

Policies for an integrated continent

Reports from the task forces organized at the 'Meeting Toward a Second Amphictyonic Congress' in Panama, Aug. 8-12.

We quote here from the most notable of the reports delivered back to the plenary sessions of the Panama meeting, following sessions of the working groups on Aug. 9 and 10. Each major heading refers to a particular commission which delivered the report.

Economic sovereignty, integration, and foreign debt

Considering that:

1) The defense of the economic sovereignty and integration of the Latin American continent and the Caribbean has become an urgent and unpostponable necessity to confront the threats made against them by the international financial oligarchy and its local representatives, who exercise new forms of colonial domination through innumerable mechanisms centered on the manipulation of the foreign debt.

2) Our countries' foreign debt is an ominous manifestation of neo-colonial relations, through the subtle methods of financial speculation and the unpunished exercise of international usury, which is no less brutal or criminal than domination by [use of] arms.

3) The foreign debt, the cause of the anguish and impoverishment of millions of human beings, is . . . the detonator of the long-postponed integration of our peoples, paving the way for the establishment of a New International Order.

4) Debt service grows more rapidly than our ability to pay, and rather than diminishing the level of indebtedness, increases it. . . . The major portion of that debt is illegitimate in origin, while two-thirds of the total, voluminous in size, arises from financial speculation.

5) Due to the servicing of the debt, the debtor nations of our region have become net exporters of capital. . . .

6) The financial institutions of the postwar period, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, have become instruments of the international banks and usurious interests; [they are] true gendarmes for imposing economic policies contrary to our national interests and independent development.

7) These policies have subverted the economic development of Latin American and Caribbean nations, through the brutal austerity of the public budget, the imposition of usurious national and international interest rates, the fall in raw materials prices, monetary devaluation, capital flight, restrictions on capital destined for production, and wage freezes, thus provoking a profound economic depression and greater dependency and domination.

8) The austerity policies imposed, and the economic depression they have generated, have brought with them unemployment and the desperation of millions of human beings, decapitalization, the dismantling of strategic sectors, privatization of para-state companies, reduction of production of food and other goods which are essential for the maintenance of our population.

9) Latin America and the Caribbean make up a portion of our planet in which hunger predominates. In effect, the real food shortages confront us with yet a greater danger: They expose a population at the limits of its physical survival, thus placing at grave risk the very existence of nations. With only 8% of the world's population, and with 15% of the world's territory, the area our nations occupy is underpopulated.

10) Development will be the name of peace on our continent and in the world, but only to the degree to which we rescue the principles which inspired our civilization and the founders of our Republic. . . . We must recognize the unequivocal fact that we have the potential for the most complete complementarity and economic self-sufficiency.

11) Creditors, far from seeking a humane solution respectful toward the debtors, use the foreign debt as an instrument of subjugation which is an offense against the dignity and sovereignty of all nations. Given that bilateral efforts have been fruitless and counterproductive, to emerge from this situation,

This Commission concludes that:

1) . . . From a political standpoint, it is essential to preserve integrity and independence, as well as to promote the development of peoples. The debt must be subordinate to this cardinal objective.

To guarantee the firmness of this position, the nations of

Latin America, the Caribbean, and of the entire Third World, must establish a joint negotiating strategy vis-à-vis the creditors.

2) . . . Without the democratic participation of peoples, directly or through their representative organizations, governments will not confront the international banks, nor will they be able to change the privileges of those elites bound to foreign interests.

3) There is unanimous rejection of the interventions by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Paris Club and other financial institutions, as well as of their neo-liberal economic recipes, including proposals for capitalization of interests.

4) Reject the privatization of companies, service entities and other state agencies, as well as the conversion of debt by territorial areas which primarily involve those in which renewable natural wealth is concentrated. . . .

5) Recommend to the Latin American and Caribbean governments that they audit the debt of their respective countries, and suspend payment, until creditors accept formulas based on the following guidelines:

a) Limit payment to a defined percentage of the amount of each country's export income, making debt payment compatible with growth policies.

b) Reduce [debt] to levels in accordance with development.

c) Establish economic relations in the context of a new Just Economic Order.

6) Promote integration . . . on the basis of:

a) Rejection of economic policies based on financial speculation, promoting programs which have at their center, production and labor.

b) Financial reorganization of each country and the creation of regional financial and development institutions.

c) Creation of a common market, in view of the complementarity of nations and regional self-sufficiency, as well as strengthening [institutions] already existing.

d) Getting under way infrastructural projects for physical communication and integration, as well as for the integration of scientific and technological efforts.

e) Rejecting malthusian demographic control policies which the Club of Rome and transnationals impose on our nations.

Security, defense and armed forces in Latin America and the Caribbean

The traditional conception of regional and integral collective security is based on premises which today are obsolete. The Inter-American security system has gone out of commission. The Malvinas War, the open discrepancies about how to handle the Central American conflict, economic tensions between the United States and Latin America, the ob-

solescence of South American geopolitical balance scenarios, and, on the other hand, extreme poverty and marginality, foreign debts, narcotics traffic, foreign troop presences in Latin America and the Caribbean and the persistence of colonial enclaves have radically modified the original concept of security.

This situation is in addition to a generalized questioning in Latin America and the Caribbean of the Inter-American Security system, concretized in TIAR [Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty]. This is clearly the case after the Malvinas War, the Grenada Invasion, the Central American crisis, and the Panama situation.

The creation of [our] own security system should not be centered on an exclusively military hemispheric conception, but mainly deal with political, economic and social aspects. Its strategic focus should be oriented toward neutralizing external aggressions.

From this situation is deduced the utility of annulling the Reciprocal Assistance Treaty, since its application today has no justification for Latin America and the Caribbean in the face of an eventual threat from outside the continent.

The foundation should be laid for a new conception of security and defense for Latin America and the Caribbean to guarantee its self-determination and non-intervention in the area's internal affairs; and to avoid having social changes in the region being considered as phenomena of political instability and potential threats to the region's strategic and security interests.

There must be established a mechanism for collective economic security for rapid adoption of common defense and response measures to confront measures whose goal is to sanction, coerce or pressure a Latin American or Caribbean country. SELA [Latin American Economic System] is viewed as the proper agency for this. We thus reject the economic pressures against the Republic of Panama.

In relation with the regional reality, it is seen that: ● The real national enemies of our peoples are social injustice and foreign oppression in political, economic, social, and military fields; ● there is a gap between the social community and the military layer in the majority of Latin American countries; and, ● the questioning of national security doctrines is evident.

For those reasons, it is deemed useful to create a Latin American and Caribbean consultative organ as a permanent mechanism of political harmonizing. It is considered that the "Group of Eight" should open the way for setting up [our] own political system. Consequently, we demand that its members immediately reincorporate Panama into that body.

The military complement of this political system in the realm of Latin American and Caribbean security and defense should be a regional-level General Staff, a defense college at the same level, strengthened with periodic meetings of the general commanders of the armed forces of the area's countries.

We reject and condemn all the types of aggression and

threats of military intervention [being made] against Panama. Also, the constant violations of the 1977 Torrijos-Carter Panama Canal Treaties, and we condemn the United States' pretensions to disavow said treaties.

Reservations

The Argentine delegation makes a reservation on the concept of annulling TIAR, but supports its revision.

The Costa Rican delegation, taking into account the particularity of its history, and given the declarations expressed by this document, states: 1) That in our country the army was proscribed as a permanent institution and that currently our principal weapon consists of not having any. 2) We recognize and value the role of the armed forces of those countries which have known how to place themselves side by side with their peoples in fighting to defend sovereignty and socio-economic development. 3) We call for those armed forces which are on their peoples' side to maintain a position of respect for human rights and to obey the recommendations contained in this document.

Integration commission of the Latin American labor movement

"Either all of us save Latin America, or no one will save her."

This commission, on behalf of the integration of all Latin America's workers for the amphictyony dreamed of by Bolívar and the other forefathers of our subcontinent:

Given the profound crisis affecting all of Latin America, caused by the failure of the models imposed by the imperialist powers in alliance with anti-national sectors, and especially the neo-liberal, pro-IMF and privatizing policy promoted by these groups;

Given that this critical situation has grievously abused, especially, the Latin American working class, causing an across-the-board deterioration of living standards, and unemployment and underemployment that is growing terribly, propagating misery and death;

Given that this situation constitutes an affront to the political and social integrity of all of our nations;

Given the criminal and abusive aggression of the United States of America against the political and economic integrity of Panama and Nicaragua;

This commission resolves:

To reject the aggression to which the sovereign republics of Panama, Nicaragua, and Argentina, in its Malvinas Islands, were and continue to be subjected;

To reject the economic aggression which all of Latin American is suffering;

To hail the process of unity that the Chilean labor movement is undergoing at this time.

We declare the formal constitution of a planning committee, which will be in charge of coordinating all the efforts

The roll call of parliamentarians

The following Ibero-American national and state-level congressmen and senators attended the proceedings of the Meeting Toward a Second Amphictyonic Congress of Panama.

Peru

Rep. Norman Arellano Lozano; Rep. Wilber Ben-
dezú; Rep. Bernardino Céspedes; Sen. Carlos Melgar;
Sen. Jasmell Muñoz; Rep. Carlos Rivas Dávila; Rep.
Juan Valdivia Romero.

Dominican Republic

Rep. Ambriori Díaz Estrella.

Argentina

Rep. Raúl Drueta; Rep. Eduardo Ferreira; Rep.
Ramón Francisco Jiménez; Rep. Gastón Ortiz Maldon-
ado; Rep. Daniel Angel Zavatela.

Uruguay

Rep. Marino Irazoqui.

Brazil

Rep. Ruy Germano Nedel; Rep. Irajá Rodrigues;
Rep. Luiz Salomão.

Mexico

Rep. Cecilia Soto de Estévez; Rep. Martín Tavira.

toward a meeting of all Latin American workers organiza-
tions, for the concretization of an Association of Latin Amer-
ican Workers.

In this context, we will hold a series of meetings in the
republics of Peru and Argentina. In the Republic of Peru, as
a form of solidarity with our Chilean brothers, in rejection of
the current repressive regime. And in the Republic of Argen-
tina, to consolidate and revise the work of the planning com-
mittee toward the formation of the Association of Latin
American Workers.

Toward these ends, we invite all Latin American workers
to the aforementioned meetings.

We declare that this call to unity of Latin America's
workers includes all exploited and marginalized sectors, or-
ganized and unorganized, employed, underemployed, and
unemployed, rural and urban, who make up the real working
class of Latin America's social formation.



Carlos Martínez

Conference delegates at a wreath-laying ceremony at the tomb of the late General Omar Torrijos. Violations of the treaties Torrijos made with the United States were harshly condemned by the military commission at the meeting in Panama, which proposed annulling the Reciprocal Assistance Treaty.

This new Association of Latin American Workers which we seek to reactivate on the basis of novel ideas, proposes as its programmatic foundation to work on three essential points:

Social justice; political sovereignty; and economic independence.

To achieve these, we view as necessary respect for ideological and independent pluralism, and the achievement of a permanent solidarity of militant classes.

This unity of the working class to which we aspire, we view as an element both integral and proper to the Bolivarian spirit and longings that will make possible the successful realization of the Second Latin American Amphictyonic Congress.

The fight against the drug trade as a factor of integration

Introduction

We, the members of the commission who analyzed the problem of the drug trade within the framework of the Meeting Toward a Second Amphictyonic Congress of Panama, who are convinced that man is made in the image and likeness of God and that, therefore, he possesses such inalienable rights as the right to life, to dignity, to work, to freedom, to equality and, in sum, to all the universal and transcendental principles for which our forefathers fought—rights that are guaranteed under democratic systems and within the principles of self-determination of peoples—condemn the drug trade as a tool of alienation, domination, slavery, disintegration of individuals, societies and nationals; therefore, we assume the responsibility for constructing in this “continent

of hope” the vanguard center of the fight against the drug trade and against narco-terrorism.

Evaluation

. . . Latin American problems derived from the drug trade are not the exclusive responsibility of our continent. However, the solution for Latin America lies with Latin America herself.

The drug trade assaults us socially and culturally, since it destroys the intimate structure of the family and of society. It creates negative patterns among consumers, making them lose their view of solidarity and integration with the rest of society. . . . Cultural interchange with the North, primarily, has brought with it the adoption of patterns of conduct of drug assimilation.

Our people have traditionally sought out means of emotional relaxation very different from those which today make up the generational characteristics of drug addiction in North America, such that the cultural aggression we suffer today is enormous. . . .

The drug trade . . . damages the structural basis of the agricultural economies of our peoples, affecting their habits of production and increasing the levels of economic dependency:

The drug trade represents a very efficient tool for the colonization of our nations. Truly, the narco-dollars do not benefit Latin America at all; on the contrary, the drug trade has systematically destroyed the productive sectors of the economy. . . . Further, the illegal money derived from narcotics profits is, together with the foreign debt and flight capital, the primary cause of monetary and financial chaos in Latin America. . . .

There exists the generalized myth that the drug trade

produces foreign exchange that positively contributes to the continent's economy; some even think that without the narco-dollars, the continent could not maintain its financial system. But precisely the opposite is the case. . . . During the past ten years, Latin America has exported nearly one trillion dollars on account of narcotics. That is, one million million dollars, equivalent to 15% of the gross national product of all of Latin America.

However, there is not a single financial indicator to show the "positive" effect of the drug "industry" on any Latin American economy. . . . From 1980 through today, unemployment grew dramatically, in the midst of the drug-trafficking boom. . . . The dismantling of fixed capital gross investment—and of production in general—occurred in the years of the highest income from the drug trade. . . .

Narco-dollars go to swell the pockets of the bankers, to whom we owe the foreign debt. . . . The few narco-dollars which remain, or which return—an estimated 15%—are squandered on real estate, bribery, and other forms of corruption. They are also used to create private armies and terrorist groups that endanger the security and defense of our nations . . . and these fortunes express themselves in the financial and monetary systems as one of the principal causes of inflation, devaluation and flight capital. . . .

The drug trade assaults us politically, since its criminal organization affects the social structures and seeks to claim quotas of political power inside some states and sectors of society, including within the United States itself, through the financing of political campaigns intended to promote drug-linked politicians.

In the international arena, the drug trade presents itself as an element serving the foreign policy designs of the different imperialisms, primarily based on economic looting, on the financing of terrorists and of some guerrilla groups, and in the use of charges of drug trafficking against Latin American countries and leaders, at moments when these raise their voices in defense of their people. . . .

The drug trade today has its consumer market in U.S. society. . . . The participants in this meeting . . . express our deep concern over the drama of drug addiction in the heart of that society. This phenomenon will necessarily produce a generation of physical and, worse yet, spiritual invalids, to the detriment of their own society and to the detriment of societies worldwide. . . . We declare that our fight against the drug trade is both moral and universal and that, therefore, we shall defeat the drug trade not only for the benefit of our peoples but also for the benefit of peoples throughout the entire world.

Latin America is, therefore, not the owner of this criminal enterprise; to know its real owners it is enough to follow the trail of its payoffs, and this is an activity that is carried out in and through the most important world economic centers. . . .

It is no accident that His Holiness John Paul II had said in his last visit to Colombia that:

"Slavery . . . has been abolished throughout the world, but at the same time, newer and more subtle forms of slavery have emerged . . . today, as in the seventeenth century . . . the ambition for money captures the hearts of many persons and turns them through the drug trade into traffickers in the freedom of their brothers, who are enslaved with a slavery more terrible, at times, than that of the black slaves. The slave traders prevent their victims from exercising their freedom, while the drug traffickers lead their victims to the very destruction of the personality itself. . . ."

Conclusion

Based on the foregoing, the members of the commission who analyzed the problem of the drug trade . . . resolved that Latin America should undertake urgent measures.

It is precisely by means of integration that we find the key to successfully confronting the drug trade. The drug trade should be viewed as an enemy which—with a political, military and economic power which, at times, surpasses the power of each of our separate nations—has invaded the continent; therefore, a continental alliance should be immediately forged against this invading enemy. . . .

Through a summit meeting, the Presidents of Latin America should decree and announce a continental alliance against the drug trade.

As a first step, they should detect the fields of marijuana, cocaine, and poppy in all of Latin America, as well as the laboratories and centers of distribution. For this, we could solicit the political and technological—but not military—support of other nations.

In each of our nations, the forces designated by the political power should launch a devastating attack that simultaneously destroys all the cultivation, laboratories and distribution centers of drugs; while at the same time fighting the criminal drug traffickers themselves, achieving as a result the collapse of narcotics supply and producing intelligence information that would permit getting to the real target of the operation: namely, the big shots who finance the trade and launder the dirty money.

As a second step, these financiers and bankers should be judged and jailed on charges of treason to their nations. Their goods should be immediately embargoed, and the resources obtained through this just war should go to establishing a fund that could be called "Rodrigo Lara Bonilla," in honor of the Colombian [justice] minister who gave his life in this war. Such a fund should serve to create a Latin American Common Market and a Latin American Monetary Fund, which would give us independence from the IMF and from other financial multinationals; it would serve to finance great integration projects, such as the continental railroad, river integration, and other infrastructure and energy projects to generate employment and well-being, while substituting in this way the cultivation of poison with works that create employment and real wealth, and providing the peasants victimized by drug cultivation with a cooperative agricultural program

Argentine presidential hopeful salutes meeting

Carlos Saúl Menem, the candidate of the Justicialist (Peronist) Party for President of Argentina in next year's elections, sent this message to the conference in Panama:

Dear comrades:

On the occasion of such a great event, and taking advantage of the journey of Peronist comrades who will participate in the same, I wanted to be present and together with you, at least through these lines.

I have asked my comrade Héctor Flores, Esq. to represent me personally, in my capacity as candidate of the Justicialist Party for President of the nation, and to be the bearer of a fraternal embrace to all of you and to the noble and courageous Panamanian people.

I wish to confirm my pledge, that next year when I assume the highest office by the mandate of my people, I shall continue working together with all my Latin American brethren for the definitive union of our peoples. Implementing with fidelity and humility the historical mandate of Bolívar, of San Martín, of Rosas, of Perón, and of Torrijos.

Wishing you full success in the culmination of your work, I am with you spiritually, reiterating my confidence that the year 2000 shall find us definitively united and not under domination.

Fraternally,

Carlos Saúl Menem

to provide each of our nations with long-awaited food self-sufficiency.

In the second place, we propose the creation of an international court to deal with the issue of drug trafficking, or the creation of a special commission charged with the matter of the drug trade, to be included at the High Court of Justice at The Hague. The Hague, being a prestigious international institution, will be called upon to hear the complaints of accusing nations . . . for the purpose of defending our peoples and the peoples of the world from the scheme of hegemonic domination that uses the drug trade as an element of foreign policy, as we described earlier.

In the third place, we encourage meetings of Latin American legislators to lead to energetic actions in regard to the fight against the drug trade and the prevention and rehabilitation of drug dependency. This should include the interchange of different legislation on the matter and should lead

to the unification of legal concepts that will enable the frontal war against the drug trade to prosper.

In the fourth place, we propose that mechanisms of control be set up to prevent the laundering of money, flight capital, and the distortion of the economy that is caused by . . . the narco-dollars in the financial system of our countries. . . .

In the sixth place, in defense of our peoples, Latin America should create means of protecting itself from cultural penetration, by basing itself on the principles of family, of beauty, and of love, in counterposition to the hedonism of the rock counterculture, of pornography, drugs and the satanic sects.

Finally, we call upon Latin America's political leadership to deeply consider the fact that the drug trade . . . is intimately linked to other scourges, such as the foreign debt, poverty, and underdevelopment, and therefore, we will never be able to resolve these latter problems without defeating the former. All of this will help toward the creation of a new international economic order.

In sum, we maintain that there can be no compatibility between the drug trade and democracy, between the drug trade and sovereignty, between the drug trade and the *Patria Grande*.

Science and technology for integration

The path to greater degrees of political and economic independence for a united Latin America has as one of its principal components the self-sustaining development of our own scientific-technological capacities.

The current state of disintegration of the scientific and technological efforts of the continent prove that the institutions charged with regional coordination have shown poor efficiency in structuring a successful program of Latin American scientific collaboration.

Therefore, the delegates meeting in the Commission of Science and Technology for Integration, recommend the adoption of the following points:

1) To emphasize the importance of scientific and technological development within respective national projects, an emphasis that should manifest itself in larger government budgets in the areas of science, technological, and higher education.

2) To promote the creation of a "Latin American Forum of Science and Technology," made up of governmental and non-governmental agencies, to permit the widest possible discussion and consultation for the purpose of orienting the respective national science and technology programs toward joint and complementary development.

Said forum will serve as a means of exchanging information on technology supply and demand and on the state of the principal research and development projects on the con-



Carlos Martínez

A view of the auditorium during a plenary session. These delegates laid the groundwork for the realization of the century-old dream of the "Patria Grande"—the Greater Fatherland of an Ibero-American and Caribbean community of sovereign, fraternal nation-states.

tinents; which would also assist in the establishment of multinational or regional programs in the basic sciences, in research and development, and in training of human resources.

3) To identify, concretely, great research and development projects which, by their importance in solving the great challenges of developing the continent, become promoters of integration, as exemplified in the following cases:

a) In the area of information and communications, it is essential to have a project of Latin American telecommunications and systems of information, whose establishment assures direct and efficient contact among our peoples.

b) In the area of health, projects and working groups should be formed which have as their goal arriving at the next century free of the scourges of underdevelopment, such as malaria, Chagas' disease, tuberculosis, and gastrointestinal illness, and preparedness to combat such new threats to public health as AIDS.

c) In the area of energy, the creation of interdisciplinary research groups should be promoted, whose goal is developing the areas of energy production that with all likelihood will dominate the scientific-technological spectrum over the course of the next century; such is the case for nuclear fusion energy, superconductivity, and other advanced forms of energy generation.

4) In particular, the creation of a Latin American Commission of Atomic Energy is recommended, to orient and integrate efforts in nuclear matters. Thus will Latin America be able to rely on having the complete nuclear combustion cycle, and various nations both great and small will participate in a complementary way in this effort, and will enjoy its benefits not only in the field of nuclear electricity generation, but also from the entire range of technological applications

that nuclear energy has on the fields of education, health, agriculture, food production, etc.

5) The case of the pharmaceutical industry in Latin America was especially addressed. The urgent need to achieve self-sufficiency in this area became painfully evident in the Malvinas War, and the threat of blocking shipments of pharmaceutical products from abroad is raised each time one of our countries expresses disagreement with the economic policies of the centers of economic power.

Therefore, this commission recommended continuation of the standing policy of excluding patents on products intended for human, animal, and vegetable health, such that this protection of markets assures an abundant and cheap production of pharmaceuticals. This effort should be complemented by developing multiple initiatives to assure in the medium term the existence of our own industrial and technological base in this field. This implies supporting the current projects of Latin American pharmaceutical multinational companies, as well as the promotion of regional centers of research and development, the training of human resources, and establishment of mechanisms for unifying norms, systems of production and quality control. At the same time, we must consider the creation of an oversight committee on medicines and toxins.

The technological development of Latin America requires the strengthening of national markets within the framework of regional integration, which leads to the greater interdependence of our economies.

Finally, we commit our greatest efforts to disseminating the results of this meeting among the Latin American scientific community, to expand the noble task launched here to achieve a Latin American *Patria Grande*.