

The Carter Center and the  
Peacebuilding Process in Venezuela  
June 2002 – February 2005

SUMMARY

THE  
CARTER CENTER



THE CARTER CENTER STRIVES TO RELIEVE SUFFERING  
BY ADVANCING PEACE AND HEALTH WORLDWIDE;  
IT SEEKS TO PREVENT AND RESOLVE CONFLICTS, ENHANCE FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY,  
AND PROTECT AND PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS WORLDWIDE.

# THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002-FEBRUARY 2005

## SUMMARY



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THE AMERICAS PROGRAM

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# THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA

## JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

The following report records the contributions of The Carter Center to the peacebuilding process in Venezuela between June 2002 and February 2005 and complements the Carter Center's "Comprehensive Report on Observing the Venezuela Presidential Recall Referendum." Copies of both reports are available on [www.cartercenter.org](http://www.cartercenter.org).

### CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

#### 1. June-August 2002

The Carter Center was originally invited to Venezuela by the government in June 2002 to assist in the dialogue between the government and the opposition. President Carter's first visit in July 2002 revealed that the dialogue mechanism established by the government was not feasible and that the opposition was not yet willing to enter into direct negotiations with President Chávez.

The Carter Center thus proposed to the Organization of American States and United Nations Development Program that the three organizations constitute what would later be known as the "Tripartite." The director of the Americas Program, Jennifer McCoy, assumed the leadership of the Venezuelan project for The Carter Center. McCoy, along with Fernando Jaramillo of the OAS and Elena Martínez of UNDP, traveled to Caracas to offer facilitation to the Venezuelan government and to the opposition, represented by the *Coordinadora Democrática*. The assistance was conditioned on the requirement that formal written invitations should be extended to the three organizations by both the government and opposition. After receiving the formal request from both sides, The Carter Center appointed mediator Francisco Diez as its permanent representative in Caracas. In August 2002, Mr. Diez was entrusted to negotiate the text of what became the "Declaration of Principles for Peace and Democracy in Venezuela," which was subsequently signed by OAS Secretary-General César Gaviria and representatives from both sides.<sup>1</sup> (See Notes, p. 89.)

#### 2. September-October 2002

Secretary-General Gaviria then decided to assume the leadership of the facilitation process, and the UNDP decided to provide technical assistance. The OAS and The Carter Center conducted the negotiation of the *Síntesis Operativa* (Terms of Reference), which led to the establishment of a mechanism known as the *Mesa de Negociación y Acuerdos* – MNA (Table of Negotiation and Accords).<sup>2</sup> The first session of the MNA was held on Nov. 8, 2002. Matthew Hodes, director of the Conflict Resolution Program of The Carter Center, traveled to Caracas for the negotiations of the *Síntesis Operativa* and returned multiple times during the functioning of the *mesa*.

The Carter Center representative soon realized that high-level political negotiations were essential but insufficient in managing a highly polarized conflict already escalating and felt throughout Venezuelan society. What was needed was open support for a peace process at all social levels, from the highest political positions down to the common citizens who were equally affected by the conflict.

The building of a peace process at a high political level did limit the escalation of the conflict, but the "spirit" of the negotiation efforts needed to be relayed to the rest of the population, a population that was deeply polarized and spurred by constant confrontation between their leaders in the media.

To counteract the growing polarization, in October 2002, The Carter Center, with UNDP support, invited Harvard expert William Ury to present his "third side" thesis. Both pro-government and pro-opposition leaders were invited to participate in a joint panel in order to prepare a list of guests for Dr. Ury's conference.<sup>3</sup> That initiative was to become the starting point for the constitution of a volunteer task force of Venezuelan professionals who would continue to collaborate with The Carter Center.

#### 3. November 2002 – January 2003

In the first month, the MNA met almost daily in a very hostile environment. On Dec. 2, the opposition



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launched a strike that led the government to withdraw from the *mesa*. At this point, all facilitation efforts became focused on maintaining an open dialogue, and the meetings resumed only after intense efforts. The initial opposition-led strike led to an oil strike, and the confrontation between the two sides translated into a struggle for the control of *Petróleos de Venezuela S.A.* The secretary-general of the OAS submitted a draft document with 22 points as a possible solution to the crisis. The points were scrutinized one by one during the long weeks of the strike. The *mesa* deadlocked on the subject of an “electoral solution,” so we decided, together with President Carter, to present various electoral proposals to both the government and the opposition. In January, proposals were submitted that called for either a constitutional amendment or a recall referendum.<sup>4</sup> These proposals were neither accepted nor rejected by the parties but instead served to reopen the discussion on electoral issues. Both sides provided written responses to the proposals, and the stalled *mesa* talks resumed. At the same time, a Group of Friends of the OAS secretary-general was created, consisting of Brazil, Mexico, USA, Chile, Spain, and Portugal, which also helped to move the negotiations forward.

### 4. February – May 2003

As the December strike came to an end in early February, the government found its popularity rising and thus saw less need to reach an agreement at the *mesa*. However, it continued to worry about possible violence or another coup. In this context and with the support of the Group of Friends, the idea of an agreement against violence was revived and welcomed by both parties. On Feb. 18, 2003, the “Declaration Against Violence, for Peace and Democracy” was solemnly signed.<sup>5</sup> It was the first agreement reached at the *mesa*.

While participating in high-level talks in the MNA, The Carter Center decided to initiate a rapprochement between the media owners and the government. The confrontation existing between these

two actors had been identified from the beginning as one of the primary sources fueling the conflict.

In March, a confidential negotiation exercise was held between the media owners and Minister Cabello, with the assistance of William Ury.<sup>6</sup> In the document resulting from this exercise, both sides committed to start taking confidence-building “baby steps.”<sup>7</sup> The agreement was not abided by in the end, but it opened the doors to similar future exercises and incorporated the media sector in the negotiation dynamics.

At the same time, The Carter Center decided to launch a comprehensive program aimed at promoting the incipient peace initiatives being developed at different levels of society. We decided to request another visit by William Ury and, with the support of United States Agency for International Development, brought three experts in constructive conflict transformation from Argentina to work with community and civil society groups in the preparation for Ury’s visit.<sup>8</sup> We wanted to identify the social leaders and civic organizations with which we could develop activities at grassroots and intermediate levels of society. The public event with Ury was held in February and gave birth to a working group known as *Constructores de Paz* (Peacebuilders).

We then started to articulate, on a higher political level, a mediation and facilitation initiative in the form of a social program for constructive conflict transformation. The initiative was named *Fortalecer la Paz en Venezuela – SPV* (Strengthening Peace in Venezuela) and was in charge of promoting the peacebuilding process throughout society. (See Table 1, page 88.)

At an intermediate level, we started to organize conflict management workshops for mass media journalists and editors. A short film was produced for TV on “The Third Side,” and a video was edited for public distribution.

At the grassroots level, we began training community leaders and assisted the work of *Constructores de Paz*. We actively participated in activities such as *Taima por la Paz* (Time-Out for Peace), a movement aimed at



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encouraging inclusive, rather than aggressive and exclusive, signs and slogans at political marches.

At the MNA, during Gaviria's absence from Venezuela due to his obligations as secretary-general of the OAS, Díez and Jaramillo continued to work on an electoral agreement for a recall referendum. In April, a text was agreed upon but later rejected by the government. The facilitators then asked both sides to submit written observations regarding the document, and an agreement was proposed based on the responses. The government did not reply, and Secretary-General Gaviria continued waiting for a conclusive answer. In May, Jennifer McCoy traveled to Caracas, and in a meeting with President Chávez, worked on the government's critiques of the text and pushed for a commitment to reaching an agreement. The secretary-general then engaged in extensive negotiations with both parties, and the final text was signed on May 29, 2003.<sup>9</sup> After the signature of the MNA agreement, the secretary-general departed from Venezuela, and The Carter Center was left in charge of the Liaison Mechanism created by the agreement.

### 5. June – August 2003

After the initial activities at the grassroots and intermediate levels, it became apparent that the program Strengthening Peace in Venezuela needed to be structured in close partnership with the UNDP.

Three principal areas of work were defined as: a) training in constructive conflict transformation, b) constructing and strengthening networks among organizations and individuals, and c) working with the media. The decision was also made to expand geographically and incorporate volunteer teams and activities in Zulia and Barquisimeto, starting by organizing public events with William Ury and Francisco Díez. The professionals who had been collaborating as volunteers joined our staff as local consultants now contracted by the UNDP, each taking charge of a different work area.<sup>10</sup>

■ A training plan was established with the support of the British Embassy in Caracas. The plan was

designed as a cascading series of events so that the first individuals to receive training could replicate it in their own communities and social settings.<sup>11</sup>

■ *Networks* were constructed by convening a group of intellectuals and scholars that represented different positions and were respected by both sides. The networks would hold consultation meetings and work to build mutual trust. This led to the creation of the group *Aquí Cabemos Todos*. An *organizational network* was also created among longstanding, well-established social organizations to identify areas for collaboration. *Fundación Polar* supported a visit by John Paul Lederach aimed at addressing those organizations in a formal meeting and then working with them individually. This visit would become the starting point of the group *Paz en Movimiento* (Peace in Movement).<sup>12</sup>

■ Finally, with the support of USAID, a work plan (See Table 2, page 88) was designed for the *media* and journalists that involved training workshops, in-house talks, and a visit from international experts from Search for Common Ground.<sup>13</sup>

At the high political level, the *Mecanismo de Enlace* (Liaison Mechanism) started meeting in July with representatives from both sides.<sup>14</sup> At that time, the key political issue was the appointment of members to the National Electoral Council (CNE) by a two-thirds majority of the National Assembly. The Liaison Mechanism tried to assist in the ongoing negotiations, but the Assembly was unable to make progress.<sup>15</sup> Subsequently, in August, the Supreme Court of Justice (TSJ) took over the task and appointed the entire CNE board. The Carter Center immediately decided that Jennifer McCoy should travel to Caracas to gauge the acceptance of the newly appointed electoral authorities among the political actors and to meet with the new CNE board of directors. A press release was issued at the end of her visit.<sup>16</sup> The Carter Center noted a high level of approval for the new CNE throughout the country and found the body willing to invite the Center to observe the signature collection process.



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The Carter Center decided to establish a permanent office in Caracas and identified three key areas of work: political development, peacebuilding, and the new electoral area.

### 6. September – December 2003

After the CNE board was designated, the heart of the political dispute became concentrated in this body. As a result, the facilitators focused much of their efforts on the electoral board. The fact that the political confrontation was now channeled toward the electoral contest instead of a violent face-off was a great step forward, but it also raised new challenges. The deep wounds persisting in the social fabric signified that the peacebuilding process had to focus on win-win relations of collaboration and joint encounters to offset the win-lose dynamics of an electoral process.

In September and October, at the high political level, we worked with the *Mecanismo de Enlace* (Liaison Mechanism) on electoral issues and enabled them to meet with the new CNE. We also facilitated several meetings between members of the *Enlace* and the media to deal with some of the specific issues in the agreements reached with Ury.

The new CNE declared invalid the signatures that had been gathered during a petition drive in February of 2003 and set rules for a new signature collection to request a recall referendum. The Carter Center, later joined by the OAS, facilitated many public and private meetings with the CNE, the media, and the political actors to ensure each party's acceptance of the electoral process as well as the terms for an efficient electoral observation.<sup>17</sup> Jennifer McCoy headed the observation missions for the signature collection and facilitated many negotiations during the process. William Ury returned to Venezuela in December with Matthew Hodes, and new rounds of high-level talks were held to consolidate the referendum process already underway.

At the intermediate level, there was intense activity. The *networks* started to produce results: *Aquí Cabemos*

*Todos* issued its first public document.<sup>18</sup> *Paz en Movimiento* held its first public meeting with representatives from over 60 organizations and the presence of Basque guest expert Juan Gutierrez.<sup>19</sup> Francisco Diez held short in-house media seminars on conflict resolution with *Cadena Capriles*, *Venpres*, and *El Nacional*. An agreement was signed with the Radio Broadcasting Chamber to air messages of peace produced by local artists volunteering their talent. *Paz en Movimiento* created a Web page. The idea of creating a radio program called *Tolerancia* (Tolerance) was supported and promoted. The cascade *training* program was pursued and support was given for a Central University of Venezuela (UCV) seminar organized by the humanities department on "Political Images in Today's Venezuela: From Exclusion to Polarization." A book was later published on the subject, sponsored by The Carter Center and the UNDP. Francisco Diez participated in forums at UCV and Maracaibo and lectured at the Red Cross and the Office of the Ombudsman. Mireya Lozada and Nestor Alfonso taught a course on "Peace and Security" organized by the Paz-Cecilio Acosta Chair of the IAEDEN (National Defense College). Ana Cabria Mellace and Gabrielle Guerón taught the first course for Judges for Peace in Maracaibo.

### 7. January – March 2004

At the high political level, the difficult verification process of the signatures collected to activate the recall referenda became the dominant issue. President Carter visited Venezuela between Jan. 25 and 27 to underline the Carter Center's interest in having the process evolve efficiently and to commit the key institutions involved (the Supreme Court, the National Electoral Council, etc.) Numerous negotiations were facilitated, and actions were pursued in coordination with the OAS and in close relation with the political actors and the CNE.

Toward the end of February, street protests called *guarimbas* broke out, and the situation became even tenser in March with the CNE's decision to invalidate signatures done in similar handwriting. The Carter





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Center and the OAS issued several public statements presenting their suggestions and voicing their position as observers of the process.<sup>20</sup> In early March, The Carter Center facilitated meetings between the CNE and the parties on the procedures for the *reparos*. A confidential proposal for signature verification was also submitted.<sup>21</sup>

Simultaneously, at the intermediate level, we continued working through the recently formed networks to contain the violence. The organizations belonging to *Paz en Movimiento* produced and disseminated different kinds of materials with recommendations for psychological support and social tension management through social networks. *Aquí Cabemos Todos* issued its second public statement in February and an additional one in March.<sup>22-25</sup>

Training activities continued and an educational video about “The Third Side” was released. A *Paz en Movimiento* video documentary was produced, and a workshop on “Peace Journalism and Conflict Management” was organized.<sup>26</sup> At the end of March, the first *Pedagogía de Paz* (Teaching Peace) course on peer mediation in schools was held in an attempt to focus on the importance of developing peacebuilding concepts at early ages at the grassroots level.

### 8. April – June 2004

The electoral conditions for the presidential recall referendum became the prevailing issue as the opposition decided whether it would participate in the *reparo* process of repairing signatures that had been deemed invalid. The Carter Center chose not to participate in the talks until the opposition came to a consensus and afterward facilitated numerous meetings between the political actors and the CNE board to negotiate the terms of the *reparo*.<sup>27</sup> The *reparos* were ultimately held, and The Carter Center participated with an observation mission led by President Jimmy Carter, who engaged personally in numerous facilitation efforts at the highest level.<sup>28</sup>

Also at that time, the government denounced the existence of a group of foreign paramilitaries on the

outskirts of El Hatillo, in Caracas, which further raised the level of tension. Consequently, in early and late May, the group *Aquí Cabemos Todos* issued two press statements regarding that specific issue and the *reparo* themselves.<sup>29, 30</sup> The group also conducted several rounds of consultations and meetings and consolidated its position as a public opinion group with clear values and objectives.<sup>31</sup>

Concurrent to the *reparos* observation, work continued at the grassroots level. The *Paz en Movimiento* organizations met in April to consolidate their network and in May held a workshop called “Sharing Experiences: Facilitators in Community Conflicts” to learn from the spontaneous facilitation initiatives developing at the community level.<sup>32, 33</sup> Ana Cabria Mellace participated in peer mediation training activities with Judges for Peace.<sup>34</sup>

### 9. July – August 2004

In the final stretch before the referendum, the high-level negotiations facilitated by The Carter Center concentrated on the decisions being made by the CNE for the observation of the referendum and the regulation of television publicity and propaganda during the recall campaign. The government told us confidentially and repeatedly that it would not permit the referendum to be held if the broadcasting media acted, in their words, “as the battering ram for the opposition, like they did in the oil strike.”<sup>35</sup>

Again with the assistance of William Ury, The Carter Center facilitated meetings and conversations between the directors of the National Electoral Council and the media owners and involved both the government and the opposition representatives in the conversations. After lengthy private meetings, a consensual text was agreed upon and submitted to the CNE to ensure that the forthcoming regulation (which the CNE would issue anyway) would take each party’s position into account.<sup>36</sup> As a follow-up to the commitments assumed, The Carter Center organized a media-monitoring group, *Grupo de Monitoreo de los Medios* (GMM), with support from the Norwegian



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government. We then facilitated numerous meetings with political actors from both sides, media owners, and CNE authorities; submitted periodical GMM reports; and collaborated to maintain the campaign within standards acceptable to all.<sup>37</sup>

The Carter Center observation mission of the presidential recall referendum was headed by former President Jimmy Carter, together with former Presidents Raúl Alfonsín from Argentina, Rodrigo Carazo from Costa Rica, and Belisario Betancur from Colombia. All participated in numerous high-level meetings.

Concurrently, at the intermediate level, The Carter Center, together with the *Instituto Prensa y Sociedad* (IPYS) and the UNDP, organized a seminar for journalists with the presence of foreign experts called “Coverage of Electoral Processes.”<sup>38</sup> In addition, on Aug. 1 and 8, an eight-page insert entitled “*Paz a Pasos*” (Steps Toward Peace) was published in the Sunday printing of *Ultimas Noticias de Circulación Nacional* in conjunction with the *Red de Apoyo por la Justicia y la Paz* (Justice and Peace Support Network) and *Cadena Capriles*. The purpose of this insert was to disseminate information related to peacebuilding; publish interviews; and spread basic up-to-date news about democracy, alternative conflict resolution, the role of institutions in democracy, tools for citizens to demand and defend their rights, and the direct link of these rights with maintaining and building peace.

*Aquí Cabemos Todos* displayed great activity in the weeks leading up to the referendum. It convened private dialogue rounds for representatives from both sides, invited other social organizations to meet, and issued a new press statement.<sup>39</sup>

### 10. September 2004 – February 2005

After the recall referendum in August, permanent field representative Francisco Diez departed from Venezuela; however, The Carter Center peacebuilding activities remained under the coordination of Ana Cabria Mellace and other local consultants.<sup>40</sup>

Many of the initiatives promoted or supported by

The Carter Center have continued to develop on their own and are now in the hands of local players. The fundamental purpose of the program has indeed been one of sustainability and future development beyond the participation of The Carter Center.

For instance, the “*Pedagogía de Paz*” (Teaching Peace) program organized 100 hours of training, conducted by expert in peer mediation Martha Paillet from Argentina and Venezuelan facilitators for 130 teachers from public and private secondary schools in the states of Zulia, Lara, Falcón, Anzoátegui, Aragua, Carabobo, and Caracas, including the communities of El Valle, La Vega, Petare, Coche, and Catia. Since September, the initiative has multiplied at the educational level, and annual workshops are being organized to follow up on the results of the learning and training process.<sup>41, 42</sup> Arrangements have been made with the Ministry of Education for a pilot program in five Caracas schools with the possibility of future expansion.

The members of the *Programa para Fortalecer la Paz en Venezuela* and other Venezuelan peace promoters have decided to create a local NGO and continue working for peace beyond the support received from The Carter Center and the joint activities developed in the past.<sup>43</sup> The group *Aquí Cabemos Todos* and the organizations and individual members of *Paz en Movimiento* will continue to pursue the promotion of dialogue.<sup>44</sup> These examples are irrefutable proof of the commitment many Venezuelans feel for living in an environment of peace and mutual respect. The Carter Center was privileged to work with them.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The peace strengthening program *Programa Fortalecer la Paz en Venezuela* would not have been possible without the contribution of many individuals who collaborated, often as volunteers, in its design, implementation, and funding. We feel deeply indebted to them and thank them for their collaboration.

Matthew Hodes, director, Conflict Resolution Program; Jennifer McCoy, director, Americas Program; Rachel Fowler, senior program associate, Democracy



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Francisco Diez, field office representative of The Carter Center in Venezuela, was the driving force behind the initiative. His extensive experience as mediator and his personality and sensitivity made this project come to life. All those who participated in the program feel indebted to him, his commitment to Venezuela, and his incredible teamwork abilities. Ana Cabria Mellace, coordinator of the *Programa Fortalecer la Paz en Venezuela*, organized with great intelligence and sensitivity the numerous teams and initiatives needed to create and maintain the program and combined everyone's efforts and achievements horizontally and vertically into a harmonious and powerful movement.

We would like to give a very special note of thanks to the group of Venezuelan consultants who developed SPV. Gabrielle Guerón, a political scientist, professor at the Central University UCV, and negotiation expert, participated in the first activities and contributed to the birth of SPV. She also directed the dissemination and training activities during one year, contributing with her expertise on the subject and coordinating the conflict management training program. Mireya Lozada, social psychologist and researcher at UCV, has been a full collaborator of the program in the past two years. Her deep understanding of psychosocial and political issues and her social sensitivity became vital to our work. She fostered the work of the *Aquí Cabemos Todos* opinion group and has become its current coordinator. Néstor Alfonso, an international affairs expert and peace activist, joined

the team from the beginning as a "full-time volunteer" and, thanks to his valuable ability to build relations and connect people, became our networking consultant. He was a leading player in the development of *Paz en Movimiento*. Víctor Hugo Febres, a journalist, became our media consultant; his great energy for action and analytical ability led to the incorporation of novel communication features into the media program and other initiatives. Zhair Marrero, an education expert specializing in peer mediation and neurolinguistic programming, was our training consultant. She brought to the program the education-for-peace element that later became one of the key components of our work. Her friendly personality and professional humility are examples to all of us. María Emilia López, a designer and peace activist, was with us from the beginning with *Constructores de Paz* and is now our network consultant. Her energy and sensitivity brought new life to the networking area of SPV. Patricia Clarembaux and Paulimar Rodríguez are students of journalism; as SPV interns, they worked endless hours in a cheerful and pleasant mood and produced excellent journalistic material. We thank them for their commitment and genial disposition. Pedro Antonuccio, the Carter Center's press officer, always positive and supportive, was a key factor in the design of communication strategies and the dissemination of program activities.

We are particularly grateful to the United Nations Development Program for its constant support and confidence in *Fortalecer la Paz*. Our special thanks to Project Officer Alberto Fuenmayor for his fundamental contribution and Press Officer Josefina Blanco, an indefatigable and enthusiastic worker for the cause of peace. We would also like to acknowledge the collaboration of Sonia Obregón and Mayra Cartaya as well as that of the many other people who were always receptive of us.

We greatly appreciate the theoretical contributions and experience in the area of conflict resolution brought by renowned professors and mediators from



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abroad, among them John Paul Lederach (Notre Dame University), Juan Gutiérrez (Gernika Gogoratuz), Marínés Suárez (*Fundación Mediadores en Red*), Carmen McCormack (*Fundación Mediadores en Red*), Gachi Tapia (*Fundación para el Cambio Democrático*) and Marta Paillet (Intermed), Ana Arana (International Center for Journalism), Francisc Rolt and Elineen Dizk (Search for Common Ground), and María Jimena Duzán.

There are many other groups and individuals who have worked or collaborated with SPV on various initiatives:

### **Organizations and Institutions:**

*Aquí Cabemos Todos*: Arnaldo Esté, Mireya Lozada, Jose Virtuoso, Ignacio Avalos, Maria Isabel Bertoni, José María Cadenas, Tulio Hernández and Angel Hernández, Ocarina Castillo, Pablo Antillano, Maritza Izaguirre, and Clemente Scotto. The people and institutions that supported our initiative were also important interlocutors of the program and The Carter Center and played a key role at times of high tension in the country. We thank them for their critical and balanced views, their commitment and support.

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*Venezuela*, *Ateneo de Caracas*, *Cadena Capriles*, *Cámara de Radio*, *Corporación Andina de Fomento*, *DAI*, *Daycohost*, *British Embassy*, *Fundación Polar*, *UNICEF*, *Vale TV*.

### **People:**

Aimar Bracho, Ana María Sanjuan, Andrik Prieto, Antonio Gonzalez Plessman, Carmen Hernández, Cenovia Casas, Ciro García, Consuelo Morillo, Denisse Dugarte, Eladio Lares, Elías Jaua, Elsy Barroeta, Esteban Pineda, Felicitas Kort, Francisco Moreno, Gianni Finco, Graciela Pantin, Héctor Caldera, Henry Urbina, Hernán Lugo, Ilse Chemaly, Irene Santiago, Israel Jaspe, Jaime Castillo, Jeannette Raydan, Juan Hernández, Julio Omaña, Kira Vargas, Lamking González, Laura Acevedo, Laura Sturtvesant, Laura Weffer, Leidán Mosquera, Lorena Almarza, Lucía Losada, Lucy Amado, Luz Mely Reyes, Manuel Gándara, Margarita López Maya, Margarita Solari, María Eugenia Ferrer, Maria Eugenia Guédez, María Eugenia Mosquera, Marielena Sivira, Merchy de Freitas, Meyly Valdez, Miguel Angel Carriles, Mónica Vaisberg, Nadya Ramdjan, Natalia Sánchez, Nelly Cuenca, Néstor García, Néstor Rojas, Pedro Luis Flores, Petunia Rojas, Sergio Antillano, Susana Reina, Tamoá Calzadilla, and Yuleika Guzmán.

Many of the people above have worked arduously, often as volunteers, to contribute to this peace process through the SPV program and other organizations. They deserve our admiration and respect.



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THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA  
JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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1

## DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY IN VENEZUELA

The undersigned, committed to the Venezuelan people,  
Reaffirm that the problems of Venezuela can and must  
be resolved by Venezuelans themselves, within the  
framework of the constitution and laws of the  
Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

Reaffirm our total adhesion to democratic principles  
and timely justice and repudiate the recourse to the  
violence that has caused the death of persons.

Recognize the need to seek paths that strengthen the  
democratic coexistence of the Venezuelan people and  
that censure the breach of the norms that govern it.

Declare our disposition to initiate a process of sincere  
conversations among all sectors with the goal of achiev-  
ing acceptable solutions to the political conflicts that  
contribute to the inequalities that our country suffers.

Reiterate, expressly, our request for support and assis-  
tance from the Working Group composed by the  
representatives of the Organization of American States  
(OAS), the United Nations Development Program  
(UNDP), and The Carter Center.

Commit ourselves to openly collaborating with the  
Working Group in order to explore the preparatory  
phases for setting in motion a process of assisted and  
verifiable agreements that make it possible to reach, by  
way of a consensual mechanism, political solutions  
conforming to the constitutional framework.

Reaffirm our conviction that Venezuela and the  
Venezuelan people will know how to peacefully and  
democratically overcome the present situation, assuring  
the force of the rule of law and the dignity of all of her  
citizens.



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

### 2

## TERMS OF REFERENCE

### THE TABLE OF NEGOTIATION AND ACCORDS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA AND THE COORDINADORA DEMOCRÁTICA WILL WORK AS FOLLOWS:

**International Facilitator:** César Gaviria, the Secretary-General of the OAS, will fulfill the role of International Facilitator at the Table.

**Participants:** The Table will be comprised of six representatives of the invited parties that will be determined by a corresponding administrative or political act.

**The Technical Tripartite Team:** The OAS, The Carter Center, and the UNDP will abide by their respective mandates, and they will technically support the Facilitator in his work.

**Headquarters:** The Venezuelan Episcopal (Conference) will act as headquarters.

**Communication Strategy:** Only the Facilitator will “officially report” to the public on the development and advances of the Table. Every party will be able to liberally express their ideas, accepting explicitly that the said ideas do not compromise the Table but rather reflect their own opinions.

**Objectives:** The Table will look for solutions to the national crisis through electoral means as well as solutions to the following themes: the strengthening of the electoral system, the disarmament of civil society, and the installation of a working Truth Commission.

**Procedures:** In the first meeting, the groups will work with the Facilitator in defining the procedures, order and sequence of sessions, and developing the operative criteria for the table.

**Complementary Working Groups:** The Complementary Working Groups, comprised of delegates of both sides, will develop proposals and recommendations specific to the themes on the agenda and then take them to the main Table.

**Assisted and Verifiable Accords:** The OAS, The Carter Center, and the UNDP will abide by their respective mandates and will develop a series of guarantees for the process to achieve the fulfillment of the accords.

**National Assembly:** If an agreement reached through this process requires approval by the National Assembly, both parties will agree on a fair method to proceed that will represent this body and comply with the Constitution.

*Caracas, November 7, 2002*



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## 3

## A PROPOSAL TO RESTORE PEACE AND HARMONY IN VENEZUELA

### PROPOSAL I: RECALL REFERENDUM

### PROPOSAL II: CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

A PROPOSAL TO RESTORE PEACE AND HARMONY IN VENEZUELA, TO BE TABLED AT THE MESA DE NEGOCIACIONES Y ACUERDOS

#### ***I. Recall Referendum - August 19, 2003***

1. Opposition announces the end of the strike.

The government announces no retribution for government workers who utilized their trade union rights. Those found guilty of sabotage or other criminal acts will be punished according to the law.

2. The president guarantees his willingness to hold the referendum no later than Aug. 19.

3. The *Mesa de Negociaciones y Acuerdos* will complete the Draft Agreement currently under discussion and add the following proposals to resolve the electoral issue:

- a. The *Mesa* will seek clarification from the Supreme Court to ratify its earlier ruling that the midterm of the president's mandate is Aug. 18, 2003. The opposition will obtain the required number of signatures, as specified by the Constitution. The president also guarantees the needed financial and security resources.
- b. The National Assembly appoints a new CNE following the provisions of the electoral law. If within one month there is no agreement, both parties accept that the Supreme Court will name the CNE.
- c. Create a Joint Commission within one month, composed of Venezuelan and international officials, to supervise all electoral processes, whose duties would include: providing technical

assistance, monitoring the electoral process, and monitoring the objectiveness of media coverage.

- d. Have all preparations in place so that if the referendum requires further elections, it can be held no later than Sept. 19, with all candidates eligible.
- e. Have all positions (governors, mayors, or deputies) for which sufficient signatures have been collected on petitions have their recall referendum (revocatoria) held on same day as presidential referendum - Aug. 19.
4. The *Mesa de Negociaciones y Acuerdos* will also ensure that the following issues are addressed in the agreement:
  - a. The basic human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man, and the American Convention on Human Rights as well as all other rights and guarantees enjoyed by the citizens of Venezuela pursuant to the 1999 Constitution shall apply to all participants, regardless of their allegiance, in the activities during the recent crisis.
  - b. The mechanisms and the timing for the renewal of the Public Powers- Supreme Court and Citizen's Power (Attorney General, Comptroller General and Ombudsman's Office).
  - c. The government and the opposition will agree in advance that, following any election, there will be a national consultation involving key



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leaders, whose purpose will be the reconciliation of existing differences and the promotion of social justice. This consultation can be orchestrated by acceptable representatives of the international community, including those who have sponsored the *Mesa de Negociaciones y Acuerdos*.

### II. Constitutional Amendment

1. Opposition announces the end of the strike.

The government announces no retribution for government workers who utilized their trade union rights. Those found guilty of sabotage or other criminal acts will be punished according to the law.

2. The opposition will collect signatures necessary to propose a constitutional amendment. The government guarantees the needed financial and security resources.

3. The *Mesa de Negociaciones y Acuerdos* will complete the Draft Agreement currently under discussion and add the following proposals to resolve the electoral issue:

- a. Shorten presidential term from six to four years with one re-election. Shorten the period for deputies to the National Assembly from five to four years, with two possible consecutive re-elections, coinciding with the presidential election. President will oppose this position during the approval referendum campaign but may comply with any amendment approved by the people.
- b. Transitory clause specifying that the current mandates of the president and deputies will end immediately and all will be able to run again. President may oppose this position during the approval referendum campaign but will comply with any amendment approved by the people.
- c. The *Mesa* will agree on the constitutionality of the text for the amendment, in consultation with the Supreme Court, within one week from the presentation of the proposed amendment.
- d. The National Assembly will agree on the membership of a new CNE with the support of the

*Mesa* within seven days of this agreement. If there is no agreement on the names, both parties accept that the Supreme Court will name members.

- e. The CNE will hold the approval referendum within 30 days of receiving the petition signatures, as provided by the constitution. If the amendment is approved in an approval referendum, elections will be called within 120 days.
  - f. Create a Joint Commission, composed of Venezuelan and international officials, to supervise all of the stages of the electoral processes, whose duties would include: providing technical assistance, monitoring the electoral process, and monitoring the objectiveness of media coverage.
4. The *Mesa de Negociaciones y Acuerdos* will also ensure that the following issues are addressed in the Agreement:
- a. The basic human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man, and the American Convention on Human Rights as well as all other rights and guarantees enjoyed by the citizens of Venezuela pursuant to the 1999 Constitution shall apply to all participants, regardless of their allegiance, in the activities during the recent crisis.
  - b. The mechanisms and the timing for the renewal of the Public Powers - Supreme Court and Citizen's Power (Attorney General, Comptroller General and Ombudsman's Office).
  - c. The government and the opposition will agree in advance that, following any election, there will be a national consultation involving key leaders, whose purpose will be the reconciliation of existing differences. This consultation can be orchestrated by acceptable representatives of the international community, including those who have sponsored the *Mesa de Negociaciones y Acuerdos*.





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### 4

## DECLARATION AGAINST VIOLENCE, FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

Convinced there are elevated responsibilities we must assume at this historical moment and aware of the profound democratic will of the Venezuelan people, who love peace, long for reconciliation, reject those options contrary to the Constitution, and embrace democracy, the delegations at this *Mesa de Negociación y Acuerdos*, representing the national government and its supporting political and social sectors and the *Coordinadora Democrática*, which brings together the opposition, have decided to jointly subscribe the present *Declaration Against Violence, For Peace and Democracy in Venezuela*.

It is our hope that by means of this declaration, we make perfectly clear our conviction that the Venezuelan people have an unshakeable will to strengthen its essential values as an organized society that finds itself threatened by a climate of confrontation and conflict which must be brought to a halt. We further hope that this declaration contributes significantly to the generation of a climate of understanding among all Venezuelans.

Therefore:

1. We reject verbal aggression, mutual recriminations, insulting language, and all types of rhetoric that in any way contribute to or encourage confrontation. We in turn propose the use of language reflecting mutual respect, tolerance, consideration for the ideas of others, a supreme appreciation for life and its essential values, and in particular for human dignity, the pre-eminence of which has been consubstantial to the Venezuelan people. We thus issue a direct and immediate call to all political and social actors, requesting their effective contribution toward re-establishing a climate of peace and calm throughout the country by means of an immediate change in the tone, style, and contents of their expressions. This is absolutely necessary

for the country to enjoy the democratic coexistence we all require and long for.

2. We most emphatically manifest that violence, in any of its expressions or modalities, practiced by whomever and whatever its origin, is absolutely unjustifiable and therefore must be condemned. We therefore call upon all competent authorities and administrative and jurisdictional bodies to be uncompromising in their efforts to investigate and punish those responsible for the loss of human lives or injuries caused to fellow citizens as well as any other acts of violence and, in general, demand respect for, and insist that others demand respect for, the Constitution and the laws of Venezuela. Along the same lines, we exhort the National Assembly to enact the corresponding law and the mechanisms provided therein, with the aim of establishing the Truth Commission for the purpose described above, and take it into consideration the contributions put forward by the *Mesa de Negociación y Acuerdos*.

3. We emphatically reject that manifestations of violence and intolerance as well as expressions that signify insult or offense are the means by which to settle political differences. We thus commit ourselves to make every effort to create conditions that allow for strengthening and consolidating a climate of peace and tolerance in which divergences can be resolved by peaceful and democratic means.

4. We call upon the people of Venezuela to conduct ourselves in a manner befitting the principles and norms upon which human rights and respect for said rights are based. Therefore, any direct or indirect attitude of aggression, threat, harassment, or violence which in any way weakens or hinders the free exercise of the rights enshrined in the Constitution, the law, and the international treaties to which Venezuela is signatory must cease and be proscribed.



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5. We exhort all churches and religious institutions, professional associations, unions, political parties, and similar organizations in society to promote activities and issue messages geared toward exalting democratic values and the principles of peace, tolerance, and coexistence and to condemn violence in any of its manifestations. Insofar as these activities and messages are made public and the aforementioned organizations, in accordance with their procedures, continue to play an active role in carrying out the purposes for which they were created, they will be making a major contribution to the maintenance and strengthening of peace and democracy in our country.

6. In this campaign for peace and democracy and against violence and intolerance, the public and private media can play a fundamental role by means of the airing of programs and messages that promote peace, tolerance, and coexistence. The parties at this *Mesa de Negociación y Acuerdos* hereby ratify their total respect for and the effective validity of the constitutional rights to freedom of expression and information, in accordance with the principles set forth in Articles 57 and 58 of the Constitution. In this regard, both activities carried out by public and private media and any opinions made public through them, as well as efforts made in order to establish responsibility for said activities or opinions, must strictly follow the Constitution and the law in such a way that they not signify undue limitations to the aforementioned rights. The parties hereby ratify their conviction that public and private media are indispensable to the full exercise of the fundamental rights mentioned earlier, within the framework of duties and rights as established in the Constitution and the laws governing all citizens.

7. We assume the commitment to maintain and improve the permanent liaison between the political and social sectors that support the government of the republic and those represented by the *Coordinadora Democrática*. This will allow us to exercise a sustained effort with a view toward achieving effective compliance with the contents of the present declaration, thus avoiding all manner of occurrences that may infringe

upon it and bring in its wake unfortunate consequences. We hereby commit ourselves to maintain and improve the work we have begun at this *Mesa de Negociación y Acuerdos*.

8. Finally, we hereby express that in the course of the coming days, we shall dedicate our effort to developing and working on issues related to the fundamental aspects of this declaration, such as the reference to the Truth Commission and the disarming of the civilian population. These are commitments that the parties hereunto acquired before the national and international community and in particular have made to the people of Venezuela in the Declaration of Principles for Peace and Democracy and the Terms of Reference, which regulates the deliberations and decisions emanating from this *mesa*. We ratify our recognition, in the name of the entire country, of the valuable contribution offered by our facilitator, Mr. César Gaviria, and the Tripartite Work Group made up of the Organization of American States (OAS), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and The Carter Center. We are confident we shall reach prompt and new agreements on these matters of vital importance.

We formulate the present declaration in good faith and for the purpose of creating, in the framework of the full validity and effect of the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the laws of this nation, the most propitious climate for resolving our differences in a democratic and sovereign manner.

Given in the city of Caracas, on the 18th day of February of the year 2003.

*Government and social sector representatives that support it:*

José Vicente Rangel

Américo Martín

Rafael Alfonso

Manuel Cova

Eduardo Lapi

Alejandro Armas

Juan Manuel Raffalli



THE CARTER CENTER

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## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

*For the Coordinadora Democrática:*

Timoteo Zambrano

Roy Chaderton Matos

Aristóbulo Isturiz

María Cristina Iglesias

Ronald Blanco La Cruz

Nicolás Maduro

Omar Meza Ramírez

César Gaviria – Secretary-General of the OAS

Carter Center

UNDP



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## 5 AGREEMENT ON SMALL STEPS TOWARD BUILDING TRUST BETWEEN AUDIOVISUAL MEDIA LEADERS AND THE GOVERNMENT

### I. METHODOLOGY:

**Guided exercise** It should be clearly stated that these conversations are not held directly between the parties but are instead facilitated by professor William Ury and Francisco Diez from The Carter Center, and that they do not imply a negotiation but only an exercise for the definition of small unilateral steps from both the audiovisual media and the government.

**Unilateral nature** Given the great difficulty for compromise and exchange among the parties, it should be also noted that the small steps listed below do not represent obligations that bind or limit the actions of either of the parties. The steps are listed only as actions that could be unilaterally performed with the purpose of showing good intentions toward the other party and are written down with the sole purpose of being easily read.

**Channel of direct communication** It was agreed that the establishment of a communication channel between Minister Diosdado Cabello and the electronic media leaders would be advisable. It would be based on:

- A contact list including names, telephone numbers, e-mail addresses, t-motions, and fax numbers that has already circulated between the minister and media leaders.

- A weekly meeting attended by Minister Cabello, up to two media leaders, and a Carter Center representative and held at this same location every Wednesday between 9 and 11 a.m., starting on April 23.

**Launching and schedule** After the endorsement of this document by both parties, each unilateral step listed below will be launched according to the established weekly calendar, starting on Wednesday, April 23 with

the first bilateral meeting. On May 21, after the first four weeks, a joint evaluation will take place consisting of a whole day working session to be held either here or at The Carter Center in Atlanta.

**Relationship with the Table** It is agreed that an informal relationship will exist between participants in this exercise and the Media Committee of the Table of Negotiation and Accords with the purpose of enhancing both spaces as well as the products developed in each of them. Francisco Diez will permanently inform Secretary-General César Gaviria.

**Mechanism for dispute resolution** In case of disagreement or differences among parties, they both agree to first attempt to find a solution among them. If this is not possible, they will appeal to Francisco Diez, as facilitator, or to William Ury or President Carter, if necessary.

**State media** All the above apply not only to the private media but also to the state-owned or state-controlled media.

### II. ESSENTIAL ASPECTS RELATED TO THE GOVERNMENT

#### *Small steps to be taken by the government*

A list of specific steps and actions that the government can perform in order to show good will toward the media, thus supporting the initiatives put forward by the Table of Negotiation and Accords.

**Show respect for the physical and moral integrity of journalists, reporters, and media workers.**

The minister assures that the president will personally request respect for their role and duties as well as consideration for equipment and infrastructure belonging



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to the stations. The minister will send a recorded message to the media so that the request is aired; each station will inform if it will be broadcast and when.

■ **Calendar:** This step will be launched during the first week of this exercise (April 23 to 30)

### **Avoid direct attacks on media owners and executives.**

The minister assures that the president and high-ranking officials will avoid personal attacks on media owners and executives, except when refuting false news. They will particularly avoid the use of labels referring to crimes that have not been properly typified by the incumbent courts, especially the following labels: coupsters, traitors, drug traffickers, and terrorists.

■ **Calendar:** This step will be launched during the first week of this exercise (April 23 to 30)

### **Avoid using the currency exchange control for political purposes.**

Provided that the media complies with the requirements set by the currency exchange control regime, the minister guarantees that the government will not use political criteria to impede access to currency. Copies of requests will be sent to the minister so that he can proceed in the way he did with the transportation and aviation areas.

■ **Calendar:** This step will be launched during the first week of this exercise (April 23 to 30)

### **Schedule and reduce the extent and frequency of presidential messages for simultaneous transmission.**

The minister will notify the media at least four hours in advance the need for the simultaneous transmission of a presidential message. Also, he will aim to air no more than four messages per month, except in extraordinary situations. The messages will be nonpartisan.

■ **Calendar:** This step will be launched during the second week of this exercise (April 30 to May 7)

### **Receive proposals for the Law of Social Responsibility on Radio and Television.**

The minister is willing to act as a channel to direct media suggestions to the Assembly and to provide that

the Assembly's discussions consider such suggestions. The minister and media leaders would initiate an analysis of the main points that interest them, similar to those in the Telecommunications Act, avoiding the introduction of unilateral changes once a consensus has been reached.

■ **Calendar:** This step will be launched during the second week of this exercise (April 30 to May 7)

### **Administrative, taxation, and legal procedures.**

The media leaders together with the minister propose to examine the procedural aspects of the ongoing trials (substantiation, evidence, time frame, etc.) in a direct dialogue that does not interfere with the administrative procedures.

■ **Calendar:** This step will be launched during the third week of this exercise (May 7 to 14)

### **Clarification of concessions.**

The minister is prepared to solve the issue of administrative titles, rights, and duties of the media as they are written in the Telecommunications Act. The minister should dictate an administrative act declaring that he is willing to analyze the subject with each media station and agreeing to use uniform criteria with all of them.

■ **Calendar:** This step will be launched during the fourth week of this exercise (May 14 to 21)

## III. ESSENTIAL ASPECTS RELATED TO THE AUDIOVISUAL MEDIA

### ***Small steps to be taken by audiovisual media representatives***

A list of specific steps and actions that media representatives can perform in order to show good will toward the government, thus supporting the initiatives put forward by the Table of Negotiation and Accords.

### **Show consideration for child viewing hours. (In accordance with LOPNA and Decree 2625)**

In accordance with Decree 2625, stations agree not to transmit programs or advertisement with adult content during general public hours. Media representatives and the minister will try to find a solution for



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thematic stations within the boundaries of the incumbent legislation.

■ **Calendar:** This step will be launched during the first week of this exercise (April 23 to 30)

### **Respect for human dignity**

a. Condemn violence wherever it occurs, based on the declaration signed by the Table of Negotiation and Accords.

b. Avoid the transmission of protests against government representatives and their families in the context of their private lives.

c. Disapprove and condemn violent groups, both from the opposition or government supporters, based on the Declaration Against Violence signed by the Table of Negotiation and Accord.

d. Prevent program presenters from referring to the government, the president, or high-rank officials using offensive adjectives, especially: assassin, tyrant, animal, crazy, and demented.

■ **Calendar:** This step will be launched during the first week of this exercise (April 23 to 30)

### **Institutional messages in favor of peacebuilding and national reconciliation.**

a. Design and transmission of an unbiased and balanced campaign in favor of national reconciliation and public order.

b. Negotiate a mechanism that will allow, in a second phase, for the design of these types of campaigns together with the state owned media.

■ **Calendar:** This step will be launched during the second week of this exercise (April 30 to May 7)

### **Protect the armed forces as an institution.**

Broadcast messages that promote the military as an institution.

a. We agree to keep total respect towards the armed forces as an institution.

b. In cases of news that affect or involve members of the armed forces, the media agrees to refer to the responsible individual without involving the institution.

c. Prevent transmission of messages generally attacking the institution.

d. Prevent the offering of space to civilians or the military for unconstitutional messages that call for the collapse of the democratic system and condemn every call for violence, whichever side it comes from.

■ **Calendar:** This step will be launched during the third week of this exercise (May 7 to 14)

### **Balanced institutional and electoral advertising.**

a. The same price should apply to the government as well as other political options for the purchase of election campaign or government referendum space.

b. Balance in the amount of information transmitted about the various candidates and electoral options.

■ **Calendar:** This step will be launched during the fourth week of this exercise (May 14 to 21)

## IV. COMMITMENT OF BOTH PARTIES TOWARD THE CARTER CENTER

All the participants commit before The Carter Center to maintain the contents of this document and of the weekly meetings under strict confidentiality, except by agreement of all parties. They also explicitly agree not to reverse any of the steps that have been launched without giving The Carter Center the opportunity to reconstruct the process.



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**6** TABLE OF NEGOTIATION AND ACCORDS

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENT  
OF THE BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA AND THE POLITICAL  
AND SOCIAL GROUPS SUPPORTING IT, AND THE COORDINADORA  
DEMOCRÁTICA AND THE POLITICAL AND CIVIL SOCIETY  
ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING IT

**W**e, the undersigned members of the Forum for Negotiation and Agreement, representing the national government and the political and social groups supporting it as well as the political and civil society organizations comprising the *Coordinadora Democrática* hereby sign this agreement in a spirit of tolerance, in order to contribute to strengthening the climate of peace in the country. It is in this spirit that we reaffirm the principles and mechanisms that brought us to this table, as set forth in the Executive Summary agreed to by the parties from the time it was established, as well as our conviction with regard to finding a constitutional, peaceful, democratic, and electoral solution.

We express our full adherence to and respect for the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. The rule of law is based on respect for this Constitution and for the legal system that underpins it. The Constitution envisions a system of values and norms to govern fundamental principles of social and political coexistence and establishes mechanisms for reconciling differences. Any change in response to recent experiences with the political process should be based on these norms and should preferably be made through consensus.

We are aware that at this historic moment, we must agree upon fundamentals for ensuring a participatory, pluralist, robust, and genuinely representative democracy, where we shall continue to have room for all and where social justice, tolerance, equal opportuni-

ty, the rule of law, and democratic coexistence are the essential values. We are aware that these values must be held above any political or partisan strife and that they must guide policy, especially in areas where there is a preponderant social interest.

We wish to state our conviction that Venezuela and the Venezuelan people will continue along the path of democracy with a sense of fraternity, respect for the beliefs of each and every Venezuelan, and the desire for reconciliation.

We are aware that our society must consolidate pluralism, as embodied in the Constitution, where policy exercised by all actors in national life is consistent with the values of the Constitution. Venezuela needs the cooperation of all to continue along the path of peace and democracy, so that each and everyone may express his or her ideas, adopt his or her respective position, and choose from among the various political options that exist.

We express our adherence to the principles enshrined in the Inter-American Democratic Charter, which proclaims the right of peoples to live in democracy and the obligation of governments and all citizens to promote and defend it. In light of the provisions of Article 6 of the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela concerning participatory democracy, all sectors share the values set forth therein, such as those that advocate that power may only be exercised according to the rule of law; the holding of free, fair, and transparent elections; the separation and



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independence of branches of government; representative democracy reinforced and enriched by ongoing, ethical, and responsible citizen participation within a legal framework; strict respect for human rights, the rights of workers, and freedom of expression, information, and the press; and the elimination of all forms of discrimination and intolerance. Both parties also recognize the close links between democracy and the war on poverty, between democracy and development, and between democracy and the effective exercise of human rights.

We invoke the principles of the Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS), the American Convention on Human Rights, international law as the standard of conduct among states in their reciprocal relations, respect for sovereignty and the principle of nonintervention, the principle of self-determination, the juridical equality of all states, and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

We ratify the validity of and our full adherence and commitment to the Declaration Against Violence and for Peace and Democracy, signed on Feb. 18, 2003, which should be considered an integral part of this agreement.

We fully agree that monopoly on the use of force by the state through the national armed forces and the metropolitan, state, and municipal police is a basic and inalienable prerogative in combating violence and guaranteeing the essence of a democratic state. Civilian authorities exercising the powers conferred on them by the Constitution and the law shall determine the role of the police. This requires full compliance with the legal provisions and judicial decisions governing citizen safety coordination. In any event, the possession of weapons by the police or any other security force having national, state, or municipal jurisdiction must be regulated in strict accordance with the law. None of these forces should be used as an instrument for arbitrary or excessive repression or to engage in actions that connote political intolerance.

We agree to undertake a vigorous campaign to

effectively disarm the civilian population on the basis of the law passed by the National Assembly, making sovereign use of all mechanisms and resources provided for therein and with the technical support of the international institutions. We, the parties, shall abide by the conclusions of the Forum for Dialogue conducted by the National Assembly in its quest for a consensus plan for disarmament of the civilian population.

We urge the parliamentary groups of opinion represented in the National Assembly to finalize the law on the formation of the Truth Commission, to enable it to help shed light on the events of April 2002 and cooperate with the judicial bodies in identifying and punishing those responsible.

In pursuance of the objective established in the Executive Summary of seeking agreement as a means of contributing to resolution of the crisis in the country through the electoral process, we, the parties, agree that this resolution of the crisis should be achieved through application of Article 72 of the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, which provides for the possible holding of recall referenda on the mandates of all those holding positions and serving as magistrates as a result of popular election, where they have served one-half of the term for which they were elected (governors, mayors, regional legislators, and representatives in the National Assembly) or will have served one-half of their term in the course of this year, as is the case of the president of the republic, in accordance with the judgment of the Supreme Court of Justice of Feb. 13, 2003. Such referenda, including those already called for and those that may be called for in future, will be possible if they are formally requested by the requisite number of voters and approved by the new National Electoral Council, once it has been established that the constitutional and legal requirements have been met.

We agree that it is essential to have as soon as possible a trustworthy, transparent, and impartial electoral arbiter, to be designated in the manner prescribed in the Constitution. In that connection, the work under





## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

way in the National Assembly is considered to be of the utmost importance. We, the two parties, state our willingness to assist in facilitating understanding in all matters relating to the formation and workings of the electoral arbiter, without interfering with the standard procedure being conducted by the national legislature.

We are committed to freedom of expression, as enshrined in our constitutional and legal provisions; to the American Convention on Human Rights; and the Inter-American Democratic Charter. We, the two parties, intend to work with the public and private media to promote their espousal of the aims set forth in this document and in the Declaration Against Violence and for Peace and Democracy. In particular, we intend to work with the public and private media with a view to quelling violence and with respect to their role in making citizens aware, in an equitable and impartial manner, of their political options, which would contribute significantly to creating the most conducive climate to the successful conduct of electoral processes and referenda provided for in Article 72 of the Constitution.

We assume that the Constitution and laws of the republic provide for the appropriate and necessary requirements and mechanisms in order for the competent public authority to proceed with the timely financing of recall referenda and any other mechanism for popular consultation, which must be conducted once the admissibility has been confirmed by the competent public body. With regard to the Republic Plan, this plan will be activated in response to a request from the electoral authorities, under the same terms and conditions that have applied in previous electoral processes.

The OAS, The Carter Center, and the United Nations have expressed their willingness to provide such technical assistance as the competent authorities of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela might request of them for holding any type of electoral consultation; any such request shall be in accordance with the principle of law contained in the Constitution of the republic. This technical assistance could range from

preparatory or pre-election activities to actual electoral observation. With regard to direct support that may be given to the CNE, emphasis should be placed on the willingness of these three organizations to collaborate with both human and material resources that they have offered.

Once the pertinent legal and constitutional requirements have been met, the CNE shall determine the date for the recall referenda already requested, as well as any that may be requested later, in an expeditious and timely manner in accordance with the Law on Suffrage and Political Participation, and we, the parties, agree neither to propose nor to promote amendments to that law.

We, the parties, recognize the support and facilitation provided to this forum by the representatives of the OAS, particularly its secretary-general, by The Carter Center, and by the UNDP, which, upon the signature of this agreement, constructively concludes its task. We recognize the importance of the follow-up work these institutions may conduct in the future for the execution of this agreement, and we intend to continue to avail ourselves of international assistance.

Lastly, we, the parties, agree to establish the joint follow-up body provided for in Article 7 of the Declaration Against Violence and for Peace and Democracy, each appointing two representatives to open channels of communication and take measures for the effective fulfillment of the provisions of that declaration and of this agreement, maintaining contact with the international facilitation when the parties consider it necessary.

*Caracas, May 23, 2003*

### *Members of the Forum*

José Vicente Rangel	Timoteo Zambrano
Roy Chaderton Matos	Alejandro Armas
María Cristina Iglesias	Manuel Cova
Ronald Blanco La Cruz	Américo Martín
Nicolás Maduro	Eduardo Lapi



THE CARTER CENTER

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## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

### *Facilitators*

César Gaviria  
(OAS)

Antonio Molpeceres  
(UNDP)

Francisco Diez  
(Carter Center)

### *Advisers*

Omar Meza Ramírez

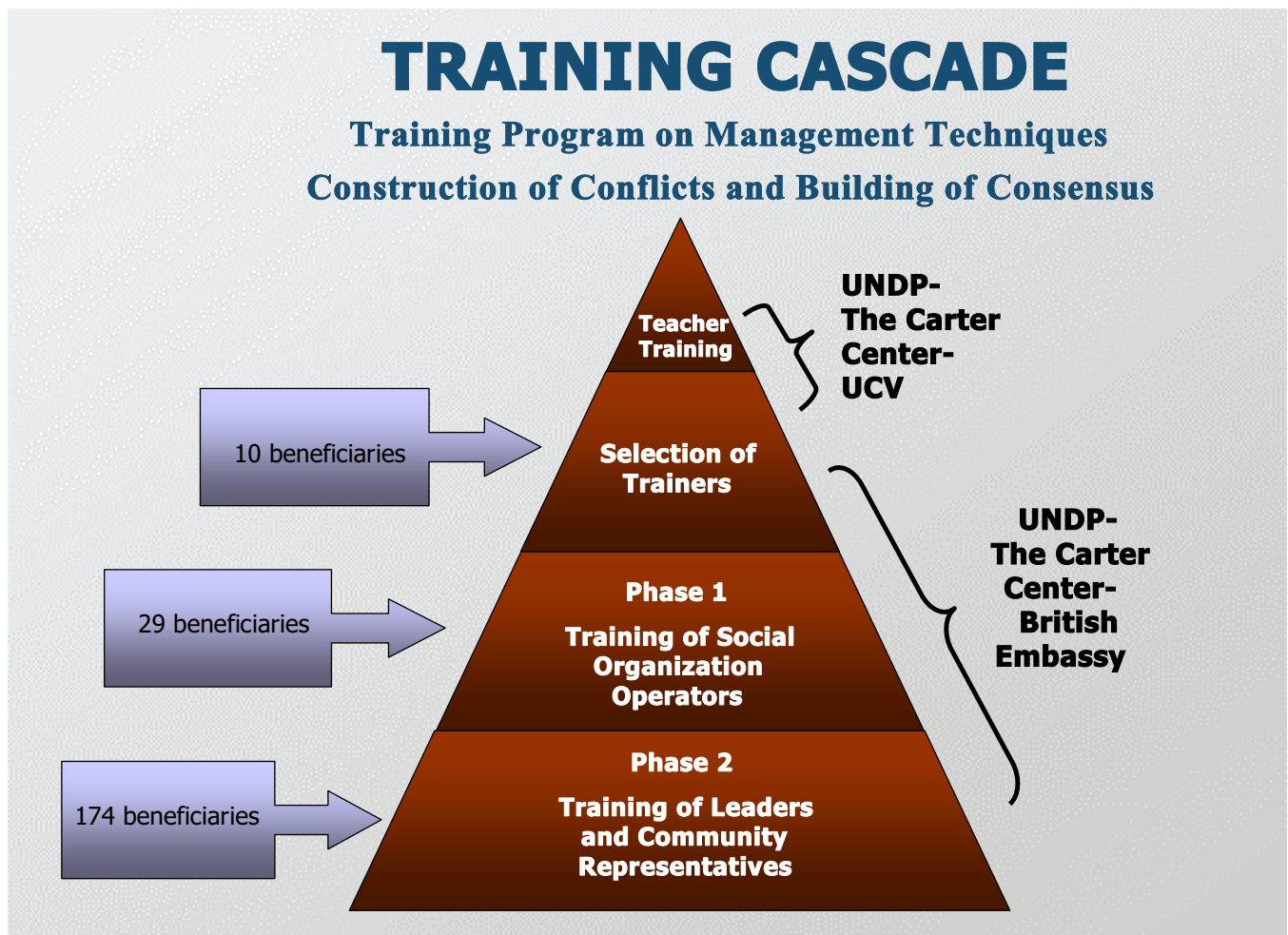
Juan Manuel Raffalli



THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA  
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## 7 DESCRIPTION AND REPORT OF THE TRAINING PLAN: CASCADE METHODOLOGY

FOCUS: Training on constructive conflict management  
Program of Basic Training for Community Operators in Techniques  
of the Constructive Management of Conflict and Consensus-building





## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

FOCUS: Training on constructive conflict management  
Executive Summary of the Project

# TRAINING

### Workshop on the Constructive Management of Conflicts:

#### Phase 1: Teacher Training. The Carter Center- UCV- UNDP

- May 2003
- Participants: 67 applicants – 44 selected – 43 trained
- Facilitators: Marínés Suares, Carmen Mc Cormack
- 41 hours

### Pilot Project. The Carter Center – UNDP – British Embassy.

#### Phase 2: Workshop for community operators.

- Facilitators: 10
  - **Néstor Alfonso** (Fortalecer la Paz en Venezuela); **Aimar Bracho** (Fipan- Federación de Instituciones Privadas de Atención al Niño, al Joven y la Familia); **Maria Eugenia Ferrer** (Tercer Escenario); **Maria Eugenia Guédez** (Tercer Escenario); **Gabrielle Guéron** (Fortalecer la Paz en Venezuela); **José Israel Jaspé** (Escuela de Vecinos de Venezuela); **Belkis Monsón** (Fundación Luz y Vida); **José Angel Rodríguez** (Ombudsman - RBV); **Meyly Valdez Camino** (Centro Gumilla); **Kira Vargas** (Venezuela en Positivo)
- Participants: 78 applicants- 46 selected- 29 trained
- Areas: Four Municipalities of Caracas  
Municipio Libertador (El Valle, Coche, Antimano); Municipio Sucre (Petare); Municipio Baruta (El Cafetal, Las Minas de Baruta); Municipio Chacao (Altamira, La Castellana, El Pedregal)
- Groups trained:
  - Members of municipalities and government and opposition community associations
  - Members of NGOs in Caracas (for example, cooperatives, children's NGOs) and national NGOs (for example, Asociación Scout de Venezuela, Asociación Venezolana de Educación Alternativa)
  - Some of the participants are also related to *Clase Media en Positivo*, *Súmate*, *Comités de Tierras Urbanas*, and other political organizations
  - Members of organizations that work on conflicts (for example, *Clinica Jurídica UCV*, *Consortio Justicia y desarrollo*)
- 36 hours



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

FOCUS: Training on constructive conflict management  
Executive Summary of the Project

### TRAINING

Pilot Project. The Carter Center – UNDP – British Embassy.

#### Phase 3: Training for leaders and community representatives

- Workshops held: Libertador: 5; Chacao: 2; Baruta: 1
- Workshops outlined: 6 (Libertador; Chacao; Baruta; Sucre)
- Additional workshops solicited: 12
- Direct beneficiaries: 360
- Indirect impact:
  - o All of the direct beneficiaries are committed to the replication of the workshops in their communities. Some of them are designing formal training project (for example, Scouts).
  - o The groups include people with different political and social positions, including those who are deeply polarized. In the work space they share objectives and design projects together.



THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA  
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PUBLIC STATEMENT FOR  
INTERNATIONAL DAY OF PEACE  
SEPTEMBER 21, 2003

Different social organizations, national and international institutions, groups and people publicly announce the beginning of *Paz en Movimiento*, an arena for reflection and action for peace in Venezuela.

In our country, we are experiencing a situation that, far from closing the doors upon understanding and mutual recognition, allows us to exercise the value of peace and realize it every day by working out our conflicts in a constructive manner. In this perspective, we consider peace to be a social demand that cannot be postponed, which requires effective actions of each of us, which allows us to go beyond social polarization and consolidate a culture of peace in Venezuela.

Attending to this demand, as numerous social organizations, international institutions, groups and people, we have embarked upon a process of building peace with a sense of justice, respect, recognition of the other, and dignity. This call is being progressively extended to all of the country, involving until now the following states: the Capital District, Falcón, Lara, Miranda, Mérida, Nueva Esparta, Yaracuy, and Zulia.

*Paz en Movimiento* is a freely participatory collective that combines the wills and efforts of different organizations, institutions, and people who are convinced of the need to generate reflection and concrete actions that contribute to depolarizing the existing situation of violence and conflict in Venezuela that has resulted from the political confrontation. Those who feel themselves part of *Paz en Movimiento* promote the recognition of the other and the joint work of people from different political and social sectors.

We invite society to join and to put *Paz en Movimiento*.

September 21, 2003

**Organizations that participated in *Paz en Movimiento***

1. 3er Escenario
2. AC Caleidoscopio
3. Acción Social /Centro de Ecología de Boconó (ULA-NURR)
4. Alianza Lambda Venezuela
5. Amnistía Internacional
6. ANAPACE
7. Armonía En Acción C.A.
8. Asoarco
9. Asociación Artesanos Paseo de Bellas Artes
10. Asociación Civil Nueva Esperanza
11. Asociación Civil Venezuela Segura
12. Asociación de Scouts de Venezuela
13. Asociación Muchachos de La Calle
14. Asorecoco
15. Ateneo de Caracas
16. Ateneo Ecológico del Orinoco
17. Aula Experimental
18. AVACC Asociación Venezolana Para El Avance De Las Ciencias Del Comportamiento
19. Cátedra de la Paz y los Derechos Humanos " Mons. Oscar Arnulfo Romero" ULA
20. Catedra UNESCO-UCV de Cultura de Paz. Fundación Planeta Libre
21. CATIA TV
22. CECODAP
23. Centro Carter
24. Centro de Formación Popular Renaciendo Juntos Falcon
25. Centro de Formación Popular Renaciendo Juntos Nueva Esparta
26. Centro de Resolución de Conflictos del Colegio de Abogados del Estado Lara
27. Centro Gumilla





## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

28. CFP, Círculos Femeninos Populares
29. Circulo de Cooperación para el Dialogo
30. CNDNA
31. Comisión Foro propio del Municipio Los Salias
32. Comisión Justicia y Paz Secorve
33. Comisión Pro Foro Propio del Municipio Los Salias
34. Comunidad Bahá'í de Venezuela
35. Consejo Ejecutivo de la Gran Fraternidad Universal
36. Consorcio Justicia. Capitulo Regional. Estado Zulia
37. Constructores de Paz
38. Consultoría Legal Empresarial Integrada CLEI
39. CONVIDEMOS A.C.
40. Defensoría del Pueblo
41. Departamento de Pastoral familiar e Infancia
42. Dirección de Cultura de la Universidad Central de Venezuela
43. ECOJUEGOS, Fundación Venezolana Amigos de Juegos Ecológicos
44. Educrein AC
45. Escuela De Vecinos De Venezuela
46. Faces Teatro
47. Fe y Alegria
48. FIPAN Federación de Instituciones Privadas al niño, al Joven y la Familia
49. Fundación Amigos de la Vida
50. Fundación Cinemateca Nacional de Venezuela
51. Fundación Edumedia
52. Fundación Eugenio Mendoza
53. FUNDACION GUATACO
54. Fundación Museo de Ciencias
55. Fundación Niños en Positivo
56. Fundación para el Fomento Educativo FUNDAFE
57. Fundacion para la integración de personas con discapacidad y apoyo comunitario
58. FUNDARTE
59. Galería de Arte Nacional
60. Museo de Bellas Artes
61. Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Caracas Sofía Imber
62. Museo Alejandro Otero
63. Museo Jacobo Borges
64. CELARG
65. GAIA, Grupo de Acción Investigación Alternativa
66. Germán Acero Producciones
67. Gestión, asesoramiento y desarrollo humano integral. GANDHI C. A.
68. Grupo Caney (Grupo musical de Tambores Venezolanos)
69. Grupo de Teatro de Titeres NAKU
70. Grupo Herencia
71. Grupo Mudanza
72. Grupo Social CESAP
73. Hagamos Democracia
74. IAEDEN Ministerio de la Defensa-Instituto de Altos Estudios de la Defensa Nacional-Cátedra de la Paz
75. Instituto Mead
76. Instituto Venezolano De Programación Neurolingüística
77. Integrate
78. Inti
79. La Mancha
80. Los del Medio
81. Maestría Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer, Universidad Centroccidental Lisandro Alvarado
82. MEDIACIÓN EN VENEZUELA
83. Mediación Interdisciplinaria, Intermed
84. Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Caracas Sofía Imber
85. Museo de los Niños
86. Museo Jacobo Borges
87. NewsPress Comunicación
88. Niño en Positivo
89. Pastoral Familiar de la Conferencia Episcopal Venezolana
90. PNUD
91. Proserpi Integral Humano
92. PROVEA
93. Queremos Elegir
94. Radio Fe y Alegria
95. Red de Apoyo por la Justicia y la Paz



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## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

96. Red Venezolana de Organizaciones para el  
Desarrollo Social ± REDSOC
97. Secretariado Catequístico de la Arquidiócesis de  
Caracas
98. Servicio Jesuita a Refugiados
99. Servicio Social Internacional- Centro  
Comunal catia
100. Sinergia
101. Soka Gakkai Internacional Venezuela-UCV
102. Teatro de operaciones de Ingeniería
103. TEBAS-UCV
104. Transvenus de Venezuela
105. TVZ
106. UNICEF-Venezuela
107. Unidad de Psicología - Fundación Parque Social  
"Padre Social Padre Manuel Aguirre" s.j. (UCAB)
108. Universidad Dr. Rafael Bellosó Chacín
109. Universidad Nacional Abierta
110. URI CCD Venezuela y Cátedra Luis Dolan,  
Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Sociales-UCV





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## SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN CONFLICT SITUATIONS

MONDAY, JULY 28, 8 A.M. TO 9 P.M.  
MARRIOTT HOTEL  
WORKSHOP FOR JOURNALISTS

8:00 a.m.	Accreditation
8:15 am	Opening of the Workshop. Francisco Diez – Representative of The Carter Center in Venezuela
8:30 a.m.	Workshop
	<b>1. INTRODUCTION:</b> establishing the context and basic rules
	<b>2. THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN CONFLICT</b>
	- Nightline South Africa video and discussion: Role of the media in Venezuela
10:00 a.m.	Snack
	<b>3. NEW MEDIA APPROACHES IN CONFLICTIVE SITUATIONS</b>
	<b>i. Traditional Media</b>
	- Burundi video and discussion: Journalistic values in a polarized setting
	<b>i. Possible programming</b>
	- Video and discussion: Traditional media vs. Media for change.
	<b>4. VENEZUELA IN CONTEXT: The realities of the media</b>
	- Discussion in groups: Obstacles in doing your work in the best way possible in regards to conflict, objectivity, and neutrality
1:00 p.m.	Lunch break
3:00 p.m.	<b>5. THE BASICS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION</b>
	- Discussion: What are some shared interests in Venezuela?
	<b>6. MEDIA TECHNIQUES FOR DE-ESCALATING THE CONFLICT</b>
6:00 p.m.	Snack
	<b>7. VISUALIZING VENEZUELA</b>
	- Brainstorming and discussion: Applying the concepts to your work.



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SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND  
THE COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA FOR CHANGE

JULY 29, 5 P.M. TO 9 P.M.  
MARRIOTT HOTEL  
WORKSHOP FOR MID- AND HIGH LEVELS

5:00 p.m.	Accreditation
5:10 p.m.	Opening of the Workshop. Francisco Diez – Representative of The Carter Center in Venezuela
	<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b>
	<b>2. EXPECTATIONS</b>
	a. Participants' expectations
	b. Presentation of the Ross Howard's Five stages of journalism
	c. Discussion
	<b>3. CONCEPTS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN THE MEDIA/ The experience of Search For Common Ground</b>
	a. Work with the traditional media
	i. Presentation
	ii. Discussion: What are some traditional journalistic values that help resolve conflicts or de-escalate them?
	b. Possible Programming
	i. Possible programming that includes media products that go beyond the traditional limits of journalism.
7:00 p.m.	Snack
	<b>4. MEDIA FOR CHANGE</b>
	a. Presentation. Discussion
	b. Obstacles to change
	<b>5. OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE</b>
	a. Discussion
	b. Work in groups: Visualizing the future and working together
	c. Bringing it together
	<b>6. EVALUATION</b>



# THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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## FIRST LIAISON MEETING

CARACAS, JULY 10, 2003

Representing government interests:  
Nicolás Maduro- Desiré Santos Amaral.

Representing the Coordinadora Democrática (CD):  
Timoteo Zambrano- Dr. Asdrubal

Representing the OAS: Patricio Carbacho

Representing The Carter Center: Francisco Diez

### Logistical Questions

**Frequency:** Establish a standard minimum of one ordinary weekly meeting and extraordinary meetings as needed.

**Press Communication:** The need exists to define whether each meeting would be followed by a press conference or whether each meeting would decide to activate press communication.

**OAS:** It is suggested that the press should be convoked when it is desirable to issue a statement.

**Place:** OAS office for breakfast

**Day:** Wednesdays 8 a.m.

### Methodological Questions

**Technical Secretary:** The tripartite will serve as secretariat and will attend to logistics, archive information, etc.

**Conformation:** This is a working group that may consult with advisers regarding various themes.

**Methodology Requires Themes:** In the framework of the accord, a list of themes should be made.

**Permanent Theme:** Political dialogue

**Government:** Relevant issues

**CNE and Appointments. Concern:** An effort was made so that the assembly would designate the CNE. If there is no CNE, there will be no elections and the situation will explode.

**Violence and Reconciliation:** Contain violence and design reconciliation mechanisms. Attempt to

detect, process, and eliminate provocations in a timely manner.

**News Media.** If it is achieved that the media grants equal space to all candidates, the government can attempt to suggest something about the *Ley de Responsabilidad*.

### Coordinadora

#### Relevant themes:

Strengthening democracy

Security

Disarmament

Violence (monopoly of the use of force)

Electoral CNE

News media

International cooperation

**Methodologies.** Once the themes are identified, one has to think about methodologies. Add the themes that the government proposes, figure out how to work on them, and then how to operationalize them. Create technical advisory commissions to work on specific themes.

### Priorities

CD: There exists an arena of discussion for the CNE. We are not in agreement with partial votes. The fifth is the problem not the 15th. We do not feel that the government interlocutors are important figures. We can work on names that both sides of the Liaison Mechanism can take to each authority and see if they are possible. Low Profile.

Proposal: List names of both sides. Meet again: Friday, July 11.

CD: Preoccupation regarding theme of violence, need to moderate language.

CC: Take up again the declaration against violence. There are there some keys for working on the



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

theme of violence and language. Need to review them and see how they can be operationalized.

**Electoral:** The electoral theme generates expectations, meanwhile polarization increases, therefore positive progress on the electoral issue will guarantee a diminution of the climate of violence in the country.

**Conclusion:** The electoral theme and the CNE are priorities.

### **Next meeting:**

Friday, July 11, 2003

OAS office

Each party will elaborate a list of six names each (three on the list- three off the list).

### **PRESS STATEMENT**

The representatives in Venezuela of the OAS and The Carter Center, members of the International Tripartite Group, who act as facilitators of the mechanism linking the government and the social and political forces that support it, and the *Coordinadora Democrática* and the political and civil society organizations that conform it wish to manifest that:

■ We consider it a priority that, in accordance to what is established in point 13 of the accord signed last May 29, the National Assembly proceed to appoint as soon as possible, with the urgency that the situation deserves and with the constitutionally established majorities, the new Directorate of the National Electoral Council.

■ We exhort the political forces there represented to engage all the efforts that are necessary to reach a real political consensus that guarantees a CNE that is balanced and trustworthy for all Venezuelans.

■ As technical secretary of the *Enlace* Mechanism, we offer all assistance that the parties consider useful and convenient to achieve said objective. The *Enlace* Mechanism will meet again tomorrow with the goal of continuing the conversations.

*Caracas, July 16, 2003*

### **PRESS STATEMENT**

The *Enlace* Mechanism met today as scheduled.

We declare that the function of the mechanism is to facilitate the political dialogue between the government and the opposition with the objective of tracking the implementation of the accord signed this past May 29.

The representation of the government, in response to the press release of the OAS and The Carter Center, proposed that this mechanism dedicate itself to implementing that which is established in numeral 13 of the accord, regarding the National Electoral Council. The mechanism can only contribute to this task by facilitating understanding between those who have the authority and competence to effect the designation of the heads of the CNE and by granting methodological support.

In this sense, it has become manifest that the objective of both parties is to urgently assure that the CNE be a balanced and trustworthy organization that emerges from the consensus of the political forces represented in the National Assembly.

With this end the representatives of both parts of the *Enlace* Mechanism will relay to their constituents the facilitator's proposal of sponsoring a meeting next Monday to continue working on this theme.

*Caracas, July 17, 2003*



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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For Immediate Release  
CONTACT: Kay Torrance  
Caracas, August 30, 2003

### VENEZUELAN GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION COMMIT TO ACCEPT DECISIONS OF THE NEW NATIONAL ELECTORAL COUNCIL

*The Carter Center is prepared to collaborate with the new electoral authorities in Venezuela in future electoral processes and to continue as a facilitator between the government and opposition. The Center has noted advances in the implementation of the May Accord facilitated by the Organization of American States with the support of The Carter Center and the United Nations Development Program.*

Jennifer McCoy, director of the Americas Program at The Carter Center, visited Venezuela Aug. 28-29 with the purpose of evaluating the progress in the implementation of the accord of the Table of Negotiation and Agreement and the role of The Carter Center as facilitator of dialogue among political actors in Venezuela.

The Carter Center team held productive conversations with the vice president of the country, president of the National Assembly, leaders of the Democratic Coordinator and political parties of the government and the opposition, members of the Follow-Up Commission of the May Accord, owners of private television stations, the ambassadors of the Group of Friends, president of the Supreme Court, and the directors of the new National Electoral Council.

As a result of these meetings, we note the following advances in the implementation of the Accord of the Negotiation and Agreement Table:

■ The designation of the directors of the National Electoral Council by the Supreme Court on Aug. 25 constitutes a fundamental aspect of the Accord.

■ All of the political sectors as well as the other branches of government have accepted the new Electoral Council. The representatives of both the government and the opposition told us explicitly that they are prepared to accept the decisions of the Council.

■ We note a significant, positive evolution in the manner of addressing political challenges on the part of the leaders, demonstrated not only in the rapid acceptance of the new National Electoral Council, but also in the recent peaceful marches by both sides and the call by leaders of both sides for reconciliation among Venezuelans.

A second purpose of the visit is to reiterate the Carter Center's commitment to the people of Venezuela, and the continuing personal commitment of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and the staff to the Venezuelan situation.

■ Both the government and the opposition have expressed their desire that The Carter Center continue its involvement with the political process in Venezuela, serving as facilitator. We commit to continue this task.

■ The team offered the Center's collaboration with the new Electoral Council, and noted our willingness to serve as observers of the electoral processes that the Council conducts. The offer, positively received, includes observation of the entire electoral process,



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

beginning with the analysis of the legal framework, the voters' registry, the campaign including access to the media, the vote, the vote count and publication of results, and the resolution of disputes.

We are confident that the new Electoral Council will respond thoughtfully to the solicitude and expectations of the society, as a trusted arbiter to guarantee the exercise of citizen rights in electoral processes. Elections alone cannot resolve the fundamental problems of any country; instead, various sectors must continuously work to resolve differences among them. In this way, Venezuelans can face the future and work together in harmony to promote the peace and well being of all Venezuelans.



THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA  
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## CARTER CENTER PRESS STATEMENT

NATIONAL ELECTORAL COUNCIL  
NOVEMBER 12, 2003

*The Carter Center supports the authority of the National Electoral Council.*

■ The Carter Center received on Monday, Nov. 10, a formal invitation from the CNE to participate as international observers in the signature collection process for the various recall referendum processes demanded of the electoral power.

■ We are honored to accept that invitation. We will form an international observation mission and, together with the representatives of the OAS, be present as international observers for the collection processes planned for the coming 21 and 28 of November.

■ We have been informed of the guidelines that will regulate such activity, and we consider the decision of the electoral authorities to be very positive.

■ We consider it crucial that all political actors in the country demonstrate, through their actions, their willingness to collaborate with the CNE in order to guarantee the legitimate exercise of the right established in Article 72 of the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

■ Further, we deplore any effort to distort the different stages of the referendum process as laid out in the regulations or to deny the exclusive authority of the National Electoral Council to manage the process and promulgate the results of the same.

■ All democratic sectors of the country must join together to isolate violent factions and guarantee to all Venezuelans a transparent and peaceful process with clear rules and without trickery.

■ The Carter Center and the entire international community are committed to Venezuela and the free and legitimate expression of the sovereign will of the Venezuelan people.

*Caracas, November 12, 2003*



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

13

### AQUI CABEMOS TODOS PEACE IN MOTION – PEACE IN CONSTRUCTION

October 26, 2003

The thick air that can be breathed in Venezuela, together with a distressed collective mood, intensification of conflict, the nondemocratic paths chosen to deal with it, and the frequent physical, verbal and symbolic aggressions may give rise to an escalation of violence in the short term. Up until now, our positive mood has prevented the establishment of a system of death, a system that has taken over other countries for fewer offenses or aggressions.

The truth is we haven't yet come across genuine extreme situations; nevertheless, the social, political, and economic picture is utterly disquieting and calls for a responsible collective action. For decades we gave a picture of being a society with no internal differences, trying to hide our political, social, economic, and cultural diversities behind words, promises, laws, and papers. It seems as if we have recently discovered this internal diversity and are terrified, not knowing how to proceed and thinking that the country's problems can be solved by exterminating the different other.

In the current circumstances, there are high hopes for the recall referendum, a novel political possibility for action envisioned in the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. There is general conviction that this is the peaceful and democratic way out of the current crisis. Some groups believe that President Chávez's exit is a necessary condition to end Venezuela's sorrow. Others believe that once the opposition is defeated, the government will be able to concentrate on its mission and stop worrying about the political controversy. We believe that the recall referendum can contribute to the peacebuilding process if the results are seen not as the elimination of the other party but instead as a step toward the necessary coexistence of diverse political views.

The kind of peace we would like to achieve is related to the construction of justice and with the effort to avoid tragedy committed in justice's name. We are not interested in peace as a deferral of conflict or as an escape from solving the traumas and deficiencies that have brought Venezuelan society to this tense situation.

We need to find the common ground for negotiation where diversities intersect, differences are clearly put forward, and agreement is eventually reached. There is a place for everyone here, and we all need each other. We have to learn how to negotiate within this diversity and rebuild the country departing from this multiplicity.

We rely on the abundance of organizations, groups, communities, associations, classrooms, people, and a common history to negotiate; discuss; agree and disagree upon; participate; build values, concerns; create new roads; and try new projects for change in peace. A growing number of people declare themselves in permanent action building peace.

We urge government representatives, opposition leaders, private and public media, and all social sectors to:

- Take on their institutional responsibilities.
- Raise the level of the debate, reduce verbal aggressiveness, and promote respectful public communication.
- Condemn expressions of violence, no matter what side is responsible for them.
- Promote the creation of spaces for good will and plural dialogue on the urgent problems faced by Venezuelan society.

We have committed ourselves to the peacebuilding process and are calling others to participate.





THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA  
JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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“REFLECTIONS ON PEACE”  
CARACAS

OCTOBER 24, 25, AND 26, 2003

2:00 p.m.	Accreditation	Press Room
2:30 p.m.	Opening	Room “A”
3:00 p.m.	<b>Panel:</b> Arnaldo Esté, Ana María San Juan Mireya Lozada, Tulio Hernández Moderator: Francisco Diez	
4:20 p.m.	Question and Answer Session	
5:00 p.m.	Refreshments	Press Room
5:30 p.m.	<b><u>Working Group 1: Conceptions of Peace</u></b> <b>Visions of Peace</b>	

**Saturday, October 25**

**8:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m.**

8:30 a.m.	<b><u>Working Group 2: Conceptions of Peace</u></b> <b>Peace in Context</b>	
10:00 a.m.	Refreshments	
10:30 a.m.	<b><u>Working Group 3: Lines of Action Toward Peace</u></b> <b>Actions and Strategies for Building Peace</b>	
12:30 p.m.	Group Lunch	Terrace of the Ateneo
1:30 p.m.	Celebration of Life “Committing ourselves to obtaining justice, knowing ourselves so that there is peace”	Plaza in the Banco Central de Venezuela

**Sunday, October 26**

**8:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m.**

8:30 a.m.	Presentation of the Working Groups’ conclusions Launching the Encuentro por la Paz “Aquí Cabemos Todos” Presentation of the Web Page of Peace in Movement	Concert Hall
10:00 a.m.	Refreshments	Press Room
10:30 a.m.	Conversation with Juan Gutiérrez	Concert Hall
12:30 p.m.	Closing: Music and Dance	Concert Hall



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

### PANEL:

**Arnaldo Esté** (Philosopher/Director TEBAS-UCV): "Areas of negotiation and the convergence of diversities."

**Mireya Lozada** (Social Psychologist-Professor UCV): "Who builds peace?"

**Tulio Hernandez** (Sociologist-Contributor El Nacional): "Violence is not a game. Revolutionary mythologies and conservative mythologies."

**Ana María San Juan** (Psychologist and Director of the School of Peace-UCV): "The search for peace in vulnerable contexts of violence."

### WORKING GROUPS:

One facilitator and rapporteur will coordinate the working groups.

There will be two topics discussed by the working groups:

#### **Working Group 1: Conceptions of Peace**

Friday, Oct. 24 at 5:30 p.m. to 7:30 p.m.

##### VISIONS OF PEACE

What are the necessary principles and values to build peace?

#### **Working Group 2: Conceptions of Peace**

Saturday, Oct. 25 from 8:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.

##### PEACE IN CONTEXT

What does it mean to speak of peace in the Venezuelan context?

#### **Working Group 3: Lines of Action for Peace**

Saturday, Oct. 25 10:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.

**First Discussion:** What lines of strategic action does the group propose in order to contribute to the process of building peace in Venezuela?

**Second Discussion:** In light of Peace Encounters "Aquí Cabemos Todos" to be held in December and the concrete initiatives of the Peace Movement in the coming trimester: What concrete actions can the group propose?

During a plenary on Sunday, the facilitators will present the conclusions of each working group.

### CELEBRATION OF LIFE:

Every year the Support Network for Justice and Peace puts forth the Celebration for Life. In the midst of the workweek, we invite the participating organizations to attend this celebration, which will be held on Oct. 25 at 1:30 p.m. After the celebration, we invite everyone to join in a shared group lunch. The meeting place for this event is the plaza of the Banco Central de Venezuela, and from there we will walk together to the Colegio La Salle de Tienda Honda. This year's motto is "Committing ourselves to obtaining justice, knowing ourselves so that there is peace." With this motto, we hope to emphasize the necessity of tolerance and the commitment to constructing a path towards justice.

### CONVERSATION WITH JUAN GUTIERREZ:

Sunday, Oct. 26 we will participate in a conversation with Juan Gutierrez, an engineer and doctor of philosophy. Juan Gutierrez has international experience in the creation of platforms and social networks for the construction of peace. His other qualifications include: co-founder of the Universidad Crítica (University Critic) during the student movement at the University of Hamburg; director of a course about "Peace and World War," 1967; founder, coordinator, and director of "Gernika Gogoratuz" at the Guernica Center of Investigation, 1987-2001; director of courses about the construction of peace, processing conflicts and mediation; founder and coordinator of the Reconciliation Commission of the International Association of Peace Investigation, 1996-2000.



THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA  
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## 15 CARTER CENTER AND OAS PRESS STATEMENTS

FEBRUARY 13, 24, AND MARCH 2, 2004

*February 13, 2004*

**CARACAS....** Since last November, the mission of the Organization of American States and The Carter Center has been observing the process of verification and validation of signatures that the National Electoral Council is implementing to determine the possibility of recall referenda.

The presence of the OAS and The Carter Center in all of the stages has been continuous, exhaustive, and thorough. During the collection of the signatures, more than 50 international observers visited more than 40 percent of the collection centers, directly witnessing the democratic and public spirit demonstrated by all Venezuelans. In the current signature verification and validation process, the OAS is monitoring the CNE in each of the technical stages, including 24-hour observation in the physical verification, data entry, quality control, and technical review. This has enabled detailed knowledge of each stage. The Carter Center has been performing a complementary observation through the presence of full-time observers in the Superior Technical Committee and an analysis of a random sample of the data from all the verification stages to compare against the results.

During the observation of this process, the OAS and The Carter Center have detected technical and administrative defects, due largely to the novel nature and complexity of the process. Problems have been noted during the physical verification of signature collection forms (planillas) and during the initial days of the work of the second-level review Technical Committee, which was overwhelmed by the large volume of problem signature forms sent to it. The OAS and The Carter Center welcome the announcement of a date for completion of the process - Feb. 28. We urge the CNE to release a time line of the steps to reach

that date and emphasize the importance of meeting that deadline.

The criteria of international observation recognize simultaneously the principles of transparency contained in the control mechanisms to avoid a possible fraud as well as the inalienable rights of citizen participation that must be guaranteed by the electoral power. As President Carter said two weeks ago, the sovereign expression of the citizen must be privileged over excessive technicalities.

The OAS and The Carter Center repeat the call that the CNE be provided the space to perform its duties without political pressure but within the electoral law. Likewise, the citizens' will should be respected.

The OAS and The Carter Center reaffirm their confidence in the CNE and invite the actors involved, including the citizens, to express themselves, their demands, and their concerns in a peaceful way without physical intimidation to the CNE facilities or its employees and within the legal framework of the process itself and country. In this way, the current referenda process can end successfully, contributing to the strengthening of democratic institutions in Venezuela.

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Jmontes@oas.org

Kay Torrance, The Carter Center, 404-420-5129,

ktorran@emory.edu

*February 24, 2004*

**CARACAS, VENEZUELA...** The Organization of American States and The Carter Center have been observing the process of collection, verification, and validation of signatures developed by the National



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

Electoral Council to determine whether current requests for recall referenda will be adequate. This work has been at the invitation of the government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the electoral authority and in the framework of the agreement of May 23, 2003, as a result of the Table of Negotiation and Accords.

The OAS and The Carter Center express once again their gratitude for the confidence shown by the executive power, the electoral authority, and the representatives of the opposition, and we reiterate our commitment and willingness to continue our efforts so that Venezuelans find a constitutional, democratic, peaceful, and electoral solution to their differences, as stated in Resolution 833 of the Permanent Council of the OAS, dated Dec. 16, 2002.

There is at present a concern regarding the validity of the signatures on the so-called "planillas planas," signature forms where the handwriting of the basic data is similar. The OAS and The Carter Center consider the concern legitimate in that it is necessary to determine whether one person signed for another, clearly violating the rules approved by the CNE and the very personal nature of a person expressing his or her will.

Various methods exist to determine whether signatures are genuine. Due to the extreme complexity of comparing the fingerprints or the signatures with the data stored in the Department of Identification and Naturalization, the OAS and The Carter Center have presented to the CNE, as an alternative, a technically viable proposal, previously used in several countries and supported by international experts. The proposal consists of drawing a statistically representative random sample from the universe of signatures and then comparing, one by one, the fingerprints and signatures that appear in the signed petition forms with those newly provided by these signers. The results of this sample would establish whether, in the case of the planillas planas, the signers represent distinct people who have freely expressed their will or whether, on the contrary, there are unacceptable irregularities. By thus determining the scope of the problem, the CNE could

decide the methods for the appeals process – either to assume the signatures are legitimate unless citizens disavow them or that there are sufficient doubts to require all the signers to reaffirm their signatures.

The OAS and The Carter Center respect the autonomy of the CNE decisions. We respectfully make this suggestion so that the CNE can fulfill its constitutional functions while starting from the presumption that the citizens acted in good faith as they signed.

Both organizations continue to be concerned about the pressure and the harassment that directors and workers of the CNE face, and we ask once again that all Venezuelans, including the media, the political parties, and the actors involved, permit the CNE to perform its tasks free of such pressure. The OAS and The Carter Center urge the CNE to provide a mechanism of appeal (*reparo*) that is transparent, agile, and simple, with the rules agreed to beforehand and which presumes the good faith of the signers.

Finally, the OAS and The Carter Center repeat our commitment to continue to assist in this process until its conclusion, including the appeals period.

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March 2, 2004

**CARACAS, VENEZUELA...**Today, the National Electoral Council made public the preliminary official results of the process of verification of signatures for the petition to recall the president of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

The presence of the Organization of American States and The Carter Center throughout all stages has been continuous, thorough, and comprehensive. During the petition drive, some 50 international observers covered more than 50 percent of the signature collection centers in 20 states throughout the country, witnessing first hand the democratic and civic spirit demonstrated by all Venezuelans. In the ongoing



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

process of verification of the signatures, the OAS has accompanied the CNE in each technical stage, working three shifts 24 hours per day, observing these activities in detail. The Carter Center carried out an analysis of the process based on a statistically representative sample to determine whether the verification criteria used by the CNE were applied correctly. We would like to extend our appreciation to the European Union and to the countries of the hemisphere that have supported our efforts with resources and public recognition of our work.

As international observers, our objectives are to assure that the process is transparent, complying with the laws and regulations of the country; that it respects the will of the citizens; and that the citizens and the actors have confidence in the process and the results. We have expressed privately and publicly the international criteria for general principles that guide this type of process. These principles include transparency and controls to prevent fraud as well as the promotion of the participation of the citizens.

In this process, in particular, we find sufficient controls, including security paper for the petitions, full identification of the citizen with signature and thumbprint, summary forms (actas) listing the petition (planillas) serial numbers during the collection process, party witnesses, personnel trained and designated by the CNE, verification of each petition form and a cross-check with the summary forms, a cross-check of the names with the voters list, and a mechanism for appeal and correction.

We have had some discrepancies with the CNE over the verification criteria. In the case of the petition forms in which the basic data of several signers, but not the signatures themselves, appear to have been filled in by one person, we do not share the criterion of the CNE to separate these signatures, sending them to the appeals process in order to be rectified by the citizens. These occur in such large numbers that they could have an impact on the outcome of the process.

We recognize that in any such process there can be attempts to manipulate the will of the citizens, but it is

necessary to evaluate the magnitude of the impact that these attempts could have on the total universe. We understand the concerns of the CNE, but the evaluation should start from the presumption of the good faith of the citizen as a universal principle. During the signature collection process, we observed that some collection agents assisted signers in good faith by filling in their basic data.

Those citizens who are erroneously or fraudulently included on the list (planillas) should be given the opportunity to remove their names during the appeals and correction period. In addition, the signatures themselves that appear to have a similar handwriting, which have also been found, should be carefully reviewed in order to reject those that are not genuine.

The appeals and correction period was included in the process to provide, in cases of doubt, an opportunity for citizens to reaffirm their signatures or to disavow their signatures in cases where their data have been used against their will. The CNE has accepted some of our recommendations in designing this appeals process. We support the efforts of the CNE and of the promoters to work together to establish the guarantees necessary to ensure that all of the citizens who wish to take advantage of this resource may do so. We urge them to continue in this direction.

We call on all citizens to remain calm and to demonstrate their right to protest while respecting civility and human life. We call on the public security forces to respect human rights and due process. We ask the media to call for calm and not violence.

Once again, we call on the actors to comply with the May 29, 2003, accord of the Table of Negotiation and Accords and with the commitments therein. The solution to the current conflict should be peaceful, democratic, constitutional, and electoral, as expressed in Resolution 833 of the Permanent Council of the OAS, in support of democratic institutions in Venezuela.

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## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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Doctor Francisco Carrasquero  
President  
National Electoral Council  
Caracas, Venezuela

March 10, 2004

Dear President,

The OAS and The Carter Center have observed the process of recall referenda in Venezuela at the invitation of the National Electoral Council and with the consent of the government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. We have observed the collection of signatures, their verification, and presented periodic reports during the process to the directors.

In accordance with the agreement of the Table of Negotiation and Accord, the accords of May 29, 2003, and the content of Resolution 833, the mechanism consecrated in Article 72 of the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela provides an electoral, constitutional, democratic, and peaceful way out of the political divisions that face the country. In this sense, we have offered our services to facilitate conversations between the CNE and the political actors. Under this scheme, the validation of signatures and the mechanisms for the *reparos* period have been discussed.

We consider it to be of vital importance to the country that the process of verification be carried through to the end, including the period of *reparos*, and that the basic constitutional rights of all Venezuelan citizens be respected. As previously expressed, our observations regarding Event 2 include a set of concerns:

- a) delays to deadlines established by the law, especially during the verification phase;
- b) lack of clear regulations for the process of signature collection and verification criteria as well as little clarification of the specific consequences to not meeting these criteria;
- c) application of an excessive number of rules to invalidate signatures not contained in the original norms issued by the CNE;
- d) inconsistent application of the criteria during the phase of physical verification and in the work of the Superior Technical Committee, which required extensive repetition and produced a substantial increase in the percentage of invalidated signatures; and
- e) substantial differences to be explained between the numbers announced publicly March 2 and 7 as well as inconsistencies in the number of citizens affected by problems in the *actas* among the registries of the CNE, the sample realized by The Carter Center, and the registries of the sponsors.

Even though our March 2 declaration expressed the discrepancy between our criteria and that adopted by the CNE regarding petition sheets with similar handwriting, we also recognize the authority of the CNE and consider that the period of *reparos*, with norms that provide guarantees to the parties sponsoring the recall, may assure the respect of the citizens' will.

With all our respect for the autonomy of your institution and the sovereignty of Venezuela, we wish to share with you our opinion regarding the minimally acceptable condition that will guarantee the constitutional rights of Venezuelan citizens: 1) allow all citizens whose signatures were impugned or invalidated because of problems with



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

the Registro Electoral Permanente (REP), physical verification with difficult problems, or problems with forms and problems under Code 2 in the verification of *actas* to confirm their signatures during the *reparos* period; 2) present, as a basis for the *reparo*, a clear explanation to the public of the number of signatures in each category.

This proposal, according to our estimates, represents a total of at least 1,300,000 signatures that could be repaired and that would allow that duly registered voters with the appropriate identification could present themselves to ratify their desire to include or exclude their names from the list. It will provide a simpler and more direct way to guarantee that each signature is genuine and exclude those that are not. It will protect citizens from administrative errors that may have occurred during the complex process of collecting and verifying signatures and will assure Venezuelans that the process has been just, transparent, and in accordance with the approved norms.

The proposal for the *reparo* by the Junta Nacional Electoral to use 2,700 centers, the same number utilized during the collection of signatures, is just and highly advisable. The use of the traditional electoral notebooks, which allow the citizen to sign and stamp their desire to include or exclude their name, ensures a very necessary clear and simple procedure in these times of uncertainty and polarization.

We hope that these proposals contribute to a convergence between the norms that the CNE must approve for the period of *reparos* and the conditions that the sponsors of the recall expect, thus permitting the continuation of the process.

We reiterate our will to continue collaborating with you on everything that is within our power so that this process resolves the political divisions that face the country in an electoral, constitutional, democratic, and peaceful manner.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter  
The Carter Center

Cesar Gaviria  
Secretary-General of the OAS



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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### PAZ EN MOVIMIENTO

#### IS IT POSSIBLE TO TRANSFORM OUR CONFLICTS WITHOUT VIOLENCE?

**S**ocial and political conflict has been intense in Venezuela, and it has forced us to focus on the need to understand the diversity among our people and find new ways to deal with differences.

Although political difference receives more attention from the press, this is certainly not the only source of conflict in the country. Conflicts are parts of our daily lives. Though it seems as if we cannot live without them, we can certainly choose the way in which we face up to them. This is why we not only need to talk about peace; we need to make peace.

#### CONFLICT IS NOT THE PROBLEM...

Conflicts arise due to the necessary and healthy differences that exist among us. We all hold different opinions, positions, and projects. At the same time, as social human beings, we need each other and therefore need to find a middle ground. The presence of conflict in our lives leads us to aim toward its transformation.

Conflict can be understood as an opportunity for growth. It can be productive and positive if we open up to gaining knowledge from those who think differently from us. This, of course, requires recognition of the other.

It is not only possible but also necessary to commit toward the nonviolent transformation of conflict. This will entail considering the needs of all those who play a role in the conflict and believing in our capacity to make decisions and take on responsibilities.

#### DEALING WITH CONFLICT...

With no intention of imposing formulas but instead with the purpose of learning from experience, there are some steps that can help transform conflict without violence.

- Recognize the existence of conflict: Try to think

about your behavior: What are you doing? Why? What is going on?

- Describe what is happening and analyze it: Each one from his or her point of view describe: What is happening? How did the problem start and grow?

- Explore different possible solutions: Contribute ideas (more than one) on the possible ways to go about the current situation, trying to consider the legitimate needs of all the people involved.

- Explain the reasons for the alternatives put forward and assess the consequences of their application: Analyze the consequences of the application of each of the alternative solutions put forward.

- Choose one course of action: Once the possibilities have been thoroughly analyzed, decide on one course of action and commit to it.

- Implement the steps toward the chosen solution.

- Assess the results: Did it work? Was it the correct alternative? What were the difficulties encountered? How can it be improved?

- When it becomes necessary to adjust the chosen solution: According to the assessment, the proposed course of action can be maintained, modified, or replaced by a different alternative.

(From the book "Educar para la Paz "

(Fontana:Barcelona, 1984) by Jean Paul Lederach)

#### TO TRANSFORM CONFLICT WITHOUT VIOLENCE, IT HELPS TO...

- Make clear who is involved in the conflict and who may influence the consequences.

- Create an environment for dialogue that contributes to the search for true and constructive solutions. Create conditions for listening and being heard.

- Take on a positive and creative attitude toward the search for solutions.





## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

■ Avoid personalization of conflict, separating the problems from the people involved.

■ Avoid labeling (i.e.: “You are the problem”) and generalizing (i.e.: “You always do the same things”).

■ Go beyond people’s views and get to their interest and needs, which should be expressed.

■ Agree on the main points to be discussed, avoiding constant change of subject.

■ Accept that emotions are part of the conflict: Take them into consideration and communicate them, trying not to react with emotional bursting.

■ Encourage all parties to put themselves in the other party’s shoes.

How can we help in atmospheres of great social and political tension?

■ Do not encourage or respond to appeals for violence from any organization or group. Keep calm.

■ Avoid rumors.

-Do not react hastily before an unconfirmed rumor.

-Ask for confirmation from trustworthy acquaintances from both sides.

■ Protect domestic and participative spaces from political confrontation and violence (family, school, citizen assemblies, popular assemblies, and organizations).

-Avoid confrontation and personal discussions that may culminate in physical or verbal aggressions.

-Don’t allow your organization’s agenda to be exclusively focused on the current situation.

■ Protect children, teenagers, and the elderly and sick both physically and psychologically.

-Try—whenever possible—to keep children’s regular habits and routines both at school and at home. As educational community, try to offer plans to guarantee minimal education time. For example, plan supportive educational activities, teachers’ schedules, security and transportation, orientation to parents and representatives, and special activities.

-Prevent children from exclusively watching information on the conflict.

-Don’t bring children to demonstrations and rallies.

-Try not to expose children to violent expressions between people with opposite viewpoints.

■ Keep in regular contact with the your social network and organization. Don’t isolate yourself. Try to increase communication and exchange opinions in search for several alternative solutions to the problem.

■ Try to filter information from television or radio programs that—explicitly or implicitly—encourage discrimination, violence, retaliation, or revenge or that generate fears.

■ Encourage dialogue and avoid confrontation. Show respect for other people’s opinions and present your ideas without forcing the other party to change his or her mind. Think about the possibility of finding common grounds of understanding during interaction.

■ Use nonviolent methods to protest as well as claim respect for rights. Find information on ways to place complaints before national and international organizations.

-Demand respect for your rights without hampering other people’s rights.

■ Denounce human rights violations to the organizations that are experienced in dealing with these issues.

For more information on recommendations and for useful addresses, please visit:

[www.pazenmovimiento.org/actividades.asp17](http://www.pazenmovimiento.org/actividades.asp17)

### CONTACTS

The Mediation and Conciliation Office of the Ombudsman Office can be useful for conflictive situations that may arise in our communities. Phone numbers in Caracas are 0212-5765674 and 5776598.

Some organizations that provide services in this area are:

Centro de Mediación Comunitaria:0212-325.62.62

e-mail:mediacionenvenezuela@yahoo.com.ar

Instituto Mead:0212-986.92.53

e-mail:institutomead@cantv.net

Centro de Resolución de Conflictos del Colegio de Abogados del Estado Lara:0251-252.42.20

e-mail:crclara@cantv.net



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

### 18 PAZ EN MOVIMIENTO OUR MAJOR CHALLENGE: BUILDING PEACE

In light of the course that the sociopolitical conflict has taken in the past weeks, the organizations, institutions, and people who make up *Paz en Movimiento* express our profound concern, given that although the violent events are not recent, these events have increased in an unacceptable manner. Lives have been broken and histories cut short. The consequences of these events are unpredictable and in many cases irreparable. Every one of us bears a share of responsibility on the paths that we choose in order to coexist with our differences and to settle our conflicts.

We are opposed to all disproportionate use of force. Therefore, we call upon all competent authorities to investigate the charges of human rights violations and to punish those who prove to be guilty. Similarly, we require that both the national government as well as the state and municipal governments effectively protect and respect the constitutional guarantees of all and everyone without discrimination. It is the responsibility of the state security forces to fulfill their duty to heed the principles of opportunity, legality, and proportionality. We hail the interest that diverse sectors of society have expressed in the full force of human rights, and we encourage that these rights not be employed as a resource in the context of the political dispute—their universal and permanent postulates go beyond any diatribe.

Protest in exercise of our rights is one way to assume our responsibility as citizens. The possibility of publicly demonstrating is consecrated in the Constitution. However, when exercising this right, it is also the duty of citizens not to violate the rights of third parties, which are also protected by the Carta Magna.

The escalation of violence is a latent risk. Therefore, a commitment is needed to neither contribute to the

intensification of violence nor, under any circumstances, to respond to extreme positions that lead to the destruction of the social fabric, environment, and the loss of human life. Even less can we allow that the loss of life be used to call for more violence. Just one death is already too many.

The alternative, communitarian, private, and public media of social communication have a significant role to play in the manner that this conflict develops. It is for this reason that we call for a responsible use of information. The news agenda cannot be used to disregard the existence of the adversary. Biased information not only reinforces and increases the polarization of society but also generates disinformation and bewilderment in public opinion. Furthermore, it affects the credibility of the media, journalists, and spokesmen and leads to popular unrest.

From *Paz en Movimiento*, as a free, participatory collective that brings together people, organizations, and institutions that work in favor of peace in Venezuela, we call upon the citizenry in general, upon the private and public institutions, upon political leaders and social communication media to promote a constructive transformation of the conflict, searching for spaces of dialogue and negotiation that allow us to advance upon the path toward the solution of the grave problems that we face as a country.

We must learn from our differences and build on the basis of them, without this blocking us from seeing what we have in common. Our major challenge is to build peace with a sense of justice, equity, and respect for human dignity, making our contribution to strengthening the conditions that guarantee democratic coexistence in Venezuela.

March 14, 2004



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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### AQUÍ CABEMOS TODOS II

PEACE IN MOTION. BUILDING PEACE. FEBRUARY 18, 2004

**W**e, the Venezuelans, have agreed to resolve our present political crisis in a peaceful manner by way of an electoral referendum in accordance with the rules established by the CNE. Nevertheless, this is not a path free from difficulties. At this moment, the process faces the tensions of waiting for the results, of doubts about the mechanisms used, and of the different types of attacks and threats directed at the CNE and international observers.

The verification of the petition sheets and signatures constitutes a complicated and critical moment in this novel process, in which the role of the arbiter is fundamental. It is essential to strengthen the legitimacy of the arbiter. For this to occur, it must display maximum transparency and adherence to the previously established norms. Only under these conditions will its decisions be accepted and recognized. However, peace is in the hands not only of the *Consejo Nacional Electoral* (National Electoral Council) but also to an even larger degree, peace is upheld by the responsible behavior of the different political actors.

The performance of the CNE must be firm and transparent, not only because the Constitution establishes it as such but also because it acts within a climate of general mistrust, aggravated by the possibility that some of the referenda may produce very close results that might provoke questionings, challenges, and repudiations.

In this context, even at the risk of grave personal costs, each of the leading figures must act responsibly in light of the magnitude of the situation—a difficult task in which all citizens should support them. What is at stake is not the triumph or defeat of this or that option but the peace and the future of democratic coexistence among Venezuelans.

As we noted in our first document *Aquí Cabemos*

*Todos*: “recall referenda may contribute to the building of peace only if their results are not interpreted as the elimination of the other but instead as a step toward the necessary coexistence of diverse political expressions.”

The most recent surveys as well as different more qualitative studies reveal with ever-increasing force and clarity that nearly half of the Venezuelan population does not see itself depicted in polarized positions, embellished with intolerance, and defined in black and white variants. They also indicate that even among sectors that are identified either with the government or with the opposition, there is a clear and direct rejection of demonstrations bedecked with sectarianism and, above all, violence, which is still present as a grave threat within the national political sphere. There is no doubt, then, that the majority of Venezuelans want to solve their discrepancies in peace and democracy, in a general climate of trust, accepting the diversity that characterizes us as a people, recognizing our problems and the different approaches and solutions that they give rise to, while resolving them by way of the dialogue and negotiation inherent to social coexistence.

Whatever the result may be, the pending task is dialogue and negotiation of our differences. For this reason, we insist on the creation of arenas which, without aspiring toward the elimination of diversity and debate, make it possible to generate projects that can move forward with the contribution of all, without negating the other. The multiple problems of the country—large and small, general or very specific—must be examined in these realms so that they may enjoy support, political force, and continuity beyond short electoral terms. Central and difficult topics, such as the rights to education, health, security, employment or the variety of themes related to different types of violence, can only be resolved with great difficulty



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

without the convergence of all, without confronting them in their magnitude and with proposals of the nation for the nation.

In this direction, we will continue to be watchful, sponsoring actions and events, calling on others and ourselves for the peace under construction.

For the group sponsoring *Aquí Cabemos Todos*:  
Ignacio Avalos, María Isabel Bertone, José María Cadenas, Ocarina Castillo, Arnaldo Esté, Angel Hernández, Tulio Hernández, Maritza Izaguirre, Mireya Lozada, José Virtuoso.



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## AQUÍ CABEMOS TODOS III

PEACE IN MOTION. BUILDING PEACE. MARCH 10, 2004

The greatest enemy is war. What is at stake at this moment is not merely an electoral outcome. What is being decided is the very possibility of preserving the democratic system and a peaceful coexistence between Venezuelans. No one can be excused. The force of events appears to have taken its own course, displacing the capacity of leaders to make decisions, rectify, or change course.

The democratic country, its authorities, leaders, and institutions face great challenges and tasks that require immense responsibility regarding the destiny of the country as a whole and not only the desires, interests, or stances of a particular group.

The greatest responsibility regarding the destiny of events is without a doubt borne by government authorities – the central government, in a prominent position, as well as state and municipal governments. These are the only actors that can make use of the instruments of the state and its capacity to respect and uphold the Constitution and to create the best conditions for respect of political debate and dissidence. However, the other sectors of the country – the opposition political parties, organized civil society, the churches, the public and private communication media, and common citizens – also bear the responsibility of insisting upon the use of all the resources that democracy guarantees, without scorning anyone or seeking shortcuts.

In this sense, we, the sponsors of the document *Aquí Cabemos Todos*, call actors and institutions to lead the greatest effort in the search for the preservation of peace, coexistence, and democracy:

■ To the National Electoral Council (CNE), to conclude in a transparent manner the process initiated in regard to the recall referenda. A process that began successfully in its first episode with the collection of signatures but which in its second stage became dramatically

complicated as an important number of political organizations and citizens expressed disagreement with the CNE's decisions. This process must conclude successfully, setting conditions that allow the ratifying act to be held amidst the best conditions, so that the country's electoral institution preserves national credibility and re-establishes trust for future electoral consultations. As the OAS and The Carter Center have stated, the possibilities of the electoral game are open, and the democratic forces ought to make use of them as justly and as intelligently as possible.

■ To the National Assembly, the Supreme Court, the Citizens' Power, and other authorities, to exercise their legislative responsibilities as well as checks and balances, in such a manner that respect for human rights is preserved; that the excesses, insults, taunts, and aggressions that Venezuelan citizens – whether they be allied with the government or the opposition – have been subject to are prevented from becoming everyday currency; and that which is nothing but the negation of the will to live together becomes naturalized.

What is decisive on the path to building peace is the insistence upon the necessity of negotiation and dialogue and upon the short- or medium-term strengthening of solid institutions that are respected by all. The common enemy to defeat is war, violence, and chaos. The objective to ratify is democracy as the condition and possibility for a peaceful coexistence.

For the group sponsoring *Aquí Cabemos Todos*: Ignacio Avalos, Nestor Alfonzo, María Isabel Bertone, José María Cadenas, Ocarina Castillo, Arnaldo Esté, Victor Hugo Fibers, Gabrielle Guerin, Tulio Hernández, Maritza Izaguirre, Mireya Lozada, and José Virtuoso.



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### 21 PEACE JOURNALISM WORKSHOP INVITATION

It is our pleasure to invite you to participate in the Peace Journalism and Constructive Handling of Conflicts on the Radio Workshop, organized by the program *Fortalecer la Paz in Venezuela*, which is sponsored by The Carter Center and the UNDP, on this occasion in alliance with the *Asociación Civil Los del Medio*.

The workshop will take place March 31 from 8:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. in the offices of CELARG. Its objective is to improve communications by presenting to those working in radio an approach to the perspective of peace journalism and to engage in shared learning of the tools of conflict management.

The task fulfilled by social communicators in general has suffered strong blows in the framework of the sociopolitical crisis and particularly the increasing social polarization that has affected society. In this context, the news media have become especially relevant when working with conflict and projecting through the media the conflict's process of change.

For these reasons, we feel that it may be useful for communicators to share experiences and approaches to the constructive transformation of conflict and the role that they as communicators may play in this challenge.

Overview of program:

#### CONFLICT:

- Conflict and polarization
  - Work in committees
  - Plenary session

#### PEACE JOURNALISM

Useful tools for coming to grips with conflicts

#### PRODUCTS FOR RADIO:

- Tolerance: A radio experience from the perspective of peace
- Work in Committees: Design of a brief proposal of a program, micro, or messages.

*We would appreciate that you send your registration information prior to March 25.*



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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### PRESS STATEMENT: OAS AND THE CARTER CENTER

*Caracas, April 15, 2004*

CARACAS, VENEZUELA....The OAS and The Carter Center have been participating in the meetings that the CNE has formally held about the mechanisms for the correction period in order to listen to the proposals and concerns of the actors involved in the recall referendum process.

We welcome the efforts put forth by the authorities of the CNE as well as the representatives of the Democratic Coordinator and the Ayacucho Command to achieve a transparent, simple, secure, and agile mechanism to conclude the recall referendum petition process.

We consider it vitally important to guarantee the rights of those citizens who participated in the signature collections and to provide them with a mechanism for ratification or exclusion of their signature that is easily accessible, transparent, and free from pressure. This also requires proceeding in a timely manner with the other constitutional provisions for the recall referendum, paying attention to the time periods provided for

in the Bolivarian Constitution of Venezuela. To this end, we urge those involved to maximize the efforts made thus far and to resolve any outstanding concerns on the basis of consensus as swiftly as possible in order to conclude this phase satisfactorily.

We call, at the same time, on all sectors of society and national institutions to contribute to the goal of achieving a peaceful, democratic, constitutional, and electoral resolution of the crisis, as was expressed in the accord of May 29, 2003. We maintain our commitment to continue collaborating with the authorities and the people of Venezuela.

#### CONTACTS:

Javier Montes, OAS, 58-414-249-9554

Kay Torrance, The Carter Center, 404-420-5129



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THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA  
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## PRESS STATEMENT: OAS AND THE CARTER CENTER OBSERVATION MISSION TO VENEZUELA

April 29, 2004

CARACAS, VENEZUELA...Yesterday the Democratic Coordinator publicly announced their intention to participate in the repair (*reparos*) process.

The Organization of American States and the Carter Center mission recognizes the efforts made by the National Electoral Council, the *Comando Ayacucho*, and the Venezuelan opposition organizations to find through dialogue and consensus favorable conditions in which Venezuelans can exercise their rights in this important stage of the process. We believe that they have offered the necessary guarantees so that citizens can assert their will, either by reaffirming their signature or withdrawing it.

We have offered our collaboration as observers to the authorities and officials of the CNE to accompany them in this phase of the repair (*reparos*) process. In

this sense, we wish to reaffirm our commitment to exercise this function with the same responsibility shown until now, making available to the CNE and to the citizens in general our best technical and human resources to assure Venezuelans that, whatever their will may be, it may be respected.

In order to assure the success of this stage, we call on the citizens to continue exercising their rights and, in this way, contribute to the strengthening of democracy in Venezuela.

Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and OAS Secretary-General César Gaviria will accompany the joint mission from May 29 onward.

### CONTACTS:

Javier Montes, OAS, 58-414-249-9554

Kay Torrance, The Carter Center, 404-420-5129





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## 23 PRESS STATEMENT: THE CARTER CENTER AND OAS REPARO RESULTS IN VENEZUELA

Caracas, June 4, 2004

Yesterday the joint mission of the Organization of American States and The Carter Center became aware of the official announcement of the preliminary results from the *reparos* process, which concludes an important phase in the convocation of recall referenda. The joint mission wishes to once again congratulate the electoral authorities, the actors involved in the convocation of recall referenda, and all citizens for the reaffirmation of their commitment to the defense and strengthening of the democratic system.

The mission wishes to thank the government of President Hugo Chávez Frías for his generous hospitality and for the effort he has made, in the midst of polarization in the country, to follow the direction of a process that resulted in the application of Article 72 of the Constitution. The way in which the president accepted the results predicts a period of improved democratic competition and respect for the rule of law. Violence, in any of its forms, can't be justified during this time in the country's life.

The joint mission especially wishes to emphasize the diligence shown by the CNE and the other actors involved in the recall process to find and agree to a procedure that would guarantee the agility and transparency of the *reparos* phase. During the development of this phase, the chosen procedure was shown to be prompt and effective. The mission recognizes the great organizational and logistical efforts made by the authorities of the CNE as well as its technicians and officials in order to assure that the process was properly carried out. The delivery of the results within the time

limit established by the CNE gives greater transparency and credibility to the process and contributes to the preservation of the climate of tranquility that characterized the *reparos* process.

The joint mission thanks and congratulates the more than 120 international observers who responsibly and professionally contributed to the work of the mission. The mission will maintain a reduced number of observers in the coming days to observe the final tallying of repaired signatures and to stay until recall referenda are called. The mission also expresses its intention to continue collaborating in this process in the manner that the electoral authorities, the executive authority, and the political actors consider advisable.

The mission thanks the electoral authorities and officials throughout the country, the members of the *mesas*, and the witnesses for both sides as well as the citizens in general for their treatment of the mission's observers, who were able to fulfill their duties without impediment.

Finally, the mission calls on both sides to maintain a climate of tolerance and respect for opponents that ought to prevail at this time. The mission would like to recognize the importance and continued application of the accord of May 29, 2003, so that all Venezuelans may resolve their differences in a democratic, peaceful, constitutional, and electoral manner.

### CONTACT:

Javier Montes, OAS, 58-414-249-9554  
Kay Torrance, The Carter Center in Atlanta,  
1-404-420-5129



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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### AQUÍ CABEMOS TODOS IV: THE REPAROS

1. Events which provoked public attention that occurred in the municipality of El Hatillo, near Caracas, are serious enough to make us believe that the country may be facing a possible interruption of the current democratic process, unleashing a wave of violence and terror of unprecedented dimension. We must oppose the political use of such a sensitive situation and demand a thorough, serious, and unbiased investigation.

2. The process to which we are referring involved many weeks of conversation among the representatives of the *Coordinadora Democrática*, the *Comando Ayacucho*, and the CNE, after which they agreed on a series of conditions for carrying out the *reparos* of signatures of some of those who had signed the recall referendum envisioned in the Constitution. Obstacles arising from new and unexpected situations that provoked confusion and delays were finally overcome. The representatives prevailed in reaching a compromise that includes all Venezuelans. Democracy, the legal and elected system to solve the country's political crisis, succeeded in the midst of complexity and serious obstacles, allowing us to set the limits within which we can develop our differences and thus draw closer to eventual peaceful solutions.

3. Again, and in this case repetition is never enough, it is essential to count on arbitration that will allow no doubts about the result of the signature reparation process. The CNE, which has been clearly weakened in the eyes of the public, needs to act rapidly, effectively, and transparently in view of the present circumstances and the importance of what is at stake. With this in mind, it is vital to reinforce the desirable presence of international observers, an important factor in any popular election but especially significant – for obvious reasons – in our current political context.

4. A permanent critical gaze on the arbitration bodies is not only needed but becomes an obligation. Along the same lines, groundless accusations that weaken the arbitration institution should be avoided; instead, the institution should be strengthened, especially considering that it will not only arbitrate this particular referendum but successive electoral events. It should be understood that organizations are legitimate not only when they act according to our expectations but when they guarantee the citizens' political will in a reliable manner.

5. The appropriate execution of the stated process doesn't depend exclusively on CNE or international observers. It also depends on a general environment that encourages respectful political coexistence and that is against physical or symbolic manifestations of violence (the media and main political actors have a central role to play here). This should include strong denunciation of acts of pressure and coercion that people have undergone due to their political opinion, especially for having signed the recall referendum.

6. In favor of a transparent *reparo* process, it is important that all diverse social and political actors publicly agree to respect the rules jointly established with CNE, including the manner in which results will be made public, the acceptance of results, and the resulting consequences, including the execution of the presidential recall referendum. Participating actors should take into consideration that a growing number of Venezuelans do not stand on either of the polarized positions and they also have the right to be respectfully heard and thus deserve true and in-time figures.

7. Whatever the result of the process of *reparo*, we need to be aware that even if we have managed to solve a complicated and difficult situation without a permanent escalation of violence, we still have to go through a



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## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

deep process of political, social, institutional, and economic change so that a place for everyone is opened up in Venezuela. This includes not retaliating toward those who were favored by the results of the referendum.

*By the group promoting Aquí Cabemos Todos: Ignacio Avalos, Nestor Alfondo, María Isabel Bertone, José María Cadenas, Arnaldo Esté, Victor Hugo Febres, Gabrielle Guérón, Mireya Lozada, and José Virtuoso.*

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## AQUÍ CABEMOS TODOS V

May 26, 2004

The *reparos* process of repairing signatures collected to petition for a presidential recall that took place over the weekend must be evaluated as a triumph of the will of Venezuelans to resolve the intense political confrontation that is presently being lived through democratic, peaceful, and constitutional means. Without denying the importance of the many doubts, criticisms, and legitimate questions that the process has provoked in regard both to the action of the National Electoral Council (CNE) as well as the different and mutual accusations of fraud denounced by the political factions in conflict, the fact that we have been able to realize the process of signature collection and to sustain the necessary negotiations so that citizens could defend their rights after a first decision by the arbiter institution is proof of our credibility and interest in democratic institutions, despite the erosion that these institutions may have undergone during recent history.

We have now entered upon the most sensitive and simultaneously dangerous phase of the process. In upcoming days, the review of the signatures and their verification as well as the national decision over whether or not a referendum will be held is a process that will decisively test the National Electoral Council, the political leadership of the opposition and the government, the opinion-making institutions such as the news media and the church, and the citizenry in general. As is established by the Constitution and public opinion, the CNE bears the historical obligation of guaranteeing a fair and transparent process. The government must guarantee the right to vote without pressure or threats of violence. The political leadership must do everything possible to ensure a regulated process as well as refrain from issuing results or judgments until the arbiter has presented the official

results. The media and the church assist in creating a favorable climate for the process to go forward with enthusiasm, normalcy, and respect among the parties. Each citizen must exercise their rights within the legal framework, allow others to equally exercise theirs, and reject the different forms of provocation and rumors that, without a doubt, jeopardize the process.

As in any electoral competition or popular consultation, the results may openly favor either the government or the opposition. However, the margin between winner and loser could also be extremely narrow. In the present climate of mistrust and suspicion, the latter outcome may generate delicate situations, which the government authorities as well as the leaders of the opposition should handle with the greatest responsibility, placing the country's interests and the greater interest of social peace above momentary emotions.

Peace is in the interest of all of us: of the government, first of all, because a nation overtaken by chaos and violence leads to ungovernability or the historically discredited repressive use of brute force; of the opposition, because violence is a sure path toward the perversion or suspension of political struggle; of business groups, because political violence is the absolute enemy of welfare and economic growth; and of the citizenry, because it is the average citizen, usually those with the least resources, who carries upon his shoulders the greatest costs in lives and human suffering in violent confrontations.

Peace is in the interest of all of us: At the beginning of the chain, the greatest responsibility historically falls on the CNE and its directors. The electoral body will largely determine the conditions in which the country and the citizens awake next Tuesday, the 28. However, everyone else—the government, opposition, citizenry, media, and church—bear similar responsibilities. For this reason, as *Aquí Cabemos Todos* we exhort the country to declare itself



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on guard from today forward, to ensure its rights are observed, and to launch a democratic hedge around political violence. Along this path, the guaranteed role and participation of international observers, whose presence has until now been decisive in overcoming various conflicts, are fundamental conditions.

Venezuela and the Venezuelans deserve peace. No one has the right to violate it. May everyone fulfill their role with honesty and dignity.

### AQUÍ CABEMOS TODOS

For the group sponsoring *Aquí Cabemos Todos*:  
Ignacio Avalos, Nestor Alfonzo Santamaría, José María Cadenas, Victor Hugo Febres, Arnaldo Esté, Gabrielle Guerón, Tulio Hernández, Maritza Izaguirre, Mireya Lozada, Zhair Marrero, and José Virtuoso.



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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# AQUÍ CABEMOS TODOS MEETING APRIL 23, 2004

### PARTICIPANTS

Alberto Lovera, Alberto Muller Rojas, Ana Cabria, Antonio González, Arnaldo Esté, Aurelio Hernández, Carmen Elena Balbás, Francisco Díez, Francisco Iturraspe, Gabrielle Guérón, Jesus Gonzalez Vegas, José María Cadenas, José Virtuoso, Julio Campos, Luis Lander, Mamilia López, Manuel Gándara, Manuel Isidro Molina, María Isabel Bertone, Mireya Lozada, Pedro Antonuccio, Pedro Mujica, Tulio Hernández, Victor Hugo Febres, Yolanda Salas.

### TOPICS OF DISCUSSION:

#### *The Future of Aquí Cabemos Todos*

Consensus concerning remaining a civil society organization with a broad and diverse voice.

- Evaluation of the organization's past and present role

- Risks of deviating from status as a civil society organization

- Upholding the following principles that unite the organization:

- Strengthen democracy
- Support and encourage peace while denouncing violence
- Promote dialogue as a means to discuss differences
- Foster all-inclusive debate on issues of concern

#### *Recommendations to broaden and strengthen the group's impact*

- Areas of influence: diverse contexts and sectors
- Communication strategies: encourage new semantics, nonpolarized dialogue and a constructive role for politics, develop a code of ethics for political action and participation

### ■ Strategic actions:

- Broaden the use of the media through the following means of communication: the written press, radio, electronic and television media, academic and community forums
- Promote spaces for strategic dialogue on central themes such as poverty, violence, law enforcement, corruption, media, armed forces, oil, etc.; examine different efforts and spaces for the group to continue its work beyond this meeting

### *Composition and meaning of belonging to the group*

- Sponsoring groups and close supporters: The sponsoring group and those who have given ongoing support should be recognized, but it is also necessary that the organization be open to new participation

- Need to recognize the overall structure of the organization through different forms of participation on both the individual and group level

- Importance of incorporating *chavista* sectors into the organization in order to transform into a democratic and critical opposition group and avoid becoming a narrow-minded and partisan organization

- Some sectors, among many others, that might identify themselves with the group and with whom it may be possible to work include: *Ni-Ni*, *Contra-contra*, *Choroní*, *Ron y Merenque*

### *Risks, precautions, and challenges*

- Breakdown due to the division of the opposition
- Radicalization of different sectors
- Lack of law enforcement and chaos when outbreaks of violence occur



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## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

- Analyze the conflict within a short- and long-term context and within a regional, national, and international framework

### ***Concrete proposals***

- Upcoming comprehensive meeting with the UNDP to discuss the report on democracy in Latin America

- Draft a document that covers the actions prior to and after the ratification of signatures; information and acceptance of the results; negotiation of agreements regarding dates, elections, and others; alerts about the threat of chaos, violence, etc.

- Communications proposal to be presented to different media

- Manuel Isidro Molina's offer to provide airtime on Radio Sintonía

- Francisco Iturraspe's offer to create a Yahoo group



# THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA

## JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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### PAZ EN MOVIMIENTO

### MEETING AGENDA

### APRIL 24 – 25, 2004

**OBJECTIVES:**

- Definition of the group's organization and functioning
- Agree upon new political strategies for the group
- Expand the operational plan for 2004

**PROGRAM***Saturday, April 24*

<i>Time</i>	<i>Agenda</i>	<i>Questions to be covered</i>
9:00 a.m. to 9:10 a.m.	Review agenda	What are we going to do? How are we going to do it? Why are we going to do it that way?
9:10 a.m. to 9:25 a.m.	Historical description of PEM	What has been done? How has it been done? What needs have been encountered?
9:25 a.m. to 9:35 a.m.	Presentation of organizational models and functioning of two networks: <i>Foro Propio/Foro por la Vida</i>	How do other spaces do it?
9:35 a.m. to 10:30 a.m.	Discussion and definition of the organizational structure of the group (Working groups part I)	How are we going to work with: -Decision-making mechanisms -Internal channels of communication -Mechanisms for incorporation and separation -Mechanisms and characteristics of the spokesperson -Actions of the group (when are they and what can they be)
<i>10:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.- Refreshments</i>		
11:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.	Discussion and definition of the organizational structure of the collective (Working groups part II)	
<i>12:30 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. - Lunch</i>		
2:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m.	Discussion and definition of the organizational structure of the group (work in plenary session)	
<i>3:30 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. - Refreshments</i>		





## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.	Complete new political strategy proposal: “We consider it important to strengthen the mechanisms that democratic institutions offer, particularly for handling differences, provided that they operate within the legal framework.”	Are we in agreement with this new political line? What does this political line imply? How does this political line stand (is there consensus or not)?
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*Sunday, April 25 (The dynamics for the Sunday 25 discussion will be drawn from the Saturday 24 discussion)*

8:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m.	Work on the operational plan: Work in committees and in plenary session to reach consensus on 2004’s working plan	What are we going to do? Who of us will do it? When will we do it? How will we do it? Why will we do it?
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SHARING EXPERIENCES: FACILITATORS IN  
COMMUNITY CONFLICTS  
MAY 8, 2004

9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

## TENTATIVE LIST

	NAME	INSTITUTION	RESIDENCE	COMMUNITY	INVITATION
1.	José A. Rodríguez	Defensoría del Pueblo. Centro de Mediación	Caracas		CONF
2.	William Requejo	MEAD- Guardianes de la ciudad	Caracas		CONF
3.	Lilian Montero	Cecodap	Caracas		CONF
4.	Orlando Rodríguez	Juez de Paz de Alta Gracia	Caracas	Alta Gracia	CONF
5.	Venancio Martínez		Caracas	Antímano	CONF
5.	Elba	Hnas. Misioneras	Caracas	Antímano	CONF
7.		Grupo Mapipe	Caracas	Carapita	CONF
3.	Luisa Noguera	Comité de DDHH de Los Frailes	Caracas	Catia	CONF
9.	Cruz Henriquez	Comité de DDHH de Los Frailes	Caracas	Catia	CONF
10.	Pedro Serrano General Coordinator	Asociación Civil Catuche	Caracas	Catuche	CONF
11.	América Díaz		Caracas	Coche, Bermudez	CONF
12.	Angleida Guzmán		Caracas	El Valle, Cañicito	CONF
13.	Sureidys Ortega		Caracas	El Valle, Cañicito	CONF
14.	Julia de Guzmán		Caracas	El Valle, Cañicito	CONF
15.	Elena Gonzalez		Caracas	El Valle, Cañicito	CONF
16.	Elena González		Caracas	El Valle, Cerro la Cruz	CONF
17.	Migdalys Gonzalez		Caracas	El Valle, El 70	CONF
18.	Gloria Vila		Caracas	El Valle, El 70	CONF
19.	Nancy Gonzalez		Caracas	El Valle, El 70	CONF
20.	Gregorio Blanco		Caracas	El Valle, El 70	CONF
21.	Moisés Piñango		Caracas	El Valle, El 70	CONF
22.	Saúl Salazar		Caracas	El Valle, El 70	CONF
23.	Hermana Antonia		Caracas	El Valle, El 70	CONF
24.	Nidia García	Jueza de Paz de la Dolorita	Caracas	La Dolorita	CONF
25.	Lucy	Hermanas de Santo Ángel	Caracas	La Pastora	CONF



# THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA

## JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

26.	Edgar Perez		Caracas	La Veguita	CONF
27.	Luz Marina Rincón Nohemí Coromoto Rúben Mejías (contacto)	Comunidad Las Casitas	Caracas	Las Casitas	CONF
28.		Hnas Dominicas	Caracas	Las Mayas	CONF
29.		Casa de la Salud	Caracas	Nuevo Horizonte	CONF
30.	Felisa/José Gregorio Sánchez	Comisión Justicia y Paz de Petare	Caracas	Petare	CONF
31.	Sheilan Soto de Machado	Jueza de Paz de Cecilio Acosta	Caracas	Petare, Cecilio Acosta	CONF
32.	Freddy Sojo	Los Lanos. (Pte. de la Asoc. de Vecinos)	Caracas	Quebrada Arauco	CONF
33.	Luis Ponce	Juez de Paz de San Bernardino	Caracas	San Bernardino	CONF
34.	Pedro Fanegas	Cte. de DDHH de Vargas	Vargas	La Guaira	CONF
35.	Petra Rebeca Rivas	Cte. de DDHH de Maiquetía	Vargas	La Guaira, Maiquetía	CONF
36.	Ivón Delgado		Vargas	Las Salinas	CONF
37.	Wilfredo García		Vargas	Tarma	CONF
38.	Palabrero Wayüu		Zulia		CONF
39.	Bartola Salas	Cte. De DDHH de la Guajira	Zulia	Paraguaipoa	CONF
40.	Zenahir Hernández	Defensora de Derechos Baruta	Caracas	Baruta	Sent by mail
41.	William Manrique (contacto)	Consorcio Social La Trilla	Caracas	La Trilla	Sent by mail, awaiting response
42.	Jeannette Raydan Contacto	CRCCAL	Lara Barquisimeto		Waiting for contact
43.	Andrik Prieto	INSEC	Zulia. Maracaibo		Waiting for contact
44.	Nersa López	Defensora de Derechos Antímano	Caracas	Antímano	Spoken to and sent by mail
45.	Evelyn Ascanio	Defensora de Derechos Petare	Caracas	Petare	Invitation awaiting confirmation
46.	Belkis Urdaneta (contacto)			Comunidades en la frontera colombo-venezolana	S/C
47.	Vicente Buitrago	Parroquia Propatria	Caracas	Catia	S/C
48.	Marlene Ortiz		Caracas	Catia, Niño Jesús	S/C



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

49.	Beba	Centro Gumilla	Caracas	Catuche	S/C
50.	Hna. Antonia	Hermanas Compasionistas	Caracas	El Valle, El 70	S/C
51.	Mariela		Caracas	La Vega	S/C
52.	Neus	Institución Teresiana	Caracas	Los Erasos	S/C
53.	Angelica Romero (contacto)	Barrio Bolívar (Petare) Escuela de Fe y Alegría	Caracas	Petare	S/C
54.		Maristas	Los Teques	El Cristo	S/C
55.	Daniel Cervellón	PROVIAR	Maracay		S/C
56.	Luis Rebolledo	Cte. de la Democracia	Maracay	La Democracia	S/C
57.	Jesús Machado (contacto)	Servicio Jesuitas de Refugiados	Táchira	El Nula	S/C
58.	Isabel	Barrio Betulio González	Zulia		S/C

### *Contact Sources*

- Comité de Paraguaipoa (palabrero Guayú)
- Comité de los Frailes
- Mesas Técnicas de Aguas (Santiago Aleonada)
- Los Erasos
- Nuevo Horizonte
- Los Teques
- El Nula



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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*Caracas, April 30, 2004*

Citizen:  
**ANA CABRIALLE MELLACE**  
**CARTER CENTER REPRESENTATIVE**  
Her Office–

Kindest regards to you from the Education Bureau. By means of this letter, we would like to invite you to participate in the First Assembly of Judges for Peace in School.

Since the 2001-2002 school year, the Education Bureau of Baruta has been implementing the project: Educating for Justice: “Justice for Peace in School.”

We are currently immersed in a world and a society in which violence and injustice seem to be the norm. For many, violence and injustice have become the fastest and most common ways to resolve differences. School, a space for social coexistence, is affected by this reality.

We have committed ourselves to the search for new paths and options that encourage attitudes favoring dialogue, negotiation, and mediation in our schools, thus, teaching our students how to solve their differences peacefully. This commitment is the reason we are implementing “Justice for Peace in School” in five municipal schools.

Justice for Peace in School is the tool that creates peaceful negotiated solutions to conflicts among students at school. Judges of the Peace in School program are students democratically elected by their schoolmates.

Currently, 164 girls and boys serve as Peace in School Judges. On Friday, May 14 this group of students will participate in the First Assembly of Judges for Peace in School to be held at the Baruta Casa de la Cultura. The assembly will be organized in working groups that will deal with the following subjects:

- Negotiation
- Mediation
- Authority
- Responsibility
- Dialogue

We would be pleased to welcome a specialist from your institution who can contribute to the meeting by commenting on the conclusions drawn from the working groups and answering some questions from the participants. Given the tradition of your institution’s work in our country, we make this request believing that your contribution can enrich our Peace in School Judges. The assembly will take place from 8:00 a.m. to 11:50 a.m. and 1:00 p.m. to 4:50 p.m. Your representative’s presence is requested



THE CARTER CENTER

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## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

between 10:00 and 11:50 am. and between 3:00 and 4:50 p.m. For more information, please do not hesitate to call us at 701-71-05 701-71-01, 0416-819-46-39, or by e-mail at [educacion@baruta.gov.ve](mailto:educacion@baruta.gov.ve). Contact person: Prof. Niurka Torrealba.

Thank you in advance for your valuable cooperation.

Yours Sincerely,

**PROF. OSCAR IVÁN ROSE**  
**DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION**

OIR/nt.-.



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

### 30 POINTS OF CONSENSUS IN SUPPORT OF A TRANSPARENT AND BALANCED CAMPAIGN

#### TIME LINE AND SCOPE

The following recommendations will be presented to the CNE as input for the writing of rules and administrative decisions regarding the activities of the media during the campaigning period for the referendum established by Article 72 of the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to be held on Aug. 15 of this year.

#### ADVERTISEMENT AND PROPAGANDA ON RADIO AND TELEVISION

a. It is agreed that the CNE will take on the responsibility of time allocation for both electoral options (YES and NO).

b. In this respect, each option will be allotted:  
-six slots per day, of a maximum of 30 seconds each (three minutes per day for each option).

-The CNE will distribute the 12 daily slots through a rotating system, alternating a slot for YES with a slot for NO, giving proper notice to the TV stations and ensuring that the spaces assigned to both options are qualitatively equivalent.

c. The spaces shall be contracted directly by CNE with a fixed rate per 30-second slot, considering three special rate categories. The total amount will be paid for by CNE from a special budget allocated for that particular purpose, or will alternatively be deducted from taxes that the media pay to CONATEL.

d. TV and radio stations shall broadcast the same amount of slots for each option on each day.

e. Additionally, the CNE will obtain a daily three-minute time slot especially dedicated to showing institutional publicity, educational short films, or information regarding the voting system. This time slot will be given to the CNE for free, as a contribution from the stations to the referendum process.

f. Through the monitoring mechanism established in point five of the present document, the effective compliance with the rules set above will be supervised on a daily basis and will be reported daily to the CNE.

g. CNE regulations will set forth the corresponding sanctions for any violation of the rules established above.

#### ROUND-TABLE PROGRAMS

a. It is agreed to establish a mechanism through which representatives from both options are assured that they will be invited to public and private TV programs on an equal basis.

The mechanism will ensure that:

-Each station will request the name of a contact person from each electoral option's campaign unit.

-The producers shall contact the designated contact directly in writing (via fax or e-mail), inviting the politician they wish to participate in their programs. This should be done independently of any additional contact they wish to establish directly with the guest.

-A copy of the written invitation shall be sent (via fax or e-mail) to the Monitoring Office established in the present agreement for record-keeping and follow-up purposes.

b. It is also agreed that presenters will be asked to demonstrate respect toward the guests from both electoral options. Guests will also be requested to be respectful of the presenters.

#### INFORMATION

a. It is agreed that starting Aug. 7, the results of polls and projections will not be disclosed.

b. All parties agree to prohibit the issuing of "exit polls," tendencies, or results of the Aug. 15 election until after the CNE has officially announced the results on that same day.



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

c. All TV stations will ensure balanced coverage of the campaign, providing equal airtime to both sides when reporting on each of the electoral options.

d. All TV stations agree to adequately cover official functions as well as the public works by national and regional governments with the condition that access is provided and security for personnel and equipment is assured. Accordingly, the government also agrees not to use simultaneous transmission time to campaign in its own favor.

e. The Monitoring Office shall follow what has been hereby established and will inform the CNE and all parties, so that adjustments will be made if necessary.

### MONITORING MECHANISM

a. With the agreement of CNE and the support of The Carter Center, an independent and neutral monitoring system shall be established with the purpose of supervising proposed publicity schedules and achieving balance in round-table programs as well as information coverage. Technicians from both sides will be invited to participate in the monitoring team.

b. The results of the monitoring process shall be reported to the CNE and to all parties on a daily basis.

Participants who have agreed on the terms of this document are:

- The government and state-run media
- The minister of communication and information
- Vtv, canal 8
- Radio Nacional
- Yvke Mundial
- Venpres
- Private stations:
  - Rctv, canal 2
  - Venevisión, canal 4
  - Televen, canal 10
  - Globovisión, canal 33
  - Ctm, canal 51
- Broadcasting chamber





# THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA

## JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

**31**

### MEDIA MONITORING GROUP

### THE CARTER CENTER, ATLANTA/CARACAS

### SECOND REPORT, JULY 16–27, 2004

#### INTRODUCTION

The general introduction presented in the first report of July 23, 2004, is an important part of the MMG reports.

Currently, we consider the database to be stable and consolidated. The media universe as of July 27 consists of 510 codified television segments and 678 codified radio segments. As we will show in this report, we have the ability to track trends in a variety of formats and cross-referenced tabulations. After Saturday, July 31, we can see daily changes in the material and, if these changes are significant in relation to our mission and the goal of our work, inform the parties of the consensus of these changes.

For the same reason, we are changing the format of the report starting now. If we do not touch on a particular topic in the report, this means that no significant changes have taken place since our last report. The current report contains information that is broken down by medium, resulting in limited distribution.

We have taken note of certain elements that are not covered by our methodology, particularly television news segments that could be subtle attacks of the government camouflaged as news.

The director of the MMG has used a time frame to test whether this argument is correct. From a general point of view, one can understand why this suspicion exists. At the same time, we wish to emphasize that it is not within our mandate to evaluate general news. Also, our methodology cannot verify whether it is correct. We work with a quantitative method. An evaluation of the political trends in events reporting or some other type of general reporting requires a qualitative methodology that cannot be adapted to the fast-paced demands of our current work. Also, the

results would probably be subjective, and the issue would serve as a point of contention.

#### RESULTS AND OBSERVATIONS

The principal observation of this report is that an important change took place at all the television stations after the July 22 meeting. From the morning to the night programming, the channels changed the format of their news and some opinion programs, resulting in significant numbers for July 22 and 23.

It was truly impressive to see how the channels accepted our message of greater neutrality. We call particular attention to VTV, which changed radically to produce the average reported at the media's meeting and in press statements.

Unfortunately, this positive development was fleeting, since we saw a return to the numbers reported before the meeting in the codification for Monday and Tuesday of this week. The two days of last week had some positive effect on the percentage of neutral material, but the following table shows the overall trend for the entire measuring period.

*Table 1. Type of space before and after July 22 – neutral reporting (percentage)*

Station	Before July 22	July 22 and 23
RCTV	42.9 %	56.5 %
Venevisión	35.6 %	69.2 %
Televen	63.2 %	81.8 %
VTV	11.9 %	46.2 %
Globovisión	38.5 %	40.0 %
Average	35.7 %	54.3 %



# THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA

## JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

*Table 2. Type of reporting, July 16-17 (exact numbers and percentages)*

	Canal de televisión					Total
	RCTV	Venevisión	Televen	VTV	Globovisión	
<b>Clear Stance</b>	6	3		8	27	44
	5.7%	3.2%		6.3%	19.9%	8.6%
<b>One Side Dominates</b>	57	48	15	89	57	266
	54.3%	50.5%	32.6%	69.5%	41.9%	52.2%
<b>Neutral and Informative</b>	42	44	29	30	52	197
	40.0%	46.3%	63.0%	23.4%	38.2%	38.6%
<b>Irrelevant</b>			2	1		3
			4.3%	.8%		.6%

## TWO GROUPS

Analyzing the results of our investigation, we saw two distinct trends emerge for the group of five television stations. One group (Televen, Venevisión, and Globovisión) is apparently making an effort to stay within the principles of the consensus and adhere to the messages of the July 22 meeting. The other group consists of two extremes, RCTV and VTV, with very low neutrality numbers and a large share of segments that allows one party to dominate the news and opinion segments.

To illustrate the differences between the two groups, we present the following table.

There is a difference of nearly 15 percent in neutral material between the two groups, and even more disturbing, one group allows one party to dominate in 62.7 percent of the segments. There are internal differences between the two groups, which may be seen in the attached tables.

If we take a look at the material in the context of the general bias of the program, we see the same differences between the groups.

*Table 3. Type of reporting, July 16-27 (exact numbers and percentages)*

	RCTV+VTV	Vene+Televisión+Globo	Total
<b>Clear Stance</b>	14	30 <sup>1</sup>	44
	6.0%	10.8%	8.6%
<b>One Side Dominates</b>	146	120	266
	62.7%	43.3%	52.2%
<b>Neutral and Informative</b>	72	125	197
	30.9%	45.1%	38.6%
<b>Irrelevant</b>	1	2	3
	.4%	.7%	.6%
<b>Total</b>	233	277	510
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

*Table 4. Tendencies of the media, July 16-27 (exact numbers and percentages)*

<b>Tendency</b>	<b>RCTV+VTV</b>	<b>Vene+Televisión+Globo</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Favoring Chávez</b>	98	63	161
	42.1%	22.7%	31.6%
<b>Against Chávez</b>	59	88	147
	25.3%	31.8%	28.8%
<b>Neutral</b>	75	126	201
	32.2%	45.5%	39.4%

The numbers presented above also show that in our media universe (N=510), there are 161 segments in favor of President Chávez, 147 against. In this material, we tried to avoid differences between the channels of the two groups, but detailed information is provided in the attached tables.

### THE PRESIDENTIAL CHANNELS

We have begun to codify presidential channels from July 18, and in the material available for this report, we have codified 13 segments. The elements of one channel are codified as news only if they fall within the codified limits. All 13 segments point to one channel (Globovisión) and seriously affect the balance of this channel.

At another channel (VTV), we see that the president uses up a considerable amount of time to promote the policies of his administration, which affects the ability of that channel to present neutral, independent reporting.

### SUSPENDED PRINCIPLES

In our work with the current material, it is apparent that the editorial, journalistic, and, to a certain extent, economic principles have been suspended at Venezuelan television channels. Developing neutral and informative reporting that allows for clear understanding is considered to be a good principle. However, Venezuelan editorial policy seems to be drifting away from these principles, presenting news with a

slant in favor or against the current president to satisfy an imaginary audience.

We also see a trend toward visualizing these biases through the use of the televised image. The power of television lies, of course, in the visualization of the message, and evidently the same imbalance is present for the eyes as well as the ears. See Table 5, Bias of the images/taped space (exact numbers and percentage) on the next page.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

Our decision to divide the channels into two groups does not mean that the group of three has perfect numbers. In both groups, there is ample room for improving neutral and independent coverage and achieving balance in the space that remains.

The "extreme" group is our greater concern, and we think that The Carter Center and the CNE must emphasize the following messages:

All the channels must put more effort into increasing the neutrality of their material and achieving a balance in the coverage of the two parties of the recall referendum.

The president must reduce his direct influence on the channels via the stations and in his use of airspace on state-sponsored television. In this way, the channels will have the opportunity to show their willingness to contribute to a balanced and transparent electoral campaign.

We recommend a period of four days of activity



# THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA

## JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

*Table 5. Bias of the images/taped space (exact numbers and percentage), July 16-27*

	Television Station					Total
	RCTV (Channel 2)	Venevisión (Channel 4)	Televen (Channel 10)	VTV (Channel 8)	Globovisión (Channel 33)	
<b>Supporting Chávez/ Against the Opposition</b>	14	18	9	70	38	149
	13.3%	18.9%	19.6%	54.7%	27.9%	29.2%
<b>Against Chávez/ Supporting the Opposition</b>	49	33	6	4	35	127
	46.7%	34.7%	13.0%	3.1%	25.7%	24.9%
<b>Neutral</b>	42	44	31	53	61	231
	40.0%	46.3%	67.4%	41.4%	44.9%	45.3%

without stations to verify that the willingness is there.

We insist that all the television channels in general, and two in particular, must dramatically increase their neutral material and distribute the remaining time between the two parties in a balanced fashion.

On behalf of the MMG, we will monitor the effect of the decisions of The Carter Center and the CNE on a day-to-day basis and submit daily reports if there are significant developments.

Caracas, July 29, 2004

Stein Ove Gronsund      Tomas Andersson Odén



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

### 32 “COVERAGE OF ELECTORAL PROCESSES” MEETING

June 2004

Dear:

It is our pleasure to invite you to participate in the conference:

“Coverage of Electoral Processes”

*This is a joint effort of the program Strengthening Peace in Venezuela, promoted by The Carter Center, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and the Instituto de Prensa y Sociedad (IPYS) in collaboration with the civil association Los del Medio, with the goal of generating a dialogue on media practices during the coverage of highly tense electoral processes.*

Your participation will facilitate the exchange of experiences regarding the principal necessities, limits, and obstacles that the journalists and reporters confront daily while covering electoral issues. Your assistance will enhance a collective learning of new approaches that will enrich the professionalism of informed reporting.

The conference will last two days, the 8th and 9th of July of this year, and will include: a forum, held the morning of July 8, from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m. in the Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos Rómulo Gallegos (CELARG), room 2, ground floor; and a workshop, held the afternoon of July 8 and all day July 9 at the headquarters of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Following is a detailed description of the program.

The workshops are free of charge but are limited to 35 people. Interested parties should register by sending an e-mail before Wednesday, June 30. Given the journalistic agenda, the team promoting this conference will contact publicly and privately owned media firms to encourage the attendance of journalists specializing in election coverage.

Thanking you in advance for your participation,  
Sincerely,

Addresses: CELARG: Fundación Casa de Rómulo Gallegos. Av. Luis Roche with third cross street. Altamira Caracas. UNDP: Edificio Parque Avila (Torre Hewlett-Packard), 6th floor, office 6-A, Av. Francisco Miranda. Urb. Los Palos Grandes, Caracas.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

**Ana Arana** is a U.S. journalist specializing in investigative reporting and organized crime. She is a consultant on the Inter American Press Association's (IAPA) project Journalism without Risk and teaches at the Bard Center for Environmental Policy at Bard College in New York. She has trained journalists in investigative journalism and ethics for the last six years in Peru, Colombia, Central America, Venezuela, Cambodia, South Africa, Mauritius, Zambia, Malawi, Nigeria, Swaziland, Namibia, Tanzania, Senegal, and Guinea-Bissau.

From 1986 to 1989, Mrs. Arana was a war correspondent based in El Salvador during the civil conflict in Central America. She also covered the 1990-1993 struggles against the Medellín and Cali cartels while based in Colombia. She has been a correspondent for the Miami Herald, U.S. News and World Report, the Baltimore Sun, the San José (Calif.) Mercury News and the Fort Lauderdale (Fla) Sun. Between 1993-1994, she directed the Americas program of the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) in New York, where she helped found various committees to protect journalists in Colombia and Peru.

Mrs. Arana has received various fellowships including: the Knight International Press Fellowship 1998; Panos Institute in 1998; Visiting Journalist Fellowship from the Center of War, Peace, and the News Media at New York University, 1999. From 2003-2004, Arana directed a \$1.5 million project for the development of media and training in the former Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau in West Africa. The Open Society



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

Initiative of West Africa in association with the Soros Foundation funded this project.

She collaborated on the IAPA's first two volumes on impunity (published in 1996-1997) and CPJ's "Silenced - The Unsolved Murder of Immigrant Journalists in the United States" (published in 1994). She also participated in the IAPA's first two studies on journalists in danger. Her articles have appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Newsweek*, *Gatopardo*, *Salon.com*, *The New York Daily News*, *Columbia Journalism Review*, and the *Village Voice* of New York, among others. Arana has a graduate degree from the Columbia School of Journalism and a bachelor of arts degree from San Francisco State University.

### BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

#### **María Jimena Duzán**

Studied political science at the University of the Andes.

Received the 1991-1992 Nieman Fellowship from Harvard University.

In 1994, Duzán founded the CEPER at the University of the Andes and subsequently directed the program for five years. The CEPER was the first journalism graduate program in Colombia and in Latin America.

She is the author of two books: one on the Bogotá city council and the other on the Pablo Escobar period of narcoterrorism, entitled "Chronicles that Kill" (*Crónicas que Matan*), also published in the United States.

A journalist since 1967 of the then daily *El Espectador*, Duzán was a reporter, political editor, international editor, and a member of the investigative group formed and directed by Guillermo Cano in the midst of the war against narcotrafficking. This unit's incriminating investigations on the cartels and their ties to paramilitary groups led to Cano's assassination and the bombing of the newspaper.

Duzán has also worked for *Semana*, *Gatopardo*, and *SOHO* as well as written for international newspapers such as *Newsday* and *The New York Times*.

Presently, she is a columnist for *El Tiempo*.

Throughout her career, she has received 12 international prizes, among them the Committee to Protect Journalists' prize for valor, the University of Milwaukee's Sacred Cat Award, and the International Women's Media Foundation's prize for courage, given to women who stand out in journalism.

Between 1999 and 2002, Duzán served as consul general in Barcelona.

### BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

#### **Luis Vicente León**

Economist, graduate of the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello (Caracas, 1985), with a master's degree in business engineering from the Universidad Simón Bolívar (Caracas, 1996) and diplomas from: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (1987), Escuela de Organización Industrial de Madrid (1991), and National Taiwan University (1992). Since 1985, León has been a professor of industrial economics in the School of Economics at the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello and has taught problems of firms and research methodology. He has also been a professor of market research at the Instituto de Estudios Superiores en Administración (IESA) since 1994, teaching analysis of the social, political, and economic environment. From 1989-1995, León was professor of industrial organization at the Universidad Metropolitana.

Since 1992, León is the directing associate of DATANALISIS, specializing in the areas of social, political, and economic perspectives; market research; and sector analysis. Additionally, he presently serves as director of the Cámara de Industriales de Caracas, member of the Consulting Council of *Teleflores.com*, director of the Asociación Venezolana de Ejecutivos, and writes articles for the newspaper *El Universal*.

León has served as executive president of the Cámara Venezolana de la Industria del Vestido (CAVEDIV), president of Fondonorma, president of the Confederación Andina de Confeccionistas, director of the Confederación Venezolana de Industrias, and member of the School Council of the School of



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

Economics of the UCAB.

Among his published works are: “Industrial Reconversion” (CAVEDIV, 1989), “The Cost of Money” (CONINDUSTRIA, 1994), “Industrial Policy vs. Commercial Policy: An Integral Approach” (UCAB, 1995), “Development of Business Associations in Latin America” (ECLA, 1995), and “Social Costs of Development” (CEDICE, 1996).

**July 8**

**MORNING**

Forum Open to the Public

Venue: CELARG, Room 2

9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.

**“Coverage of Electoral Processes”**

■ Introduction by **Francisco Diez**, representative of The Carter Center

■ **Ana María San Juan**, Center for Peace, UCV: Analysis of the environment surrounding the upcoming electoral processes

■ Representative of the National Electoral Council. Topic: (Legal, technical, and procedural dimensions of the electoral processes)

■ **María Jimena Duzán**, columnist for El Tiempo. Topic: (Electoral coverage in the conflictive Colombian environment)

■ **Ana Arana**, journalist and International Center for Journalism (ICFJ) participant. Topic: Elections: How to cover the agenda of the voters and not the politicians

**July 8**

**AFTERNOON**

Venue: UNDP

2:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.

Discussion

Venezuelan electoral behavior facing the upcoming electoral processes

**Luis Vicente León, Datanálisis**

Workshop for journalists (capacity limited to 35 people):

**“The Colombian media’s electoral coverage”**

Exchange of journalistic experiences of electoral coverage in the Venezuelan context

Facilitated by **María Jimena Duzán**

**July 9**

**ALL DAY**

Venue: UNDP

9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.

Workshop for journalists

(capacity limited to 35 people):

**“Electoral coverage focused on citizens”**

Facilitated by **Ana Arana**

Themes:

■ Unique characteristics of covering elections (compared with other types of coverage)

■ The national environment

■ Definition of local standards for good coverage

■ Review of the basic skills for covering elections

■ Using neutral language

■ Using statistics: Measuring public opinion and the use of surveys

■ Capturing the mood and color

**Victor Hugo Febres J.**

Strengthening Peace in Venezuela

The Carter Center-UNDP

**Andrés Cañizalez**

Director, Venezuela

Instituto Prensa y Sociedad

Contact telephones: 9910087 -992 24-0412 710 82 53



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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### AQUÍ CABEMOS TODOS VI SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AGREE DIALOGUE IS NECESSARY AND POSSIBLE

August 13, 2004

**W**e, the undersigned representatives of institutions, organizations, collectives, and social networks, in response to a call from *Aquí Cabemos Todos* and *Los del Medio*, have come together to discuss our current and future roles to propitiate and facilitate dialogue, communication, coexistence, tolerance, and commonality among the different sectors of Venezuelan society, particularly those directly involved in the conflict, in the days immediately before and after the recall referendum.

Based on our evaluations of our different experiences of dialogue and joint work between persons and groups from different regions, social sectors, and political views:

■ We observe a significant increase of successful initiatives in favor of peace and dialogue in addition to important activities undertaken by groups of differing political convictions that nonetheless share spaces for coexistence and work to reach common goals. This expresses a valid national concern and reflects our political pluralism, transcending the boundaries of polarization. These initiatives need to be supported and demand the incorporation of ever-larger political, social, and cultural expressions, thus motivating a convergence toward dialogue and peace.

■ We recognize the healthy diversity of Venezuelan society and the need to generate spaces for negotiation as well as new resources and methods for dialogue, with the aim of obtaining, precisely from that diversity, proposals and actions that benefit the nation as a whole.

■ We express our rejection of physical or verbal violence and the use of insults or any terms intended to disqualify those holding opposing views. This

includes the spreading of rumors, laden with a high degree of frustration and anger, which have made it more difficult to grasp the complexity of the conflict. Furthermore, these expressions tend to generate frameworks of reference that legitimize aggression and hamper the recognition of differences and the search for peaceful and democratic methods by which to manage conflict.

■ We note that expectations run high surrounding the recall referendum of Aug. 15 as well as the reiterated alarm regarding the consequences of its outcome. We consider that the recall referendum may contribute to peacebuilding only if its results are accepted and vengeful attitudes are avoided, with their sequel of retaliation, persecution, and revenge against those not favored by the vote. The latter must be recognized as valid and legitimate interlocutors, constituting a step toward the necessary coexistence of those holding divergent points of view.

We therefore request:

■ That the National Electoral Council carry the process begun around the recall consultations to a transparent conclusion by providing the Venezuelan population with an exact, credible, and timely tally of the results.

■ That the National Assembly, the Supreme Court of Justice, *Poder Ciudadano*, and all other competent bodies exercise their legislative, jurisdictional, and controlling functions in such a manner as to guarantee the observation of the citizens' political and civil rights.

■ That representatives of the government, opposition leaders, public and private communications media, and representatives of all social sectors, including ourselves and citizens at large:





## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

-Recognize the results of the recall referendum, considering that what is at stake is not the victory or defeat of one or another option but rather respect for the will of the people, the defense of the ethical referents of our society, and the future of peaceful and democratic coexistence among Venezuelans.

-Condemn all expressions of violence, regardless of their origin and magnitude, as well as calls to provoke said violence.

-Decrease the level of verbal belligerence, promote public communication based on respect, and elevate the level of debate by focusing on a wide-ranging analysis of the most urgent problems faced by Venezuelan society, based on the defense of an interdependent vision of the people's human, economic, social, cultural, civil, and political rights.

Beyond the results of the recall referendum, we Venezuelans must be aware that we have come through a difficult period thus far. However, we still have pending a lengthy agenda laden with profound political, social, institutional, and economic changes. Only once we have proven to be up to the challenge ahead will we be able to proclaim: **AQUI CABEMOS TODOS.**



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### 34 PEER MEDIATION PROGRAM: TEACHING PEACE

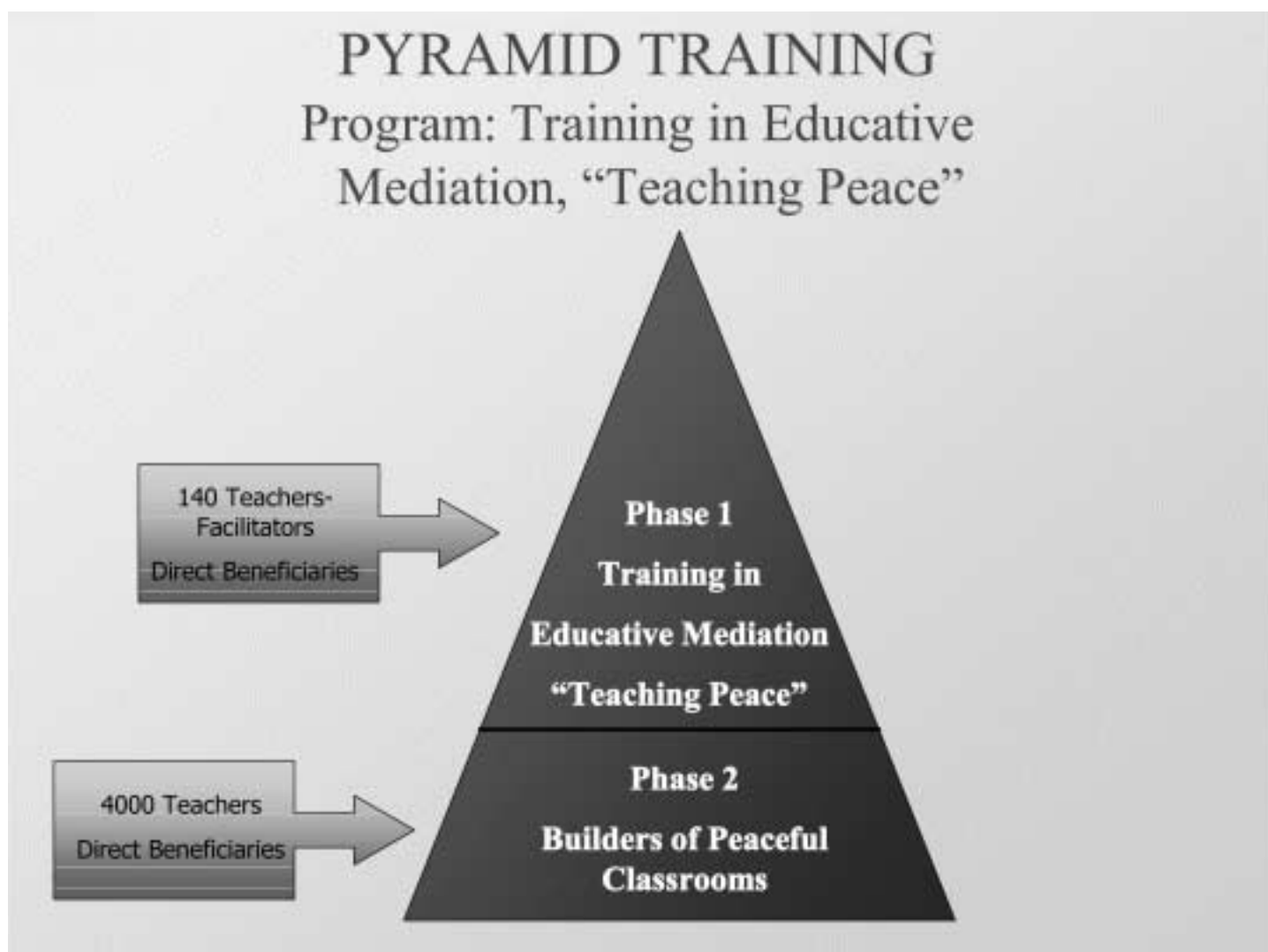
Central theme: Training in constructive transformation of conflict. Program on Educative Mediation, Teaching of Peace

*The foundation of Peace Education Pedagogy*

Through this experience we seek to strengthen and

encourage the emergence of a culture of peace in the school communities through Peace Education Pedagogy. We strongly believe that Peace Education Pedagogy provides a framework for upholding the values of democracy and peace.

#### PYRAMID TRAINING METHODOLOGY EFFECTIVE DISSEMINATION OF THE EXPERIENCE





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Central theme: Training in constructive transformation of conflict

*Summary of the project's implementation*

### TRAINING

#### EDUCATIVE MEDIATION – PEDAGOGY OF PEACE

–Training of trainers: March 29.

#### PHASE 1 AND PHASE 2

- **Beneficiaries:** 120. Completed the training: 111
  - Managerial personnel and teachers of elementary, diversified, technical high schools, and universities from public and private institutions, from the formal and nonformal educational systems, community leaders, and workers from the child care system
- **Areas:** Barquisimeto, Los Salias, Caracas, El Tigre, San Joaquin, Trujillo, Caracas, Portuguesa, Guanare, Valencia, Falcón, San Joaquin
- **Hours:** 100 hours
- **Dissemination:** Those trained committed themselves to carry out, within a period of three months, a dissemination in cascade through workshops for teachers, students, parents, and representatives and personnel from the education community.
- **Direct beneficiaries of the dissemination (to date):** 4,000 people have participated throughout the country through workshops on training in educative mediation.



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## DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES 2002–2005

### MEDIUM AND LOW LEVEL

MONTH	DAY	ACTIVITIES
OCT 2002	28	Conference: <b>The Third Side in Venezuela</b> . William Ury. (UNDP- The Carter Center- UCV)
JAN 2003	16	Conference: <b>The Structure of the Venezuelan Conflict</b> . Gabrielle Guerón Josko. (Cátedra Itinerante de la Comisión de Mitigación de Riesgos Socio Naturales – UCV)
	20	Conference: <b>The Dynamic of the Venezuelan Conflict and its Evolution</b> . Gabrielle Guerón Josko. (Cátedra Itinerante de la Comisión de Mitigación de Riesgos Socio Naturales – UCV)
FEB 2003	12	Workshop: <b>The Role of the Media in Political Conflicts</b> . William Ury. Workshop: <b>Strengthening Peace in Venezuela. Trainers</b> . William Ury.
	13	Conference: <b>Strengthening Peace in Venezuela</b> . William Ury. (The Carter Center-UCV- DAI)
	14	Workshop: <b>Negotiation in Times of Crisis</b> . Paper Presentation. Gabrielle Guerón Josko. (Programa de Cooperación Inter facultades – UCV)
	18-28	Workshop: <b>Tools of Communication and Negotiation for Journalists</b> . Gachi Tapia and Poppy McCormack.
		Workshop: <b>Tools of Communication and Negotiation for Community Agents</b> . Gachi Tapia and Poppy McCormack.
	21	Discussion: <b>The Third Side in Venezuela</b> . Gabrielle Guerón Josko. (Ministerio del Trabajo)
	23	Discussion: <b>The Third Side in Venezuela</b> . Gabrielle Guerón Josko. (Reunión General Tercer Lado en Venezuela) (formerly Constructores de Paz)
MAR 2003	22	Discussion: <b>The Third Side in Venezuela: Practical Possibilities in Venezuelan Democracy</b> . Gabrielle Guerón Josko. Public Presentation by Convidemos
	24	Meeting with members of Constructores de Paz. William Ury
		Meeting with journalists and community media owners. William Ury
		Working group with human rights NGOs. William Ury
APR 2003	3	Conference: <b>The Conflict in Venezuela: A Vision from the Third Side</b> . Gabrielle Guerón Josko. (Cátedra Itinerante de la Comisión de Mitigación de Riesgos Socio Naturales) Faculty of Dentistry
	7	Discussion: <b>Social Conflicts and How to Manage Them</b> . Gabrielle Guerón Josko- (Cátedra Hábitat y Riesgo de la Facultad de Arquitectura.)
	15	<i>Short television documentary on the Third Side. Distributed for closed circuit airing in airport terminals .</i>



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	30	Discussion: <b>The Third Side in Venezuela</b> . Gabrielle Guerón Josko. (Proyecto de Capacitación de Jueces en DDHH) (Amnesty International, UNDP and Statoil)
MAY 2003	1	<b>Exchange of Banners</b> : Exchange of banners between the activist groups UNT and CTV
	8	Participation in <b>Working for Peace</b> : presentation of activities. “Painting a peaceful Venezuela,” “Playing together for peace,” “With my voice I ask you...,” “My signature supports the declaration”
	15	Participation in <b>Vaccinations against Violence Campaign</b> . Cecodap
	19-31	Formation of trainers in the <b>Basic Training Program in Constructive Conflict Management and Consensus Building for Community Operators</b> . Phase One
JUN 2003	26	William Ury: Presentation at FIPAN’s Annual Assembly. <b>The Role of Social Organizations in the Conflict</b> .
	27	Conference: <b>The Third Side: an alternative for peace in Zulia</b> . William Ury. Working groups.
JUL 2003	18 and 19	Training of Operators in the <b>Basic Training Program in Constructive Conflict Management and Consensus Building for Community Operators</b> . Phase Two
	25 and 26	Training of Operators in the <b>Basic Training Program in Constructive Conflict Management and Consensus Building for Community Operators</b> . Phase Two
	28	SFCG: Workshop for Journalists. <b>Journalists’ role in conflictive situations</b>
	29	SFCG: Workshop for High- and Mid- levels. <b>Instruments for Change</b>
AUG 2003	4	John Paul Lederach. Conference: <b>Building Peace. Challenges and Alternatives</b> . Celarg
	4 and 5	John Paul Lederach. Workshop for NGOs. <b>Building Peace. Challenges and Alternatives</b> . (Fundación Polar.)
	18	First Meeting of Journalists. <b>Monitoring SFCG Activities</b> . Celarg
	18	<b>Discussion of Journalists’ awareness about the role of the media in the transformation of the conflict</b> . Cadena Capriles
	22 and 23	Training of Operators in the <b>Basic Training Program in Constructive Conflict Management and Consensus Building for Community Operators</b> . Phase Two
SEP 2003	5 and 6	Training of Operators in the <b>Basic Training Program in Constructive Conflict Management and Consensus Building for Community Operators</b> . Phase Two
		Training of Leaders in the <b>Basic Training Program in Constructive Conflict Management and Consensus Building for Community Operators</b> . Phase Three
	26 and 27	TRAINING OF JUDGES FOR PEACE IN MARACAIBO <b>Tools for work in conflicts and building peace</b> . Ana Cabria Mellace- Gabrielle Guerón. URBE-Maracaibo



# THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA

## JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

OCT 2003	7	Participation in Forum Maracaibo. <b>The Practice of Tolerance in Political Crises.</b> Francisco Diez. Zulia
	9	Participation in Forum Conciliation. <b>Successful Experiences in Political Conflict Resolution.</b> Francisco Diez. UCV
	24 and 26	PAZ EN MOVIMIENTO. <b>Conferences about Reflections on the Vision and Construction of Peace.</b>
	26	PAZ EN MOVIMIENTO. JUAN GUTIERREZ. <b>Colloquium with PEM Organizations to Build a Platform for Peace</b>
	27	<b>Discussion of journalists' awareness about the role of the media in the transformation of the conflict.</b> El Nacional
	31	Conference: <b>The Carter Center in Venezuela.</b> Red Cross. Francisco Diez
NOV 2003	6	<b>Participation in the course Peace and Security. Chair of Peace-Cecilio Acosta of IAEDEN</b> (Instituto de Altos Estudios de la Defensa). Francisco Diez- Ana Cabria Mellace. Néstor Alfonso- Gabrielle Guerón.
	12 and 19	Colloquium. UCV. <b>Imaginary Politics in Venezuela Today: From Exclusion to Polarization.</b>
	17	PAZ EN MOVIMIENTO. Juan Gutiérrez. Workshop. <b>Peace in Action.</b>
	26-28	Investigative Conferences. Humanities Department UCV. <b>Culture of Peace.</b> Ana Cabria Mellace - Gabrielle Guerón. Francisco Diez. UCV
		<b>Discussion of journalists' awareness about the role of the media in the transformation of the conflict.</b> Venpres
		COMMUNITY MEDIATION CENTER.
DEC 2003		Document Aquí Cabemos Todos I
	3-7	PAZ EN MOVIMIENTO. LOOKING FOR PEACE. "Aquí Cabemos Todos"
JAN 2004		EDITING AND REPRODUCTION OF EDUCATIONAL VIDEO: <b>Strengthening the Third Side a proposal to work toward peace in Venezuela,</b> William Ury
FEB 2004		Editing and reproduction of the document PAZ EN MOVIMIENTO
		Document Aquí Cabemos Todos II
		Document Paz en Movimiento
MAR 2004	14	Training Program in <b>Constructive Conflict Management PEM</b>
	18	Forum: <b>Negotiating for Peace</b> Aquí Cabemos Todos
	27	Workshop: <b>Peaceful Journalism</b> for private, public, alternative, and community radio journalists
	29	School Mediation Course <b>The Pedagogy of Peace</b>
		Document Aquí Cabemos Todos III



# THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA

## JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

MAY 2004	8	Meeting of Experiences: Facilitators in Community Conflicts.
	14	Participation <b>First Assembly of Educative Peace Judges</b> . Ana Cabria Mellace-Zhair Marrero.
		Document Aquí Cabemos Todos IV and V
JUL 2004	8 and 9	Workshop <b>Coverage of Electoral Process</b>
		Dialogues Aquí Cabemos Todos
AUG 2004	14	Document of the Social Organizations. Dialogue is Necessary and Possible. ACT VII
	30 and 31	PEM. Workshop on Conflict Management
SEP 2004	25	Workshop: <b>The Role of Emotions in Conflicts</b> . Third Scenario. (SPV)
NOV 2004	18	Workshop: <b>Conflict, Negotiation, and Dialogue –Aquí Cabemos Todos</b> Francisco Diez
	19	Document SPV.
		Document Aquí Cabemos Todos VII
SEP- DEC 2004		Continuation of workshops on Educative Mediation
FEB 2005	19 and 20	Workshop: <b>Corporal and Psychodramatic Tools to Manage emotions for Conflict Resolution</b> . (SPV-Macrodanza /Consejo Nacional de Cultura-Sociedad Venezolana de Analistas Jungianos)
	24 and 25	Workshops: <b>Third Party Conflict Management and Basic Tools of Dialogue and Communication</b> . Gabrielle Guerón and María Emilia López. Comisión Legislativa del Municipio Sucre.



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

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### AQUI CABEMOS TODOS DIALOGUE WORKING PAPER

In the aftermath of the recent electoral and political processes, we believe that the country is entering a new period. It is now a matter of creating new spaces for dialogue on issues of national interest, from whence it is expected that proposals and new leadership will emerge, both from among the government and its supporters as well as from its political and social opponents. It is assumed there exist real areas for negotiation and coincidence, although there will also be discrepancies that will be more challenging to process.

After a period of intense confrontation and polarization characterized by disregard of the other as a legitimate political adversary, it is urgent to develop a culture of dialogue in which, without denying that a conflict exists, said conflict is channeled into a dialogue that reflects the existing diversity. It is important to propitiate and strengthen a dialogue and negotiation strategy as a key political concept going beyond a merely rhetorical level. This is to be done through a process involving specific activities, issues, and goals with the participation of the varied sectors and different social and political actors.

#### OBJECTIVES

We suggest that meetings be held for the following purposes:

- To establish dialogue as a model and desirable practice in the furtherance and deepening of the democratic process.
- To discuss particular issues by area of interest, thus allowing for the exchange of visions and concepts in a nonconfrontational setting, while searching for viable short- and medium-term solutions.
- To rebuild trust among actors who, despite their different visions, are interested in the issues at hand.

- To identify points of coincidence and discrepancy among those involved in the dialogue.

#### CHARACTERISTICS

These meetings will share the following characteristics:

- Simple spaces that are unthreatening to all parties in attendance, so that all feel comfortable rather than conditioned by the locale.
- Only participants in the dialogue and a reduced number of people knowledgeable on the subject under discussion will be present. The latter will also function as facilitators in the conversation. The aim is to avoid speculative speeches typical of those given before large audiences.
- Depending upon circumstances, a small group of nonparticipating guests may be invited.
- Each session will be developed as considered adequate, depending upon the issue and the participants (for instance, dialogue among the parties, wider-ranging conversations, work tables). There will be a moderator or facilitator who is recognized by those involved in the dialogue. He or she will propitiate the development of the dialogue and shall seek to reflect any coincidences and discrepancies found or conclusions reached on the subject under discussion.
- Each dialogue will be recorded/filmed using audiovisual equipment as a means by which to keep a historical memory of the process. Efforts will be made to avoid the use of this equipment in any way that conditions or alters the climate of trust and restraint necessary to the proper development of the dialogue.
- The level of publicity given a particular dialogue session will depend upon its particular characteristics. It is possible that a small number of qualified journal-





## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

ists be invited to cover the event, either as it develops or once it concludes. Also to be decided upon are the subsequent processing and publication of the conclusions reached. Under certain circumstances and if participants so request, it may be decided to hold the dialogue under a confidentiality agreement for the entirety or parts of the proceedings.

■ In all cases, the presentations or interventions to be published may be reviewed by the speakers or participants in the dialogue. The publication of presentations made at the meetings will be supervised by AQUÍ CABEMOS TODOS.

### THE ISSUES

We are of the opinion that the Venezuelan state and society should tackle a number of complex issues that are of vital importance to the country. The list below therefore by no means exhausts the important and urgent issues at hand.

The issues to be put forth at the meetings should reflect the above criteria and be considered propitious for the finding of coincidences. Such issues are as follows:

- Culture
- Human rights
- Sports
- Communications
- Justice
- Education (at its different levels)
- Health
- Economy (oil, the informal sector)
- Community development (participation, decentralization)
- Others: unemployment, housing, violence

### VIABILITY OF THE PROPOSAL

The conditions required to make carrying out this proposal for a viable dialogue are as follows:

■ That society at large and people from different political and social sectors recognize AQUÍ CABEMOS TODOS as a legitimate actor who may issue a call for dialogue.

■ That the government, organizations, groups, or companies for whom the issue to be examined is relevant commit themselves to send authorized representatives and people knowledgeable in different areas under discussion. The latter, in turn, must commit themselves to participate in the sessions and an adequate follow-up period.

■ Depending upon its particular objectives, effective mechanisms by which to channel the outputs and results of the meetings must be established.



# THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA

## JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

### TABLES OF SPV PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Table 1. SPV Activities between February and May of 2003

DATE	ACTIVITY	PARTICIPANTS
February 12, 2003	Workshop: <b>The Role of the Media in Political Conflict</b> William Ury	49 persons. Journalists and editors of state-owned and private radio, press, and television
	Workshop: <b>Strengthening Peace in Venezuela. Training the Trainers</b> William Ury	40 community leaders and representatives from social organizations
February 13, 2003	Conference: <b>Strengthening Peace in Venezuela</b> William Ury (Carter Center-UCV-DAI) Panel members: Aristóbulo Isturiz and Américo Martín, members of MNA for the government and the opposition	400 persons. State authorities, ambassadors, social organizations, community, leaders, academia, media, and general public
February 18 - 28 , 2003	Workshop: <b>Communication and Negotiation Tools for Journalists</b> Gachi Tapia and Carmen Mc Cormack	12 persons. Journalists and editors of state owned and private radio, press, and television
	Workshop: <b>Communication and Negotiation Tools for Community Agents</b> Gachi Tapia and Carmen Mc Cormack	25 persons. Community leaders and representatives from social organizations
May 19 - 31 , 2003	Training the Trainers: <b>Basic Training Program for Community Agents in Constructive Conflict Management and Consensus Building Techniques</b> Phase One. Marínés Suares and Carmen McCormack (The Carter Center-UNDP-PCI/UCV)	44 persons. Representatives of NGOs, academia, representatives of state institutions

Table 2. SPV Activities between June and August of 2003

DATE	ACTIVITY	PARTICIPANTS
June 27, 2003	Conference: <b>Third Side: An Alternative for Peace in Zulia</b> William Ury (The Carter Center- UNDP) Panel with Father Ubaldo Santana, chapista managers, and envoys for Governor Rosales	100 persons. Political leaders, local authorities, representatives of the University of Zulia, representatives of the economic sector, community leaders, general public
July – November, 2003	Training the Trainers: <b>Basic Training Program for Community Workers on Techniques for the Constructive Management of Conflict and Consensus-building</b> Phases Two and Three (Strengthening Peace in Venezuela- British Embassy)	68 persons. Leaders and other community representatives from the metropolitan district
July 28-29, 2003	Workshop for Journalists: <b>The role of journalists in conflict situations</b> Workshop for medium- and high-level MCS. <b>Media for Change</b> Search For Common Ground (SPV-- USAID)	60 persons. Journalists and editors of state, private, community, and alternative media
August 4, 2003	Conference: <b>Peace-building. Challenges and Alternatives</b> John Paul Lederach (SPV- Red Soc Fundación Polar) Panel with Elias Jaua, Asdrubal Aguiar	120 persons. Political and social leaders as presenters, representatives of social organizations, academics and community leaders
August 4-5, 2003	Workshop for NGOs: <b>Peace-building. Challenges and Alternatives</b> John Paul Lederach (SPV-RedSoc)	66 persons. Workers from more than 25 civil society organizations



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

### NOTES

1. Annex 1 – Declaration of Principles for Peace and Democracy in Venezuela
2. Annex 2 – Text of the Terms of Reference
3. The members of the panel were William Lara, president of the National Assembly; Minister of Higher Education Héctor Navarro; Father Luis Ugalde, president of the Catholic University, and professor Giuseppe Gianetto, president of the Central University of Venezuela (UCV).
4. Annex 3 – Proposal to Restore Peace and Harmony in Venezuela
5. Annex 4 – Declaration Against Violence, for Peace and Democracy
6. We worked for two days closeted in a Caracas country estate with the facilitators acting as “go-between,” holding private meetings with each side separately without them ever meeting together.
7. Annex 5 – Agreement on Small Steps Toward Building Trust Between Audiovisual Media Leaders and the Government
8. Ana Cabria Mellace, who moved to Caracas and continues to be an international consultant for The Carter Center and the manager of the peace program; Gachi Tapia and Carmen McCormack, who gave the initial training workshops and seminars
9. Annex 6 – Table of Negotiation and Accords – Full Text
10. The general coordinator was Ana Cabria Mellace, Mireya Lozada directed team activities, Nestor Alfonso Santamaría was in charge of networking, Victor Hugo Febres worked with the media, and Gabrielle Guerón was responsible for training.
11. Annex 7 – Description and Report of the Training Plan: Cascade Method
12. Annex 8 – Public Statement: International Day of Peace, September 21, 2003
13. Annex 9 – Search for Common Ground: The Role of the Media in Conflict Situations
14. Parliamentarians Nicolás Maduro and Desirée Santos Amaral for the government, and political leaders Timoteo Zambrano and Asdrúbal Aguiar for the opposition *Coordinadora Democrática*.
15. Annex 10 – Records of the Liaison first meeting and July 16 and 17 press releases
16. Annex 11 – Press Statement: The Carter Center, August 30, 2003
17. Annex 12 – Press Statement: The Carter Center, November 12, 2003
18. Annex 13 – Aquí Cabemos Todos, October 26, 2003
19. Annex 14 – Agenda of symposium “Reflections on Peace”
20. Annex 15 – Press Statements: The Carter Center and OAS. February 13, 2004; February 24, 2004; March 2, 2004
21. Annex 16 – Letter from Gaviria and Carter to the CNE
22. Annex 17 – Paz en Movimiento recommendations regarding tension
23. Annex 18 – Paz en Movimiento. Our Major Challenge: Building Peace
24. Annex 19 – Aquí Cabemos Todos II, February 18, 2004
25. Annex 20 – Aquí Cabemos Todos III, March 10, 2004
26. Annex 21 – Invitation to Peace Journalism Workshop
27. Annex 22 – Press Statement: The Carter Center and OAS. April 15, 2004; April 29, 2004
28. Annex 23 – Press Statement: The Carter Center and OAS, June 4, 2004
29. Annex 24 – Aquí Cabemos Todos IV, May, 2004 - The *Reparos*
30. Annex 25 – Aquí Cabemos Todos V, May 26, 2004
31. Annex 26 – Aquí Cabemos Todos Meeting, April 23, 2004
32. Annex 27 – Paz en Movimiento Meeting Agenda, April 24-25, 2004
33. Annex 28 – Sharing Experiences: Facilitators in Community Conflicts, May 8, 2004
34. Annex 29 – Invitation to the Carter Center
35. Words of a politician from the government sector.
36. Annex 30 – (Government and the Media) Points of Consensus in Support of a Transparent and Balanced Campaign
37. Annex 31 – One of the many MMG confidential reports
38. Annex 32 – “Coverage of Electoral Processes” Meeting
39. Annex 33 – Aquí Cabemos Todos VI, August 13, 2004
40. Besides the professionals mentioned in Note 10 of this report, Maria Emilia López and mediator and educator Zahir Marrero came on board as well as volunteers Patricia Clarembaux and Paulimar Rodriguez.
41. The participants in the program have pledged to conduct short workshops to multiply their learning experience. As a result, 92 workshops have already been held for 3,250 participants, including teachers, primary and secondary school and university students, school employees and workers, parents and representatives.
42. Annex 34 – Peer Mediation Program: Teaching Peace
43. Annex 35 – Detailed description of activities 2002-2005
44. Annex 36 – Aquí Cabemos Todos Dialogue Working Paper



## THE CARTER CENTER AND THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN VENEZUELA JUNE 2002 – FEBRUARY 2005

### THE CARTER CENTER AT A GLANCE

**Overview:** The Carter Center was founded in 1982 by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, in partnership with Emory University, to advance peace and health worldwide. A nongovernmental organization, the Center has helped to improve life for people in more than 65 countries by resolving conflicts; advancing democracy, human rights, and economic opportunity; preventing diseases; improving mental health care; and teaching farmers to increase crop production.

**Accomplishments:** The Center has observed 53 elections in 24 countries, helped farmers double or triple grain production in 15 African countries, mediated or worked to prevent civil and international conflicts worldwide, intervened to prevent unnecessary diseases in Latin America and Africa, and strived to diminish the stigma against mental illnesses.

**Budget:** \$38 million 2003-2004 operating budget.

**Donations:** The Center is a 501(c)(3) charitable organization, financed by private donations from individuals, foundations, corporations, and international development assistance agencies. Contributions by U.S. citizens and companies are tax-deductible as allowed by law.

**Facilities:** The nondenominational Cecil B. Day Chapel and other facilities are available for weddings, corporate retreats and meetings, and other special events. For information, (404) 420-5112.

**Location:** In a 35-acre park, about 1.5 miles east of downtown Atlanta. The Jimmy Carter Library and Museum, which adjoins the Center, is owned and operated by the National Archives and Records Administration and is open to the public. (404) 865-7101.

**Staff:** 150 employees, based primarily in Atlanta.



PHOTO: MARTIN FRANK



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