



BORDERS: WALLS OR BRIDGES?

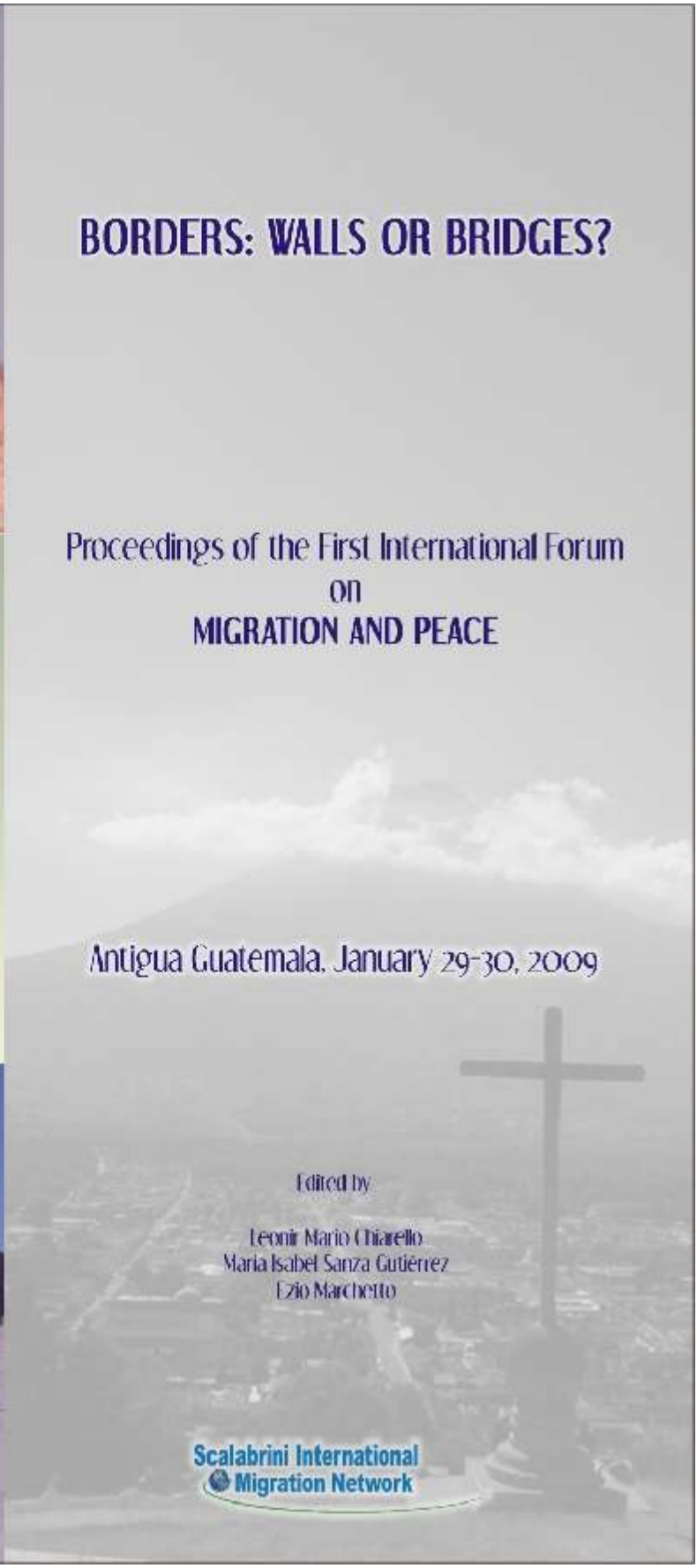
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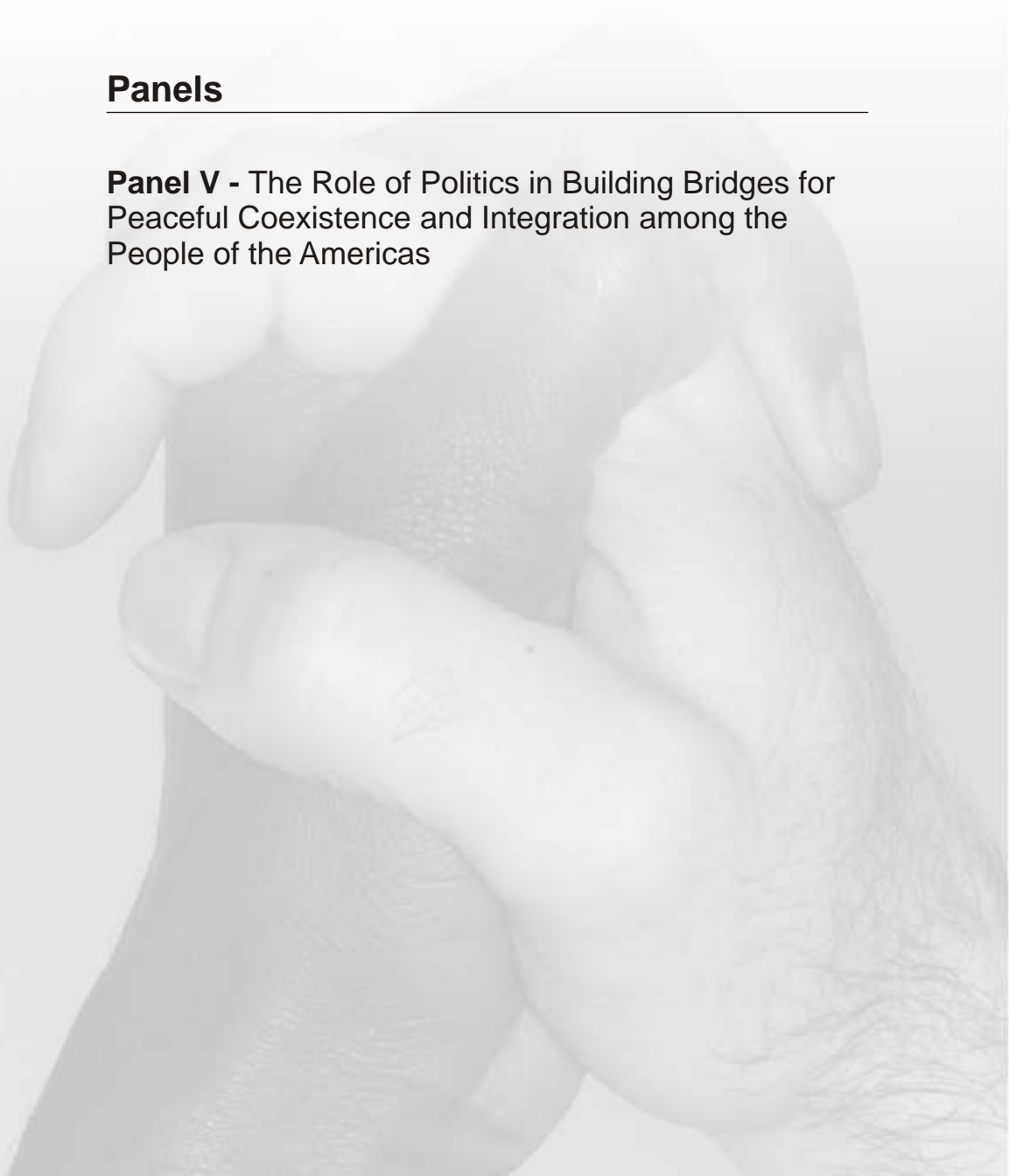
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Panels

Panel V - The Role of Politics in Building Bridges for Peaceful Coexistence and Integration among the People of the Americas



Introduction

María Isabel Sanza Gutiérrez

Legal Advisor, SIMN

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen:

The second day of this First International Forum on Migration and Peace starts with a debate on: “*The Role of Politics in Building bridges for Peaceful Coexistence and Integration among the People of the Americas.*” The speakers on this panel are individuals and/or representatives of institutions that have received, or have been nominated for, the Nobel Peace Prize, in recognition of their political and humanitarian work.

Our first speaker is Dr. Josef Merkx, the representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), an organization that received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1954 and 1981. Next, Dr. Luis Alberto Cordero Arias will have the floor. He is Executive Director of the Oscar Arias Sánchez Foundation for Peace and Human Development, created by Oscar Arias Sánchez, president of Costa Rica and 1987 Nobel Peace Laureate. Finally, Mr. Jorge Jamil Mahuad Witt, former president of Ecuador and candidate for the 1999 Nobel Peace Prize, will address this Forum.

In their respective talks, our speakers will present different perspectives on the role of politics, in this very crucial moment in history, in building bridges toward a peaceful international coexistence and integration. Politics today seems to be building walls instead of using all the tools at its disposal to advance in the construction and development of a pluralistic society, enriched by the variety of cultures, traditions, and faces that paint the rainbow of every modern city (modern city and today's world is the same thing). We speak here about the kind of politics that does not use people as mere objects or tools but, instead, is an instrument at the service of the people, and not an end in itself; politics that does not turn a blind eye to reality, but looks at each human being and sees the fullness of history in all persons; a past that led them to where they are today, and a future they try to build each day. Such politics cannot ignore the fact that every single person, even if considered a “foreigner,” participates in building the society he or

she is a part of, or wants to be a part of, provided that he or she is allowed to do so.

The formulation and implementation of policies based on a new citizenship requires the commitment of all those involved to overcome situations of displacement, to reject the violations of human rights, to put an end to the abuses at the borders we ourselves have erected and to eliminate the vulnerability so many people feel when they find no institutions they can trust. Education and the right to information are fundamental building blocks in developing these policies. Only through the free access to information can we become aware of the obstacles our countries place before nationals and foreigners, as well as those in transit. Furthermore, only through access to an education based on freedom and the shared responsibility of every person (and particularly our children) can we succeed in building a world that lives in peace and enjoys equality. It is only through clear and transparent information about the rights and duties affecting our lives and our decisions that we may recognize that all of us, citizens, people on the move, migrants, displaced persons and refugees, are actors in our lives and of the societies where we live. It is only through the communication of such rights and duties that we become aware of each person's responsibility in building a shared society. Nationals or foreigners, documented or undocumented, we cannot escape being the protagonists of our own existence, with everything this entails. We are all members of the society we live in and we all have an influence on it through our active or passive participation. Education and access to real and objective information makes us all aware that we are born with the right to a dignified life and the individual responsibility to build one, as well as the social responsibility to do so together with others, as subjects of the same fundamental rights.

The country that is able to generate and implement policies and structures that are guaranteed to all who live inside its territory access to an equal education, freedom and responsibility; and guarantees the right to information in order to build and strengthen self-examination; and consolidates its people's rights and opportunities will be rewarded with a strong, pluralistic society, based on a peaceful coexistence through mutual respect and the recognition of the other as an equal.

The role of politics in the creation of bridges for peaceful coexistence acquires a particular relevance today. We have been invited to

come to Antigua by the Scalabrini International Migration Network, an organization with a strong commitment to advocating for the human rights of migrants. This organization was created by the Scalabrinian Missionaries. Today, January 30th, is a special day for them because it is the anniversary of the ordination of their founder, the Blessed John Baptist Scalabrini. The Blessed John Baptist Scalabrini was a man of great social, religious, and political commitment, which led him to become an advocate for migrants and to support them, not only in their religious needs, but also through the creation of the Scalabrinian Religious Congregations of missionary men and women; and through vehement advocacy in the governments of the main receiving countries, in order to promote conditions under which migrants could prosper away from their countries of birth, while being recognized as persons endowed with full rights.

Mr. Josef Merkx

Representative of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 1954 and 1981 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

Borders: 'Walls or Bridges'**The State of the World's Refugees: Challenges and Answers**

Distinguished guests, it is a great honor to represent the UN High Commissioner for Refugees at this important Forum on migration and peace. Although the refugee agency received a limited mandate in the wake of World War II, it has since been working in many crisis situations, protecting civilian victims of persecution and conflict. Like other participants in this event, UNHCR has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In recognition of its refugee work, the agency even received the prize twice: in 1954 and 1981.

Although the world has changed drastically over the years, UNHCR's humanitarian work has not diminished. On the contrary it could be said that refugee work has become more urgent and complex, particularly after the end of the Cold War and after the tragic events of September 11th, 2001. The refugee definition as reflected in the 1951 Convention is, however, still relevant, even though new forced displacement dynamics have come to the fore and preoccupation with national security has increased. We could ask ourselves: who in today's world does not mistrust asylum seekers, often seen as potential terrorists and as a problem of national security? Unfortunately, international protection for refugees is still very much needed and will most likely be needed in the future.

In my presentation I want to focus on six major challenges the UN Agency for Refugees is facing: new humanitarian emergencies, the asylum migration nexus, protracted refugee situations/search for durable solutions, environmental refugees, internal displacement and the current situation in the Americas.

1. New Humanitarian Emergencies

When talking about current emergencies, I will quote several

statements High Commissioner, Antonio Guterres, made in the UN Security Council on January 8th, 2009.

In Iraq, with the improved security situation, UNHCR is working hard to help the government create appropriate conditions for the voluntary return and sustainable reintegration of several million refugees and internally displaced persons. However, there is a long way to go. Voluntary return must take place in safety and dignity. It is therefore imperative that states preserve the asylum space that they have made available to Iraqi refugees throughout the past five years in the region and beyond. More than two million Iraqis are still hosted mainly by Jordan and Syria in a very generous way and a similar number remain displaced inside the country.

Full support is required for those countries and organizations that are bearing the brunt of the Iraqi exodus, both by means of material assistance and through the expanded provision of resettlement opportunities to those vulnerable Iraqis for whom voluntary repatriation will not be a viable option.

To prepare for sustainable returns, the agency plans to further expand our presence and activities in Iraq as the evolving security environment permits.

In Darfur, an appalling humanitarian and human rights disaster persists. More than two million persons remain displaced internally and, just in Chad, nearly a quarter of a million Sudanese have sought refuge.

Without a political agreement that involves both the government in Khartoum and the different rebel movements, there is a risk that the UN-AU mission will be unable to meet the security expectations of the affected populations. This would represent a terrible blow to the people first of all, but also to the credibility of those organizations and the international community as a whole. Even if a comprehensive peace agreement can be established, the international force strengthened and impunity ended, a massive investment will be needed to re-establish the social, economic and environmental equilibrium of the area, ensuring harmony between different ethnic groups, farmers and herders, and overcoming the tensions created by dwindling water resources and high population growth rates.

In Somalia, the hardships endured by its people are well known. With more than a million Somalis already dependent on food aid, any further limitations on humanitarian access could lead to additional population

displacements of a daunting magnitude. The burden placed on neighboring states, including Kenya, Yemen and Djibouti is already enormous. Any further deterioration would stretch regional capacities beyond breaking point and could generate a catastrophe of unprecedented proportions.

We cannot avoid mentioning the current situation in the Gaza strip. UNHCR is not present in Gaza. A sister agency, the UN Relief and Works Agency, was created before UNHCR existed to address the needs of Palestinian refugees in the area. While we may not be directly involved, it is impossible for UNHCR not to make reference to the current political and humanitarian crisis. In Gaza, the civilian population is not even allowed to flee to safety elsewhere. UNHCR wants to express its firm solidarity with the UN agencies in Gaza and restate the call that was made earlier for a strict adherence to humanitarian principles in and around Gaza, including respect for the universal right to seek and enjoy asylum.

I have just described four refugee situations, but want to reiterate that many other situations do worry the UNHCR. Let me just mention some other countries with serious refugee situations: Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, Georgia, Sri Lanka and Colombia. At the end of my presentation, we will focus more on the Americas.

2. The Nexus between Asylum and Migration

International migration is a defining characteristic of the contemporary world. It is estimated that there are close to 200 million migrants; in comparison, the total refugee population is estimated to be 14 million. Throughout the globe, including the Americas, people are being pushed beyond the borders of their own countries by armed conflict and natural disasters, and attracted to other states by the prospect of better security and opportunities than are unavailable at home. At few times in human history have so many people been on the move from one country and continent to another.

International migration makes an enormous contribution to our economic, social and cultural life. It helps to fill gaps in the labor market and provides billions of dollars to developing countries each year in the form of migrant remittances. It enables people to improve their education, to learn new skills and to make the best use of their talents. And it contributes enormously to the global exchange of ideas and information, enabling us all

the past.

But migration also has a darker side, especially when people move because they are escaping intolerable conditions at home and when they do not have access to the passports and visas that would enable them to migrate in a safe and legal manner.

Throughout the world, refugees, asylum seekers and irregular migrants are being held in detention and subjected to physical abuse. Many face harassment, discrimination and exploitation, not least by the human traffickers and smugglers who prey upon people who are desperate to move. Sensationalist media coverage and political populism have contributed to the growth of racism and xenophobia, which are often targeted at the most vulnerable and visible migrants. In contravention of international refugee law, people whose lives and liberty are at risk in their own country are turned away from the borders of states where they hope to find safety and security.

For UNHCR, it is important to remember that all migrants, irrespective of their motivation for moving and their legal status, enjoy the protection of the core international human rights treaties. Let us also recall that among those on the move today are people who are fleeing from persecution and armed conflict, and who deserve to be treated in accordance with the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, which has now been signed by almost 150 states.

When that Convention was established, the international community expressed its 'profound concern for refugees' and underlined the need to ensure that they could enjoy 'the widest possible exercise of their fundamental rights and freedoms.' At a time when so many parts of the world are affected by violence, political turmoil and social disintegration, this must remain our objective.

3. Protracted Refugee Situations and Possible Durable Solutions

UNHCR defines protracted situations as those in which refugees have worn that appellation for at least five years. When refugees first arrive they are often accompanied by a great deal of international attention and support. As time passes and solutions are not found, international attention and solidarity diminish. Refugees in protracted situations may be denied basic human rights for years. In most cases, the burden of hosting refugees falls almost exclusively on developing states. It is important to recognize

that the international community has not done enough to share that burden.

There is no single type of protracted situation. There are refugees in traditional camp settings, where the prospect of a durable solution through voluntary repatriation or local integration is meager or nonexistent. There are refugees who are substantially self-reliant but lack a legal basis for the continued stay in their countries of asylum. There are also refugees in urban settings who live in slums among the urban poor.

Relations with host communities can become strained. Depending on where and how many refugees arrive, national security concerns can be triggered.

What can we do?

Only through a concerted effort by the international community, with a true commitment for sharing the burden and the responsibility, can they be resolved. This will require the mobilization of additional resources for community development as well as effective humanitarian responses. The present financial and economic crisis might prove to be an obstacle in this context.

UNHCR is promoting a durable solutions strategy emphasizing three options: voluntary repatriation, local integration, and resettlement to a third country. For each refugee situation the appropriateness of these solutions will have to be considered.

Voluntary repatriation is considered the most favorable durable solution for refugees and host countries alike. This option is only viable if basic conditions can be guaranteed in the country of origin; return will have to be voluntarily and sustainable.

Local integration and the pursuit of self-reliance are an important durable solution for refugees who are not able to return home. Creative initiatives are required to promote local integration, focusing on employment or self-employment, adequate housing, and proper access to basic health and educational services.

Resettlement to a third country is an option for small numbers of refugees who face serious protection problems or have no options to rebuild their lives in the first asylum country. For resettlement to be the key to unlocking protracted situations, it must be conceived and used as a strategic solution, as well as a tool of protection.

population is not necessarily homogeneous and, for this reason, it is important to recognize and respond to different needs among refugees, based on the age, gender and diverse characteristics of the population.

4. Environmental Refugees

Recently the High Commissioner stated that “Although there is a growing awareness of the perils of climate change, its likely impact on human displacement and mobility has received too little attention.”

The process of climate change, and the multiple natural disasters it will engender, will in all certainty add to the scale and complexity of human mobility and displacement.

Climate change can take so many different forms in terms of how it impacts on migration or even on refugee flows. The first requirement is to get better analysis. The international community has focused thus far on the scientific aspects of climate change, with the aim of understanding the processes at play and mitigating the impact of human activity. Yet climate change is equally a humanitarian problem and challenge. As such it is of direct interest also to humanitarian agencies, including the UNHCR.

It is projected that climate change will, over time, trigger larger and more complex movements of population, both within and across borders. Since climate change is certain to have a major impact on future patterns of human mobility, approaches which address environmental issues in isolation from other variables and processes will not be sufficient to address the problem. Some substantial percentage of the people who will be displaced will be escaping conflict or persecution brought on by civil strife caused in turn by climate change. To provide international protection to 'environmental' refugees will be a growing challenge to UNHCR.

5. The Internal Displacement Crisis

In today's world, many victims of armed conflict and/or persecution flee, but stay within their own country. Instead of crossing an international border, a prerequisite for becoming a 'refugee', these victims become what we now call 'internally displaced persons' or IDPs. Currently, the number of internally displaced persons is estimated to be more than 25 million persons worldwide. In most cases, these victims have similar international protection needs as the refugees. It is important to note that the governments of the countries with IDPs remain responsible for their protection and the

search for durable solutions.

In recent years, UNHCR, in coordination with our sister agencies, has become more and more involved in internal displacement situations.

As is clear from the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, the solutions framework for displacement is substantially similar to that for refugees, but with some important differences. At present, for example, there are only a handful of modest individual country programs providing third-country resettlement. The principal solutions are thus return to one's place of origin or settle voluntarily in another part of the country.

As with refugees, restoration of displaced persons to their full human rights is vital. The embrace of a solution must therefore be free and voluntary and the solution chosen must be sustainable. In the context of displaced persons, this may require a higher order of support for reconciliation efforts than in refugee situations.

Large internal displacement situations are found in Sudan, Iraq, Democratic Republic of Congo and Colombia among others.

6. The Current Displacement Situation in the Americas

Before, finishing my presentation I want to briefly focus on the Americas and UNHCR's main challenges in this region. Indeed, most refugees and internally displaced persons in Latin America originate from Colombia. According to estimates and the latest government figures, there are some three million IDPs in Colombia. Furthermore, there are a large number of Colombian refugees, some 400,000, in neighboring countries such as Ecuador, Venezuela, Panama and also Costa Rica.

Although improvements have been observed in parts of Colombia, there are still large regions suffering from armed conflict and ongoing presence of armed groups (both FARC/ELN guerillas and armed groups formed by ex-paramilitaries). Last year, the Norwegian Refugee Council, a respected private foundation, said that "forced displacement of civilians in the Americas is less a byproduct of fighting between armed groups than a military objective serving political and economic ends (EFE)." Control of territory by armed groups and clashes between them continue to produce Internally Displaced Persons and refugees.

It is important to mention that Latin America has a long ed

humanitarian tradition in dealing with refugee flows. During the time of the military dictatorships in Southern America, thousands of refugees fled to neighboring countries or further away to Europe or other parts of the world. In the eighties and early nineties the Central American wars produced many refugees who found shelter and protection mostly in the same Central American countries and Mexico. In 1984, Latin American Governments adopted the so-called Cartagena Declaration, providing a broader refugee definition and extensive protection to the victims of conflict and persecution. Following the refugee tradition, Latin American countries adopted important new refugee legislation applying international standards and norms. The same countries signed the Mexico Declaration, reconfirming their adherence to the principles of international refugee protection and demonstrating their solidarity in hosting refugees from within the region and from other continents.

It is this hospitality towards refugees, and migrants for that matter, which remains important in a continent that continues to see important migratory flows in which refugee protection is still needed. It was just over 60 years ago that the UN General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Refugees have been able to avail themselves of Article 14 of this Declaration, the right to seek asylum from persecution in other countries.

Thank you for your attention.

Dr. Luis Alberto Cordero Arias

*Executive Director of the Oscar Arias Sánchez Foundation
for Peace and Human Progress*

*Founded by **Oscar Arias Sánchez**, President of Costa Rica
and 1987 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate*

Breaking Down Walls through Peace, Transparency, and a Renewed Sense of Citizenship: The Role of Civil Society in Central American Politics

*“We build too many walls and not enough bridges”
(Isaac Newton)*

Good morning, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. It's a real pleasure for me to be here in Antigua, Guatemala to participate in the First International Forum on Migration and Peace, which is being organized by the *Scalabrini International Migration Network* (SIMN). Congratulations to them for convening a Forum on such a vital subject of our globalized age.

Central America is a land of stark contradictions. Once plagued by political turmoil and devastating civil wars in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, this region achieved the historic feat of successfully negotiating a peace agreement that moved beyond a cease fire. It also delineated a series of national and regional tasks to be accomplished in order to maintain peace, such as: reconciliation, democratization, free elections, aid for refugees and the internally displaced, arms control, and an end to the support of rebel groups. Two decades later, this same region is now the most violent and socioeconomically unequal in the world, as the rates of social violence and organized crime have increased to alarming levels. This situation is further aggravated by the uncontrolled proliferation of weapons among the civilian population. Central America has witnessed significant advancements in the legal recognition of the rights of women, youth, and indigenous groups; but beyond what is written on paper, in practice, minority groups remain underrepresented and continuously discriminated against. Democracy as a form of governance has made important strides in a region once under

authoritarian rule. However these new democracies remain moderately weak and deficient, as democratic institutions, values, and practices are not deeply rooted to their fullest extent within the Central American societal psyche, all further complicated by the wide and ever increasing socioeconomic inequality gap. The most evident contradiction presents itself in this reality, for how can democracy, the form of government whose cornerstone value is equality, prosper in the midst of such accentuated inequality. It is therefore within this context that the theoretically conflicting dichotomy regarding the current social and economic state of Central America becomes apparent and presents an overwhelming challenge to the political system. The multi-dimensional nature of the region's problems and unique circumstances undoubtedly requires historical sensitivity and cooperation from all sectors of the political system. While it is most appropriate for government to remain as the political frontrunner, with the chief duty and authority to tackle the aforementioned issues, civil society also has the responsibility of actively assisting in the process towards human progress. Its distinctive position as an organized, informed, and representative voice of the people makes it an ideal complementary agent to governmental actions seeking to consolidate democratic values that will lead to lasting peace, development and prosperity. Therefore, civil society can have an outstanding impact and best fulfills the role of "bridge builder" by encouraging political participation, aiding in the design and implementation of mechanisms of accountability for both public and private institutions, and fomenting a culture of peace, specifically by promoting a renewed sense of citizenship among the people of Central America.

The Developing Establishment of Democracy

Democracy is the shared system of government in Central America, an outstanding political achievement for a region recently under the threat to succumb to authoritarian rule. All five countries have the most basic democratic institutional structures and mechanisms in place, and carry out, in most cases, competitive elections for all representative offices, for which they are rightly classified as electoral democracies. Central American countries currently share similar governmental structures comprising relatively weak executive branches presiding over fairly divided and moderate legislative branches. The lack of a strong majority is an obstacle to

passing concrete, specific, and targeted public policies, measures that are necessary for real change and development to occur. With respect to the judiciary branch, there are persistent barriers in access to rightful justice, especially because of a lack of transparency and accountability within the justice system, all evidently linked to the region's staggering levels of corruption. All countries have active political parties, and, with the exceptions of Guatemala and Nicaragua, the formation, disintegration and general dynamics of the region's political parties do not present a threat to democracy.

There is consensus that, indeed, the process of democratization in Central America is still incomplete and fragile. According to the most recent State of the Region Report (2008), there are five main aspects of the region's current political condition that endanger the consolidation of democracy: 1) weak state institutions that are consequently ineffective, 2) the absence of regulations and transparency in matters of public finances, 3) the limited political independence of electoral authorities, 4) low levels of citizen inclusion and subsequent political exclusion, and 5) increased levels of insecurity that threaten peaceful coexistence among the population.

Therefore, a political analysis of the state of Central American politics reveals differences in the quality, strength, and perceived permanence of democracy. As mentioned above, the state as a governing entity is neither strong nor fully developed and therefore falls short in its capacity to fulfill its obligations towards its people. The inability to meet expectations and satisfy basic needs has led to high levels of uncertainty and discontent among the Latin American electorate. This frustration has led to general disappointment in the system as a whole, and thus a lack of interest in politics. The danger in this is that politics has become tainted and perceived as only pertinent and beneficial to the elite, a sentiment that has its validity in that the percentage of representation of minority groups such as indigenous people, women, and the young are considerably less in comparison with the majority groups. The low levels of participation of minority groups leads to a lack of representation, the effect of which is then present in the elaboration of laws, public policies, and other reforms from which these groups are excluded. Thus we see a reinforcement of the disillusionment with government and the perception of the political system as foreign to the people's true needs. This is further reflected in the population's lack of identification with political parties and the notion that

campaign promises are made to allure votes, only to later dismiss their implementation, thus compounding the disillusionment with politics.

This frustration is in part due to the evolution of social values in Central American politics and the expectations bestowed on government. There has been an observable shift in priorities regarding social values. While there remains a high demand for material and life-essential goods such as housing, access to water, food, land, and health services, nonmaterial intangible values that affect the quality of life, such as peace, individual rights, and equality, have gained a stronger foothold. This change in values is favorable for democracy and, to a great extent; the shift is a response to democratic ideals. According to Paramio (2002), what has occurred is that multiple sets of differing priorities have emerged from all sectors of Central American society and thus a generalized dissatisfaction has arisen; rooted in that fact is that it's impossible to please everyone, and taking a centralist approach creates even more dissatisfaction. Paramio argues that this situation places the political parties of the region in the dilemma of both parting ways from their traditional line of thought and incorporating these new social demands, by which they run the risk of alienating part of their constituency, or remaining inflexible to the new social demands.

Democracy will fail in a hostile, unreceptive, and indifferent environment. Although there is no strong desire within the region to replace democracy with authoritarian rule, it is noteworthy to state that eight out of ten Central Americans support the idea of granting special, authoritative ruling powers to a strong leader if employment, security, lessening of poverty, access to affordable health care was secured (*Estado de la Región*, 2008). In this regard, civil society can play a conciliatory role by reaching out to the multiple disenfranchised sectors and help to better channel and articulate their needs. This improved communication must be done with the intention of influencing governmental priorities, but with the realistic understanding of the state's limited resources and capabilities, because governmental officials are not exempt from the same frustrations and restrictions the population feels. In other words, the disenchantment with government can begin to dissipate if active political participation is encouraged. Political participation leads to further representation, and in this way, democratic values are simultaneously cemented. Through projects, independent research, innovative initiatives, partnerships with

universities, and access to foreign development aid, civil society can, unlike governments, reach out to and establish direct contact with socially excluded groups.

Transparency and Accountability Tear Down the Walls of Corruption

The absence of a political culture in which transparency and accountability are revered as beyond a standard legal requirement, but also as a moral obligation, is another destabilizing force for democracy and development in the region. Mechanisms for transparency ought to be incorporated as a vital part in the process of decision-making and in the execution, supervision, and evaluation of public policies and governmental actions. Central America has not been immune to rampant corruption, from the highest public office of the presidency to private entities such as banks or companies contracted for government projects. Indeed, over 40 percent of all citizens in the region consider that their governments do very little or nothing to fight corruption (*Estado de la Región*, 2008), yet another example of the mistrust placed on government. Although it is difficult to quantify the exact extent of monetary loss to corruption, in Central America three specific areas have been identified as the most affected by corruptive practices: public contracting, health services and business transactions (*Estado de la Región*, 2008). Perhaps the most regrettable end result of corruption is the unavailability of proper health services to the most vulnerable groups that cannot afford private health care. In countries where bribery is customary, business transactions become costly and timely, thus crippling the climate for investment and entrepreneurship. Suffice to say that the correct and proper allocation of resources towards social needs is paramount for development. Mechanisms for transparency and accountability help foster the values of honesty and integrity and are a clear manifestation of governmental officials taking into consideration the public's best interest. Legitimacy for the political system is thus achieved. As a member of the overall political system, civil society can serve as a social auditor and contribute to improvements in the design, implementation, and enforcement of mechanisms of accountability.

A Culture of Peace and the Strengthening of Citizenship

The mission of the Arias Foundation for Peace and Human Progress is to contribute toward the permanent integration of nations, the

consolidation of peace and justice, gender equality, and the strengthening of democracy in Central America, while promoting the global reduction of arms. As an organization devoted to peace, our understanding is that peace is an ongoing process and not simply an end that can be directly achieved. Peace must be intended to affect all people and permeate every level and aspect of life. This is the underlying principle of our work and is at the root of our continual commitment to foster a culture of peace. True and lasting peace requires an acceptance of a paradigm shift, both at a societal and individual level, in which our actions, thoughts and words all correspond to a philosophy of peace.

An example of this principle put into action by civil society is the initiative proposed by the Spanish and Turkish governments entitled: Alliance of Civilizations. Its mission is to “improve understanding and cooperative relations among nations and peoples across cultures and religions and to help counter the forces that fuel polarization and extremism” (www.unaoc.org). Under the sponsorship of the United Nations, the Alliance of Civilizations promotes intercultural respect and tolerance, facilitates projects aimed at building trust and understanding between culturally distinct groups of peoples, particularly between Western and Middle Eastern societies, and serves as a platform to access resources and link like-minded organizations helping them to unite and collaborate. The Arias Foundation recently had the privilege of co-organizing and co-hosting, along with the Toledo International Center for Peace (CITpax), the first Alliance of Civilizations meeting in Latin America. Political and academic experts from around the world presented their latest research, professional expertise, and ideas involving the similarities, differences and complex relationships between Latin America and the Middle East. The success of this meeting confirms that civil society has the full capacity to prompt, mobilize, and instill core values and actions for an effective culture of peace.

An integral component of democracy is the concept of citizenship. Before the advent of globalization, citizenship was strictly defined in terms of territory and identification to one's immediate surroundings. As the world has become more interconnected, culture and identity are no longer rigid ideas, and gender and ethnicity have also become distinct factors in which a person claims a degree of distinctiveness in comparison with the rest. The study of citizenship is vast and encompasses social, economic and

even psychological dimensions. However, in political terms, a good citizen is an active member of society, with duties and responsibilities within the law, and a commitment to contribute towards the improvement of society.

Although this concept has been defined, the ideals of citizenship have yet to be firmly consolidated, as social exclusion and socio-economic disparities persist; therefore, a true environment of inclusion has yet to be formulated. The role of civil society is to make the political spectrum aware that only through the formulation and implementation of effective public policies will citizens feel enfranchised and invested in the politics of the region. And effective public policies are needed to fully address the challenges related to migration and peace.

Thank you.

Mr. Jorge Jamil Mahuad Witt

Former President of Ecuador (1998-2000)

1999 Nobel Peace Prize Nominee

First of all, I would like to thank Isabel for her great presentation, and also the organizers of this Forum, as well as Luis Alberto and Josef, with whom I have the pleasure of sharing this panel.

Walls or Bridges?

“Migration and Peace: Walls or Bridges?” Here we are surrounded by walls, disproportionately large walls, which were built all over the city of Antigua, Guatemala; these walls were built by the local workers, probably following the design of Spanish immigrants. These walls, walls that provide a support base and are the foundation for building something, are good walls. For the purpose of our panel, the word “wall” means something else; it means the wall that we build to stop, to restrain. The Great Wall of China is probably the most famous wall in the world; the only piece of manmade engineering work that can be seen from the space shuttle. It was built to stop possible foreign invasions. At one point, the wall was so long, and the foreigners so many, that the defense capabilities of the Chinese military were not enough and the wall was breached. When walls are built to stop, to maintain a status quo, to serve as a barrier in our way and keep us from moving forward, then we are talking about the type of wall referred to in the title of this Forum.

And what is the opposite to this type of wall? It is a bridge. The bridge is necessary when we have a chasm in the middle and when we do not have a way to continue. If there is a road, and suddenly there is a ravine, we need a bridge. If there is a river, we need a bridge. And how do we build a bridge? We build a bridge with a support on one side of the river and another support on the other side. In other words, the bridge is like a hug in the language of love. It is our natural predisposition when we reunite with someone we love, such as a son or a daughter, our spouse or a beloved friend: we open up, and we are able to show our vulnerability; we are ready to give that hug and by doing so we are telling the other: “I trust you so much that I

am ready to redefine a part of who I am based on my interaction with you.” And that is where we take the risks of love, because we open up to foreign influences.

In contrast, the gesture of a wall is that of folding your arms across your chest in a defensive manner. It is the opposite of the hug. Now, which feeling is the opposite of love? For many years I thought that the opposite of love was hate; but hate is not the opposite of love. Hate is a form of love that became distorted. A famous Peruvian ballad entitled *Hate Me* says “Hate me out of pity, I plead you. Hate me without limits or mercy. I’d rather have your hate than your indifference, because hate hurts less than being forgotten.” Hate is the other side of the coin, and the other side of the coin is not the opposite of the coin, but something that is part of it. In some way it complements it. The opposite of the coin is not what completes it; it is the absence of the coin. The body language that is the opposite of a loving hug is like this: folded arms, the body folded onto itself, a frown, and the head hanging low. That is the opposite body language to love. What is the main emotion that such gesture depicts? Fear! The contrary of love is fear: “I have to wear armor because I cannot open up to you; I am so vulnerable that I run too many risks.” A bridge is a hug; the wall is folding your arms across your chest, and closing yourself up.

In an old U.S. story a grandfather was telling his grandson that a wolf had two cubs. One cub was good, docile, and cooperative. The other cub was aggressive, quarrelsome, and selfish. And only one cub, the grandfather told the child, could survive. “Which cub will live?” -his grandson asked. “The one mama wolf feeds,” said the grandpa.

By proposing bridges, you have decided to hold a Forum where we want to feed the loving cub, the cooperative and understanding one. And that is why it is such a pleasure to share these days with you.

Three Main Ideas

There are three main ideas that have become very clear to me after listening to all of your presentations yesterday.

First: we need to distinguish the symptom from the cause. The symptom is not the problem. The symptom is a manifestation of the problem. When we say “immigration is a problem,” I think we are describing the symptom and not the cause. What happens when we focus

only on the symptom? We go from the symptom to the solution without analyzing the cause. If I have a headache, I take an aspirin: symptom-solution. This is a false solution because it is caring for the symptom without taking the causes into account. It is prescribing without arriving at a diagnosis. When you have a symptom, according to this false solution, you ignore the symptom, suppress the symptom or eliminate the symptom. What happens if this person goes to the doctor and the doctor says: "Well, your headache is recurrent, we are going to run some tests to see what we find," and then the tests show a small tumor in your brain? Then the symptom (a headache) led to an analysis (a test), a diagnosis was reached (brain tumor), which led to a treatment. Two steps, symptom to solution, turn into four steps: symptom-diagnosis-treatment-solution. Yesterday we reiterated that migration is not the cause but the symptom of the international social order, or disorder, that generates a great disparity between wealth and poverty.

This is the second lesson: Latin America is not the poorest region of the world but it is the most unequal region of the world, where the difference between the wealthy and the poor is more evident than anywhere else, as Luis Alberto Arias reminded us. Let us take responsibility! This is what we have built! And literally, "he who is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone." Let's take responsibility for our actions! So many of us have spoken about this economic disparity, so many times, and in so many forums and books, that it would seem that we think that announcing the problem would be enough for it to solve itself.

Developed countries are always telling us that the problem of underdevelopment in our own countries occurs because we do not do our homework; because if we had put the right incentives in place and if we had the right order, and the correct institutions, we would already be developed. According to this version, implementing capitalism, not savage but humane capitalism, depends exclusively on us.

There is a country that invites us to think seriously about what we have, and to be careful about what we wish for, because we just might get it. That country is China. For more than a decade, China registered the highest economic growth in the world, and that is indisputable. The opening of the Chinese economy has employed many of the principles of a market economy. What have I been hearing in the last two or three years? That "We are going to end up with no resources." "They are taking all of our cement."

“They are buying all the soy.” “What is going to happen to this planet?” But, are they, the underdeveloped countries, not doing what we have asked them to do? They are doing their homework too well. We have created a system in which two thirds of the human population lives on less than \$2 a day, which is what the World Bank calls the poverty level. Two out of every three people are poor, and when two out of every three say: “I don’t like the system, what does the system give me?” We say: “They want to destroy our system.” And this is an ecological matter, a systematic matter. Call any biologist or scientist, and ask that person if a system, any system in the world, is sustainable when it excludes two thirds of its members. How is it going to survive? Then it is like having a big banquet to which only a few of us are invited, and we tell anyone else who wants to come that they are not invited, while we let them know how well we eat, and we make sure that they can smell the food. We celebrate how well we are doing and expect them to do anything to come and eat with us. This is, from my point of view, irrational.

The third idea is that, as Einstein used to say, we cannot solve problems by using the same kind of thinking we used to create them. A paradigm shift is required, because if we do not change the model that we use for thinking things over, we will continue to make the same mistakes. So if we continue to think according to the traditional paradigm, we will see immigration as a matter of national security. If we use a paradigm that takes the international situation into consideration and the unacceptable levels of inequality and poverty, immigration is simply a mechanism of redistribution, a way of sharing the world's resources.

Cooperation or Confrontation: the Role of Human Emotions

Yesterday we were listening to moral, ethical, and theological principles expressed by those who believe that migration, or the right to move freely, is a fundamental and inalienable human right. Surely, this opens up a debate about whether a human right can be limited, conditioned or regulated; and then how and under what circumstances. A very respectful suggestion is that, for the next Forum, those who may represent the other point of view be invited. Yesterday, the representative of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation noted that: “We need to be careful not to overestimate the capacity of absorption of the receiving countries.” Then we need someone who thinks that way and who can explain such a point of view,

because it seems to me that, aside from a few minor differences, we all agree.

This is a situation that, because of its complexity, requires a long and profound negotiation process in which all the interests of all the parties involved are taken into account; the options that satisfy those interests are analyzed; and then solutions can be found following a process of respectful dialogue. This process of negotiation will be successful if we participate in it with love, with our arms open; if we use the paradigm of the bridge builder and not the paradigm of fear, of the wall builder.

I have been working on this in recent years. The topic that interests me is: What is it that allows or prevents human communication? How is it that sometimes two people who disagree in everything can communicate, and sometimes, people who agree in everything do not understand each other? We would say: “But they are saying the same thing! I don't understand why they are fighting!” Well, they fight although they agree because that is a way of expressing human emotion.

There are more than one hundred emotions in the human species' repertoire. Since it is impossible to pay attention to such a great diversity, we have found that they all fit within five great groups, five great basic expectations or psychological needs that every human being would like to satisfy:

First, every human being *wants to be appreciated*.

Second, every human being has *a sense of ownership, a sense of affiliation* to different circles (geographic, historical, familial, social, intellectual, sports-related, etc). In fact, when we meet someone, the first thing we do is try to find something in common with that person. “Where are you from?” “Do you have a family?” “What do you like to do?” “What did you think about the latest political/sports/scientific event, the latest news?” We take advantage of the answer to demonstrate our similarities: “My family lives in that city.” “I also have a teenage daughter.” That is how human relationships are born: they are based on a sense of affiliation and ownership rooted at the core of our beings.

Third, *the need for autonomy*; this means the capacity to make decisions and influence others' decisions without receiving or exerting inappropriate pressures. We do not like to be told what to do; we do like to be respected in our capacity to decide.

structures to which we belong; a clear idea of our situation in comparison with that of the other members of a structure: this is what we call a *status*. We want our status to be respected. And, as in every perception, our perception of status is entirely subjective.

Fifth, *we need to fulfill roles that give us satisfaction*. We have different roles in society, some of them structural and others temporary or short-term. “I am a mother.” “I am a priest.” “I am young.” “I am the devil's advocate.” It is essential for us to value the roles that we represent and that fill us with satisfaction. We need our lives to have a purpose. We are not here by chance; we do not want to live by chance; we have come with a purpose: we need to complete our mission.

When one of these five basic expectations is not fulfilled, human communication becomes frustrating. Status and role can be confused with one another. Here is an example of a way to tell them apart: when the Pope flies to another country, the status of the Pope is the highest in the airplane, but at the moment of landing, the pilot's is the most important role.

The Five Basic Expectations in a Real Conflict: Ecuador and Peru sign a Final Peace Treaty in Brasilia, October 26th, 1998

This reflection over human psychological needs explains my presence as a speaker at this Forum. I met with Leonir Chiarello in Geneva, where I gave a presentation about the peace process between Ecuador and Peru and he told me: “We are going to have an international Forum about migration and peace in Antigua, Guatemala. Would you be able to attend and give a presentation about your reflections?”

By fulfilling this request I have the pleasure of sharing with you a very concise version of my experiences as President of Ecuador and the peace process between Ecuador and Peru. (*Editor's Note: from this point forward, President Mahuad explains the slides projected on a large screen*).

Looking at the map of South America, we can see that Ecuador is disproportionately smaller than other countries.

The history of the armed conflict between Ecuador and Peru had three fundamental characteristics:

- *It was the oldest military conflict in the Western Hemisphere:*

This is how the U. S. Department of State described it after the Peace

Agreement was signed. Its history is rooted in the discovery of the Amazon River in 1542, by an expedition that had started in the city of Quito, Ecuador. Since the legal policies at the time stated that whoever conquered a territory was the owner of that conquered territory, when the Royal Audience of Quito was established in 1563, it established the borders as shown on this map, where, as you can see, the territory crossed the width of South America from the Pacific to the Atlantic, following the Amazon River pathway. Afterwards, and following history, the map of Ecuador began to shrink until it became the current small territory that you can see there.

This has been a huge problem for Ecuadorians who study this map in school, and come to accept how Ecuador lost its territory and how it shrunk to what it is today. The Ecuadorian narrative is one of victimization: because we are not a large country, we do not have a large army, we do not have a great economy, we have always been stripped of what we had, we have been abused for being weak and we have not been capable of defending what is ours. Then, psychologically, we have always felt like victims.

- *The territory that was disputed was the largest territory ever disputed in the history of Latin America:*

This was an extension larger than that of France, and one of the largest disputed territories in the world.

- *A discouraging history of failures generated skepticism:*

For a period of time, every peaceful or violent way of ending the dispute over the territory and closing the borders entirely had failed. The countries tried wars, direct conversations, arbitrations, mediations, friendly interventions from other countries, but nothing worked.

Therefore, why would it work now?

From the 1941 Rio de Janeiro Protocol to the Tiwintza War of 1995

The modern conflict culminated in 1941, when the big war started with Peru. Peru entered an area of Ecuador that was not part of the disputed territory, and while Peru was occupying Ecuadorian provinces, we were pressured to sign an international *Peace, Friendship, and Borders* treaty in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in January 1942.

This “Rio de Janeiro Protocol” had Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and the United States as guarantors. Despite its name, it never led to peace; it fostered more hostility and it did not close the borders completely.

In 1981 and in 1995 we had two more wars in the Amazon jungle. Was there a wealth in resources to be gained from the place of war? This aspect has never been verified. Was there oil, minerals? It has not been proved yet. Were people living there? No settled populations. The natives are nomads who have always moved freely and who feel that their family and tribal ties are stronger than the limits of the borders between states. “Then, why were they fighting?” That’s a question I am asked frequently. Because this area, the Cordillera del Condor, is a symbol of the values and principles for which we had been fighting a long time. The Condor, a place known as Tiwintza, where Ecuadorian and Peruvian soldiers were buried, became an emblem of the war and later of the negotiations.

We are not talking about displaced populations due to the war in this area of the Amazon; but when there was a problem, the borders were closed down and it affected the flow of commerce and people, deeply disrupting the lives of the people in border communities.

After the 1995 war, a no militarized zone was created, with military supervision from various countries, and negotiation committees with members from both countries were formed with active intervention from the Guarantor Countries of the Rio Protocol. The work of the committees went well. These met in Brasilia, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile and Washington, reviewing numerous possibilities for cooperation such as bi-national projects, hydroelectric plants, highways, security, and trust measures to discuss what we could do in the future so we could trust each other in business and navigation plans, etc. In other words, everything was moving forward perfectly. There was only one problem: the territorial problem, which could be summarized in this phrase: “Who will keep Tiwintza?”

In an effort to solve the problem a Legal/Technical Committee was formed to prepare a report about the case. Ecuador proposed that this committee formulate a binding decision for the countries. Peru did not accept this and held that the report would just be an opinion, a Legal/Technical “point of view” and that is how it was agreed. A few days before the first round of the presidential elections in Ecuador, the committee presented its report with the “point of view” that Tiwintza was part of Peru's

sovereign territory.

Ecuador rejected the report and both countries moved their troops into the zone, which until then had been no militarized. A new war was most likely to take place and could start at any moment with a shooting on the border.

Presidential Diplomacy

The Ecuadorian Chancellor, Jose Ayala Lasso, a diplomat with very extensive experience whose professional resume included his work as a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, told me: “Diplomacy has reached its limits. The diplomatic levels have achieved everything they could achieve. The territorial problem is beyond the purview of the Chancellors; this is a problem that needs to be dealt with politically at the highest level. Only the presidents can solve this.”

Verification of this led to so-called presidential diplomacy, which meant the personal and direct efforts of the presidents of Peru and Ecuador to find an acceptable formula to establish permanent peace.

The task was extremely difficult: as presidents, we did not know each other; the history of failures in past negotiations was added to the fresh memory of armed conflicts generating rage, fear, skepticism, distrust, and although the majority of the Ecuadorian people wanted peace, the hopes of achieving it were minimal.

In addition to the difficulties with the international negotiations, there were difficulties with each country's internal negotiations. Any presidential agreement required the approval of two parties of Congress to have legal validity.

The Five Sensible Aspirations and the First Meeting of the Presidential Diplomacy

The first meeting with President Fujimori took place in Asuncion, Paraguay on August 14th, 1998. My purpose was to establish a working relationship that would allow for a sincere and deep process of dialogue that would take place in different stages, and allow us to reach permanent peace. Attention to the five sensible aspirations turned out to be indispensable for reaching our objective.

As in any negotiation process, it was crucial to separate the person

from the problem. This went against common sense, since the tendency is to identify the person with the problem, and, also, maintain that the person is the problem. A successful negotiation process begins when the negotiators do not attack each other as adversaries but behave as colleagues and work together to attack a common adversary; the adversary is the problem they want to solve.

I expressed to President Fujimori how much I admired his successes in fighting against inflation (Peru went from hyperinflation to only single-digit inflation) and in controlling the inhumane guerrilla violence (*Sendero Luminoso* [Shining Path] had been taken apart and its main leaders arrested and prosecuted). My show of appreciation for his work allowed me to point out that in this meeting we could not move forward on the fundamental aspects of the problem, but we could establish an environment of dialogue and cooperation and lay out the bridges for future meetings. We both acknowledged the opportunities, as well as the limitations, many common ones, that we had as Presidents (affiliation), and we were careful to respect the autonomy and self-determination of the other. I emphasized the difference in status in the field of territory negotiations (“You have been the President of Peru for eight years and I have been the President of Ecuador for four days,” I told him. “In fact, I have dealt with this topic with four Ecuadorian Presidents,” he answered). I told him that I understood the logic behind his actions, and that, reciprocally, I was sure that he would understand mine (appreciation, affiliation). We concluded that peace was attainable and that our role in history was to forge it.

President Fujimori and I met on ten different occasions during ten consecutive weeks. Despite our cordial personal relations, we found ourselves in an insurmountable bind: neither one of us could accept an agreement that did not include Tiwintza as part of our country. And Tiwintza, as any other geographical space, constituted an indivisible material reality. We admitted that we were almost at a deadlock. We then decided to ask the Guarantors to intervene and present a solution.

Any formula would lead to an insurmountable problem because it would require first the approval by both Congresses and it was obvious that the Congress of the country that did not get Tiwintza would not accept it. This contingency was overcome when both Congresses, in simultaneous sessions in Lima and Quito, decided that the Guarantors should have the power of binding arbitration and accepted the result in advance. It was like

giving the “arbitrators” a blank check.

The Guarantors' decision employed a creative solution. The concept of sovereignty and the concept of property always go together. The Italian Embassy in Washington, for example, is considered sovereign Italian territory, and that Embassy's building is also Italian property. Therefore, if one enters the Italian Embassy, legally, it is Italian territory. The Guarantors' formula separated the two concepts: Tiwintza's sovereignty belonged to Peru, and the Tiwintza property belonged to Ecuador.

This way, the Tiwintza symbol could be shared by both countries and by both peoples. The Ecuadorian people saw that this mechanism, plus the agreements reached by the negotiating committees, constituted an outline that met the objective of reaching the 'peace with dignity' that the Ecuadorian people had been seeking since 1995.

To conclude, I invite you to watch a short video that compiles scenes of the Peace Treaty signing ceremony in Brasilia. I want to share with you the profound spirit of Latin American celebration that accompanied this act.

It has been ten years now since the peace treaty with Peru was signed. This is a finished process that has survived many political, social and economic ups and downs. Peru is now Ecuador's number-two trading partner after the United States. The same thing that Luis Alberto Arias was saying when he was referring to the Central American peace process can be applied to the process between Ecuador and Peru: it was a process initiated by Latin America, with Latin American ideas, and it plays a part in Latin America's daily life.

Migration and Peace

On one occasion, Joseph Campbell, the world's top authority in mythological research, was asked how we could improve understanding among humans on Earth. “With tourism,” he said. “Find someone new and different; learn a new language, another mythology, another religion. If enough people in the world do this, we could begin to see the end of demonizing; of the *demonization* of other countries across the world.

Migration fulfills this purpose. We are currently working on reconstructing *Abraham's Path*. Abraham is recognized as the father of three religions: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. He traveled along paths that now belong to several countries (from Turkey to Saudi Arabia), when

there were no borders. Abraham's Path welcomes a universal pilgrimage.

Rigoberta Menchú remembered the dual process of adjustment experienced by an immigrant. The person who goes to, let's say the United States, has to get used to living there, and when he or she returns to Guatemala, Guatemala is not the same. We change, and the people around us and those who were around us change. The place we leave changes and the place where we are changes.

The song "Everything Changes" ("*Todo Cambia*") written for the Chileans in exile during Pinochet's dictatorship, picks up on an aspect of the harsh reality of immigrants' lives: *Because my love does not change, no matter how far I am, nor does my memory, or the pain of my country and my people. What changed yesterday will have to change tomorrow, just as I change in this faraway land.*

Many thanks.

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FONDAZIONE CASSAMARCA
Noni, spazio per il dialogo e il well

