

CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION: OPPORTUNITIES TO PERU

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This document explores Peru's bilateral integration and cross-border cooperation programs. It develops the cross-border cooperation approach proposed by the CeSPI (Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale) based in four components: the development of an infrastructure project, a high-level political agreement, the institutional framework regulating relations among local authorities, and another institutional arrangement focused on the participation of civil society in the border areas. Finally, this research analyses the enhancement of Peru's legal framework regarding cross-border integration.

Keywords: Peru; cross-border cooperation; regional integration; infrastructure project.

COOPERAÇÃO TRANSFRONTEIRIÇA E INTEGRAÇÃO: OPORTUNIDADES PARA O DESENVOLVIMENTO DO PERU

Este trabalho está centrado nos programas bilaterais de integração e cooperação transfronteiriça do Peru. Desenvolve-se o enfoque de cooperação transfronteiriça que foi elaborado pelo Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale (CeSPI), baseado em quatro componentes: a realização de obra de infraestrutura física, um acordo político de alto nível, um espaço institucional que regule as relações das autoridades locais e outro espaço dedicado à participação cidadã da sociedade civil de fronteira. Por último, são analisados os avanços normativos em matéria de integração fronteiriça no Peru.

Palavras-chave: Peru; cooperação transfronteiriça; integração regional, infraestrutura física.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The development and the diffusion of the cross-border cooperation, understood as the strategic alliance between players and contiguous territories to reinforce the regional integration processes, has become a challenge of great relevance in Latin America. Peru needs to find in the cross-border cooperation an opportunity to reconcile a series of geo-economic and geopolitical differential for each of its borders.

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Each border scenario is unique because of its nature, just as the boundaries that shape them, with no detriment to that, generally it is possible to identify a series of characteristics that lead to the construction of a typology of action for the borderline territory (Rhi-Sausi and Oddone, 2009a, p. 13). Peru's borders do not escape these conditions.

Peru shares borders with five of the twelve South American countries: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Ecuador. "The most critical borderline area is at the oriental part of the country, with the largest international boundary extension (approximately 70%). In this area, the exchanges among the populations are done mainly by river and the transportation between towns can take weeks." (Peru, 2010, p. 2).

Some preliminary territorial data on Peru's borders offer us the following scenario: the country is formed by nine borderline regions with a surface area of 757.766 km², which represents 59% of the national territory: 28 provinces, 81 districts, and a population of 1 million 290 thousand inhabitants (approximately 5% of the total national population).

The borders are diverse, ranging from historically stable borders to borders – that until very recently – were considered conflicted, however this does not compromise the components of the methodology for action identified by the Fronteras Abiertas¹ (Open Borders). The approach highlights that the cross-border cooperation is favored when there are three basic conditions: that the comprised territories participate in a process of physical connection, that there be desire and a high level political agreement among the involved countries that will allow the realization in some institutional framework to organize their relations, and lastly that subnational frontier governments be recognized as articulators of the local players, as fundamental institutional instances for a positive cross-border governance.²

The cross-border cooperation offers the regions and the neighboring municipalities the alternative

to bring closer each territorial sector of the geopolitically segmented towns; enables that these towns mitigate, in part, the effects of the artificial division that they have suffered and allows the intensification of the ties in the diverse planes between the different territorial sectors, as well as strengthening the different networks" (Majón, 2005, p. 70).

1. In this respect, see: Rhi-Sausi, J. L. and Conato, D. (2009). *Cooperación Transfronteriza e Integración en América Latina*. Roma: Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale-Istituto Italo-Latino Americano.

2. From this perspective, it is important to recognize the phenomena that have contributed to the development of the cross-border cooperation in Latin America, among those that stand out are the renewed importance of the regional physical integration proposals based on the design of hubs and bi-oceanic corridors, the decentralization processes that have granted a greater autonomy to the subnational governments in both their individual and group international actions, and the territorialization process (or *reterritorialization* for some authors) of the economy that has been defining the emergence of a new geographic economy.

The cross-border cooperation enables to operatively reconcile the fundamental criteria that have promoted the Latin American integration over the last decades. On the one hand, the geo-economic criterion that has served as a guide for the physical integration of the subcontinent, and on the other, the geo-political criterion that has guided the integration process and regional political concert. It is certainly not about two incompatible criteria, on the contrary, their degree of interaction and interdependence is notable. However, their compatibility is not automatically translated into a working instrumentalization to promote integration and cross-border cooperation. Just fathom that when the construction or extension of a connectivity infrastructure promotes the mobility of goods and persons at border crossing points, the real mobility will also depend on other factors, which under the existence of structured regional institutional agreements will facilitate an effective and legitimate solution for the full validation of the “integration liberties”.

In this sense, the compromise of the Andean Community of Nations taken form in the Decision nº 501/2001 on the creation of the Zones for Border Integration (*Zonas de Integración Fronteriza – ZIF*) and in the Decision nº 502/2001 that comprises the general norms for the establishment, operation and application of integrated controls in Bi national Centers for Attention on Borders (*Centros Binacionales de Atención en Frontera – CEBAF*) offers a fundamental condition to carry out agreements that make effective the potential mobility of the physical integration (Rhi-Sausi and Oddone, 2009b, p. 55-). Alternatively, even when there are effective regional concert mechanisms, the bi national agreements (such as the good example demonstrated by the Bi national Commission between Ecuador and Peru) constitute the most common route, even though at times there are no structural ties and are characterized by their high volatility.

As the Latin American experiences demonstrate, it is not uncommon that even in the regional integration processes, the agreements become “bilateral” in the matters of cross-border cooperation. Chile is an Associated State of Mercosur since 1996, but has been fundamental in the bilateral political agreement with Argentina³ where in the role of the Border and Integration Committees has played a central role in the strengthening of the cross-border ties or the political agreement that has given stability to the Ecuador-Peru border initiated under the modality of presidential and ministerial cabinet meeting. A very interesting example is observed among the member countries of Mercosur, where the institutional framework for regional integration is

3. Taken form in the Maipu Treaty for Integration and Cooperation between the Republic of Argentina and the Republic of Chile, October 30, 2009.

reinforced by bilateral agreements between countries that are in the condition to advance even more in this field (one can consider the recent presidential level agreement on cross-border cooperation between Brazil and Argentina). That is, the regional agreements are giving way to reinforced bilateral cooperation in the border areas. This also seems to be the inspiring principle for Peru: an Associated State of Mercosur that, through a bilateral political agreement with Brazil, could be part of the list of “strong” bi national agreements for a shared work in the borders.

BOX 1

Fundamental conditions for stimulating cross-border cooperation

The cross-border cooperation is favored when there are three basic conditions:

- that the comprised territories participate in a process of physical connection;
- that there be a high level political agreement among the involved countries that will become some institutional framework that organizes their relations, and;
- that participation of subnational frontier governments be recognized as articulators of the local players and as fundamental institutional instances necessary for a positive cross-border governance.

This leads to the construction of a typology of action for the area of borderline territory

Elaborated by the authors.

The present work applies the *Fronteras Abiertas* approach to two very dissimilar border regions of Peru. The borders of Ecuador-Peru and of Brazil-Peru. It should also be highlighted that the *Fronteras Abiertas* has carried out direct interventions in one of these regions.

The elements mentioned in the previous table will presently be applied in order to demonstrate the functionality and the pertinence of the approach.

2 PHYSICAL INTEGRATION OF PERU BASED ON THE IIRSA SYSTEM

“The economic integration requires a minimum level of physical integration for the involved countries” (Kahhat, 2007, p. 255). Following this perspective, one identifies the Development Bank of Latin America (CAF) as one of the main partners of the IIRSA project.

The approximation of CAF, but also of IIRSA, can be summarized in the understanding that:


a strong support for the development of the physical infrastructure [is] indispensable for meeting the basic needs (...) and for supporting the integration process and international competition of the region (...). That the infrastructure is the primary intervention of the human being on the territory, in order to access it and to allow his potential for development to flow. It usually starts with the provision of

basic services for survival (...) but quickly expands to include the routes of access that permit the widening of the area influenced by human activity and more advanced technologies to generate energy and enable long distance communication. (...), the level of infrastructure of a territory is intimately involved with the level of development of the society that inhabits it and constitutes in a severe restriction on the possibilities of great leaps in material welfare of the society (Terrazas Salinas, 2009, p.13).⁴

All the countries with which Peru has borders have manifested their full support for the Initiative for the Integration of the Regional Infrastructure of South America (IIRSA); which clearly presents a manifest interest for the border zones, territorial integration “from bellow”, and the realization of public-private partnerships.

The IIRSA system is an infrastructural program with an institutional mechanism for coordinating intergovernmental actions of the twelve South American countries, with the objective of building a common agenda to foment projects for the integration of transportation, energy and communication infrastructure. Peru participates of the following IIRSA hubs: Andean, Amazon, Central Interoceanic, and Peru-Brazil-Bolivia.




CHART 1
Hubs of IIRSA with the participation of Peru

<p>Andean Hub</p> 	<p>The area of influence of the Andean Hub was defined considering the geographic location of the projects that are included in the distinct Groups divided from the Integration and Development Hub (EID), as well as the physical proximity of the main articulation nodules of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. The influence area incorporates the two great north-south corridors that link the main cities of the countries that constitute it. The Pan-American Highway, throughout the Andean Cordillera in Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and throughout the coast of Peru (connecting through the south of it to Chile), and the <i>Carretera Marginal de la Selva</i> (Highway of the Forest Borderline), bordering the Andean Cordillera at the level of the Plains in Venezuela and of the Amazon Rainforest in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, reaching Bolivia through the <i>Paso de Frontera Desaguadero</i> (Desaguadero Frontier Passage) by the <i>Carretera Longitudinal de la Sierra Sur</i> (Longitudinal Highway of the Southern Mountains) of Peru, and from there on to the limit with Argentina by the nº 1 Bolivian route (Villazón - La Quiaca). These longitudinal corridors are intersected on their paths by several transversal corridors (roads and rivers) that link the EIDs of the Guianese Shield, Amazon, Peru-Brazil-Bolivia, and the Central Interoceanic. The area of influence delimited by the Andean Hub has a surface area of 2,556,393 km², equivalent to 54.41% of the sum of the total surface area of the countries that make up the EID. For the year of 2008, a population of approximately 103,467,313 inhabitants was calculated for the area defined by the Andean Hub, which represents 82.76% of the sum of the total population of the countries that make up the EID, likewise, the area of influence of the EID reached a populational density average of 33.08 inhabitants/km².</p>
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4. To widen this concept, see: <<http://www.caf.com/view/index.asp?pageMs=61371&ms=19>>.

(Continued)

<p>Amazon Hub</p> 	<p>The Amazon Hub was defined through the delimitation of a region throughout the multimodal transport system that connects specific ports of the Pacific, such as Buenaventura in Colombia, Esmeraldas in Ecuador, and Paita in Peru, with the Brazilian ports in Manaus, Belem, and Macapa. This area of influence is relatively dynamic, since it is also related to a physical location of the projects that are incorporated into the distinct groups in which the EID has been divided. The area of influence highlighted incorporates a large region of the North of South America between the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans, furrowed by the great Amazon River and its tributaries, it is characterized by its great extent, topographical diversity (coast, Andean zone, forest), and low populational density. The area of influence delimited by the Amazon Hub reaches a surface area of 5,657,679 km², equivalent to 50.52% of the sum of the total surface area of the countries that make up the EID. The EID accounts for a population of approximately 61,506,049, according to projections for the year 2008, elaborated by statistical institutions of each of the countries in the EID, which represents 22.23% of the sum of the total population of the countries that make up the territory of the EID. Likewise, for the area of influence of the EID was calculated a populational density average of 10.87 inhabitants/km², a general medium-low level characterized by a strong geographical dispersion. This indicator varies in the EID from a maximum of 103.96 inhabitants/km² in the Coastal Region of Peru, to a minimum of 2.13 inhabitants/km² corresponding to the territory of the Amazon State in Brazil. In the Amazon Rainforest there are only a few large populations, such as Manaus, Santarem and Iquitos.</p>
<p>Central Interoceanic Hub</p> 	<p>The Central Interoceanic Hub is made up of an area of influence that cuts South America transversally between approximately 12 and 22 degrees south latitude, and incorporates the connection of the main ports of the Pacific and the Atlantic in this territory and the corresponding articulation nodules between Peru, Chile, Paraguay, and Brazil in this region. The area of influence is relatively dynamic, since it is also linked to the physical location of the projects incorporated by the distinct groups in which the EID was divided. The delimited territory incorporated the departments of Arequipa, Moquegua, Puno and Tacna of Peru, the Region XV, I (Arica and Parinacota and Tarapacá, respectively), and the Loa Province of the II Region Antofagasta of Chile, the departments of Beni, La Paz, Oruro, Potosí, Tarija, Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, and Santa Cruz of Bolivia, the Republic of Paraguay, and the Brazilian states of Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, Rio de Janeiro, San Paulo, and Paraná. The area of influence defined by the Central Interoceanic Hub reaches a surface area of 3,461,461 km², equivalent to 28.70% of the sum of the total surface area of the five countries that make up the EID. For the year of 2008, was calculated an approximate total population of 92,594,587 inhabitants for the area of influence defined by the Central Interoceanic Hub, which represents 36.83% of the sum of the total population of the five countries that make up the EID, likewise, the area of the EID reached an average habitation density of 26.75 inhabitants/km². This indicator varies from a maximum of 363.25 inhabitants/km² for the state of Rio de Janeiro, to a minimum of 2.01 inhabitants/km² corresponding to the department of Beni in Bolivia.</p>
<p>Peru-Brazil – Bolivia Hub</p> 	<p>The Peru-Brazil-Bolivia Hub was defined through the delimitation of an influence area that incorporates the connection of the main articulation nodules located close to the triple frontier between Peru, Brazil and Bolivia. This area of influence is relatively dynamic, since it is also related to the physical location of the projects that incorporate the distinct groups in which the EID was divided. The area of influence defined by the Peru-Brazil-Bolivia Hub reaches a surface area of 1,146,871 km², incorporating 10.52% of the sum of the total surface area of the three countries that make up the EID. The area of influence highlighted covers the departments of Tacna, Moquegua, Arequipa, Apurímac, Cusco, Madre de Dios, and Puno of Peru, the departments of Pando, Beni, and La Paz of Bolivia, and the states of Acre and Rondonia of Brazil. For the year of 2008, was calculated an approximate total population of 10,249,938 inhabitants for the area of influence defined by the Peru-Brazil-Bolivia Hub, which represents 4.49% of the sum of the total population of the three countries that make up the EID, likewise, the area of the EID reached an average habitation density of 8.94 inhabitants/km². This indicator varies from a maximum of 20.58 inhabitants/km² for the area of influence of the department of La Paz of Bolivia, to a minimum of 1.18 inhabitants/km² corresponding to the territory of the department of Pando, also in Bolivia. The territory of the EID has the lowest populational density of the nine EIDs of the IIRSA Initiative.</p>

Available at: <<http://www.iirsa.org/Areas.asp?CodIdioma=ESP>>.

It is worth mentioning the Programa de Pasos de Frontera Perú-IIRSA (Peru Border Control Program), a set of projects that are being executed by the National Directory for Border Development (Dirección Nacional de Desarrollo Fronterizo – DDF) of the Ministry of Foreign Relations, with the objective of facilitating binational commerce and tourism through the improvement of border control infrastructure and the simplification of the administrative steps, the capture and processing of information generated in the border crossings.

Three projects are being developed in the Program: Desaguadero Border Control Project between Peru and Bolivia, Iñapari Border Control Project between Peru and Brazil, and Santa Rosa Border Control Project between Peru and Chile. All of them include the construction of new border control facilities with state of the art computer equipment and high operative capacity with integrated systems and processes for the recording and processing of data. The projects also include a management strategy of community relationships, because of the growth of the local population on both sides of the border and the increase of commercial exchange. As an example, in Paso de Desaguadero from 1993 to 2007 the population almost tripled and the foreign commerce through the border control increased over 143%, the migration flow also increased 38% in the time period between 2004-2008; in Paso Iñapari the population almost doubled in the same time period, the foreign commerce increased in 130%, and the migration flow grew 58% for the aforementioned time period, and lastly, in Paso Santa Rosa was registered a population growth of 27% (1993-2007) and foreign commerce through the border increased 234% (2004-2008) and the migratory flow grew 197% (2005-2008).⁵

3 THE POLITICAL ANCHORING OF BORDER ISSUES

The cooperation in border areas is proposed as an extraordinary lab for the construction of an agenda that will deepen South American integration. Its relevance is not derived solely from the growing interest that is manifested by the subnational governments in this issue, but also because of a series of intrinsic characteristics of the cross-border cooperation offer an important added value to the harmonious and balanced development of Latin America.

A significant lesson learned in the Fronteras Abiertas framework is the importance of anchoring the cross-border cooperation in real integration processes on a political level. An institutionalized regional integration process like Mercosur or CAN tends to increase the possibilities to promote such cooperation. The absence of an institutional structure of regional integration can be compensated through strong binational agreements, as is the case of the Argentina-Chile border, of the Ecuador-Peru border promoted by presidential ministerial cabinet meetings, or the bilateral political agreement of Brazil-Peru signed by the Presidents Lula da Silva and Alán García.

5. Cfr. Programa Pasos de Frontera Perú-IIRSA. Available at: <www.pasosdefrontera.com.pe>.

Following are highlighted the border integration policy of the CAN, the development and integration border policy of Peru, two bilateral agreements for the border development, and the role of the subnational units whenever contemplated.

3.1 Border Policy of the Andean Community of Nations

The *Política Comunitaria de Integración y Desarrollo Fronterizo* (Community Policy for Border Integration and Development) of the Andean Community of Nations was approved on May 1999, by the Decision n° 459, as an essential component for the strengthening and the consolidation of the regional integration process. The norm establishes the principles, objectives, institutions, and the instruments that frame this community policy.

On the other hand, the same decision created the High Level Work Group for the Integration and Development of the Border (GANIDF). Article 5 of the IV Chapter establishes that GANIDF is the one responsible for coordinating and proposing to the Andean Council of Foreign Relation Ministers⁶ the programs and plans of action that require the implementation of border policy. Likewise, the General Secretariat of CAN fulfills the role of Technical Secretariat in the functioning of GANIDF and relies on the support of the existant binational mechanisms of the Member Countries.⁷ as well as the Andean Region Consult Group, coordinated by the IDB and CAF.

In this sense, the Andean countries took an important step in 2001 in the field of adopting the Andean Council of Foreign Relation Ministers the Decision n° 501 that establishes the community framework for the creation of the Border Integration Zones (*Zonas de Integración Fronteriza* – ZIF)⁸ and the Decision n° 502 that has the general norms for the establishment, operations and application of the integrated controls in the in Bi national Centers for Attention on Borders (CEBAF).⁹

In general, for the installation of the ZIFs, binational work groups are articulated that will elaborate a development plan subject to two phases. In the

6. Created on November 12, 1979, the Andean Council of Ministers of Foreign Relations is the organ for political direction, integrated by the chancellors of the member countries, charged with assuring the achievement of the objectives of the subregional integration process and of formulating and executing the foreign policy for the Andean Community.

7. The Andean integration system respects and strengthens the bi-lateralization of themes corresponding to integration and frontier cooperation.

8. By ZIF one understands those "territorial border areas adjacent to the member countries for which policies will be adopted and plans, programs, and projects will be executed in order to foment sustainable development and cross-border integration in a collective, shared, coordinated, and orientated manner for mutual benefit" (CAN, 2001a).

9. By CEBAF one identifies "the set of installations that are located in a portion of the territory of a member country or of two neighboring, adjacent to a border crossing, that includes access routes, facilities, equipment, and furnishing needs to apply the integrated control of persons, equipment, merchandise, and vehicles". (CAN, 2001b). One understands by "integrated control" the verification and supervising of the legal conditions for entry and exit of persons, equipment, merchandise, and vehicles that take place jointly in the CEBAF, the competent national employees are assigned by the exit and entry countries.

first stage, a plan is elaborated in the national sections starting at the creation of spaces that allow an ample participation of public and private players at the borders, where the objectives will be formulated, and possible projects and inversion programs will be identified. In the second stage the different proposals and national priorities are made compatible. The stages identified for the constitution of a ZIF gather key elements that form part of a cross-border cooperation process: the information, stage in which the institutions of the territories meet and mutually “evaluate”; mutual consultation, before implementing policies of measures in the possible local levels that may, directly or indirectly, affect the other side of the border; the harmonizing of the rules and regulations and the integration of the territories as a single space for development in the final analysis.¹⁰

As for the CEBAFs, they are also made up of binational work groups and the elaboration of master plans that aim to stimulate and facilitate commerce and international tourism through the border crossing. Also strive to elaborate a regulating plan that is adopted by the municipal governments of both sides of the border, as a management instrument.

Furthermore, the countries that are part of the Andean area rely on the objective of articulating regional integration with the cross-border cooperation based on the creation of a Bank for Border Integration and Development Projects (Banco de Proyectos de Integración y Desarrollo Fronterizo – BPIDF) established with the support of the Regional Andean Program for Cooperation of the Spanish Agency of International Cooperation for Development (Programa Regional Andino de Cooperación de la Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional al Desarrollo).

The very Decision nº 501 for the creation of the ZIF mentioned in its Article 10 that: “it is established in the General Secretariat of the Andean Community the Bank for Border Integration and Development Projects, which will rely on the support of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and on the Development Bank of Latin America (CAF), among others”.

The objectives of the BPDIF are to identify, evaluate, and carry out integration and development projects in the common borders of the countries of the Andean Subregion that will contribute to improving social and economic conditions of the border towns, strengthen the development of the production and service sectors, improve the flow of local and international commerce that travels

10. As an example, Peru and Bolivia constituted a Bi national Work Group for the implementation of the ZIF that followed in the elaboration of a Development Plan considering the territorial organization of both countries. The proposed ZIF was integrated to the Departments of Arequipa, Cusco, Madre de Dios, Puno, Moquegua, and Tacna for Peru; and of La Paz, Oruro, Potosí, Beni, and Pando for Bolivia. To deepen this proposal, see: Monge, N. M. *Espacios Regionales Fronterizos. Teoría, política y práctica del desarrollo y la integración fronteriza*. Málaga, Grupo de Investigación Eumed. net de la Universidad de Málaga, 2008. Complete available at: <www.eumed.net/libros/2008b/400/>, p. 45-.

through the land borders, and correct the limitations of infrastructure that currently affect the border zones.

CAN's advances in cross-border issues are truly relevant in definition and in norm,¹¹ nonetheless in the operative matter it still lacks some mechanisms and instruments to be put in full operation and different experiences are presented with very dissimilar results, that in general remain pending the strength of the bilateral agreements of the parts, both in a national and subnational level. This situation shows, above all, the dependence of national desires to enable the designed instruments for the border area.

The Andean Community to this day coordinates and manages a diversity of projects integrators of economic and social processes in the border zone that, territorially speaking, constitute in Regional Border Spaces in which there are similar conditions and common aspirations; there the States could intervene in shared manner and achieve objectives in benefit of their towns that have been until now at the outskirts of all development. It is a priority to complement the development border integration cycle, defining procedures for the management of projects focused on border integration, whose supranational nature and reach, in the border dimension, transforms them in master keys for positive and productive bilateral relations (Peru, 2010, p. 12).

Finally, it is also important to note that the cross-border cooperation in CAN is part of the elaboration of an Andean agenda for territorial development, whose objective is to count on a shared vision on territorial development in the Andean integration framework, that it will promote the balanced development of the regions and border areas, environmental sustainability, and territorial cohesion.

3.2 National Border Development and Integration Policy of Peru

The border development and integration policy is constitutional part of Peru's foreign policy. In February 1999, the Ministry of Foreign Relations created the National Directory for Frontier and Border Development, dependent on the vice-minister and the General Secretary of Foreign Relations, with the objective of the Directory also function as the Executive Secretariat of the National Council for the Development of Borders with technical and budget autonomy. In 2005, it changed its name to National Directory for Border Development (Dirección Nacional de Desarrollo Fronterizo – DDF) that currently depends

11. To see more with regards to Edgar Moncayo Jiménez's Works for the General Secretariat of the Andean Community: *Elementos para una Estrategia de Desarrollo Territorial en el marco de la Integración Andina* (2005) and *Geografía económica de la Comunidad Andina. Regiones: nuevos actores de la integración* (2003). Among the conclusions in this last job are highlighted the interpretation of the "high degree of active regions", which are those regions, provinces, or states in a member country that generate a substantial part of the intra-community commerce; on the other hand, it was also observed that the greater part of the border regions are characterized by their marginality in the commercial intra-community trade. Furthermore, it was constructed a regional typology in: active regions, commodities regions, and border regions.

on the Sub-secretariat of America. The DDF, with 12 years of existence, is still working with the intent of endowing Peru of an organic border development and integration policy that allows for the marginalized situation of the borders and its inhabitants to be reversed, and with which has concentrated its efforts in the formulation and coordination of diverse intervention projects that impact the 81 border districts of the country.

There is no doubt that the concept of borders, defined in terms of its demarcation dimension and line of defense, has been surpassed by a wider notion of space where development and social, economic, and cultural integration dimensions predominate with the settled populations on both sides of the international border. Under this inclusive approach, in which the worth of complementarity – even of interdependence – is recognized, in guiding better levels of life quality are recognized; the mechanisms of development and integration of borders, established and fomented over the past decade by the Andean Community, with the approval of a Community Policy for the Integration and Development of Borders, have generated a new tendency in the subregional agenda (...). In this balance, we recognize that we still have relevant challenges, such as reverting the poverty and marginalization tendencies, promoting inclusion of the border areas in border integration dynamic with the neighboring country, and local and regional development. (DeNegri, 2010).

The National Council for the Development of Borders (Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo de Fronteras – CNDF) was created by the Decision S. n° 057-2001-PCM of May 22, 2001. It is presided by the Ministry of Foreign Relations and is integrated by a Vice-minister of each sector of the Executive Branch, as well as the Presidents of the Regional Governments of the border.¹² The CNDF is in charge of formulating the coordinated form of a state policy on the border development and of harmonizing the actions of the State in the borders with means of promoting sustainable development, fomenting rational occupation, and stimulating international agreements for obtaining technical and financial international cooperation.

The CNDF approves, in February 2006, the “Bases of the National Strategy for Border Development and Integration 2007-2021”, as a methodological model of intervention directed to initiating border processes that enable the mitigation of poverty situations of the inhabitants of the borders, and favor an articulation in respect with the local, regional and national dynamic. The strategy permitted the concept of what is presented below.

12. Cfr. Ministry of Foreign Relations. *Desarrollo e Integración Fronterizos*. Lima, Ministry of Foreign Relations, 2010. p. 3.

BOX 2

Conceptualization of the border issue in CAM

Border area: Adjacent to the border limit and border control. One experiences daily the border phenomena at a local scale. One can consider the border districts.

Border Zone: Geo-economic unit with a settlement structure and articulation hubs, where one can carry out development actions in a more organic manner. Supports the border area and is the articulation nexus with the administrative region.

Border region: Sub-national field for programing and managing development.

Corridors of border development: Geo-economic integration spaces, from axis of physical articulation. Territorial base for the development strategy.

Complementary regions of border development: Those circumscriptions of the national territory that are not borderline but fulfill support roles for border development.

Binational border regions: Spaces formed by border areas of Peru and of the bordering countries in which there is current and potential degrees of articulation.

Source: National Directory of Border Development, MRE, Peru.

In October 2007, the Executive Branch sent to Congress a Law Project framework for the Border Development and Integration that established that it is: “duty of the State to establish and execute border policy and to promote integration, particularly Latin American, as well as the development and the cohesion of border zones, in accordance with foreign policy”. The object of the Marco Law defines the border spaces, established the mechanisms for formulation, coordination, execution, and tracking of National Border Development and Integration Policy, and as an institutional setting for managing this purpose, has the creation of a functional National Border Development and Integration System.

The Law presents a combination of elements that may be identified both as a “traditional” and a modern approximation of border integration, that is

strengthening the unitary character of the Nation and affirming national identity; reinforcing sovereignty, security, and national defense in the border spaces; generating conditions for the sustainable development and the welfare of the settled population in the border spaces, guaranteeing the access to basic services; promoting inter-sectorial efforts in a setting of growing efficiency and complementation for the execution of public policies in the border spaces; promoting respect for ethnic and cultural diversity, as well as protection of the environment, of biological diversity, and of natural resources; orienting processes of border integration in the Foreign Policy framework.

Another important instance in the subject of borders has been the creation of the Decentralized Offices and Border Consulates. In 2002, the Ministry of Foreign Relations initiated the establishment of decentralized units that contribute to the execution of the National Border Development and Integration Policy and to the decentralization process. These units tend to promote the insertion of the local capacities in the regional economy, in the inversions, in tourism, and in the

diffusion of the local exportable supply. Coordinating with the DDF, the decentralized offices contribute directly with the management of initiatives and border development projects.

Should be mentioned three key instances that pertain to the border knowhow: the Multi-sectorial Commission of the Purus Plan (D.S. n° 038-2008-RE) destined for the province with the greater accessibility difficulties; the Multi-sectorial Commission of Border Crossing (R.S. n° 079-2009-RE) charged with analyzing and evaluating the situation of river and land border crossings, of formulating the Strategic Plan for the Development and Modernization of Border Crossings and of proposing norms for its implementation; and the implementation of a Geographic Information System for Border Development in the framework of the DDF-MRE.

3.3 National law for border development and integration

On the date of July 26, 2011, the Marco Law for the Border Development and Integration was approved (National Law n° 29776), it defined the border spaces, established the mechanisms for formulating, coordinating, execution, and monitoring of the National Policy for Border Development and Integration, which is part of the Foreign Policy and the National Policy for development of Peru and regulates the National System for Border Development.

The Law mentions specifically that the National Policy for Border Development and Integration will be carried out in coordination with the regional and local governments involved in the matter and that it will be formulated by the President of the Republic.

Furthermore, the National Council for the Development of Borders and Border Integration was created as the highest multi-sectorial authority charged with formulating, conducting, and evaluating border policy, as well as promoting, coordinating, and evaluating the fulfillment in accordance with what was established in the article 44 of the Political Constitution of Peru.

Primary duties of the State are: defend national sovereignty; guarantee the full effect of human rights; protect the population from threats against its security; and promote the general welfare that is based on justice and in the integral and balanced development of the Nation. It is also duty of the State to establish and execute border policy and to promote integration, particularly Latin American, as well as the development and the cohesion of the border zones, in accordance to foreign policy. (Peru, Article n° 44).

The aforementioned council will have, as part of its duties, to propose guidelines of the National Policy for Border Development and Integration, as

well as promoting, coordinating, and evaluating its compliance; to approve the development and integrations strategies and harmonizing the national, regional, and local plans for border development and integration with the country's international commitments.

The Executive Branch should make available the necessary actions for the determination of financing sources from the Fund for the Development of Borders and Border Integration that was created by the current Marco Law.

4 BORDERS AND BILATERAL POLITICAL AGREEMENTS OF PERU

4.1 Peru-Ecuador: from the war to cross-border cooperation

When one approaches the subject of relations between Ecuador and Peru, it is astounding how there is such a short temporal distance from a serious border dispute, which even led to armed skirmishes in the last years of the twentieth century, to relations between the two countries that improved so fast. After the placement of the last border milestone in 1999, the relationships of trust between Ecuador and Peru have been cemented thanks to a series of programs that approach common and strategic subjects for the border populations in this zone and for both countries in general (Coletti *et al.*, 2009, p. 141).

Peru and Ecuador share a border of 1,528 kilometers of longitude through the extent of a region formed by a diversity of zones that span over the coast (that alternates between semiarid zones to mangroves and banana plantations), the Andean zone (*agreste* to mountains), and the humid tropical Amazon rainforest. Throughout it there are nine natural protected areas where conservation projects and biodiversity and ecosystem protection projects are developed, particularly those based on the care of water resources.

With the objective of settling the recurrent border disputes,¹³ the governments of both countries put forth a collaboration strategy that was expressed in the Binational Peru-Ecuador Plan in 1998. Months later (04.02.1999) and valid for ten years, the leaders of both countries formally sealed the arrangement

13. After Spanish Independence, the Governments of Ecuador and Peru took advantage of the principle of *Uti Possidetis Jure* as the primary method for establishing the boundaries of the new 'independent' states. The Latin formula – "as [you possessed] according to the law, [you] will possess" – is a principle whereby belligerents possessed territory provisionally retain at the end of a conflict, temporarily, until otherwise provided by a treaty between the parts. In the case of Peru and Ecuador, these disputes led to several armed conflicts and, after many decades of clashes, in 1941, the two countries fought a brief war that ended in 1942 with the signing of the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro by which divided the disputed territory roughly in half. He chose this line because, in 1936, Ecuador and Peru had determined that this was actually occupied territory and because this line crosses all points where rivers become navigable. But in the Rio Protocol, the demarcation of the border line was not sufficiently established in the region of the Cordillera del Condor and the Cenepa River; resulting in the emergence of new differences. Thus, in January 1995, Ecuadorian troops entered the territory and clashed with Peruvian soldiers in a conflict that lasted five weeks. The Cenepa War ended on 17.02.1995 with the Itamaraty Peace Declaration in Brazil. On 26.10.1998 the Brasilia Agreement was reached, which fully defined the border between Peru and Ecuador and newly marked on 13.5.1999 was the latest milestone in the Peru-Ecuador finally sealing the peace on the border.

in the headquarters of the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington. In this document was included a Binational Development Plan for the Border region and also an administrative mechanism that should serve as a basis for the financing of the projects that were expected to promote, such as the Bi national Fund for Peace and Development. But, as the execution of cross-border cooperation projects require multiple actors and interventions in different levels of government and therefor becomes slow and complicated, in September 2008 an extension on the intergovernmental cooperation agreement was agreed upon, another 5 years, that is, until 2014. The necessity for conciliation and for reaching consensus for the coordination of legislations and mechanisms is, therefore, a path already initiated by Peru and Ecuador a few years ago. This has permitted that both countries verify the feasibility of working together for the integration of the towns that have a similar history and common culture.

Beyond the disputes, the regions of southern Ecuador and northern Peru territories are historically tightly integrated with each other, characterized mainly by a strong cultural homogeneity. In this regard, Ecuador-Peru border zone is a true 'cross-border region' on which it is feasible to build a wide variety of cooperation projects based on this component of 'cross-border cultural citizenship'. The Binational Development Plan of the Ecuador-Peru Border Region is a mechanism designed by the two countries with the aim of raising the standard of living of the people through projects that tend to the economic and social integration.

The activities developed by the Binational Plan are nourished by a series of technical commissions, they are: Peruvian-Ecuadorian Neighborhood Commission, Binational Technical Committees, Border Committees, Binational Permanent Commission for the Zarumilla Canal, and Binational Commission for the Integrated Management of Water Resources of the Zarumilla River.

It is worth mentioning that the Peruvian-Ecuadorian Neighborhood Commission was created by the Brasilia Agreements and is the axis of the integration process. It is the instance of the political level and representative character in charge of promoting, supporting, and coordinating the cooperation between the two countries. Binational Technical Committees represent the space for debate and participation of various actors concerned in the border. The Border Committees are binational coordination mechanisms that promote and monitor the compliance of the agreements constituting the border regime as they propose procedures for the transit of individuals, goods and transport services through the border crossings or to encourage cooperation among the parties. Currently there are two Border Committees: Tumbes-El Oro and Piura-Loja, both led by regional authorities and fundamental expression space for subnational units in the area.

The Binational Commission for Integrated Water Resources of the Zarumilla River that was established by the agreement signed on the occasion of the Presidential Meeting and Binational Cabinet Meeting of October 2009, aims to promote integrated water use through articulation mechanisms, coordination and participation, that lead to development, conservation and management of water on the said basin border.

BOX 3

Fronteras abiertas in the Ecuador-Peru border

The first trip to the Ecuador-Peru zone taken by the Fronteras Abiertas Project took place in March 2007. In that occasion, they visited the territories of Loja in Ecuador and of Piura and Chiclayo in Peru. Since this first mission, they identified the subject of sustainable tourism as a priority axis for development of the zone, a demand that was expressed by the local authorities and that also emerged as a result of the analysis of the region's potential. The Southern area of Ecuador and the Northern area of Peru are, without a doubt, a very interesting zone from the sustainable tourism point of view, which has a high and varied natural and cultural heritage. The coast has adequate infrastructures for seaside and aquatic tourism. It also has several museums and historical sites for the segment interested in the cultural aspects.

In parallel, the Piamonte Region showed a pronounced interest for the Ecuador-Peru border. The reasons for this interest are explained, in the first place, by the presence of immigrant communities in this territory: in Turin, regional capital of Piamonte, the Peruvian population is the third most important immigrant community, after the Romanian and the Moroccan populations. Thus, the creation of a collaboration web between the Piamonte Region and some of the Andean regions could favor collaboration and co-development spaces. Such Region already is present in a neighboring zone to the one part of the Fronteras Abiertas Project: in particular it had provided technical assistance for the local government of the Amazon Region (Peru), through its body *in house* IPLA (Istituto Pianta Legno Ambiente) in the elaboration of projects tied to the environment.

On October 2007, another mission to the zone was carried out. In this mission, besides the Fronteras Abiertas team, the Piamonte Region also participated. The mission was decisive for involving the territories of the Tumbes coast (Peru) and of El Oro (Ecuador). The high-andean and pre-amazonic territories (of the Peruvian and Equatorian side) already have been fully involved thanks to the previous mission, while it still was necessary the opening of channels to activate relations with the coastal axis. On October 5, 2007, in Loja, Ecuador, the *Acta de compromiso para la implementación del Project cross-border "Fronteras Abiertas" entre Ecuador y Peru* (Act of commitment for the implementation of the cross-border Project Fronteras Abiertas between Ecuador and Peru) was signed, to which representatives from the following places gave their adhesion: Ecuadorian provinces of Loja and El Oro, regional peruvian governments of Lambayeque, Piura and Tumbes, Italian Region of Piamonte, the IILA, CeSPI, and the Association for migrant Andeans in Italy *Juntos por los Andes* (Together for the Andes). The act marks the formal start of Fronteras Abiertas' activities in the territory. The intermediate governments of Ecuador and Peru identified sustainable tourism as the articulating axis for territorial cohesion.

During 2008, the Fronteras Abiertas Project also got involved in the Ecuadorian province of Zamora Chinchipe and with the Peruvian Government of Cajamarca. The first formal activity of the project was the organization of a training period and studio visits by some employees of the intermediate border governments of Peru and Ecuador to Italy. Technical representatives for tourism and environment of the provincial governments of El Oro and Loja (Ecuador), and the regional governments of Lambayeque, Cajamarca, Piura and Tumbes (Peru) made an educational tour on cross-border and tourism cooperation. In the second half of the year, the first direct action was identified and would be financed by the Fronteras Abiertas Project in the zone. It was decided to support a medical center placed on the outskirts of the Peruvian Region of Cajamarca and the Ecuadorian province of Zamora-Chinchipe: one of the poorest zones on the border of Ecuador-Chile.

On March 2009, an important event in Chiclayo, Peru took place. The meeting had as a concrete result the joint desire to create a shared touristic brand to add value to the affected territory, as well as promoting touristic routes that are being promoted by the ministries of tourism from both countries, in synergy with the Bi national Ecuador-Peru Plan. Moreover, once the nexus among the sub-national members of the web were consolidated, they had debates on the possibilities of opening, during the second half of 2009, a space for the participation of persons of the civil society, universities, municipalities, and municipal associations, who could contribute to the sustainability of the decentralized integration process initiated by Fronteras Abiertas.

On the other hand, on a private level, they have related to networks of Peruvian and Ecuadorian immigrant associations in Italy, with their peers of immigrant relatives in Ecuador and Peru. Fronteras Abiertas considers strategic the consolidation of this network as in the international migrations in both countries play a fundamental economic role through remittances.

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Because of the active role of the Piamonte Region in the scope of the Fronteras Abiertas Project, the capital Turin was elected as the headquarters for the national conference "Cross-border Cooperation in Latin America: contribution of the decentralized Italian Cooperation", which took place on July 8, 2009. From there reemerged the proposal to support sustainable tourism in a synergic and complimentary manner to the Bi national Plan. Among the activities of the Bi national Plan in the area for tourism, there is the project of the Spondylus Touristic Route,¹ orientated at the touristic development of the coastal zone between Ecuador and Peru, from Lambayeque to Guayaquil. In the province of El Oro and in the Tumbes Region, given their potential for cultural and nature tourism, one can observe a weak exploitation and chaining of supply of services and ventures, little promotion of the capacity for touristic development, factors that have brought on the loss of opportunities for economic development and bettering the quality of life, especially in towns and in families from rural zones dependent on foreign migrants, with high poverty indexes. Is incorporated to this the institutional and sectorial dispersión, lacking of an organizational and territorial association for touristic offer and reception. Consequently, emerges a proposal to back the development of a touristic route segment, which has been named "Pequeña Spondylus", that precisely covers the coastal border regions where the project is working. The "Pequeña Spondylus" project aims to contribute to the development of sustainable bi national tourism of the El Oro province (Ecuador) and Tumbes (Peru) through the strengthening and promotion of ventures and offers of touristic services for small and migrant family companies in Europe throughout the Spondylus Route (promoted by the Bi national Plan). It seeks to promote the expansion of tourism services for small businesses, as well as their management capabilities, contributing to strengthen the local tourism enterprises (under the territorial tourist corridor), with the participation of local governments and the private sector.

It is worth mentioning that under the "Pequeña Spondylus" proposal, a new institutional level has been involved: the municipal. The role of the Huaquillas municipality (Provincia de El Oro) is central in the Spondylus route. The Tumbes Municipality manages, in the scope of the Bi national Plan, the Asociación de Municipalidades Peruanas y Ecuatorianas de Frontera (Peruvian and Ecuadorian association of border municipalities), key associate for the exchange activities in the territory. Besides the activities of the Small Spondylus, Fronteras Abiertas supported the regional government of Tumbes (Peru), with the organization of the First Cross-border photography "Tierras del Eterno Verano" (Lands of the Eternal Summer), in which they will reward the best photos that reflect the quality of the cross-border touristic resources. The initiative counts with the support of the Regional Directory for Foreign Commerce and Tourism (Dircetur) and of the Autonomous Provincial Government of El Oro (Ecuador), through their Environmental Management and Tourism Secretariat. This low cost initiative aspires to have a high impact in the promotion and diffusion of the resources and the touristic potential of Tumbes and El Oro.

A factor of great importance for optimizing the impact of the actions of the Fronteras Abiertas Project in the area is the consolidated presence of the Italian Cooperation through two strategic projects, carried out with the Bi national Plan. It is about two very relevant projects, from the point of view of their effects and their cross-border dimension. The first, executed directly by the General Directory for the Cooperation for Development, is the bi national project for strengthening the health System in the cross-border territory in the Ecuadorian province of Loja and the Peruvian region of Piura. The project has had a great success and has been considered, both by the Italian Cooperation as well as the Latin-American associates a project for excellence that represents a cross-border integration model through basic services for the population. The second initiative is the Rural Development under the bi national program for fighting poverty. The project is executed by the Italo-Latin American Institute (IILA) and seeks to improve the living conditions of the rural population by increasing the quality and volume of their production, the rehabilitation of water infrastructure and irrigation systems, as well as reforestation of the Loja province and the Piura region. During the execution of the project, the activities of Fronteras Abiertas have also led to a participatory awareness and gradual involvement of border municipalities. The border municipalities are represented within the Bi National Plan through a coordinated association currently managed by the municipality of Tumbes (Peru). However, there are still no formal mechanisms for institutional exchange between the different levels (local, intermediate governments, and national).

Note: ¹ The *Spondylus* is a conch shell that is found exclusively along the pacific coasts of South America. Due to its beauty, resistance, and relatively difficulty of fishing (it is found several meters deep), it was used in the pre-colombian eras money for the exchange among different native populations. For this reason the *Spondylus* conch was selected as a symbol for the shared integration and development.

4.2 Peru-Brazil: a stable border

Brazil and Peru share a territorial border of 2,822 km of extension throughout the Amazon region. It is the most extensive territorial border of Peru, and for both countries the Amazon represents a highly significant portion in environmental, economic, and identity terms. "As for Peru, its Amazon territory is 785,000 square kilometers (21% of the whole Amazon), which represents close to 62% of the national territory. As for Brazil, the Amazon region is close to 5,200,000 square kilometers, lo which represents 61% of its territory" (Kahhat, 2007, p. 250).

Besides the difference in square kilometers (the Brazilian Amazon surface area is almost seven times that of Peru), the Amazon territory represents, to both countries, a little over 60% of the total of their national territory. On this part, the Amazon concentrates 30% of the biodiversity of the world, and the second largest biosphere reserve in the whole planet.

Brazil and Peru have not had borders disputes since the Rio Branco-Velarde treaty in 1909.¹⁴ On the other hand, Brazil has played a fundamental role in the solution of border disputes between Peru and Ecuador. Initially, as one of the countries that guarantees the Peace, Friendship, and Limits Protocol of 1942 in Rio de Janeiro de 1942 and, later in the negotiation and signature of the peace treaties after the Cenapa War (1995); particularly the Itamaraty Peace Declaration (02.17.1995) and the Brasilia Act (10.26.1998).

The presidential diplomacy, the summit politics (especially all of Unasur's), and the bilateral regional integration has allowed the reconstruction of several ray-centers that strengthen individual and group insertion both in the intrar-regional as in the global levels. And because of that, a deepening of the Brazil-Peru relations tends to reinvigorate the Peru-Mercosur relations. In this sense, the presidents Lula da Silva and García manifested their compromise with the process of strengthening and diversification of the economic-commercial relationship in the ACE-58 Peru-Mercosur framework.

The stability of the Brazil-Peru borders have permitted that, based on the presidential diplomacy and the bilateral meetings, the presidents Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and Alan García Pérez emitted a series of joint communications on the matter and have proceeded on the installation of a Vice-ministerial Commission for Border Integration (CVIF), whose first meeting took place in Brasilia on June 11th, 2010 and the instruction that operative plans be carried out on the constitution of a border integration zone (ZIF), in a sort of extension of the CAN methodology to bilateral relations.¹⁵

In the Strategic Alliance framework, on December 2009, both countries had agreed upon the conformation of the CVIF, which has the task of approving

14. In historical terms it is important to highlight: "the diplomatic relations between both countries began on 1826, and essentially have a particular relationship to the settlement of border issues, but also the issue of navigation in the Amazon. In 1851 both countries signed the Herrera-Da Ponte Ribeiro Treaty, whereby agreed upon the free navigation of the Amazon River. But the border issue was not definitely settled until the signing in 1909 of a Treaty of Limits, Commerce and Navigation Treaty, also known as the Rio Branco-Velarde Treaty. The fundamental basis of negotiations borders was the Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1777 that normalized relations between Spain and Portugal in what corresponded to their domains in South America, while regulated navigation in the rivers that crossed these territories" (Kahhat, 2007, p. 250).

15. In this types of ideas, the agreements signed in June of last year by the presidents Lula de Silva and Alan García stand out: "Acuerdo Complementario para la ejecución del Project sobre Fortalecimiento del Ordenamiento Territorial para la Integración Fronteriza Brazil-Peru" and "Acuerdo Complementario para la ejecución del Project sobre Fortalecimiento Institucional para la Gestión Integrada de los Recursos Hídricos".

the operative plans of the IF as well as coordinating, orientating, and supervising the Binational Work Groups (GTB). The CVIF is presided by the Vice-ministers of Foreign Relations of both countries and is made up of representatives from regional and state governments of the border zones, among others, thus representing subnational intermediate governments.

The CVIF accounts for four GTB: one dedicated to specifically Border Development and Integration, another whose mission is Commerce and the Facilitation of Border Traffic, one on Border Technical Cooperation (that is responsible for managing the financing and development of the operative plans of the ZIF) and, lastly, the Group for Border Environmental Cooperation (GCAF).

Among the main themes that constitute the joint work agenda, stand out the institution of cross-border flights¹⁶ and the cooperation in river navigability, the conformation of new border committees and integrated controls,¹⁷ the encouragement of cross-border commerce from the establishment of a special regime,¹⁸ and the international border roaming service, the incentive for carrying out borders production chains,¹⁹ and the execution of works for border electrical interconnections.²⁰

The DDF, in its work with the regional governments, has given particular attention to the Madre de Dios Region, permanently assisting the development of the borderline corridor of the Maldonado-Iñapari Port based on the identification of urban centers which were assigned roles and functions inside the National Strategy for Border Development.

4.3 Amazon and the cross-border environmental goods

The three essential elements identified for cross-border cooperation (infrastructure, political agreement, capable border municipalities) are also considered fundamental to the protection of the Amazon region. Although they are eight countries (of the twelve South American) who share the Amazon and they are all bound by the Amazon Cooperation Treaty of 1978, Brazil and Peru are those

16. The possibility of installing cross-border flights (air rout Cusco-Rio Branco and carrier flights Pucallpa-Cruzeiro do Sul) in the framework of the *Declaración para el Establecimiento de Vuelos Regionales Transfronterizos entre Peru y Brasil* (Declaration for the Establishment of Regional Cross-border Flights between Peru and Brazil – 11.12.2009) and with the intention of concluding the negotiation of the *Acuerdo sobre Transporte Aéreo Transfronterizo entre Peru y Brasil* (Agreement on Cross-border Air Transportation between Peru and Brazil).

17. The conformation of the Islandia-Benjamin Constant Border Committee, the installation of the Bilateral Coordination Committee of the Integrated Control Area of the Iñapari-Assis Brazil Borer, and the creation of the Works Subgroups on Border Health and River Border Cooperation (CVIF).

18. Advancing in the negotiations oriented to the establishment of a special regimen for border commerce in accordance with the Related Border Localities Agreement of December 2009.

19. Cooperation agreements in the matter of promotion of productive chains between the border localities of Islandia-Benjamin Constant and the negotiation of a deal for the localities of Puerto Esperanza-Santa Rosa do Purus.

20. Based on the Agreement of the Subminister of Electricity for the Republic of Peru and the Exportation of the excesses of the Federative Republic of Brazil (2010).

with the greatest extent. Logical step was therefore incorporating Peru in 2003 to Surveillance System of the Amazon (SIVAM) created by Brazil.

A protection and general surveillance of the Amazon requires a political agreement of the highest level that can build institutional mechanisms of governance and norms respected by all South American countries and the entire international community. It is also required the development of infrastructure friendly with environment, non-invasive, and municipalities that exercise an effective role as control agents. There is no more important issue that is needed to shape a multi-level governance for the region.

The cross-border cooperation stimulates the construction of regional public goods, due to the need to respond to situations that no single solution has been found or does not provide sufficient incentives for a single country to assume the costs. The cross-border cooperation encourages the protection of environmental assets while both promote regional integration.

5 THE LOCAL BORDER GOVERNMENTS: BEST TO RELY ON THEM...

The cross-border cooperation is understood as the strategic alliance of actors and contiguous subnational territories to reinforce regional integration processes. Municipalities are key players despite their weak, fragile or limited capabilities. This is the level of public administration closest to the citizen and with ample drawing power in terms of individual or institutional actors, men and women, companies or universities, among others.

Its capabilities in terms of management may be limited, but its strength in terms of responsiveness – if it succeeds realizing public policy according to the expressed preferences of their citizenship – is often fundamental. A work of border infrastructure will hardly be implemented if neighboring municipalities do not share the proposal and have not appropriated it.

It is noted, still an urgent need to strengthen the project capacities of local South American actors. The design of training courses and strategies of learning by doing typically operate in a world where local authorities are increasingly exposed to working in aggregate form (in a network) in the international arena for attracting new funds or resources and for performing cooperative projects.

The articulation University-Municipality is usually also very important, but the universities must become effective think tanks that allow the creation of new concepts and operational tools that foster integration border. In this sense, it is very interesting for the Peruvian-Brazilian cross-border region signing the Interagency Cooperation Agreement between the National University of Piura and the Federal University of Amazon that is mentioned in the Joint Statement

of the Presidents of the Republic of Peru, Alan García Pérez and of the Federative Republic of Brazil, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, Manaus, June 16th, 2010.

5.1 Andean network of cities

On September 8th, 2003, in the city of San Francisco de Quito (Ecuador) was created the Andean Network of Cities as a result of the initiative of the Mayors of member States of the Andean Community. As stated in the first recital of the Quito Declaration on the Establishment of the Andean Network of Cities (2003), the Network is

as a valid instrument for relying on the necessary mutual support and joint effort to allow Municipalities to efficiently manage urban areas, improving the lives of its population, fighting poverty, and building locally competitive societies in the globalized world of the twenty-first century.

In organizational terms, in the first stage (2003-2005), issues and work agendas were identified and city halls were made responsible. Bogotá took care of promoting trade relations and business concertation primarily with small and medium businesses, the city of Lima was devoted to connectivity between cities and regions, meanwhile, the city of La Paz to the exchange of experiences, good practices and initiatives of municipal management, Quito focused on cultural and artistic cooperation, and finally, Caracas in academic and professional exchange, emphasizing the participation of all capital cities of the then Andean Community.

The Andean Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, considering the importance of the cities and the role of the municipalities in strengthening democracy and development approved in May 2004, by Decision n° 585, the creation of the Andean Advisory Council of Municipal Authorities (Consejo Consultivo Andino de Autoridades Municipales – CCAAM). Thus the Municipal Authorities began their involvement through opinions and recommendations in the Andean Integration System.

The presidents of the Andean Community of Nations quickly took into consideration CCAAM, highlighting the role that it must play in strengthening the process of integration. In the XV Meeting of the Andean Presidential Council was recognized the importance of supporting the micro to achieve integration at the macro level. It also recognizes the importance of the bottom-up support given by the cities to the regional integration process.

For its part, the Andean Presidential Council under the Presidential Dialogue on the Future of the Andean Integration Process in Projection South America (Quito, July 12, 2004) also highlighted the need to promote a joint reflection on the Andean development model, including recognition of the boost of a territorial

development strategy through the concept of “centers of development” as favorable spaces for the construction of governance and social cohesion.

5.2 The Andean Agenda of Territorial Development

The overall objective of the proposal is to have a shared vision of the territorial development in the framework of the Andean integration that is conducive to the balanced development of the regions, environmental sustainability, and territorial cohesion as a whole.

Among the specific objectives are: prioritizing regions or cities of lesser relative development (including the borders), promoting the benefits of the Andean integration in the sub-national level; international integration of regions and cities of the CAN; horizontal cooperation, exchange of experiences, and technical assistance between regions and Andean cities; promoting, on regional and local levels, appropriate and sustainable management of natural resources of the Andean territory; incorporating regional and local actors into the debate and implementation of community policies related to their fields of competence.

Moreover, were established as work areas: the institutional strengthening for the formation of public and private player networks on local and regional levels and for the promotion of joint capacitation programs; the competitiveness and the development of small and medium companies in the production of goods and services, technological innovation, and territorial development; the establishment of a regional platform for the development of the physical infrastructure and the connectivity; the protection of the environment and the bet on sustainable development for fomenting the participation of regional and local players in the actions carried out in the “Regional Biodiversity Strategy and the Andean Environmental Agenda” framework; and the provision of public goods that allow the strengthening of a functional relationship between the territory and the quality of life of the citizen in terms of “housing”.

5.3 Brief associative experiences in the borders

If “governance constitutes in the management of networks” (Rhodes, 1997, p. 52); the local governments should make up the nodules in these networks with the objective of strengthening relational density in the border zones, every time that there are conditions that minimize the risks of its own interaction, the creation of cooperation settings is explored (and as such is of a positive sum), and are designed the mechanisms and the regulation instruments that diminish the uncertainty and conflicts and foment mutual trust. Activating a cross-border collaboration network requires that the mutual interdependencies be recognized as the strengthening of the individual capacities and each of the nodule positions

under a positive sum logic that means to create new capacities and new cross-border capital that be transformed in direct action that benefits local towns in the regional cross-border space.

As follows, three ways of working in constituted subnational networks of Peru and of the subregion. The Binational Association of Municipalities of Southern Ecuador and Northern Peru (ABIMSENOP) is created with the purpose of designing and executing, at the level of local governments, programs and development projects with the support national border integration efforts. The ABIMSENOP gathers 204 municipalities and involves almost 5 million border inhabitants from both countries.

The Association of Rural Andean Municipalities of Tacna (AMRAT) was created in 2002 and centers authorities of districts of the provinces of Tarata and Candarave, and the District of Palca of the Tacna province. The mentioned network has had a leading role in the management of binational projects, even with the endogenous institutional problems that exist.

Furthermore, the border *Mancomunidad* of Sur de Puno has a clear inspiration in the *mancomunidades* of Centro-American municipalities. The main objective lays in the need of attracting investment in the Sur de Puno and the initiative was developed initially by the Mayors of Desaguadero, Kelluyo, Pisacamo, and Capazo. Until now, this *Mancomunidad* has worked on the matter of rural electrification, neighboring paths, and attention to basic resources.

6 CONCLUSIONS

It is important to have in mind the dimension that the territorial development and the regional integration are part of the political agenda of the South American countries for several years now. All the governments of the subcontinent have put among their priorities the definition of programs and instruments for the promotion of local development and for the inter-institutional and transnational coordination with the objective of integrating the different areas that go beyond the borders of the National States.

The regional integration is considered a key political instrument for economic and social development, democratic governance and international economic insertion. The necessity for articulating the regional South American integration with local development reveals the urgency of creating areas capable of promoting converging development processes both for the institutional plan as the purely economic. The cross-border process can constitute in the organizing axis of the economic-institutional convergence areas where the different projects designed are converted into functioning variables and are dependent of each regional reality in particular.

Peru, through border integration, can reconcile a series of geoeconomic and geopolitical criteria for each of its borders. The experience of bilateral work with Ecuador is proof of the capacity of reconciling political interests and of acting in benefit of the local border towns. The historically stable border relations with Brazil can become a key foundation for bi national collaboration space for two of the countries that have the greatest dynamism and growth index of South America.

Cross-border cooperation and integration offer Peru a new setting for the design of public policies that favor territorial balance and tend to better the quality of life of the inhabitants of the zones that suffer the greatest poverty, marginality, and structural disconnection problems.

The political agreements, the design of new infrastructure projects and the strengthening of project capacities of the local players and of their autonomy for working on the international scale (all fundamental elements of the Fronteras Abiertas Project) constitute the foundations of the cross-border process on which are developed functional projects that with creativity allow the border regions to “govern”.

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