular condition that will ensure national development. In 2011, he became a member of Parliament and, between 2013 and 2015, held the position of secretary of state for tourism at the Ministry of Economy.

To prepare for the campaign, he will draw on various experts' opinions (entrepreneurs, scientists, researchers), such as those in the "40 UNDER 40 - European Young Leaders" program for which he was chosen, although, as he was born 1977, he is no longer under 40. He is a lawyer and promising leader of the center-right who admires Margaret Thatcher for her resolve in making difficult decisions and economic opening and liberalization programs. He also looks up to Francisco Lucas Pires, fellow Portuguese and former minister of his party of Culture and Scientific Coordination. Mesquita particularly admires Lucas Pires' bravery and struggle for an open society, as well as his leadership in pioneering the liberal-conservative current in Portugal. His political goals include preparing productive systems in his country for the digital revolution and improving the Portuguese economy's competitiveness in anticipation of globalization.

His political career began 2003 as legal advisor to the secretary of state for social security. In 2004, he was made chief of staff of the minister of environmental and spatial planning. He uses Facebook for political purposes and Twitter and Instagram for more personal matters. His political career is marked by his efforts in domestic politics as vice president of the People's Party and in local politics as a councilmember for of the municipal government of Covilha, his hometown, where he obtained outstanding results in the most recent elections, even though the town had historically shunned his party. His experience in the private sector is also noteworthy. Since 2016, he has been a partner of Gama Gloria, an undertaking combining knowledge of law, strategy and public politics to provide consulting services to companies and governments.

The Social Democratic Party (PSD) is the main center-right political formation in Portugal. Jose Manuel Durao Barroso, former Portuguese prime minister and European Commission (EC) president, was a member of this formation, which, along with former Prime Minister Pedro Passos Coelho, was in charge of carrying through with the European bailout program that led to cutbacks and great sacrifice. These are the domestic and international figures Carlos Moedas, European Commissioner of Research, Science and Innovation since 2014, admires; he also expresses his respect for EU proponent and former EC President Jacques Delors, and for Simone Veil and Madeleine Albright.

Although his political career began at a late age, he soon filled positions of great responsibility. In 2011, he was part of a PSD team in charge of preparing an economic adjustment program the Troika (IMF, EC and ECB) applied in Portugal between 2011 and 2014. He was a member of Parliament in representation of the Beja district. He held the office of undersecretary of state of the prime minister, in charge of overseeing the adjustment program up to 2014, at which point he assumed the European portfolio. He



Adolfo Mesquita Nunes

Vice president of CDS-PP



Carlos Moedas

European Commissioner of Research, Science and Innovation



studied construction engineering at the Higher Technical Institute of Lisbon and holds an MBA from Harvard Business School.

He speaks English, French and Spanish, in addition to Portuguese, and uses social media as a means of increasing his agenda's transparency. His top three priorities are 1) preparing new generations for the digital revolution through profound education reform, 2) fighting inequality and 3) achieving a strategic vision that puts an end to "trench politics" that prevent the adoption of large-scale transformation. Although he is a politician with a technocratic background, his career has seen changes in recent years that have made him one of his party's leading figures.



Mariana Mortágua

Member of Parliament of the
Block de Esquerda



Portugal is ruled by a Socialist and minority government by way of parliamentary support from the Portuguese Communist Party and the Left Bloc, the latter being the party of Mariana Mortágua. Born 1986 in Alvito, her political position is clear in a country that has been greatly affected by bailout efforts in Europe. It comes as no surprise that she outright rejects austerity measures and the illegitimacy of some of her country's debt. Together with party founder Francisco Louca, she has published several books on the subject. She is currently a member of Parliament, where she has gained relevance due to her involvement in a committee of inquiry into the management of Banco Espírito Santo.

She holds bachelor's and master's degrees in economy from the University Institute of Lisbon (ISCTE) and is preparing a Ph.D. thesis on the debt crisis. She frequently writes articles that appear in the newspapers Expresso Online and Jornal de Noticias. She is highly critical of social media, though she uses it as channels of information rather than sources of opinion. She is also critical of personality-centric politics and praises the less formal and more horizontal functioning of the Left Bloc in comparison to other parties. For this reason, she is hard-pressed to name a Portuguese or international leader when asked for her figures of admiration.

With a critical stance toward economic and financial globalization, her political priority is to reform the job market and fight the growing phenomenon of precarious work. She also insists that the state must considerably step up its investment in public services that have deteriorated after years of cutbacks and austerity. In her opinion, it is necessary to do away with the misconception that investment in public services results in deficit or failure to control public accounts. Lastly, Mortágua sees an urgent need to regain control of strategic sectors, such as the power grid, energy production and transmission infrastructures, airports and the postal service, all of which are privately run at this time in the hands of foreign investors.

Future political challenges in Portugal

“Portugal still has a major problem in terms of its competitiveness. Its main obstacles are economic, as politically it is a stable, friendly country”

Portugal was one of the countries hit hardest by the 2007 financial and debt crisis. The European bailout was managed by a center-right government of the Social Democratic Party (Partido Social Democrata - PSD) led by Pedro Passos Coelho, although the bailout was requested by the government of his predecessor from the Socialist Party (PS). There were consequences for the country's self-esteem, and this was reflected in the 2015 elections, which failed to give an absolute majority to the PSD. The current Prime Minister Antonio Costa gained power thanks to the external support of the Communist Party (Partido Comunista) and the Left Bloc (Bloco de Esquerda) and he came with a message against European austerity, which his predecessor had strictly applied.

Since that time, Portugal has been regarded as an example of the alternative rigor of austerity, but it has still met the deficit reduction targets. Its finance minister has even been appointed chairman of the Eurogroup, the informal club of countries that share the community currency. To some extent, Portugal has become fashionable, an aspect also reflected by its booming tourism figures and the purchase of homes by foreigners, many of them celebrities.

However, Portugal still has a major problem in terms of its competitiveness. Its main obstacles are economic, as politically it is a stable, friendly country. So the leaders of the immediate future in this country need to have considerable technical know-how, as well as influence in the European Union (EU), a supranational institution where the essential competences for the foreign sector and its industry's competitiveness reside. Portugal's future depends on the EU, particularly if the tailwinds of the Central European Bank cease to blow. At present, there are Portuguese incumbents in major community posts. It is here where its politicians must seek to exert influence and position themselves.

Spain



Pablo Casado

Presidential candidate for the People's Party



Though still very young and despite the intense activity in Spain's political arena, Pablo Casado's name remains intact in the wake of scandals that have rocked the country's conservative People's Party (PP). Born 1981 in Palencia, he holds a degree in law from the Complutense University, as well as a degree in administration and corporate management and a master's degree in administrative law from Rey Juan Carlos University. He completed his postgraduate education through different programs at the IE Business Institute, Harvard University, Georgetown University and Johns Hopkins University, among others.

Casado is currently member of the Spanish Parliament. Standing out in his political career is his position as Undersecretary of Communication of the People's Party. He has stepped down from this position to run for party president in July 2018 primaries.

Highlights of his political career include his current position as senior assistant secretary of communication of the PP, his work as spokesman for the 2019 municipal and regional election campaigns and his position as a member of Parliament. However, his experience began several years earlier, as chief of staff of former President Jose Maria Aznar between 2009 and 2012 and spokesman for the PP Justice and Public Administrations in regional party meetings in Madrid between 2007 and 2009.

He is part of the liberal current within the party and admires three center-right politicians: Adolfo Suarez, Jose Maria Aznar and Mariano Rajoy, the latter of which appointed him to his current PP position. Rather than expressing pessimism, he firmly believes in regaining the country's sense of pride and acknowledging the nation's many accomplishments since its transition from dictatorship to democracy in 1978. He uses social media and frequently appears on politically themed television programs and press conferences.

He is considered a talented speaker who is quick to respond and has often been considered as a contender for municipal, regional and national offices.



Meritxell Batet

Minister of territorial policy and civil service for the Socialists of Catalonia party (Socialistas de Catalunya) and member of Parliament for Barcelona in Congress



The recent changes in the Spanish Government have led Meritxell Batet, born in Barcelona (1973), to take up office as Minister of Territorial Policy and Civil Service. She has thus taken responsibility for navigating the current territorial crisis, one of the greatest challenges impacting Spanish politics today.

Batet is a lecturer in Constitutional Law and previously taught Administrative Law at Pompeu Fabra University of Barcelona. A Law graduate, she completed her studies with postgraduate courses and research visits in the U.S. In addition to Catalan, she speaks English, Spanish and French. Moreover, she has a post-graduate qualification in town planning and real estate law.

She does not personally use social media, though her team manages her Twitter, Facebook and Instagram profiles.

She sees herself as a federalist, feminist and social democrat. In her youth, Salvador Allende accompanied her as they were both close to a Chilean in exile. She expresses particular admiration for the former Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and the former prime minister of Catalonia and former mayor of Barcelona Pasqual Maragall.

She is a member of parliament for Congress in Barcelona prioritizing improving the education system, placing a greater emphasis on respect and co-existence, as well as renewing the social and territorial contracts, both of which have suffered severe damage after years of economic and institutional crisis. She is close to the current prime minister and was the assistant general secretary of the Parliamentary Group in parliament. She was also on the team responsible for negotiating the unsuccessful investiture of Pedro Sanchez in 2016.

Marta Pascal, born in Vic (1983), is a graduate in Political Sciences and Administration from Pompeu Fabra University and History from the University of Barcelona. She completed a public management leadership program at IESE-Madrid and is currently following the Vicens Vives leadership program at ESADE.

Her interest in politics began at a young age. In 2006 she joined The Democratic Convergence of Catalonia (Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya – CDC) and its youth organization, the Catalan Nationalist Youth (Juventud Nacionalista de Catalunya), of which she was the president from 2012 to 2015.

She was the head of the regional department of education for Vic City Council from 2008 to 2011 and an adviser to the regional minister for Education of the Catalan government from 2011 to 2012. In 2012, she was on the electoral lists of Convergence and Union (Convergència i Unió – CiU) for the Catalan Parliament and was re-elected in 2015 with the Together for Yes coalition (Junts pel Si).

Since 2016 she has been the General Coordinator of the Democratic Party of Catalonia Partido (PDeCAT, for its Catalan acronym), the political heir of Convergence. She is currently a senator.

While she professes admiration for Barack Obama and Justin Trudeau, she also pursues the political legacy of Jordi Pujol, the Catalan nationalist leader.

Although the territorial and identity debate currently occupies the middle ground of Catalan politics, Pascal is also interested in labor and public management matters.

Marta Pascal is a frequent user of social media, which she views as a vital communications tool with citizens.



Marta Pascal

General coordinator for the Democratic Party of Catalonia (Partido Demócrata de Catalunya - PDeCAT)





Iñigo Errejón

Secretary of strategic analysis and political change of We Can (Podemos) and member of Parliament in the Madrid Congress



Leaving behind social and political claims that contributed to the appearance of new political forces, 2011's 15 M movement changed Spain's recent political history. The introduction of We Can (Podemos) was to occur at the 2014 European elections at which, contrary to expectations, it gained five members in the European Parliament.

Inigo Errejón, born in Madrid (1983), was at the helm of the successful European campaign and remained campaign manager until the elections June 26, 2016. In 2017, he left his post as the party's spokesman in Congress but remained head of the Secretariat of Strategic Analysis and Political Change on the National Executive.

At present, besides serving as a member of the Spanish Parliament, he is preparing his candidacy for the Presidency of the Community of Madrid at the 2019 elections. He is often heard speaking in the media. He is regarded as a good political theorist and speaker with excellent reasoning capabilities. He harbors admiration for Alvaro García Linera, vice president of Bolivia, as well as historic figures of Spanish anarchism and Manuel Azaña.

He has a Ph.D. in political science from Complutense University of Madrid and has been interested in politics since a young age, when he partook in the anti-globalization protests in Genoa, Prague and Scotland and the mobilizations against the Iraq war.

He stresses the need to establish cross-party dialogue going beyond the classical division between left and right to form new, broad, progressive majorities.



Toni Roldán

Spokesman for the economy in Congress and responsible for the secretariat of sectoral programs and areas of the Citizens' (Ciudadanos) Party parliamentary group



The other party that appeared in the wake of Spain's economic and political crises is Citizens – Party of the Citizenry, also known as Citizens (Ciudadanos). As its origins are Catalanian, the party played a prominent role during the institutional and territorial crisis and has since become a leading political force in Spain. Toni Roldán, born 1983 in Barcelona, is a member of Citizens and is currently a member of Congress. Although Citizens has shifted its ideology from social democracy toward liberalism, Roldán is part of the most progressive social liberal wing of the party, in which he serves as secretary of programs and sectorial areas. He is also the economy spokesman of the Citizens parliamentary group in Congress.

While his profile is political, his background is in economics. He maintains a close relationship with the party's head of economics, Luis Garicano, with whom he coauthored a 2015 list of proposals to change Spain ("Recuperar el futuro: Doce propuestas que cambiarán España"). He holds a degree in economics from the University of Barcelona and a master's degree in economic politics from Columbia University and in international relations from the University of Sussex. He is fluent in English, French, Spanish and Catalan. Although the online presence of Citizens is backed by one of the most talented technological teams, he personally manages his Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn accounts.

Driven by his commitment to fulfilling his duties within his political party and by his own interest, he places particular importance on issues related to the job market, education and reconciliation of professional and family life. In early 2018, Citizens presented its economic program, which assigned Roldán an important role and in which all the aforementioned issues were covered. It comes as no surprise, then, that his political influences are those of Third Way leaders such as Blair and Schroeder, who were responsible for the reform of issues similar to those Roldán defends.

Future political challenges in Spain

The recent change in government after the departure of Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy entails a change in names and sensitivity, but whether it will bring an end to the deep-rooted problems of the country remains to be seen.

The Catalan crisis progresses, and there is an urgent need to coordinate a political solution to make relations between Catalonia and the rest of Spain more harmonious.

On the other hand, there are still some underlying factors that have driven various sectors out onto the street to ask for increases in pensions and public health investment. The European framework does not allow any excess expenditure, and Spain is obliged to balance the deficit over the next few years. There are great expectations, but the situation has not changed accordingly.

What seems clear is the political debate over the next few years appears to revolve around two main issues: the Catalan conflict and the improvement in social conditions, particularly in terms of the quality of employment.

Regarding the first issue, it is reasonable to expect a debate will commence about possible solutions, such as a reform of the Constitution in Parliament. Regarding the second issue, there could perhaps be a greater consensus between the different political forces.

It should be borne in mind the government has reached half way through its term with less than 25% support from the Chamber, which is why a pre-electoral atmosphere is in place.

The leaders of the immediate future in Spain are about to experience a few years conducive to profiles of highly political leaders, not technical ones. Intense election campaigns are foreseen in which the two blocks, conservative and progressive, are repositioning themselves.

This is why a lot of leadership will be needed, both political and organic, because at a time of such flux in terms of preferences, it will not be easy to hold to clear strategic routes.

“A lot of leadership will be needed, both political and organic, because at a time of such flux in terms of preferences, it will not be easy to hold to clear strategic routes”

Reputation Management, Communication and Public Affairs

Leader in Spain, Portugal and Latin America

LLORENTE & CUENCA (LL&C) is the leading public relations, communications and reputation management consulting firm in Spain, Portugal and Latin America. It gathers 21 partners and more than 500 professionals who provide strategic consultancy services to companies from all sectors with operations in Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries.

With offices in **Argentina, Brazil** (Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro), **Colombia, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Portugal, Spain** (Madrid and Barcelona), and the **United States** (Miami, New York and Washington, DC), LL&C also offers services through partner agencies in Bolivia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela.

The top two industry publications rate LL&C among the most important communication firms in the world, ranking 44th in terms of global revenue according to PRWeek's Global Agency Business Report 2018 and 49th in The Holmes Report's Global Ranking 2018.

LL&C has won several awards for its client reputation and business results, including Best Agency of 2017 by El Publicista and **Agency of the Year in the 2017** Latin American Excellence Awards.

Team of Specialists

Joan Navarro is Partner and Vice-President of Public Affairs at LLORENTE & CUENCA. He holds a degree in Sociology from the UNED and has completed the General Management Program (Programa de Dirección General, PDG) by IESE-University of Navarra. He is considered an expert in political communication and public affairs. From 2004 to 2007, he was director of the cabinet of the minister of Public Administration, and, in 2010, the Spain-based newspaper El País included him in its list of the 100 most influential people. He is a founding member of the forum +Democracia, which is a platform that promotes institutional change for a better working democracy. He teaches at several universities, he is a member of the Spanish chapter of Strategic and Competitive Intelligence Professionals (SCIP) and he collaborates with El País.

jnavarro@llorentycuenca.com



The public affairs teams of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Spain, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Portugal and the Dominican Republic of LLORENTE & CUENCA were involved in the preparation of this study.

www.llorentycuenca.com

LLORENTE & CUENCA

CORPORATE MANAGEMENT

José Antonio Llorente
Founding Partner and Chairman
jallornte@llorenteycuenca.com

Enrique González
Partner and CFO
egonzalez@llorenteycuenca.com

Adolfo Corujo
Partner and Chief Talent and
Innovation Officer
acorujo@llorenteycuenca.com

Carmen Gómez Menor
Corporate Director
cgomez@llorenteycuenca.com

MANAGEMENT - AMERICAS

Alejandro Romero
Partner and CEO Americas
aromero@llorenteycuenca.com

Luisa García
Partner and COO Latin America
lgarcia@llorenteycuenca.com

José Luis Di Girolamo
Partner and CFO Latin America
jldgirolamo@llorenteycuenca.com

Antonieta Mendoza de López
Vice President of Advocacy LatAm
amendozalopez@llorenteycuenca.com

TALENT MANAGEMENT

Daniel Moreno
Chief Talent Officer
dmoreno@llorenteycuenca.com

Karla Rogel
Chief Talent Officer for Northern
Region
krogel@llorenteycuenca.com

Marjorie Barrientos
Chief Talent Officer for Andean
Region
mbarrientos@llorenteycuenca.com

Laureana Navarro
Chief Talent Officer for Southern
Region
lnavarro@llorenteycuenca.com

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Arturo Pinedo
Partner and Managing Director
apinedo@llorenteycuenca.com

Goyo Panadero
Partner and Managing Director
gpanadero@llorenteycuenca.com

Barcelona

María Cura
Partner and Managing Director
mcura@llorenteycuenca.com

Muntaner, 240-242, 1º-1ª
08021 Barcelona
Tel. +34 93 217 22 17

Madrid

Joan Navarro
Partner and Vice-president
of Public Affairs
jnavarro@llorenteycuenca.com

Amalio Moratalla
Partner and Senior Director of Sport
and Business Strategy
amoratalla@llorenteycuenca.com

Iván Pino
Partner and Senior Director
of Digital
ipino@llorenteycuenca.com

Jordi Sevilla
Vice-president of Economic Context
jsevilla@llorenteycuenca.com

Claudio Vallejo
Senior Director Latam Desk
cvallejo@llorenteycuenca.com

Lagasca, 88 - planta 3
28001 Madrid
Tel. +34 91 563 77 22

Impossible Tellers

Ana Folgueira
Managing Director
ana@impossibletellers.com

Lagasca, 88 - planta 3
28001 Madrid
Tel. +34 91 438 42 95

Cink

Sergio Cortés
Partner, Founder and Chairman
scortes@cink.es

Muntaner, 240, 1º-1ª
08021 Barcelona
Tel. +34 93 348 84 28

Lisbon

Tiago Vidal
Partner and Managing Director
tvidal@llorenteycuenca.com

Avenida da Liberdade nº225, 5º Esq.
1250-142 Lisbon
Tel. + 351 21 923 97 00

UNITED STATES

Erich de la Fuente
Partner and CEO
edela Fuente@llorenteycuenca.com

Miami

Erich de la Fuente
edela Fuente@llorenteycuenca.com

600 Brickell Ave.
Suite 2020
Miami, FL 33131
Tel. +1 786 590 1000

New York City

Gerard Guiu
Director of International Business
Development
gguiu@llorenteycuenca.com

Abernathy MacGregor
277 Park Avenue, 39th Floor
New York, NY 10172
Tel. +1 212 371 5999 (ext. 374)

Washington, DC

Ana Gamonal
Director
agamonal@llorenteycuenca.com

10705 Rosehaven Street
Fairfax, VA 22030
Washington, DC
Tel. +1 703 505 4211

MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

Javier Rosado
Partner and Managing Director
North Region
jrosado@llorenteycuenca.com

Mexico City

Juan Arteaga
Managing Director
jarteaga@llorenteycuenca.com

Rogelio Blanco
Managing Director
rblanco@llorenteycuenca.com

Bernardo Quintana Kawage
Non-Executive Chairman
bquintanak@llorenteycuenca.com

Av. Paseo de la Reforma 412, Piso 14,
Col. Juárez, Del. Cuauhtémoc
CP 06600, Mexico City
Tel. +52 55 5257 1084

Havana

Pau Solanilla
psolanilla@llorenteycuenca.com

Sortis Business Tower, piso 9
Calle 57, Obarrio - Panamá
Tel. +507 206 5200

Panama City

Pau Solanilla
Managing Director
psolanilla@llorenteycuenca.com

Sortis Business Tower, piso 9
Calle 57, Obarrio - Panamá
Tel. +507 206 5200

Santo Domingo

Iban Campo
Managing Director
icampo@llorenteycuenca.com

Av. Abraham Lincoln 1069
Torre Ejecutiva Sonora, planta 7
Tel. +1 809 6161975

ANDES' REGION

Bogota

María Esteve
Partner and Managing Director
mesteve@llorenteycuenca.com

Av. Calle 82 # 9-65 Piso 4
Bogotá D.C. - Colombia
Tel: +57 1 7438000

Lima

Luis Miguel Peña
Partner and Senior Director
lmpena@llorenteycuenca.com

Av. Andrés Reyes 420, piso 7
San Isidro
Tel. +51 1 2229491

Quito

Carlos Llanos
Managing Director
cllanos@llorenteycuenca.com

Avda. 12 de Octubre N24-528 y
Cordero - Edificio World Trade
Center - Torre B - piso 11
Tel. +593 2 2565820

Santiago de Chile

Constanza Téllez
Managing Director
ctellez@llorenteycuenca.com

Francisco Aylwin
Chairman
faylwin@llorenteycuenca.com

Magdalena 140, Oficina 1801.
Las Condes.
Tel. +56 22 207 32 00

SOUTH AMERICA

Buenos Aires

Mariano Vila
Managing Director
mvila@llorenteycuenca.com

Av. Corrientes 222, piso 8. C1043AAP
Tel. +54 11 5556 0700

Rio de Janeiro

Cleber Martins
clebermartins@llorenteycuenca.com

Ladeira da Glória, 26
Estúdio 244 e 246 - Glória
Rio de Janeiro - RJ
Tel. +55 21 3797 6400

Sao Paulo

Cleber Martins
Managing Director
clebermartins@llorenteycuenca.com

Juan Carlos Gozzer
Regional Innovation Officer
jcozzer@llorenteycuenca.com

Rua Oscar Freire, 379, Cj 111,
Cerqueira César SP - 01426-001
Tel. +55 11 3060 3390



d+i developing ideas

LLORENTE & CUENCA

Developing Ideas by LLORENTE & CUENCA is a hub for ideas, analysis and trends. It is a product of the changing macroeconomic and social environment we live in, in which communication keeps moving forward at a fast pace.

Developing Ideas is a combination of global partnerships and knowledge exchange that identifies, defines and communicates new information paradigms from an independent perspective. **Developing Ideas** is a constant flow of ideas, foreseeing new times for information and management.

Because reality is neither black nor white, **Developing Ideas** exists.

www.developing-ideas.com
www.uno-magazine.com



AMO is the leading global network of strategic and financial communications consultancies, with over 940 professional consultants and offices in more than 20 countries.

The network brings together local market leaders with unrivalled knowledge of financial markets and cross-border transactions in the key financial centers of Europe, Asia and the Americas.

Providing sophisticated communications counsel for M&A and capital market transactions, media relations, investor relations and corporate crises, our member firms have established relationships with many S&P 500, FTSE 100, DAX 30, SMI, CAC 40 and IBEX 35 companies.

www.amo-global.com

