

## CHAPTER V

### THE FACTS (CONTINUED). MIGRATIONS

#### *1. The EU and Immigration*

THE EU is already worried about immigration. At the behest of the Economic and Social Committee of February 21, 2002, the final declaration adopted on April 19, 2002, by the “Second Meeting of Organized Civil Society from Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean,” in preparation of the Madrid summit, stated that in the end it was to be ensured that these workers and their families would enjoy rights and duties comparable with those of the citizens of host countries.

The only way to do that is to introduce changes in local governance that may in turn accompany a change in political culture. Otherwise that stated goal will simply not take place. The EU, in my mind, should deploy to this end “the entire range of sticks and carrots” that it has available in its relations to the Latin American countries, much as the US also does.

#### *2. The Emigration of Able Individuals*

There are further reasons why this approach should be considered. One is migration: we are continually losing some of our best citizens who take residence and nationality elsewhere, in a country where they do not have to face the infinite difficulties life presents here<sup>1</sup>; at the same time, poverty increases within the remaining population, and so does the number of indigents.

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<sup>1</sup> Some even imagine that “The shortest route to development for Latin Americans remains emigration to a developed country. Even in the worst of conditions in Miami, they gain 200 years of development”, cited in *THE CLUB OF ROME*, *op. cit.*, p. 96, without reference to the source. Miami is the “Capital” of Latin America, many say: in a few ways it functions as other capitals do in the subcontinent: see *supra*, Chapter II, § 10.2, p. 47.

While the most caring and sensitive governments might give subsidies and food and whatever help they can muster to the disadvantaged local classes, the fact remains that quite probably an important part of the national budget also went into aiding nationals to reach a level of professional proficiency where they then can leave the country in search for a better future. That is our part of the problem, and it cannot be approached by trying to convince those wishing to leave to stay behind instead, in a place where their capabilities will not be really appreciated: that simply does not work even if you have a totalitarian regime. The problem is more structural than that and another view should be taken from the outside. One such analysis is already being done by the IOM, International Organization of Migrations<sup>2</sup>. We shall go into it later.

### 3. *Europe and Latin America: The View from the South*

It does seem rather preposterous to ask you, Europeans, to look even beyond the EU and its surrounding countries for the immediate future; to look at us. You have enough problems trying to devise a larger European Union. But since in the back of your minds you cannot help but have present other regions of the world, be it China, India, the United States or Brazil, you might as well cast a sideways glance at your own descendants in Latin America.

We do not pose a serious threat to you; neither are we a promising help. We are more like a kind of molesting burden, the unwanted long lost member of the family, perhaps also a bit of a small burden on the social consciousness. In the not too distant past, you thought greatly of us. You even had great hopes for us: *i.e.*, your ancestors that long ago were also mine came to our countries to prove the point that they expected to help in the creation of a better world. In addition, may I add, although we mostly have Spanish and Italian extraction<sup>3</sup>, there are also large Welsh and Irish

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<sup>2</sup> Comprising, among others, the EU and the US.

<sup>3</sup> In the case of Argentina language was also influenced, most particularly, by the dialects of Genoa and Naples (SEBRELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 473). We have already recalled the joke that an Argentine is in fact an Italian who speaks Spanish and thinks he is English. But even this joke puts us at the starting level of Italy, which is again unreal: so the line that we believe to be British loses a bit of its punch. An American wrote in 1850: "One of the most unaccountable and strange peculiarities [...] of all the principal men of note in this country, is the extraordinary partiality, admiration, and preference for the English government, and the English men, upon also all occasions and under all circumstances", cited by SHUMWAY, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

communities that sometimes wishfully consider themselves “*The forgotten colony*”<sup>4</sup>. Some of our compatriots have dual nationality and one of them, he who coined that phrase, received at Balmorals the Order of the British Empire or some other decoration for work done *in South America in the recent decades*. I am referring to Mr. ANDREW GRAHAM-YOOLL, a brilliant and courageous Scotsman whose English and Spanish books all merit devout and detailed reading if you care for the subject of the pains of this continent in particular<sup>5</sup>. We also have an important German community, and there are small numbers of Boers<sup>6</sup>, Welsh<sup>7</sup>, French<sup>8</sup>, Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, Greeks, Koreans, Japanese, etc. We have not tempted the Chinese or the Indians.

We do not tempt anyone anymore nowadays, except for those interested in the thrill of cheap, but sometimes potentially dangerous, tourism<sup>9</sup>. Not much more dangerous than it already is for nationals, for the crime statistics obviously are also on the increase for everyone.

It is the other way around; *we* are tempted to go abroad. Those of us who succeed in other societies than our own are a loss to our own countries; those of us who fail elsewhere are a loss to both countries, or at the very least to the receiving one. Since the failed ones will return, the loss is mutual.

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<sup>4</sup> Original title *The forgotten Colony. A History of the English-Speaking Communities in Argentina*, by GRAHAM-YOOLL, ANDREW, translated and published as *La colonia olvidada. Tres siglos de presencia británica en la Argentina*, Buenos Aires, Emecé, 2000.

<sup>5</sup> GRAHAM-YOOLL, ANDREW, “Figures that inspire terror”, *Buenos Aires Herald*, February 11, 2003, p. 12, so refers in a regular column titled “Lat Am Watch.”

<sup>6</sup> They came from South Africa to Patagonia in 1899: HOSNE, *op. cit.*, p. 127, photo and caption.

<sup>7</sup> Several times.

<sup>8</sup> In 1764 several colonists and a French navigator settled on the island that he called Malouines: HOSNE, *op. cit.*, p. 122, photo and caption; others were to follow. This is not the only colorful note they provide to our history. There is a very curious depiction of French participation in local prostitution, by a Frenchman born in Vichy in 1884, who came to our shores in 1927: ALBERT LONDRES, *Le Chemin de Buenos Aires*, partly translated and reproduced in PUCHNICK, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-205; his many insightful references to our society and that kind of French presence would seem to provide the likely explanation for its constant direct or indirect mention and remembrance in our tango of yore.

<sup>9</sup> I have kept this phrase in all draft versions, for it elicited this creative comment from a foreign friend: “I am glad that you are living dangerously well.” I will use it again in the text, as also applicable to developed countries.

#### 4. *Migration to the US and the EU, What Does it Do for Each One*<sup>10</sup>?

It is a fact that Europe cannot collectively expel all illegal foreigners. I am afraid that you are stuck with us as a group, many groups, all foreign, all different *vis-à-vis* each other and, of course, *vis-à-vis* yourselves. Saying “as much unity as necessary, as much diversity as possible,” comes close but does not yet solve the problem.

You are not therefore collectively immune from us, for we are coming to you in force, both as legal and illegal immigrants: be it South Americans, Africans, Atheists, Catholics, Christians or Muslims, believers and disbelievers alike. As governments, you can expel some of us, but we are too many for effective governmental action. Some among you may reasonably resent our presence both as individuals and as a group and make us take notice of that. Some of your political groups or at least isolated individuals may discriminate against us; even mistreat a few of us. Nevertheless, you cannot escape the fact that we, a lesser culture, a lesser civilization, a lesser public law, a lesser tradition, are here to stay as a cultural force...

Of course, it is mainly a negative force<sup>11</sup>. America is strong enough to assimilate all immigrants - no matter what the origin of their own civilizations - to its culture, to its work ethics and public law system. Some of you, Europeans, dislike many things about the American culture and public law system, but you must admit that it is working better at the task of assimilating immigrants to its own parameters.

As a foreigner to both civilizations and both cultures, I respectfully suggest that your choice is:

1) Either to only continue trying to assimilate foreigners, at the peril of debilitating your own civilization, your own public law; or,

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<sup>10</sup> The subject is, of course, too broad and really outside the scope of this presentation. A sampling suggested to us is: HOLLIFIELD, JAMES, *Inmigrants, Markets and States*, Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 1992; WAYNE CORNELIUS / PHILIP MARTIN / JAMES HOLLIFIELD (eds.), *Controlling Immigration*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1994; BARTELL, CATHERINE / HOLLIFIELD, JAMES (eds.), *Migration Theory*, London, Routledge, 2000.

<sup>11</sup> I am told that it is not politically correct to distinguish between “good” and “bad” immigrations. It should be noted that it is our former middle classes, young professionals, etc., that go away as emigrants. Our indigents stay behind. But there is a difference in the resiliency of different societies to absorb important numbers of immigrants, as we point out in the text, after this footnote.

2) As an alternative, you might try to think of Latin America as a continent that you can help with some money and many administrative abilities. The administrative abilities, which are required, are those usually comprised under the umbrella formula of good public governance and institution building. The money you need to invest is only to employ and staff your own representatives there, until the day when a new supranational organization, with European and US participation, is in place (afterwards, it will depend on what kind of supranational state has been conceived). Do not give us money for this purpose: send your representatives there to try to work out a supranational state with your participation and North American participation. You will have to look for the way; you are in a position to do so. Yet I will suggest a further way at the end of this book. We respect and appreciate you. We will be receptive. We are not going by ourselves to find our collective way out of the mess we are in, the one in which we have always been.

We are now aware of that. We *are* your descendants.

#### 5. *How Growing Migrations Adapt - Or Not*

#### 6. *The Case of the United States*

Those of us who go as immigrants to the US<sup>12</sup> are clear-headed. They know what they are going to face no matter who they are. They may be opportunists or scientists, unreformed crooks on the lookout for new money laundering schemes, or just wishing to lay low for a while, living off their illegal earnings. On the other hand, they may be young professionals who are not doing well in their country and who are mentally prepared to start a new life abroad as hired hands, washing dishes at a restaurant. Somehow, they know that in advance and will not feel betrayed or deprived of their supposed destinies. They will go and protest, rant, criticize, and in so doing will be mainstream Americans. The best Marxists<sup>13</sup> are in the US, the best exponents of Hinduism too.

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<sup>12</sup> It would seem that Canada has a rather similar experience. With an important flow of refugees, it has grown an equally important body of case law and doctrine. See WALDMAN, LORNE, *The Definition of Convention Refugee*, Butterworths, Ontario, 2001.

<sup>13</sup> So are their many contemporary variations in the anti-globalization and anti-“neoliberalism,” etc., movements.

Even the losers adapt themselves to a life of hard work and small immediate expectations: their children, and the children of their children, will do better. They know they cannot and should not count on the State to help them. Quite the contrary, they are on the lookout for the police so that they will not be caught selling illegal wares in the streets and/or just being illegally there. They are always alert.

Somehow, the system works: harshly perhaps, but efficiently. So do society and its free culture, where no matter who, he / she can easily fit in the second or third generation: formerly WASP, Irish or Jewish names. Now, as likely as not, high school children have Chinese, Vietnamese, Hindu or Indian names.

### 7. *The Case of Europe. The Clash of Traditions*

Those of us who feel above menial jobs but have no proven capabilities to fit higher in the work force, come to Europe<sup>14</sup> in the hope of a better deal, for it is well known that a different philosophy exists here. Those who come expect a better deal in the country of their ancestors. They admire a society not only superior to their own but seemingly friendlier. Yet, the most frequent complaint of Latin American emigrants is precisely that they do not find abroad the kind of friendly relations they had at home. It is easy to see how. In the cultures of origin friendship includes lavishing time on the loved ones. In more developed society friendship implies shared responsibilities, not just shared time. Shared quality time for the perception of all included.

They imagine they somehow belong here. What they do not know is that life here is very much austere, the demands of society quite stricter. Indeed, they have the benefits of a kinder and better Welfare State. However, everyone else expects of them what they perceive as unjustly too much. They not only have to learn a lot more about work (and work better and harder) but also to acquire a new language, perhaps two or three more than their own. They also have to adapt to social rules that are very different from their free habits of doing whatever comes into their minds without caring what society may think or how it would react when they do not comply. Where there is almost no reaction down there, there is quite a

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<sup>14</sup> Of course, if one zooms closer, there are important differences in the political culture of each country: WILSON, JAMES Q., *National Differences*, who also includes Japan and Latin America, in: SCHUCK, PETER H., *Foundations of Administrative Law*, New York, Foundation Press, 1994, pp. 327-343.

strong reaction here. That is news to them, even if that reaction, as I said, is not enough.

When we read what the dress code is for a certain occasion, or when we read the time schedules, we never figure out that what is meant is precisely that which has been written. We act therefore according to our inborn traditions: we imagine different and softer rules; we imagine there is a flexibility that no one intended to put there. Therefore, our perception of the appropriate codes of conduct always falls short of your normal and natural expectations.

Much more is required of any of us who come here, and instantly. There is not much of a threshold for tolerance. One errs one's ways and down one goes in the social scale, not from wherever one thinks one was, but from where one really was, which is always quite near the bottom.

Therefore, after a while, disillusionment appears. Dreams are broken, hearts begin to break, and despair reappears. Many people have tried their hand as legal or illegal immigrants in Europe only to return, a year or two later, without quite knowing what has happened to them. In their illusions, they may imagine that they miss their own national food. Just as pastures seem always greener on the other side of the hill, we begin to "remember" pizza as being tastier in our country than in Italy. When we thus start to get poetic about food, the pampas or whatever, it is time to return. We return losers from the start. Those who manage to adapt<sup>15</sup>, have to do what they may subjectively perceive as enormous sacrifices. I stress "subjectively." Just for being more or less normal members of a developed society, they have to learn all the rules from scratch, which is not at all easy. They have to be enormously more alert than in their countries of origin: society expects much more of them here than there. There are infinite tales to prove that point in different societies<sup>16</sup>.

You did not ask us to come. We came uninvited. In addition, alas, we not always can fit. That is our problem, not yours. Nevertheless, that leaves you where you would never imagine being, in the same position as the US: not worrying about others to the extent of suffering all the traits of an incoming different culture, impatient at the newcomer for not complying with the rules, written and unwritten, from the first moment on.

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<sup>15</sup> Those who adapt and do not return are perhaps some of our betters; those who come may be "largely semiskilled workers or manual labourers. The trade-off has thus resulted in a net brain drain for the country": SNOW / MANZETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> For instance, the problems Japan poses to foreigners are classical. See BROOKE, JAMES, "When in Japan, try to do as the Japanese", *IHT*, 27-IX-02, p. 21, reproduced from the *NYT*.

I obviously exaggerate that you are at risk of losing some traits of your civilization, but the signs are there. I can quote the occasional “Do you need a receipt, Sir?” in Europe and I can add the not so occasional forgetfulness in writing down the transaction. I wrote this book at different cyber cafés in different cities of Europe, of rather low standards but friendly atmosphere and high technology. No receipt there either, ever. Some of you are angry with us, but do you feel the contagion that is creeping up in your own societies, like humidity in a wall, from the ground up<sup>17</sup>? The problem has to be fought at the source, positively, with a new supranational Inter-American state with US<sup>18</sup> and EU participation<sup>19</sup>. Sanctions will not work, action will. The kind of action I am describing here just might. Fight it here, after the fact, or go to the sources and try to quell the malaise there. That is the question, today.

When I suggest that two superpowers join forces in helping us in achieving good governance, I am fully aware of the very sensible differences that exist, and will continue to exist, between the two<sup>20</sup>. Those very differences between the EU and US, when confronted with the voting criteria of individual Latin American countries in a supranational Latin American entity, would provide discussions and decisions with the input of a new richness that I quite sincerely believe would better assist regional and national public governance.

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<sup>17</sup> Of course, we are not alone to blame for that. There is always some distance between law and reality, in any country. The difference is that developed nations do not have much of a distance (with varying degrees among themselves, of course), while developing countries are really too much distanced from the law. A different problem, yet, is that of historical conflicts between what the law says and what the conscience may dictate. See for example DALLA VIA, ALBERTO R., *La conciencia y el derecho*, Buenos Aires, Universidad de Belgrano, 1998.

<sup>18</sup> The US is currently promoting integration in a different way, but should this other idea gain support, I do not think that it would be contrary to US policy.

<sup>19</sup> There are some signs that the idea might, just might, be amenable to the EU. See PATTEN, CHRISTOPHER (external relations commissioner of the European Union), “Latin America - the European dimension,” *Buenos Aires Herald*, November 29, 2002, p. 13: “Promoting integration within Latin America has been one of the major pillars of recent European policy towards the region [...] Our support is accompanied by a long term strategy aiming at fostering further links between Latin America and the European Union.”

<sup>20</sup> To name but one, the very different approach to terrorism that explains DERSHOWITZ, ALAN M., *Why Terrorism Works. Understanding the threat, responding to the challenge*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2002.



8. *The Clash of Civilizations?*

We in Latin America have not *one* culture: we have at least to distinguish between the Native Americans and those of European descent. That schism will probably remain unresolved for a long time, but in the end it will have to be bridged.

So I am not proposing a sort of alliance of Western civilizations, for it is clear that the eventual enlargement of the EU to Turkey and even North Africa will pose renewed changes: Not only those changes that we bring to the forefront - our own initial different cultures - but also those that will forever come from abroad. In my own country the more conservative people have always made a point of how "free" we are of non-Western influences. That is not only a questionable "superiority complex". It is also hardly the truth. There is a considerable presence of non-Western civilizations in our own society, yet not enough mixture of cultures. But the mixture is inevitably going to happen.

In my point of view, the participation of a constantly renewed EU and US participation can only be helpful to us in that sense.

9. *Immigration: Where to Deal With It*

There is the real risk nowadays, that our immigrants bring to you too strong a dose of underdevelopment. You are aware of many of the risks of immigration, but perhaps cultural contagion has not yet come to your full attention. Yet you cannot stop immigrants, nor can you easily send them back to wherever they came from. The idea initially proposed by Spain, to sanction the countries from where illegal immigration comes, does not seem to have the approval of other EU members; Spain itself has opened its immigration policy towards Spanish descendants.

Many immigrants will have valid dual passports and may therefore, although being legal immigrants, pose the same problem. Therefore, my not so humble advice and request is this: do not just fight this war in your own ground. Go to the others' territories.

Invasion is definitely out of the question, not only because it is unacceptable but also because it is too expensive and you would not care much for it anyhow. It is too much of a burden, and brings no satisfaction at all in modern times, only criticism. So I say: come and help us organize ourselves into a supranational state run by us but with participation of the US and the EU, where both of you would hold minority positions of power and vote in the decision-making process. Either you help us manage our

lands and our resources in a new vision of shared public governance of the world, or you again help us design and develop some kind of new civilization as you did centuries ago in a different environment. The cost of not doing so is getting more immigration that makes it harder to keep your own civilization at sustainable levels.

If I were in a position of power, you might perhaps feel or construe these words as a stupid threat. However, this is definitely not my intention and since I hold no position of power, please consider this a private request for international assistance, not monetary but managerial. It is a request made in good faith by a caring citizen. Bear in mind that in a few more centuries, humankind will perhaps be colonizing the universe. We need to have our own house, the world, very much in order by that time.

The time to start thinking globally is not tomorrow, it is today. In addition, it does not get in the way of your European plans. It just asks you for more.

You have already allocated budgetary resources for the pursuit of more European influence on Latin America. I would say that you just have to focus your efforts a little differently.

#### *10. Other "Population Movements"*

Please allow me to use the expression "population movements" not in the usual sense of involuntary large-scale displacement of people. I want to mention here an example where people move with their own will, not with the intent to stay where they are going, but causing anyhow considerable disruption. Some are legal and harmless, or even useful; some are illegal and potentially dangerous.

If I thus misuse an eye-catching phrase as "population movement", it is to try to shift attention from the grander to the more mundane problems. My conjecture is that larger problems are more difficult to solve, and that solving smaller ones may prevent them from becoming big ones. So the Nations of the world that are so much intent on humanitarian aid, and so budgetary inclined to invest important monies into them, might consider for a minute if they are not in fact perpetuating the causes of, rather than solving, the problems.

It is the same moral dilemma that munificence has presented at all times. Private benefactors are not obliged, not even morally perhaps, to consider the long-term effects of their generosity; they are in any case free to invest their money as they see fit. Nations, on the other hand, should not be so freely inclined to give hand-outs if the donor itself is not clearly convinced

that he can really help in the long run, instead of perpetuating the system of corrupt and patronage-oriented governance by a clique of the political classes *in tandem* with their monopolistic beneficiaries of always, just as in Latin American pre-colonial times.

### *10.1 The International Movement*

Everybody knows about the most recent manifestation of world tourism-cum-manifestation, where everybody goes from one country to another, be it picketing a G-7 or G-8 reunion, mimicking a Davos meeting, and generally having a good time expressing themselves, their feelings and ideas, protesting against globalization, the governments of the world, etc.; sometimes getting results by including on the official world's agenda items that it would otherwise perhaps not have considered (generic drugs for developing countries).

The disruption these movements cause is not long winded. It happens infrequently for each country selected for the event and the protest, so it is not much of a problem even if one does not share the format chosen for the protest.

There are other more momentous situations in countries like Colombia, Venezuela, etc. I do not need to delve into that, but the inferences are obvious. Allow me instead to focus on a rather small problem that is itself a manifestation of other causes and which could some day erupt into (unforeseen?) violence.

### *10.2 National Picketers*

A phenomenon that is growing in some places, for example in Argentina, is people's picket line movements. It also is a migrant movement, only usually within the same country. They are not the equivalent of labor picket lines in the US. In Spanish the words used are equivalent to something like picketers and picketeering; they have entered common usage. But the meaning in Argentina is people's picket lines that block bridges, cut traffic in city's streets, in avenues and routes or motorways, etc., and generally force motorists to change their routes at the least, creating also a considerable traffic grid and a significant delay, time loss, less productivity. The security forces have so far been more or less expectant and lenient, trying to divert traffic before the picket lines so as to avoid a confrontation. In fact, not only local and federal police have to deal with these disturbances, but also the federal security forces that help guard our bor-

ders (coast guard and “gendarmerie”). These security services have been getting advanced formation for this kind of job, and have been doing it with a remarkable degree of patience, sometimes even helping in the transport of the picketers to their destination. That in itself is not a too worrisome phenomenon, either, even if it dislocates the lives of people who are not responsible for the actions against which the picket and road blockage have been formed.

Other cases of former police intervention have been signaled by fatalities and have even brought down a democratically elected government<sup>21</sup>. On the other hand, we have recently seen police officers in the roads with their holsters notoriously empty. That may seem prudent as regards eventual police abuse in front of mass rallies; it does not seem wise when so many police officers are continually being killed by common criminals.

At times, countries may be brought to a standstill by this kind of people’s invasion of public roads, such as has happened recently in Caracas.

### *10.3 The Dangers*

But there is a further troublesome aspect that I would like to address. In the sixties and seventies, when subversive action began to take place in this country, police took the attitude of filming and registering participants, or briefly detaining them for identification.

When the repression started to grow, many people were killed or detained that had been identified at such occasions.

That is a lesson only partly learned by today’s picketers and protesters. Now they picket and protest disguised as a Chiapas’ commander: head and face covered, only eyes visible, and long strong sticks in their hands, equal to those the riot police itself has, and making a formation that mimics the riot squad formations.

Since the riot squad formation, and their paraphernalia, have been devised to impose some kind of fear that will make people withdraw from confrontation, the opposite paraphernalia of this kind of would-be-commander-Marcos groups is rather frightening as well. To put it in Marxist terms, the bourgeois is not amused by each consecutive delay in traffic and gridlock; if he / she happens to be also afraid, that makes an angry and fearful bourgeois. Fearful people respond to menace by fight or flight.

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<sup>21</sup> DE LA RÚA, in December 2001. Afterwards chaos was much worse and all legitimacy had been lost.

Their choice will be, flight from physical confrontation, fight in other arenas for more forceful police intervention.

In the background we have the old subversives of the sixties and seventies, some alive and unrepentant, some mature and mellowed; but we also have the old state warriors, neither repentant nor mellowed. Some are of course very old or dying; they are the ones who designed the system of repression following the French Algerian experience and adding a further touch of evil. But then there are those who took part in such actions and have not lost their penchant for action. They are just inactive, for the moment. They are not so old that they cannot recreate the old system. There are too many unexplained deaths, too many death squads, too many confrontations between police and private citizens, to be able to assert positively that no violence will ever return to the country even if there is a state of transit blockages and garment provocation that may, just may, make the bourgeoisie angry and fearful.

What I mean to say is, in these experiences of road and routes blockades with Commander Marcos attire, there are the ingredients for further violence.

### *11. Rethinking Regional World Order to Avoid or Minimize Conflict*

I would not venture to say what each successive government could do about this. But it proves that the world order needs some serious rethinking before violence explodes again, anywhere, anytime.

More experienced people from Europe and the US with their minority participation in a supranational state, will give us - I think - the advantage of a more nuanced and detached look, less emotional involvement, to make way for better public governance. That, in turn, should provide the developed countries with a more stable world in which to live in. The formula could be extended and readapted to other areas.

#### *11.1 The Current Global Politics of Extremes*

The EU and US are now committed to action in the extremes; either: *a)* direct or indirect humanitarian aid in almost desperate cases, where not much can be done substantially enduring, or *b)* direct force, either by military pre-emptive action as the US now seems to favor, or by multilateral *ex post facto* intervention as the EU and the UN might seem to prefer and has already been done recently in the Balkans.

Why restrain themselves to only two approaches, *a)* humanitarian aid or *b)* military intervention and/or war? Why not think of a third alternative, which does not preclude either of the two already established: administrative help in public governance, not in advice, but in decision-making. Better public governance might perhaps alleviate the causes of the human misery and suffering that later on evolve into man-made disaster, wars, famine, etc. That is called “institution building” by the EU as it practices it with Eastern European countries that are going to join the EU.

It would seem to be simple common sense to prevent problems rather than address them after they have occurred. There is an old Latin saying that should not be forgotten: *melius est intacta iura servare, quam vulneratae causae remedium quærere*. It is better to keep the law intact than to provide remedies for its violations. So, what Latin America needs more is help to avoid bad governance, rather than help for the consequences of bad governance. We do not have to sacrifice democracy and not even sovereignty for it; just receive some on-the-job training for our leaders, by more experienced European and American officials.

## 11.2 *An Uncomfortable Comparison?*

As a final “puzzle” for this Chapter, allow me to present various examples of a same pattern or intellectual attitude towards our neighbor’s problems: at the home village, in our Nation states, in the EU or, finally, in the whole world.

### 11.2.1 *Some Examples*

Some in Europe and the world have been chastising the US for its “fault” at being better off, in a world of have-nots.

The US is contemplating the problem Europe faces with immigration with an almost audible sigh; it has mostly managed well, internally, the same problem.

Both the EU and the US worry, although each in its own way, at rogue states or potential rogue states. Both fuss about terrorism, although differently. Both are concerned about drugs, even if in dissimilar ways. The list goes on and on: weapons, money laundering, corruption, international jurisdiction applicable or not to its own citizens, etc.

Those of us who are better off in developing societies are used to live “dangerously well”: we have a sizable part of the national income; but, are we going to keep it in the midst of poverty, hunger, lawlessness and po-

tential chaos? So, we fret too. And also expend some of our income in personal protection, or just plainly leave the country: 37 million Latin Americans in the US is quite a medium sized country that, from the whole of the subcontinent, moved abroad. Perhaps not that many went to Europe.

### *11.2.2 Old Answer "A": Unacceptable*

The Communist answer to these plights was: everybody equal, everywhere, by whatever means, specifically by force. Of course, we know what happened.

### *11.2.3 Current Answer "B"*

It seems then that the present world's approach is more or less like this: we advise and even direct others to change, we even do some humanitarian help. We do it individually and nationally or supranationally; you do it too. In my country, many people help to feed their poorer neighbors, through small collective efforts; we also tell the least favored of our societies to study more, learn more skills, etc.; University professors like me get to tell that to everybody else, without discrimination.

The European Union and the US practice humanitarian aid in extreme poverty stricken countries or areas, or in cases of natural or man-made disaster, and also give some economic and social direction: practice the rule of law, do not engage in drug trafficking or terrorism abetting, do not build any more weapons of mass destruction, improve taxation, improve redistribution of income, do not incur in folly debt or reckless deficit, have a substantially correct budget, do not print too much money, avoid inflation, have free markets even if not everybody else does, etc.

With all due respect, that poses the same kind of illogical thinking I dealt with above (Chapter I, paragraph 8.2, "Thinking Logically").

Something else should be done, in the interest of everyone. And just as any country "should" have an enlightened leadership that guides it to change and development, so too "should" the world have a similarly enlightened leadership. It does not cost that much.

That is the focus of this work.