

First Ibero-American Summit Meeting

The debates and conclusions that arose from the Guadalajara Summit meeting were numerous, fueled by a world in the throes of technological revolution, governed by the globalization of the economy, gathered into or divided by regional blocs, having left behind the Cold War, and at a time when the Latin American countries are immersed in the most serious economic and social crisis in their history.

The most outstanding were the questions expressed by all the heads of state present at the event: What is the place of the Latin American and Iberian nations? Is it possible to achieve a favorable insertion that works in the region's interests? Should insertion come only as a result of decisions made by the highly developed countries of the North? What conditions guarantee Latin America's economic and social recovery?

These issues were sounded in the speeches of all 23 heads of state and government on the first day of the Ibero-American Summit. All of them, both together and individually, stated that increased cooperation, continental solidarity, Ibero-American unity and integration were the cornerstones in the development of the area. Each of them referred to the cultural, historical and linguistic

The Guadalajara Summit, held in Mexico on the 18th and 19th of July, was an opportunity for Ibero-America to strengthen its ties toward integration and cooperation and, at the same time, an ideal mechanism for orienting the region toward its joint insertion into the international community. In order to have a reference and consultation center on the present situation and perspectives of the Ibero-American nations, an Ibero-American Library was set up in Guadalajara, to be known as the Octavio Paz Library in honor of his vast and extraordinary work, which includes having been awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature.

community and to the interests of our nations in a constantly changing world.

Prior to the meeting, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari received messages from the presidents of the Soviet Union and the United States, Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush, and others, expressing their hopes that the First Ibero-American Summit

meeting would be a success, in view of its possible contributions to the global processes of integration, democratization and fair cooperation. The developed countries will, from now on, no doubt pay more careful attention to the transformations that are going on in the Ibero-American nations.

Official guests and participants

The first Ibero-American Summit meeting was held at a timely moment and conducted in a serious and dedicated manner. It was characterized by its cordiality and also by the enormous deployment of security forces to protect the participants. The heads of state and government of the following countries were officially invited:

Argentina*Carlos Saúl Menem***Bolivia***Jaime Paz Zamora***Brazil***Fernando Collor de Mello***Chile***Patricio Aylwin***Colombia***César Gaviria***Costa Rica***Rafael Angel Calderón Fournier***Cuba***Fidel Castro Ruz***Ecuador***Rodrigo Borja***El Salvador***Alfredo Cristiani***Guatemala***Jorge Serrano Elías***Honduras***Rafael Leonardo Callejas***Mexico***Carlos Salinas de Gortari***Nicaragua***Violeta Chamorro***Panama***Guillermo Endara***Paraguay***Andrés Rodríguez***Peru***Alberto Fujimori***Portugal***Mario Soares**Aníbal Cavaco Silva***Spain***King Juan Carlos**Felipe González Márquez***The Dominican Republic***Joaquín Balaguer***Uruguay***Luis Alberto Lacalle***Venezuela***Carlos Andrés Pérez*

Conspicuously absent from this Ibero-American forum were Puerto Rico, Haiti and Jamaica which, although invited to attend, did not take part officially. Puerto Rico has the status of a commonwealth freely associated with the United States which prevents it from having an independent foreign policy. The large Caribbean states of Haiti and Jamaica were absent too because they are not, strictly speaking, Ibero-American nations; that is to say nations that were colonized by Spain or Portugal.

recognizing what we are and evaluating what our future is to be.

"Riches and vast natural resources no longer determine the positions of nations. Nor is military power linked, as it once was, to progress in trade, finance and technology. The lesson of our time has been that of joining forces in order to create competitiveness, and that, we know, is never a fixed thing for any nation. It is forged by cultivating talents and encouraging social creativity, and it is consolidated in association, not in solitude."



A united Ibero-America at the Clementina Chapel.

Speeches Mexico

The first Ibero-American Summit meeting was opened by the head of the host country. In the Clementina Chapel at the Cabañas Cultural Institute, the President of Mexico, Carlos Salinas de Gortari said, "On behalf of all Mexicans and their government, I welcome you to Mexico, an Ibero-American land. Today our spiritual affinity finds a new expression in this summit meeting which is, at the same time, the beginning of opportunities for facing a world in the process of transformation. We seek to improve our circumstances and we believe that, together, we have better possibilities of achieving this. Perhaps this vast space, product of the will of each and every one of you, points out the new path for

Continuing his message, Salinas said that in these times of change, there exist well known risks: uncertainty in the world, the scarcity of capital, the link between poverty and deterioration of the environment, the threat posed by the drug traffic for the security of states and, above all, the power and influence of other regions in this post-Cold War period which might relegate our own region to a secondary strategic plane. Galloping demography, an immense challenge, also undermines our efforts, and the additional legacy of recent crises is a deterioration in the quality of what had been built up by earlier generations. We also have certain aims clearly in mind: integration with sovereignty, competitiveness, promoting both justice and equity, assimilating the

influence of the rest of the world into our culture and thereby strengthening its individuality.

"The Ibero-American region has some general tendencies, whatever the ideological origins of its governments may be: its economies are opening up, the state is being reformed, politics is being democratized, justice is being demanded explicitly, private investment is being encouraged, we are integrating both among ourselves and with the rest of the world, and the production sectors are being modernized.

"The real transformations –those in our minds– take time, and we have to give them time. Within the region, politics is the only tool for building the consensus that merits our efforts and give change the opportunity to demonstrate its benefits. The continent's drive for democracy will also be inward-facing, with tolerance and respect for sub-regional linkages that must take place between economic areas, to open up Europe to the Latin Americans and Latin America to Europe.

"The new agreements in the southern part of the continent, in Central America, and Mexico's with its northern neighbors, are of enormous significance for our future. These are not centrifugal forces that go against the unity we yearn for. We should welcome these new agreements that seek to put our capacities together, not to isolate them, and we

should welcome dialogue such as we have today, on what we have in common, so we may then take advantage of what makes us different."

In his speech of welcome, Salinas urged the participants at the Ibero-American Summit meeting to improve their communication, to set up Ibero-American forums that are free of red-tape, to weave the network of integration which is also internationalization so as, finally, to increase the number of political bridges we have in common and help us in our transition to the 21st century.

In conclusion, the Mexican president emphasized that: "Few regions in the world are as sure of their identity as ours is. We already have the strength to take off. In Ibero-America, nation and culture coincide; as the writer Carlos Fuentes tells us, we are a culture that predates nature and the problems of the world. Our culture is already universal: suffice it to imagine the world without our presence –it would be exceedingly poorer; without us it would lose versatility and viability. We are not just something added on to the world, but a fundamental part of its complex tissue, and we can help to make it a better place for our peoples and for all nations."

The speeches given at the first Ibero-American Summit were strictly by Spanish alphabetical order. We shall therefore stick to the order adopted at the meeting.

Argentina

The President of Argentina, Carlos Saúl Menem, said he welcomed President Bush's Initiative for the Americas, to make the continent into a large integrated commercial and industrial area, as long as the benefits are shared equally by all the countries participating in it.

During his seven-minute speech (the maximum time allotted to each speaker), Menem indicated that Ibero-American unity should not perpetuate poverty, backwardness and marginalization, but rather banish the false sovereignty of hunger, isolation and anachronism, thereby elevating the sovereignty of common development.

At present, he said, our capacity for doing, creating, living together, of being ourselves, without dissimulation, without absurd styles or inferiority complexes, is being put to the test. Therefore, he called on Ibero-Americans to have a look at themselves in the world's mirror, without losing sight of their own identity.

Bolivia

Jaime Paz Zamora, Bolivian head of state, proposed a fivepoint plan for the nations invited to the Summit:

1. To reverse the historical technological defeat that the region has suffered ever since 1492, creating conditions for and rights to health, education and housing



One big Ibero-American family.

2. To bring about a historic ecological respite, in order to preserve natural resources
3. To free markets in order to combat economic marginalization
4. To set up an Ibero-American fund for the development of the native Indian peoples, but without any trace of paternalism
5. To seek suitable systems of communication, consultation and solidarity

The winners, the Bolivian president said, will be those who put their strength at the service of solidarity. He urged that, at the same time, we should turn adversity into a rallying point for supportive convergence.

Brazil

The President of Brazil, Fernando Collor de Mello, stated that we must seek urgent and realistic solutions to the problems stemming from the gap existing between the northern countries and those of the south. Likewise, he said, we must look for a rapprochement between poor countries and rich ones, expressing his concern about the divisions that have arisen between those who have capital and technology and those who have no access to these resources. Finally, Collor de Mello explained the advantages of those who have the opportunities for acquiring knowledge.

Colombia

Among the first bloc of speakers –prior to a 15-minute break that received unanimous approval– the President of Colombia, César Gaviria, alerted the Ibero-American community to the crime that drug trafficking has become, urging those attending the meeting to strengthen coordination between the authorities of the nations affected, so that the victories of some do not, in the medium-term, turn into problems for the others.

In this context, he pointed out that Colombia requires the cooperation of other countries to provide relevant data and evidence that would be of help in prosecuting the heads of the drug trafficking clans.

Costa Rica

The President of Costa Rica, Rafael Angel Calderón Fournier, stated that the enemies of the nations in this area are poverty, underdevelopment, social injustice, red tape, protectionism and violence. The path toward development must necessarily have a human face.

On the subject of ecology, he stressed that to protect the environment and save the planet from ecological catastrophe, it need not matter what our nationalities or ideologies may be. In addition, democracy does not merely mean clean elections; for there to be political freedom, there must be

pluralism, for there to be religious freedom, there must be tolerance.

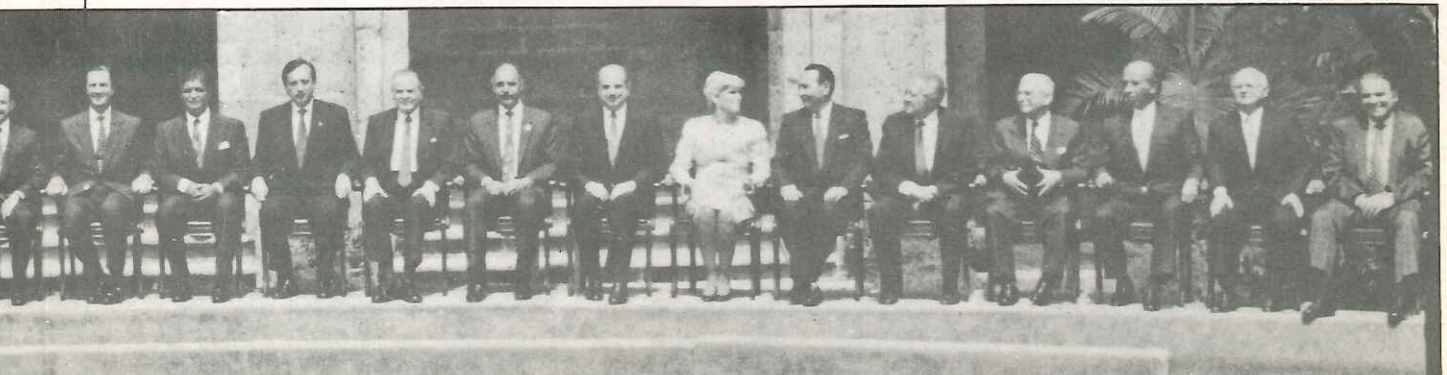
Cuba

The seventh speaker at the meeting, Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the Republic of Cuba's Councils of State and Ministers, stated that for the first time we Latin Americans were getting together without having been invited to do so by other nations, and therefore the meeting was doubly historic. President Salina's invitation and initiative had never been more timely or necessary.

During his speech, Castro Ruz recalled that "for the tenth consecutive year, the economic crisis continues to affect all of our economies; today our per capita product is no higher than what it was 13 years ago; the terms of exchange are 21% worse than at the beginning of the eighties; the external debt continues to be over 400 billion dollars in spite of the fact that in the last eight years the region has transferred 224 billion dollars' worth of resources to the developed world and that inflation has reached unprecedented levels.

A consequence of this situation has been the enormous social and human cost in terms of hunger, illness, illiteracy, slums, tens of thousands of homeless children and almost half the population unemployed, underemployed or suffering from malnutrition.

Later on, after having summarized the differences between



the Latin American nations and those that are part of the First World, Fidel Castro said, "I think that although there are many things that we could discuss here, the essential one -and what gives this meeting its really historic sense- is the decision to unite our strength and our will for the integration and unity of Latin America, not only in the economic, but also in the political field."

Chile

The first civilian President of Chile -after 15 years of dictatorship-, Patricio Aylwin, called for a renovation of the United Nations so that it might accomplish its function of preventing and stopping conflicts, as well as that of defending democracy. He indicated that in Ibero-America it is necessary not only to raise the standard of living, but also to care for its quality; we should add intelligence to our natural products, recommended the Chilean head of state.

Later on, he stated that the nations invited have to achieve a shared development and abandon models that do not respect natural and human ecology. Finally, he stressed the need for Ibero-Americans to draw closer to the European Economic Community.

Ecuador

Rodrigo Borja, president of Ecuador, declared that the development of the southern countries is an indispensable condition for peace and stability in an interdependent world. He likewise demanded a new organization for the international economy that would bring justice, equity and a fairer distribution of wealth to the poorer countries. In his message to the other participants, he denied that the changes in Eastern Europe mean the end of history: "It's just the end of one chapter," he declared. Continuing in

this strain, he emphasized that neither market capitalism nor the socialist system of a directed economy are perfect, and felt that the challenge consists of taking from each of them what is needed for a functioning mixed economy.

El Salvador

Alfredo Cristiani, president of El Salvador, pointed out that it is time to proclaim the spiritual and material worth of Latin America in the world context, and stated that he was in favor of making the great step forward as inter-communicating nations.

Up to now the voice of Latin America has been that of the injured and unsatisfied, he added, and commented that Ibero-Americans must be partners in the great enterprise of common development. In conclusion, Cristiani expressed his confidence in overcoming the tensions in his country through civilized understanding.

Spain

King Juan Carlos of Spain stated that his nation had come to the meeting in a spirit of service and solidarity, to share not only the history, but also the present and future. He called on all to work together with the aim of achieving progress and establishing the principles of democracy, respect for human rights and the development of our peoples.

He stated that the world is heading toward a Europe without frontiers and that, in this context, Spain will continue to open itself up and, especially, its "particular and close" relationship with Ibero-America. "This is a function," King Juan Carlos stressed, "that I have taken on with our constitutional order, and to which I shall devote myself with an authentic vocation."

Immediately afterwards, the Prime Minister of Spain, Felipe González, addressed President Salinas

de Gortari and the other heads of state in the following terms: "America has always been a land of freedom and imagination and, under the shelter of these two words, we have come together -21 Ibero-American nations- in order to take advantage of what unites us and to continue to build better and firmer relations."

Referring to the integration of Latin America, the Spanish prime minister pointed out that the area already has long experience in this matter; examples being the extension of the Río Group, the San José Group, the creation of the Southern Common Market, the recent signing of a Free Trade Agreement between Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela, and the future consolidation of free trade areas as part of the Andean Pact.

Finally, Felipe González told President Salinas that he hoped that Spain might contribute honorably and seriously to the Ibero-American effort, maintaining its firm commitment to democracy, with projects for regional integration and programs of economic viability, in order to make the nineties a decade of peace and prosperity.

Guatemala

Certain speeches were optimistic and loaded with a good deal of mutual interest, while others expressed pessimistic views, such as those of the President of Guatemala, Jorge Serrano Elías. He presented a tragic picture of what his people had suffered, stating that he was the representative of a nation which tyrants, empires, and wars brought about by the East-West conflict had always managed to "divide and rule".

"This confrontation," he explained, "unfortunately used Guatemala as a battlefield, but it could not break us, because in us the invincible Maya always springs up like corn after the storm and replies 'present' when asked to continue the struggle. We have seen that in the

final stage of the Cold War, some have contributed weapons, others money, yet others ideas, while we contributed our very lifeblood and suffered stagnation, poverty and underdevelopment because of it."

Honduras

According to the head of state of Honduras, Rafael Leonardo Callejas, this first Ibero-American Summit represents a historic rendezvous for the great efforts made by Latin Americans. The most outstanding of which is the full awareness of their unity, and the joining together of

Nicaragua

The President of Nicaragua, Violeta Chamorro, called for unity and solidarity since, she said, this is no time for brothers to be making war. On the subject of El Salvador, she commented that it is high time this destructive conflict should come to an end, overcoming the differences through dialogue and negotiation.

On the question of peace, she said that her country brings to the crusade for peace its new-born democracy that arose from the authentic dialogue for national reconciliation and from political and social consensus.

government, nor will it commit electoral fraud.

Paraguay

For his part, the President of Paraguay, Andrés Rodríguez, declared that the Ibero-American countries must work for a fairer international order that favors the developing nations. At the same time, he pointed out that for there to be growth, a larger share in the world market is needed. He went on to call for an end to protectionism as a means of making room for greater equity and balance in international events.

Peru

Alberto Fujimori, head of state of Peru, said that Latin America has always been a peace-loving continent and that now, as such, it will also be the continent of development. He spoke of the external debt and social disruption arising from demographic growth, and the lack of resources for attending to it. Finally, he spoke out against the arms buildup and in favor of social development.

Portugal

According to the President of Portugal, Mario Soares, human energies have started to free themselves and can now mobilize the means that are indispensable for carrying out the tasks of development, which can no longer be put off, in vital areas such as the economy, education, justice, culture, and defense of the environment, so as to correct the serious asymmetries that still plague the nations of Ibero-America.

All of this is possible, he concluded, because pluralism and democracy have been restored in the region, basic freedoms and rights have been reinstalled and disarmament policies have been consolidated



Salinas and Chamorro are looking at a brighter future.

Iberians and Americans who, for the last 500 years, have been forming a nation that possesses its own destiny, nature, and the need -that can no longer be put off- to speak out with sincerity in order to find a common future.

Callejas stressed that, for the first time, there is democracy in the Central American republics, with legitimate governments and the people have a right to elect their own representatives and governments peacefully and authoritatively. Finally, he stated, "We are the ones who govern the destinies of our peoples through our civic strength, a right which we certainly cannot renounce without becoming submissive and subservient."

Panama

"Democracy must provide a positive answer to the problem of poverty and its wake of ignorance and illness. Democracy must provide the material well-being that all the population has a right to, especially the poor and unprotected," stated the President of Panama, Guillermo Endara, during his speech at the first Ibero-American Summit meeting, going on to say that he was going to reform the Panamanian Constitution so as to abolish, for ever, the armed forces and all traces of militarism.

To end his speech, Endara explained that, based on its own positive law, Panama will recognize no regime stemming from a military coup against a legitimately elected

at both the international and the regional level.

The Prime Minister of Portugal, Anibal Cavaco Silva, then declared, "This Summit meeting is being held at a most suitable moment for the reaffirmation of our community, our culture and its values in the international sphere and its evident transformation. It also serves to share experiences and to define political paths to be followed in future relations."

He also stated that, on this occasion, the objectives that now seem likely to be achieved during the nineties are the maintenance of peace and the establishment of a collective security system, respect for international law, an end to regional conflicts, the installation of democratic regimes that respect human rights, economic and social development and a lessening of the differences between North and South. Cavaco Silva attempted to define these goals more precisely and with renewed hope.

The Dominican Republic

Almost at the end of the first working day, the President of the Dominican Republic, Joaquín Balaguer, gave his speech, making a striking impression on the participants because of his frailness. The oldest of the heads of state, the 86-year old Dominican, in a quavering voice, presented an extraordinary overview of Ibero-American history and language, from colonial times to the present day.

Uruguay

Immediately afterwards, Luis Alberto Lacalle, president of Uruguay, expressed the need for the process of integration, which appeals to and dazzles all of us, to be a gradual one, as we have not yet given sufficient thought to how we can avoid falling into the trap of sowing empty dreams once again, when our peoples demand

realities. The process must be a gradual, successive, slow and modulated one, since it is the cornerstone on which to build this heartfelt desire, based on our geographical realities.

The Uruguayan head of state made special mention of drug trafficking, stating that in this struggle it is necessary for each nation and area in the world to assume its respective responsibilities, the greatest of which is the responsibility for consumption - the root cause of this deadly activity. He added that we should recognize the sacrifices made by the countries where the blood of ordinary people, judges, politicians and police, has been shed; not only a verbal recognition, but also in the form of compensation and better prices for their products, so that they may find other activities to which they can devote themselves.

Venezuela

"Integration will cease to be just a favorite topic in speeches. It has now become part of our reality and our great destiny. A new era is being born in Latin America, without paternalism or complexes of subordination. We are becoming our own masters, laying aside resentments and futile quarrels; and thereby, seeking to converge with the First World," said Carlos Andrés Pérez, president of Venezuela, during his speech at the opening session.

He likewise rejected the trivialization of the Latin American identity, because the region knows itself to be an essential part of a new international order. He later pointed out that the CELA, the ALADI, the Southern Common Market and the Andean Pact are the best political expressions of Latin America's desire for integration.

The Guadalajara Declaration

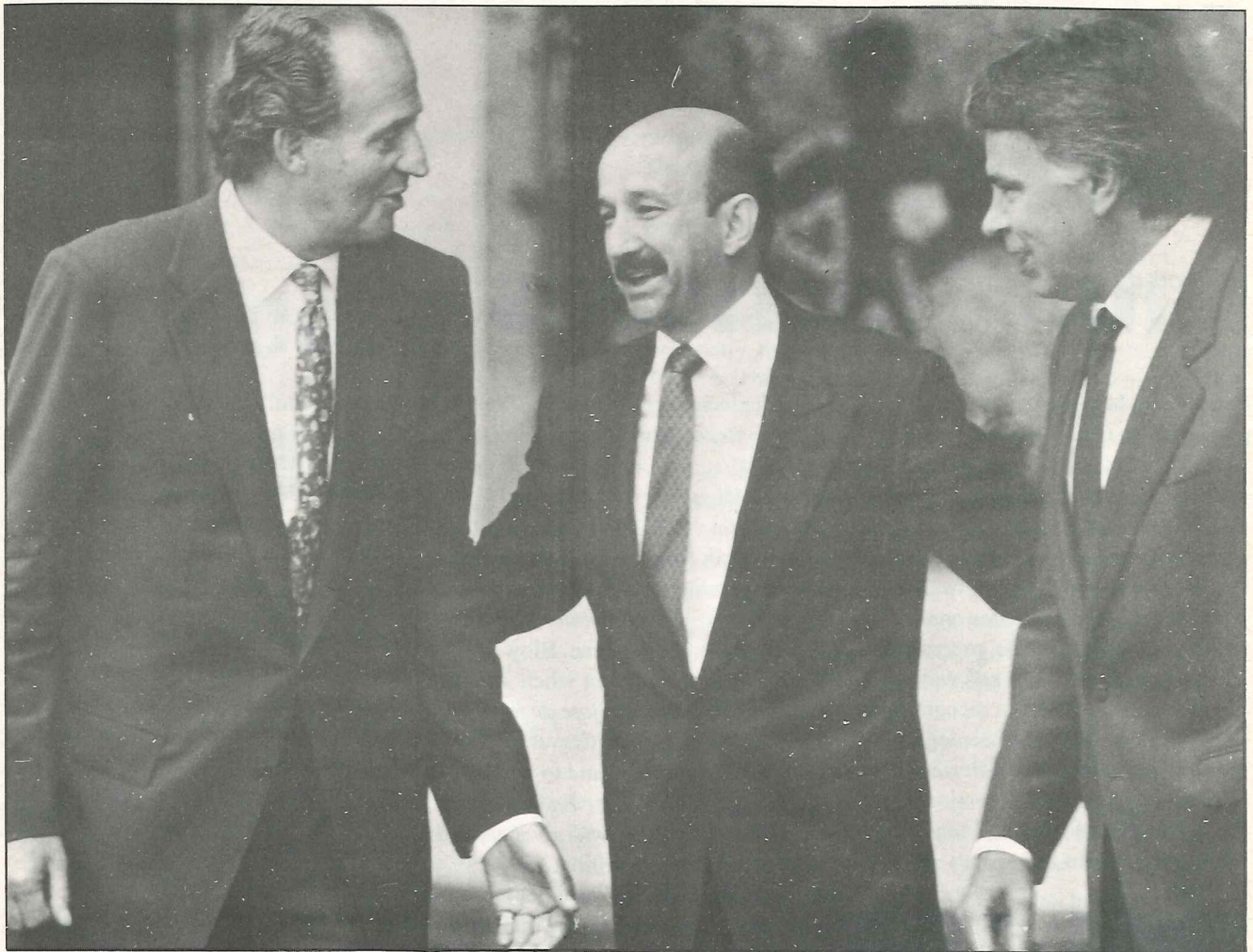
As a result of this first Ibero-American Summit meeting, the 23 participants decided to establish a permanent forum: the Ibero-American Conference of Heads of State and Government, as it is named in the Guadalajara Declaration. The document contained the agreements reached in the areas of trade, democracy and sovereignty, ethnic groups, health, ecology, culture and drugs.

The far-reaching economic readjustment that Latin America is undergoing imposes sacrifices that must cease, or it will not be possible to have true social justice, the declaration affirmed. The heads of state and government made a joint appeal that this effort would bring a response from the international community, and that complementary resources would be forthcoming and protectionism and discrimination in trade eliminated. Furthermore, they committed themselves to foster the right to development and fairer and more equitable international economic relations.

They took the opportunity of pointing out that if the present situation were to persist it might lead to the replacement of ideological bipolarism with a division between the rich North, with its capital and technology, and the poor South, with no prospects.

The aim of this conference was to further a political, economic and cultural process, by which the Iberian nations may achieve together a better and more efficient insertion into the world economy, which is at present in a state of transformation. For this purpose, they fixed the dates and places for their future meetings: 1992, Spain; 1993, Brazil; 1994 Colombia; and 1995, Argentina.

The presidents proposed a strengthening of the multilateral



King Juan Carlos, Carlos Salinas de Gortari and Felipe González.

international trading system, with the aim of guaranteeing an open world economy, helping to move toward the realization of the GATT's Uruguay Round, fully complying with its rules and objectives.

The participants also indicated the need to restructure the multilateral organizations, particularly the United Nations system, so as to achieve a fairer and more democratic international order that would guarantee peace and promote the well-being of nations.

Another point of agreement reached by consensus was that of trying to reinforce democracy and pluralism in international relations, with full respect for the sovereignty,

territorial integrity and political independence of all states, and the equality and self-determination of their peoples.

As an immediate action, they set up an Ibero-American fund, with the support of international organizations, for the development of native Indian peoples. The fund will seek a favorable solution to the problems of the different ethnic groups, but not in the sense of "Indian reserves" or paternalistic compensations.

In addition, President Salinas proposed the candidacy of Carlos Solchaga, Spanish Minister of Finance, for the post of chairman of the International Monetary Fund's

Interim Committee, which has never been held by an Ibero-American.

A long list of agreements is contained in the 10-page Guadalajara Declaration. However, special emphasis was placed on the need for full respect for human rights. The document contains 24 points of agreement in its first part, which is in fact a summary of the proposals and speeches. There are 8 subsections on the subject of the enforcement of international law; 14 on economic and social development and 6 on education **M**

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