**Freedom Matters**

**The threat to democracy and free markets in the Western**

**Hemisphere: implications for the United States and beyond**

**Tuesday, April 18, 2023**

**9:00 – 5:00 PM**

The Adam Smith Center for Economic Freedom

Management and Advanced Research Center Pavilion

Florida International University

11200 SW 8th St, Miami, FL 33199

 **MC: MONICA COLUCCI**, Member of the Miami-Dade County School Board

1. **OPENING REMARKS**

*9:00 – 9:15 AM*

* CARLOS DÍAZ-ROSILLO – Founding Director, The Adam Smith Center for Economic Freedom
* FRANK ZIMMERMAN – Director, Liberty Plus Foundation
* NESTOR CARBONELL – Author of *Why Cuba Matters,* Former Vice President of International Public Affairs of PepsiCo.
1. **THE ORIGINS, EVOLUTION, AND EXPANSION OF THE AUTHORITARIAN MODEL: THE CUBAN INFLUENCE**

*9:15 – 10:45 AM*

* JUAN CLAUDIO LECHIN – Author and playwright
* MARIA WERLAU – Author, Director of Cuba Archive
* ENRIQUE GARCIA – Former officer of Cuba’s Directorate of Intelligence
* LEOPOLDO LOPEZ – Political leader and human rights activist (by video)

**Coffee break**

 *10:45 – 11:00 AM*

1. **THE FINANCIAL-CRIMINAL FRAMEWORK OF CURRENT SOCIALIST REGIMES**

 *11:00 AM – 12:15 PM*

* GALO DEL POZO – International financial consultant
* HUGO ACHA – Political analyst
* ANDY RIVAS – International political consultant

**Lunch**

 *12:30 – 1:30 PM*

1. **CONVERSATION WITH FORMER PRESIDENTS: HOW TO DEFEND FREEDOM AND THE RULE OF LAW**

 *1:30 – 2:30 PM*

 Moderated by CARLOS DIAZ-ROSILLO

* H.E. EDUARDO FREI – Former President of Chile
* H.E. JORGE QUIROGA – Former President of Bolivia
* H.E. ALVARO URIBE – Former President of Colombia
1. **THE U.S. AND THREATS TO HEMISPHERIC SECURITY**

 *2:30 – 3:15 PM*

* CARLOS DIAZ-ROSILLO – Former Director of Policy, The White House
* OTTO REICH – U.S. Ambassador (ret.), former Assistant Secretary of State
1. **XXI CENTURY SOCIALISM: CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGERS**

 *3:15 – 4:45 PM*

 *Moderated by MARCELL FELIPE, Director of Inspire America Foundation*

* MARIA CORINA MACHADO – Political leader and human rights activist (by video)
* Venezuela – ASDRUBAL AGUIAR, Jurist and author
* Nicaragua – ROGER REYES, Lawyer and human rights activist
* Bolivia – MARIO BRUNO, Businessman and political analyst
* Peru – BERIT KNUDSEN, Political analyst and journalist

 **Coffee Break** (15 min.)

* Chile – GUSTAVO COVACEVICH, Businessman and political analyst
* Mexico – GABRIEL BAUDUCCO, Journalist
* Brazil – HUGO ACHA, Political analyst
* Argentina – JOSE GODOY, Director, Fundación Federalismo y Libertad
1. **CLOSING REMARKS**

 *4:45 – 5:00 PM*

* CARLOS DÍAZ-ROSILLO – Founding Director, The Adam Smith Center for Economic Freedom
* FRANK ZIMMERMAN – Director, Liberty Plus Foundation

*\* Simultaneous English-Spanish interpretation will be provided.*

**Participant biographical details**

*In alphabetical order*

**Hugo Achá**

Senior Research Fellow for the Center for a Secure Free Society and Director of Research and Outreach for the Foundation for Human Rights in Cuba. He is a researcher and lecturer in Counterterrorism and Combating Transnational Organized Crime. Mr. Acha has a Law degree from the Universidad Mayor de San Simon in Cochabamba, Bolivia, and a degree in Security, Defense and Development from the Military University of Bolivia. His postgraduate education includes courses/diplomas in the Netherlands’ Maastricht School of Management and the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies in Washington, D.C.

**Asdrubal Aguiar**

Jurist, university professor, editorial advisor for Diario Las Américas, General Secretary of the IDEA Group of 38 former heads of state, and Director of the Interamerican Press Association. The author of numerous publications and books, he has been an Ambassador, Governor of Caracas, and Minister of the Interior of his country, Venezuela, as well as a former judge of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. A member of several prestigious institutions, received the 2009 InterAmerican Press Association Chapultepec Award. Dr. Aguiar has a doctorate in law from Universidad Católica Andrés Bello of Venezuela, a Master from Università Pro-Deo of Rome, and several other specializations.

**Gabriel Bauducco**

Journalist, conductor, columnist, and author of five books and numerous collaborations for different newspapers and magazines. Based in Mexico, he is also the host of “Contracorriente,” a weekly online show on regional affairs produced by the Liberty + Foundation and the Adam Smith Center for Economic Freedom. Mr. Bauducco has led several TV shows and in 2016 won the National Prize of Journalism as a producer and screenplay writer for TV Azteca. He has been Editor-in-Chief of seven magazines.

**Mario Bruno**

Entrepreneur with over 25 years of experience in business management and operations who held senior management position in several companies in his native Bolivia. He was also General Manager of the Pro Santa Cruz Committee in Bolivia and has for the last 14 years been exiled in the United States, politically persecuted by the Evo Morales regime. In Bolivia, Mr. Bruno was also a professor of Organizational Sociology and Business Law as well as university president of Universidad Empresarial Mateo Kuljis. He has a degree in Political Science and a Master in Business Administration.

**Néstor Carbonell**

Author of several books and publications on Cuba, his latest book, *Why Cuba Matters*, provides historical overview of Cuba’s post-revolutionary role in the world stage. Mr. Carbonell had a long and successful career at PepsiCo before retiring in 2008 as Corporate Vice President in charge of International Public Affairs. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and of the Board of Overseers of the International Rescue Committee and, throughout his life, has dedicated vast civic efforts to defending freedom in Cuba and the region, briefing many diplomats, statesmen, members of Congress, corporate leaders, and policymakers. He earned a Doctor of Law degree from the University of Villanueva in Havana and a Master of Law degree as well as a Strategic Marketing Certificate from Harvard University.

**Gustavo Covacevich**

Executive in the international financial services industry with a long and successful career in large multinational companies such as Banco de Chile, Aetna, AIG, MetLife, and Alico Life and Pension Company; he was CEO for Latin American and Caribbean for the latter. He also founded and managed two successful pension funds in Chile and Argentina and led the start-up of two pension companies in post-Communist Poland and Rumania. Mr. Covacevich is a political analyst and commentator as well as a regular participant in major international economic and policy events. He has degrees in Business Administration as well as in Economic and Social Sciences from Universidad Católica de Chile and completed an Advance Management Program at Harvard University.

**Galo del Pozo Fernández**

General Manager and main shareholder of Transparency Group Cía. Ltd., headquartered in Quito and consultant for several major financial research and business intelligence companies in the United States. Mr. del Pozo is an expert in specialized technical advice and assistance, both in the public and private sectors, as well as in forensic auditing, money laundering, financial investigation, business intelligence, banking and accounting, and intellectual property protection. He began his career as an internal auditor of the Central Bank of Ecuador and investigator of the Special Unit for Financial Investigations of the State Attorney General's Office.

**Carlos Díaz-Rosillo**

Founding Director of The Adam Smith Center for Economic Freedom at Florida International University. In the Trump Administration, he was Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Policy and Interagency Coordination at the White House, Senior Deputy Chairman and Chief Operating Officer of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and Acting Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs; he was also a senior member of the 2016-2017 presidential transition. Dr. Díaz-Rosillo was a faculty member at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government, where he taught courses on the American presidency and was Assistant Dean of Harvard College. His areas of expertise include presidential power, policymaking and policy implementation, and national security policy.

**Marcell Felipe**

International tax and corporate lawyer, co-founder of the company that owns Miami TV stations Channel 41 and 48, Chairman of the American Museum of the Cuban Diaspora, and Chairman/Founder of the Inspire America Foundation, which is dedicated to promoting democracy in Cuba and the Americas. Mr. Felipe is a member of the Board of Trustees of Miami Dade College, the largest community college in the US, and has also served on the Board of the Miami Dade County Housing Finance Authority and of several non-profit and for-profit organizations. He is a graduate from the University of Pittsburgh School of Law.

**Eduardo Frei Ruíz-Tagle**

31st President of Chile (1994 – 2000). In 1989 he was elected to the Senate and presided the Finance and Budget Commissions. He was again elected Senator at the end of his presidential term and, reelected, became President of the Senate in 2006. Since 2018, he is President of the Infrastructure Policy Council (CPI) and is currently a member of the Executive Committee of the Club of Madrid and participates in the Asia-Pacific Political Cooperation Forum. President Frei is the son of Eduardo Frei Montalvo, who was President of Chile from 1964 to 1970. He has a degree in Civil Engineering with a major in Hydraulics from the University of Chile and completed specialization studies in Administration and Management Techniques in Italy.

**Enrique García**

International security consultant and political analyst specializing in Latin America. A former officer for the General Intelligence Directorate of Cuba’s Ministry of the Interior who, in his 11-year career, he handled Intelligence operations in seven countries: Peru, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Ecuador. Mr. García defected to the United States in January 1989 while posted in a diplomatic role in Ecuador. He is a graduate of the KGB School for Specialists and Chiefs as well as the KGB Officers’ School (both in Moscow) and has a law degree from the University of Havana.

**José Guillermo Godoy**

Founder and president of the Fundación Federalismo y Libertad of Argentina. In recent years, he has led its expansion in different cities of Latin America and the United States. Mr. Godoy has also participated as an organizer, moderator, and speaker in numerous academic events and educational programs in different countries of Latin American, the US and Spain.

**Berit Knudsen**

Columnist for several media outlets from Peru and Venezuela and analyst in Latin American current affairs. She has extensively researched the Peruvian problem in remote and marginalized areas. Berit is currently completing a Master’s program in Political Science and Public Management at the Rey Juan Carlos University in Spain and has a degree in Communications from the University of Lima.

**Juan Claudio Lechín**

Consultant, researcher/writer, award-winning novelist and playwright, whose expertise is on populism (communism and fascism) with a concentration on Cuban hegemony and 21st century socialism. He is also a Youtuber whose program "Filosofía al hueso" is on political philosophy 'with humor'. Mr. Lechín was a militant of the Venezuelan left in the 1970s and activist in Bolivia’s unions. He has a Master in Political Communication from Universidad de la Rioja and a Bachelors in Economics from Boston University.

**Leopoldo López**

Founder and national coordinator of the Voluntad Popular political party of Venezuela who was a popular 2-term mayor of the municipality of Chacao of Caracas. In 2014, he was sentenced to 14 years of prison by the Maduro regime, spending four years in a military prison. After three more years in house arrest and under political asylum at the Spanish embassy, he escaped Venezuela in October 2020 and joined his family in Spain. While in prison, he wrote

two books. Early in his career, Mr. López was an analyst/consultant at Petróleos de Venezuela (1996-1999) and taught Economics at the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello of Venezuela.

He has a degree from Kenyon College in Economics and Sociology and a Master in Public Policy from Harvard University. He is a recipient of the Sakharov prize from the European Parliament.

**María Corina Machado**

Founder and national coordinator of VENTE, Venezuela’s only classical liberal party, and member of Venezuela’s Liberal International charter. She was elected to Congress with the most votes in Venezuelan history and is the only Venezuelan politician who confronted Hugo Chávez in the Congress as well as the first Venezuelan political leader to denounce the regime as a failed and criminal state and linked it to the anti-US Foro de Sao Paulo. Ms. Machado has been illegally banned from leaving her country since 2014. She was named by BBC in 2018 as one of the 100 most influential and inspiring leaders in the world and is the recipient of the Prize for Freedom of Liberal International, the Cadiz Freedom Award, and the Charles T. Manatt Award from the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES).

**Otto Reich**

President of Otto Reich Associates, a Washington, D.C., consulting firm dedicated to international government relations, trade and investment, and frequent policy analyst in academic and media events. Ambassador Reich was U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs (2001-2002) and Ambassador to Venezuela (1986-1989). His long career focused on foreign affairs includes having served as Alternate U.S. Representative to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, Director of the Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America and the Caribbean, and Assistant Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in charge of Latin America and the Caribbean. He served the U.S. Armed Forces for three years including as a Lieutenant deployed to the Panama Canal Zone, has a Bachelor’s degree in International Studies from the University of North Carolina and a Master in Latin American Studies from Georgetown University.

**Jorge Quiroga**

President of Bolivia from 2001 to 2002, Vice president of Bolivia from 1997 to 2001 and Minister of Finance in 1992. Industrial engineer. During the interim government of Jeanine Áñez, he briefly served from 2019 to 2020 as the country's international delegate to denounce human rights violations. Quiroga was a candidate on the Christian Democratic Party ticket in the 2005 and 2014 presidential elections of Bolivia in which President Evo Morales was elected for a first and third term respectively. President Quiroga has a degree in Industrial Engineering from Texas A&M University and Master degree in Business Administration from St. Edward's University.

**Roger Reyes**

Nicaraguan lawyer from the city of Jinotepe and member of the Political Council of the organization Blue and While National Unity (Unidad Nacional Azul y Blanco). A human rights defender, he has supported actions to free political prisoners and defend Nicaraguans forced into exile for political reasons. During the pandemic, he founded a food bank as well as a virtual clinic to support the citizens of Jinotepe. He was a law professor at Central University of Nicaragua and established his own law firm.

**Andy Rivas**

CEO of an international consulting firm focused on political as well as corporate business, specializing in geopolitical campaigns, corporate networking, and strategic planning. His experience spans many countries including his native Argentina, Brasil, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Colombia, Perú, Uruguay, Honduras, México, Spain, and the United States. Mr. Rivas received a Fulbright Scholarship in American Studies and Leadership in the United States and a scholarship to study Foreign Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China - Taiwan. He is a former rowing champion from Argentina.

**Álvaro Uribe Vélez**

President of Colombia from August 2002 to August 2010. He was a national Senator from 2014 to 2020 and from 1986 to 1994, governor of Antioquia from 1995 to 1997, and mayor of Medellín from 1982 to 1984. In 2009, President George W. Bush awarded him the United States Presidential Medal of Freedom. President Uribe earned a law degree from the University of Antioquia and subsequently studied Management and Administration at Harvard University.

**Maria C. Werlau**

Executive Director and co-founder of the non-profit think tank Free Society Project/Cuba Archive. Author of numerous published works in English and Spanish on Cuba-focused topics that include a 2019 book titled *Cuba’s Intervention of Cuba in Venezuela: a strategic occupation with global implications*. Ms. Werlau has provided testimony to the U.S. Congress, the European Parliament, the UN, the OAS, and been a guest lecturer at many universities in several countries. She has a Bachelors’ degree in Foreign Service from Georgetown University and a Master in International Studies from Universidad de Chile.

**Frank Zimmerman**

Director and founder of Liberty + Foundation, active partner at Fundación Federalismo y Libertad, a non-profit think tank based in Argentina, and Strategic Communications Consultant at FIU’s Adam Smith Center for Economic Freedom. He is also the executive producer of Contracorriente, an online regional news program produced by Liberty + and the Adam Smith Center. Mr. Zimmerman is a seasoned executive in multi-disciplinary communications, marketing & advertising.