



SPECIAL REPORT

Cabinet Reshuffle by President Michelle Bachelet Political Analysis

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LLORENTE & CUENCA

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AUTHORS

I. INTRODUCTION

Fourteen months after the start of her term of office and following a series of scandals related to irregular political campaign funding (linked to the PENTA and CASCADAS case), the Ministry of the Interior's questionable handling of the crisis involving the President's son (the CAVAL case), and one of the lowest presidential ratings since Chile reinstated democracy (38% approval and 43% disapproval, according to the latest survey by the Center of Public Studies), President Michelle Bachelet announced her new cabinet on May the 11th. Its aim is to breathe new life into the second half of her term by building a team of individuals with proven experience in negotiating political-parliamentary matters and skills in establishing dialogs with public and private sectors.

Political party involvement in the president's decision was practically inexistent, just as in the case of Bachelet's first cabinet (2014). According to comments made by the presidents of the political parties of the Nueva Mayoría (New Majority), government coalition, they were only made aware of some of the names included in the new cabinet on May 10th at 8:00 pm.

A CABINET BASED ON DIALOG

An aspect to highlight in this new cabinet is the parliamentary experience of most of the new ministers, showing a strong trend towards dialog and negotiation. These items were notably absent during the initial Tax Reforms and marked the performance of the recently-departed Finance minister Alberto Arenas.

Although the new Finance minister, Rodrigo Valdés (PPD, Party for Democracy), has a strong technical (but not parliamentary) background as well as professional experience in the private sector, the support he received from the new Interior minister, Jorge Burgos (Demócrata Cristinano, (Christian Democracy)) was noteworthy. In a joint press conference with Valdés, Burgos made multiple mentions of the importance of the ministry of Finance in his first appearance as the cabinet chief, hinting at a promising ministry partnership.

Valdés, who is close to the Minister of Education, Nicolás Eyzaguirre (PPD, Party for Democracy), appears to be a good alternative for establishing a closer bond between the government and the private sector, especially with regulatory projects related to General Legislation for Banks, Capital Markets and Labor Reforms. The new

“The president is attempting to build a closer relationship with the Partido Comunista (Communist Party)”

Finance minister has worked at the IMF, Barclays and BTG Pactual, where his professional capabilities are acknowledged.

Ximena Rincón's (DC, Christian Democracy) arrival in the Ministry of Labor has been positive because the minister has already been president of the Senate's Labor Commission, and these matters are closely linked to her expertise. This, combined with the positive evaluation from her predecessor (Javiera Blanco, the current Minister of Justice), sets the stage for Labor Reforms with a high level of involvement, discussion and negotiation on all sides. Matters such as negotiations by branches, the groundwork for launching collective negotiations and replacements during strikes are issues for which it is hoped that the new minister will have agreement and dialog in their handling.

A MORE APPROACHABLE DEMOCRACIA CRISTINA (CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY) AND AN INCREASINGLY NEUTRAL PARTIDO COMUNISTA (COMMUNIST PARTY)

As a result of the Nueva Mayoría's (New Majority) parliamentary majority, the right-winged opposition was not a major hurdle the government faced in presenting initiatives. However, one of the parties that was most critical of

Bachelet's government was the Democracia Cristiana (Christian Democracy), which argued against Education Reforms and recently questioned the government's poor handling of the CAVAL case that involved the president's son. The arrival of Burgos in the Ministry of the Interior and the presence of Ximena Rincón in the Ministry of Labor will strengthen one of the central reforms proposed by Bachelet's government, the Labor Reform.

The presence of the Partido Comunista (Communist Party) in the cabinet with two ministers (Marcos Barraza in the Ministry of Social Development and Claudia Pascual in the Ministry of National Women's Service) hints at the idea that the president is attempting to build a closer relationship with the Partido Comunista (Communist Party), which includes the president of the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT, Central Union of Workers), one of the most important agents in Labor Reforms.

WINNERS AND LOSERS

Rodrigo Peñailillo, a member of the Partido Por la Democracia (Party for Democracy, PPD), formed part of the G-90 group of young politicians who were actively involved in directing Michelle Bachelet's presidential campaign and he became her person of trust in the cabinet.

“The Partido Comunista (Communist Party) has benefited from this cabinet reshuffling because”

Although his departure was highly foreseeable, he was one of the individuals who has been most affected by the shuffle. Peñailillo received poor ratings because of how he handled the CAVAL and SQM cases, in which invoices were submitted to the company (linked to the CASCADAS case) for consultancy that was never carried out, these are known as *ideologically false invoices*.

He is replaced by Jorge Burgos, a member of Democracia Cristiana (Christian Democracy) who was previously the minister of National Defense. The role of minister of the Interior is extremely important because this person acts as the President's right hand. As a result, it is very symbolic for a member of Democracia Cristiana (Christian Democracy) to hold this position because this ministry has been traditionally dominated by the political center.

José Antonio Gómez, a member of Partido Radical Social Demócrata (Social Democrat Radical Party), has taken over the position formerly held by Burgos (Democracia Cristiana,– Christian Democracy–).

The former Labor minister, Javiera Blanco (independent close to DC, Christian Democracy), is now with the Ministry of Justice, which had been led by José Antonio Gómez (Partido Radical Social Demócrata (Social

Democrat Radical Party)). The former minister of General Secretariat of the Presidency, Ximena Rincón (DC, Christian Democracy), is now with the Ministry of Labor.

Álvaro Elizalde, a member of the Partido Por la Democracia (Party for Democracy), was not appointed to the Ministry of General Secretariat of the Presidency and was replaced by the socialist Marcelo Díaz, who was previously the ambassador of Chile to Argentina.

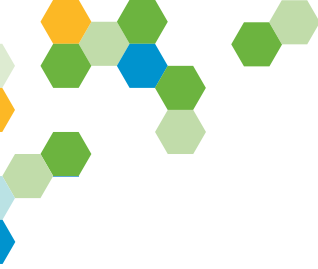
The Partido Comunista (Communist Party) has benefited from this cabinet reshuffling because Marcos Barraza has been appointed as the new minister of Social Development, replacing Fernanda Villegas. The Partido Comunista (Communist Party) currently holds two ministries, which is fairly rare in heavy governments.

In the Ministry of Culture, Claudia Barattini was removed from her position and replaced by Ernesto Ottone.

The ministry cabinet's political equilibrium is now as follows:

Democracia Cristiana (Christian Democracy):

- Ministry of the Interior
- Ministry of Public Works
- Ministry of Justice



- Ministry of Labor and Social Forecast
- Ministry of Economy, Development and Tourism
- Ministry of the Environment

Partido Socialista (Socialist Party):

- Ministry of General Secretariat of Government
- Ministry of Energy
- Ministry of Agriculture

Partido Por la Democracia (Party for Democracy):

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Ministry of Finance
- Ministry of General Secretariat of the Presidency
- Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning
- Ministry of Transport and Communications
- Ministry of Education

Partido Radical Socialista Demócrata (Social Democrat Radical Party):

- Ministry of National Defense
- Ministry of Mining

Partido Comunista (Communist Party):

- Ministry of National Women's Service
- Ministry of Social Development

MAS , Movimiento Amplio Social(Broad Social Movement):

- Ministry of Sport

Izquierda Ciudadana (Citizen Left):

- Ministry of National Assets

2. CABINET CHANGES

Ministry of the Interior and Public Security



Jorge Burgos Varela

Democracia Cristiana
(Christian Democracy)
(CD)

Burgos holds a Law degree from the University of Chile. He is the former minister of Defense for the current government and a former representative of district 21 (Providencia and Ñuñoa). Important milestones in his professional career include his position as assistant secretary for the Ministry of the Interior, ambassador of Chile to Ecuador, assistant secretary of War, and a variety of duties in the Ministry of the Interior during the Patricio Aylwin administration. In 1992, he was the acting provincial governor of the Metropolitan region.

Ministry of National Defense



José Antonio Gómez Urrutia

Partido Radical Social
Demócrata (Social De-
mocrat Radical Party)

Gómez holds a Law degree from the University of Chile. He is the former minister of Justice for the current government and a former senator of the Antofagasta region. He was president of the Constitution Commission during three years; member of the Defense, Human Rights, Mining and Energy Commissions; and vice president of the Senate on two occasions. He was also the minister of Justice during Bachelet's first term, and his efforts in promoting Criminal Procedural Reforms and Prison Reforms stand out. He was also the assistant secretary of Justice.

Ministry of Justice



Javiera Blanco Suárez

Independent, close to
the Partido Demócrata
Cristiano (Christian
Democracy Party)

Blanco holds a Law degree from the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile and a master's degree in Management and Public Policies from the Department of Industrial Engineering at the University of Chile. She is the former Labor minister for the current government. During Bachelet's first term, Blanco was the assistant secretary of the Carabineros national police force. She was the spokesperson for Bachelet's campaign during the last election. She worked as the executive director of Fundación Paz Ciudadana. She was also an advisory member of the Women's Community, director of the Paternitas Foundation, and director of the "Proyecto B" Foundation.

Ministry of Finance



Rodrigo Valdés Pulido

Partido Por la Democracia (Party for Democracy) (PPD)

Valdés holds degrees in Business Engineering and Economics from the University of Chile. He also has a doctorate in Economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). He is the former chairman of the Banco del Estado (the state bank). Valdés was hired by BTG Pactual in 2013 as the chief economist for the Andean region, and he held this position until March 2014 when he joined the Banco del Estado. His career began at the Corporation for Latin American Economic Research (CIEPLAN in Spanish). In February 2000, he became chief of Advisers and coordinator of Economic Policy for Nicolás Eyzaguirre, who was the Finance minister at the time. In 2009, he became the deputy director of the IMF's European Department and Western Hemisphere Department and was also Mission chief for the United States.

Ministry of General Secretariat of the Presidency



Jorge Insunza Gregorio de Las Heras

Partido Por la Democracia (Party for Democracy) (PPD)

Insunza holds a Political Science degree from Diego Portales University. He is the son of former communist representative Jorge Insunza Becker. He was a representative of district 9, which includes Illapel, Los Vilos and Salamanca. Between 2006 and 2010, he was a representative of district 28, which includes Lo Espejo, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and San Miguel. He was also a political consultant for President Eduardo Frei, President Ricardo Lagos, the ministry of Finance, the ministry of Health and the Parliament. In 1997 he worked as an adviser and designer of Patricio Hales' campaign (PPD, Party for Democracy), and in 2001 he led the campaign of Senator Fernando Flores.

Ministry of General Secretariat of Government



Marcelo Díaz Díaz

Partido Socialista (Socialist Party)

Díaz holds a Law degree from the University of the Republic. In 1999, he earned a doctorate in Political Science and Sociology with a major in International Relations from Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Between 2006 and 2014, he was a representative of district 7, which includes the La Serena, La Higuera, Vicuña, Paihuano and Andacollo municipalities. He was the ambassador of Chile to Argentina between 2014 and 2015. In 1987, he joined the Socialist Youth of Chile, for which he was vice president between 1988 and 1994. He became the assistant secretary of International Relations for the Partido Socialista (Socialist Party) in 2001. He worked as the director of Planning for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 2003 and 2005. He was also the executive secretary of the Foreign Policy Council, a member of the Council for the International Cooperation Agency, and Chile's assistant coordinator at the Summits of the Americas. He also formed part of a number of teams representing Chile before the General Assembly of the United Nations and the General Assembly of the Organization of American States.

Ministry of Social Development



Marcos Barraza Gómez

Partido Comunista (Communist Party)

Barraza holds a Social and Clinical Psychology degree from the University of Santiago, Chile. He holds a degree in Forensic Psychological Expert Reports on Sexual Crimes from the University of Chile as well as a Social Instructor certificate from the Matrízico Institute. He is also a graduate of Personnel Administration Technology from the University of Santiago. He is the second minister of the Partido Comunista (Communist Party) in the President's cabinet, and he was previously the assistant secretary of Social Forecast for the current government. As the former director of the Alejandro Lipschutz Science Institute, he led investigations on labor rights and job insecurity situations in the case of retail, service and forest workers. He was a student leader and president of the Federation at the University of Santiago, Chile. As a former union adviser, he has promoted investigations of Chile's social security system.

Ministry of Labor and Social Forecast



Ximena Rincón González

Democracia Cristiana
(Christian Democracy)

Rincón holds a Law degree from the University of Chile, with a Major in Constitutional, Tax and Environmental Law. She is the former minister of General Secretariat of the Presidency for the current government, and in the past she was a senator for Maule Sur. In addition, she was superintendent of Social Security and the provincial governor of the Santiago Metropolitan Region. She was executive vice president of the Foundation for the Promotion and Development of Women (PRODEMU), vice president of Christian Democracy, and president of the Center of Development Studies (a think tank linked to the Coalition of Parties for Democracy, which is now the Nueva Mayoría). At the end of Ricardo Lagos' term in 2006, she joined AFP Provida.

Ministry of Culture



Ernesto Ottone Ramírez

Independent close to
the Partido Socialista
(Socialist Party)

Ottone holds an Art and Theater degree from the University of Chile. He has a postgraduate degree in Cultural Management and a master's in Management from Des Institutions et Politiques Culturelles at Universidad de Paris IX Dauphine. Before joining the government, he was the director of the Center of Artistic and Cultural Extension (CEAC) at the University of Chile. Since 1997, he has worked as the cultural manager at various institutions in the role of assistant and then Manager of Program Planning at the Estación Mapocho Cultural Center, Public Relations Specialist at the Chilean National Theater of the University of Chile, Manager of Program Planning at La Cúpula Cultural Center, and Executive Director of the Matucana 100 Cultural Center and Corporation. He became a member of France's Ordre des Arts et des Lettres (Order of Arts and Letters), and in 2010 he received the Academy Award from the Chilean Academy of Fine Arts for his management efforts at Matucana 100.

3. MINISTERS WHO REMAIN IN THE SAME POSITION

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Heraldo Muñoz

Partido Por la Democracia (Party for Democracy)

Before president Michelle Bachelet appointed him Chancellor, in May 2010 this political scientist was designated as assistant Secretary General for Latin America and the Caribbean of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). He was also the Chilean ambassador to the United Nations. Muñoz was minister Secretary General of Government and deputy minister of Foreign Relations. He was also the ambassador to Brazil during Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle presidency. During the administration of Patricio Aylwin, Muñoz was made permanent representative for Chile to the Organization of American States (OAS).

Ministry of Economy, Development and Tourism

Luis Felipe Céspedes

Democracia Cristiana (Christian Democracy)

Céspedes holds an Economics degree from the Catholic University of Chile as well as a doctorate in Economics from New York University. He served as the coordinator of Economic Policies and chief Economic Advisor to the Ministry of Finance. He was also manager of Economic Research at the Central Bank of Chile. Céspedes was a guest researcher at the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and the Economics Department of Rutgers University. He was a professor of Macroeconomics and International Economics at the University of Chile and the Catholic University of Chile.

Ministry of Education

Nicolás Eyzaguirre

Partido Por la Democracia (Party for Democracy)

Eyzaguirre holds an Economics degree from the University of Chile as well as a doctorate in Economics from Harvard University. He was chairman of the Board of Directors of Canal 13 and led the National Council for Innovation. He was the Finance minister in the government of Ricardo Lagos. He was the executive director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), representing Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. He also worked at the Central Bank of Chile and was an expert in Monetary and Financial Policy for Latin America at CEPAL.

Ministry of Public Works

Alberto Undurraga

Democracia Cristiana (Christian Democracy)

Undurraga holds a Business Engineering degree from the Catholic University as well as a master's in Economics from the University of Michigan. He is the former mayor of the Maipú municipality and was Vice President of Christian Democracy.

He was president of the Ciudad Justa Foundation, national director of the National Consumer Service (SERNAC), and a member of the National Council for Overcoming Poverty.

Ministry of Health

Carmen Castillo

Independent

Castillo is a surgeon with a medical degree from the University of Chile as well as a master's in Public Health, specialized in Epidemiology.

Before being appointed minister of Health, she was the technical director of the Doctor Jorge Ahumada Lemus de Santa María Center for Family Health (CESFAM) in the province of San Felipe.

Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning

Paulina Saball

Partido Por la Democracia (Party for Democracy)

Saball holds a degree in Social Work from the Catholic University of Chile. She was the assistant secretary of Housing and Urban Planning during President Michelle Bachelet's first term. She was appointed executive director of what was then known as the National Commission on Environmental Issues (CONAMA). During Eduardo Frei's presidency, she was the assistant secretary of National Assets. She was chief of Staff for the Minister of National Assets, Adriana Delpiano. During Patricio Aylwin's presidency, she was head of the Diffusion and Promotion Unit for the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning.

Ministry of Agriculture

Carlos Furche

Partido Socialista (Socialist Party)

Furche holds an Agricultural Engineering degree from Austral University and a master's in Sociology. He was director of International Economic Relations and completed free trade agreement negotiations with New Zealand, Singapore and Brunei (Trans-Pacific Partnership); the People's Republic of China; Japan; Bolivia, Peru; Colombia; and Turkey. He was the National director of the Office of Agricultural Policies and Studies within Chile's Ministry of Agriculture.

Ministry of Mining

Aurora Williams

Independent

Williams holds a Business Engineering degree from the Catholic University of the North and an Industrial Engineering degree from the University of Antofagasta. She also has two MBAs in Management and Corporate Training. She was the administration and Finance manager for the Antofagasta International Terminal (ATI) and also the Regional Ministerial secretary for Public Works in the Antofagasta Region. She has worked in the Health Services field, the Sanitary Services Business and at the Antofagasta Water Company.

Ministry of Transport and Communications

Andrés Gómez-Lobo

Partido Por la Democracia (Party for Democracy)

Gómez-Lobo holds a Business Engineering degree from the Catholic University of Chile as well as a doctorate from the University College London. He was the academic director of Master's Degrees in Public Policy and the academic director for Technical Certificates in Urban, Environmental and Land Policies at the University of Chile's School of Economics. He was the chief adviser for the Ministry of Transport and Communications, director of the Santiago Subway, and visiting professor in the Applied Economic Analysis Department at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria in Spain.

Ministry of National Assets

Victor Osorio

Izquierda Ciudadana (Citizen Left)

Osorio holds a Journalism degree from Pedro de Valdivia University and has extensive media experience. In the 1990s, he worked at media outlets such as the La Nación newspaper and Ercilla magazine. He was also National editor of the United Press International (UPI) Agency and Content and Report Editor at the El Metropolitano newspaper. In 2005, he launched the Crónica Digital online newspaper, where he worked as the Lead Journalism director. Before joining National Assets, he worked in the Maipú municipality as a legislative adviser for Representative Sergio Auiló.

Ministry of Energy

Máximo Pacheco

Partido Socialista (Socialist Party)

Pacheco holds an Economics degree from the University of Chile. He first worked as vice president and then president at International Paper for Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Russia.

He was president of International Paper in Brazil and in charge of regional business. He was also the executive vice president for Chile and Latin America in the New Zealand company Carter Holt Harvey (CHH) and the executive vice president of Operations at Codelco.

Ministry of the Environment

Pablo Badenier

Democracia Cristiana (Christian Democracy)

Badenier holds a Marine Biology degree from the University of Valparaíso as well as a master's in Management and Public Policy from the University of Chile. He worked as an environmental consultant and was executive secretary and Regional director at Conama (National Commission on the Environment).

Ministry of National Women's Service

Claudia Pascal

Partido Comunista (Communist Party)

Pascal holds a degree in Anthropology from the University of Chile. She was City councilor for Santiago and executive secretary of the Alejandro Lipschutz Science Institute. She also led the Drug and Alcohol Prevention Program for the Student Welfare Board at the University of Chile. She was the Regional secretary for the Communist Party and a member of the party's Central and Political Committee. In addition, she was the National head of Women for the Communist Party.

Ministry of Sport

Natalia Riffo

Independent (Movimiento Amplio Social (Broad Social Movement))

Riffo holds a Psychology degree from the University of Concepción, and she has also studied Criminology and Security at the Central University of Chile. She worked as a Neighborhood Security adviser for the Municipality of Santiago and participated in the Citizen Security in Critical Neighborhoods Program for the Ministry of the Interior. Riffo was coordinator of the Ministry of the Interior and Public Security's "Legua Initiative" Plan, PNUD Uruguay Consultant on Health Programming, head of Prevention for the Ministry of the Interior, and head of Human Resources for the FONASA (National Health Fund) in the Biobío Region.

Authors



Rodrigo Ramírez is Director of Public Affairs. Ramírez holds a Business Engineering degree from the Catholic University of Chile, an Executive MBA from Adolfo Ibáñez University, and a Project Assessment degree from the University of Chile. He has worked in local banking, financial communication consultancy and public matters for more than ten years, as well as in energy markets.

As a consultant, he has advised businesses in the areas of public and regulatory matters in the food, pharmaceutical and financial industry.

rramirez@llorenteycuenca.com



Nicole Sternsdorff is Senior Consultant. Sternsdorff holds a degree in Journalism from Diego Portales University with a minor in Management and Marketing from the same entity. She has seven years of experience in Corporate Communication, Crisis Management and Public Matters with clients related to the laboratory, food, insurance, technology, energy, construction and bank industry, among others. Before that, she was director of Communication at the Pablo Neruda Foundation and also worked at two local communication agencies.

nsternsdorff@llorenteycuenca.com



Nicolás Llanos is Consultant. As a journalist, Llanos holds a degree in Social Communication from Andrés Bello University and a master's in Corporate Communication and Corporate Social Responsibility. He has four years of experience as well as strong offline and online communication skills.

nllanos@llorenteycuenca.com

CORPORATE MANAGEMENT

José Antonio Llorente
Founding Partner & Chairman
jalloriente@llorenteycuenca.com

Enrique González
Partner & CFO
egonzalez@llorenteycuenca.com

Jorge Cachinero
Corporate Manager Innovation
jcachinero@llorenteycuenca.com

MANAGEMENT SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Arturo Pinedo
Partner & Managing Director
apinedo@llorenteycuenca.com

Adolfo Corujo
Partner & Managing Director
acorujo@llorenteycuenca.com

MANAGEMENT LATIN AMERICA

Alejandro Romero
Partner & CEO Latin America
aromero@llorenteycuenca.com

Luisa García
Partner & CEO Andean Region
lgarcia@llorenteycuenca.com

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

HR MANAGEMENT

Antonio Lois
HR Manager for Latin America
alois@llorenteycuenca.com

Daniel Moreno
HR Manager for Spain and Portugal
dmoreno@llorenteycuenca.com

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Barcelona

María Cura
Partner & Managing Director
mcura@llorenteycuenca.com

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

Madrid

Joaquín Navarro
Partner & Vice President
Public Affairs
jnavarro@llorenteycuenca.com

Amalio Moratalla
Partner & Senior Manager
amoratalla@llorenteycuenca.com

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

Lisbon

Madalena Martins
Partner
mmartins@llorenteycuenca.com

Tiago Vidal
Managing Director
tvidal@llorenteycuenca.com

Carlos Ruiz
Director
cruiz@llorenteycuenca.com

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

MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

Mexico City

Juan Rivera
Partner & Managing Director
jrivera@llorenteycuenca.com

Av. Paseo de la Reforma 412, Piso 14,
Col. Juárez, Del. Cuauhtémoc
CP 06600, Mexico, D.F.
(Mexico)
Tel: +52 55 5257 1084

Panama

Javier Rosado
Partner & Managing Director
jrosado@llorenteycuenca.com

Av. Samuel Lewis,
Edificio Omega - piso 6
Panama
Tel. +507 206 5200

Santo Domingo

Alejandra Pellerano
Managing Director
apellerano@llorenteycuenca.com

Av. Abraham Lincoln 1069
Torre Ejecutiva Sonora, planta 7
Santo Domingo
(Dominican Republic)
Tel. +1 809 6161975

ANDEAN REGION

Bogota

María Esteve
Managing Director
mesteve@llorenteycuenca.com

Carrera 14, # 94-44. Torre B – of. 501
Bogota (Colombia)
Tel: +57 1 7438000

Lima

Cayetana Aljovín
General Manager
caljovin@llorenteycuenca.com

Av. Andrés Reyes 420, piso 7
San Isidro. Lima (Peru)
Tel: +51 1 2229491

Quito

Catherine buelvas
Managing Director
cbuelvas@llorenteycuenca.com

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

SOUTH AMERICA

Buenos Aires

Pablo Abiad
Partner & Managing Director
pabiad@llorenteycuenca.com

Enrique Morad
President-Director
for Southern Cone
emorad@llorenteycuenca.com

Av. Corrientes 222, piso 8. C1043AAP
Ciudad de Buenos Aires
(Argentina)
Tel: +54 11 5556 0700

Rio de Janeiro

Yeray Carretero
Director
ycarretero@llorenteycuenca.com

Rua da Assembleia, 10 - Sala 1801
Rio de Janeiro - RJ - 20011-000
(Brazil)
Tel. +55 21 3797 6400

São Paulo

Juan Carlos Gozzer
Managing Director
jcgozzer@llorenteycuenca.com

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

Santiago de Chile

Claudio Ramírez
Partner & General Manager
cramirez@llorenteycuenca.com

Magdalena 140, Oficina 1801.
Las Condes.
Santiago de Chile (Chile)
Tel. +56 2 24315441



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