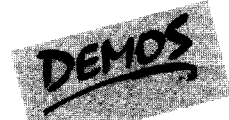


Report on democratic principles and governance

Governing globalization



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The policy of inclusion:
changing over to shared responsibility

Regional Summit for Political Development and Democratic Principles
Brasilia, July 1997



**CUMBRE REGIONAL
PARA EL DESARROLLO
POLÍTICO Y
LOS PRINCIPIOS
DEMOCRATICOS**

**CUPULA REGIONAL
PARA O
DESENVOLVIMENTO
POLITICO
E OS PRINCIPIOS
DEMOCRATICOS**



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DEMOS

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EDITORIAL NOTICE

With the purpose in mind of achieving an adequate presentation for this format, we have suppressed all bibliographical references from the documents published herein. In general, we have preferred to publish the written work that the authors submitted to the REGIONAL SUMMIT FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. We selected the oral transcription of presentations in some cases when these appeared to be more pertinent than the written.

We have included summaries of the debates held during the Regional Summit. We have only recorded the points of view of those who opened the debates at the meeting, both in the magistral lectures as well as in the conferences, and the respective comments of each of the five commissions held in Brasilia. We will soon publish all of the documents as well as the transcripts of each commission and a verbatim edition of the debates. Included is the Declaration of the Summit: *The Brasilia Consensus*, as well as the Report of the General Coordinator of DEMOS, submitted at the REGIONAL SUMMIT FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

The final version of all texts is the responsibility of the editors, this in keeping with our wish to make the summarized edition available to readers as soon as possible.

INTRODUCTION 11

Magistral Lectures

Governance and Democracy:
Contemporary Challenges
Fernando Henrique Cardoso 17

Culture and Identity
Rigoberta Menchú Túm 31

Human Rights, Culture and Democratic Ethics
Asdrúbal Aguiar 39

A Culture of Peace, Democratic Principles and New Policy
Federico Mayor Zaragoza 49

Report on Democratic Principles and Governance

Governing Globalization
The General Coordinator 69

Commission 1 Globalization and Development 93

President
Rodrigo Carazo Odio

Narrator
Carlos Franco Cortez

Globalization Without Exclusion: Ideas for
a New Modernity in Latin America
Cristovam Buarque 95

Globalization: The Reality and the Myth
Aldo Ferrer 113

Commission 2	Diversity, Integration and Social Order	127
	President	
	<i>Ruth Cardoso</i>	
	Narrator	
	<i>Gonzalo Abad</i>	
	Governance, Democracy and Poverty	
	<i>Oswaldo Hurtado</i>	129
	Drafting a Latin American Agenda	
	<i>Carlos Amat y León</i>	147
Commission 3	Ethics and Politics	153
	President	
	<i>Anaisabel Prera Flores</i>	
	Narrator	
	<i>Carlos Tünnermann</i>	
	Ethical Challenges to Latin American Politics	
	<i>Patricio Aylwin</i>	155
	Where Will the Poor Sleep?	
	<i>Gustavo Gutiérrez</i>	167
Commission 4	Culture and Development	181
	President	
	<i>Miguel de la Madrid</i>	
	Narrator	
	<i>Germán Carnero</i>	
	Cultural Traditions, the Nation and Democracy	
	<i>Francisco Weffort</i>	183
	Globalization and Geography of Culture	
	<i>Sergio Ramírez</i>	191

Commission 5 Democracy and Political Renewal 197

President

Augusto Ramírez Ocampo

Narrator

Jorge Nieto MontesinosState Reforms, Democratic Transition
and Basic Consensus***Porfirio Muñoz Ledo*** 199

Democracy Undergoes Revolution

Jaime Paz Zamora 213**Final Declaration****Regional Summit for Political Development
and Democratic Principles**

Governing Globalization

The Brasilia Consensus 221

Gobernar la globalización

El consenso de Brasilia 226

Gérer la mondialisation

Le consensus de Brasília 231

Governar a globalização

O consenso de Brasília 236**Participants 241**

INTRODUCTION

The REGIONAL SUMMIT FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, held July 3-6 of 1997, marked the conclusion of a process begun in March of 1995, on the island of Contadora, Panama. That first laboratory of social analysis that studied the interdisciplinary dynamics and methodology that would later direct all of our meetings, was devoted to the theme *Latin America Facing the Civilizing Crisis*. The first round of this new initiative, as the Director General of the UNESCO called it, was brilliantly resolved by one of its outstanding participants. Gabriel García Márquez, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, when faced with the question of whether or not a Latin American identity existed as such, gave a resoundingly Cartesian answer: “This meeting proves that we think”, he said, “therefore, we exist.”

The process continued in July of the same year, in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia. The second laboratory of social analysis discussed the subject of *State, Interdependence and Sovereignty*. In January 1996, the city of Caracas, Venezuela, hosted our third meeting, *Poverty, the Culture of Inequality and Social Development*. Mercedes Pulido, at that time Minister of the Family of the host country, opened the meeting and participated in the works. The schedule of the project took us then to Montego Bay, Jamaica, May 1996, to deal with a fourth problem: *Social Transformations and Political Representations*. Lastly, we finished our preparatory work in Santiago, Chile, in September of the same year, with a debate on the issue of *Governance and Democratic Principles in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Inaugurated by Genaro Arriagada, at that time the Secretary General Minister for the President of headquarters country, this meeting became part of the preparatory process for the VI

Iberian American Summit for Presidents and Chiefs of State; a summary of the conclusions of the fifth laboratory was sent by UNESCO to the Secretariat *pro tempore* for the Summit, and was included in the official documents to be analyzed by the leaders in their deliberations.

Each one of the laboratories produced a wealth of material. To this were added the results of interviews of outstanding leaders of the region. The sum of information, hypotheses, ideas, evaluations of experiences in governing, and political negotiations at various levels of public activity, of successful initiatives in resolving an array of problems in the social lives of our countries, all served to corroborate our initial intuition regarding the project. This was that in the experience of political actors, their successful moves and mistakes, a vast fount of accumulated knowledge was to be found. This knowledge, with adequate reflection, would produce guidelines for the reform and renovation of political culture.

Part of the material was made public through an informative bulletin that lent its name to the project, DEMOS. It was distributed to the principal political, intellectual, social and academic leaders of the region. From the very beginning it opened an electronic path enabling interested parties to follow or take part in the debates. An interactive network was built, and virtually extended the process beyond the confines of our laboratories for analysis.

The REGIONAL SUMMIT FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES became the focal point for awakening the intellect and creativity of the leaders called upon. The meetings of the Regional Summit were inaugurated by the magisterial lectures of the President of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso; the Secretary-Minister of the Presidency, Asdrúbal Aguiar in representation of the President of Venezuela, Rafael Caldera; the winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace, Rigoberta Menchú Túm, whose paper was read by her sister Anita; and by the Director General of UNESCO, Federico Mayor. Five commissions were established to deal thoroughly with the heavy agenda. The final plenary session, after having sustained a broad democratic debate, acclaimed the approval of the Declaration of the Regional Summit. This led to a new consensus incorporating the total sum of input and observations effected.

The *Brasilia Consensus* is the declaration of the common will: that of shouldering, as a Latin American community of nations, the contemporary challenges offered by global democratic governance. Supported by the universal principles of justice, liberty, equality and solidarity, the *Brasi-*

lia Consensus is an energetic and hopeful demand for modern humanism to elevate men and women, fully utilizing their capacities, to the status of being the reason for all public actions.

The eight commitments of the *Brasilia Consensus* intend to avoid a dehumanized future. By making these democratic principles their own, they reject societies devoid of justice, equality and solidarity, as well as societies without freedom. To avert bewilderment and improvisation, they are prepared to correct the negative tendencies of the contemporary scenario. On the crossroads of a warlike civilization, the *Brasilia Consensus* chooses a new route and commits to a culture of peace.

The *Brasilia Consensus* was both a culmination and a beginning. The end of a road that led to basic consensus regarding the image and path a common future should take, and the beginning of the transformation of practices and behavior that will shape the new political culture for the coming century. Commitment to change implies rejection of a world in which poverty, exclusion, intolerance, racism, environmental crises, population explosion, violence and spiritual dearth are all on the rise. To launch an appeal for shared responsibility means to claim a life ethic rooted in global values. The program, to govern globalization, is the answer Latin America and the Caribbean provide for global problems: to build democracy, development and peace.

DEMOS, the project that encouraged this process, would not have been possible without the sponsorship of UNESCO, and in particular, without the decided support and generous trust of Federico Mayor, its Director General. His leadership is a modern one that can look to the horizon without losing sight of the next step. We owe him a unique debt of gratitude.

The entire DEMOS process was sponsored by UNESCO, and the organization of the Regional Summit received the support of the government of Brasilia and its leader, Cristovam Buarque, as well as that of the Ministry of Culture of Brazil, through Francisco Weffort, also member of the DEMOS Coordinating Committee. They both have our full recognition.

Special thanks must be given to all those former presidents, politicians, intellectuals, artists and academics who participated enthusiastically to bring life to what would otherwise have been merely a problem and a possibility.

Each and every one of the members of the DEMOS Coordinating Committee became careful builders of the great lines of the project; despite their elevated political responsibilities and their burdened professional agenda, they were at all times willing to give advice, propose an initiative, or resolve any issue for the General Coordination.

The UNESCO offices, when needed, cooperated diligently and brilliantly. Nonetheless, one cannot omit mentioning the Representatives of UNESCO in Mexico, led by Germán Carnero, whose offices sheltered the headquarters for the project. Neither can we omit the Paris office of the Special Advisor for the Director General for Latin America and the Caribbean, Anaisabel Prera Flores, whose serene and refined political intuition lent invaluable support at all times.

The published material has been selected following the criteria explained in the editorial notice. This is the first offering of the results of a remarkable meeting, the REGIONAL SUMMIT FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. □

Jorge Nieto Montesinos
GENERAL COORDINATOR



Plenary opening session of the Regional Summit for Political Development and Democratic Principles. The President of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, giving his Magistral Lecture. Next, UNESCO's Director General Federico Mayor Zaragoza. From right to left: Jorge Werthein, UNESCO's Representative for Brazil; Anaisabel Prera Flores, Special Adviser to the Director General for Latin America and the Caribbean; Paulo Renato de Souza, Minister of Education; Cristovam Buarque, Governor of Brasília; Francisco Weffort, Minister of Culture; Jose Israel Vargas, Minister of Science and Technology; and Jorge Nieto Montesinos, General Coordinator of the Regional Summit.



GOVERNANCE AND DEMOCRACY: CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

The discussion of governance is always a necessary challenge. I will begin with the consideration of our anxieties in Brazil and Latin America, the worries of those that exercise power and make an effort at reflecting on the conditions of preservation and the expansion of democracy at this moment in the history of humanity.

We are living in a stage of history in which some dreams of the past—and perhaps nightmares—are incorporating themselves into our daily lives. The question of globalization, that the French call “mondialisation”, has immense consequences: it is a process perceived, at different times, in the scope of social sciences, long before it was a positive reality that would condition the behavior of nations and people in an immediate and direct way. The first forewarned aspect of this, was the possibility that, through the revolution of communications, there would exist, what was then called, a “global village”: the almost immediate interconnection of events occurring at the same time in various regions of the world.

This perception allowed for the development of a type of literature on the subject, unleashing a series of fears originated in its possibilities, that today, are becoming a reality: that simultaneously we would have knowledge of events occurring in distant places and regions of the planet.

Globalization, culture and production

It was feared that some effects of globalization could, perhaps, disturb authenticity of local cultural expressions, but it was not known that something far more binding would be the globalization of the productivity process. This is an inevitable fact of contemporary reality. We are witnessing the interrelation of productivity systems and, at the same time,

Fernando Henrique Cardoso
President of Brazil

the expansion of proprietary productivity systems in such a way that this process is internationally complemented and frequently asymmetric. This transformation of forms of production is directly related to another alteration: the ability to communicate instantaneously. They are both linked to a technological revolution in automation and information processes. All of this resulted in the linking of different parts of the planet, within the boundaries of production itself.

Today, it is almost trivial to speak of globalization. Some consider it (as when simultaneous and instant communication was perceived to be an extremely dangerous threat) a phenomenon that would prevent national states from existing, or even groups of autonomous cultures. Others think quite the opposite. In sociological literature thirty or forty years ago they were already speaking of the “industrial man”. The famous dispute, —if you will—, between Aaron and Sartre to a certain degree was based on Aaron’s view of industrialization and its homogenization effects on the structures of society and consequently, the effects on perceptions of culture in industrialized societies.

Notwithstanding, there is no longer any discussion as to whether or not these situations could happen, but rather the opportune discussion is how to face those that are a reality, and what positive or negative consequences they may have.

Globalization and governance

Nevertheless, this is not the most important aspect on which I would like to reflect. What is fundamental is that although this process of globalization exists, there is no simultaneous process at the political level, no process for formulating rules that would legitimize and implement decisions on a worldwide level. There is a lack of political ability to control the decisions that affect humanity, an ability that would address the globalization of the system of productivity. This is a problem that has to do with governance, with the renewal of the democratic school of thought, that forces us to recognize that governance is not restricted to national boundaries.

On the question of democracy the validity of the democratic principle is reflected on the ability to somehow intervene in the decisive process dealing with alterations in the world; our reflection is rendered insufficient to handle the phenomenon, since it scarcely examines the rules defining the universal distribution of power.

We are witnessing the interrelation of productivity systems and, at the same time, the expansion of proprietary productivity systems in such a way that this process is internationally complemented and frequently asymmetric. This transformation of forms of production is directly related to another alteration: the ability to communicate instantaneously. They are both linked to a technological revolution in automation and information processes. All of this resulted in the linking of different parts of the planet, within the boundaries of production itself.

This is the great contradiction that we must face in the 21st Century: the globalization of the productivity system and economics was not followed proportionately by a global definition of power. There is neither a legitimate world power nor a definition of a legitimate world power. Neither is the opposite rule—that of forceful imposition without authority, without consent—and yet continues to be present on worldwide level; this type of rule does not have sufficiently strong mechanisms to define how democratic coexistence will be reestablished internationally either.

On a daily basis, this is reflected in the crisis of the United Nations, in the inability to act that limits the Security Council; inaction that sometimes originates in the lack of legitimacy of decisions made. If you add to this the end of bipolarity resulting from the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the preponderance of one single force, we will understand the problem we are facing: definitions on the international level are being formed daily, and as yet there are no mechanisms to implement them. In what manner is the New World order going to be regulated? Through what mechanisms?

Worldwide institutions and financial flow

The regulatory institutions of the economic process, say Bretton Woods, World Bank, IMF, have been overwhelmed by the challenge of globalization. By way of example let me give you a fact: the Banco de Desarrollo Económico (Bank of Economic Development) of Brazil has as many resources as the World Bank. That means that the resources that the World Bank possesses are completely insufficient to face the problem of development of the world. The Banco de Desarrollo Económico of Brazil cannot even support its own country, yet has more resources than the World Bank, meaning that the latter is in no condition to answer to the demands of the planet as a whole. The International Monetary Fund is in the same situation. It is incapable of doing what is necessary today, to regulate the internationalization of the financial system. We are floating trillions of dollars, while central banks are contending with mere billions.

The Bank of International Settlement itself, BIS of Switzerland, being the central bank of central banks, does not possess the conditions or resources to regulate this mass of money. There is kind of a cloud, almost atomic, of money dust flying over the planet that could drop anywhere, without notice, at any given moment, and have positive or negative consequences, depending on circumstances. The fact remains that there

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There is kind of a cloud, almost atomic, of money dust flying over the planet that could drop anywhere, without notice, at any given moment, and have positive or negative consequences, depending on circumstances. The fact remains that there is as yet no regulating instrument in this matter. This came at the same time as globalization. On assuming the Presidency of the Republic, in the first speech I gave at CEPAL —and I find a few of you here that were present—, I drew attention to this problem. For anyone wanting to discuss development today, the main issue on the directing of financial resources is exactly that, the absence of regulation.

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A new intellectual challenge

It seems as though I am speaking about something very distant from the concerns of democracy within national boundaries; in reality, these problems are related. If we did not think of occurrences on the universal level, we would not understand the sense in certain political decisions —the why of certain efforts—, diminishing our capacity to critique, subjected to limited thinking; trapped in ancient language that does not consider the transformations that have occurred.

I do not say this to dishearten you, but instead, challenge you intellectually. It is not about remaining inert, but rather preparing ourselves, in terms of vision in new challenges and not the classic old issues. In cases of countries that are on the path of development, or are still excluded from any development even more dramatic, we must confront crises in governance, both global and national. They are simultaneous. If we are not prepared to face both, we cannot resolve our own, we are narrowing our horizon in discussions that have no visibility nor the international reach required today.

Obviously, referring strictly to governance and democratic issues on the internal level, there are advances. Having lived in Brazil and witnessed so many modifications, I do not have, nor could have, a negative or pessimistic vision. At least, in the case of the Americas, one difficult reality is being overcome. Some countries embark on the possibility of recuperating governance, expanding democratic mechanisms and control of public decisions. In America as a whole, we are witnessing great progress on this subject. Once again, we are experiencing a great democratic spirit. Certain viewpoints, somewhat pessimistically standing fast to the notion that we are living in the new Middle Ages, are weakening.

Political creativity and a new rebirth

I have been greatly criticized for saying that in this discussion of globalization and internationalization, only the negative side is being portrayed,

and that there is another perspective that should be considered as well. There are risks, that is true. Moreover, with the difficulties that I have mentioned, it is possible to attain universal rules for the control of democracy, in effect, resulting in a reduction of our capacity for decision and action. This might possibly occur, possibly not. Like all things in politics, it would depend on what is done. The reign of politics, is the reign of creativity to play, wager, create and build the path. If we approach a process as though it were inevitable, it would become such. We must build alternatives.

Why not see this new process as a new rebirth? I find this expression appropriate. This idea came to mind while reading Gorbachev's famous book with which he launched a new era in the Soviet Union. He made this interesting deliberation. *Look, we are here, in atomic terror. One more war will serve for nothing. War no longer resolves conflicts, because such war would destroy us all, destroying all of humanity. If there were to be war, it would not be between two groups, it would be atomic and global. War is no longer the instrument to force negotiations, for it extinguishes life on the planet. Thus, some processes can no longer be thought of in terms of blocks. We will have to think in terms of, in his words, "prevention"*.

Now then, that is a renascent concept. Man must be thought of as a universal being, or politics cannot be considered, for it would then become a free-for-all. Except that this war would have no victors, because the technological ability for destruction is so great that all the contenders would die.

Gorbachev went much further than his position as chief of the Soviet Union and its Marxist ideology would permit. He said, *there is no place to think on this subject in terms of State, nor in terms of class, because it transcends State and class*. With this, he added not only the preoccupation with atomic terror and nuclear holocaust to the forefront, but also environmental issues; problems that by their very nature transcend national limits.

Modern humanism and political action

The limits to determine what is internal and external are not well established. We have in our parliaments, groups that interact with their peers in other parliaments. Social movements are already interacting. In the cultural arena, interconnection is already prevalent. This process continues to extend itself. I see nothing negative in this, but we must

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progress in the comprehension of the consequences of this process, by redefining our perceptions of democracy and sovereignty; and that which is characteristic of each one of us, so that we may continue to maintain that which is ours, defending it for its value.

This universal perspective must also be recuperated on a local level. What is proposed today is another perspective that in some way is renaissance, because man once again is the measure of all things. It establishes again the notion of humanity, which has effects and consequences on politics.

On another plane, more intellectually modest, when integration groups form, as we are doing here in Mercosur, we struggle with these issues. Democracy and the control over issues are not just a National State concern. Our vision must expand, taking into account other factors. One point of view might perceive this to be destructive to the National State. Notions of limited sovereignty, the common nationalist perspectives of the 19th and 20th Centuries, give the impression that they are putting an end to the National State. However, viewed from a more intelligent angle, it is not like that at all, on the contrary, the concepts of our territory, our State, our culture and our values, are augmented.

This has already been experimented in situations where measures have been taken in the greatest of good faith, that apparently were of a local political nature, with respect to an internal financial regulation that had terrible repercussions on an international plane. It was not in the scheme to crush the unity of Latin-American solidarity or Mercosur, it occurred because bureaucratically it was thought that it was a local decision. It was not taken into account that the difference between what is internal and what is external, in these areas, diminishes.

Regional blocks and new sovereignty

In the same manner as we institute general regulations on the distribution of power, we are beginning to construct blocks of nations: Europe, Mercosur. NAFTA does not exactly have the same definition. We began making those rules and yet we do not grasp the concept of this new type of regulation. Until we legitimate it, we hang on to the old concept, directed by values that are expanded or substituted.

In terms of a reorganization of political power, in Brazil we have a "Parlatino", which is a precursor to a Latin-American Parliament. In Europe, they have the European Parliament.

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I do not propose that everything should be diluted through internationalization, I am proposing something different - that our sovereignty be reconstructed in the process of internationalization, taking charge of our capacity to effectively make decisions on the destiny of each of our peoples.

Uncertainty, stability and the future

It is clear, that from the standpoint of governance and the organization of the democratic process, progress was very significant in the Americas. Today, ungovernable issues are less spoken of, because —and I am referring here to Brazil— some uncertainties in the area of economics, more so than social, were reduced, as well as some in the political area.

Which processes of uncertainty were reduced? In the first place, inflation, being the process that greatly worried governance, and the comprehension of what was at stake. It was possible to control inflationary processes in many of our countries. Today, there is practically none that suffer from “acute inflationitis”. This helped to dispel the clouds that aggravate the capacity to make and implement decisions. This created greater trust, in the sense that decisions taken would be implemented. Things are clearer when there is no inflation, at least with regard to the distributive consequences of the acts of government, the concentration of wealth and the ability to increase it. All of that became clearer, but so did difficulties.

Likewise, there was progress in other areas. Our countries began to manage the phenomenon of internationalization through economic opportunities that at first gave the impression of being catastrophic to local production. Later, as countries were able to react, they realized that no such catastrophic effect had occurred. If I may use Brazil as an example, not wishing to enter into Brazilian matters, it could be said that at first, it appeared that Brazil would put an end to these industries - textile, footwear, automotive and related production and to information services. However, today quite the opposite is true. Those industries are more profitable, having created new technological development supported by the State and government, because without a doubt it is not possible to embrace opportunity without strengthening the State. That is why those who believe that neoliberalism exists here are deluded. Perhaps it exists, but only in the minds of the mindless.

The limits to determine what is internal and external are not well established. We have in our parliaments, groups that interact with their peers in other parliaments. Social movements are already interacting. In the cultural arena, interconnection is already prevalent. This process continues to extend itself. I see nothing negative in this, but we must progress in the comprehension of the consequences of this process, by redefining our perceptions of democracy and sovereignty; and that which is characteristic of each one of us, so that we may continue to maintain that which is ours, defending it for its value.

It is not possible to confront the challenges of today's world without the State. Either the State becomes fortified or reconstructed, or there will be no way to confront the challenge of globalization in a constructive manner, with ability and decisiveness; leading the course. The first obstacles, appearing to be catastrophic, are being overcome. It was being said that, "This new order comes to disorganize, destroy, subdue and subordinate". That is not so. That new order, if there is societal reaction through political mechanisms and government, could be—at least under certain circumstances and for certain countries—controlled, for conditions are favorable to devise our own politics.

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On the other hand, at the political level, there was great progress in the areas of argumentation and negotiation. Little by little, due to the media and the ability to sense the immediate reaction of the population of Brazil, society has begun to understand why decisions have been made, including somewhat difficult issues such as salary increases. Consequently, this brought on greater necessity for communication, participation, and explanation. Today's society demands more reasons and argument. It does not fear suffering, when it is forewarned and its reasons explained. It is, however, terrified of deception and being caught by surprise.

Democracy, parties and political participation

In Latin America and other parts of the world, we are learning that the issue of democracy is not merely a question of parties. On the contrary, parties have been the problem with democracy. We must also rethink the old concept of parties. With regard to the fragmentation of modern society, manner of production, specific demands, difficulty in organization, —even if just in corporate terms— with regard to the fragility of those parties that only use corporations to establish themselves, the following topic applies: we must expand the mechanisms for explanation, negotiation, argumentation, in the mediums of communications, be more open to the presenting of organization to the public, so that people can understand the workings and participate. We can no longer think of governance in terms of the intentions of the party, the relationship between the Chief Executive and Congress, or the activity of the Chief Executive. We should also reflect on governance in terms of including more participants in the political process.

This expansion is produced in a fragmentary manner. People exist as almost isolated citizens, yet they are not isolated. This is a grave problem

we must face. In countries such as Brazil, in which there is such social inequality, the demand for justice is greater than the ability to implement it. This becomes an element of weakness and a questioning of legitimacy of the decisions made by the democratic process, more so when its rulers recognize that the demand is justified.

We are facing a problem with no easy solution, that requires a strong symbolic relationship of constant communication with society, based on truth, to satisfy the immense unrest generated by not giving immediate attention to true and justified demands by society, even if there is no way to do so. Progressively we know that governance depends on these broader issues that are gradually being incorporated into practice. I am not saying it with pessimism, but simply, they cannot be solved from one day to the next.

While I referred to the complexity of the contemporary world that limits the action of the National State, —not meaning to say that the National State is not fundamental— by the same token, all of the preceding statements do not mean that Congress is not fundamental, nor that the parties are not fundamental. They are. It is a matter of amplifying our vision to more clearly identify what the challenge of governance in today's world might be.

That challenge, not mentioning the one here, is much larger and challenges developed nations as well. Let us ponder what has happened in France, England, or the United States. I do not want to go into detail, but on these issues there are perception errors. Many think that it is about a movement against neoliberalism. I wish that were so. It is much more complex than that. It is that we are all grasping for the essence of these matters.

I return to the question of humanity, the model for reference that today is no longer just local. The point of reference is no longer limited to the immediate surrounding and has acquired a universal dimension. It is good that it is that way, it reinforces the necessity we all have to look for a symbolic mechanism for cohesion.

Pluralism, identity and cultural mutation

With that, I arrive at my last observation: the question of culture. It is the crux of this entire discussion, as we are dealing with a problem of culture. The necessary revolution —I think it is already taking place in several parts, fragmented and confused— is a Cultural Revolution. Again, I will

With regard to the fragmentation of modern society, manner of production, specific demands, difficulty in organization, even if just in corporate terms with regard to the fragility of those parties that only use corporations to establish themselves, the following topic applies: we must expand the mechanisms for explanation, negotiation, argumentation, in the media, be more open to the presenting of organization to the public, so that people can understand the workings and participate. We can no longer think of governance in terms of the intentions of the party, the relationship between the Chief Executive and Congress, or the activity of the Chief Executive. We should also reflect on governance in terms of including more participants in the political process.

bring up renaissance. The 21st Century will be a century in which we will only succeed in governance and the struggle for the reorganization of the decisive nuclei, if we understand that we are experiencing profound cultural mutation. This mutation cannot be thought of as a homogenizing phenomenon. What will allow us to cross over into the next century will not be our ability for adaptation. It is not a matter of passively adapting to given circumstances. It is about maintaining our creative capacity, because that new humanity should not aspire to be homogenous. Even though values on justice and equality might be shared, the cultural filter will be increasingly important. If we believe we are entering a situation where cultural differences between nations are disappearing, we are mistaken. There are no limits on creativity, much less on a cultural plane.

Hence the importance of appraising the significance of the New Latin, the English language, while simultaneously valuing our own languages. There is no contradiction in stating the first, while affirming the second, or rather, there is contradiction but in dialectics, while advancing toward universal communication and a reevaluation of differences in local culture, local language and domestic culture.

Preserving differences will permit a non-adaptable reaction that can continue being invented on all planes: social organizations, communities, and the discovery of mechanisms for altering the State. All of this is related to culture, decentralization and participation. It is linked to the expansion of social control on each decision made within the boundaries of the State, which will no longer pertain to the State but become a new public domain. The process will be different from country to country, but it will happen; and it will happen with differences, because we have different cultures, traditions and potentials, and this is a good thing.

This is the case of Brazil and its potential, having a present and not just a future and a national objective in place for the challenge of the 21st century, therefore, a project that does not believe that the State will generate an ideology, nor that ideology alone will achieve the beginning of cohesion. A project constructed by the multiplicity of visions, participation and tolerance, with the capacity to integrate that which is different, respecting the difference. We can advance Brazil by opening it, not closing it. It is in that openness to the plurality of the world that we will maintain our national project, that can no longer be considered as a project *against someone*.

In countries such as Brazil, in which there is such social inequality, the demand for justice is greater than the ability to implement it. This becomes an element of weakness and a questioning of legitimacy of the decisions made by the democratic process, more so when its rulers recognize that the demand is justified. We are facing a problem with no easy solution, that requires a strong symbolic relationship of constant communication with society, based on truth, to satisfy the immense unrest generated by not giving immediate attention to true and justified demands by society.

Many countries in our region have experienced the melting pot. This integration of differences is one of the riches of the modern world, because it possesses duality and diversity. Our country either is or is not Western. Western only to a certain point. That is to say that as a people we are Western, yet not entirely Western. We are also other things, we are African, Indian and mulatto. We are confusion, magnificent confusion expressed through our music, our literature, in short, our every cultural expression.

We each possess diversity, complexity and the ability to elaborate. We should not fear homogenization. We will never be homogeneous, if we—now speaking as government—have the ability to understand that homogenization is not the objective, just as the market is not an end, merely a means, we will be able to face these challenges of governance and globalization with this new renascent spirit that must prevail, understanding that humanity, men and women, are the measure of all things.

Some values of freedom must prevail: justice, participation, and greater equality in terms of economics; but our ability to survive with creativity, will depend on our understanding of plurality as an open manifestation of the variety of spiritual virtues of our people and each one of us that will preserve the nucleus of this renovation, that I firmly believe in, as all of us here do. I am certain that we will face this challenge with humility, without arrogance and with the peace of mind that we are heading in the direction of conserving democratic principles and governance within this global cultural vision, which will permit us to make progress. □

The 21st Century will be a century in which we will only succeed in governance and the struggle for the reorganization of the decisive nuclei, if we understand that we are experiencing profound cultural mutation. This mutation cannot be thought of as a homogenizing phenomenon. What will allow us to cross over into the next century will not be our ability for adaptation. It is not a matter of passively adapting to given circumstances. It is about maintaining our creative capacity, because that new humanity should not aspire to be homogenous. Even though values on justice and equality might be shared, the cultural filter will be increasingly important.



Conversation between Federico Mayor and Fernando Henrique Cardoso during the inauguration ceremony.



CULTURE AND IDENTITY*

Speaking to you from Mexico City, I would like to respectfully express my greetings to the President of Brazil, Mr. Fernando Henrique Cardoso. I would also like to thank the REGIONAL SUMMIT FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES for its hospitality. At the same time, I would like to express a warm greeting to Mr. Federico Mayor, the Director General of UNESCO, and pay homage to his struggle, his work, his untiring effort toward peace, human dignity and above all, for dreaming of an intercultural world. I would also like to greet my dear compatriot and general advisor to the Director General, Dr. Anaisabel Prera, as well as Mr. Jorge Nieto Montesinos, General Coordinator of the summit.

Let me say that I profoundly regret not being with you. Nevertheless, you all know that you can count on my support, especially you Federico. You know that I admire your work and that I support your efforts for a culture of peace, for a world of tolerance in which cultures have a place of dignity and where generations can rebuild the values that humanity has been losing.

I also want to wish you great success at the summit and I am sure that as I count on your efforts, so will you count on mine. First, I would like to say that there is an immense amount of documentation, of analyses and studies on the need for an intercultural world; on the necessity of cultures that can coexist, and on the necessity of creating a culture of peace. Nevertheless, we still need to find the paths; the mechanisms to make this a reality in the lives of women, children, young people and in the lives of institutions and towns. This is our concern. Therefore, I call on you so that together we may find the path that summons all influential social figures so that tomorrow, indeed, ours will be a world

Rigoberta Menchú Túm
Nobel Prize for Peace
UNESCO's Good will Ambassador

It is not being acknowledged or understood that one of the key elements in the integral development of our countries is the facilitating of the indigent, the poor and the marginal, in contributing our intelligence, our creativity, our identity and our dignity, to produce common riches and well-being for all; not just affluence for a select few.

* Message sent by Rigoberta Menchú Túm to the Regional Summit for Political Development and Democratic Principles.

of tolerance, an intercultural world, a peaceful world. I wish you the best of luck.

In spite of the fact that I cannot be with you personally, it pleases me greatly to make it known that my little sister Anita, the youngest in our family, will be present. We not only share the same history, the same people, Guatemala; at the same time, I believe she is a worthy representative to transmit my message to this summit.

I wish you great success and would like to share the achievements of the summit with you.

In indigenous cultures, the community governs our relationships; a marked difference with non-indigenous cultures. Our development and education is guided by a collective sense. For us, integral individual development is possible only after the collective development of the community. The search for common good is a way of being, of living. From here stems great worth for us, be it in the organization we have in our communities, the meaning we bring to the participation, or the relationship we have with others.

Culture and identity

One of the greatest riches of our planet is, without a doubt, its enormous cultural diversity. It is a known fact that there are no people on earth without culture, and therefore, all have elements that identify them. We know that this identity is supplied by the culture, although it is necessary to point out that this identity is fostered in the relationship and through encounters with other cultures. Hence, culture and identity are inseparable, and become two features and characteristics inherent to all people.



Anita Menchú Tún

We understand culture as everything that has been created and constructed through the efforts and yearnings of a group of human beings, as a society and as a people. Culture encompasses the language of scientific knowledge; the instruments of toil, ways of producing, of coexisting, the expressions of social organization, artistic creativity, manner of dress and religion. In culture an important role is played by the ensemble of ideas and values, a “weltanschauung”, or cosmovision conception of the world, of things, of life and death, plays an essential role within culture.

All of these elements that form culture, are the very ones that over decades, centuries and millenniums, form and mold identity; the same ones that make one people different from another. Cultural and identity differences have long been utilized by dominant powers throughout history to justify racism, exploitation, discrimination, imposition and intolerance. Rarely have these differences and diversities been perceived as being an enormous potential to enrich society.

The denial of differences

Cultural difference is generally viewed by dominating cultures as synonymous to inferiority and backwardness, which they use to justify oppression. That is why, in the countries of our America in which there are native peoples, the Western perception of culture has been imposed in social organization, production, art, language and religion. Cultural plurality exists in terms of the presence of cultural differences, but not in the recognition, respect of the right to exercise these differences. The denial of this right has been one of the fundamental weapons of those empires that have dominated us, and still do, to keep our people in poverty and underdevelopment.

The presumption that indigenous cultures are inferior has given cause to impose the idea of cultural integration through crossbreeding and forced assimilation as a condition for development. This means that the causes of underdevelopment are attributed to native peoples. In truth, the conditions of poverty and extreme poverty that we face are due to exclusion, marginalization, discrimination and the exploitation to which we are subjected. It is neither acknowledged nor understood that one of the key elements in the integral development of our countries lies in granting opportunities for the native, the poor and the marginal to contribute our intelligence, our creativity, our identity and our dignity to produce common riches and well-being for all; not just affluence for a select few.

In countries such as ours, it is difficult to speak of plurality and tolerance. In fact, exclusion and intolerance have been, and continue to be, definitive traits in these societies. Indigenous people are excluded, because we, our cultures, customs and traditions are classified as primitive, and because we are different from the dominant culture, the Western culture. This discriminatory and racial mentality becomes absurd and aberrant as we approach the dawn of a new millennium. It is one of the true and principal causes of underdevelopment.

The historical memory of our people

We, the native peoples, have been raised and educated in the values and moral principles of our ancestors. A characteristic of our culture is that we know and understand how to conserve the history of our people in our memory. The oral tradition is a fundamental aspect in our development and education, in maintaining our historical memory.

I am not trying to say, with this observation, that one culture is superior to another. I claim that the certainty of a better future lies in "interculturalization"; reaffirming the hope that in America we may learn to relate to all cultures with profound respect.

In indigenous cultures, the community governs our relationships; a marked difference with non-indigenous cultures. Our development and education is guided by a sense of collectivity. For us, integral individual development is possible stemming from the collective development of the community. The search for common good is a way of being, of living. That is why the organization of our communities is of such importance to us, as is the meaning we give to the participation, or the relationship we have with others. In Western cultures, along with its undeniable values, the search for common good is a foreign norm, many times imposed. I am not trying to say, with this observation, that one culture is superior to another. I claim that the certainty of a better future lies in interculturalization; reaffirming the hope that in America we might learn to relate to all cultures with profound respect, utilizing all that is positive from each culture, as it contributes to the common destiny of our people.

Our culture goes beyond the characteristics that are visible at first glance. It is in the way we understand the relationship to Mother Earth, to nature; the manner in which we perceive life, and the aspiration of achieving a harmonious balance between man and nature. That is why in the “weltanschauung”, or cosmovision concept of the indigenous people regarding our relationship with nature, we aspire to appreciate the resources that nature provides us to satisfy our needs; and not as a source of individual enrichment to the detriment of collective rights and interests. To be certain, in the world as it is, science and technology have become isolated from the necessities of the people; they have become a purpose unto themselves, reaffirming that the “weltanschauung” concept could contribute to a re-acquainting of science with a great majority of the population. Surely, along this path, humanity could make new and great discoveries without overturning life, without using life as mere experimental material.

This new kind of relationship among cultures must stand on the recognition and respect of the rights of all people; on the recognition of global and national multicultural people, in such a way that it contributes to building a new type of nation multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual. Intercultural relationship, as understood here, can contribute to the peaceful coexistence of people and cultures, in terms of equality and justice.

Knowledge serving society

We greatly value knowledge, but our view is that it should be socially shared, it should be collective. We aspire to put knowledge into service for the community, permitting the community to develop and reach integral individual development. We strongly believe that knowledge is the product of collective creativity and, as such, its fruits and achievements should serve the community's development. However, the dominant world

culture operates in the opposite direction. What impulses and stimulates it on all levels is the concentration of scientific knowledge in a few hands, and the hoarding of what should be communal riches.

Our America possesses a cultural diversity so rich, so vast, that it should serve as a foundation and encouragement for constructing new kinds of countries, and support their development. This cultural diversity implies the diversity of identities, which brings us to a vital question, "How do we build a national identity?" I think an inescapable aspect of it, and I repeat, is inter-culturalization. Since, until now, relationships between different peoples and cultures have been excluding and intolerant toward others, identified by the imposition of one culture over another, it has become necessary to begin building intercultural relationships.

The intercultural relationship

This new kind of relationship among cultures must stand on the recognition and respect of the rights of all people - on the recognition of global and national multicultural people, in such a way that it contributes to building a new type of nation —multiethnic, multicultural and multi-lingual. Intercultural relationship, as understood here, can contribute to the peaceful coexistence of people and cultures, in terms of equality and justice while allowing for the contribution of each country toward peace, cooperation and a solidarity that must exist in the relations between states. On the other hand, it should help create conditions that promote self-esteem and cultural self-worth among native and non-native people; replacing, with optimism and hope, the loss of values, pessimism, distrust and despair that is predominant in the world today, and which hits especially hard on the people of our continent.

This type of relationship, however, should not be limited to the recognition and respect of cultural diversity and tolerance. Intercultural relations involves understanding that interaction between different cultures can generate ongoing enrichment to culture itself and spiritual and material enrichment of the people. It must not mean the isolation of one culture from another, but instead promote openness and interaction. Intercultural relations should be just, democratic and equal, with cooperation and solidarity. They should be based on the equality of rights and support national unity.

The process for creating this new standard of relationships between people and cultures should be a common point on everyone's agenda:

The process for creating this new standard of relationships between people and cultures should be a common point on everyone's agenda, women, men, native and non-native, towns, governments, societies and States. When speaking of peace, it is necessary to work toward the humanization of relations between people and cultures.

Let us think together, analyze together on the need for viewing with respect all that we treasure through our common roots, and all that involves the millenary cultures of this continent, the better to appreciate it in a constructive and imaginative manner, now that together we have the great task of re-inventing hope.

women, men, native and non-native, towns, governments, societies and states. When speaking of peace, it is necessary to work toward the humanization of relations between people and cultures; to work for the achievement and maintenance of a just equilibrium in human relationships; that they may promote the integral development of all, and that they may focus on peaceful and harmonious coexistence. It is worth working arduously to build such a wonderful utopia.

That is our calling, that is our invitation. Let us think together, analyze together on the need for viewing with respect all that we treasure through our common roots, and all that involves the millenary cultures of this continent, the better to appreciate it in a constructive and imaginative manner, now that together we have the great task of re-inventing hope. □



Nina Pacari (Ecuador) Executive Secretary of the National Council of Indigenous and Black Peoples; Oscar Oliva (Mexico), member of the National Intermediation Commission for Dialogue and Peace in Chiapas; Anita Menchú Tún (Guatemala), Vice-President of the Menchú Foundation; Leonardo Meireles Ribeiro (Brazil) university professor; José Luis Méndez (Puerto Rico) Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences.



Myrna Cunningham (Nicaragua) leader of the Misquito people, Dean of the University of the Autonomous Regions of the Caribbean Coast.



HUMAN RIGHTS, CULTURE AND DEMOCRATIC ETHICS

The development of this conference, that I am charged with due to the necessary absence of the President of Venezuela, will be a serious and inestimable commitment; difficult to achieve within the expectations that just the name alone, Rafael Caldera, invokes. Its title appeals to regional intelligence, with regards to the dangers of this teaching—very current and non-politically persuasive—that speaks of freedom and banishing utopias. This teaching forgets that freedom, both in Christian and universal teachings, is not only power stemming from reason and will, but also strength as a result of growth and maturity in the truth and the realization of hope.

Unity in this theoretically diverse argument becomes possible when democracy is really the government of the people, the people being an intrinsically joined group of persons, given that “there cannot be true democracy if the person is not respected and guaranteed his dignity”. Likewise, as the mirror of this model and system, it would not be understood if man did not serve as a conduit to the variety of adaptations to his existence.

Democracy is, above all, human rights. It is ingrained in the relationship between man and society and excludes the logic of extremism. Its ideology comes from irreducible human nature, specifically, social ethics. As the work and expression of the person, “government through discussion”, democracy is the most sublime expression of our culture.

Consider that ethics—the doctrine of virtues and partly the theory of values—is characteristic of humanity and is the interpretation of man in society and the concept of his perception of reality; as such democracy is, in its very essence, ethics. It presupposes the interaction of the person in

Asdrúbal Aguiar
Minister of the Secretary of the Presidency, Republic of Venezuela

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society and the will to mediate of his democratic institutions in the execution of public welfare.

Human rights, within this perspective and as a paradigm, means more than public freedom. They constitute the foundation of a set of measures based on the needs of man and are capable of totally penetrating that which is political and legal, regenerating themselves daily; as individual and collective liberties in harmony with opposition, restricted only as necessary for public welfare, limited when no longer such and corroding freedom itself.

I must note, however, that the international and national systems guaranteeing and protecting human rights are the legitimate offspring of the “Cold War”. Its premises, tributaries of institutionalized controversial logic during the last postwar, strengthen the irreducible opposition between the free man and the State, including its contemporary characteristic as a State of Social Rights. Strangely, these systems have not lost the unidirectional and anti-state meanings that they gained after the Puritanical Revolution of 1649.

Its underlying logic has proclaimed, since 1945, the full severance between civil and political rights and designated socialist rights (economic, social and cultural); and has promoted, resulting from the aforementioned, a functional guardianship that, favoring the first and to the detriment of the second, has weakened democracy to “a frame of mind ... way of life, [and] commitment in exchange for moral values”.

Human rights have, if you will, been the dividing factor between democracies and dictatorships. The eschatological enemies, dynastic and authoritarian figures that often misrepresent the State and the State of Rights—the opposite of the State of Power—today promise to step down, it’s true, but promise to step down along with the State relating to the public, as the social integrator of governance through democracy and, consequently, as the “necessary mediator” for guaranteeing individual rights.

It is evident that today human rights emerge in an obvious and violent manner. They give cause to all dialog regarding politics and anti politics and conjectures of paradigms, that they themselves are, but maybe more because of excess (market?) or by defect (of the State?), and not so much because of conviction but rather its encounter with democracy itself and its consubstantial truth.

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For the present time, beyond man and his rights, what is evident is the physiological weakness of the modern public organization and its mediating virtues of democracy. In the best cases, public organization deregulates itself to minimize ballast, efficiently support its purposes and fortify democratic participation. In the worst cases, it disintegrates under sudden malfunctioning, arising from the recent predominance of privatization in spaces of public interest. Such malfunctioning, marked by corruption, is nothing more than the incapacity to satiate demands, not the rights earned by a solitary man, victim of artificial expectations created by the dictatorship of merchants.

Under any circumstance, the culture of democracy and human rights survives and remains latent, beyond the reach of old dogmas and new myths.

All men, justly, are born the same and prepare the same for life. All of us are receptive to heritage and the care of it, the search for that perfectible “something” that justifies our restlessness and alleviates our anxieties. We gain friends and enemies, we praise and chastise our fellow man and we are all, inevitably, sons of death. But if each and every one of us did a few things well —quoting Ralph Turner— we would still do these few things differently. We repeat what we learned, we change it, or we adapt it. We have individual ways of doing and feeling things in common and organize our lives socially, we are all, therefore, creators and at the same time perfectible products of our culture. Through this, inevitably we become reflexive beings and transcendent entities and project what we are in those that will inhabit the future.

Therefore, since democracy is the government of the people and grants the individual his fundamental element; by being man the creator and necessary product of his culture, and democracy the expression of plurality in creativity, the exercise of fundamental rights could not be understood segregated from this paradigm of liberty (democracy as synthesis and not only as a product of culture).

After communism, renegades and converts are preaching the end of history, and with it, the end of culture. The assertion of Fukuyama, notwithstanding, could be considered fraudulent if he establishes himself as critic to the era when Marxism dominated, proposing the intellectual left-right diarchy and it would be no less a fraud if his assertion were based on the questioning of traditional *res publica*. All things considered,

Therefore, since democracy is the government of the people and grants the individual his fundamental element; by being man the creator and necessary product of his culture, and democracy, the expression of plurality in creativity, the exercise of fundamental rights could not be understood segregated from this paradigm of liberty (democracy as synthesis and not only as a product of culture).

Democracy is not, hence, a mere political mechanism that runs out in the electorate, or during a regimen of equilibrium of public powers that in the manner of Montesquieu, deters from “all men vested with authority could abuse it”. If not capable of habitually returning to the origin, which is man himself, singular and needy, compelled to solidarity in human association, if he does not achieve this, democracy ceases to be.

the State-nation as mode of the public, work of medieval retraction or bastard of the French Revolution, is only a minuscule testimony in the millenary drama of the existence of man on earth, and incapable as a result of putting an end to tradition.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain forces us to rethink contemporary ways of human association and to study the deviations of extremism under different signs. This is without question. However, maintaining that the evolution of the species, expressed in the individuality of organisms, in their unfolding for reciprocal cooperation and the ensuring of the existence of the species, or that the continuing human experiment—rational or material—by chance shows an inflection that cuts off the meaning and direction of the culture as a post-communist affirmation, is a stupidity, not just a contradiction.

Cultural tradition, the work of human experience and spirit, translated into the diversification and innovation of language and the inexhaustible ways of mastering the material, has not abandoned its ethos since early Paleolithic, nor has it changed as a result of perestroika.

Along the lines of this argument, democracy contradicts itself if orphaned from personalization, pluralism, participation, organization and particularly if it is incapable of building the essential space dictated by the responsible exercise of freedom. In the words of Max Weber, its ethic lies in the possibility of a dialect game, complementary, somewhere between the ideal of the preferable and the presence of the feasible.

Democracy is not, hence, a mere political mechanism that runs out in the electorate, or during a regimen of equilibrium of public powers that in the manner of Montesquieu, deters from “all men vested with authority could abuse it”. If not capable of habitually returning to the origin, which is man himself, singular and needy, compelled to solidarity in human association, if he does not achieve this, democracy ceases to be and becomes corrupt and dysfunctional, and with it inevitably, the lines of transmission are corrupted: State, political parties, unions, corporations and even private communities, be they neighborhood or religious.

Democracy is “a general philosophy of human life and political life, ... a state of one’s spirit”, to quote Jacques Maritain in 1942, still restless over the second world war. Caldera immured in this teaching, the human and indelible testimony of continental democratic morality, affirming that “it is not a matter of taking half plus one and deciding for all of society,

then depriving the other half minus one of its [human] rights. Neither is it a matter of a political party forming a parliament, whose efficiency frequently is not the standard of its responsibility”.

It is a question of democracy being realized for all men in order for it to be a democracy at all; again, in the words of Maritain “a consensus of spirits concerning the essential foundations of life, of respect for human dignity, and a guarantee of individual rights”.

Take note that a clear and permanent concept and judgment of democracy as a government of the people is, I repeat emphatically— “a way of life, a set of attitudes grounded in ethical values, without which its foundation would be weak and its possibilities uncertain”.

The practice of humanism and tolerance is, in this manner, consubstantial to democracy and explains the whole meaning of this masterful lesson referring to “human rights, culture and democratic ethics”.

Democratic ethics is placed, in effect, within a niche forged in humanism and tolerance. It is only replenished by the instinct inherent in human nature. “Humanism”, according to Werner Goldschmidt, “focuses on man and proclaims unity of the human race (from which is derived the equality of all men and the uniqueness of each man). Tolerance considers the truth and teaches that the only secure path toward conviction is a process in which each individual or party defends his point of view without obstacles. Tolerance is linked to humanism. The sole truth corresponds directly to the unity of the human race; the uniqueness of each man requires him to learn truth through his personal conviction.”

If democracy is human rights, in short, democracy is culture. Because culture is only forged in logic, barely possible in liberty and democracy. A saying of Antonio Gala, “Truth is made up of pieces and it is imperative that each be shown, to become complete”.

Democracy is the culture of diversity, but it is also the ethics of human life, for it allows valuation while enabling freedom of information and the contradiction of ideas and the subsidiary of “collectivity” created by man to mitigate his solitude, lessen his necessities, unmask to perfect, and serve to elevate himself in will and importance.

The title of this lecture expresses in its thematic variety the harmony that is essential at this time. It gathers and joins human rights with culture, and with ethics in democracy. All of the themes join together in summoning

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us, in a real way, to reflect regarding man, his place in life and his destiny. The title suggests a critical interpretation of the value of man and his reasoning as he approaches a new century, a new millennium in the Christian era. It makes it possible for us to approach new paradigms less disheartened—perhaps the same old ones, but purged—that are required by humanity in our generation, in its transition toward post-modernization.

The fathers of classic natural law did things the same way in their time when preparing the land for modern and Western civilization, they opposed medieval theological dogmas, the Machiavellian theory of reason of state, and even enlightenment, individual liberty and the moderation of power of governments.

Following the eclipse of the mid-nineteenth century and the first part of this century, the same task was undertaken by the neo-kantians Stammler and Del Vecchio, and Francois Geny with his Free Law movement, and the solidarists and French institutionalists, Leon Duguit as their leader.

It is said that some of the propositions made by these modern iusnaturalists, ambiguously, served as shameful support of Italian fascism and the disgraceful administration of justice of the Third Reich.

But, in spite of the blunders, this rebirth of the philosophical and legal iusnaturalist perspective established itself through the correction of the imbalance introduced by historicism and positivism. They stopped a way of perceiving and understanding man and his freedom, which was unjust under Manicheanism. "But history does not rest. The moments of satisfaction and immobility are brief and new forces emerge immediately that discuss or deny the validity of things as they actually exist".

The creative clash of these antithetical forces, indispensable to the discovery of the meridians of our civilization, corresponded to the Marxist interpretation, in its vicious extremism, stimulating the abandonment of pure individualism and the *laissez faire* in the political and economic plan. It favored re-establishing a point of equilibrium, precarious to be sure, and managed to impede in the West the predictable social dissolution through abuse of liberty and the enthroning of "collectivist" despotism.

Democracy, its validity universally accepted as a plan for life and human rights as its categorical imperative, compelled by the same anguish manifested by Bodenheimer in 1942, when he said "we are living in an era where the fundamental values of our culture are being challenged and attacked". We must henceforth ask ourselves as he did: "How much

power can be given to an individual without putting public welfare at risk? How much power can be given to the state without annihilating the individual completely?

The answer, naturally, rests in you. Democracy does not stop being culture, and as such does not stop being democracy, nor does it stop being an entity; as a state of conscience and spirit, it remains democracy for preserving human rights.

In saying and affirming this, I cannot forget, how difficult it is to formulate or renew paradigms in these times, ungraspable as they were in some of the manifestations from their distant past. Accompanying us, paradoxically, as an unpublished circumstance so fundamental in its time, is the substantiation of animal reasoning of the human being.

The arrival of the era of artificial intelligence and the predominance of biotechnology, brings to a close a long and multi-millenary cycle in human evolution. What room is there for man and his inalienable rights, for culture, for ethics and for democracy, derivatives of rational judgments, in this new pit of globalization, of “one mind”, and the virtuality that is capable of creating and recreating, such as the Internet?

We transit from century to century. We move toward a different century, while the present closes with the commemoration of 500 years since the discovery of America and the Iberian evangelization of the West Indies. In spite of everything that has preceded us, our leap toward a global civilization is revolutionary, through communications and “technotronics” whose present reality we can barely glimpse through clones and megabytes.

The proposals overshadow the historical and liberating sense of the withdrawal of communism in 1989. They overshadow in their exemplariness and as a new dominating element on the human and global scene of the post-Gorbachev regime. This far surpasses the social and restructuring effects that summon the current state of emergency of national fundamentalism, racial and religious, or the weakening of the State, as well as the resulting crisis of the parties, the decentralization and de-concentration of political power, the enthroning of social anonymity on all levels; economic deregulation or the apparent purge of the “socialist” primitivism.

Formal, lucid and penetrating in their analyses, they believe that with good cause due to the elephantiasis of the economy and politics —they

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exalt money and power in place of consent and reason— we have lost the only certain path, the one leading to ourselves (that is to say toward the people, toward man). “We have lost our great certainties and upset the elemental hierarchies”.

For my part, sharing this privileged stage with President Cardoso, recognized for his intellectual authority in all of Latin America, and once again with the illustrious ex-heads of states participating in this summit, whose moralizing presence honor us all, as well as the possibility of attenuating my modest anxieties in this structure of hope, tolerance and human cohabitation, in which Federico Mayor pursues his dreams; I shoulder it all in faith and as an obligation, a challenge to the discernment we still possess that makes it possible “to imagine the world and its history as a great poem”, to quote Gala.

I do not attempt, much less suggest, to elicit with this attitude a type of isolation of our spirit, thus distorting the threatening nature of reality. Rather, this induces us to vie for the restoration of the faith man has in the irreplaceable value of his conscience. “The task of purification needed now”, said Maritain, “is not an escape to the common places where morality is cloaked in political resentments, class hate, and the justification of the whip exists. It is not an epidemic of senile resignation. It is a task of courage and hope, of trust and faith, that must begin with the efforts of intelligence, dedicated to seeing clearly at all costs and escape mistakes that disfigure the great things that we have come to believe in, those things that give hope to the world”.

All in all, these things, in their natural order, are barely understood by the average man. Only he, with his will is able to direct himself to them and perfect himself in the search for that which is good and true. For “sad becomes the path”, as told by Andrés Eloy Blanco, “when walked by a thirsty man, with no one to ask which way he should take to arrive, where to arrive to take the way. How sad for the path to be walked by no man, none of whom he can ask, Whither does our path take us? Sad it is for the path that the traveler not tell him the lay of the land. The worst part of a pilgrimage is the loneliness; the worst part of death is the silence.” □

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Jorge Santistevan de Noriega (Peru),
Popular defender.



Enrique Perez Olivares (Venezuela) Former minister of Education and member of the Executive Committee of the Social-Christian Party (COPEI); Jorge Maiorano (Argentina) Defender of the people of the nation.

Isabel Allende (Chile),
Socialist congresswoman.



Leticia Rodríguez (Guatemala),
UNESCO's representative
before *Ombudsmen*.



Jorge Mario García Laguardia (Guatemala),
Human Rights attorney.





A CULTURE OF PEACE, DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND NEW POLICY

Federico Mayor Zaragoza
UNESCO's Director General

I am honored and pleased to have the opportunity to address you on the occasion of this REGIONAL SUMMIT FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES which is the culmination of the DEMOS Project that UNESCO has been sponsoring for more than two years now. It has ended as a process of reflection and is now beginning to be implemented in Latin America, at which point I would hope that this process of reflection and these conclusions might quickly be made available to other regions and sub-regions of the world where there is an enormous need for this inspiration, this guidance and where as yet there is no encouragement for carrying out a process of this nature.

Over the course of the five meetings held during this period I have had the opportunity to hear or read the reflections on different current topics expressed by presidents, ministers, politicians, university department heads, professors, members of private organizations, former guerrillas – all those who in times of peace or strife have first-hand experience in dealing with development policy and the value of the principles which we all strive to protect and promote.

I must congratulate both the organizers and participants of these “social analysis laboratories” for their valuable contributions and the analytic rigor they have displayed. I feel certain that the wealth of the experience and dialog will constitute a highly important contribution to the task of shaping a new culture of policy for the new century, which is the goal this project has set.

As a politician, parliamentarian and as a scientific analyst, I wish to stress that in contrast to the changes that occur in chemical and biological reactions, this particular change can only come about in situations of

In social and environmental terms, we are straying from the tendency to reduce the gap between those who have so much and those with hardly anything and attempting to reduce the possibility of conflicts arising due to dire poverty and exclusion.

emotional upheaval. There is a very wonderful expression in French which says that we are as human as the extent of our capacity to be moved.

In humanitarian terms, we know we must have the capacity to be moved and we must have compassion in order to bring about long-awaited changes. We must take advantage of the end of the century and the millennium because if we do not, history will repeat itself and we will return to growing disparities, bipolarization, and asymmetries. In social and environmental terms, we are straying from the tendency to reduce the gap between those who have so much and those with hardly anything and attempting to reduce the possibility of conflicts arising due to dire poverty and exclusion.

The vicious circle of history

These clamors have not been heard above the ever-present urgency of everyday phenomena, dealing with matters that require attention immediately, soon, or in the very near future, because the extremely short duration of government administration that exists in the majority of democracies precludes medium or long-term planning. The Earth Council that gathered in Rio de Janeiro some months ago and just a few days ago in New York at the special General Assembly of the UN clearly show that we are behaving as always, i.e., we are not incorporating these calls for attention and awareness.

We continue with the same busy habits and we continue to ignore the new property forms of our natural resources. The many arms and tentacles of multinational corporations frequently prevent the countries owning the resources from deriving any benefit from them. All of the above is leading to the consolidation of very dangerous trends; instead of closing the international and intra-national gap between the haves and have-nots, we are widening it. This injustice shows that less than 20% of the world's population owns more than 80% of all resources, including land, and knowledge. If proper steps are not taken to stop the vicious circle of history from repeating itself, the above will once again lead to conflicts which will have to be avoided and migration waves that will not be stemmed.

We have made progress in some areas; perhaps the only two good pieces of news for humanity might be, one, the awareness of the people and the media that aids the possibilities for mobility on a world scale,

and the general clamor that demands timely measures of the government. The second piece of good news is the drop in the indexes of demographic growth.

Therefore, we have not much to offer in the way of good news in light of the happenings we are witnessing: conflicts, radicalization, violence, illegal migration; squalor is so prevalent, particularly in the rural areas of many countries where there is nothing left to lose, that it might lead to new conflicts.

The sale of weapons has not decreased. A meager reduction was registered from 1989 to 1991; nonetheless, in the last year over 926 billion dollars were invested in enormously sophisticated arms to be used in warfare within an international framework. This despite the fact that current confrontations are internal, based more on cultural, ideological, religious, and above all inadequate education grounds. For many years, colonial imposition or the imposition of a regime such as the soviet one, that didn't allow citizens the freedom to express themselves, had hindered learning to live together and respect others and had promoted for many years the fermentation of hatred and animosity, rather than fomenting respect and peaceful coexistence.

If these tendencies are not corrected, if we continue to govern on a world scale as we have till now, the "I'll do what I can today, we'll see about tomorrow" attitude, all these failings that incapacitate us from making important worldwide decisions raise the specters of significant warfare on the horizon. If we do not revert these trends, within a few years they'll be knocking once again at our doors claiming our sons for war. We must avoid this, it was already fearfully discussed in 1945 by all those involved in the world war, who proclaimed in the name of the people: "we promise future generations they will never have to undergo the horrors of war".

The urgency for renewal

Our mission is therefore very clear: to avoid war. We are struggling for democracy, for democratic principles, for the right to education, justice, housing, environment and development. We have as our basis the practice of the building of peace in the minds of men. Suddenly, conflicts and war return and all human rights cease to be exercised because we resume our usual behavior, we revert to that vicious circle that is the inability to

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make important decisions. The urgency for renewal is not born of an end of century whim, but rather from the serene observation of historic facts and the awareness of the urgency in seeking new answers to the dangers that threaten the future of mankind.

Following the events of recent decades, mankind faces—for the first time ever—the need to come up with new formulas for cohabitation if the species is to survive. Throughout numerous centuries the brutal ordering of society, based on fear, force and violence, and disdain for the law (or what we call a warlike culture) has been the rule rather than the exception. However, this social structure based on strength and oppression has now reached the end of its tether. At the threshold of a new millennium, the failure of violence as the mainstay of history is imminent; the difference among the have and the have-nots is greater; with love in exile, the countries that once were beacons of change and social transformation are reduced to their opaque, myopic economic strategies. No one is happy. Those who have overly much, and prematurely acquired, because they cannot appreciate that which they never dreamed about. Those who possess nothing, because each morning greets them with the same despair of living with hearts and minds wounded by exclusion and abandonment.

Violence is domination by strength, but it is also a lack of solidarity, abandonment, street children, young people seeking refuge in drugs; violence is forgetting humankind when drawing up development plans, when for thirty years international strategies adopted in different decades—comprehensive development in the sixties, endogenous development in the seventies, lasting development in the eighties—but never development in education, culture or science. Not until now, this fourth international strategy, is human development proposed for the nineties. For the first time we are talking about human resources and mitigating poverty, after thirty years of development strategies based on economic aspects.

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Building peace

Building peace requires generalized repudiation of violence, and the commitment of the entire society (not only civil society, but also military and religious), to consolidate a framework of lasting genuine democratic cohabitation that will lead to prevention. The old Roman adage says, “If you want peace, prepare for war”; the motto for the new century must become: “If you want peace, build it”. This “warlike culture” is becoming

more and more obsolete in a world united by demographic changes, scientific evolution and environmental dangers. To physically dominate territories and peoples has become irrelevant in a world ruled by the instantaneous exchange of information and capital.

This global mutation in living conditions offers inedited possibilities and forces us to face hitherto unknown difficulties. Problems currently affecting some part of humanity threaten to engulf the entire planet in the short term.

Globalization is patently apparent in all areas of human existence. Like Leonardo Da Vinci's boat, all —the rich, the poor, women, men, young people, the elderly, whites, blacks... we all share a common fate: in times of crisis, when the ship is in danger of capsizing, all on board are reduced to passengers sharing the same fate. "The world is either one or none", sentenced Albert Einstein. Because of scientific development, and taking into account its mass destruction applications, more than ever before the fate of each and every human being —no matter what race, culture or religion— is closely linked to that of his fellows.

A consequence of this interdependence is that each one of the rights recognized in treaties and international declarations brings with it its share of duties for those of us who abide by them and defend them. It is clear that the rights are inherent and therefore not in the least conditioned by the compliance of the corresponding duties. It is also clear that the international dimension in the public and private sectors as well as the means of communications (so frequently dangerously unidirectional) underlines the essential importance of each unique person, each protagonist of rights and duties. The very concept of "person" implies the plural, the "other"; it implies community. Hence, the obligation to maintain peace in the heart of Africa, the obligation to promote literacy in South America, and the obligation to protect the patrimony of the Far East. These things concern each and every one of us, and the international community as a whole.

Only through general clamor, only through a generalized stirring of conscience can the wheels be set in motion for this change of direction that is ethically imperative. This sense of planetary responsibility, of imminent solidarity that reaches beyond the local, regional and national scope, is one of the defining traits of the new era that lays the groundwork for the transformations of the last few years.

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Ethic of time

A correct diagnosis and timely, radical action are the key elements in “building up the bulwarks of peace” that the constitution of UNESCO calls for. First, the serene analysis of the ethology of the wrongs; then, when the knowledge is enough to work on, though imperfect, we must proceed quickly and boldly, going straight to the root of the conflict.

Paulo Freire, that great teacher of pedagogy whose work decisively transformed teaching in Latin America and other regions, reminds us that “one must read life to be able to live History”. To know to foresee, to foresee to prevent, and to dare to act while we still can.

This preventive task is indispensable to carve out a just and lasting peace. The current conditions on the greater part of the planet force us to proceed in such a way that we might avoid possible irreversible effects. The existence of a reasonable proposal for making decisions, for “the point of no return”, morally demands of us the adoption of timely decisions. Either in dealing with environmental issues, cultural or social problems, or situations of armed conflict; timely action taken is the only way to correct tendencies that could unleash irreparable alterations in the natural, cultural, genetic or ethical legacies.

I would not wish to leave as a legacy to coming generations —our children and grandchildren, our hope— a shell of a world, one impoverished by these alterations. In this sense, I like to evoke the words of Montesquieu, who in *The Spirit of Laws* reminds us that “when Sila gave Rome back its freedom, she could no longer receive it”. Now that this historical juncture is particularly ripe for each citizen to recover the freedom, ability, and knowledge that are his by right, I would not wish for the obstacles born of our lack of foresight to stand in his way.

Negotiating the intangibles

One of the difficulties arising from this commitment to envision and prevent, is that it becomes, in its very essence, by way of preventing events, a “negotiation of intangibles”. Prevention, when successful, goes unseen. Like health, good weather or the proper functioning of the economy, peace is one of the aspects of existence that are taken for granted, forgotten through the sheer enjoyment of it, and only missed when lost. So also is prevention remembered only when it fails. Nobody decorates generals for wars avoided, only for wars won. Perhaps sometime in the future, if we manage to achieve

peace and safety on a world, regional and national level; if the ministers of defense can over time become ministers of peace, we can establish an award in recognition of the important task of prevention.

In order for this “negotiation of intangibles” to become reality, one must make an effort to look beyond everyday cares, beyond daily vicissitudes and strife. We must attain a vision capable of articulating the local with the universal, the immediate with the distant, the short term with the sense of history.

Unfortunately, thus far we have acted tardily, and have resorted to insufficient palliatives once the crises explode. Among other things, this is due to the fact that we are prepared for the challenges of the past, but not for those of today, and even less for those looming in the immediate future. The rational use of water, improved quality of life in rural areas (which would lower migration flows), changes in the weather, the loss of biodiversity, cultural standardization or nuclear proliferation all pose problems whose relevance will only increase over the coming decades. However, we now stand prepared for improbable wars, with a vast display of costly instruments, while we are lacking in provisions that will allow us to foresee and mitigate natural disasters, or provoked catastrophes that may affect us recurrently. Raymond Aaron, in a famed essay on the conflicts of the 20th century, states that men make history, though they don't know what kind of history they are making. The truth is that man cannot and should not, either individually or as a species, give up on making of history a rational construction. That effort, that endeavor to order and lend a sense of freedom and justice to collective life is precisely the only way to humanize life.

The memory of future

Each generation embarks on this task with the ever-renewed hope of avoiding the mistakes of the past and successfully achieving the challenges of the future. To attain this, it is crucial to retain the memory of the past, patent in the works of our philosophers, scientists, writers and artists. More importantly, I would insist, is the memory of the future, the project of life in common that we can offer to coming generations through raising them in the values that inspired our conduct.

As you can see, good governance today implies knowing that there are situations that may become irreversible. This anticipation of irreversibility,

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this ethic of time is, in my opinion, one of the greatest challenges that good governance faces today. The other is to know how to portray these intangibles as the successful actions of the politician. We must be able to foresee, select among possible future scenarios the one most closely related to human dignity. We need to be aware that sometimes that international reality, that capacity to communicate simultaneously with the spot where the action is taking place, makes these costly instruments (designed to be used in armed conflicts) invalid for their purpose. This is one reason why we should all pay tribute to the means of communication, they can effectively be used when people would otherwise be unaware of what is going on; remember some of the war practices that could not be applied in Vietnam precisely because the cameras were present.

Therefore, good governance implies awareness of potential irreversibility, it implies making the intangibles known, it implies long term vision and the ability to foresee; to know that we must learn to look to the outside, contrary to what train wagon posters preach, we need to open wide the windows of our countries, our institutions, ourselves... open all wide, and know that today the world is one or none, that this globalization is essential. We must learn, for the sake of good governance, that complex reality must be respected. If we do not respect it, and as a scientist I insist on this point, when we simplify —sometimes necessary for reasons of teaching, though never for political ends or decision making— we may manage to change simplified perception, but never the underlying complex reality.

Man cannot and should not, either individually or as a species, give up on making of history a rational construction. That effort, that endeavor to order and lend a sense of freedom and justice to collective life is precisely the only way to humanize life.

Continuity and State policy

Continuity is indispensable to good governance. As the director general of UNESCO, as an educator, as minister of education and science, I know full well that when we design educational reforms, processes whose very nature require long term application, we cannot adapt these decisions to the short term to comply with legislature or the rhythm of national politics. State policies must live side by side with government policies, and those governments that suggest and instigate these policies are to be praised. We have Parliament, the repository of popular wishes; they could be the ones to take charge of these State agreements for issues that today can no longer be delayed, such as education, environment and science.

Multiple points of view are fundamental to ensure the capacity to build the future, a task that more than ever before must be carried out. In order to extract what we want from these scenarios, we first have to build them. To our great misfortune, this source of creativity is now threatened by the same standardization trends that generated the impetuous technological development of the last two centuries. This phenomenon brings to light the face of a civilization evermore brilliant in acquiring accessories, and more than ever before impoverished in the essential things.

Doubtless the loss of values that we now wallow in stems from the multiple threats surrounding diversity, be it ethical, biological, political or cultural diversity. We think we know the price of many things, but we ignore or have lost our sense of value. In our society the number of sated and indifferent individuals grows, precisely when the demand for participation and solidarity is most pressing. Indifferent for they don't value peace, justice or the freedom they enjoy; because they don't remember the number of dead, the terrible price of violence and war; they forget just how difficult it has been to slowly forge that context of peace, of public freedom and justice, constantly being improved and verified. But when we get up in the morning and know that we are waking into a context of peace, justice and liberty —and know it because we have memories of war, memories of upheaval— then should we be more aware of the value of peace. We have to know how to enjoy it, for if we do not, if we take it for granted as though it were the natural state of affairs, the existence of that peace, that justice, that freedom appears to us to be as ordinary as having running water, electricity, computers, all kinds of high fidelity instruments to hear marvelous concerts. All too frequently these material goods whose value is unknown —at times we don't even know their price— are not accorded their due importance, the fundamental value of the joy they provide; this dissociation between possession and enjoyment is one of the most important sociological facts of the times.

The homogenization of thought

Perhaps one of the most negative trends today, all the more so for being publicly visible on an everyday basis, is the concentration of the media in the hands of a few commercial entities. Subjected to strictly business considerations, these means of communication run the risk of becoming

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the vehicles of weak thought, the kind that steadfastly refuses to seriously consider the fundamental questions of our lives and our times. This vehicle is never radical, preferring to skirt the real issues, and has become the forerunner of one way of thinking; I know that we can overcome the great challenge of *one language, one thinking*. I know that it is merely a difficult stage we will have gone through, and we can later enjoy the numerous positive aspects that the communications network has to offer. But we must be prepared, we must maintain diversity: the diversity of languages, that infinite diversity, that cultural diversity threatened by standardization. It is not in the hands of the communications media, it is in ours; it is in the hands of citizens who possess awareness and the capacity to participate.

Perhaps that tendency to homogenize thought is the cause of the clamoring silence of the intellectuals, scientists, and media regarding some of the capital problems of our contemporary world.

At one time I was thoroughly worried by the silence of the silenced ones, of those who were gagged, those lacking the necessary means to make their voices heard. It was during a time when so very many human beings were condemned to silence by systems of oppression, or by the very ignorance which prevented them from raising their voices. So it became our responsibility to speak up for the voiceless, for the silenced.

I will confess that I am now more concerned than ever about the silence of the silent. The silence of those who, qualified to speak out about what is happening, prefer to remain silent. What is happening is that the resources are being inverted: those resources designated for peace, education, medical care and the development of infrastructure in the poorest countries are being used for weapons and devices for destruction. What is happening is that decorum and human rights are being trampled when applying measures that threaten our common future. What is happening is that the lives and health of our children and grandchildren are endangered, with no consideration for irreversible trends or points of no return.

Freedom of expression guarantees just laws and that power will be exercised under the supervision of the citizens. This same freedom of expression causes the silence of those who are not bound and gagged to be considered complicity, even, I would venture, a crime. We cannot invest

in international security structures, perhaps prepared for other circumstances or historic moments, while we witness the collective shame of children who are sexually exploited, as well as trough labor; these children who are the fruit of lovelessness and indifference. Just what kind of humanity is this that destroys its own hope, its own offspring? Not even animals do so. Why is it that there is no permanent uproar in the media, in communications, where are all those citizens who are qualified to express themselves regarding these children of the streets, these exploited children? They were there when we reached those hitherto unthinkable limits of progress in material aspects. Why is it that we don't struggle every single day, all of us, against the networks of pedophilia, those abominable networks embracing all forms of perverseness? How can we state today, five years after the Rio de Janeiro Summit, that nothing significant has been done about the environment? How can we, as scientists, be heard when we declare that the first species in need of protection is the human species?

We have carried out costly activities for the conservation of certain species, at times without consulting those who live where these species are found on whether or not they deem it convenient to increase the fauna or prolong its life. When I bring up these subjects, I always think of Waclav Havel's phrase: "I have had to remember that it is not enough to explain the world, we need to understand it. That we must not impose our words on it, but tune our ears and listen to the polyphony of messages it sends".

The gordian knots of our times

These are knots that we are all familiar with: exclusion and discrimination excused by reason of ethnic, cultural or ideological differences; urban squalor and the decadence of rural areas; mass migration; the wastefulness displayed in using the planet's resources and the deterioration of the environment; new pandemics such as AIDS, and old ones that attack with renewed virulence, such as tuberculosis or malaria, as well as neurological disorders caused by emerging diseases that can constitute an enormous new threat for which we are not prepared. For the first time we are not invaded by live organisms, bacteria or parasites, but rather by molecular structures that have the capacity to reproduce or photocopy themselves.

Perhaps one of the most negative trends today, all the more so for being publicly visible on an everyday basis, is the concentration of the media in the hands of a few commercial entities. Subjected to strictly business considerations, these means of communication run the risk of becoming the vehicles of weak thought, the kind that steadfastly refuses to seriously consider the fundamental questions of our lives and our times. This vehicle is never radical, preferring to skirt the real issues, and has become the forerunner of one way of thinking.

Freedom of expression guarantees just laws and that power will be exercised under the supervision of the citizens. This same freedom of expression causes the silence of those who are not bound and gagged to be considered complicity, even, I would venture, a crime. We cannot invest in international security structures, perhaps prepared for other circumstances or historic moments, while we witness the collective shame of children who are sexually exploited, as well as in labor; these children who are the fruit of lovelessness and indifference. Just what kind of humanity is this that destroys its own hope, its own offspring? Not even animals do so.

We are not prepared, and we cannot invest in this because one cannot invest in war and peace at the same time.

According to the classic legend, Alexander the Great sliced the “Gordian knot” with his sword, thus gaining Asia for his empire. Our knots must be cut cleanly, but peacefully. Cut with words, not swords! Words are the strength of parliaments and peoples: let us establish the necessary channels of information and cooperation, thus ensuring that the representatives of the people champion education, science, culture... leading the unavoidable change that the coming century demands.

The rich “polyphony” of the contemporary world, to borrow from Havel, does not allow for simple solutions to remedy the extraordinarily broad array of problems. A planet of 6 billion inhabitants who live in increasingly unequal interdependence does not accept the oversimplified analysis that strove, until recently, to seek one single cause of all evils, and once identified, apply the magical remedy (perhaps a type of Fiera-brás ointment) that would cure all wrongs. On the other hand, it is possible to conceive of a set of partial measures whose application might be decisive for the array of problems I have mentioned. *Grosso modo*, these are solutions that revolve around a common axle and deal with democratic governance, lasting development and the construction of peace. Therefore, UNESCO’s actions—based on ideals that are more necessary today than ever before, marvelously outlined in the Constitution—are addressing the very marrow of world problems.

Democratic principles and democratic governance

The less fortunate nations need democratic ideals, not foreign models. They need universal principles built into each culture, each specific situation. The countries that have recently joined the ranks of democracies, countries that were unfamiliar with governments designated by popular acclaim, have highlighted the dangers that threaten democratic systems that are hastily installed, without justice or security. It is not sufficient to proclaim the “empire of law”; the laws have to be fair, and to achieve this there must be freedom of expression. So that fair laws may be applied diligently, sufficient security is a must. All too frequently the transition is made from the total security and zero freedom of autocratic and authoritarian systems to total freedom and zero security.

Democratic principles also require popular participation to be adequately put into practice. And in order to participate one must realize that “education is the key to freedom” (Simón Bolívar). In the absence of adequate educational, cultural and socioeconomic development, the participation of the citizens in decision making is solely symbolic, or even non-existent. Democratic institutions lose their meaning and are reduced to mere formal representation.

To achieve an authentic democracy it is essential that government organizations guarantee freedom, security and legal protection for every citizen. The respect for human rights, particularly those of minorities, and the efficient functioning of justice are the pillars of democratic governance. Democratic, not technocratic, not oligarchic, nor plutocratic. Right here, in Brasilia was where “hail democracy” was proclaimed, excluding other formulas that attempt to disguise it or conceal it. *Demos* is the people, without impositions.

The strength of the word

What is our only strength? The word. I have said it before: it is not the winning, it is the convincing. It is to awaken popular acclaim to ideals, it is the genuine strength of democracy. It isn't the money, it isn't the technique. It is the people, the word. It is the spirit. It is about a great collective effort to attain peace through the word, because the word is both the means and the end of all culture. The word, as instrument of thought or *objet d'art*, as the essence of politics, as a religious symbol; it is both the root and the flower of all culture.

The fact that the word implies the idea of dialogue, of rational bonds to our fellows, turns it into a linking mechanism, with potential for socialization. That is why both of Aristotle's definitions of man—that of political animal and that of a being gifted with words—take us back to the same reality: life in the *polis*, city, is only possible if the affairs that pertain to all are dealt with through dialogue and agreement, and never by brute force. Being Catalanian, I know only too well of the importance that commercial exchange held at one time. I know what the Phoenicians meant. Nonetheless, the Phoenicians are gone now, only their name remains. But Hellenistic thought prevails because it underscores the strength of culture, the strength of spirit.

It is possible to conceive of a set of partial measures whose application might be decisive for the array of problems I have mentioned. Grosso modo, these are solutions that revolve around a common axis and deal with democratic governance, lasting development and the construction of peace. Therefore, UNESCO's actions—based on ideals that are more necessary today than ever before, marvelously outlined in the Constitution—are addressing the very marrow of world problems.

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In all democratic societies, Parliament is the highest authority of popular will. The deputies are elected by the people, their commitment is to establish legal order and ensure strict compliance, as well as to guarantee the fair and efficient appropriation of national resources for public needs. Among the broad array of national needs, education holds priority during this end of century and millennium. Not only because it is an essential right of mankind, as we are reminded in the text of the foundation of the United Nations system, but because it is the dynamic axis of that "interactive triangle" that comprises peace, development and democracy.

This learning without barriers that UNESCO promotes —without geographic, economic, political, linguistic, cultural, age or sexual barriers— can contribute to changing the world, eliminating or reducing the multiple obstacles that now stand in the way of many who are striving to attain knowledge and information. Education must contribute to strengthening, rescuing and developing the culture and identity of all peoples. Globalization brings with it the danger of standardization, and revives the temptation to withdraw, to build fortresses and walls around amalgamating religious, ideological, cultural and political sentiments. When threatened by fundamentalist entrenchment, narrow-mindedness and fanaticism that are on the rebound, even in the richest countries, we need to respond by stressing the learning and critical thinking that allows people to understand the transformations that are occurring around them and thus be able to modulate their own destiny.

Peace...it implies diversity and tolerance, it means mixing. I would highlight the tremendous importance from a biological, social and cultural point of view that this interaction and learning bears with it. Overcoming this withdrawal has the advantage of being exposed to all winds and currents around us. To quote Carlos Fuentes, this mixture of *mestizo* and pilgrim cultures creates pluri-ethnic and multilingual societies. It is good to remember this, now that the native groups of the Americas are all claiming the equality that they deserve and the right to participate in the determination and application of laws.

None of the purposes that our society proposes can be carried out in time unless we depart from the well-worn paths and begin to act audaciously, with the imagination that contemporary challenges demands;

unless we can succeed in making the rights of coming generations prevail over short-term interests and over the myopia of those who quote the laws of the market as the only measuring stick.

The culture of peace

Peace is a prerequisite, not a premise. No right can be exerted during a war; no effort for socioeconomic transformation can bear fruit during conflicts; in like manner, it is exceedingly difficult to guarantee peace and democratic governance in the absence of economic, scientific and technical progress from society. Only the endogenous and respectful development of the environment, development with a human face, can provide the foundations to build peace in the spirit of man. That is the mission of UNESCO. Only with the free participation of all can a culture of peace be molded for the coming century.

The determination to build this new culture, one in which daily behavior reflects the civic values of tolerance and love of fellow man, requires a substantial increase in the resources designated for education. Only then will we be able to transmit values, orient attitudes and determine the legal provisions that will successfully replace the obsolete trappings of a warlike culture that still abound, some through habit, some through cowardice. The transition from a culture of war to a culture of peace implies a radical change of behavior and habits.

The maximum expression of culture is manifested in daily behavior, and that is the reason why today many zealots prefer to think of culture only as art, creativity and beauty. No; culture is reflected in the way we behave on a daily basis, and that behavior is conditioned by our heritage, our traditions and thoughts, that in which we believe, that which we reject, that which we invent, that which we discover and create every single day. The bulwarks of peace, true, are not built in a day; they have their own foundations and cultural cornerstone.

Jaime Torres Bodet declared it 45 years ago: the bulwarks of peace must be built stubbornly, every single day, through our commitment and daily example. Each one of us, as discerning citizens, is charged with part of the responsibility in that task. However, teachers and political leaders—who by virtue of their calling and training have at hand the instruments for development and socioeconomic transformation—must

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assume greater responsibility, for in order to know where we are headed we must establish lofty goals.

I have oft repeated that marvelous verse signed by one of the heteronyms of Fernando Pessoa, prodigious Portuguese writer and poet, that says: “the moon shines equally over the sea as over puddles because it is high enough to do so”. Nonetheless, the path cannot be seen in the darkness. We have to invest in education if we really intend to achieve, by century’s end, the transition we aspire to: from *by reason of strength* to *through strength of reason*. To go from a context of violence and war to one of peace and tolerance demands a reordering of priorities and investment. I repeat: we cannot pay at the same time the price of war and the price of peace. We must adopt the irrevocable decision to take action against all forms of violence and adopt the means for these purposes to become reality. Only thus will we experience the fruits of harmony described in the article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that says that we are all equal and free, and goes on to add “education is a fundamental right of each person”.

A new political culture for a new century

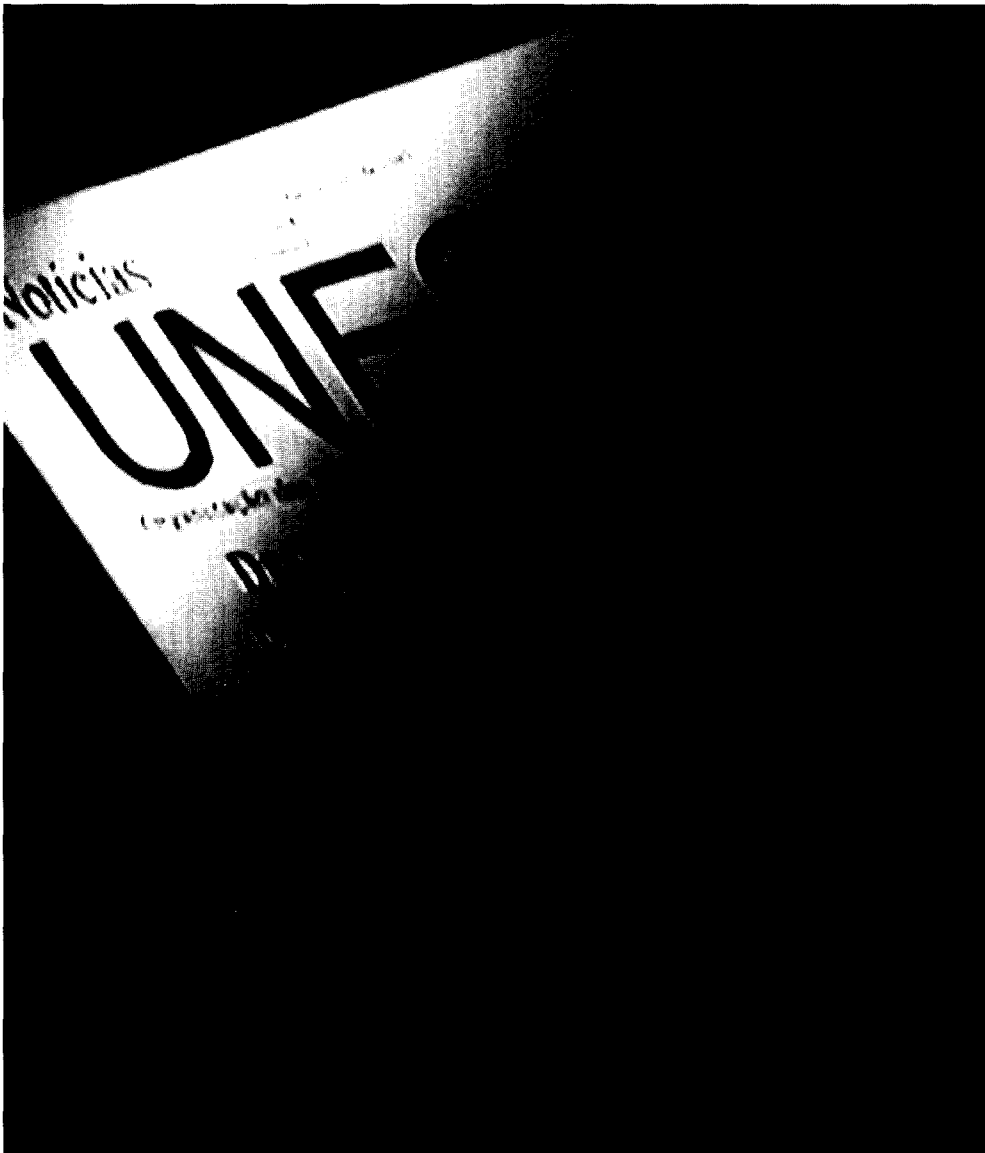
The *Demos* project examined throughout two years the key issues of Latin American reality, and did so with dynamic, interdisciplinary methodology. During the first meeting in Contadora, Panama, we discussed the problem of the Latin American identity. During the second meeting, in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, we dealt with the reform of the State, interdependence and sovereignty. During the third meeting, in Caracas, Venezuela, we dealt with the issue of poverty. During the fourth meeting, held in Montego Bay, Jamaica, we examined various aspects of the social transformations underway and their impact on politics. The fifth and last meeting, held in Santiago, Chile, in September of 1996, shortly before the Ibero American Summit of Chiefs of State and Government, analyzed the issue of governance and democratic principles.

This effort of reflection constitutes an important contribution toward understanding the difficulties and perspectives that the continent now faces on the path to modernity and democratization. If DEMOS has succeeded in conveying the belief that democracy must be founded on principles and not on imported models, that each society must find its

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own ways and systems based on the essential ideas of justice and liberty, then these alone are a great step forward toward the objective of forging a new political culture for the new century, thus fulfilling the initial purpose.

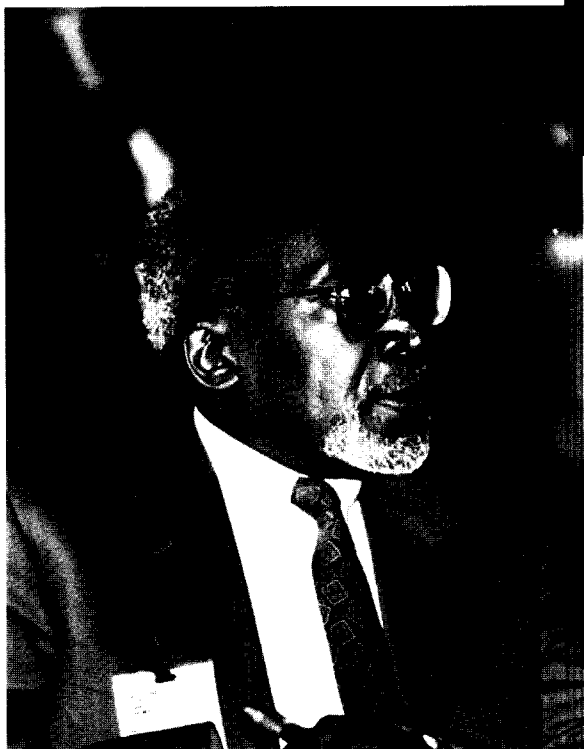
In the name of UNESCO as well as my own, I wish to thank you for all your collaboration in this effort, and to exhort you to continue working to convert the ideals that are the essence of our ethical commitment into facts. Continue the task of fanning the flame of solidarity and interdependence among all human beings without exception, to build a lasting and just peace. □



Nonetheless, the path cannot be seen in the darkness. We have to invest in education if we really intend to achieve, by century's end, the transition we aspire to: from by reason of strength to through strength of reason. To go from a context of violence and war to one of peace and tolerance demands a reordering of priorities and investment.



Director General, Federico Mayor, addresses renowned Brazilian writer Jorge Amado, at a ceremony where Amado received UNESCO's award.



Leslie Atherley (Barbados) Director of the Culture of Peace Programme of UNESCO.



Participants at the Regional Summit, during one of the plenary sessions.

Report on democratic principles and governance

GOVERNING GLOBALIZATION

The policy of inclusion: the change to shared responsibility

A CAUTIOUS REVOLUTION

There is a cautious revolution underway in Latin America. It comes wrapped in the shadows of cruelty and human suffering. It is stealthy. Both of these hinder us from seeing it at times. Yet it is there. An unedited process of intellectual maturity follows in the wake of the perplexity produced by the multiple crises associated with changes in the region and in the world. The outcome is a collective learning that evermore isolates Manichaeic thought, no matter the political sign or publicity capacity it may possess. When seeking simple, elegant solutions to the social complexity that prevails, in all its varied manifestations, we are led to believe that we are facing something archaic. The deterioration of many established collective models is giving way to the progressive return of societies to public activity; the multiple forms this return takes give rise to increasingly participating citizens, with a growing demand for information. On average, social awakening has increased and become an additional force that questions

conventional leadership. The new economic awareness, both private and public, that attempts to associate growth to equality and social justice demands a development model that will make of the world market a source of opportunity for all.

These trends are concurrent to other inverted trends. Side by side with constructive signs, we find the terrible reality of that slow death march, perpetual poverty and the death of civic life, caused by corruption, and most of all corruption associated with drug trafficking. Only political determination and imagination, added to uncompromising ethics, can stop this bundle of conditions from becoming another historical wasted opportunity and allow a life ethic to reign. Never before as at this end of century has the future of the men and women of Latin America and the Caribbean depended so much on themselves. Accustomed by virtue of colonial heritage to think of itself as a victim of external forces beyond its control, the region begins to experience, albeit amidst contradictory signs, the conditions necessary to give birth to a new historical cycle. If Latin American politics sets its roots in the best moments of its history, those moments that others like ourselves used to elicit and direct the will and energy of individuals and groups toward conquering shared goals, we shall find ourselves at the dawn of a new beginning.

The end of the bipolarity between the east and the west brings with it the demise of totalitarian dogma, and now, the rapid dissolution of the self-named single thought. The possibility of public negotiation of the problems of our countries is real, and can be done without the simplifying dichotomy of the cold war period. The precariousness of the times and the insensitive sovereignty of those with the most decision-making power in issues of modernity force the region to go in search of itself, to seek its own integration. All bonds for cooperation are necessary and must be sought and preserved within the framework of reciprocity, but none so much as our own joint efforts. Any other path is doomed to failure. To persist in the belief that privileged or philanthropic subordinates can suddenly open a space in the world for the peoples of our continent is, in light of the results, a grave mistake.

MORAL STRENGTH FOR A NEW MODERNITY

The inescapable obligation of a globalized world is to fortify the moral strength needed to sustain the responsibility and risk involved in autonomous decision making. Without this moral strength, the future will be a shock. With it, the multicolored nationally and regionally diverse peoples resulting from a heritage of *mestizaje* (mixed blood) will be able to find its niche in the world. Reaching toward one another to learn from each other: in this resides the will to live. This is the uncertainty needed to invent another modernity, one in which our histories cease to be parallel. One in which our histories can be recognized as possessing —alongside the Western founding tradition— our intimate primitive rationale, the Quechua, Maya, Aymara, Nahuatl, and Guarani ancestry; the remote reformulating of our Portuguese-Spanish-Arabian heritage, and the forceful dignity of our dark truth, our Afro-American heritage.

If the future is going to become a clash of civilizations, as has been said, our region contains the secret to avert it. Five hundred years have taught us that civilizing contact can become a dialogue respectful of differences; it can lead to pacific coexistence and create multiple ethnic groups that enrich our lifestyles, sometimes embodied in a love that is the essence of our *mestizaje*, commonly found among our peoples. In order to offer it to the world, America must first affirm its place, in response to the ancestral call of the original peoples, and erase the silent pain that is a part of ourselves.

Nothing stands in the way; nothing other than the long-term prison of our prejudices, ideologies, interests and rivalries from another age, outdated yet resistant. Societies and nations have taken steps in the right direction. Issues that until recently were considered natural, have now become problems, difficult ones, that challenge public action. Ethnical segregation, poverty, inequality, the discrimination of women and children, the systematic violation of human rights, the destruction of the environment, fratricidal wars among peoples who by rights should be one nation, the subsequent arming —though not yet a key element on the agenda— are cultural aspects of society, instigating creativity and lending force to the actions of our intellectual and political figures.

LEADERS FOR THE CHANGE TO SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

Precisely because the present has become problematic, the need for renewed policies arises and becomes imperative. Though hopelessness and pessimism may often cloud our vision, these policies are already coming into being before our very eyes. From different arenas—government, municipal, non-government organizations, agencies for international cooperation, social corporations—, visionary leaders of innovative willpower are proclaiming and demonstrating through actions that build a new basic consensus the first fruits of a shared search. Their examples indicate that under current circumstances the only realistic outcome is to think thoroughly of changes to be made, restore moral sense to public action, and lay the groundwork of practical conditions that will lead to the materialization of reasonable utopias. The difficulties of our present-day world afford daily cares to the uncomplicated people who populate our countries as well as to their statesmen and leaders. To innovate the practices of policy is to renovate the players, it is to instigate changes in practices that in the long run will set the foundations for a new culture, one of dialogue, democracy and peace.

There is a cautious revolution underway in Latin America. To consolidate it in all areas and levels of social life requires leadership for a shared responsibility; this is the necessary condition to achieve the promise of Latin American life for the coming century. It is to universally take strides toward a culture of peace, rather than one of war. To promote the democratic and universal principles of justice, freedom, equality and solidarity means to share the program for human emancipation, a program that will govern globalization and put it at the service of the people.

THE VERTIGO OF THE UNTHINKABLE

Upon reaching the end of the 20th Century, humanity appears to be wholly convinced that world history has undergone a very large change. Even beyond vague millenary awareness, reality is presented in radical, novel terms, both in intellectual offerings and in common sense perceptions. All is new, *neo* or *post*. The use of these prefixes reveal an awareness of change, but also

the difficulty in understanding it. Usually the definition for change involves those things that have purportedly suffered change: post-industrial, post-modern, neo-liberal, neo-communitarianism. The result is a sense of vertigo and great difficulty in finding direction. In the extreme mindset of some figures of the contemporary scene the future will be a shock and the novel world resulting an escape. Because it is absolutely unforeseeable the future will be ungovernable. Thus, the new century will be entered upon with no cartography, no traced routes.

CHANGE AND KNOWLEDGE

Apparently the only genuine novelty is the arrival of a new kind of uncertainty, one that is associated with the vertigo of modernity, recently accelerated, and is derived from man's effect on nature. Uncertainty appears to be ever-less the result of untamable nature and increasingly the result of human actions on the environment. Even in the poorest of countries there is widespread belief that natural disasters are strictly the result of a lack of prevention on man's part. The theory that greater knowledge results in greater safety for human life is shaken by this reality.

Nuclear or ecological disasters, change in climate, new plagues; all are derived from man's efforts to rule nature. The result is a progressive lack of trust in social change directed by human knowledge. Some have renounced change, and sought shelter in traditional havens of different types. This is the origin of a curious modern phenomenon: fundamentalism, that belligerent defense of traditions. Others have rejected critical knowledge, either declaring an end to or abandoning the course of history for the apparent spontaneity of commercial transactions. This is the contemporary origin of that ancestral phenomenon, dogmatism. Plural efforts are geared to allowing human knowledge to direct change, and that the development of moral and ethical conscience—otherwise known as politics—may decide on the use of scientific breakthroughs.

MODERNITY AND CHANGE

Though there are those who believe that solids will dissolve in air as being a characteristic of modern life, the uncertainty that is wrapped around

present day life is due to the accumulation of quantity and quality, and to the speed of change. Technological innovation in communications multiplies the number of changes through the experience of simultaneity. In real time, one can experience things that are happening clear across the world. At the same time, unexplored territories of human action—to be understood as genetic research, or novel modifications in the traditional concept of family life—give way to the belief that change is truly mutational. Lastly, the speed of scientific innovations, as well as cultural and social innovation, strengthens and expands the key elements of modern life. The end result of all this is the creation of new cultural contexts for personal, local and national life. It is not only that the world has become a global village, as globalization was first defined. That process has been taken a step further: in a sense, it has transformed villages into part of the world.

UNIVERSALITY AND GLOBALIZATION

All this change has significantly transformed our very perception of time and space. The relative democratization of transportation, resulting from the spread and consequent economical nature of transportation per se, has spurred the grand experience of migration of a multitude of men and women to new heights. Between 1930 and 1990 the average invoiced price of transportation per mile has dropped from 0.68 to 0.11 dollars. Despite difficulties and territorial boundaries, thanks to migration the world has become attainable, especially when motivated by the search for a better life. The communications revolution has also led to a change in our temporal sense. One can communicate to the rest of the world from any tiny city. Hence, expectations, especially among the young, are based on ever-increasing preferences for things beyond one's traditional environment.

Given the situation of poverty and exclusion, this irreversible spontaneous interdependence between space and time can lead to suffering and uncontrolled emulation; it also opens the door for unprecedented democratization. Universality is, therefore, that spatial and temporal modification in the human experience. First and foremost, it is a cultural

phenomenon. The result is a lifestyle that spans the globe, even that of the poorest; in some respects, particularly that of the poorest. The outcome will be the enrichment of our creative diversity, or on the other hand, the grey expansion of one single way to live. It depends on the way the process is channeled. It is erroneous to confuse the process of universality and its contradictory effects with its economic aspects, otherwise known as globalization. It reveals a concept of very simple man, one reduced to *homo economicus*, a being whose fulfillment relies on the rationale of cost-benefit.

GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IDEOLOGY

Globalization is the economic aspect of the process of universality and the globalization of life. As such, the context of economic development changes, creating demands that cannot be ignored. The increase in cross-border exchange of goods and services, the development and spread of new technology that has significantly altered the flow and the beneficiaries of international commerce, as well as the global movement of capital —1.4 billion dollars in daily circulation on the international market, of which 90% are transactions taking under one week of time to effect— have all created a new situation.

However, it is one thing to talk of this historic objective process, and quite another to talk of the ideology surrounding it. As has been said, to witness the increase in global exchange, the role of new technology, and the multi-polarization of the production system is one thing; to state that this constitutes a self-regulated world system that escapes, or should escape, political control is quite another. Exact description is replaced by erroneous assumption. To make a distinction between globalization and the ideology of globalization is inherent to development, democracy and equality, especially in the countries of the South. Any policy that does not take into account the process of globalization will tend to become rhetorical inadequacy. Nonetheless, passive adaptation to the mandates of globalization condemns the majority of the population of our countries to exclusion, hindering development.

GLOBAL PROBLEMS AND GOVERNANCE

One of the positive consequences of the globalization of life is gradual universal awareness concerning the global dimension of certain problems. The environmental crisis, the unrestrained demographic increase, the suffering and loss of well-being due to mass migration, the spiritual crisis enveloping democracies, the growing poverty and exclusion, the barbarity of war; all these comprise the main topics for a world agenda for global governance. As pointed out in the report “Our World Village”, the mere existence of global values could be the basis for concerted action. Common rights and shared responsibilities make up a life ethic from which it is possible to see the dead-end reality of a warlike civilization, a civilization that is willing to pay 815 billion dollars in one year’s time on total military spending, and under 0.23% of that figure for peace operations. In this warlike civilization, developing countries are still the primary buyers of weapons, despite poverty; many of their vendors are permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations.

According to most studies carried out concerning global problems, they all focus on the need to create new, human limits on the ethics of production, growth and untrammelled consumption that currently underlies the development model and its corresponding lifestyle. The greatest challenge facing governance on a world and national scale is to be able to govern globalization. Without human authority over the artifacts created to preserve life, globalization—an erstwhile fount of opportunity—will become the main reason for the lack of governance and the de-humanization of the world.

SHARED DEVELOPMENT AND THE NEW ECONOMIC ORDER

One of the greatest global problems requiring attention is that of development. At one time the central theme, it has gradually been diluted as an international, and even national, concern. The lack of development was initially associated with highlighting structural flaws in the operation of markets; the strategy consisted of energetic and multiple action on behalf of the State, as the central agent to correct adverse conditions. Today,

underdevelopment is interpreted as being a byproduct of development strategies that obstructed the dynamics of the market; the solution consisted in removing the artificial failings introduced by the governments, thereby creating rigidity and political burdens on incipient productive structures. Experience gained during those years has taught us that development is the result of combining State action and the market, between protection and free trade, resolved through casuistry. The real world of development is plagued by complexity, and is wholly indifferent to the simplistic theories of states or private organizations.

In recent years Latin America has promoted its macro-structural development obligations, at a social cost often excessive and inequitably distributed. The same cannot be said of wealthy countries. These have even been careless in fulfilling their commitment to devote 0.7% of GDP to international cooperation for development. The real percentage of this commitment has slipped a little more every year. In 1996 it reached a scant 0.2%. Because of this some people think that grandiose plans for international aid were in fact only one more weapon in the paraphernalia of the cold war. Here we must also set aside the reasoning of war. International cooperation must consider an increase not only in quantity of aid, but the quality of said aid: developing economies primarily need fair rules for the marketing of their products, rules that eliminate discriminatory protectionism. Otherwise the countries of the developed North should not be surprised if the poor of the South infiltrate their golden curtain in search of work.

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

A fair part of the economic growth in Latin America came about during the development of the imported goods substitution model, a growth based on a protected market and activity centered on the State. But the attempt was made to uphold the successful model beyond its own possibilities, thus the State had to turn to external debt. Tragically, this was why the necessary change to the economy strategy was delayed. Time, that scarce political asset, was wasted. With it, the possibilities of less traumatic and more equitable adjustments. The fiscal and monetary imbalance, the

growing inflation, the shrinkage of industrial productivity, the persistent decline of agriculture all led to adjustment in the long term, adjustment spurred by heavy external pressure. What started out as an indispensable self-correcting movement that attempted to maintain the precarious balance of development, ended up being a reaction that aimlessly adapted to international pressure. The key ulterior actors in this adjustment determined its direction: in almost every country this happened with no prior social consensus, outside the realm of representative forms, as though it were a technical economic decision rather than one of politics and development.

Today the region is experiencing a post-adjustment cultural phase. Though not all the countries of the region have carried out the adjustment programs (some still have it written up in their future history) they all now look to the experience of those who have trod the path before them. The original provision proposed a model that dealt equally with the complex economies of partially developed countries, developing countries and primary economies: There really hasn't been an adjustment policy. Despite insistence on standardization, each national context—with its unique cultural heritage, political institutions and will—left their unique seal on the adjustment program. Because of this the results differed. When referring to reforms in the economy, not all of those in the region can say they attained the purposes that motivated the adjustment program. Some appear to be condemned to permanence under an originally temporary concept.

BALANCE, TIME AND WILL

Despite the fact that adjustments have reaped success by achieving the macro-economic balance and modernization necessary for development, recent experience indicates that major corrections are now indispensable in the economic strategy. The market simply does not offer for sale social equity or political stability, not even as expensive merchandise. If macro-economic stability does not produce a micro-economic bonanza in people's lives, then all the social sacrifices effected for the sake of economic reform will have been in vain. Lessons can be learned from experience, thus avoiding

the loss of precious time, which is what happened with the model for substituting imported goods. To that end, the necessary steps to correct imbalance and social inequality were taken, preserving the achievements of the economic reform, which were increased exportation, significant reduction of inflation and improved public spending. To reformulate the strategy for development implies learning to find an adequate balance between different types of policies, with the objective in mind of achieving a growing economy and society free of exclusion. Achieving this requires the willpower and imagination of innovative leaders.

SOCIETY AND THE MARKET

The term market is oftentimes overly associated with competition. Despite being a widespread perception, it is no less false. This confusion leads people to believe that the mere existence of a “free” market (not regulated) guarantees competitiveness. Quite the contrary, experience has taught us that what is truly essential in order to increase productivity is the existence of competitive, or regulated, markets. While it is true that the dream of any good businessman is to build himself a monopoly, the duty of good regulations is to prevent that from happening. The challenge of our times is to maintain the tightrope between economic freedom and social solidarity. Proper economic functioning requires competitiveness to attain innovative technology and healthy exchange between productive sectors and regions. The market provides this through regulation, or de-regulation, both being institutional in nature. As we already know, not all public matters pertain to the State, nor do all social matters pertain to the market. Nor does the market spontaneously segregate competitiveness.

MARKET AND STATE

The previous period of Latin American development proved that the State cannot and should not supply the market. The course of economic reforms in recent years proves that the market is not omnipotent. From being the star player in growth, development, and modernization, the State has dropped to secondary roles in these processes. What we have chosen to call the ideology of globalization led to a false sense of trust, overrating

the capacity of the market, exceeded only by the lack of respect for the institutional structure itself, and that of the State in particular. This has resulted in economic units coexisting in order to join efforts for modernization, side by side with more or less abandoned States. Development will only come about if the impulse to grow that the market economy unleashes is sustained and corrected through the actions of a modernized State, one that consciously generates social, environmental and inter-regional equilibrium.

THE STATE, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

As the ideology of globalization neglected the subject of the State, and whether or not the market requires pressure from the people to share its benefits, the institutional reconstruction of a reformed and modernized State is one of the much needed corrective measures. Governing globalization and developing a policy of inclusion demands that reconstruction. To ratify the new demands on the State that arise from the results of the economic reforms themselves should not require the resurrection of a state utopia. This is not about recovering or maintaining the business functions of the State, the criteria for efficiency in the economy notwithstanding, and in accordance to past vices that originated the selfsame economic reforms.

Neither is it right to maintain the dangerously weakened power of the State, disregarding all evidence, either in its regulatory capacity for economic and social life, nor in its correction of negative market results. It must protect the most helpless, and continue to promote equal opportunities for education, justice, health and employment. Governing globalization in this complex current context requires a vigorous State, one capable of innovation, adaptability and learning; a State that will, with renewed zest, incorporate political and technical criteria in decision making. In short, a State capable of strategically directing economic activity. Growth and development don't take place overnight; they are the product of long-term work. To legitimize the State is imperative to take advantage of the opportunities of a global world. Only by so doing can we aspire to achieve simultaneous development, from the inside out, that will put an end to both

internal and external imbalance; this will be achieved through gradual efforts, national and regional, to integrate society, economy and territory. Then will we be linked to technological and world market opportunities.

THE CITIZENRY AND DE-PRIVATIZATION OF PUBLIC WEALTH

The institutional reconstruction of the State must lead to a reconstruction of the ties that bind us to our respective societies. The reform and modernization of the State comprises an element of administration that deals with improvements in the organization of the design, negotiations and evaluation of public policies. These must be a part of a synergy, an effort to return public life to the citizens of our societies. The reformed and modernized State is only an instrument to build strong citizenry, firm and qualified to be the bearer of rights and obligations. Both the State and public life in the region have tended toward privatization, with a few notable exceptions. Building the imaginary space of equality—that is to say, allowing the entire population to daily practice citizenship and civic life—is also to build much needed autonomy for the State, a universal front for the interests of each.

Differing from modernization (a process of reorganizing things), modernity pertains to culture and the soul of the people. It is here necessary to insist that the protagonist of democracy is not the State, nor is the market the protagonist of freedom. The great protagonist of democracy is the citizen, the public expression of a person bonded to his community.

POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND CITIZENSHIP

It is well known that poverty and inequality are two different things. A society can be poor with little inequality; conversely, opulent societies may shelter great chasms of inequality. However, on our continent poverty is almost always a byproduct of inequality. The struggle against poverty in Latin America is only a part of the struggle against inequality. During the entire 20th century Latin America has been the region of the world with the greatest economic growth: 4% on average, as compared to 3.2% in

Asia and 3% for the OCED countries. During the same period it was also the region that experienced the greatest social inequality: today the income of the wealthiest 20% of its population is 19 times greater than that of its poorest 20%, a difference greater than anywhere else in the world. The shame is the greater when we witness in vast areas of Indian or Black population ever-increasing inequality and poverty, particularly among young women. Hence, it is not the lack of economic growth or insufficient productivity that can explain the social inequality of the region.

Differences in the distribution of income, in the quality of life, in opportunities available, in exercising the right to equal quality education, and in the protection from abuse of authority all instigate inequality and render poverty even more insufferable.

CULTURE AND INEQUALITY

The social consequences of adjustment programs in recent years have only aggravated an already chronic problem in the history of the region. That is why one speaks of a culture of inequality, of a social mindset instilled by those in social power who deem inequality to be a natural phenomenon. This is the first obstacle to surmount in order to attain greater equality and opportunities. As in all problems of political culture, the answer lies in transforming priorities into practical policies, which in turn become part of customs and the culture of a society. Combating inequality and poverty must become the crux of the policies of our countries, a corrective measure of social organization, not only for ethical reasons, sufficient enough, but for the convenience of economic development and political stability. It has been estimated that unequal opportunities for employment, market and credit cause losses in developing countries equivalent to 500 billion dollars annually, ten times that received for external aid, or 20% of the accumulated work of 4 billion humans. On the other hand, the expanding vicious circle requires social certainty to rise above backwardness.

Without a significant decrease in inequality and poverty, qualified citizenry capable of intervening in public life will continue to be the product of privilege. The same can be said of other causes of inequality: ethnical differences, gender differences, age differences and regional differences.

They are all chasms of inequality that hinder the full participation of an empowered citizenry.

THE POOR, THE ELITE

Combating poverty in Latin America occurs within an adverse international context. According to recent reports, 86% of world income is in the hands of 20% of its population; the poorest 20% in the world only have access to 1.1%, as compared to 2.3% in 1960. Despite progress made in supplying potable water, in education, in partially vanquishing infant mortality rates and malnutrition, and in elevating life expectancy, there are still 1.2 billion humans without potable water, 1 billion illiterate, and 800 million starving people.

Though the human suffering caused by poverty may always be the same, poverty as such is not. To understand it intimately is to begin to combat it. Throughout the history of poverty there are three unchanging factors, as we have learned from experience. Increased social activity of the poor manifested in diverse forms, ranging from criminality to social uprising; the partial efficiency of order to contain these actions; and the awareness of the elite that their well-being and that of the poor are interdependent. Insofar as this is true, then to eradicate poverty and combat inequality becomes a political issue, rather than economical. Doubtless growth is necessary for this, though it does not suffice as reason. The very definition of poverty is not found merely in its economic indicators. One must also take into account the availability of cultural goods, free time, social recognition and access to effective political rights; in short, citizens that participate. This is where the relationship between poverty and inequality will show up.

However, the socially elite must be persuaded of the real importance of the problem, not just what is said. To promote leadership that will be committed to shared responsibility is to do away with the docility of the so-called functional elite. It also involves including the poor as the protagonists of social development and leaving behind a beggarly culture. That is why we call this change one of shared responsibility. With that change of strategy poverty and inequality can be conquered in the first two decades of the coming century.

DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENRY

The appearance of more numerous democratic institutions and greater care given to the protection of human rights were the shining achievements of Latin American countries during the eighties. The adverse conditions in which these were achieved, within the context of the greatest crisis in the economic development of the region and complications arising from budding urbanization, make the achievements all the more admirable. We Latin Americans need to appreciate this victory. Nonetheless, the permanent postponement of economic benefits that economic reform promised, the concentration of those benefits in but a few hands and the ever-increasing autonomy of political, economic, and communication decisions dealing with society have begun to render difficult the survival of Latin American democracies. Awareness is spreading on the lack of tangible achievements of these delegated democracies, which may soon be short-lived or imperiled.

The profound sense of democracy that is needed in making everyday collective decisions, both national and international, must be recovered. The empty political forms of our democracies —the result of external imposition of decisions and models, particularly economic— are not stemming from free citizen deliberation but rather from international interest groups and pressure. The citizens of each country must recover their right to decide on public affairs and reinstall their sovereignty: a new, modern sovereignty within the context of interdependence.

The difficulties faced in constitutionally resolving the conflicts of our countries indicate a legal vacuum, especially those political and sociocultural difficulties that might generate opportunities for a new-formed citizenry. Strengthening our democracies requires democratic policies that promote high-density, participating, empowered citizens. Democracy is learned through practice. Only through participation can citizenry become a reality. Without participation, there can be no democracy. With it a gradual absorption of the notion of rights and duties appears, and a clear awareness of the possibilities and limitations of power.

CULTURE AS A POLITICAL FACTOR

As is science, democracy is the result of a long learning process. It is not only the accumulation or the uncovering of certain institutional forms that can later be transplanted. It is also the appropriation of procedures, languages and aptitudes. Democracy is a door to understanding the world and a way of life, it is how we perceive ourselves and others. It is a culture, the everyday behavior that draws us closer to understanding others, even their mistakes. Hence the consolidation of Latin American democracies implies the reform of customs and the modification of practices, all born of the civil virtue that is responsibility, that rare ability to take charge of the social consequences of our decisions and practice what we preach. This is the origin of the word *accountability*, that English word that defies translation, understood to be the rendering of accounts. As culture and customs are modified over a long period of time, we can take charge of the transformation of practices: we can build social institutions and propitiate the attitudes of individuals in order to strengthen democracy as the expression of reformed culture. This is of grave importance in those countries—the majority in the region—where multiethnic and multicultural societies exist. If democracy is the respectful awareness of others, it must begin by respecting other forms of democracy.

DEMOCRACIES AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

If the cultural standards and daily practices of democracy define institutional policies, it is naively antidemocratic to attempt to impose a single model of democracy on the entire world. It is common knowledge, as well, that that model is imposed by certain interest groups having little to do with democracy. It is the culture and the behavior of the people that will in the end make sense of and define the political institutions, be they democratic or not. A kind of modern blend of democracies is often useless as well as being a dangerous way to dictate conditions to weaker countries.

Rather than imposing models, it might be better to reformulate our approach to democracy, thereby to peace and development as well, seeking

to instill and share ideals. If certain democratic principles are taken as the foundation, and these direct the daily lives of people, we will then be democratizing the democratic institutions already in existence. If we also avoid reducing the concept of democracy merely to one of its possible forms, a diversity of institutional forms provided by various cultures to process power may be incorporated. This can be done to enhance the free expression of the will of the people, which, ultimately is one of the great purposes of democracy. In contrast, the virtues of the current model of democracy may be universally expanded to places where they are needed, to complement local culture and customs.

Upon recognizing the existence of a diversity of democratic forms derived from exercising democratic principles, they cannot then be used to justify authoritarian or dictatorial forms, using culture as an excuse. Though various models of democracy can be recognized, they are always going to be variations of the models of liberty.

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND THE ETHICAL CRISIS

In response to threats and collective risks, for the first time in history a broad consensus has been developed on universal values, shared by all, surmounting religious creed or pluralistic cultures. In the past, pluralistic values seemed to defy positive values via relativism; today that is no longer the case. Even through what is known as the heuristic of fear, universal values and pluralism appear to be reconciled. These values demand an ethic of individual and collective responsibility, one that can overcome divisions caused by interests. That ethic of responsibility is different from one of duty. Responsibility implies explanation and understanding of motives, stemming from conviction rather than the imperative power of faith. Because of this, these values are now understood as lay ethics, a modern humanism founded on reasonable commitments acquired in freedom.

These values, spelled out as the founding principles of the manifesto against the inhumanity of war, the UNESCO constitution, are the values of equality, liberty, justice and solidarity. As such, they become an answer to

the ethical crisis of the modern age, an answer addressing the needs of men and women, unrelated to fundamentalism. Based on them it is possible to distinguish between that which is acceptable and that which is not. These are the principles on which to found a moral and political solution to the crossroads of a warlike civilization.

GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND DEMOCRACY

Governance poses a practical problem of a multidimensional nature. It is at once a political, social and economic phenomenon. It is the process of steering public affairs toward specific objectives within a given time and taking into account all groups according to their real power. Democracy, on the other hand, requires that interests be represented according to the number of proponents manifested through votes. The logic behind governance is effective power. The logic behind democracy is political equality.

The tension between governance and democracy can be creative if the solution to dilemmas incorporates democratic principles as the historic expression of the moral criterion of a given society. Good governance, one that grounds its actions in democratic principles, must find a good way to make better, quality decisions. People should decide among themselves on the management of things.

To apply democratic principles is to value time. To value time is the task of leaders, who must value time so as to achieve governance and democracy. They must, from time to time, question order and question the opinions of the majority: at times, order will be the answer so that politics may instruct the people. At other times, leaders must steadfastly heed democratic demand so that politics can build political forms that are more just and more inclusive. The result of this ambiguous and dual task is legitimacy. Legitimacy incorporates into political decisions both the technical dimension—objective awareness of reality—and the world of interests and resources. Democratic principles allows individuals to responsibly decide ethical dimensions through choosing values. On that foundation, dialogue, negotiation, communication, convincing, organizing and increasing all become possible.

GOVERNANCE FOR SHARED DEVELOPMENT

Toward the end of the sixties the countries of the South established an objective of a new international economic order. Putting it into practice was their downfall. At the end of the eighties the North announced the consolidation of a new international order. The end of the cold war brought with it an optimism that over time has proven to be problematic. If the real causes for the problems can be pinpointed without involving ideological pressures, then it is also true that being negligent about taking preventive steps can result in increased social explosions and conflicts. Today the North and the South need to face the fact that we share the same planet. It is imperative to define the economic, ecological, legal and political components of shared, sustainable development, and consequently, a new world order. On these grounds the diverse international and regional political, economic, financial and military institutions need to undergo review. This is already being done thanks to the weight of reality. The broad array of countries that meet to agree on common policies indicate the need for a master reform of the international system. The impunity of factions demands being addressed. The concepts of world development and economic security must be the core of the reform, taking a step forward in the transition from a warlike civilization to one of peace.

GOVERNANCE FOR THE LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNITY OF NATIONS

The enormous disparity between Latin American countries has been highlighted. However, one can readily see that there is greater diversity in languages, culture, or even in the history of military confrontations among other countries, for example the European Community. On the other hand, the geographical distribution of the Latin American region itself encourages regional integration. Without a doubt, substantial progress has been made since the sixties. Some think that sub-regional groups have been spontaneously integrating and becoming regional modules. Nonetheless, all progress thus made is insufficient when facing the challenges of glob-

alization. For Latin America, to govern globalization means to become a part of it. Integration will come about at the different levels of economy, but will only truly happen if there is the genuine desire to have a political project of global scope.

A Latin American Community of Nations, compatible and complementing other areas, should be but one step in a strategy that reorders international economic relations and through it increases the margin to operate within our national States. If we want the 21st Century to be viable for our countries, it is imperative to recover our Latin American Agenda, an agenda that will face global problems from our perspective and begin to restructure supra-national Latin American powers through the election of a Latin American parliament of free election with a constitutional congress. Perhaps we could start with declaring full Latin American citizenship. Contrary to indifference and arrogance, the promise of Latin American life calls for the construction of our shared future.

THE RIGHT TO THE FUTURE

Ungoverned globalization condemns most of our people, and especially the poorest sector, to forfeit any chance of a better future in their own environment. The destiny offered is that of perpetual losers, passive spectators of televised happiness. Hence the powerful migration movement in search of tomorrow that has resulted in those of the South establishing an enormous homeland of pilgrims in the North. So we must assert our right to the future, the right of those alive today to imagine themselves living in a better world, preserving and improving their own lives and those of their loved ones as well, avoiding the sentence of perpetual poverty that divides people into two groups, winners and losers, and nations as expendable or not. The right to imagine a future is all the difference between the slow death of permanent poverty and a life ethic founded on joy and the perplexity of existence.

The human right to the future is the threshold to the rights of future generations and complements the human right to peace. To develop a policy of inclusion, to practice the democratic principles that democratize democracy, to promote the change to shared responsibility, this is to defend

the heart of human life in the world and govern the service of it. To govern globalization is to restore to our people and to other peoples of the world the human right to a future, ensuring the possibility of reaching infinity.

LEADERS TO GOVERN GLOBALIZATION

Without leaders capable of reflection and willing to act, the change to shared responsibility is impossible. The change is already happening, in a molecular and diffuse way, barely perceptible, in the daily efforts of millions of citizens who are newly experimenting with and training in the virtues of civic life, both in the market and in the State. This is not a diaphanous process, but it does exist. The lack of credibility of political activities today, though not a new phenomenon, is certainly more alarming than ever before. To recover the ethical sense of politics is to endow it with the ability to conceive the ultimate sense of life in common, to submit social objectives and make decisions regarding the well-being of others. The change to shared responsibility demands the audacious and courageous initiative of those who are in leadership of the political, intellectual, business, military and spiritual lives of people. The change to shared responsibility starts at the bottom, but must be well-received at the top. The policy of inclusion requires leaders daring enough to abandon the comfortable routines they often settle in. It is not possible to govern globalization without leaders who lift up democratic principles. The Regional Summit for Political Development and Democratic Principles must be an energetic, hopeful summons in that direction. □

The General Coordinator

Participants at the Regional Summit during the inauguration.



Patricio Aylwin, Chile; Rodrigo Borja, Ecuador; José Sarney, Brazil; and Miguel de la Madrid, Mexico; former Presidents of their respective countries.

Representatives of the Haitian Embassy in Brazil attending the Regional Summit.



Rodolfo Cerdas Cruz (Costa Rica), Diego Bautista Urbaneja (Venezuela) and Enrique Pérez Olivares (Venezuela).



Rodrigo Carazo (Costa Rica), former President of his country, directed Commission 1. The Narrator was Carlos Franco (Perú) member of the Coordinating Committee of DEMOS. Cristovam Buarque (Brazil) Governor of the Federal District, was the main speaker. Aldo Ferrer (Argentina), former Minister of Finance, gave the introduction. In the photograph, Rodrigo Borja (Ecuador), former President, participates in the debate.

Globalization and Development

Commission 1

♦Rodrigo Carazo Odio ♦ Cristovam Buarque ♦ Aldo Ferrer ♦ Carlos Franco ♦ Ramón Alburquerque ♦ Gabriel Omar Álvarez ♦ Rodrigo Borja ♦ Manuel Camacho Solís ♦ Jean Casimir ♦ José Geraldo de Souza ♦ Eduardo Gutiérrez ♦ João Luiz Homem de Carvalho ♦ Antonio Ibáñez Ruiz ♦ James Lewis Gorman ♦ Osvaldo Martínez ♦ Jesús Moneo Montoya ♦ Antonio Pallarés ♦ Elimar Pinheiro do Nascimento ♦ Carlos Alberto Ramos ♦ Onofre Rojas ♦ Armando Rollemberg ♦ Osvaldo Rosales ♦ Heinz Sonntag ♦ Osvaldo Sunkel ♦ Allan Wagner Tizón ♦ José Zunga Alves de Lima ♦

GLOBALIZATION WITHOUT EXCLUSION: IDEAS FOR A NEW MODERNITY IN LATIN AMERICA



The primary risk faced by the current globalizing economic development lies not so much in increased social inequality as in the rupture in human equality; in the distortion of mankind as a result of disparities among individuals, and in the process of splitting mankind through the establishment of a segregation regime. The breathtaking social, political, economic, and ideological transformations of the last decades have posed new challenges and new risks to mankind—and especially to us, Latin Americans.

Scientific and technological revolution, as it is today, seems to be producing a change in the civilizing process. Economic growth as per the new technological model results in massive destruction of jobs: the secondary sector is abated in absolute terms, while the tertiary sector slows down its growth rate and its capacity to absorb labor.

Today, economic growth takes place concurrently with a decrease in the job offer. The access to new technologies differentiates men in a way we could not have conceived of in the past. To have or not to have access to new technology means, among other disparities, to have greater or lesser access to information and to decision-making systems, to be a superior or an inferior individual.

Thus, the highest risk foreseen in the imminent future is the possibility of becoming completely different, dissimilar... not only unequal. That is to say, the risk lies in the creation of an excluding regime, not merely a situation of social segregation where some will be equal among themselves and others will simply be expelled from mankind.

Therefore, the greatest challenge we inherit this end-of-century is to prevent the establishment of social *apartheid*, and to redefine the concept of modernity, reconstruct our utopias, and reorient development.

Cristovam Buarque
Governor of the Federal District,
Brasilia

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But the world, despite the absence of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain, continues to be divided. Very simply we could say it is divided in two parts, no longer split by ideological barriers or political regimes but by the access of people to modern goods and services. On one side there are those who, thanks to the magic of technology, have the power to transform nature into material and cultural wealth. On the other, are those excluded from that power and subject to all sorts of anguish.

Imperfect globalization: the Iron Curtain

Fifty years ago, the world experienced its first true global incident: a war whose battlefield was the entire planet. At the end of the war, the world was split and part of it was in ruins.

On March 5, 1946, Winston Churchill gave a speech at Westminster College in the United States, in which he said that an Iron Curtain had come down on Europe. The Iron Curtain was the term used to define the line separating the two worlds of the industrial civilization in the twentieth century: the capitalist and the socialist.

On June 5, 1947, at Harvard University, George Marshall laid the grounds for his European recovery plan, later named after him, by declaring “our policy is not aimed against a country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, despair and chaos”.

For more than forty years (1947-1989), the Iron Curtain and the Marshall Plan built a world divided in three blocks: the capitalist-democratic world, recovered and rich; a socialist world, non-democratic but with strong social investment; and a third world marked by low per capita income, social degradation and fighting for industrialization based on foreign investment in sectors with protective tariffs.

Fifty years later, the world offers an entirely different semblance.

Radical globalization: the Golden Curtain

The twentieth century, almost entirely, witnessed the ideological battle between socialist and capitalist systems; and, in the economic field, the struggle for national development of Third World countries. Political observers thought that these confrontations would monopolize the entire century and most of them imagined that Third World countries would resemble developed countries more closely. At the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, there was a strong perception that social equality was spreading all over the planet. However, before the end of the century all these expectations died.

On a night in October 1989, the world watched on television the collapse of the Berlin Wall, marking the end of the Iron Curtain. Two years later, the Soviet Union and the socialist non-democratic world vanished from Eastern Europe. Third World countries, in turn, adopted a policy which was radically different from those applied in the past decades: there was an opening of borders, a privatization process, a reduction of the role of the state, monetary adjustments, an absolute reliance on the market.

At the beginning of this decade, the world was dominated by neoliberalism. Hope for equality was replaced by growing social inequality all over the world. For many people it was more than just the end of the Iron Curtain, it was the end of a history marked by combat over different concepts of Utopia.

But the world, despite the absence of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain, continues to be divided. Very simply we could say it is divided in two parts, no longer split by ideological barriers or political regimes but by the access of people to modern goods and services. On one side there are those who, thanks to the magic of technology, have the power to transform nature into material and cultural wealth. On the other, are those excluded from that power and subject to all sorts of anguish.

It is evident that, at the end of the century, a Golden Curtain came down on the earth leaving on one side those individuals having access to the advantages of modernity, and on the other those deprived of such benefits. It is not a Curtain separating countries like the Iron Curtain did, but a Curtain separating groups of individuals within the same geographic and social space.

Instead of the Iron Curtain, this end-of-century world is split by a Golden Curtain dividing the rich from the poor, in a way which could not have been imagined, separating the first-world inhabitants of the wealthy, internationally integrated world, from those of the poor, of the social *gulag* spread all over the earth. And this occurs regardless of the country they live in, the political regime or the ideology they profess. This is a gradually globalizing reality which draws a distinct division within mankind.

Should the current social separation trend prevail, the next century will witness the consolidation and permanence of that Golden Curtain dividing the two types of human beings, thus spurring two types of modernity: the excluding technical modernity which has predominated in the current globalization process, and the ethical modernity, that of our dreams and Utopias, of democracy and social justice.

The pernicious effects of technical modernity

Accordingly, between the idea of modernity and real modernity there is a huge gap, a gap that has been widening over the past years. This has had pernicious effects, jeopardizing the ideal of modernity and the very essence of our society.

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The first pernicious effect is expressed by the form, celerity, and intensity assumed by the oft-cited social inequality. Increased violence and its new modalities —drug dealing, child prostitution and kidnapping, among others—, mainly in urban environments, is the second pernicious effect of the contemporary path of modernity. The third pernicious effect would be the decline of international solidarity, which is being confined to national boundaries, silenced by large human groups threatened by starvation or AIDS.

The most cruel demonstration of the death of solidarity is the trivialization of human tragedy which marks a fourth pernicious effect: a change in the social perception of others, especially the poor, who are gradually disregarded as fellow men, not even as subordinates or inferior individuals which is typical of social discrimination, but as “dissimilar” which marks the distinction.

A fifth pernicious effect of current modernity is the deterioration of the environment. Despite the many declarations against this deterioration, and notwithstanding international encounters (our own country has been a host to one of these) the devastation of the environment continues in new ways, jeopardizing the possibility of even the lowest living conditions for mankind.

The tremendous anguish and personal uncertainty resulting from the accelerated technological changes, from the rapid economic transformations, territorial redefinition, and the questioning of the national scenario, make the sixth pernicious effect explicit: the identity crisis cruelly striking a number of social groups. The answers have been incarnated in the upsurge of new fundamentalism, both laic and religious. With the disintegration of the national space, the rise of the citizen of the world is not necessarily occurring. Instead, we observe the iron barrier built by self-enclosed communities. Ideological conflicts result in ethnic-religious conflicts.

Finally, the last pernicious effect is the growing lack of credibility in the future, particularly among young people. The lack of projects and utopias drains public political life and confines individuals to private, isolated spaces, promotes the sense of impotence and thus makes change impossible. Today, a growing number of young people seek haven in drugs because they are unable to visualize the future.

I insist, if these trends persist the next century will see the end of modernity, of universal democracy, and of social justice. It will be the

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century of the extinction of our dreams and utopias of equality and freedom.

The ethical crossroads

Modernity is now at a crossroads and we are the ones to decide which course to take. The three pillars of modernity at one time supported each other and multiplied like vectors of history marching towards the Utopia of industrial civilization:

- Technology increased man's freedom, dominating nature and producing goods, canceling needs, increasing abundance and abating disparity.
- Freedom was the instrument of technological progress, releasing the creative potential of each individual and using hedonist egotism as the motor of progress and of the ensuing inequality.
- Equality was the dream nurturing social solidarity, achievable as the corollary of technological advance combined with freedom.

In this century, those three vectors changed direction and clashed, canceling each other. Technology was reoriented to be at the service of new products and not to increase their magnitude. The outcome was increased inequality and more, the impossibility of attaining even minimal equality among men. In turn, freedom ended up being merely the right to decide on what to purchase.

Thus, at the end of the twentieth century, mankind is at a crossroads: to go ahead with the modernity project identified only by its technical advance, the increase in wealth, the steady growth of consumption of new goods, all limited to only a part of mankind; or redirect his civilization project to accomplish a type of progress subordinated to ethical values, defining wealth as synonymous to attending to social objectives, considering technical progress to be the means to attend to the basic needs of all men without exception.

This is not the first time that mankind makes an about-face in the civilizing trajectory, but it is the first time that such an about-face is a crossroads where the roads represent an alternative.

One thousand centuries ago man made a biological about-face, stood erect and marked a difference from his primate ancestors. A hundred centuries ago there was a technological about-face: men learned to domesticate plants and animals for consumption and thus attain well-being,

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became sedentary, creating cities and acquiring culture. Thirty centuries ago these cities experienced an ideological about-face: Greeks and Romans built a social and political organization based on equality, thus inventing democracy. Enlightenment in the eighteenth century and the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century allowed man to make an about-face in the industrial civilization, creating a modern society. A society in which for the first time in history, all men are proclaimed as being equal; a society with social mobility in which individuals can change their position in a social structure; a society based on the tension and coexistence of two socially different spheres and therefore both essential: the sphere of inequality (the world of the market) in which competition is the basis of technological innovation and the continuous increase in productivity, and the sphere of equality (the world of citizens) where each individual, regardless of his biological attributes or access to wealth, has the same rights. The State of Social Welfare helped to regulate tensions and coexistence between both realms.

Mankind is again at a road without linear continuity and where the option is, once again, a historical about-face. But, for the first time, contrary to similar moments in history, men are aware of what can happen and have the possibility of making a reasoned decision.

Instead of making an involuntary about-face, without any options, we are facing an ethical juncture, with two alternatives: to persist in the ethics of progress of this century, or progress on ethics for the next century.

Postulates for a new modernity

The definition of a new development model is not the task of an intellectual or even a group of intellectuals, no matter how skilled they are. It is a social process, mainly political, of major importance, necessarily involving a broad range of actors and social struggles. But it is the duty of each and every intellectual not only to censure the risks posed by each type of development, but also to contribute to building a new one.

If the dreams of the Enlightenment are to be kept alive, together with the technological power of the Industrial Revolution; if we long to build the utopia of the contemporary civilization born at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, we will have to blend our dreams, wishes and vectors of conventional modernity, setting the basis for a new modernity.

The *technique* must progress, though not at the expense of freedom and rights, not carrying inequality to the extremes of dissimilarity, not destroying the foundations of life, or nature's inheritance. They must, therefore, be subject to a political and ethical power that assures the equal distribution of goods to all men, and pledges respect to the environment, committing itself to the fulfillment of all individuals.

Equality must be redefined and reaffirmed as the unlimited and universal adherence to civil, political, and social rights of Man, especially the fundamental rights of life (food, education, shelter, health) and freedom, even the right to choose and dream of buying goods. Modern *equality* is that which meets the basic needs of every individual—a condition *sine qua non* for the accomplishment of individuals as such—accepting inequality in the consumption of superfluous goods. Since buying superfluous things is not one of the intrinsic objectives of humanism, longing for it is fundamental to nurture the process of innovation and the increase of productivity.

Individual freedom will have to be limited so that it may not be used against humanism. This freedom must not be controlled only by the measure of unrestrained consumerism which causes dehumanization through either *social apartheid* or the deterioration of natural resources.

In the ethics of universal humanism, technological advance must be subordinated to ethics. Equality and freedom are compatible for all men, but equality should not be subordinated to consumerism, and freedom does not give anyone the right to invoke calamities. In a simplified form, there are seven items depicting the goals and desires of this new course of ethical modernity.

First, recover and elaborate on the original concept of equality of rights, as devised in the eighteenth century, breaking with the contemporary concept of industrialism of the past century, which made equality of rights a synonym to equality in consumerism.

Second, reassert a commitment to democracy and freedom, individual freedom included, but also with respect for diversity and the variety of forms in which each nation defines the profile of its society and its freedom.

Third, add to the first two principles the certainty that modern equality is a synonym of the abolition of all forms of apartheid. This would guarantee the equality of rights and the fulfillment of the essential needs of the world

The definition of a new development model is not the task of an intellectual or even a group of intellectuals, no matter how skilled they are. It is a social process, mainly political, of major importance, necessarily involving a broad range of actors and social struggles. But it is the duty of each and every intellectual not only to censure the risks posed by each type of development, but also to contribute to building a new one.

population and, at the same time, encourage diversity and tolerate unequal superfluous consumerism. But it should also ensure a radical intolerance of the inequality that gives few men everything and deprives many others from the essential.

Fourth, reject a rate of consumption below the minimum required, offering an efficient economic system which ensures not only meeting basic requirements but also the production of superfluous goods which make alternative consumerism possible and preserve dreams of consumerism.

Fifth, guarantee the principle of nature as a biological source and the foundation of economy for all mankind, as well as a cultural legacy which enriches mankind. Thus, it is necessary that the search for economic efficiency, in addition to being subordinated to the above-mentioned principles, take place with absolute respect to ecological equilibrium.

Sixth, build an efficient, decentralized economy whose benefits reach every corner of the world, respecting the preferences and possibilities of each region and also allowing for its control by mankind as a whole.

Seventh, guarantee respect for diversity, which is essential for sharing life with other people in a harmonious way, and also for enhancing cultural values, thus precluding violence in the integration and communication process. This would also encourage respect for the attributes and values of each people.

Mankind is again at a road without linear continuity and where the option is, once again, a historical about-face. But, for the first time, contrary to similar moments in history, men are aware of what can happen and have the possibility of making a reasoned decision.

Instead of making an involuntary about-face, without any options, we are facing an ethical juncture, with two alternatives: to persist in the ethics of progress of this century, or progress on ethics for the next century.

The Latin American roots of modern ethics

Latin America enjoys a strong tradition of using concepts, analysis, instruments and models devised after the wealthiest countries of the world. This tradition goes back to the Colonial era. The history of our thought has very few rebel, creative authors seeking to invent our own philosophy. These have been more the exception than the rule. Works like that of Manoel Bonfim, early in this century, are uncommon.

Nonetheless, there are outstanding contributions which cannot be disregarded and which serve as a reference for the creation of a new civilizing path. As paradoxical as it may seem, today's Latin America has a lot to show the world in terms of paradigms to serve as a reference for the construction of ethical modernity.

Our first school of clearly original thought, was the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL). A short while after World War Two, a group of intellectuals got together with the idea of understanding

Latin America through the analyses made by Latin Americans. The core idea was to devise a development model that would allow for shortcuts towards a industrial utopia. In this regard, industrialization was identified as being the instrument to save us from poverty and underdevelopment. It would be through industrialization that Latin America was to find its way to well-being, curtailing the difference in wealth which separated our countries from the richer ones.

One major contribution of the CEPAL way of thinking was the analysis of society. Our societies, unlike those of wealthier countries, would be typified as dual societies; i.e., two almost independent structures would coexist, each one representing a separate world. On one hand, a small cluster of sectors perfectly integrated in their economic, social, and cultural attributes to the developed nations; and on the other, a large group of individuals excluded from that process but maintaining a dialectic relationship with the first group, either through the rendering of informal services or the eventual social migration from one category to the other.

The CEPAL ideology left us an important legacy to better understand today's world; most of all, we inherited the courage to think of Latin America in Latin American terms. However, they were not radical enough with respect to culture, and this led them to believe that industrialization alone might be our salvation. The complexity of our countries demands a lot more than that from each one of us. The heterogeneous foundation of our societies calls for a broader set of measures to put economy at the service of social purposes, defined by the society as a whole.

The concept of destitution came prior to that of exclusion, which is more recent. Authors like Sunkel pointed out, at the beginning of the 1970's, that destitution was something common to all countries of the industrial capitalist world, with only some variations in the strength with which it was expressed. Those were days of full employment, and access to the labor market seemed to be a problem of underdeveloped countries. In the world of the welfare state, the exuberance of the economy smothered all perception of local destitution.

In any case, even when destitution became exclusion, our societies were able to build —with great difficulty, though— a *modus vivendi*. Most importantly, we learned to live together with non-institutional forms of work — the so-called informal sector— which is now a major player in overcoming the “end of work”. Ultimately, it is not only the formal rela-

In the ethics of universal humanism, technological advance must be subordinated to ethics. Equality and freedom are compatible for all men, but equality should not be subordinated to consumerism, and freedom does not give anyone the right to invoke calamities.

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tionship established in a contractual job which ethically defines work. A housewife taking care of her children's education is working, even if she is not a formal employee.

In modern ethics, the concept of work will have to be redefined, seeking the ethical valuation and restitution of self-esteem for those with informal jobs. The world ahead, whatever the scenario might be, will not be likely to create jobs for everybody, but will offer occupation and payment for every individual on earth to make ends meet, within an ethical scenario. It is essential to redefine the concept of employment, broadening it to encompass productive and non-productive activities.

Another great Latin American contribution to confront this century's problems, is the Theology of Liberation. After more than four centuries of acting in favor of the oligarchies, some sectors of the church began to show an interest in the poor, the destitute segments.

Theologians of liberation abandoned some of their social and liturgical practices and embraced the struggle in favor of the destitute. They have made a great contribution to civil rights in the continent. These theologians were persecuted both by politicians and by the most conservative sectors within the Church, but succeeded in making headway and producing renovating documents.

Priests, clergymen and private citizens took part in politics defending popular causes and democratic progress. They embraced the dreams of earthly utopias, even to the point of taking up arms, as was the case of Camilo Torres, and went to the poorest urban areas with a new theological vision. They also went deep into the forests, not in search of wealth like the Jesuits during the Colonial period, but to help in the search for better days here on earth.

With the Theology of Liberation, Latin America recovers the principles of humanism, so precious in our days and so essential for a new civilizing project. But most importantly, Latin America recovers the ideal of equality and social justice. In the identification of Latin American roots and in the construction of an ethical modernity, we must rescue even more of our culture. The concept of solidarity, so distinctive of indigenous societies where tribal and family structures represent a solid basis for social cohesion, is certainly an issue that should be considered.

Unlike the developed world, where the ethics of capitalism resulted in the destruction of broader family ties, and a strong individualization process

of social life, in our world there are some remainders of the traditional extended family. This represents important protection in the event of disorder and difficulties as is currently the case where the situation is exacerbated by a crisis in the labor sector. Within the family a very specific working structure is attained and a strategy of solidarity for subsistence, which balances individual deficiencies and potentialities.

In those countries where indigenous solidarity is still solid, the impact of social exclusion is less aggressive on individuals. This solidarity could well be the platform for the reconstruction of a new solidarity, given the void in national identity created by pernicious globalization.

Latin America is a pioneer in the social and political revolutions of the twentieth century. Mexico precedes Asia and Africa in introducing changes that break up, even if only in a limited manner, the oligarchic and imperialist power then prevailing. Guatemala, Bolivia and Cuba enforce radical changes in the land-tenure structure. Particularly in Cuba, where revolution is consolidated in state power, meeting the basic needs of the people was soundly accompanied by exemplary transformations in education and health care, although this took a toll in terms of freedom.

Unfortunately, none of those revolutions led the people to fully achieve a distinct form of development, and were overruled by the mimicking of Europe and North American. Dependence prevailed (to use an expression of some of the sociologists of the late sixties) disrupting the most radical popular initiatives.

In those days, the left-wing, despite the extraordinary efforts of its supporters, whom we cannot praise enough for fighting foreign domination and the economic and totalitarian domination of dictatorships, was unable to outline its own democratic path. It did, however, leave an example of courage for the construction of a more equitable society, the most conspicuous symbol being, without a doubt, Che Guevara.

Building an ethical modernity

Building an ethical modernity as a new development model demands the effort of many actors, broad debate, research and analysis, as well as the rich variety of social and political struggles. But it also requires staunch and dauntless experimentation with public policies.

Unlike the experiences of technical modernity which derived from international and national experiences into local ones, in an ethical

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modernity local experiences precede global solutions. Innovating experiences in the realm of local power are essential to prove and demonstrate the feasibility of ideas and proposals, as well as to enhance them through the participation of and the assessment by the beneficiaries themselves.

The Brasilia experience

Brasilia was inaugurated in 1960 with the sole purpose of becoming the capital of Brazil. As a consequence of the development it was supposed to bring about, Brasilia grew much more than was anticipated at the moment of planning it. Brasilia became more than was expected, yet had no other social or economic alternative. The government which took over in 1995 laid out and commenced the process of redirecting the future of Brasilia, which was known as “The Relaunching of Brasilia,” aimed at the construction of a non-excluding globalization.

With this purpose in mind, the current government devised an experimental program to consider those proposals which can significantly contribute to gradually building an ethical modernity, a new development model, adding to prior experiences both in Brazil and the rest of Latin America.

In order to achieve international insertion without social exclusion, three principles are being applied: a new form of government; a revolution in the priorities; and economic reorientation.

In the case of the Federal District, we brought together these three lines of action to re-launch Brasilia. It had to be re-launched not only because the basic public services—security, education, health care, and leisure—were deteriorating, somewhat forsaken, subordinated to objectives alien to the interests of the population, but also for other reasons.

The first of those other reasons was that our cities began to show signs of depletion in their economic dynamics. The two elements supporting our capital city since its inauguration in 1960—the public sector and the civil construction sector—started to weaken at the end of the last decade. It was then necessary to define new economic arenas, which could only be tourism and technological innovation. Not only the shift to new high-technology ventures but also a change in the technological platform of the existing industries and services. The second one is the need to revert priorities in order to promote the building of a society without social division. This means, in the first place, to accept the globalization process of both the economy

and the culture as something irreversible. Nonetheless, globalization must be encouraged provided its pernicious effects are warded off.

Economic globalization

To incorporate Brasilia into the globalization process, and as part of its re-launching, the Federal District chose industrialization, agricultural production, and above all, tourism, as alternatives of choice for its future economic development and the creation of jobs. This economic transformation occurs under certain rules and specific projects, such as that of High-Tech Zones. Striving to respect the environment and be in harmony with the future, Brasilia opted for an industrialization plan aimed at the new high-technology sectors.

Fully aware that neither traditional nor high-technology industrialization generate the required jobs, Brasilia implemented a program with the purpose of creating jobs for small manufacturers. This program is achieved through a range of projects and actions, such as:

- **Labor Bank:** in order to finance the operation of small manufacturers, the state bank of the Federal District established a line of credit similar to the “People’s Banks”, inspired by the “Gremlin Bank” of Bangladesh.
- **Domestic Agro-industries:** more than any other experience, domestic agro-industries are the best example of non-excluding globalization. Very small industries, valued at approximately \$2,500.00 dollars, take the produce of small growers to the most sophisticated global marketplace. An outcome of the program to improve agriculture, this program has allowed small rural growers to improve their production and have access to the market.
- **Societies:** instead of adhering to the neoliberal policy of privatizing assets, the Government of the Federal District decided to enter into joint ventures with the private sector. Under these joint ventures, the private sector started providing some non-essential public services, on a leasing regime and for a certain period of time. The response has exceeded our expectations. The State gains expediency, waste is reduced, and social priorities can be addressed.

Social inclusion

More than mere concern over social inclusion in the economic globalization process, creative social solutions are the best example of the

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likelihood of non-excluding globalization. Some of the most notable solutions are:

- **Scholarship-School:** a very simple solution which contributed to the elimination of child labor was to offer a minimum wage to poor families whose children exchange work for school attendance. Children are obligated to attend 90% of classes.
- **Savings-School:** to encourage children attending the savings-school to study more, at the end of the year they receive savings. If they pass, in the fourth school year they can have access to half of their savings, and in the eighth grade to the other half. At the conclusion of secondary school they are entitled to receive all of their savings.
- **Knowledge Project:** massive professional training, giving poor workers the possibility of access to the market place.
- **Don't give Charity, give Citizenship:** this is a program inviting the public in general to adopt low-income families, granting them the minimum conditions needed to live with dignity instead of abandoning them to public charity.
- **S.O.S. Drugs:** a permanent campaign to combat drug consumption, mainly aimed at youth, having the support of the population and the supervision of the State.
- **Health at Home:** a program taking the physician to the family, to teach its members how to care for themselves, prevent disease, and achieve good health conditions.

This means, in the first place, to accept the globalization process of both the economy and the culture as something irreversible. Nonetheless, globalization must be encouraged provided its pernicious effects are warded off.

A new culture and a new ruling style

The express purposes of economic globalization and social inclusion could not be applied nor justified, if a new mentality, a different culture, and a new ruling style are not forged through the implementation of measures such as:

- **Participation in the Budget:** instead of leaving investment decisions in the hands of bureaucrats or politicians of the Federal District, decisions are made through the participation of the population via extensive debates.
- **Democratic Forums:** Concurrently with popular participation to draft the budget, the government interrelates with society through various forums that include businessmen and workers, either jointly or separately, to discuss a variety of issues and launch campaigns.
- **Public Numbers:** is the name given to instrument that informs the public on public spending and the expenses of government leaders.

The Brasilia case is only one example. Other places in the world are experimenting with new social development projects, which we ought to become acquainted with and promote.

The ethics of governance

Humanity is faced, for the first time, by the anticipated knowledge of an option for change, which can either lead to building ethical values and achieving equality of rights for all human beings or split the human race into dissimilar classes and not only socially differentiated groups.

At this crossroads, Latin America holds a special place: more than in any other region on earth, we have here a portrait of both the potentials and the risks of the current civilization model. We have the most pressing need for a change in direction, but also possess the intellectual and political potential to manage it according to our resources and our dreams.

To this end, we must define our ethical values, and based on them, define our social objectives to determine the economic rationale we will apply and the procedures we will use. This requires “governing governance”.

In past decades we ignored the need for governance; we chose utopian dreams as objectives that could materialize only through the decision of strong, totalitarian, populist, planning, squandering States. We encouraged economic growth; we accomplished radical but brutal social transformations, but sacrificed democracy. We disregarded the need for currency soundness, allowed the concentration of income, plundered the environment, destroyed our cultures and stamped out our differences; we built a weak economy which depended on state protection, foreign capital and foreign technology. Also, privileged classes were created by the actions of governments.

In these past years, in the name of governance, we ignored utopian dreams, relinquished social objectives and concentrated our efforts on currency stability. We replaced state control with the privatization even of public spaces and also exchanged protectionism for the destruction of jobs in the name of efficiency. We even allowed a growing concentration of income to the point that this threatens not only democracy but also the very core of social structure. Inequality was so patent that the excluded groups do not pose a threat to governance. This is why political governance needs an ethical focus.

An ethical focus will not ignore the need for and limits of political governance; but political governance cannot be exercised without ethical values

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nor the resulting social objectives we are striving for. From the ethical point of view, the present course is not worth staying on; politically speaking, it is impossible to turn back to the past. The future must not be the continuation of the present, nor the recurrence of the past. Post-neoliberalism must not merely become the extension of past neo-liberalism.

Europe does not need that much of this modern alternative. Africa does not have the time to think about it. Asia follows a path of very different ethical and cultural values. Only Latin America can be the center of attempts at a new modernity, as it was in the fifties with the period of "expansionism".

This time we will require something more than a definition of the means and paths for development; we will need a definition of the very conception and objectives of the future. Now it is not enough knowing how to grow or how to allocate the outcome of growth, we also need to know in which direction to grow. Distributing wealth is not enough, we also need a definition for wealth. And for this, this Summit could well be a starting point.

Hence, I propose that we define here, in a Brasilia Declaration, our values and objectives, which will serve as the basis to redefine the concept of wealth. This should take into account some principles such as:

- a resolute commitment to democracy;
- the annulment of the current status of social separation, through measures that will eradicate malnutrition; guarantee basic education and health for everybody; guarantee that each family will have a dwelling with water, sewage and garbage disposal. It must also offer a public transportation system accessible to all people living in the urban centers, and justice and security for everyone, not only for a privileged group.
- apply a development model which respects the environment, with a commitment to protect the quality of life and the availability of resources for future generations;
- full respect to the process of the international insertion of each nation, particularly with regards to their national values and sovereignty; building economies with sound currencies and a dynamic growing pattern, but subordinated to the achievement of the above mentioned objectives.
- the reform of the State structures, encouraging them to make ethical commitments, both in their behavior as well as their priorities.

I also propose that we set an immediate objective to serve as an example of our decision: the commitment to abolish child labor in the continent and guarantee public education for all our children.

- In this regard, two actions could be executed:
- First, the creation of a Latin American Committee against child labor, made up of dignitaries attending this Summit and who concur with this initiative.
- Second, that one of the tasks of this Committee be the effective struggle against child labor through the formulation and adoption of mechanisms such as the Scholarship School, successfully implemented in Brasilia. This would be aimed at children forced to work by the poverty they live in, making parents responsible for the regular attendance of their children to school.

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GLOBALIZATION: THE REALITY AND THE MYTH

Integration scenarios in Latin America

As has been pointed out in a number of researches by international commissions, as well as in recent United Nations conferences on the environment, development, and population, there is today a global dimension hitherto unknown to us. This dimension encloses critical issues such as poverty, damage to the environment, demographic growth, drug dealing, migration from poor to rich countries, and arms trafficking. Up until World War Two, many of these problems were contained within the borders of each country, or were dealt with separately. They are now regarded as inter-dependent problems of global reach, demanding global responses.

Current problems have an undeniable global dimension; hence the appearance of the global village, the shared destiny, and the common human heritage. But it is not this comprehensive perspective of crucial issues compromising both the present and the future of humanity which is at the core of the debate on globalization. Instead, this involves more trivial aspects having to do with the exercise of power in the world setting.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the technological revolution related to micro-electronics and data processing and transmission has promoted closer links in all aspects between the societies of the world order. Internationalization of the production processes within multinational corporations, the integration of financial centers into one megamarketplace operating 24 hours a day, seven days a week, plus the expansion of world trade in goods and services, outline a global order which becomes the development framework of countries.

Globalization, in the realm of investment, trade, and international migration, takes place in a world setting unified by the broadcasting of

Aldo Ferrer

Former Minister of Economy, Argentina

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information and images in real time. The merger between what is real and what is symbolic reinforces the viewpoint of a world without borders.

Ideas decisively gravitate on the design of the countries' strategies for insertion in the world order. In turn, the links with the external context has an impact on the creation of capital, technological change, resource allocation, employment, income distribution, and macro-economic disparities. The history of development and underdevelopment could well be written in terms of the way in which each country has resolved the dilemma posed by insertion in the international context. In the nineteenth century, for instance, the industrialization process undertaken by the United States, Germany, and Japan can be explained in these terms, as can the breaching of the gap to the industrial pioneering nation of Great Britain.

Thus, the contrasting views of globalization, fundamentalist versus critical, are essential for the design of development and integration strategies in Latin America.

The fundamentalist viewpoint of globalization

The fundamentalist viewpoint suggests that most of world economy resources are currently under the control of transnational actors: the mega-corporations and the globalized financial marketplace. In this viewpoint, most economic transactions would not be taking place within the national confines, but in a global marketplace encompassing the entire world.

As a result, the capacity to decide on the allocation of resources, the accumulation of capital, technological transition, and income distribution, would rest in hands of transnational powers. Decisions would be taken outside of the national sphere. Global markets would be the ones deciding, on a daily basis, the fate of every nation in the world. Domestic barriers have been abolished by technological revolution, and the states are powerless to influence key issues.

Following the affirmation of the economic and financial connections prevailing in the international order, the fundamentalist approach to globalization recovers the orthodox proposal of giving free action to economic factors in the national, regional and world markets. But now, the reasoning behind it is less related to economic rationality and more reliant on events that would go beyond the controlling capacity of societies and their political systems.

Hence, we would be in the presence of an unprecedented historical event. In fact, the fundamentalist approach suggests that contemporary scientific

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and technological revolution has fractured the historical development of mankind and the demeanor of the world order brought about by the Renaissance period and the creation of national states. At least in the economic and financial domains, sovereignty would have been annihilated by globalization; in fact, sovereignty would currently reside in the markets. The world is today a global village in which decision-making power is in the hands of transnational players.

In this regard, globalization would be a strictly contemporary phenomenon. Never before have countries been subordinated to events of a global nature having such far-reaching impact on them.

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Under the classical approach, from the hypotheses of David Hume and Adam Smith, the existence of a natural order was expressed in the offer and demand, as well as their impact on the allocation of resources and income distribution. At that time, the political message meant rebellion against the authoritarianism of absolute monarchy and a rejection of the rigid commercial interventionism. In the new liberal order, an *invisible hand* would guarantee the convergence of public and private interests. In this way, freedom of trading within local markets and at the international level was the regime granting the better utilization of resources and the highest possible level of well-being.

The fundamentalist approach of globalization also suggests the presence of a natural order merely based on the power structure of the contemporary world order. This means going back to absolute power and discretionary methods, not by a monarchy but by the markets.

Currently this set of ideas is the foundation of *conventional wisdom*, which works on behalf of the interests of the main transnational actors and, at the same time, receives extensive consensus from broad segments of public opinion.

This fundamentalist vision states that the dilemma of development in a global world has disappeared, simply because now important decisions

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are not taken by societies and their states, but by transnational representatives.

The message is conclusive: the only alternative is the adoption of *friendly policies* towards the markets. What would these policies be? Those working on behalf of controlling interests. Conventional wisdom suggests the package of endorsed policies which would include: opening the economy, deregulating financial and trade markets, and the downsizing of the state, thus reducing responsibilities to merely preserving security, the legal order, fiscal equilibrium, and price stability.

Adequate policies would, then, attract transnational participants and promote economic growth and international competitiveness. The accumulation of capital would thus be possible, as well as an increase in productivity, most likely related to an expansion of the offer of employment. The application of policies contrary to those imposed by the markets would result in capital leaving the country, instability, economic stagnation, and marginalization. Let's now review an alternate interpretation.

The real world is not responding as anticipated by conventional opinion. Most part of economic transactions do not take place in global markets but within local markets. More than 80% of world production goes to local markets. Exports account for less than 20% of world production, and approximately 90% of the world labor force works for the markets of their respective countries.

The critical view of globalization

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With regards to the affiliate companies of transnational corporations, in some economic activities their contribution is significant. However, their average contribution to the accumulation of capital in the world economy only represents 5% of the total. Regarding their participation in world production represents less than 10% and is lower to that of the informal economy (excluding profits related to illegal activities, such as drug trafficking). In fact, developed countries have determined that informal economy represents 10% to 15% of the gross product. In developing countries that percentage is even higher, higher even than the product of transnational corporations affiliates.

The enormous mass of financial resources circulating in the global marketplaces is a bubble of paper transactions, options, derivatives, and other financial instruments which are largely disconnected from productive,

investment and trade operations. Over 95% of those transactions, on the order of 1.3 billion dollars a day, take place in the stock markets of the world and correspond to financial-type operations. The contribution of capital movements to the financing of investment assets, measured in terms of the current account, is on the order of 5%. That is, over 95% of actual capital accumulation in the world is financed with the domestic savings of our countries. These figures illustrate the current situation in Latin America.

Contrary to the fundamentalist viewpoint, the majority of the resources available in the world economy are potentially under the control of private and public actors. This is true in the case of developed countries and most of the developing world, including Latin America. Only backward economies like those of the Sub-Sahara African countries are likely lacking the potential and the institutions to effectively control their markets and resources.

Therefore, the accumulation of capital, technological change, the increase in productivity, and income distribution practically depend on the decisions made by domestic private and public agents. Development is based, in the first place, on endogenous factors such as the modernization of the state, institutional stability, macro-economic equilibrium, private investment incentive, and training of human resources. None of the above can be imported or left in the hands of transnational intermediaries. None of the above can be imported or left in the hands of transnational intermediaries.

Neither is development possible in the absence of practical responses to the dilemma of growing in a globalized world. The discovery and conquest of America and the arrival of the Portuguese navigators in the East became the first global world order. Since then, historical experience is conclusive. Meaning that only those countries complying with the world order and becoming integrated and sustaining local development were able to reach high levels of growth.

The sovereignty of markets is a self-accomplished prophecy. It lies within the regulatory structures established by the world power centers, thus portraying a historical period and a series of political decisions. Global financial markets are what they are now due to the deregulation of their operations. Modest participation measures, such as the small tax proposed by Professor James Tobin to discourage speculative movements of capital, would allow domestic financial authorities to recover lost control. In

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Issues like this have also had an impact on the current debate on the governance of democracy. If power resides exclusively in the markets, as propounded by the fundamentalist approach, then the point is to make democracies enforce friendly policies towards markets. The lack of governance would then rest in the resistance of societies and their political systems to endorse market decisions which frequently harm the majorities.

the meantime, the big financial operators have indeed the capacity to launch speculative offensives capable of disturbing even the currency of developed countries (i.e. the franc, the pound, lire) and the European monetary system itself.

The behavior of financial markets is determined by political not factual factors. Prior to the crisis of the thirties, the gold standard and the freedom with which capitals moved around also appeared to be regimes of a natural order. Reality proved that the multilateral trade and payments system collapsed like a house of cards under the impact of the real economy crisis.

Issues like this have also had an impact on the current debate on the governance of democracy. If power resides exclusively in the markets, as propounded by the fundamentalist approach, then the point is to make democracies enforce friendly policies towards markets. The lack of governance would then rest in the resistance of societies and their political systems to endorse market decisions which frequently harm the majorities. The true problem is not in fact the lack of governance of democracies, but that of the markets. Indeed, the fundamentalist viewpoint of globalization is only the modern version of absolutism and a major challenge to the liberal tradition of western democracies.

Globalization is not an unknown phenomenon

Nor it is true that globalization is a historical phenomenon hitherto unknown. In the past, some events had as great an impact, or even greater, in the world order. Some examples are the conquest of the New World and the annihilation of most of the aboriginal population, mainly by the transmission of diseases, sugar production and slavery in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the advent of the railroad, steam navigation, and the communications revolution (telegraph, underwater pipes, radio-telegraphy). Historical evidence is overwhelming. The examples are countless; for instance, the evolution of the cotton industry in Lancashire at the dawn of the Industrial Revolution and its impact on the organization of the international system. One of the outcomes was the dismantling of the cotton textile industry of India, under British occupation; and also the creation of conditions that led to the War of Secession (1861-1865) in the United States.

Regarding this last event we must remember that the invention of the cotton gin by a North American citizen, in the last part of the eighteenth

century, and its use in the cotton plantations of the United States, turned this country into the most important cotton supplier of the British spinning mills. In the first half of the nineteenth century, 60% of British imports were cotton from the United States. This consolidated the cotton plantation system using slaves and fostered growth in the Southern states. Without this impulse, resulting from the globalization of that moment, the uprising against slavery and the federal government would not have come about so readily.

Compared to some of these events, the globalization of the financial markets and the current expansion of transnational corporations are less far-reaching phenomena. In fact, prior to World War I, some key indicators of globalization like the relationship between trade and world production and the mobilization of capital had reached proportions similar or higher than those observed in the last years of the twentieth century.

We can therefore say that we live in a paradoxical world. Real and symbolic global forces of great magnitude coexist in this world, augmented by internal factors that cannot be neglected. To peripheral and vulnerable countries, like those of Latin America, globalization imposes clear restrictions. Recall the consequences of the external debt and the endless negotiations with international financial entities and our creditors. On the other hand, the new regulations coming forth from the Uruguay Round of the GATT and their application by the World Trade Organization introduce some criteria regarding intellectual property, services and management of direct foreign investment which cannot be disregarded. Remember, for instance, the pressure exerted by the United States regarding the regime of intellectual property in the pharmaceutical sector.

The exercise of power by central countries is nothing new. Over the past five centuries this has often been the case and its application entailed more coercive methods than those used in our days. Let's not forget that prior to World War II most of Africa and Asia were under colonialism or foreign influence.

The solution to the dilemma of development in a globalized world continues to depend on the freedom of action each country possesses. That such freedom be used to unconditionally accept the rules of the game, adopt strategies that are not viable or initiate alternate routes to self-centered and open development, depends more on internal factors than on restrictions imposed externally. Those factors include the size of the territory and its

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Policies based on the fundamentalist approach to globalization are to a great degree irrational. These policies subordinate the management of available resources, the accumulation of capital, and technological change to the interests and objectives of transnational actors commanding a lesser part of markets and resources. It is no surprise, therefore, that those policies are fracturing the productive systems of the dynamic sectors associated with the transnational order and most of the productive apparatus where stagnation, marginalization, and unemployment prevail. This entails a dreadful waste of resources, the decline of productivity, and a veritable cauldron of social and political instability.

It is convenient to make a distinction between the two fields of globalization. One is the universality of such issues as the environment and poverty. Here in fact, problems are of planetary dimensions and the solutions must necessarily be of a global nature. The other is related to the markets, in which the disappearance of national states and economies is only an expression of the desires of controlling interests. The same can be said of the fundamentalist claim that the dilemma of developing in a globalized world has disappeared.

Recent events question the feasibility of conventional reasoning and, at the same time, confirm the need for macroeconomic equilibrium and stability. These are *sine qua non* conditions to sustain the eventual change in direction. In fact, nothing can be built in the midst of disorder, squandering, and lack of responsibility in conducting fiscal and monetary policies and payments of the trade balance. On the other hand, public intervention, which only causes expenditures instead of wealth or a better quality of life, is only an insidious eruption in the markets and a hindrance to development.

The review of the current direction of Latin America is enhanced by the study of the successful experiences in the South of Asia, particularly Korea and Taiwan, and also that of Japan during the Meiji reconstruction and the period after World War II. These examples prove the still current difficulty in overcoming the dilemma of developing in a globalized world; they prove that decisions are not inevitably made by transnational agents, and that societies and national states have not lost all possibility of determining their

own destiny. The growth experience of those countries reveal that domestic policies continue exercising a conclusive influence.

Alternative paths to integration

The Latin America integration process faces two alternative paths. The foundation of the first one is neoclassical orthodoxy and the fundamentalist viewpoint of globalization. The other one reflects a critical view of globalization and assumes integration as a sustainable process.

Current pressures in Latin America have reopened the debate on these issues. The apparent victory of neoclassical orthodoxy, established as a hegemony after the external debt crisis, has now stumbled over the growing dissatisfaction of broad segments of the population.

The idea that neoliberal policies are the reservoir of economic rationality is being vigorously questioned from diverse points. In this regard, the contrast between the policies applied in Latin America and those of successful Asian countries is quite revealing.

The counterpoint between neoliberal integration and sustainable integration comes about in the context of a comprehensive international debate on the behavior of world economy and alternative strategies for developing countries. This counterpoint is revealed in the current negotiations for regional integration agreements, like Mercosur, and the proposal to create an American free trade region (AFTR).

This is an open debate in our countries and will inevitably extend to all Latin America. Regional integration and its ties to the world order are also organized according to alternative concepts and strategies.

From the neoliberal point of view, markets are the sovereign conductors of integration. In this way, regional agreements are exchange areas within which markets reflect, without state participation, the centripetal forces of geography and the globalization of the world order. Trade preferences are only a relatively short stage in the transition to a comprehensive integration of the world economy. Labor division within the region and in the rest of the world is based on static comparative advantages. Member countries adhere to policies inspired on the neoclassical viewpoint. The state limits itself to safeguard property rights and keep from interfering in transactions among individuals.

On the other hand, from the viewpoint of sustainable integration, the process takes into account economic, social, and cultural dimensions and becomes an

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instrument to spur sustainable development. That is, to achieve long term increase in productivity, employment compatible to the improvement in quality of life of Latin Americans and the protection of the environment.

Integration incorporates values of equity in the distribution of profits and development opportunities both between Latin American countries and within each country as well.

Such an enterprise is supported by two pillars: the first one, the building of wealth by the private sector and the markets. The second one, public policies to ensure macroeconomic balance, increased employment, promotion of solidarity, and strengthening of decision-making capacity to determine destiny in a globalized world. In other words, integration is essentially a political structure resulting from the interaction between markets and public action.

Sustainable integration is, thus, the concurrence of our countries in an area extended to accommodate long-term growth of productivity and employment, enhance the quality of life, protect the environment, and consolidate Latin American identity.

Sustainable integration regards regional agreements as preferred trade zones, through which governments and economic and social agents agree on strategies and active policies. Trade preferences last long enough to ensure the integration of the sub-regional area and the insertion of regional production in world markets. Competitiveness rests in the dynamic and systematic advantages based on the current resources. The free exchange with the development centers takes place progressively and with respect for integration and regional development terms.

In short, the future of Latin American integration depends on the response to the challenges of the globalization of the world order. In turn, integration strengthens the negotiating capacity of Latin American countries, as well as their possibilities to confront risks and take advantage of the opportunities represented by globalization. The fundamentalist perspective and the neoliberal model cannot achieve nor promise good results. Conversely, the critical approach to globalization contributes to sustainable integration strategies.

The political project

Since the mid-eighties, intra-regional trade has experienced rapid growth. Between 1985 and 1996 the participation of Latin American countries in

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total foreign trade rose from 8% to 20%. Growth was particularly noticeable in the Mercosur region, which accounts for approximately 50% of intra-Latin American trade.

Several factors explain this recent dynamism. First, the process of trade liberation put up barriers weakening area and geographical centripetal forces. Preferential margins set up by integration agreements contributed in like manner. Also, resumption of external financing flows spurred an increase in total imports. At the same time, weakening exports to the rest of the world made the regional market more significant.

These trade events are parallel to increased political and diplomatic relations among Latin American countries. One of the most important manifestations of this was the contribution made by the Contadora Group and the Group of Rio to the peaceful solution of the Central American crisis. This concurrence is particularly conspicuous within Mercosur. Since their independence periods, its most important members —Argentina and Brazil— had turned their backs to each other in a context frequently marked by distrust and apparent hegemonic rivalry. Upon the return of democracy, economic cooperation and political proximity have reached levels which were inconceivable prior to the signing of the Act of Foz de Iguazú (November 1985) by Presidents Raúl Alfonsín and José Sarney. An insignificant relationship until recent years has now become an essential element for both countries, as is also the case for Paraguay and Uruguay.

This progress is, nonetheless, insufficient. Basic development problems and a thorough redesign of the insertion process in a globalized world, are still up in the air. If integration is reduced to a mere trade project, its contribution to resolving those challenges will be quite modest. Abandoned to spontaneous market forces and completely dependent on the world marketplace, integration will be better than nothing, but its contribution will be far below its possibilities.

A comprehensive integration process including every possible arena to be put at the service of Latin American people, *sustainable integration*, calls for a far-reaching political project. In responding to such a challenge, one must realistically observe the contemporary international scenario and identify just how much myth and ideology is a part of the current debate. A critical view of globalization helps to identify the true limits and the space where our countries can become the architects of their own destiny. □

In other words, integration is essentially a political structure resulting from the interaction between markets and public action.



The former President of Costa Rica, Rodrigo Carazo, directed the works of Commission 1.



Allan Wagner (Perú), special advisor of SELA, and Osvaldo Rosales (Chile), regional advisor of CEPAL.

Osvaldo Sunkel (Chile), during his participation in Commission 1.



Onofre Rojas (Dominican Republic), Antonio Pallarés (Guatemala), Manuel Camacho Solís (Mexico).

Jean Casimir (Haiti) Ambassador for his country in Washington.





Ruth Cardoso (Brazil), renowned sociologist and President of the Consejo Comunidad Solidaria, directed Commission 2. Gonzalo Abad (Ecuador), member of the Coordinating Committee of DEMOS, was the Narrator. Osvaldo Hurtado (Ecuador) former President of his country, was the main speaker, and Carlos Amat y León (Perú), former Minister of Agriculture, not in the photograph, gave the introduction.

Diversity, Integration and Social Order

Commission 2

♦ Ruth Cardoso ♦ Osvaldo Hurtado ♦ Carlos Amat y León ♦ Gonzalo Abad ♦ Azril Bacal ♦ Stella Maris Cacace ♦ Gloria Isabel Cuartas Montoya ♦ Myrna Kay Cunningham Kain ♦ Amalia García Medina ♦ Francisco Lacayo ♦ José Matos Mar ♦ Leonardo Meireles Ribeiro ♦ Anita Menchú Túm ♦ José Luis Méndez ♦ Gonzalo Montenegro ♦ Diva Moreira ♦ Manuel Ramiro Muñoz ♦ Oscar Oliva Ruiz ♦ Nina Pacari Vega ♦ Marlene Teixeira Rodrigues ♦ Jorge Werthein ♦

GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRACY, AND POVERTY*



Osvaldo Hurtado
Former President of Ecuador

This paper deals with the relationship between democracy, economic development, and the alleviation of poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean. To this end we will refer to the concept of governance—an analytical category found in contemporary political science—which allows us to identify the capacity of a political system (not the circumstantial capacity of a government) to give coherence and a timely and efficient response to the demands of society.

The paper begins with a recapitulation of the problems of democracy. It goes on to describe the democratizing process, then examines the key institutions for democratic governance (electoral processes, multi-party systems, relationship between the executive and the legislative power). Next, it makes an analysis of the economic, social, political, and cultural context in which democratic governments exercise power; lastly, it offers some lines of action which could contribute to enhance governance, and consequently correct economic backwardness and reduce the number of impoverished families.

This paper has a regional approach and only in certain cases, for purposes of illustration, specific domestic features will be discussed. For the same reason, suggestions for institutional reforms should not be considered as general formulas since each country experiences its own particular situation.

Democracy and development

Latin American and Caribbean development at the end of the century, unlike past experiences, is taking place under the rule of democratic institutions. This is true of all the countries in the region, with the exception of Cuba,

* The author wishes to make known that the present document was written for a project of the UNPD.

The greater and more demanding challenge to Latin American democracy is adding social legitimacy to the juridical legitimacy it already possesses. This social legitimacy is achieved when citizens grant a political system the capacity to recognize their needs and solve their problems. When democracy has the capacity of rendering tangible results in the economic and social fields, besides safeguarding freedom and human rights, and promoting citizen participation, its institutions will become established in the heart of society, and democratic values will become a part of Latin American culture. Thereafter, its permanence will be assured.

something never seen before in history. There is some evidence that this is not merely circumstantial and that, at last, democracy tends to consolidate. Several governments have been elected by the free and secret vote, public freedom secured, and human rights protected. Also, the legislative and the judicial functions have been performing independently, the armed forces have been subordinated to civil authority, democratic institutions have been improved by reforms to political charters, and the participation of voters in electoral periods has increased. Participation ratios are often higher in these countries than in industrialized nations. These achievements have given democracy the opportunity to gain the juridical legitimacy it had not been able to attain in the past. In addition, we have now an international environment favorable to democracy and hostile to authoritarian regimes.

Once prevalence of democratic institutions has been secured, their inherent limitations to confront the challenges of Latin American development are still unresolved, particularly in terms of reducing the number of poor and correcting social inequity. During the decade and a half between 1980 and 1995, economic development of the region has dropped below population growth, unemployment problems have been exacerbated, the number of poor people is similar to that of 1970 and the gap between rich and poor people has increased. These inequalities inflict even greater wounds in a democratic society by virtue of its principles and the objectives embodied in its constitution. Thus, the greater and more demanding challenge to Latin American democracy is adding social legitimacy to the juridical legitimacy it already possesses. This social legitimacy is achieved when citizens grant a political system the capacity to recognize their needs and solve their problems. When democracy has the capacity of rendering tangible results in the economic and social fields, besides safeguarding freedom and human rights, and promoting citizen participation, its institutions will become established in the heart of society, and democratic values will become a part of Latin American culture. Thereafter, its permanence will be assured.

Democracy differs from other forms of government by the important role played by political parties in the operation of its institutions. In fact, political parties outline the constitutional order of the state and can reform it; they can propose the candidates selected by the citizenry for electoral events (election of President, congressmen, mayors, etc.); the highest state authorities are chosen among their members. Political parties also draft

the program guiding the government's actions and establish the main public policies; collect and express the concerns of citizens and of interest groups; guide the public opinion, instruct their members and given them political promotion. And, as opposition parties, they watch over and pass judgment on the acts of government, and can make the government rectify.

Nevertheless, political parties are not up to this important responsibility, even in countries with a certain tradition and identity. It is even worse in countries where political parties are absent at a national level, are in the process of constitution, or their instability prevents them from directing public matters. All these are deficiencies negatively impacting the operation of democratic institutions and limiting their capacity to solve development needs and problems. This is a serious weakness of Latin American democracy when compared to North American and European experiences, where the good quality of democracy and its positive results are induced by the soundness and merits of their political parties.

Notwithstanding the time elapsed since the reinstatement of democracy, it is only recently that the importance of political variables on the economic and social development of the region is being perceived. This, thanks to the data provided by academic research and to the experiences of Latin American countries, some of which has been frustrating. This is why in a study on poverty it was deemed necessary to analyze the problems of governance in a democratic system that are hindering sustained and sufficient economic growth and the amending of social inequities. Since what matters is finding the responses to mend the weaknesses of Latin American policy, some suggestions oriented to enhancing the operation and profitability of the democratic system are also included.

The democratic process

Once the independence wars were finished with, and after freedom was declared in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Latin American countries adopted democracy as the form of political organization. Compared to the experiences of the older democracies, Great Britain and the United States —uninterrupted since their institution in the eighteenth century—, Latin American democracies have experienced several ruptures. In most of the countries, constitutions were abrogated on several occasions and the democratic order was replaced by dictatorships which placed military or civil absolute rulers in power. The only exceptions are Chile

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and Colombia, where constitutional order was interrupted on only one occasion.

In this century, in the early sixties, a renewed authoritarian wave swept over Latin America, adding new dictatorships to those that had appeared in the years following World War II. As a result, democracy became an isolated phenomenon limited to four countries: Costa Rica, Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico. Due to the combination of several factors, in the last part of the sixties a democratic eruption was experienced, culminating in the eighties and embracing the entire region. This process is part of what Samuel Huntington calls “The Third Democratizing Wave” in the world.

The current democratic process commenced in Ecuador in 1977, when the Supreme Government Council, after a dialogue with civil leaders, formed several commissions which included representatives of political parties, businessmen, workers, and lawyers. These commissions were in charge of drafting a project for the Constitution, as well as regulations to control referendum and electoral processes and manage political parties, laying the basis for the transition from dictatorship to democracy through free and peaceful elections. The people of Ecuador participated in a referendum by which the new Political Constitution was approved in 1978. In this same year, the first electoral round to elect the President of the Republic took place. The process concluded successfully on August 10, 1979 with the inauguration of Jaime Roldós. In subsequent years the democratic map expanded to encompass twenty Latin American countries which adopted constitutional regimes. Please refer to Chart 1.

In general terms these processes were pacific and concerted, unlike past experiences in which democracy was achieved after the toppling of the dictator, sometimes in a bloody manner, and the destruction of his domination system.

Although this transition to democracy was violent in some cases (Haiti, Panama, Paraguay) the majority of countries followed the Ecuadorian model, which consisted of an agreement between the civil and the military entities, to end dictatorial rule and construct democracy. This was the case of Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala. There were also other countries reaching democracy in an unexpected manner; in Argentina this was due to the military defeat in the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas); in Chile, Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua it was thanks to the downfall of dictatorial rule during the elections

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whereby they intended to gain legitimacy; and then, in Panama, this was due to the invasion of the United States.

A quite different route, although an agreement was reached with the populations, was followed by the British, French, and Dutch Caribbean

Chart 1
Latin American Countries becoming Democratic
(1979-1990)

Year democracy achieved	Country	Former regime
1978	Dominica	Colonial
1978	Dominicana Republic	Military Dictatorship
1979	Ecuador	Military Dictatorship
1979	Saint Vincent	Colonial
1979	Santa Lucía	Colonial
1980	Peru	Military Dictatorship
1981	Antigua & Barbuda	Colonial
1982	Honduras	Military Dictatorship
1983	Argentina	Military Dictatorship
1983	Grenada	Leftist Dictatorship
1984	Brasil	Leftist Dictatorship
1984	El Salvador	Military Dictatorship
1984	Uruguay	Military Dictatorship
1985	Guatemala	Military Dictatorship
1988	Mexico	Hegemonic Party
1988	Paraguay	Military Dictatorship
1989	Chile	Military Dictatorship
1989	Panama	Military Dictatorship
1990	Haiti	Military Dictatorship
1990	Nicaragua	Leftist Dictatorship

Culmination of transition to democracy is the date of the election of a popular government, democratically elected. Source: Huntington (1991).

countries, since they gained access to democracy through the collapse of colonialism. This process started in the second half of the century and was completed between 1979 and 1981.

Factors prompting democratic transition

The relinquishing of power, voluntarily or by force, of Latin American dictatorships and the subsequent arrival of democracy was the outcome of the combination of a variety of elements, the most important being: the economic crisis as a result of financial problems related to external debts and the drop in price of certain exportable goods; the fracturing of military entities that supported totalitarian power; the demands for human rights by influential sectors of the public and the international community; the acceptance of democracy by right wing and left wing political sectors; and the promotion of democratic initiatives by the government of the United States, originally devised by Jimmy Carter and pursued by Ronald Reagan.

Transition was difficult and controversial in some countries due to the reluctance of the military to give up power and the concessions made by democratic forces to the old regime. In Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Chile it was agreed not to prosecute people responsible for crimes against human rights, nor to prosecute them on a selective basis. Chile continued to be ruled by the Political Constitution of the dictatorship and the dictator kept the command of the armed forces. This was also the case in Nicaragua when the new government agreed to allow the Sandinista Minister of Defense to remain in office.

There were some cases where democracy was enforced in societies that had almost always lived in dictatorial regimes, and thus lacked the basic institutions to operate a democracy. It was, then, necessary to set up an identity card system, electoral regulations and courts, list of voters, etc. There was also a lack of experience in civil activities, that is, the democratic culture that people gain over the years through the application of constitutional precepts and the exercise of political activities.

A complex economic crisis and the resulting serious social and political conflicts added to this scenario. While dictatorships enjoyed the economic prosperity and abundance of the fifties, sixties, and seventies, democratic governments battled poverty and enforced austerity measures. To overcome stagnation and restore development, these governments implemented —sometimes more than once— adjustment programs that

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aggravated social problems, negatively affecting lower and middle class sectors. Fourteen years after Mexico and other Latin American countries announced their inability to pay their external debt, some of those countries have been able to restore the purported macroeconomic balance, but very few of them have regained reasonable growth ratios similar to those achieved in the region in more prosperous times, least of all have they succeeded in mitigating poverty or correcting social inequity.

Despite so many problems, difficulties, and adversities, democracy has been able to neutralize social and political conflicts, curb the forces plotting against democracy, and enhance its juridical background. This determination and vigor have allowed democracy to break the regressive and pernicious dictatorship-democracy-dictatorship circle. Democratic institutions, gainsaying negative predictions, have also proven their capacity to curb economic crisis, achieving a deep structural revision of the *Cepalian* economic model. A few countries were able to resume development and those flourishing the most succeeded in reducing the number of poor people.

As pointed out by some writers, the crisis has created some spaces and produced opportunities to improve government functions and make progress in the democratic process. For example, in countries where municipal authorities used to be appointed by the President, the Constitution has been reformed to have them elected by public vote. In Ecuador, a constitutional reform authorizes the President to submit to Congress “emergency projects” on economic issues which, failing approval by Congress within 15 days of presentation, will become regulation. Congress can eventually reform or abrogate those regulations. In Mexico, the one-party hegemonic political system is being replaced by a more open system giving opposition parties the possibility of winning government positions at state, municipal, congress, and federal levels.

Latin American democracy has had the cooperation of the international community. Foreign observers have monitored the accomplishment of free and fair elections, and some industrialized countries have granted funds and assistance to finance such processes. In cases where democracy was overrun by political and social pressures or by authoritarian attempts by military and civil sectors, Latin American countries could count on foreign solidarity and leaders, as well as regional organizations. Thanks to their determined action which included timely mediation, political pressures,

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economic sanctions, and even military intervention, authoritarian threats were successfully thwarted in Peru, Guatemala, Haiti, and Paraguay. That is precisely why the OAS and Mercosur have defined themselves as organizations belonging to democratic countries, and the OAS has even put some procedures in place to promote and safeguard its institutions.

Constitutional order

Caribbean countries inherited from Europe a parliamentary form of government, according to which a government is formed when it has the support of the majority in congress, and succumbs when that majority disperses or the party in power is defeated in the polls. These countries have achieved reasonable political stability thanks to the support of congress and a sound multi-party system. This explains why Caribbean democracy has not experienced governance problems; on the contrary, its economic and social outcome outdoes that of the continental countries of Latin American.

Somewhat different is the case of countries with presidential regimes. The President, elected by the direct vote of the citizenry to perform the executive function for a set period of time, determines his cabinet in independent manner from congress. The President not always has the support of the majority in congress. These presidential systems have been marked by instability, sometimes taken to the extreme, expressed in the staff turnover in the cabinet and even the replacement of the President himself. This has prevented public policies from having continuity, particularly in the economic sphere, with the resulting negative impact on development. Let's take a look at two exemplifying, though extreme, cases: throughout its independent life, Ecuador has had 18 Constitutions, and the average term of Bolivian governments is less than one year. In spite of political stability achieved in the region during the current democratic period, five Presidents—Siles in Bolivia, Alfonsín in Argentina, Collor in Brazil, Serrano in Guatemala, and Pérez in Venezuela—were forced to quit power before the conclusion of their constitutional mandate.

With this background, it would be beneficial to find out if the new political institutions—particularly political parties and electoral authority—which are an organic part of constitutions and their regulations, are better off than their predecessors to bring public life in Latin America to stability and expand the benefits of the democratic system. In other words, we need

to know if Latin American democracy is now more governable than before and, consequently, if it is better equipped to materialize in economic and social deeds the declarations on principles and rights which are part of the political charters.

While democratic governance involves several elements, since this paper was prepared as a monograph, only three institutions having an essential role in the design of a political society will be addressed: electoral instruments, the multi-party system, and the relationship between the executive and legislative functions.

Electoral instruments

The elements defining the character of electoral laws and regulations are: the criteria for a presidential election, the formula used to allocate the seats in parliament, and the structure of electoral timetables.

In Latin America, a presidential election used to involve a single electoral event, by which the candidate with the higher number of votes won the election. This method has been adjusted by introducing a second electoral round with the participation of the candidates obtaining the two highest tallies in the first round. The winner is the one with the absolute majority of votes.

Six Latin American countries continue to apply the one-round system, also known as relative majority (Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela); in the other twelve (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Peru, Dominican Republic, and Bolivia) the two-round system is in use. Among the latter there are three cases (Costa Rica, Argentina, and Nicaragua) where the candidate obtaining between 40% and 45% of the votes in the first round, can be declared president elect. Also singular is the Bolivian system which gives Congress the authority to appoint the president from the group of the three who obtained the highest tally. A recent constitutional amendment has reduced the number from three to two.

The second electoral round, inspired by the Fifth French Republic, was introduced in Latin America (Ecuador, 1977) to strengthen the authority of the President, on the premise that if he was elected by the absolute majority of voters and not by a minority (sometimes less than one fifth of the constituents) he would increase his representativity. Nonetheless, strengthening presidential authority has not brought with it with an increase

It would be beneficial to find out if the new political institutions —particularly political parties and electoral authority— which are an organic part of constitutions and their regulations, are better off than their predecessors to bring public life in Latin America to stability and expand the benefits of the democratic system. In other words, we need to know if Latin American democracy is now more governable than before and, consequently, if it is better equipped to materialize in economic and social deeds the declarations on principles and rights which are part of the political charters.

in real support, since the parties contributing to the election of the president in the second round usually do not form part of the government nor do they make up a supporting parliamentary majority. In some countries, prior to the formation of electoral coalitions for the first round, political parties have been encouraged to propose their own presidential candidates, regardless of their non-existent chances to win, with the sole purpose of strengthening the position of their candidates to Congress.

With respect to parliamentary elections, the principle of proportional representation (also called plurinominal because parties are allowed to present several candidates) has been a tradition in Latin America for the allotment of congress seats, using the methods of natural quotients or highest remainders, as well as the D'Hondt formula. The plurinominal system has encouraged the participation of political parties because of the opportunities offered to attain a seat in congress with the resulting proliferation of political organizations.

In order to prevent internal fragmentation, some countries like Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela have introduced a combined formula by which part of congress seats are proportionally assigned and the other part are decided on a uninominal basis (one candidate per party per electoral district). These reforms have not been tested in a sufficient number of electoral processes to determine if they render the desired results. Mexico has followed a different course: the electoral reform of 1997 allowed part of congress to be elected by the proportional formula in order to give the opposition better opportunities with respect to the PRI as the ruling party.

While there are discussions on the influence of electoral systems, uninominal or plurinominal, in reducing or increasing the number of political parties, the evidence available reveals that the uninominal formula favors reduction while the plurinominal encourages increase. We must, however, take into account the elements alien to electoral formulas, which can modify its performance, like the election of president in one or in two rounds, the election of congressmen in the first or second round, and the presence of a consolidated bipartisanship which hinders the creation of new political parties.

The electoral timetable, meaning the dates for presidential and congressional elections, does not always coincide. In most countries elections are concurrent but in others they take place at different times. Empirical evidence shows that concurrent processes have a concentrating effect in elec-

Strengthening presidential authority has not brought with it an increase in real support, since the parties contributing to the election of the president in the second round usually do not form part of the government nor do they make up a supporting parliamentary majority.

toral preferences in favor of the presidential candidate with the most possibilities of winning, who, as a result, ends up with a majority in congress. The non-concurrent elections, particularly when they take place midway in the presidential term, limit the possibilities of success for the ruling party and open spaces for the triumph of the opposition candidates.

Multi-party systems

Political parties in Latin America have not escaped the crisis affecting political organizations in several countries of the world, including stable and prosperous industrial economies where, thanks to their actions, people have achieved better living conditions. The bi-party system, in force for more than a century in Uruguay and Colombia, is crumbling; the multi-party system in Venezuela, led by Democratic Action and the COPEE, only recently regarded as one of the strongest in the continent, has lost influence and has been outweighed for one-time electoral processes. The crisis of political parties is more serious in countries where formal political organizations appeared belatedly or party fragmentation was significant. A good example is Ecuador, over the past 18 years of democratic life having had six presidents from six different political parties. This has also been the case in Brazil, Peru, and Guatemala. It could be said that the re-election of Saul Menem and Alberto Fujimori prove the contrary; however, it should be taken into account that voters had more confidence in the personal leadership of Menem and Fujimori than in the political organizations supporting them. One exception is Mexico, where a basically non-traumatic transition from a single-party scheme to a more plural system is taking place.

The fact that democratic governments have been exercised by political parties has led public opinion to identify political parties with the economic crisis and make them responsible for the deterioration of the living conditions of the population. To this eroding element, add the corruption of some party leaders, the preponderance of individuals over structures, the preeminence of personal or party interests over the interests of the population, and the incongruities between party agendas and the concerns of society. Deep socio-cultural changes in the region have also contributed to the decline of some political parties. Today, thanks to mass media, people have direct, everyday access to public matters, form their own criteria, and express their opinions without the mediation of political parties. The

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so-called “videopolicy” has allowed the appearance of public figures from non-political fields who have succeeded outside the realm of political parties, which in fact they scorn.

This has encouraged the proliferation of “independent” organizations formed by people connected to the political sectors; through attributing themselves virtues denied to political parties by the civil society, they succeed in participating in electoral processes. The candidates proposed by this type of organizations, who have reached the presidency in countries like Brazil, Peru, Guatemala, and Venezuela, have not had more luck than professional politicians. Other sectors of the civil society, like former guerrillas and the native movement, have reached the vice-presidency of Bolivia and some seats in the Ecuadorian congress. While the presence of these new political forces has contributed to the fragmentation of the multi-party system, it has encouraged the integration of broad social sectors, formerly marginalized, to the democratic life.

These organizations are usually contestant to political parties and never constituted as such; moreover, they reject being considered political parties. Nonetheless, political parties they are, regardless of their structure, since according to Giovanni Sartori’s definition, a party is “any political group taking part in elections with candidates to public positions”. This explains why no democratic system in the world has been able to set aside political parties, despite the criticism and disapproval they incur every day. Since political parties are essential to a democratic system and a decisive factor for governance, it is important to further analyze them.

A study by Mainwaring and Scully reveals the close relationship between the seniority of political organizations and the level of institutionalization of the multi-party system. Chart 2 shows two criteria for measuring the maturity of this system: average age of political parties currently holding over 10% of congress seats, and the concentration rate of votes for the two largest parties with presence in congress. In Colombia and Costa Rica, countries enjoying an almost uninterrupted democratic stability, two organizations concentrate around 95% of congress seats. In Colombia, both the Liberal and the Conservative Parties have existed for almost 145 years. Until recently, Uruguay’s Blanco and Colorado parties go back 160 years. At the other end we find the hypertrophied multi-party systems of Peru, Ecuador, and Brazil where relatively new political organizations, less than 30 years old, frequently appear and disappear without attaining even one

third of congress seats. These differences have allowed the first-mentioned countries to enjoy political stability while the last three suffer from chronic instability.

The degree of maturity of a multi-party system can also be measured by electoral volatility, i.e. the percentage of votes won or lost from one election to the other, whether presidential or legislative. This method is illustrational, since low volatility reveals the support given to a given party over a lengthy period of time, despite some dosage of frustration due to political and economic contingencies. On the other hand, high volatility reveals that most constituents abandon their party's ship when it starts having problems. This prevents parties from becoming popularly rooted, from becoming institutional. Regarding Chart 3, Uruguay, Colombia, Costa Rica, and Chile again appear with influential, mature, and institutionalized multi-party systems, while Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia show highly unstable parties and little political influence.

Party leaders also contribute to this volatility when, guided by personal interests, they decide to desert their parties. In the Ecuadorian Congress, up to 25% of its members quit their parties to declare themselves "independent" and negotiate their vote with the government on an individual basis. Some independent legislators return to Congress for a new period under the auspices of a different political organization. This occurs in Brazil and other countries as well. In the work of Mainwaring and Scully, Paraguay is shown as a system with relatively institutionalized political parties. This is true if the age and representativity of its most important parties is taken into account; however, the main opposition to President Wasmosy comes from the legislators of his own party, the Colorado Party.

The negative impact of a multi-party political system and the presence of manifold organizations in Congress could be neutralized by the action of a representative party holding an important share of congress seats. This would allow for the formation of clearly defined governments and long-lasting alliances, and becoming responsible opposition when not holding power. Several Latin American countries have normalized their political life thanks to this type of organizations. In Mexico, the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) has been a factor of stability and continuity, while in Chile two subsequent governments have been formed around the PDC (Democratic Christian Party) with the participation of four other parties.

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Chart 2 Degree of Institutionalization of the Multi-party System in Latin America*				
Country	Number of Parties	Average Age	Last Election year	Percentage of Seats
Colombia	2	144	1990	97.0
Costa Rica	2	44	1990	94.7
Paraguay	2	71	1993	90.0
Mexico	2	59	1991	84.2
Argentina	2	76	1993	82.4
Uruguay	2	112	1989	69.7
Chile	4	37	1993	57.5
Venezuela	4	33	1993	56.4
Bolivia	1	20	1993	40.0
Peru	1	33	1990	29.4
Ecuador	4	19	1992	15.6
Brazil	1	12	1990	0.6

* Regarding criteria used for party selection see following paragraph. Source: Mainwaring & Scully (1995, p.13)

Government and congress

The political history of Latin America has been influenced by frequent conflicts between the executive and legislative powers. Disagreements between government and congress have mostly been due to the following: a proportional electoral system furthering the presence of the opposition in Congress; the intolerance of leaders and Congressional obstruction to the decisions of the executive branch; presidential proclivity to go beyond constitutional mandate; ideological differences and the diversity of economic, social, and cultural interests both local and regional; the degree of personal and inter-party conflicts; and the lack of habits and attitudes leading to agreements and commitments. The current democratic period has also been influenced by the significant economic crisis which forced the executive power to make hasty decisions without proper consultation with parties and Congress.

Latin American countries have not been able to rid themselves of these negative practices, neither have they been capable of setting rules and procedures to build a healthy relationship between the executive and the legislative powers, notwithstanding the constitutional reforms undertaken. This has had a negative impact on democracy and development. In Perú, the clash of powers tarnished democracy in the eyes of extensive sectors of public opinion. This was utilized by President Fujimori to dissolve congress and designate a new one —loyal to him alone. Administrations with a parliamentary minority like Ecuador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Brazil, have been incapable of solving the problems caused by the economic crisis. In Brazil, Argentina, Perú, and other countries, Presidents have utilized legal gaps to rule by proclamation, usurping legislative functions pertaining to Congress.

Chart 3
Electoral Volatility in Latin America

Country	Parliamentary Elections			Presidential Elections			Average Volatility
	Period	Elections	Volat.	Period	Elections	Volat.	
Uruguay	1971-89	2	9.10%	1971-89	2	9.10%	9.10%
Colombia	1970-90	5	8.50%	1970-90	5	10.90%	9.70%
Costa Rica	1970-90	5	18.20%	1970-90	5	14.30%	16.25%
Chile	1973-93	2	15.80%	1973-93	2	15.40%	15.60%
Venezuela	1973-93	4	17.70%	1973-93	4	20.00%	18.85%
Argentina	1983-93	5	12.70%	1973-89	2	27.20%	19.95%
Mexico	1982-91	3	22.40%	1982-88	1	32.20%	27.30%
Paraguay	1983-93	2	25.80%	1989-93	1	37.00%	31.40%
Bolivia	1979-93	4	33.00%	1979-93	4	39.20%	36.10%
Ecuador	1978-92	5	32.50%	1979-92	3	43.20%	37.85%
Peru	1978-90	3	54.40%	1980-90	2	54.00%	54.20%
Brazil	1982-90	2	40.90%	1960-89	1	99.00%	69.95%

Source: Mainwaring and Scully (1995, p.17-22).

The discussion on the equilibrium of power between the President of the Republic and Congress that came about with the inauguration of Latin American States has changed over the past quarter century as a result of the profound and complex economic transformations to tackle the economic crisis. The arguments have not changed. For some people, stronger presidential authority ensures a result-oriented government performance and prevents inappropriate Congress intervention, since Congress is not familiar with economic intricacies and is reluctant to make unpopular decisions. To others, however, excessive executive power gives rise to abuse and eventually to absolutism, not to mention the loss of authority of legislators.

Deheza's research to determine the majority or minority character of 101 Latin American administrations ruling between 1958 and 1994, showed that 55 of those administrations had the support of a majority Congress; one fifth pertained to parties getting more than half of the seats in Congress; in the other cases, this support was achieved through alliances between two or more parties (Chart 4). While figures are important because they show the positive evolution in Latin American democracy, it should be taken into account that almost half of the countries lacked a majority in Congress. As a result, the Presidents have faced enormous difficulties to carry out their government programs, avert obstacles to their policies, and safeguard their cabinet members from excessive supervision on the part of Congress. This is particularly important in those countries where Congress has the authority to remove ministers.

In foregoing pages, reference was made to the electoral factors causing the fragmentation of representation in Congress, which in turn has deprived the President's party of majority support in congress. This problem could be solved through political alliances, or if opposition parties were willing to take an honest approach to government initiatives. In a clearly fragmented system the first option is extremely complex since pacts are made among various parties to achieve the sufficient number of seats. The second option is also somewhat difficult due to the scarce incentives for parties to support the President in office, as well as the bitter competition to attain opposition leadership. Besides, if the President is successful he gets the benefits, but if he fails, the costs are shared by his partners in the coalition and those congressmen supporting his policies. Under these circumstances, remaining in opposition becomes

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a lucrative alternative from the electoral point of view, particularly with congress or presidential elections coming up.

Some authors think that political instability could be corrected if consecutive reelection periods were allowed for the post of President. This would permit citizens to evaluate the recently concluded presidential period and decide on supporting the president for a second consecutive term. This would give continuity to government policies, as occurred in Peru and Argentina where Fujimori and Menem were reelected with ample

Whatever might be the organization, composition, and authority of Congress, the parliamentary institution in Latin America seems to suffer from a structural deficiency which limits its scope of action and its interaction with the executive power. While the government has a veritable hive of specialized organizations, information systems and a competent bureaucracy, Congress basically continues to be formed by senators, congressmen, and activists, exactly as it used to be when republics were inaugurated. The lack of technical mediators to analyze bills limits the ability of Congress to proffer opinions on the diverse and complex issues of a modern state.

Chart 4 Formation of Administrations in Latin America: 1958 - 1994		
Majority in Congress	Number of Parties	
	Single Party (41)	Coalition (60)
Majority (55)	One Majority Party 19	Majority Coalition 36
Minority (46)	One Minority Party 22	Minority Coalition 24

Source: Deheza (1995). For the study, Deheza considered the cases of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. According to the author's criteria, a change in government comes about with a change in President, when the Cabinet alters the direction of the administration, and when mid-term elections are held that affect the pre-existing policies.

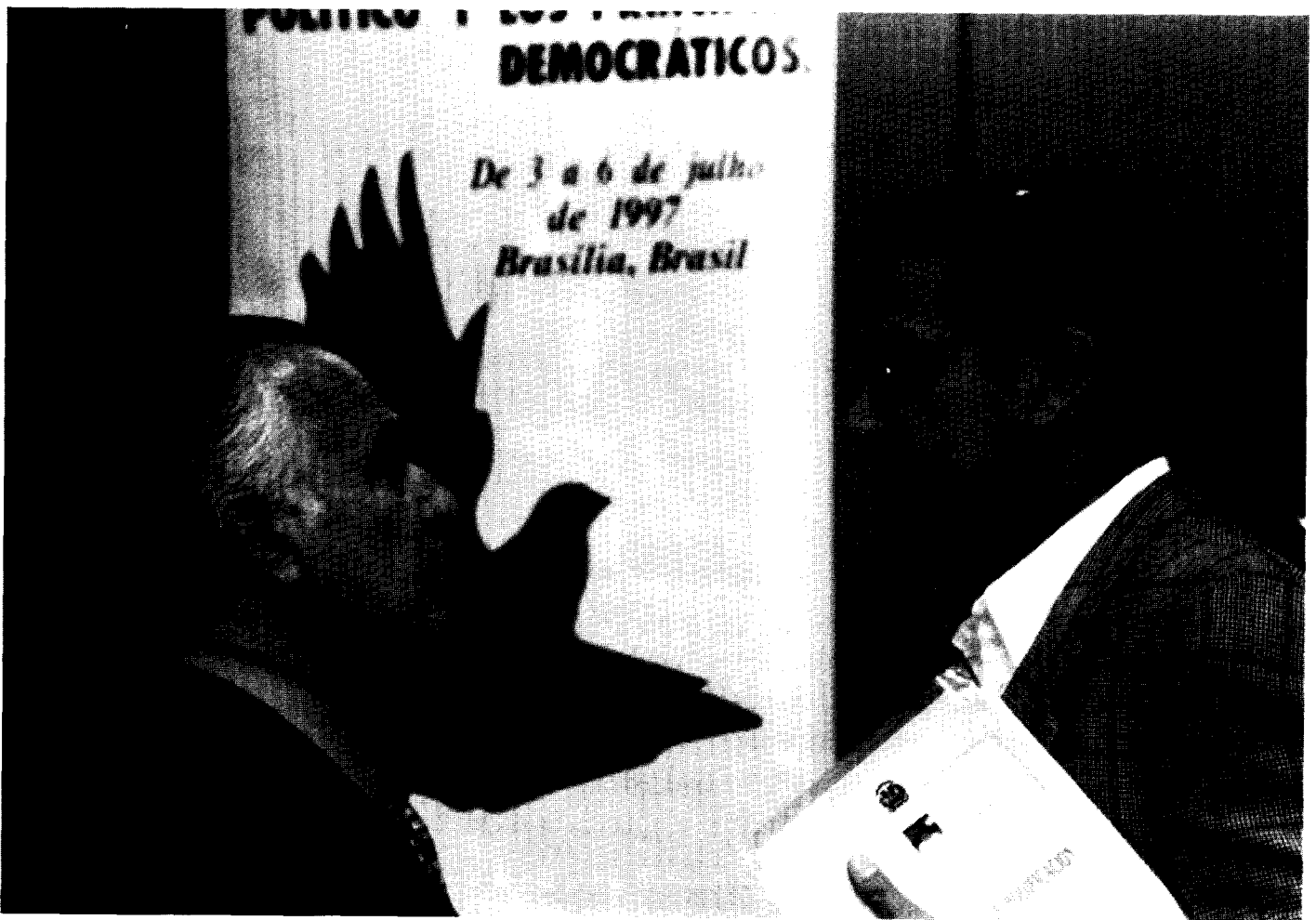
popular support. While both examples are factual, the risk of despotism should not be underestimated since this has been an element hindering the institutionalization of democracy in Latin America. Furthermore, when stability and continuity depend on individuals rather than on institutions, they are perishable and offer no guarantee of political maturity.

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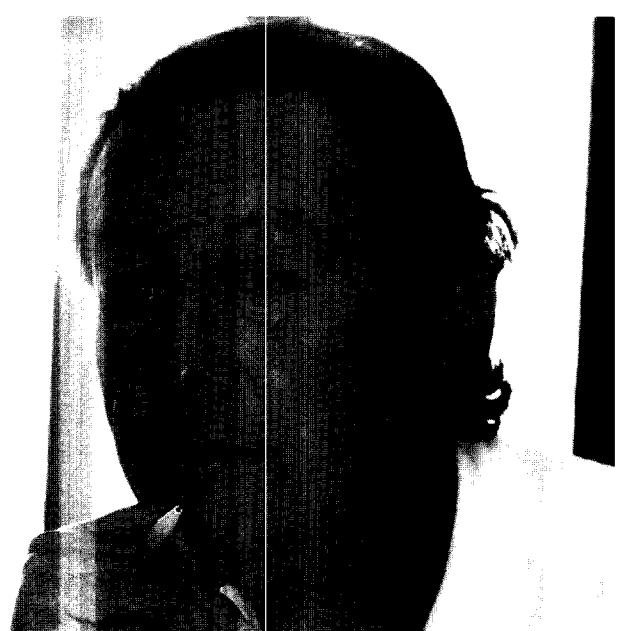
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Former Presidents Miguel de la Madrid (Mexico) and Osvaldo Hurtado (Ecuador) exchange opinions during a recess in the work of Commissions.



DRAFTING A LATIN AMERICAN AGENDA



I wish that my remarks might contribute to the drafting of a common Latin American agenda. At this point I will advance some suggestions. The first one would be improving living conditions. We became used to the concept of *poverty as a lack of*, and now international organizations use the concept of *basic needs*. This is an improvement because since the 70's both the Monetary Fund and the World Bank have not made any reference to poverty. At present, these organizations have made some headway both in theory and methodology. Today, the World Bank is the champion of basic needs while the Monetary Fund is the expert in adjustment programs. Poverty mapping is being promoted and the *combat* of poverty is the capacity to provide housing, water, electricity, minimum wages, education, etc., but the underlying concept is that of *the lack of*.

Definition of poverty

If we think about poverty not being *the lack of* but the *inability to*, we would be placing the strategic issue under a different perception. This perception does not deny or exclude the principle that everybody has the right to have their basic needs met; this is irrefutable. However, the idea is one of poverty as the *inability to* generate wealth, not only economic or material but social and institutional or cultural and artistic; this is poverty, the incapacity of being self-sufficient. That is a very important issue, because if we use other indicators and draw another map in terms of proposals, a catalogue of prospects to recognize where the possibilities to create social, institutional, cultural and hence material wealth are, we can direct our attention to different types of policies, instruments and government resource allocation programs. These programs should take into

Carlos Amat y León
Former Minister of Agriculture of Peru

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account the strategic division between poverty and destitution and concentrate on the establishment of differentiated policies. There are groups of indigent (homeless) people for whom aid programs should consist of a net transfer of funds, since in their case it is a matter of life or death. At present, these groups are not qualified to care for themselves. If we are to define poverty as need, it is important to make this distinction.

The development model proposed and financed by the BID and the World Bank is not concerned with overcoming poverty but is designed to alleviate poverty, something which needs to be considered. Merely alleviating extreme poverty in some segments does not suffice; it is imperative to generate and strengthen the skills of these groups so that they themselves may overcome negative conditions and create improved ones. Hence, the BID and the World Bank alleviate poverty by allocating part of their budget to subsidize this task. The point here is this: to face a globalized world in which poverty has been overcome and competitiveness and productivity have been increased by the year 2005 or 2010, the issue of poverty needs to be dealt with dynamically.

In the globalized world of 2010, indicators would not be those of extreme poverty or destitution, but rather developed or underdeveloped societies with huge segments of increasingly excluded people. It is crucial to attain sustained economic growth. Even under this criterion there is great pressure exerted on our countries (overpopulated) so that by 2015 they not be classified as impoverished according to the indicator of basic skills, as well as serious problems in the trade balance to keep up with those groups that are not defined as being poor. Can the entire population at present classified as "poor" attain consumer levels similar to those of the not-poor population? Do we have the economic capacity to sustain these policies?

If development is defined as the construction of a civil society, this in turn is a society of citizens, and the citizenry is built within an institutional framework with the ability to be governed by a civil society in order to deal with its own problems and create its own solutions.

Building up society

Another challenge of our society is the development of its citizens. If development is defined as the construction of a civil society, this in turn is a society of citizens, and the citizenry is built within an institutional framework with the ability to be governed by a civil society in order to deal with its own problems and create its own solutions. Nonetheless, if the purpose of development is not that of supplying needs but rather one of building a society with creative capacity within a pluralistic framework, our question might then be, how do we build a civil society?

To do this implies the capacity to become self-governed which in turn means decentralization. If in the year 2015 we have local or regional governments whose authorities handle no less than 30% of the budget, then we can assume that they would position their policies and the production of goods and services in local and regional economies and societies. If government policies and social strengthening measures are locally focused, then the reform of the state, public investment strategies, and the use of private funds to build viable, profitable, and competitive economies would comply with that same criterion. This would also result in the creation of jobs and internal savings, and maintain growing capacity from within.

Culture and environment

In conclusion, I would say that the issue is not only to build up society from and through the culture of each people, but rather to build livable communities in harmony with nature. Latin American society is rich in cultural expression, and adept at integrating nature and people; this is part of our psyche. By distancing themselves from nature, our most urbanized societies, the megalopolises, have lost sight of themselves and of their psychological balance.

This is the gift of Latin American culture to the rest of humanity. What type of habitats must we build to develop the type of person who will exemplify his/her culture? We would ask then, what of Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Santiago, Lima, Quito, Guayaquil, Caracas, Bogotá, Cali. Are these the habitats of some future time where people practice their own culture and are united by solidarity? The indicators of any developed country can be found in Río, in Buenos Aires. Is that the developed model we aspire to? Do these represent habitats that express their own cultural diversity?

What type of social organization, what type of habitat stimulates and strengthens this type of development? Between 75% and 78% of all population can already be found in these great urban centres. By redefining poverty we can direct our efforts to the construction of livable habitats. Present technology makes this possible through the reduction of transportation costs and fabulous reductions in the cost of energy and communication.

The economic logic underlying the birth of these present-day megalopolises is no longer plausible. It is my belief that one can live in

If government policies and social strengthening measures are locally focused, then the reform of the state, public investment strategies, and the use of private funds to build viable, profitable, and competitive economies would comply with that same criterion. This would also result in the creation of jobs and internal savings, and maintain growing capacity from within.

Latin America in close contact with our territory from within the heart of our countries, in more promising habitats, and with decreased economic investment in physical and institutional infrastructure. It is feasible to have networks of communities in which the Andean, Brazilian, or Caribbean village can aspire to equal conditions and opportunities.

These are some thoughts for the regional agenda being submitted for the coming 15 years. This would afford us much progress.

Ruth Cardoso (Brazil) calling the debate of Commission 2 to order.



Amalia García (Mexico) Senator for the PRD; Gonzalo Abad (Ecuador), Narrator of the Commission; and José Matos Mar (Perú), former Director of the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, working on a narration.



Gloria Isabel Cuartas (Colombia), Mayor of Apartadó.



Stella Maris Cacace (Paraguay).



Diva Moreira (Brazil) and Nina Pacari (Ecuador).





Anaisabel Prera Flores (Guatemala), former Minister of Culture, member of the Coordinating Committee of DEMOS, presided Commission 3. Carlos Tünnerman (Nicaragua), former Minister of Education, also member of the Coordinating Committee, was the narrator. Patricio Aylwin (Chile), former President of his country, was the main speaker. Gustavo Gutiérrez (Perú), author of *Teología de la Liberación* (Theology of Liberation) gave the opening speech.

Ethics and Politics

Commission 3

♦ Anaisabel Prera Flores ♦ Patricio Aylwin Azócar ♦ Gustavo Gutiérrez ♦
 Carlos Tünnermann ♦ Isabel Allende ♦ Nilda Anglarill ♦ Verónica Araújo ♦
 Leslie Atherley ♦ Rodolfo Cerdas Cruz ♦ Jorge Enrique Cermesoni ♦ Daniel
 Coifman ♦ Jorge Mario García ♦ Héctor Gros-Espiell ♦ Frank La Rue ♦ Jorge
 Maiorano Laguardia ♦ Hélèn Moley-Pallarés ♦ Sergio Molina ♦ Enrique Pérez
 Olivares ♦ Jorge Arturo Reina ♦ Beatriz Richard ♦ Leticia Rodríguez ♦ Pío
 Rodríguez ♦ Jorge Santistevan de Noriega ♦ Jamisse Taimo ♦ Tabaré Vásquez ♦

ETHICAL CHALLENGES TO LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS



Patricio Aylwin
Former President of Chile

To deliberate on ethics and politics in the context of this Regional Summit on Political Development and Democratic Principles in Latin America, demands not only recalling the old, albeit current, debate on the relationship between politics and ethics. It also involves analyzing the socio-cultural realities of our countries that condition or influence the morality of political life, as well as advancing some criteria or guidelines to enhance and strengthen the political life.

Therefore, I will divide my commentary into three parts: the validity of ethics in politics; socio-cultural aspects influencing politics in Latin America; and ethical challenges posed by Latin American politics.

Validity of ethics in politics

We must remember the ancient discussion of whether politics should or should not be subordinated to ethical standards; in other words, if morals are applicable or not to political life. If like Machiavelli, we believe that politics is an activity alien to morals, in which ethical values have no application and the most important thing is success, this discussion is futile. Only power becomes of value.

As hideous as it may be, we must admit that this way of thinking is currently predominant. Success in politics is usually measured by how much power is held. Victories in politics, at least formally and in the short term, consist in amassing power. In a democracy, the winner of an election is the party with the highest vote, whose representative is chosen to rule. In a de facto regime the winner is the individual seizing power through a coup d'etat or the dictator who stays in power by whatever means necessary.

At the same time as these freedoms and control measures are curtailed or suppressed, a tendency to abuse power becomes more evident. The history of dictatorships is plagued with sordid plots, embezzlements, inexplicable enrichment, and hideous crimes.

Power is the big temptation for politicians. Spurred by that temptation, many of them often invest their best efforts, and readily give up anything to gain or keep power. When one is distanced from power, it is perceived as the magic lever that makes every project possible. Political parties in the opposition are convinced that once in power they will be allowed to make the changes they proclaim. Revolutionaries imagine that taking power will let them materialize their utopias. However, once in power, you realize that you cannot do all you want. Then the power of government seems insufficient and a new quest for more power is begun. When new rulers feel there are obstacles hindering them from accomplishing their goals, they use power—with its many possibilities—to eliminate or reduce the obstacles posed by opposition sectors, usually with the good intent of accomplishing government objectives in public interest.

Lawfulness and political power

Democracies are less vulnerable to these temptations due to the rules imposed by the law itself, freedom of information and opinion, and political and juridical supervision or control measures over the government. At the same time as these freedoms and control measures are curtailed or suppressed, a tendency to abuse power becomes more evident. The history of dictatorships is plagued with sordid plots, embezzlement, inexplicable enrichment, and heinous crimes. Totalitarian regimes show how far ideological fanaticism leads to the destruction of man by the state. It is the inevitable logic of power, in which the end justifies the means. And to implement those means, Machiavelli advises his Prince to “learn to not be good”. That is why Lord Acton states that “power tends to corrupt, and absolute power tends to corrupt in an absolute manner.”

Craving for power, together with greed or an immoderate desire to make easy money, become the main ingredients for corruption which is so threatening and noxious to states and societies. To be safe from corruption, we require political, administrative, and legal mechanisms, such as the separation of powers, which is the basis of all democratic order. This was in fact what Montesquieu proposed so that “power might restrain power,” in addition to information systems, control over public administration, and accountability of governors and public employees.

But, no matter how efficient these control measures prove to be, the essence of the problem is not tackled. Corruption and abuse of public power

Craving for power, together with greed or an immoderate desire to make easy money, become the main ingredients for corruption which is so threatening and noxious to states and societies. To be safe from corruption, we require political, administrative, and legal mechanisms, such as the separation of powers, which is the basis of all democratic order.

can only be eradicated through a change in the nature and objective of politics. While we continue to believe, like Machiavelli, that politics is alien to ethics, that ethical values have no application and the only thing that matters is success (deemed to be the acquisition of, retention of and increase in power – an end which justifies any means) the risks of corruption and abuse will prevail.

Conversely, if we admit that politics as a form of human activity, must be subject to ethics, and that it has to do precisely with human actions and the good or bad they bring about, we will have to admit that the objective of politics is not power itself but common well-being. We would also have to admit that power is secondary to the dignity of the human being, whose fundamental rights must not only be respected but promoted as well.

From this perspective the concept of success in politics changes. To the question of “what good is it to me if by serving the people I lose the government?”, the answer lies in posing the question: is a government that leads its people to disaster, but succeeds in staying in power, successful? Or, what of the politician whose administration splits the country and sinks it into hatred and violence, but succeeds in staying in power? Is a politician successful if after improving people’s living conditions he loses power? Or, is he who hands over the government to an opponent in order to safeguard his country’s integrity and achieve social peace successful?

Objectively speaking, reason tells us that a government is successful when its policies and achievements serve to fulfill its people’s dearest aspirations, allowing them to live in peace, with justice, freedom, and well-being; it is successful when it results in progress, independence, and prestige for the country. This is what is important to a country, not who holds power.

Apart from that, to speak of true success we must view events from a historical perspective, in terms of the lifetime of a nation and not of the life span of an individual. What is today deemed as an accomplishment, in the future could result in disaster.

In his essay on “The End of Machiavellianism”, Maritain warns us against the chimera of instantaneous success. He says that when Machiavelli affirms that wrongdoing and injustice succeed in politics, he refers to immediate success and is always circumscribed to the life span of the prince or ruler. However, Maritain believes that “evil accomplishments are doomed to oblivion by their own dialectics”. To speak of true success we must bear in mind the dimension of time, the life span of historic transformations for

Corruption and abuse of public power can only be eradicated through a change in the nature and objective of politics.

From this perspective the concept of success in politics changes. To the question of “what good is it to me if by serving the people I lose the government?”, the answer lies in posing the question: is a government that leads its people to disaster, but succeeds in staying in power successful? Or what of the politician whose administration splits the country and sinks it into hatred and violence, but succeeds in staying in power? Is a politician successful if after improving people’s living conditions he loses power? Or, is he who hands over the government to an opponent in order to safeguard his country’s integrity and achieve social peace successful?

countries and states, which largely exceed a man’s life span”. And with great confidence Maritain states that “justice works through its own cause towards future welfare and success, just like a healthy sap works to produce the perfect fruit; whereas, Machiavellianism works, because of its very cause, towards ruin and bankruptcy, similar to the poisonous sap that causes illness and brings about the death of the tree.”

Nonetheless, as per Maritain’s teachings, “moral principles are not merely theorems or icons, but supreme precepts for a specific activity aimed at a task to be undertaken in specific circumstances. This clearly entails integrity and prudence, never outlined beforehand, and the application of ethical precepts in our surroundings, with true rectitude... Politics, in particular, looks after the welfare of the social body (society) and this becomes its measure. This welfare is in essence moral, and thus inconsistent with intrinsic evil. However, because virtuous behavior by a group of weak sinners is sought, the ability to opt for the principle of the lesser of two evils is necessary, by which some wrongdoing is tolerated, as its proscription would mean greater damage.” In this respect, Maritain adds: “The fear of being ill-perceived by historians is not a virtue but a way of escaping virtue. Some tend to believe that if you touch this real, concrete universe of human things, where evil exists and moves around, that constitutes in itself a pact with sin, as though sin comes from outside and not from within us. This is merely pharisaic purism; it is not the doctrine of purification of instruments.”

Human rights and common welfare

The ensuing conclusion is related to the importance of human rights insofar as they limit the exertion of political power. If we agree that political power is a means to seek common well-being for humankind, that is, a large group of people whose every member is uniquely whole, and also part of political society, we must then conclude that the power of the state—a secular structure of the political society—is by no means absolute with respect to individuals.

Throughout Man’s long struggle to attain more civilized forms of living, meaning truly humane forms consistent with man’s dignity, the boundary between what is the state’s and what belongs to the people takes a very important place. A diversity of concepts on the fundamental rights of man with respect to his government have evolved as a result of arduous, lucky achievements of the human creature in his struggle to restrain the arbitrary

and brutal exercise of power by the State, and allow reason and justice to reign. The consensus of present-day man is reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the various International Agreements complementing it.

The foreword to this Declaration, which enunciates its basic principles, states—among other things—that “freedom, justice, and peace in the world are grounded in the recognition of the inherent dignity, as well as equal and inalienable rights of all the members of the human family”; that “disregarding and undermining human rights has resulted in barbaric actions which outrage the conscience of mankind;” and that “it is essential to safeguard Human Rights in a legal regime so that man may not be compelled to rebel against tyranny and oppression”.

Hence we can conclude that the power of each state, regardless of its degree of sovereignty, sets limits to the rights of individuals, as has been consecrated in these documents. If power goes beyond that limit, its exercise becomes abusive and illegitimate.

This principle is being increasingly accepted by the common people who consider respect and encouragement of Human Rights as something commendable while repudiating anything that undermines or breaches them.

From the above principles and criteria we can identify guidelines to elucidate most of the ethical issues related to political events. These issues are, among others:

- legitimate means to acquire and keep political power;
- populism and demagoguery as means to this end;
- the use of state power to increase political power, personal or party;
- corruption;
- the role of mass media as an instrument to proselytize, defame opponents, and twist the truth;
- safeguard the honor and dignity of people; and
- separate public and private life.

Moral values such as truth, justice, dignity and honor, as well as respect to human rights, are all related to the above circumstances and should therefore prevail.

Latin American social and cultural reality

So far we have made reference to the issue of “ethics and politics” in an abstract manner, merely as a concept, without considering Latin American

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The fact that nearly 200 million Latin Americans—almost half of the population—live in poverty and are somehow marginalized, is very distressing particularly because we seem to have gotten used to it, while small groups enjoy living standards similar to those of the rich world. We must not forget that this marginal sector is largely formed by aboriginal or native communities of our America.

circumstances. Nonetheless, at this encounter we must approach the matter in an attempt to safeguard and enhance ethics in the exercise of politics in all of our countries, and thus we cannot overlook the sociological and cultural context in which our political life takes place.

Latin American countries are young countries, fruit of the blend between the Europeans that arrived in America in the fifteenth century, first as conquerors and then as immigrants, and the aboriginal peoples of the continent. Conquest and colonial periods, ended by independence wars in the past century, left a strong imprint of domination. Our societies continue to be quite heterogeneous, marked by the inequality between the social classes or strata.

Despite the fact that our Constitutional Charters solemnly proclaim equality, the truth is that in America equality is more of a formality than it is reality. Profound differences persist between the so-called higher and lower classes, formed on one side by the former land owners or their heirs, high-ranking military men, medium and high level businessmen, and the instructed sectors; peasants, miners, factory workers, office workers, or domestic help make up the other side. Both levels are obviously heterogeneous, since it is evident that the influence of business moguls is not the same as that of small and medium businessmen. Similarly, in the labor environment public servants, professionals, industry workers, workers of the banking sector, peasants, miners, etc. have different standing. To a greater or a lesser extent, our century has witnessed the consolidation of an increasingly influential middle class. However, the fact that nearly 200 million Latin Americans—almost half of the population—live in poverty and are somehow marginalized, is very distressing, particularly because we seem to have gotten used to it, while small groups enjoy living standards similar to those of the rich world. We must not forget that this marginal sector is largely composed of aboriginal communities. This social reality, marked by notorious inequality—tacitly accepted as something natural—is not irrelevant to our subject of discussion here. This reality explains why our people continue to believe that wealth and power accord privileges which, fair or not, must be accepted as if they were bad weather. Only in this way can we understand the patience with which our communities have accepted as being natural the manner in which those in power have amassed wealth during their administration. Also accepted are the privileges accorded to

government employees at certain levels, and even to wealthy individuals, as something natural. The popular saying “the government official who fails to abuse loses prestige” is a clear indication of the mindset of our people. The modest peasant, the Indian, or the poor citizen requiring a public service accept as something almost natural being told to come back the next day, or simply being treated harshly and receiving poor service.

Citizenship and legality

Traditional institutions such as patronage in labor relationships, “caudillo” governments, or clientelism politics favoring certain clients undermine the concept of citizenship and sponsor a culture of illegality. Beyond the rules that establish or control rights and obligations, what seems to work for many people is informality, favoritism, and making exceptions. The members of our elite groups as well as the vast popular sectors fail to see the need to develop a fair, participative, and deliberative society. On the contrary, they view power as a privilege offering advantages and opportunities; power to be exercised with indulgence and from which favors or benefits are expected.

This explains why the ordinary citizen who finds himself in authority or power tends to abuse his prerogatives for his own benefit or to favor relatives or friends.

Our geographical region is characterized by a weak civil society and precarious citizenship. It is irrefutable that our countries still contain large sectors of population lacking social participation and expression, are not organized, nor have adequate political representation.

Ethics and market economy

To these traditional characteristics of Latin American reality we must add the implementation of an economic culture which deems opulence as the most important value or possession, and hence makes pursuing it the prime task both for nations and individuals. The significance of economy in the life of individuals and societies is increasingly important. As our countries are inserted in the financial and economic globalization process, states become less autonomous to safeguard national interest, and at the same time the concentration of wealth progresses and income distribution becomes even more inequitable. Economic power becomes more influential with each passing day, and economy demands more autonomy

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It is unquestionable that economic growth is essential to overcome poverty, and economic growth is what market economies achieve. But growth, although necessary, is not sufficient to eradicate poverty, and if efficient social development policies are not implemented, the disparities increase.

from other dimensions of life. Also, economic power alleges its rules are not to be questioned from other human perspectives.

As we well know, the market economy systems currently in force almost all over the world though efficient in generating wealth do not distribute that wealth in a fair manner. The market is cruel because it excludes those lacking in material possessions, because it punishes those who are unable to compete, and because it usually supports the success of the most powerful and the most intrepid.

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Breathtaking scientific and technological progress in recent decades have resulted in a sort of shrinking of the world—which more and more becomes a “global village”—and in deep transformations in the job offer. The demand for highly specialized workers abreast with the most advanced production techniques or workers for the service sectors is increasing, while the need for non-specialized work is decreasing. All this, in addition to increasing unemployment among the poor, who have not had the opportunity to study and become trained, contributes to greater disparities in distribution of income.

At the same time, globalization retrenches the sovereignty of nations, who are increasingly dependent on their insertion in the world market. In this context, the role of peripheral countries, the developing world, is limited to supplying raw materials—frequently non-renewable resources—and cheap labor.

Speculative decisions frequently made by international financial groups can cause severe crises in these countries, furthering the impoverishment of their populations.

The publicity that goes with the system, aimed at stimulating markets and openly supported by mass media, encourages consumerism habits which in turn enslave the people and sink them into debt.

The increasing concentration of property, and mass media control result in a monopolization of information, which combined with modern communication techniques manipulate public opinion by pretending to ask for and publicize people’s opinions.

All this is dehumanizing the life of our societies. Human beings become increasingly enslaved to material objects, more selfish and self-centered, and are less capable of solidarity and love of fellow man.

Ethical challenges to latin american politics

All of the afore-mentioned offers some basic criteria to be followed by any effort aimed at enhancing the ethos of politics in our countries.

In my opinion, we are facing a cultural challenge which must permeate our societies. First, it is necessary to understand and accept that the ultimate end of political authority is not power but the quest for common well being. To this end, power is only a means, and not the only one. It follows that political activity should be perceived as a form of “public service”, and not as an instrument for influence or personal gain.

Concurrently, it is essential to instill in the collective conscience the concepts of dignity which are fundamental to every human being. Men and women are holders of the fundamental rights promulgated in the Universal Declaration, of the resulting equality of all men and women, and respect for the law as the ruling force for civilized community living.

To the degree that our societies become more aware that governors, legislators, judges, and other public officers are at the service of the community and are not the holders of all-mighty power; to the degree that we all understand that all people have the same basic rights and obligations to society; to the degree that the law—not the arbitrary decision of any one person—is to regulate life in community, to that degree will the risks of arbitrariness, discrimination, favoritism, and other forms of abuse be reduced to a minimum.

Social morals and the quality of politics

I believe that the ability to make politics more moral depends on the extent of collective morality. If in a society the idea that power is arbitrary by nature prevails, and it is generally accepted as being natural or logical that the one holding power abuses this power, acquires undue wealth, favors his friends, or hunts down his opponents, then one cannot expect politics to ever become an archetype of morality.

In this regard the challenge of improving the ethical quality of our political practice not only clashes with some traditions inherited from Latin American history, to which we have already made reference, but also with

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some features of our western culture. I am talking of extreme individualism, unrestrained consumerism, proclivity to becoming rich very quickly, a tendency toward sexual liberalism, and contempt of the State as an instrument of common well-being.

A political practice of high moral quality cannot be expected from societies in which the common feeling of nationality is weakened by the selfishness of individuals only interested in their own well-being, individuals who long to buy everything the market offers, individuals whose driving force is to get rich. These individuals view the State as a hindrance, and scorn public servants, considering them to be parasites.

It is evident that the legal system is an important element to improve the moral quality of politics. An appropriate definition of the jurisdiction of public officers, a strict regime to prevent incompatibilities and incompetence in government, a legislation typifying and punishing acts of corruption, an independent and efficient judicial power, are all important elements to safeguard the moral level of public life. In this regard, a legislation regulating the electoral system is of especial relevance, particularly with respect to the financing of campaigns. A transparent administration is needed to guarantee the independence of elected public officers.

However, no legislation as perfect as it may be, will be sufficient to render the political life of a nation more moral. Politics is, no doubt, the mirror or reflection of a society. I admit that politics is, as is every human activity, subject to morality. The ethics or morality in politics will be that which prevails in the community in which it is exercised. The great moral challenge of politics consists in creating the conditions that lead human beings to achieve their aspiration of living in peace: peace among nations and peace within societies, for which certain conditions must be met.

An old aphorism states that peace is the work of justice. And, in his Encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, John XXIII affirms that “peace on earth, the supreme aspiration of mankind throughout history, must be founded on truth, justice, love, and freedom.” It is evident that these conditions are far from reality in our world today.

Politics and truth

A world that does not practice the values it proclaims is untruthful. There is much hypocrisy and conventionalism, not to mention untruthfulness, in our times. Values oft proclaimed are not respected in everyday life. To cite

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excellent figures of macro-economics and stability, or to boast of the progress and beauty of wealthy neighborhoods while casting silence over the outrageous inequality in income distribution and squalor in which the marginalized sectors live, is not “living truthfully”.

There is no justice in a world where large segments of the population, sometimes a majority, have no access to health services, education, housing, and well-paid jobs, as is the case in our Latin American countries. The first and foremost demand of justice is equal opportunity for all. If justice is used as a criterion to regulate remuneration or income based on capacity and performance, the same criterion demands that the same starting point be the same for all, with similar training and possibilities. This is, no doubt, a fundamental ethical claim.

Also fundamental is the demand that the judicial system be impartial, as the old saying goes “if the law is the same for all, it is not harsh”. However, we all know that in our countries justice is not equally imparted, thus rich and poor do not appear before it on equal terms.

The individual and his community

What to say of love? Individuals devoted to consumerism, increasing in number in our societies, limit their love to the scope of the family. The Christian concept of “neighbor”, whom we should love as ourselves, has nearly disappeared from modern life, except in the world of the poor and marginalized, whose very helplessness forces them to help each other.

We walk through life like robots, each moving in our own small worlds from which we are ripped only by collective events such as natural catastrophes, epidemics, or revolutions. As time goes by, the communitarian dimension of life, the most propitious ground to foster love for fellow man, tends to decline.

While this occurs in the name of freedom—that is, individual freedom, the autonomy of decision which, together with property, is the basis of the prevailing order—we cannot ignore the brutal fact that freedom is not the same for everybody: the poor do not have the same freedom as the rich; the illiterate lack the freedom that education brings; the unemployed worker takes on any job in order to feed himself and his family, thus does not have the freedom that the one who decides on hiring him or not has.

All these reflections denote the magnitude of the challenge. The noble objective that politics be regulated by ethics is not limited to keeping

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corruption at bay. Corruption is only one of the hazards, the most repulsive one. The challenge runs broader and deeper; we are talking of the validity of ethical values in all areas of human conduct in which common well-being rests, and is —ultimately— the supreme object of politics.

The organization of so-called modern societies resides in the values of freedom and property. In my view, if we are incapable of complementing these values with those of justice, solidarity, and common well-being, we will never attain the prevalence of ethics in community life. □

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WHERE WILL THE POOR SLEEP?

A series of events in the last few years (economic, political, cultural and ecclesiastical) has brought about a novel situation, at a surprising rate. Known as *a change of era*, we do not yet have the necessary historic distance to classify it in a definite form. However, there is no doubt as to the state of things in this new development.

A brief passage from the book of Exodus can illuminate us on this subject. In the instructions that Moses received from Yahweh to take to his people, we find within them a concern for those who are without garments for where they may sleep. The verse prompts us to ask the question that helps us see what is at stake today: Where will the impoverished sleep in the coming world, one that is already taking its place? In a world of technological and informational revolution, economic globalization, neo-liberalism and supposed post-modernization, is there room for the poor and marginal that seek liberation from conditions so inhumane that they are trampled on, though being persons and sons of God? Faced with the current challenges, we can clearly only begin to attempt to answer.

A fascinating and cruel century

A term frequently used today referring to the economy is globalization. The path toward “one world” in certain ways, was not adopted by humanity in the last few centuries, but today that trait is accentuated.

Not long ago, the president of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), Enrique Iglesias, said that the next century will be “a fascinating and cruel century”. Like all somewhat paradoxical phrases, this one is challenging and attractive. However, if we examine it more closely, the tragic reality it expresses is revealed.

Gustavo Gutiérrez
Peruvian priest, author of
The Theology of Liberation

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A fascinating era has begun, thanks to the development of science and technology. There is an ability to communicate (share information, at least) among people, the likes of which has been hitherto unknown to humanity, as well as the control of nature that surpasses the boundaries of our planet, which until recently seemed to be science fiction.

Notwithstanding this, the coming days will be fascinating to people who possess a certain social level and participate on the cutting edge of technology. Persons with this ability tend to form an international human estate, closed within itself, forgetful of those who do not belong to their club, including those within their own country.

The last phrase refers to the poor. The “forgetful” part refers mainly to them. The next century will be cruel to the “insignificant” in history. In other words, the immediate future will not be fascinating and cruel for all people. This makes the challenge that we are presented with more urgent; summoning our faith in Jesus Christ our Lord who loves everyone and beseeches us to protect the smaller ones.

The integrity of interdependence, while having positive aspects, is currently lined with asymmetric, unjust inequalities.

A market without conditions

We are living in an era that is more and more dominated by a liberal economy, or neo-liberal, if you will. A market without restrictions, self-regulated, has become the almost absolute standard in economics. The celebrated and classic, “*laissez faire*” in the liberal economical initiatives, today applies in a universal form, at least in theory, and all intervention from political powers, while attending to social necessities, is detrimental to economic growth, leading to damage for all. Because of this, if difficulties arise in economic progress, the only solution is to increase the market.

Following some vicissitudes, the liberal wave has gained momentum at the last moment and is growing without limitations. Large transnational corporations (the dominant element in the current economic order), and rich nations pressure the poorer ones to open their markets, privatize their economies and carry out what is known as “structural adjustment”. International organisms (World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) have been effective agents in the integration of weak economies into a single market. The integrity of interdependence, while having positive aspects, is currently lined with asymmetric, unjust inequalities. The key

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element in economic globalization is the financial capital navigating throughout the world, crossing boundaries with incredible mobility in pursuit of new and better earnings. National economies, including those of large countries, lose their structures.

One aspect of this globalization, one of the most damaging and driven, for poor countries is the foreign debt that keeps indebted nations dependent and overwhelmed. If there is not an appropriate solution to this situation soon, there will be few opportunities for poor countries to overcome the situation that they are currently in.

Several factors have intervened in the process to arrive at these results. I will mention two. Without a doubt, on a political level, the fall of authoritarian socialism in Russia and other Eastern countries, along with their failure to see the complexity of human dimensions, systematically violating the right to liberty, has been onerous. Truthfully, we have moved from a bipolar world to a uni-polar world, more so politically and militarily than economically.

The other factor is more long-term. It is the role that technological knowledge plays (new materials, new sources of energy, and biotechnology), one of its more dynamic products being information. This subject has caused noticeable changes in the production process. It is becoming clearer that knowledge today has become the predominant factor of accumulation in economic activity. The advancements in this field have accelerated the already unrestrained and ravaging exploitation of the natural resources of the planet, those being a common inheritance of humanity. It causes us to see the gravity of its effect on ecology in our times.

Ethics and the economy

Does ethics, specifically Christian ethics, have a say in the economic world? This question would have had no meaning in the 16th century.

Taken by surprise, moralist theologians of that era (Francisco de Vitoria among them) were concerned with questions that nascent capitalism (sometimes called, mercantile capitalism) posed, and would only infer that the answer was obviously affirmative. In the notable 18th century, we still see concerns pertaining to philosophy and ethics in the new field in which they were making inroads.

However, little by little, nascent discipline tends to conform to the model and rationality of natural sciences and begins to recover its autonomy with

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Modern economy challenges moral standards that were communally established, and not only in circles we call traditional. Envy, egotism and greed drive the economy. On the other hand, solidarity and concern for the poor are seen as obstacles to economic growth and are in effect, counter-productive for achieving the well being that all could benefit from someday.

respect to politics. It endeavors to substitute it on the economic level, which is where decisive ordering is done for all life in society. If we take into account the situation of the political world with regard to this subject, we must convene that that is the way it is in the eyes of the majority of citizens. Politics becomes more and more a stage where things happen without consequence. From there, it's grows discreditable in today's world, certainly in Latin America and the Caribbean.

What is more, modern economy challenges moral standards that were communally established, and not only in circles we call traditional. Envy, egotism and greed drive the economy. On the other hand, solidarity and concern for the poor are seen as obstacles to economic growth and are in effect, counter-productive for achieving the well being that all could benefit from someday.

Some liberal, sagacious economists were aware of this permutation of values, but accepted it as necessary and inevitable. In the case of J.M. Keynes, who in a text from 1928 to 1930, stated with hair-raising lucidity, "when accumulation no longer is of much social importance [...] we will be free of many pseudo-moral principles that have been hovering over us for two hundred years [...] the love of money as possession [...] will be recognized for what it is, morbid and unpleasant".

The moment will come, according to Keynes, when it will be possible to call things by their name, and say that "greed is a vice, the practice of profiteering is a crime, and that love of money is detestable". With disenchanted and disquieting resignation he maintains, be careful, we have not yet reached that moment. For at least a hundred years, we must pretend among ourselves and before all others, that what is just is bad, and what is bad is just. The reasoning behind this inversion of values is established in "the unjust is useful and the just is not. Avarice, profiteering and precaution, should be our gods for a bit longer. In truth, only they can lead us out of the tunnel of economic necessity and take us to the light of day".

The quotation was extensive, my apologies, but it is very revealing about the difficult relationship, to say the least, between ethics and the economy, as demonstrated by one of the great economists of our time. Not all liberal thinkers such as Keynes, recognized as a moderate among them, have his shrewdness and frankness; rather, they assume without hesitation an attitude derived from the requirements of an economy marked by an aggressive individualist focus.

The subject is not new; it has been approached on many occasions. The great number of current studies on this is proof of the importance of dealing thoroughly with the economy from an ethical and theological perspective. Surely we must respect the autonomy of a self-discipline that tries to deal as strictly as possible with the field of economic activity. This does not mean that the economy is a sector absolutely independent of existence; nor is it the nucleus or totality of it. The economic movement should be purposefully placed and examined, in the context of human life in its entirety and by the light of faith. The discernment of immediate effectiveness is not the definitive factor.

The exclusion

The gap between rich and poor nations is becoming larger. The latest report from the United Nations Program for Development (PNUD-Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo) shows disturbing figures. The conclusion is that the world is becoming more polarized and the distance that separates the poor from the rich is widening. Something similar is occurring within each country, even in the rich nations. This and other data shows that, in relative and absolute terms, the population that is in a situation of poverty and extreme poverty has grown. The result is distressing; poverty is maintained and worsened.

One aspect of this worsening is the so-called social and economic exclusion. It is neither a reality nor a totally new category of analysis. One way or another, the poor were always excluded and marginalized (think of the native and black populations in Latin America and the Caribbean, for example) but this should not stop us from perceiving that the situation differs today.

The notion of social exclusion has several dimensions. At an economic level, the new ways of production, due in great extent to the revolution of knowledge, devalue raw materials. In poor countries this consequently leads to a labor market that depends on the technical qualification of the worker, which excludes, in fact, the majority of today's poor. The exclusion in the political plane (no participation in the scope of the decision process) and in the cultural one (discrimination for racial reasons and of gender), reinforces and supports this economic exclusion.

These facts are causing two sectors of humanity to be formed. One of them, the excluded, is less and less relevant for the operation of

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worldwide economy and the society that affirms itself in increasing form.

Before finishing this point, it is important to remember that the poor, insignificant and excluded, are not passive people hoping for a helping hand. They not only have deficiencies. They also boast possibilities and human riches. The marginalized and poor of Latin America are often possessors of a culture with unique and eloquent values derived from their race, history, and language. They are strong people, as demonstrated by organizations of women throughout the continent, who struggle for their lives, their families and their impoverished, with an impressive inventiveness and creative force to face crisis.

At the threshold of a new era

The historic stage that we are entering is complex. Cultural characteristics are added to the economic and political environment that shapes contemporary mentality. We are referring to that which some call post-modernism, or post-modernist thinking. We are aware of the ambiguity of the concept, and above all its title, but it undoubtedly corresponds to a side of reality.

This is not about, and it should be so stated at the start, a subject confined to intellectual minorities, although it is in those circles that this perspective acquires greater presence. Neither should it be thought that it is limited to Europe and North America, although, once again, it is there where there is more discussion and writing on this matter. The mass media, art and literature transmit some of their theses beyond the intellectual boundaries of the countries still being called The Third World, while at the same time conditioning many attitudes. Much of their material highlights the forgotten condition of those “insignificant” ones that we spoke of already when dealing with the issue of neoliberalism. Yet others can open the path to new perspectives.

Crisis of modernity

We will not enter into debate as to whether, in reality, we are in a historic era that we can call post-modernization, or if it is more a stage of modernity, or even a vision of it. The subject has been greatly discussed and there exists a great variety of opinions with respect to it. As we said before, the thing that is certain is that there are aspects of reality that are accentuated

The notion of social exclusion has several dimensions. At an economic level, the new ways of production, due in great extent to the revolution of knowledge, devalue raw materials. In poor countries this consequently leads to a labor market that depends on the technical qualification of the worker, which excludes, in fact, the majority of today's poor. The exclusion in the political plane (no participation in the scope of the decision process) and in the cultural one (discrimination for racial reasons and of gender), reinforces and supports this economic exclusion.

by those perspectives and that deserve certain consideration. There is ambivalence and confusion difficult to clear. However, there are also examples that demonstrate a particular moment of thought and of daily human conduct—that by convenience, without too much conviction—we will call post-modernization.

We are facing a reaction against some of the great subjects of modernity. Specifically, against what the representatives of this thought call the “great stories” unique to modernity. J. F. Lyotard states, “progressive emancipation of reason and liberty, progressive or catastrophic emancipation of work (source of warped value in Capitalism), enrichment of all humanity through progress of the capitalist techno-science.”

The frontal rejection is directed toward “the philosophy of Hegel (who sums up all of these stories and, in that sense, concentrates speculative modernity on itself”. For this author, one philosophy of history is always implicated in the legitimization of knowledge by means of a great story. What is being reproached is the willpower that the great stories of modernity represent. What is more, post-modernists see in this attitude a violence that removes liberty from individuals and for that reason must be challenged.

All unified conception of history is, therefore, out of the running. It does not make sense to organize the events of the human world under the idea of a universal history of humanity; a story whose development is, in a certain way, known beforehand. We only have small tales, individual and local stories; there is no metaphysical foundation of historical outcome. We are facing what has been called a fragmenting of human knowledge.

A consequence of these premises is that many positions and opinions fit into post-modernity. There is in it an enormous pluralism that has brought some to say that “anything goes” in that mindset. Reacting against positions that are considered dogmatic and totalitarian, one arrives at a cultural relativism tainted with a certain skepticism when faced with the human’s ability to reason. That skepticism has repercussions on the ethical plane as well as on the political.

Without a doubt, post-modern criticism highlights the weaknesses and the contradictions of modernity. It must be remembered, nevertheless, that modern thought always cultivated self-criticism; more than one of its representatives expressed dissatisfaction when faced with the results of the illustration. Now the criticism is much more radical. Furthermore, it

Before finishing this point, it is important to remember that the poor, insignificant and excluded, are not passive people hoping for a helping hand. They not only have deficiencies. They also boast possibilities and human riches. The marginalized and poor of Latin America are often possessors of a culture with unique and eloquent values derived from their race, history, and language. They are strong people, as demonstrated by organizations of women throughout the continent, who struggle for their lives, their families and their impoverished, with an impressive inventiveness and creative force to face crisis.

has broken out of intellectual circles, so much so that an attitude about life reaches diverse social sectors, some of which play a very active role in cultural environment and communication in contemporary society.

The fragmentation of human knowledge

There is, without a doubt, something healthy in the reaction against totalizing visions of history that comprise part of the great stories. These approaches embrace an authoritarianism that has been well-accepted by post-modernists. The poor have often been manipulated by projects of global scope that have no considerations for the people, their daily lives, and that are so oriented toward the future that they forget the present. Post-modern thought is not limited to this. It also undermines all sense of history, and that has repercussions on the meaning given to each human life. It identifies, as well, the philosophy of Hegel with the Judeo-Christian concept of history, which then become a part of the rejection.

It is just to recognize that post-modern criticism helps prevent us from falling into rigid and starched schemes for interpreting the course of history, a situation that has sometimes occurred inside the theological world. However, having said this, it is necessary to remember that a Christian perspective of history is centered on the coming of the Son, on the Incarnation, without this meaning that human history marches on inevitably, following channels drawn up and dominated by a stern governing thought. Jesus Christ, as the center of history, is also the way towards the Father, a path that gives sense to human existence and to which we are all called. That vocation gives meaning to the present, to today, as we recounted at the introduction of this work.

Post-modern thought challenges the great stories and values the small ones. It can help us in this way to be more aware and sensitive to what is local and different (one of its topics). In a world that is not without contradiction to others of its kind, it pays more attention each time to cultural diversity and to minorities, with important consequences. In the Latin American and Caribbean context, where the native and black population, as well as women, seek to affirm their values and claim their rights, postmodernity can flower and become a corrective measure to Western imperialism.

We cannot avoid the fact that sensitivity is linked to an exacerbation of individualism already present in modernity. The negation of the sense of

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history increases individualism and reinforces the narcissism of the present society.

The points brought up, along with others, converge in an attitude of indifference when dealing with the possibilities for changing situations that in light of ethics are considered unjust and inhumane. The frustration caused by unfulfilled projects has had, as a consequence, a disinterest in the fate of the weaker members of society. Our spirit is neither committed nor militant in this era. In a neo-liberal and post-modern setting, rooted in aggressive individualism, solidarity is ineffective and a remnant of the past.

If to this you add the skepticism that makes one think that all opinions have the same value and that each one has, —as is said frequently— “its own brand of truth”, then anything goes. The reaction against globalizing vision —despite some of it being sound— manages to erase from the horizon everything utopian or different from what currently exists. It goes without saying that the first victims of these attitudes are the marginalized and poor for whom there seems to be very little room in the world that is forming. It is simple to criticize utopias from an invariable, complacent *topos* (rhetorical theme).

The matter of the other one

In the opinion of Carlos Fuentes, the greatest problem of the coming century is the problem “of the other one.” This is an old question within the framework of the theology of liberation that perceives the poor as being the “other one” in an increasingly self-satisfied society. It is undeniable that we live in a time of shortened distances on the planet (the global village) and, simultaneously, with an increasing awareness of the diversity of towns, cultures, genres, ethnicity, and religions. They are not contradictory movements as one would think; it can even be said that in certain ways, they are mutually reinforced, although they sometimes confront one another and produce a dangerous commotion.

In Latin America the old native communities have made their voices of protest heard for the humiliation received throughout the centuries. But they have raised their voices also to enrich others with the abundance of their culture, their love of earth, the source of life, the experience of their respect for the natural world and their sense of community, the depth of their religious values and the value of their theological persuasion. In their own style, something similar happens with the black

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In Latin America the old native communities have made their voices of protest heard for the humiliation received throughout the centuries. But they have raised their voices also to enrich others with the abundance of their culture, their love of earth, the source of life, the experience of their respect for the natural world and their sense of community, the depth of their religious values and the value of their theological persuasion. In their own style, something similar happens with the black population of our continent and with the newly-come awareness of the presence of women, especially those who belong to the marginalized and oppressed sectors. This has led to a fruitful dialog between different theological points of view.

population of our continent and with the newly-come awareness of the presence of women, especially those who belong to the marginalized and oppressed sectors. This has led to a fruitful dialog between different theological points of view.

It is important to differentiate between human groups. They are not uniform. It is also necessary to consider the growing affirmation of the values of the people resulting from the intersecting populations, secular and recent, of "all bloods" that occur in this continent, as José María Arguedas said, speaking of Peru. This deals not only with the racial aspect, but also cultural, and that culture is in a permanent state of evolution. In effect, it does not belong to the past. It is a continuous creation, both in fidelity and breaking long-standing tradition, hence its capacity to resist attempts to dissolve its identity. The past and the present of the peoples of our continent are full of examples of this.

On the other hand, we have already pointed out that the post-modernist attitudes that come in waves, and full of ambiguities, to the different social levels are inclined to appreciate the local and the different culture. Nevertheless, we cannot deny that this stems from the marked skepticism that in turn renders relative the possibility of embracing universal truths.

An ethic of solidarity

The native people of Latin America have a secular practice of solidarity and reciprocity. Recall, for example, the work benefits that are offered between members of the same community. There is much to learn of that experience that not only belongs to the past, but is also applicable today.

Additionally, in recent times, the term solidarity and the thoughts it evokes are frequent subjects of the continent. For Christians, solidarity expresses an effective love for all and in particular for the more defenseless of society. It is not just a question of personal gestures. Solidarity is a requirement for the social assembly and signifies a commitment of the Church.

Today, the subject has taken on international proportions. It is even more urgent because of the powerful currents linked to neo-liberalism and post-modernism that discredit and reject (in the name of radical individualism) all solidarity behavior. These currents consider solidarity archaic, ineffective and even (although it seems strange to us) counter-productive to the development of the people, and especially for its most destitute members. From

there, its valuation of egotism —they do not fear using the word— which they consider a stimulant to economic activity and the accumulation of wealth, and which, according to them, in no way affects the poor. On the other hand, it is an element that also converges with that other, that sector of humanity that is fascinated with new forms of knowledge and tends to isolation, breaking any remaining link of solidarity with those with whom they communicate less and less.

Having said all of this, it seems highly unlikely that there may be a place for the poor in the coming world, much less an eradication of poverty and the construction of authentic human relations for which a concerted effort of solidarity is required. □

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BRASIL BRASIL

16 de julio de 1997

1997



Anaisabel Prera Flores (Guatemala), directing the debate on Ethics and Politics.

Héctor Gross-Espiel (Uruguay) former Chancellor of his country, participated in Commission 3.



Sergio Molina (Chile), former Minister of Education.

The works of Commission 3. We can see: Jamisse Taimo (Mozambique), Frank La Rue (Guatemala), Jorge Cermesoni (Argentina), Tabaré Vázquez (Uruguay), Rodolfo Cerdas Cruz (Costa Rica), Isabel Allende (Chile), Veronica Araujo (Brazil), and from the back, in the foreground, Leslie Atherley (Barbados).

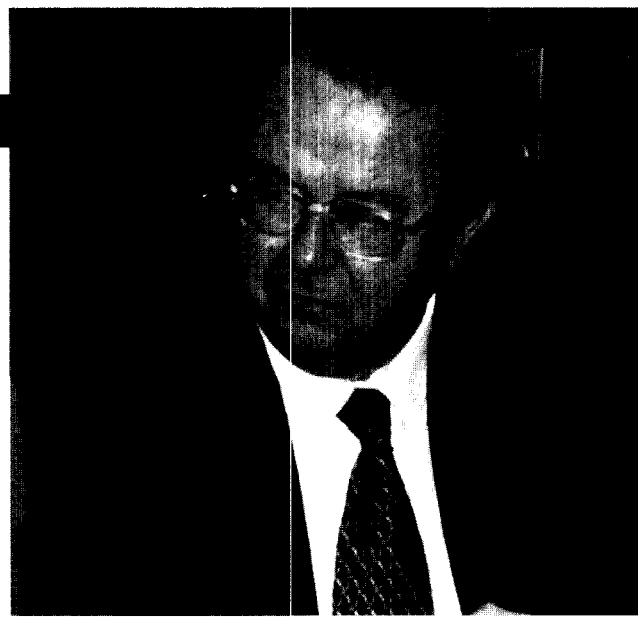


Miguel de la Madrid (Mexico) former President of his country, directed Commission 4. The narrator was Germán Carnero Roqué (Perú), representative of UNESCO in Mexico and member of the Coordinating Committee of DEMOS. Francisco Weffort (Brazil), Minister of Culture, also member of the Coordinating Committee of DEMOS, gave the main speech. Sergio Ramirez (Nicaragua) made the key comment.

Culture and Development

Commission 4

♦ Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado ♦ Francisco Weffort ♦ Sergio Ramírez Mercado ♦ Germán Carnero Roqué ♦ Carlos Blanco ♦ Ana María Campero ♦ Dante Córdova ♦ Ciro Amaury Dargam ♦ Laura Faxas ♦ Manuel Antonio Garretón ♦ Jorge Lazarte Rojas ♦ Tania Libertad ♦ Francisco López Segrera ♦ Manuel Manrique ♦ Gustavo Mohme Llona ♦ Hamilton Pereira ♦ Eduardo Portella ♦ Eleuterio Rodríguez Neto ♦ Rafael Roncagliolo ♦ Elizabeth Safar ♦ José Arlindo Soares ♦ Saúl Sosnowski ♦ Pierre Weil ♦



CULTURAL TRADITIONS, THE NATION AND DEMOCRACY

When speaking of culture, we talk about it not only in the sense of erudite culture, but in an anthropological sense. That is to say, we are speaking of the culture that forms societies. Understood in these terms, it allows for an ampler discussion of popular culture and its possible meaning in the formation process of countries. This conceptualization has consequences on the type of concept that has formed regarding cultural development and the type of policy that can be applied to culture.

If this point is taken from the start, it is necessary to bring up some theoretical traditions. We speak of culture not as much in the sense of ideology, even though it is the area of expression for multiple ideologies, as in the sense which Antonio Gramsci called the cement of societies, an assembly of values, attitudes, principles and traditions that make societies what they are, giving them individuality. That is to say that culture is like an expression that confers identity to great human assemblies, nations, for example.

In the case of Latin America, many of us can still be accepted as being in the formation process of our countries as nations. Almost all European countries are constructed, formal nations established and consolidated, whereas, from a Latin American perspective, our countries are still in a formation process.

The title of a book called “Brasil renace donde nace” (Brazil is reborn where it was born), deals with the origins of the country, referring in particular to a region of Bahía called Porto Seguro, where the Portuguese arrived during the discovery. The title evokes something of that mixed Cartesian spirit of African origins, enunciating that anywhere in the border regions, the country is being born, or reborn, as though we were in the process of our own colonization.

Francisco Weffort
Minister of Culture of Brazil

In many of our countries a State system was created before there existed a nation's culture, which also has consequences on the conception and development of the culture, and above all on the policies of the State towards culture; in our countries that State that is born before a nation must assume the task of national construction, which it cannot abandon, no matter how much international conditions change.

The reflections of Mexican Carlos Fuentes, author of "El espejo enterrado" (The Buried Mirror), is similar. He says that the peculiarity in Latin American culture is that the Latin American permanently faces the circumstances of his own origin, of his own birth. I believe that as Latin Americans, we always have reminiscences of the origins of the society that we are, by virtue that these societies are being made, being constituted, and are in a formation process.

From this perspective, the subject of culture in this region is an extremely relevant subject, and not as much the culture of national States, because we must consider that in many of our countries a State system was created before there existed a nation's culture, which also has consequences on the conception and development of the culture, and above all on the policies of the State towards culture; in our countries that State that is born before a nation must assume the task of national construction, which it cannot abandon, no matter how much international conditions change.

Tradition and modernity

In Latin America, we have many things in common, and they are not always positive. To begin with, an Iberian formation of Portuguese and Castilian appears prominently; secondly, we also have a strong catholic tradition that existed prior to reforms and that, in many regions of Latin America, form an elite group in an effort for social incorporation. In Brazil, some religious orders have, for a long time, attended to the subject of rights for Indians in this society, and the duties of the church to come to their defense against private properties that tended to their destruction, as well as promote a culture of incorporating these people to a conception of the human sort, to a conception of humanity, probably not in the same way that it was in North America, as written by Richard Morse. The concepts were different there, because they did not have the type of medievalist vision found in religious founders of this region, who left a lasting impression. It cannot be forgotten, although very distant. It is something that this identity is composed of, this complex assembly of cultures that is Latin America. All these things create a certain cultural style that is important to recognize and to discuss in more general terms when speaking of Latin America, when approaching the subject of identity.

Culture and political development

These cultural traditions of Latin America have strong influences on our conceptions of policy and State. For example, these catholic traditions, with strong corporate conceptions of social incorporation for all men, end up attributing to the State a predominance function that, coming from long ago, attributes to the State functions of social incorporation and integration of societies that did not exist as such.

In discussing Latin American traditions in contrast to certain liberal traditions, it is necessary to consider that we have another tradition, another conception of things, and even though we have a democratic conception, this one is a tradition that does not have a liberal origin. It has its origin in another vision of the relation of State with society. It has a religious foundation that is in the catholic vision of the world. Furthermore, I believe that this Catholic conception probably has consequences to the cultural pattern of Latin America, a pattern of cultural inclusion, even though we are societies recognized for social exclusion, at least Brazil is.

That is to say, in this conception it is considered that we are children of God, but we are different children. That is, the idea of inequality is recognized as something natural within that incorporating inclusion. It has been said, for example, that in Spain it is not uncommon in dining rooms and exclusive areas of the house to find servants participating and conversing, for they are aware of their position. What I mean by that is that neither an "apartheid regime" nor segregation is needed. It is not necessary to put employees outside the boundaries of their employers, because they acknowledge themselves in a hierarchy and are part of the family, albeit, in a condition of social inferiority. It is the same in our countries where there is a style of cultural incorporation that is, simultaneously, a style of social exclusion. This has to do with the fact that many of our societies can have tremendous social inequalities and nevertheless, have a low level of battles and social conflicts expressed in policy. Also, in this sense, culture is the foundation of society.

Symbolic inclusion and social inequality

Observing the historic experience of Latin America, one could almost affirm that we perceive ourselves as unequal, but in any case together, in contrast to the United States, that in the Sixties, fighting for civil rights, fought the cultural tradition of "separate but equal". In our countries, the

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With this, I mean that culture in Latin America can be a way to cover inequalities ideologically, but seen from another angle, it can also be a form of promoting Democracy. That is to say, culture itself can, under certain circumstances, offer an image of equality that does not exist, or offer a perspective of equality that is sought.

idea of separation is an idea that sometimes appears, although it does not have as much force. With this, I mean that culture in Latin America can be a way to cover inequalities ideologically, but seen from another angle, it can also be a form of promoting Democracy. That is to say, culture itself can, under certain circumstances, offer an image of equality that does not exist, or offer a perspective of equality that is sought. In many of our countries, this ambiguity, with degrees of difference, is something to take note of, not only in the process of national construction, but also in the process of democratic construction. Additionally this is important in the sense of ambiguity in the development of cultural policies. In Brazil, for example, many of the aspects at work in the development of these policies are democratic aspects that frequently work in the context of authoritarian regimes. Culture appears as that which includes people, and presents prospects of extraordinary ambiguities. For that reason it can be said that in terms of cultural policy, this country has more significance through policies that authoritarian regimes have developed, than through policies that democratic governments have developed.

Such is the case of the Vargas period in the Thirties, a period in which a great cultural policy in Brazil was developed. Think about some of the great Brazilian musicians like Villalobos, or Jorge Amado, who were formed or began to express themselves in the context of a regime that, in spite of all its authoritarianism, was worried about the subject of cultural development and forms of expression, much greater than one could imagine in a regime of that type. The plastic arts, music and literature had very interesting development in those years. Eduardo Portella, president of the National Library of Brazil and great essayist, philosopher and former minister of education, would probably agree with me in that one of the most important ministers of education in the history of Brazil has been Capanema. Although now it is incredible to think that he was minister for Vargas, in a period in which he was not yet the Vargas of the labor movement of the Fifties. As you may remember, until 1945, the image of Vargas was that of a fascist, although later it changed and that image has become relativistic.

Racism, crossbreeding and democracy

As for us Brazilians, we like the idea of racial democracy. It is not that we actually have it, it is that we like the idea that we can achieve it. This has

something to do with certain peculiarities in Brazilian culture. Perhaps, compared with the United States, Brazil is not a racial democracy; but it surely is, in a different way from the United States. This is a crossbred society, it is a very mixed society; but it is more than this, it is a society that likes to be racially mixed. In a cultural sense, the pattern of American society is the ideal of purity, esteem for Cartesian clarity and precision in the distinction of races. Unlike the thirties, forties and fifties, today in Brazil people no longer ask for people's last names, to discover a person's heritage; it is not asked, nor wanted. There is even a concerted effort to forget the last name. The organizing of alphabetical lists is always made by the given name. I do not believe that this is exclusively Brazilian, but it is noticeably a Brazilian custom. People forget the last name and make lists by the first name. Therefore, in fact, what is valued in society is the idea of crossbreeding.

Inequalities and differences exist. Perhaps there are subtle forms of discrimination, and some not so subtle, but in the context of this culture of incorporation, it is the idea that they should not exist linked to racial factors. There is a cultural effort in this direction that I consider very important.

There is a yearning by society to become different. It is a proposition towards the future. The recognition of this cultural form allows us to judge the problems of society according to its own paradigms, and these are associated with the vision of a more and more democratic society, more equalitarian and participatory. What I mean to say is that this culture can be a form of mystification of what society is, but also it can be a starting point for achieving a democratic society; more equalitarian and participatory.

Economic homogeneity and cultural diversity

I repeat views expressed by president Fernando Henrique Cardoso, in the sense that many of us think that the development of a possible homogenous economy on a world-wide level necessarily entails the development of cultural homogeneity. Probably it is the other way around; the development of an economic homogeneity on a world-wide level stimulates differentiation at national and regional levels. Examples of this exist in Europe and Latin America. A capacity that these cultures have is to distinguish differences in a context of greater homogeneity. In the case, for example, of the United States, a Mexican that has possibly immigrated

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to that country, probably in his heart is more Mexican than if he lived in Mexico. This bond also applies to Brazilians living there. The cultural values of these immigrants become stronger when not in the place of their original formation.

The preoccupation with maintaining cultural roots is extremely strong. There are many examples of this in areas of California and Los Angeles. World-wide, this is also true. It is not only cultural resistance of people who incorporate themselves to another economic and social scene; it is also a world where everything would seem to take on a certain homogeneity at economical, technological and financial levels, and cultural differences assume greater and greater importance. Presently, the use of the flag is appearing in Brazil, whereas it previously appeared only at moments of great joy or great sorrow, as opposed to the presence of flags from other countries that are placed in front of banks or companies. Brazilians are feeling the need to hoist the national flag on a daily basis.

State and culture

These considerations infer an optimistic vision with respect to the possibilities our culture has for the construction of democracy and economic and cultural development. Nevertheless, this does not diminish the importance of the State in cultural policies. That is to say, by what was indicated initially, we continue being nations under formation. Our nations are more stabilized and more consolidated. Nevertheless, from time to time they awaken some problem with respect to their origins and to their own process of formation, as reflected in the Mexican book “El Espejo Enterrado” (The Buried Mirror). In Latin America, we are always faced with our origins, and as in the Brazilian publication “Brasil Renace Donde Nace” (Brazil Is Reborn Where It Was Born). If culture is, as I believe, a form of expression of identities —it evidently does not mean that there is no previous axiomatic definition of identity—, identity being a search. There are many identities, including the doubting of our own identities; but identity is much more the question than the answer.

Culture and market

For that reason, I consider that some functions in culture that the market is not able to assume continue to correspond to the State. There is a construction process that is in place. The State has its responsibilities to

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culture; the responsibility to offer conditions for the development of culture in our countries and is subject to public policy. It is not a matter that the State offer answers, but rather an obligation to offer conditions so that people can formulate their questions and answers.

In Brazil, for example, we have nearly six thousand municipalities, of which three thousand do not have a public library. Do we think that the market is going to create the public library, given the fact that not even the book distribution system works in agreement with the rules of the market? If there is a development of the book industry in this country it is because the State distributes books to children in schools, and we have a great book industry. However, it is an industry that depends on money that the State puts in, so that children can have books.

The State cannot elude its responsibility with respect to culture, and must sponsor the creative moments of culture and those cultural manifestations that the market is not able to perceive; although another part of culture does constitute an important sector of the market and the cultural industry. Let me emphasize a study that we are making at the Ministry of Culture to verify that in a city like Rio de Janeiro cultural activities provide more employment than industrial activities. There are cities where the economic structure is supplied by services related to cultural activities, on such a scale that culture becomes an opportunity for employment.

The fact that the second or third position on the list of exports from the United States is the entertainment industry should be excellent information for discussion of the role of State and market in culture. By this I mean that the State must maintain its responsibility to the recognition that culture is an important part of the market and reject the idea that dissociates them, as if it were possible to exclude one element or another.

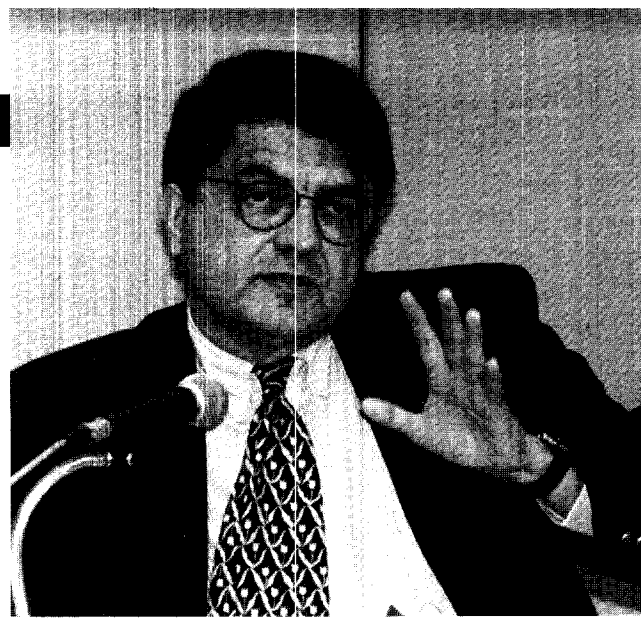
Cultural Politics and Society

I conclude with an observation that President Fernando Henrique Cardoso has made. Our problem is not so much the discussion of State or market, but rather recognition that, in matters of culture, like many other activities and services of State and policy, what matters is the public, the people and how to reach them through promotion policies by the State or by means of stimuli the State can offer for developing the market.

Functions in culture that the market is not able to assume continue to correspond to the State. There is a construction process in place. The State has its responsibilities to culture; the responsibility to offer conditions for the development of culture in our countries and is subject to public policy. It is not a matter that the State offer answers, but rather an obligation to offer conditions so that people can formulate their questions and answers.

The State must maintain its responsibility to the recognition that culture is an important part of the market, and reject the idea that dissociates them, as if it were possible to exclude one element or another.

In Brazil, Argentina and Mexico, as well as in many other countries of Latin America, we have experience on the action of both extremes of this discussion. Those experiences of democratic policy towards culture would have to begin to be points of conversation and discussion between Latin American leaderships and, naturally, in the scope of BID and UNESCO. I believe that we should multiply the opportunities for the interchange of experiences destined to favor the development of culture in our countries, having as our objective the development of democracy and societies themselves. □



GLOBALIZATION AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF CULTURE

In Minister Weffort's address we find some basic elements to open the floor for a discussion which may lead us to make an analysis and draft some conclusions on the subject of culture.

Sergio Ramírez
Former Vice-President of Nicaragua

Identity and cultural process

First, I wish to emphasize the concept of Latin American culture referred to by former president De la Madrid (Mexico), as an active process, a process in evolution. Provided that some national states, if we can so call them, have not solidified the cement of their societies, in Gramscian meaning, as expressed by Min. Weffort, we are confronted by the issue of identity. My first conclusion would be that identity is also an open process, under construction, active, possessing a key element: diversity. This process continues to be active even in European societies. It is sufficient to mention the cultural impact of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the extensive cultural trans-migrations in the East, as well as the impact Islam will have on European societies in the twenty-first century, not to mention the strength of East European cultures, thanks to migration. Latin American cultures, however, are young if compared to the millenarian European civilizations, and hence are still at an earlier stage of formation. I will mention some issues to explain why Latin American cultures are in a dynamic process of formation.

Migration, trans-culturization and crossbreeding

One of these features is migration. Latin America is a continent in expansion, for example towards the United States, or to and from other Latin American countries. This migration has a deep cultural impact. Here I would also mention the fact that Brazil shares borders with almost all South American countries,

Let me go back to the crossbreeding process which in my view is essential in Latin American culture. By political definition our cultures have never been separatist; it has been the burden of historical events that has caused separatism. The crossbreeding process being experienced by Latin Americans is an ancient process and has not ceased. We are the outcome of a very active, permanent mix.

except Chile. This is, and has always been, a geo-cultural not a geo-political fact. It is also a relevant cultural circumstance.

There are also internal migrations within our societies, a permanent cultural reality. Rural groups migrate to urban areas and contribute to the development of a new culture; ecological transformations are brought about. For reasons almost always negative, our habitat keeps changing, meaning our culture and life-style also change since culture is ultimately the way in which one lives.

The globalization of mass media is a cultural fact of vast and inescapable consequences, permeating our national cultures. The extensive worldwide inter-communication processes through mass media, as well as satellite data transmission, are also highly relevant.

Democracy as a cultural element, as well as the impact of the transition from authoritarianism to democracy, are also significant cultural phenomena. With this I mean that culture should never become a finished product. Static means death, dynamics means life.

Let me go back to the crossbreeding process which in my view is essential in Latin American culture. By political definition our cultures have never been separatist; it has been the burden of historical events that has caused separatism. The crossbreeding process being experienced by Latin Americans is an ancient process and has not ceased. We are the outcome of a very active, permanent mix of Latin, Celtic, Iberian, Lusitanian, Arab, Jewish, and more recently, Indo-American, African —with the great specific import mentioned by former president De la Madrid— and Asian cultures. We are a true cultural crucible.

This is why geographical divisions in the cultural arena almost never have good results. The concept of the Caribbean, for instance, is not geographical but cultural; Bahía is a Caribbean city, Salvador is a Caribbean city, Cartagena is a Caribbean city in the Caribbean, but Guayaquil is also a Caribbean city, though in the Pacific. Thus, this conception of the cultural phenomenon as a live process gives evidence of a dynamic and very rich history. Even more enriched by the Caribbean, because of the presence of the blacks lending significant import.

Tradition and modernity

Here I wish to express my concurrence with the importance Min. Weffort grants to tradition, and add it to the concept of modernity. Too frequently

the traditional concept of culture takes us back to tradition itself. It may seem that culture is merely preserving traditions, which leads us to consider it from a conservative viewpoint and thus, as something inanimate. I also want to stress the fact that on the social side of culture we are also marked by the Catholic-Thomist tradition, impacting not only our everyday life but having a deep political aftermath. If our political model has always had a hierarchical, authoritarian structure, and we have been incapable of doing away with this tradition, the transition from authoritarianism to democracy meets opposition in this conception of societies. Hence, to abandon this authority-bondage relationship—fundamental feature of rural societies in Latin America—a transition to modernity is required. This is what lays ahead: we must make our cultural diversity compatible with modernity.

The fourth concept I wish to refer to has to do with social strata and the issue of integration, a feature of modernity. Becoming integrated, being so diverse, is one of the biggest challenges we face. It is the concept of racial democracy, which I compare to the concept of a mestizo society. In this idea of modern culture as a living process, I want to emphasize the role of ethnic groups, not as minorities but as dynamic elements of our society. It seems to me that one of the traditional approaches to ethnic groups is to consider them as minorities, with minority rights; and this does not help solving the problem of integration. The same occurs with women. The traditional woman's role has been marginal; however, when societies modernize and new cultural features are developed, this role changes drastically. Women become part of an emerging culture which I call a culture of participation, which is an important attribute of modern societies, of modern culture.

Homogeneity, diversity and development

Homogeneity is not possible, nor desirable in cultural terms; diversity must be one of the great propellers of modernization in our societies. Diversity, which not only presupposes the existence of tolerance, is an essential element of democratic culture. Thus, homogeneity is not a part of democratic culture. Instead of having someone trying to impose cultural models, and that someone could very well be the State itself, what the State ought to be doing is to try and facilitate the development of diversity both in society and culture. I believe there is a role the State may not waive ever: facilitator of diversity.

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I would also like to point out the desire for well-being as an element which fosters the quest for modernization in a society, which in turn must be compatible with diversity. But the quest for welfare must not lead us to homogeneity. Hence, the challenge is being able to maintain cultural richness, which creates diversity, and at the same time society becomes integrated, developed and modernized. This is the great challenge we face today.

Culture and State policy

In closing, I will go back a little to the role of the State, not regarding diversity, which is essential, but in reference to State policies, as analyzed by Min. Weffort. The State does not create culture, the State makes it possible. Those States attempting to create culture are totalitarian, and they regard the creation of culture as a task of the State. This, by the way, has always impoverished culture because the result has invariably been wrong models with unhappy consequences. The role of the State is, therefore, to make culture possible, to create opportunities for culture.

In 1993, at the Congress of the Labor Party, in Brighton, England, I was listening to a speech given by Glenda Jackson, and I was quite impressed because the topic being discussed then was the dismembering of the welfare state in England, that is, the application of the Thatcherian theory. According to this theory, the State must not interfere in anything and therefore the market was made the great lord of society. In that speech Glenda Jackson was saying that she actually was a daughter of the welfare State they wished to dismantle because, thanks to the fact that there was a State which would pay for public education she had been able to go to school, then on to acting school on a scholarship granted by that same State. She had been able to become an actress because someone had facilitated the process for her, and that someone was in fact the State. I believe that in this example we may perceive what Mr. Frank Weffort pointed out: the role of the State as a generator of opportunities. Not all those attending acting school will become Glenda Jackson, that is a matter of talent; but of course, all those who wish to be like Glenda Jackson or like Tania Libertad, are entitled to attend a school in which to learn how to sing or how to perform. The market will later decide who succeeds and who doesn't, but the crux of the matter is to offer opportunities. Therefore, all I have left to say at the end of this speech is that we must give the State what is the State's and the market what is the market's. □

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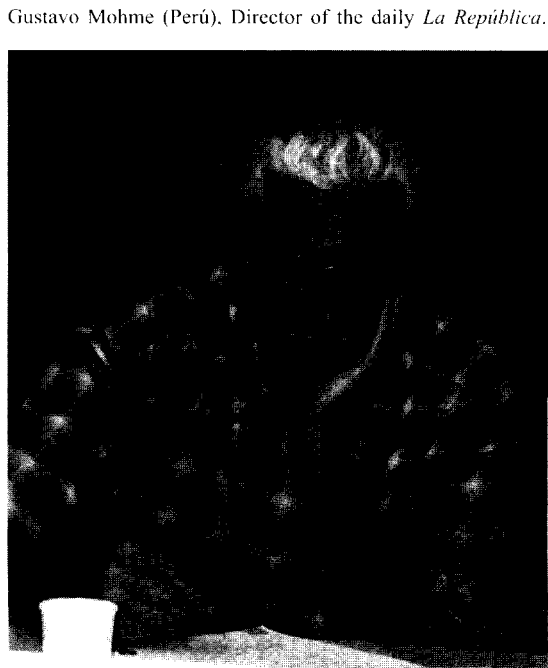
Ana María Campero (Bolivia); Germán Carnero (Perú), narrator of the Commission on Culture and Development; the Director General of UNESCO, Federico Mayor (Spain); and the Minister of Culture of Brazil, Francisco Weffort, during the debates of the Commission.



Saúl Sosnowski (Argentina) and Hamilton Pereira (Brazil).



Eduardo Portella (Brazil), former Minister of Education and Culture.



Gustavo Mohme (Perú), Director of the daily *La República*.



Tania Libertad (Perú), reads her participation in Commission 4.



Pierre Weill (Brazil), Dean of Universidad de La Paz.



Augusto Ramírez Ocampo (Colombia), former Chancellor of the Republic, presided Commission 5. The narrator was Jorge Nieto Montesinos (Perú), General Coordinator of DEMOS and of the Regional Summit. Porfirio Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), was the main speaker. Jaime Paz Zamora (Bolivia), made the key comment.

Democracy and Political Renewal

Commission 5

♦ Augusto Ramírez Ocampo ♦ Porfirio Muñoz Ledo ♦ Jaime Paz Zamora ♦
 Jorge Nieto Montesinos ♦ Nazareno Stanislau Affonso ♦ Carlos Alberto
 Álvarez ♦ Ciro Gómez ♦ Alfonso Grados Bertorini ♦ Francisco Guerra García
 ♦ Edmundo Jarquín ♦ Walter Ledesma ♦ José Lobo Dubón ♦ Ney López ♦
 Antonio Navarro Wolff ♦ Rodrigo Pardo ♦ Gérard Pierre-Charles ♦ Marcel
 Salamín ♦ Agnelo Santos Queiroz ♦ José Sarney ♦ Eiiti Sato ♦ Diego Bautista
 Urbaneja ♦ Jarbas Vasconcelos ♦ María Pilar Vela ♦ Ramón Ventura Camejo ♦



STATE REFORMS, DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND BASIC CONSENSUS

I would like to start by submitting to you some preliminary thoughts related to the matter for which we have been called. I would say we are currently at an ending and a beginning. So far, the process has been successful. The methodology of successive approaches adopted during previous encounters, the subject matter and selection of participants have enabled us to perceive, during the first session of the DEMOS project, a turnabout in Latin American thought.

Several interesting proposals are being implemented in Latin America, regarding which consensus is being created which, until recently, was considered suspicious or reflecting the concept of anachronism or obsolete populism. We are at present on the verge of critical thought regarding neoliberal politics and democratic transition processes in Latin America.

The topic that gathers us here today is that of democracy and political renewal. As stated in the dictionary, renewal is the change of one thing for another or the reconstruction of something, meaning to do something again. Therefore, we are dealing with an extremely complex and ambitious subject; it suggests a set of internal and social changes which must be implemented within the Latin American reality so as to be able to consolidate democracies and to make them subject to control.

Democratic transition: a historical cycle

The first topic to address herein is the perception of democratic transition as a long process. Our focus is off if we believe that democratic transition implies going from one State to the next, such as going from solid to liquid, from liquid to gas, from a stolidly built reality to another that is completely exhausted. In truth, recent western history teaches us that democratic

Porfirio Muñoz Ledo
President of Congress, Mexico

transition is a significantly long process, which takes place together with State reforms. There is obviously a beginning to this transition, which is noted by going from basically authoritative regimes to others in which the vote is expressed freely, there are representative regimes and a reasonable respect for human rights. And this is nothing but the beginning of a long process which we may once again conventionally divide into the transition itself, the consolidation of democratic regimes and the strengthening of democracies. The ultimate objective is to have the State, that is to say, the political society, in such a position as to be able to fulfill the objectives assumed to be adequate for a democratic regime; not only regarding an inviolate environment of human guarantees, as in the nineteenth century, but also regarding respect of social rights in a much broader sense; the rights of a person, of society and of the nations themselves.

I am now referring to the heterogeneous group of countries which have simultaneous elements throughout their historical process and a shared phenomenon: the colony, the independence processes, the social and anti-colonial struggles, the recurrence of dictatorships, the transition periods and the new oppression derived from indiscriminate adoption of neoliberal recipes, as well as from an erroneous appreciation of globalization. On the one hand there are ancestral drawbacks, and on the other what I call the “retrograde insertion into globalization”, an insertion conceived as neocolonialism and not as a strategic insertion.

I will submit four great subjects in the face of this double problem. The first one is the succession of institutional changes which make it possible for democratic regimes to be governed and reproduced. In this context, there are also constitutional, legal and practical amendments to be taken into consideration, so as to have a sufficient State, with which I mean that the State would be efficient enough to process social conflicts; a democratic State, that is, a State representative of society; and a responsible State, as opposed to a deserter State; a State that will undertake its obvious responsibilities within the financial and social processes.

Institutional changes and democratic government

What is the extent of these institutional changes? I will analyze them following the example of Christian instruction: opposing virtue to vice. The first chronic, historical malady of Latin American politics is the

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existence of a variation called postmodernism, that is, personal power and oligarchic power. The history of Latin America is made up of leaders, *caciques* (local rulers), or rather, pyramids of *caciques*, in which the minor *cacique* lords it over the lowest level *caciques*, thus supporting the head *cacique*. This personal, oligarchic power has newfound manifestations in our times, one of which has been identified as a “committee-crazy” by the Europeans, and which represents the loss of effectiveness of the systems of constitutional representations, which in turn delegate their duties to technical committees. In Latin America we are familiar with this under the term *technocratic regimes*, whether they be national, international or supranational. The loss of direction of the representative system in favor of technocratic groups is a great deformity suffered, which in a fundamentalist era would have been known as the possessors of absolute truth, and in the Middle Ages were called *unquestionable truths*.

Other important expressions of oligarchic power are the new trends of populism, labeled *Electronic Bonapartism* or *Television Caesarism*, meaning the appearance of personalities based on oligarchic groups which, thanks to easy access to the media and to the weakness of political institutional structures brings about non-democratic practices.

Parliamentarianism and presidentialism

What can be done to reduce personal power, oligarchic power, neo-bonapartism and committee-crazy? One answer to this riddle is Parliamentarianism, that is, the effective strength of deliberating efficient entities of the nation, which at the same time constitutes a system for the formation of new ruling classes in Latin America. One of the knots in this problem is Latin American Parliamentarianism, not only since it was conceived as a plural legislative power, with true separation of powers regarding the executives. It also is the essential mechanism for controlling government expenses and public affairs, as well as a place where accounts have to be rendered directly through permanent fiscal revision organisms, and through committees for research and adequate application of political justice.

The subject of Parliamentarianism leads directly to questioning the presidential system. This system is a creature of the American Continent; a minority of democratic countries practice the presidential system. In America there are two different kinds of presidential systems: the North

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We must clearly concentrate once again on the concepts of the domains of the State and the domains of the government, among other reasons because of the excessively transitory and contingent character of public programs in Latin America. What the lack of continuity is doing to some essential fundamental programs is really an aberration. Which should be the territory of the State, which actually heads all administrative, public and long terms programs? Which must be the criteria reserved for government, which by definition must be labeled contingency decisions? These are the problems we must consider.

American one and the Latin American one. In America it has become commonplace for the executive to operate under one party and the legislative another. As of World War One, the President of the United States has had to govern most of the time with one or both chambers against him. This has been made possible thanks to a political structure based on a check and balance system, in the autonomy of justice, in the decentralized and not ideological nature of political parties, and in the power of federalism.

In Latin America the strengthening of Parliamentarianism will draw a one way street, since mechanisms are being invented and reinvented, generically called locks, to stop parliaments from outweighing the executive power. A group of politologists, among them myself, have been struggling for some time to secure consensus regarding the presidential system in Latin America towards semi-parliamentary ways.

Speaking of the Fifth French Republic would be a great simplification, since there are several modes; the core of the matter is to have a functional division between the Chief of State and Head of Government. Preferably, the Chief of State ought to be elected through a second round system, thus conforming the coalition that would enable a strong enough government to respond to congress. If a semi-parliamentary system were not to be accepted, intermediate elections usually render a country almost impossible to govern, or in a position of artificial locks that will deter the triumph of the opposition. The elimination of intermediate elections, mentioned in passing, evidently does not correspond to the spirit of democracy.

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Decentralization, federalism and local power

Another chronic evil that requires institutional changes in the Latin American system—I mean the two main trends of the colonial system in

Latin America—is the overly exaggerated trend to centralize; that is, the constant absorption by the national powers of matters that traditionally should be the jurisdiction of the communities, the provinces and the Sovereign States, in the case of federalist countries. Centralization processes may be found throughout the history of Latin America; centralization of fiscal resources, public programs, financial decision making processes, and the environment and consolidation of development itself. This draining of alternate issues is related, of course, to oligarchic and unipersonal powers.

Here, one would have to work in the two dimensions of democratic tradition: the French one, establishing sovereignty of Assemblies as an expression of rationality, as genuine representatives of the nation; and the other, which in the West is regarded as the Anglo-Saxon tradition of *self government*, deeply rooted in the Spanish and Portuguese traditions as well as in the native tradition of America, namely the power of local communities. This last item may be subdivided taking into consideration, on one hand, the strengthening of provinces and federal statutes, basically through the fiscal regime and actual political autonomy; and on the other, a reprogramming of municipal powers as the bearer of sovereignty. It is unacceptable that only the national power or that of the federal states bear sovereignty, just as it is impossible to have the universal vote deposited in the seat of the government evaporate into thin air. The municipal power must bear sovereignty as long as it has the capability to make decisions regarding usage of the ground, of natural resources and the definition of its development style.

A truly massive transfer of resources and powers is required in favor of the municipal communities. Along with this, ethnic and cultural autonomies must be discussed; in spite of all the efforts that have been carried out, their situations have yet to be solved. It may also be stated that Statement 169 of the ILO has not been applied in practically any country; in the particular case of Mexico there is a deep debate going on derived from political uprisings in Chiapas. The fear of becoming stagnant must be overcome; it is not rational to bring up constitutional patterns from the XIX Century applicable to subscribed corporations with privileges, and not to native communities. It is wrong to assume that having two standardization committees within a territory, with their corresponding maximum and minimum limits, would be the equivalent of the corporations that met face

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The judicial system is conceived as a product of authority and not as a protection system for rights and individual guarantees. This is a subject not commonly dealt with in the State's reform patterns or in debates of democratic transition. It is the great subject of legality and justice in Latin America, since we are countries with an imposed legality.

to face in the laic States of the XIX Century; it is particularly wrong in the era of globalization in which there are indeed subscribed corporations and privileged judicial statutes, disguised as deregulation, which are actually nothing but the empire of transnationals. All these must be fostered based on access for all of the national society to bilingual and bicultural education, and to development programs that would restore stolen natural wealth, ending once and for all with the old dichotomy between integration and segregation.

Legality, citizenship and justice

The third subject related to institutional changes is injustice and its consequences, namely impunity, as a constantly present element in the exercise of power in Latin America. This arbitrary system implies discretionary decisions, and the perception of the judicial system as an instrument of power, not an instrument of the citizens. The judicial system is conceived of as a product of authority and not as a protection system for rights and individual guarantees. This is a subject not commonly dealt with in the State's reform patterns or in debates of democratic transition. It is the great subject of legality and justice in Latin America, since we are countries with an imposed legality. The independent Latin American state that encompassed the Creole community within society is legally inclusive, but excluding in social terms since it applies the law with the definitely justified vengeance of equality—all are equal before the law, Indians, cholos, the poor—however, the legal application on daily social life was not achieved.

Access to justice in Latin American is insultingly low. Someone mentioned that in their country more than 75% of those prosecuted have not yet been sentenced. In the recent elections for the Governor of Mexico City, it was said that in this city 97% of the crimes committed were not even reported, and only 1% of those reported were punished. This clearly indicates the lack of trust of the people towards the government and the inaccessibility of justice, which is indeed a constant in social daily lives. This problem requires a new concept of legality; a social legality, which is why the issue of normative structures is so important since they involve a true normativity for societies. To this we must add the decentralization of justice, respect for its honor, its impartiality and its positioning as a fundamental branch of the State.

Civil society and the system of parties

Evidently, the problem of human rights is herein associated with the development of institutional mechanisms to guarantee them. That is, all forms of *ombudsmanship* or defenders of the people; but this topic is also related to the fabric of society, or what is nowadays called “affirmative action”. That is, up to what point must the defense of human rights rest on the evolution of the complex representation of multiple interests, namely non-governmental organizations, the representatives of sex, social status, etc.

When Gramsci discusses civil society, he is talking about a fabric made of institutions, he is not dealing with anonymous citizens nor with urban middle classes carrying the label of civil society. He is then discussing the historical institutional fabric from Italy, from the republics and State-cities, to the unions, later on crushed by power. Therefore, it is a fabric made of social institutions; it is not the public opinion expressed by middle classes, it is not even the citizens with an opinion. It is the articulation of society’s autonomous institutions; that is, in short, what actually constitutes a civil society.

The problem is how to balance the emergence of a civil society with the strengthening of a system of parties. On one hand, a representative system of stable, functional, and renewable parties is needed. At one end we have the extremely weak parties, those which will be crushed by the first blow of public opinion and which will not allow for the consolidation of a parliamentary life. On the other side, we have the amalgamation of parties, the theory of shoots, as referred to by some Andean countries. It is a matter of opening spaces for the creation of new parties, it is also a matter of consolidating those already in existence and of being unafraid of party pluralism, provided there is a good system of coalitions established by the constitutional regime.

An important part of this constitutional construction is public financing of the parties. All financing must be public, subject to control, moderate, equitable, and transparent. In this respect, an IDB proposal to grant international financing to parties as part of financing for development was being discussed.

Together with financing there is a problem of how to create a link between civil society and the parties; one must understand that parties are but an expression of said civil society, and an important part of this

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institutional mesh. For this purpose one must establish bridges. We have devised two; a legal and a party one. The legal bridge comprises the political organizations, which are also public interest entities, to date, parties in the making which may in time become parties after operating for some time, and also are responsible for public financing. The party link is the opening of parties to candidates proposed outside the party, which is what we do: 50% of our candidates for representatives of the society are from non-government organizations. That is, granting the civil society the capability to intervene, not only before the State, but also before the parties, to contribute to determining party agendas and to participate (through the parties) in the construction of political representation.

Redimensioning the State

The topic of re-dimensioning the State must be faced without fear of being labeled populists. This is a subject which must be broached with rigor and precision, since it does not suffice to discuss the new balance between the State and the market, or the market's social economy.

It is obvious that neoliberalism, *privatization-mania* as I call it, dodged and in fact eliminated the real State reform which was so sorely needed in Latin America. Fifteen years ago Latin America was completely committed to State reforms, and this was forgotten. *Privatization-mania* is not a downsizing process; it is actually a process for irrational amputation of the State's body, and must be thoroughly studied to find out what happened in each of the countries.

Another aspect which must be taken into consideration is the manner in which the State is re-dimensioned in its basic operations, as a counterpoint to the fiscal system. Since *privatization-mania* has also violated the constitutional principle of the nature of taxation, the State is no longer capable of sustaining public expenditure except in small measure; it is now devoted to paying interest rates on internal and external credit. This is an anti-constitutional, illegal process. We can only ask ourselves what the State's obligation is in return for taxes and which are the basic functions that the State may not waive.

Mixed economy is another area we must review. For instance, Europe has several totally different formulas for mixed economy, from the financial system to the productive system of mixed economy, all forbidden in Latin

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America. As said during the times of the Roman Empire, what is allowed for the Empire is not allowed for its colonies, but that was part of the Roman *pax*. At the same time, we need to know which modes of mixed economy prevail at this time and are being used as a basis for community economy, such as compensatory funds and local and international public funds for the enhancement of productivity in depressed areas.

New forms of corruption

Deregulation in Latin America has led us to unbelievable acts of corruption. The fight against corruption, another main topic in the agenda, is related to the limits imposed on neoliberalism: it is essential to know to what extent corruption is inherent to dependent neoliberalism (a study on the history of corruption in Latin America would be worth carrying out for this purpose). Colonial corruption in Latin America is the sale of authorized actions, ranging from graft, or “*mordida*” (bite) as it is called in Mexico, to public works contracts. But progress in Latin American States is generating new forms of corruption that are related, most of them, to conflicts of interest. It is no longer a matter of selling the performance of authority, there is also a duplication of interests: the official is at the same time entrepreneur, his company sells to the public agency. If we were to write up a brief biography of corruption in Latin America, we would find that at the point when neoliberalism reaches our time there is a qualitative leap. Deregulation goes hand in hand with the discretionality of all financial decisions; without rules there is complete arbitrariness, there isn't even any formal regulation.

The privileged use of information, mainly stock exchange and exchange rates, has been the source of immense fortunes: corrupt privatization, international pressure to transfer to a nonexistent private sector corporations which were purchased with public savings, lack of clients to sell these to, invention of false clients, fraudulent stock exchange operations and the connection of public power agents with these acts of privatization. It is said that in Chile 35% of privatized corporations are in the hands of a well known group, clearly linked to the dictator who ordered said privatization. In Mexico, 75% of all privatization is linked to a widely known public group, whose leader is now a fugitive. This new form of corruption encompasses discretionary handling of export and import permits, as well as direct influence over the enclaves of transnational activity. Besides, we

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Re-dimensioning the state implies also recovering the concept of development as evolution of the jurisdiction endogenous to the people and as the evolution of society; not only as an increase in wealth. Latin America used to have a desire for development which has since been lost. If the State does not serve the cause of development, then the Latin American State as such is of little or no good, and neither is the process for democratization. I dislike the expression "combat poverty", it is reminiscent of colonial thought; we must deal in terms of social rights and basic well-being standards for the population. The national Latin American State must establish minimum levels of basic well-being standards for the people, in keeping with a democratic society; that is, minimum standards in education, health, jobs and wages, which are the objectives of society as such.

are experiencing the infiltration of drug trafficking within the government's main frame, which is concurrent with the empire of neoliberal ideas. To what extent was drug trafficking stimulated by free trade? And to what extent were the same import-export mechanisms used so that instead of flour there would be cocaine moved from one place to the next?

State and absolute (de facto) powers

Re-dimensioning the State implies not only to define its basic functions but also to grant it the means to be as autonomous as possible in relation to absolute powers. This is a problem in essence related to the reassessment of public issues. Part of the ideology we inherited from neoliberalism is the devaluation of public issues in dependent countries, unlike the United States or Europe; public issues are devalued in Latin America, where they most urgently need to be reassessed. And it is not only reassessing politicians and policies; it is also a matter of reassessing the societal assets which we place in public institutions and arenas, and, essentially, reassessing the increase of public participation in public arenas. Institutional reforms in Latin America involve, to a great extent, community participation in the negotiation, planning and evaluation of public services. It is essential to get society involved in public government, to give society a public vocation. As Fernando Henrique Cardoso was wont to say, "to make public matters more public and private matters more private".

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Crisis in democracy and global affairs

The set of institutional changes and the re-dimensioning of the State and public matters are internal requirements. Now, under the current positioning of Latin America within the international context, democracy is not viable. Democracy as a system for protection of human and social rights, even as governance, is not feasible, since the imposition of financial politics seems to be designed for two main things: to violate all international agreements and to impose financial patterns that violate each and every human right.

If we fail to achieve intelligent positioning in globalization, if we continue being subordinated, we are on the road to discrediting our democracy. The difference between one party and another will be null; it becomes a matter of styles, of the color of a person's skin or his way of walking. The difference between one government program and another in Latin America has become truly ludicrous: the speech changes, the tone varies, but essentially they are acting in a subordinated manner because decisions are not being made within the country.

The most recent UNPD surveys highlight that the discrediting of politicians and political parties is related to the almost non-existent capacity of the latter to fulfill their campaign promises. Therefore, the discrediting of democracy and the political class increases because we are bound by the same straitjacket. What can be done? New consensus and international balance must be found.

Latin American community of nations

I will now talk about the concept of globalization, regional integration and North-South talks. Regarding globalization, it must be understood that the globalized portion of the economy does not surpass 10% in Latin America, and that there is a brutal process of disintegration between those included in the economic globalization process and those excluded therein, in which new poverty has been added to old poverty. The kind of globalization we have accepted has a dramatic disintegrating effect on Latin American society.

Regarding regional integration, we have for years discussed the need to expedite the process of regional and subregional integration. For some time now, some Latin Americans, myself among them, have been struggling for the constitution of a Latin American political community; we already

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have the protocol of what would come to be the Latin American Parliament, with direct election, and it is in the hands of parliaments and chiefs of State. This Latin American Parliament would be deemed a component to building the Latin American community. According to a SELA (Latin American Economic System) study, there are 104 obsolete Latin American institutions, which indicates that they must be reconstituted as a system that would depend on the State's sovereignty, on federal sovereignty. If we are not able to achieve a process of Latin American political integration within a short period of time, we will never have the capacity to revert our subordinated insertion to globalization. Mercosur is a polar effort, in the correct sense of the term, but there is a Mercosur and there is a Merconorte and this is a problem of exorbitant dimensions. It is essential that concrete steps be taken towards the construction of this Latin American community of nations. There should be a commitment among the parties, basically progress oriented, with the idea of speed walking towards Latin American nationality. I fail to see any obstacle that would hinder this goal.

A new North - South dialogue

We need a program equivalent to the North - South negotiation. Part of the South elite is already integrated as a Northern enclave, and there are great numbers of people in the North that are our allies. When the NAFTA talks were taking place, Mexico had more allies in the United States and Canada than in any other part of the world; workers, environmentalists, ethnic organizations. The vision of North and South, as well as East and West must be reordered; what we have now is a center and a periphery. The processes of disintegration of this asymmetric globalization has deepened the difference between the center and the periphery. The great problem now is how to redefine the dialogue between center and periphery. As a group of leaders, we have discussed the possibility of building an equivalent to the Group of Seven, but for that purpose we must have regional and international negotiation capacity.

We must review the system of conditions that monetary and financial organisms impose on us, though not on the United States. We must redefine stabilization terms without affecting the great macroeconomic balances. The problem of debt must be restated, and a reconstruction of the international monetary and financial order must be carried out. These are tasks with which Latin America must become totally engaged. This may

seem alien to the subject of democracy, but those who have governed know that it is central: if we are not able to change the conditions of our relations with the world economy, Latin American democracy will be on the line.

All the above-stated is not a set of recipes or rigid proposals, it is merely a presentation of the core points that I feel are essential when addressing such a wide and ambitious subject as that of political renewal. □

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DEMOCRACY UNDERGOES REVOLUTION



UNESCO, through its Director General, Mr. Federico Mayor, and his closest collaborators for Latin America proposes the task of reflecting on a new political culture for Latin America from the perspective of the coming century.

We believe it is highly symptomatic that this dimension be incorporated in the specific responsibilities of the organism in charge of developing science and culture, but even more symptomatic is the fact that in Latin America we are actually able to address this issue.

Democratic culture and citizenship

Indeed, this would have been impossible to achieve twenty-five, twenty or even fifteen years ago, for the simple reason that Latin America was submerged in a non-democratic political culture, (save brief, rare exceptions) meaning without constitutional guarantees in all areas and experiencing instability that by definition included lack of precaution, hence confrontations. Political power was something to conquer and forcefully defend, as in trenches manned by groups diverse in nature.

It is therefore the appearance and consolidation of democracy at a continental scale which enables us to shape these reflections on the democratic culture to be developed in the twenty-first century for our continent, taking as its foundation the democracy acquired during the end of the twentieth century.

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Jaime Paz Zamora
Former President of Bolivia

This may be the first historical opportunity that Latin America has of doing so because never before had democracy been a continental reality, and also because it coincides with the implementation of democracy at a planetary level. This territorially quantitative phenomenon of democracy is definitely concealing a much deeper qualitative phenomenon, that may well be called a revolution of democracy or simply a democratic revolution which, to my understanding, is the great political revolution of the second half of the twentieth century.

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In truth, mankind has never before had the possibility of instilling democratic values in the citizens of the world, values that all the world clearly perceives as fundamental rights of citizens. This newfound awareness is leading all citizens of the world to question the different structures established for mediation, mainly those of a political nature (the State, political parties, etc.) without neglecting other areas of social mediation, whether they be union, cultural or religious, which could be deemed as something unrelated to their daily life.

This revolution of democracy, which is encompassing the whole world and generating new phenomena in the East as well as the West, the North as well as the South, is nothing but the discovery of the immeasurable potential for change implicit in the full exercise of democracy.

For these reasons I dare to nurture an optimistic spirit, despite all the inevitable crises elements which pervade the region. When all is said and done, and when comparing the present to our own past, Latin America is experiencing a good end of century, or at the very least, substantially better than expected a few decades ago.

Our peoples and our States are demonstrating substantial capacity to develop democratic awareness and behavior that are clearly positive for reform and change. Because, ultimately, a political culture is a set of values, behavior patterns, attitudes and world views, and awareness of reality when facing political facts. Or, when implanted and rooted so as to become fixed in collective processes, it is like the famous French aphorism: "culture is what remains once the rest has been forgotten".

National state, local power and globalization

I will start with some reflections on the State, since it is the State that acts as the most important political mediator of our society. In this sense, its existence is undeniable and indispensable, and all attempts toward seeking its elimination, from any point of view, are nothing but nonsense, unless we are talking about the alienating effect that a State wrongly constituted or a State deformed in its operations would have on the core of society.

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From our experience in Latin America we gather that what is in crisis is the Hegelian state, born in Europe in the eighteenth century and which we somewhat automatically inherited along with our independence process in the nineteenth century. When I say Hegelian I am referring to the philosophical-theoretical proposal which makes the State a pure reason-bred construction which, by force of institutional rationality, has become impersonal and is increasingly removed from the daily life and needs of actual citizens.

Likewise, the citizen of this revolution of democracy, in the development of its conscience, is locked away in the stress between two apparently contradictory needs of living; simultaneously the universal and the personal, the global and the local.

People seek development in broad socio-economical and political arenas by means of integration, through which they wish to be full, decisive participants in their own sphere. This phenomenon is better observed in present-day communitarian Europe, who paradoxically wishes to undertake globalization challenges such as the Maastricht while at the same time restoring the feudal Europe of the bourgeoisie. Put in current terms, the Europe of modern cities with their respective neighboring territories of natural gravitation. In Latin America an analogous phenomenon is taking place in the dynamics of that which is universal and that which is private. Thus, pressure is exerted on the contemporary national State impelling it toward the ultra-federal, since it tends to federalize, inwardly through radical means of decentralization and outwardly through integration processes. This double dynamics has the effect of making the nation-State gradually separate from its conventional jurisdiction and its traditional competence, inwards as well as outwards, delivering it into the hands of regional and local entities or supranational entities.

National sovereignty and citizen sovereignty

This leads us directly to the concept of sovereignty. The traditional concept of strict character and interpretation may have been useful in its own time for the construction and stability of the States. However sovereignty in the rigid, traditional concept may no longer be an end as such when faced by the dynamics of the revolution of democracy in which the impersonal, aloof, and alienating State is questioned, and in the context in which people seek to be the direct actors of their own welfare and progress within the national State and even beyond it.

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Quite the opposite, it must look for new content, new forms of application and administration directly connected to the permanent, dynamic self-determination of the State and the quest for progress and welfare in circumstances of equality.

The static, sclerotic, bureaucratic democracy, hidden behind the entelechy of the State, finds its opposition in a sovereignty exercised on a daily basis by people who express their opinions, wishes and immediate needs; this is the kind of sovereignty to be taken into consideration to find the path towards modernization and renewal. The objectives of the State should not be contrary to the objectives of its citizens; they must be at least complementary.

In this perspective, the aspirations of universality through integration, and of the personal through what is local and daily, must lead the national State to unfold the spaces for the practice of sovereignty into micro-sovereignty spaces within its boundaries and macrosovereignty beyond them, so that the citizen may feel self-defined, from the smallest geopolitical and geoeconomical spaces to the greatest ones, wherever he intends to build his own welfare and security.

Therefore, the national sovereign State that the current democratic citizens require must be functional to the processes of decentralization inwards and of integration outwards.

Regional integration and economic development

In like manner, we may refer to the conflicts that are still being raised in our continent among some fellow countries. The mechanical application of the national State's sovereignty cannot be the starting point to seek a solution, but only a complementary element to the very real conditions of all the peoples involved in the conflict and their demands for a better standard of life.

In this respect, the experience of Bolivia and Peru, expressed in the Mariscal Andres de Santa Cruz Agreements of January 1992 are quite representative since they make it possible for Bolivia to be physically present in the Pacific Ocean through free industrial and commercial zones, as well as for them to participate in the administration of the Ilo Harbor and be granted the concession of a tourist area of five kilometers of beach strip. These agreements have in no way deterred from Peru's sovereignty; quite the opposite, they made it possible to integrate the aspirations of the

Bolivian people and those of the southern coast of Peru. These agreements also opened wide possibilities of mutual benefit and perspectives for inter-oceanic connection for other people of that part of the continent.

Lastly, even if for some it may seem to oversimplify the question of how much sovereignty the State should have, and how much our national States should be willing to waive, now, and in the future, under the framework of these reflections there is no answer other than that they must give and do whatever is required to attain the inalienable rights of their people to economic, political, and social progress.

Now, the reality of national States and the exercise of their sovereignty in today's world are placed in a context of planetary globalization in all aspects, in which diverse international actors are mutually interdependent.

Interdependence and self determination

The phenomenon of interdependence has always been present, one way or another and at different levels, throughout the history of mankind. The novelty is that nowadays it constitutes a planetary effort and that it takes place in the context of world interconnection via market economy. This statement places us before an interdependent system which for the first time appears with such complexity that all potentially interdependent factors and variables may be reproduced almost to infinite figures.

This complexity is quite different from the one indicated by the international scientific community when they concluded during a recent symposium that reality, regardless of its form, is quite complex and therefore the objective of science is to progress in the knowledge of this infinite complexity.

But let's go back to our Latin America. Depending on our continental needs I have dared attempt a merely indicative classification of all interdependencies which directly concern us as countries:

- externally decided interdependence
- jointly decided interdependence
- self-decided interdependence

Externally decided interdependence is imposed on us from the outside, by unavoidable reality, and based on the great lack of symmetry in favor of external factors. In fact, this interdependency constitutes real dependence.

Jointly decided interdependence is mutually decided within a framework of symmetry, or even an asymmetry that does not generate dependence,

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whose acts pertain to the various integration processes being developed in Latin America.

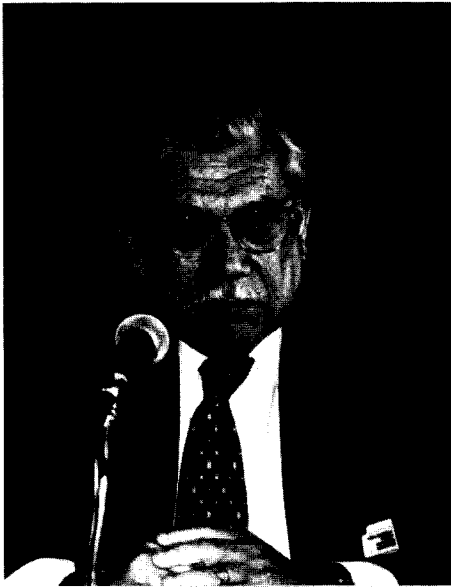
In self-decided interdependence the factors are decided in a natural way for a community with historical, cultural, ethnic or ecological geographical realities. It is within the context of ecology, of self-decided interdependence, that several conflicts prevail in the borders of Latin America.

The correct way to study these is to generate in these areas spaces of inter-decided interdependence with a direct benefit for all peoples concerned, proffering a favorable context for the solution of problems. It opens possibilities for inter-dependent, specific and mutually beneficial projects in the South of Peru and in the North of Chile and Bolivia.

It is quite clear that, if these reflections are to be accepted, we may conclude that there is an inter-dependence which, by definition, makes it possible to build and guarantee a greater real interdependence, while others are *product of* or *lead to* dependence. Latin America, as a regional group, must assume these three kinds of inter-dependence in an appropriate balance. □

Therefore, the national sovereign State that the current democratic citizens require must be functional to the processes of decentralization inwards and of integration outwards.

Alfonso Grados Bertorini (Perú),
former Minister of Labour.



Porfirio Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Edmundo Jarquin (Nicaragua), Augusto Ramírez Ocampo (Colombia),
who presided Commission 5, and Jaime Paz Zamora (Bolivia).

María Pilar Vela (Ecuador) and Ramón
Ventura Carnejo (Dominican Republic).



Antonio Navarro Wolff (Colombia), Mayor of Pasto.



José Lobo Dubón (Guatemala).

Jorge Nieto Montesinos (Perú), narrator of the
Commission and General Coordinator for the
Regional Summit.



Carlos Alberto Álvarez (Argentina),
President of FREPASO.

The debate at the Plenary Session

Oswaldo Sunkel (Chile).



Presidium at the final plenary session.

Incorporating the contributions at the plenary to build the Brasília Consensus.



Heinz Sonntag (Venezuela), Member of the Coordinating Committee of DEMOS.



Rodrigo Pardo (Colombia), former Chancellor of the Republic.



Marcel Salamin (Panama), National Coordinator of the Group of Rio.



**Declaration of the Regional Summit
for Political Development and
Democratic Principles**

GOVERNING GLOBALIZATION

The Brasilia Consensus

1. On the eve of a new century humanity finds itself at a crossroads which could lead to a change of civilization. Technical and scientific progress have provided us with enormous capacities for protecting and preserving life. Cultural and artistic creativity have given rise to a joyful celebration of plurality and diversity and have enriched our life experience. But the exclusion of the majority of men and women from the enjoyment of even minimum standards of living, and ever-widening inequalities, have increased human pain and suffering. At the same time, the undesirable side-effects of mass culture are impoverishing the quality of life and fostering a widespread cultural malaise. Even in those who materially are very well provided for. Technological and scientific advances, which if guided by a modern understanding of the meaning of ethics and humanism could contribute to the happiness of men and women, are often used to maintain a situation in which banality and injustice prevail and compassion is held at arm's length.

2. The Latin America and Caribbean region has come to this crossroads too. Poverty, backwardness and marginalization coexist with the intellectual and moral resources which could transform the promises held out by life in Latin America into reality. Throughout nearly the entire twentieth century economic growth has been higher on average in this region than in any other. Nevertheless our countries also exhibit the greatest social inequalities in the world. In recent years an exemplary effort has been made to build democracies, and concern about human rights has become widespread. Still, large sectors of the population

—especially women and the victims of ethnic segregation— are faced with what are at times insurmountable obstacles to the exercise of their civic rights. Latin America is renowned for its intellectual and artistic creativity and its cultural diversity. Yet it has still not attained political and economic unity, even in this age of ‘blocs’.

3. The response of Latin America and the Caribbean to the process of globalization has oscillated between passive adaptation and a tendency to autarky. Nevertheless, a cautious revolution is taking place, a process of intellectual and social maturation which is trying to come to terms with complexity and, building on the positive aspects of the very costly modern reforms, is seeking to revitalize economic growth and link it with equality and social justice, while preserving a healthy environment. Our peoples have before them the task of governing globalization, which means neither ignoring it nor slavishly subjecting themselves to it.

4. Governing globalization implies a new, shared responsibility which involves the countries of both North and South, governmental and non-governmental organizations, local communities and international organizations. Global problems call for global solutions. At the end of the Second World War political and economic planning was needed to achieve peace and save the defeated countries from the ruins of the war. Now the Cold War was ended we must conclude a new pact, on global governability. It will include a new moral contract for peace and new arrangements to make international economic flows equitable, to control financial speculation and to democratize communications so that a system of shared development may be constructed which will free humanity from the social ruin of poverty and inequality.

5. This pact must be founded on dialogue between the few who enjoy the fruits of modernity and the enormous majority that has been excluded from it. Its sole purpose will be to acknowledge the need for a different kind of modernity, one which enables the diversities of our mixed races to be given equal recognition and human potentials to unfold. To arrive

at this pact which will govern globalization and keep the self-determination of the region and its peoples intact, the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean must make full use of their potential. The efforts and achievements of the various regional integration bodies must be complemented by the determination of our governments to create a Latin-American Community of Nations; a joint Latin-American agenda—which can adopt a distinctively Latin American approach to such issues as the external debt, the protection of our migrant population, and the combat against drug trafficking—and address the question of full regional citizenship. These are the conditions urgently needed to ensure a viable national strategy in every one of our countries.

6. Full equality in a global context means that our countries must achieve social, regional and technical integration. Constructing non-exclusionary societies is an economic, social, political and ethical necessity. The region has already grasped that competitive markets are essential to stimulate economic growth. It is now learning that the marketplace offers neither social equality nor political stability. Sustainable development calls for a democratic reconstruction of the state: a reformed, modernized state, legitimate and effective enough to achieve the balance that the market does not automatically create and, above all, a state that reflects our societies' plans for the future.

7. The democratic reconstruction of the state must be supported by all citizens, men and women alike. They are the true protagonists of democracy. The reconstruction of civic life means the establishment of arrangements for participation in political life which offer an opportunity to learn about responsibilities, rights and duties in full respect for all freedoms and in particular freedom of expression. Reinforcing the inviolable rights of the individual and the values of community life should lead to a flourishing of local and municipal authority, the modernization of legislative and executive bodies, the strengthening and democratization of the system of political parties, full empowerment of autonomous social organizations, and recognition of the multiethnic and pluricultural

nature of our societies. The democratic reconstruction of the state calls for an austere and responsible approach to politics and deeply rooted ethical convictions.

8. The daily application of democratic principles represents the politics of the future. A new mode of political discourse is not sufficient. What we need is to change our habits, awaken our consciences and practice what we preach. Democratic life among nations and among individuals requires an ethos of responsibility. There can be no shared future unless we can devise a modern form of humanism based on commitments that are entered into freely. The unremitting application of the principles of justice, freedom, equality and solidarity is the first step to a major reform: the transition from a culture of war to a culture of peace. To educate, to change people's habits, to create institutions founded on democratic principles is to light the fire of freedom.

9. Democratic principles find expression today in policies of inclusion, which require of us no less than eight commitments. The first is to banish corruption from politics. The second is to resolve conflicts of interest within countries democratically, through dialogue and negotiation. The third is to halt the build-up of armaments, especially high-technology arms, fostered by the arms-producing countries, and to ban war as a way of settling border disputes. The fourth is to achieve peace and security for all. The fifth is to accord priority to children and youth in solving social problems: governing for children and youth means governing for the present and the future. The sixth is to end the impunity of public and all de facto authorities and to promote the capacity of citizens to exercise due control of authorities set over them. The seventh is to provide and guarantee equal quality education for all throughout life. The eighth is to preserve the environment, biodiversity and the quality of urban life.

10. As humanity reaches the crossroads marked by the end of the century, Latin American and the Caribbean can and must choose a new direction. This is vital in order to consolidate peace, democracy and development, which

are in grave danger if the current economic models, devoid of justice, equality or solidarity, continue to function. The REGIONAL SUMMIT FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES calls upon the leaders of our countries to fulfil these eight pledges in order to bring about the transition to shared responsibility. Governing globalization requires leaders capable of reflection, determination and ethical commitment: they must reflect in order to master a situation of growing complexity and to find new directions for society; they must be determined in order to accept the risk and moral responsibility of the decision to change; and they must be capable of ethical commitment in order to improve the quality of politics and let it serve the people.

11. The participants at the REGIONAL SUMMIT FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES wish to thank the Ministry of Culture of Brazil, the Government of the Federal District of Brazil and UNESCO, for their support for this initiative carried out under the auspices of DEMOS, a forum for pluralistic and democratic debate. □

Brasilia, 6 July 1997

**Declaración de la Cumbre Regional
para el Desarrollo Político
y los Principios Democráticos**

GOBERNAR LA GLOBALIZACIÓN

El consenso de Brasilia

1. En las vísperas de un nuevo siglo, la humanidad se encuentra en la encrucijada de un cambio civilizatorio. El progreso de las innovaciones científicas y técnicas le ha dado capacidades inmensas para proteger y preservar la vida; y la creatividad cultural y artística ha producido la fiesta alegre de la pluralidad, de la diversidad, y han elevado la calidad de la experiencia de vivir. Pero la exclusión de la mayoría de los hombres y mujeres de la tierra de las mínimas condiciones de existencia, así como la desigualdad cada vez mayor, han incrementado el padecimiento y el dolor humanos. Al mismo tiempo, los efectos perversos de la cultura de masas, empobrecen la calidad de vida y propician un enorme malestar cultural, aun en los que mucho tienen. Los avances tecnológicos y científicos, que subordinados a una modernidad ética y a un humanismo moderno podrían propiciar la felicidad de hombres y mujeres, muchas veces sirven para mantener la injusticia, la falta de solidaridad y la banalidad de la vida.

2. Esta encrucijada se vive también en América Latina y el Caribe. Al lado de reservas intelectuales y morales capaces de hacer realidad la promesa de la vida latinoamericana, coexisten la pobreza, el atraso y la marginación. Durante casi todo el siglo XX, fue la región con mayor promedio de crecimiento económico. Sin embargo, nuestros países tienen también la mayor desigualdad social del mundo. En los últimos años se hizo un esfuerzo ejemplar por construir democracias y se generalizó la preocupación por los derechos humanos; pero amplios sectores de su población, especialmente las mujeres y quienes sufren segregación étnica,

enfrentan dificultades a veces insuperables para ejercer sus derechos ciudadanos. La creatividad intelectual y artística, así como su diversidad cultural, han dado a Latinoamérica una personalidad histórica; pero ella no logra aún su unidad política y económica como región en la época de los bloques.

3. Frente al proceso de la globalización, América Latina y el Caribe han oscilado entre la adaptación pasiva y la tentación autárquica. Pero está teniendo lugar una revolución cautelosa, un proceso de maduración intelectual y social que busca apropiarse de la complejidad, que sobre la base de los aspectos positivos de modernizaciones que han costado tanto, quiere recuperar el crecimiento económico para asociarlo con la igualdad y la justicia social, preservando la sustentabilidad ambiental. Sin ignorar la globalización, pero sin someterse a ella, nuestros pueblos tienen ante sí la tarea de gobernar la globalización.

4. Gobernar la globalización es un cambio de responsabilidad compartida. Compromete a los países del Norte y a los países del Sur, a los gobiernos y a las organizaciones no gubernamentales, a las comunidades locales y a las organizaciones internacionales. Si estamos frente a problemas globales, se necesitan soluciones globales. Al final de la segunda conflagración mundial fueron necesarios planes políticos y económicos que conquistaron la paz y recuperaron a los derrotados de las ruinas de la guerra. Al término de la guerra fría es imprescindible un nuevo pacto de gobernabilidad global. Éste debe incluir un nuevo contrato moral por la paz, y un nuevo arreglo que haga equitativos los flujos económicos internacionales, controle la especulación financiera y democratice las comunicaciones, para construir un orden de desarrollo compartido que libere a la humanidad de las ruinas sociales de la pobreza y la desigualdad.

5. Este pacto debe expresar el diálogo entre los pocos que disfrutaban de la modernidad y la inmensa mayoría que ha sido excluida de ella. Su sola realización será el reconocimiento de la necesidad de otra modernidad, una en la que las diversidades que componen nuestros mestizajes puedan

reconocerse en igualdad y las potencialidades humanas puedan desplegarse. Para conquistar ese pacto que gobierne la globalización y preserve la autodeterminación de la región y de sus pueblos, América Latina y el Caribe deben integrar todas sus potencialidades. A los esfuerzos y los avances de los diversos organismos de integración regional, debe sumarse la voluntad decidida de nuestros gobiernos para la creación de una Comunidad Latinoamericana de Naciones, de una Agenda Latinoamericana común —que enfrente desde nuestra perspectiva problemas tales como la deuda externa, la protección de esa patria peregrina que son nuestros migrantes y el combate al narcotráfico—, y de una ciudadanía regional de pleno derecho. Ésta es una necesidad impostergable para hacer viables las propias estrategias nacionales de cada uno de nuestros países.

6. Buscar relaciones de plena igualdad en el mundo obliga a construir la integración social, regional y técnica dentro de nuestros países. La construcción de sociedades sin exclusión es una demanda económica, social, política y ética. Si la región ya aprendió que son indispensables mercados competitivos para desatar las energías del crecimiento económico, ahora aprende que ni la igualdad social ni la estabilidad política son bienes que se logran en el mercado. El desarrollo sustentable demanda la reconstrucción democrática del Estado. Un Estado reformado y modernizado, con la legitimidad y la eficiencia suficientes para producir los equilibrios que el mercado no genera automáticamente, pero sobre todo un Estado que exprese los proyectos estratégicos de nuestras sociedades.

7. La reconstrucción democrática del Estado debe estar sustentada en los ciudadanos y en las ciudadanas. Ellos son los verdaderos protagonistas de la democracia. La reconstrucción de la vida pública es la creación de espacios de participación política que eduquen en las responsabilidades, en los derechos y en las obligaciones, en un ambiente de pleno respeto a todas las libertades, singularmente, a la libertad de expresión. Fortalecer los derechos inviolables de la persona y los valores de la vida en comunidad, debe conducir al florecimiento del poder local y municipal, a la modernización de los parlamentos y de los ejecutivos, a afianzar y demo-

cratizar el régimen de partidos políticos, a la plena vigencia de las organizaciones autónomas de la sociedad, y al reconocimiento de la naturaleza multiétnica y pluricultural de nuestras sociedades. La reconstrucción democrática del Estado es la reivindicación de una política austera, responsable y de profundas convicciones éticas.

8. La política del futuro es la práctica cotidiana de los principios democráticos. No es suficiente un nuevo discurso. Es necesario reformar las costumbres, despertar las conciencias y predicar con el ejemplo. La vida democrática entre las naciones y entre los individuos necesita una ética de la responsabilidad. No hay futuro compartido sin refundación de un humanismo moderno basado en compromisos adquiridos en libertad. El ejercicio permanente de los principios de justicia, libertad, igualdad y solidaridad es el inicio de un gran cambio: el cambio de una civilización de la guerra a una civilización de la paz. Educar, cambiar las prácticas de la gente y crear instituciones fundadas en los principios democráticos es encender el fuego de la libertad.

9. Los principios democráticos se expresan hoy como política de la inclusión. Ésta exige de nosotros cuando menos ocho compromisos. El primero, desterrar la corrupción de la política. El segundo, resolver los conflictos de intereses dentro de los países, en democracia y por la vía del diálogo y la negociación. El tercero, detener el armamentismo, especialmente el de alta tecnología, propiciado por los países productores de armas, y proscribir la guerra como forma de solución de disputas fronterizas. El cuarto, procurar la seguridad y la paz para todos. El quinto, darle prioridad a la infancia y a la juventud en la solución de los problemas sociales: gobernar para los niños y los jóvenes es gobernar para el presente y para el futuro. El sexto, eliminar la impunidad de las autoridades públicas y de todos los poderes fácticos, y propiciar la capacidad de los ciudadanos para ejercer el debido control del poder. El séptimo, impartir educación para todos a lo largo de toda la vida, garantizando la igual calidad de la misma. El octavo, conservar el medio ambiente, la biodiversidad y la calidad de la vida urbana.

10. Ante la encrucijada que vive la humanidad a fines de siglo, América Latina y el Caribe pueden y deben elegir un nuevo rumbo. Éste es imprescindible para consolidar la paz, la democracia y el desarrollo. Éstos corren severo peligro si se mantienen modelos económicos sin justicia, igualdad y solidaridad. La CUMBRE REGIONAL PARA EL DESARROLLO POLÍTICO Y LOS PRINCIPIOS DEMOCRÁTICOS hace un llamamiento a los dirigentes de nuestros países, a poner en práctica estos ocho compromisos para el cambio de responsabilidad compartida. Gobernar la globalización requiere líderes capaces de reflexividad, voluntad y compromiso ético. Reflexividad para comprender una situación de complejidad creciente y construir sentidos nuevos para la vida en común. Voluntad política para asumir el riesgo y la responsabilidad moral de la decisión para el cambio. Compromiso ético para elevar la calidad de la política, y ponerla al servicio de la gente.

11. Los participantes a la CUMBRE REGIONAL PARA EL DESARROLLO POLÍTICO Y LOS PRINCIPIOS DEMOCRÁTICOS agradecen al Ministerio de Cultura del Brasil, al Gobierno del Distrito Federal del Brasil y a la UNESCO, haber apoyado esta iniciativa a través de DEMOS, espacio de debate plural y democrático. □

Brasilia, 6 de julio de 1997

Déclaration du Sommet Régional pour le Développement Politique et le Respect des Principes Démocratiques

GÉRER LA MONDIALISATION

Le consensus de Brasília

1. Alors que va s'ouvrir un siècle nouveau, l'humanité parvient à un tournant qui n'est autre qu'un changement de civilisation. Grâce aux progrès dus aux innovations scientifiques et techniques, elle voit s'ouvrir des possibilités immenses de protéger et de préserver la vie. En outre, la créativité culturelle et artistique a engendré une pluralité et une diversité qui sont une source de joie et a enrichi l'expérience vécue. Cependant, le dénuement dans lequel vit une majorité d'hommes et de femmes, et les inégalités qui vont en s'accroissant, accroissent la somme des souffrances humaines. En même temps, les effets pervers de la culture de masse appauvrissent la qualité de la vie et sont à l'origine d'un profond malaise culturel, perceptible même dans les milieux les plus favorisés. Les avancées techniques et scientifiques qui pourraient contribuer au bonheur des hommes et des femmes, si elles obéissaient à des règles éthiques et aux principes d'un humanisme adapté aux temps modernes, ne servent bien souvent qu'à perpétuer l'injustice, l'absence de solidarité et la banalité de la vie.

2. Cette situation, l'Amérique Latine et les Caraïbes la vivent elles aussi. À côté de ressources intellectuelles et morales qui pourraient leur permettre de concrétiser les promesses que recèle le continent latinoaméricain, coexistent la pauvreté, le sous-développement et la marginalisation. Pendant presque tout le XX^e siècle, cette région a été celle qui a connu le taux moyen de croissance économique le plus élevé. Cependant, nos pays détiennent également le record des inégalités sociales. Ces dernières années, ils ont déployé un effort exemplaire pour instaurer

la démocratie, et le souci des droits de l'homme s'est généralisé, mais de larges secteurs de la population, notamment les femmes et les victimes de la ségrégation ethnique, rencontrent des difficultés parfois insurmontables dans l'exercice de leurs droits civiques. La créativité intellectuelle et artistique de l'Amérique Latine ainsi que sa diversité culturelle lui ont conféré sa spécificité historique, mais en tant que région, elle n'a pas encore réussi à réaliser son unité politique et économique en cette époque de regroupements.

3. Face au phénomène de la mondialisation, l'Amérique Latine et les Caraïbes ont oscillé entre une adaptation passive et la tentation de l'autarcie. Cependant, nous assistons en ce moment à une révolution silencieuse, à un processus de maturation intellectuelle et sociale qui vise à maîtriser la complexité et tend, en s'appuyant sur les aspects positifs de la modernisation —fruit de tant d'efforts—, à récupérer la croissance économique, pour l'associer à l'égalité et à la justice sociale, tout en préservant la viabilité de l'environnement. Sans ignorer la mondialisation mais sans en devenir non plus les esclaves, nos peuples sont confrontés à un nouveau défi: apprendre à la gérer.

4. Gérer la mondialisation exige un changement mené en commun. Cette tâche incombe aux pays du Nord comme à ceux du Sud, aux gouvernements comme aux organisations non gouvernementales, aux communautés locales comme aux institutions internationales. À problèmes mondiaux, solutions mondiales. À l'issue de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale, il a fallu élaborer des plans politiques et économiques pour permettre à la paix de triompher et aux vaincus de se relever. Maintenant que la guerre froide a pris fin, un nouveau pacte est indispensable pour régir l'ordre du monde. Il doit inclure un nouveau contrat moral en faveur de la paix et un nouvel accord destiné à faire régner l'équité dans les flux économiques internationaux, à endiguer la spéculation financière et à démocratiser l'accès aux moyens de communication, afin d'instaurer un développement partagé qui libère l'humanité des fléaux sociaux que sont la pauvreté et l'inégalité.

5. Ce pacte doit être l'expression du dialogue entre le petit nombre de ceux qui profitent de la modernité et l'immense majorité qui en est exclue. Le seul fait de le conclure reviendra à reconnaître la nécessité d'un autre type de modernité, d'une modernité où les diversités qui sont le reflet de nos métissages se verront accorder la même considération et où les potentialités humaines pourront se réaliser. Pour parvenir à imposer ce pacte qui régira la mondialisation et sauvegardera l'autodétermination de la région et de ses peuples, l'Amérique Latine et les Caraïbes doivent mettre en commun toutes leurs potentialités. Aux efforts et aux progrès des divers organismes qui œuvrent en faveur de l'intégration régionale doit s'ajouter, de la part de nos gouvernements, la ferme volonté de mettre sur pied une Communauté Latinoaméricaine de Nations ainsi qu'un programme d'action commun qui s'attaque, dans la perspective qui nous est propre, à des problèmes tels que la dette extérieure, la protection de cette patrie errante que sont nos migrants et la lutte contre le trafic des stupéfiants, et d'instituer une citoyenneté régionale de plein droit. Il s'agit là de tâches urgentes qui sont indispensables pour rendre viables les stratégies nationales de chacun de nos pays.

6. Si nous voulons instaurer dans le monde des relations caractérisées par une pleine égalité nous nous devons d'atteindre l'objectif de l'intégration sociale, régionale et technique à l'intérieur de nos pays respectifs. L'édification d'une société dont nul ne sera exclu est une exigence économique, sociale, politique et éthique. La région a déjà appris que l'existence de marchés gouvernés par la concurrence est indispensable à la libération des énergies qu'exige la croissance économique, mais elle apprend maintenant que ni l'égalité sociale, ni la stabilité politique ne sont des biens que peut apporter la liberté des marchés; le développement durable appelle une reconstruction démocratique de l'État, d'un État réformé et modernisé, doté d'une légitimité et d'une efficacité suffisantes pour établir les équilibres que le marché n'engendre pas automatiquement, mais par-dessus tout, d'un État où s'incarnent les grands projets de nos sociétés.

7. La reconstruction démocratique de l'État doit bénéficier de l'appui des citoyens et des citoyennes, qui sont les véritables acteurs de la démocratie.

La renaissance de la vie publique signifie la création d'espaces où la participation politique soit possible, où les citoyens puissent apprendre à connaître leurs responsabilités, leurs droits et leurs obligations, dans un climat caractérisé par le plein respect de toutes les libertés, et singulièrement de la liberté d'expression. L'affirmation des droits inviolables de la personne et des valeurs de la vie en commun doit conduire les autorités locales et municipales à trouver leur essor, les parlements et les pouvoirs exécutifs à se moderniser, le régime des partis à s'affermir et à démocratiser, les organisations de la société civile à se développer pleinement, et nos sociétés, à reconnaître leurs nature multi-ethnique et pluriculturelle. La reconstruction démocratique de l'État implique une politique austère, consciente de ses responsabilités et profondément imprégnée de convictions éthiques.

8. La politique de l'avenir consistera à mettre quotidiennement en pratique les principes de la démocratie. Un discours nouveau n'y suffira pas. Il faudra réformer les coutumes, éveiller les consciences et prêcher par l'exemple. La vie démocratique des nations et des individus exige une éthique de la responsabilité. Il ne saurait y avoir d'avenir commun, s'il n'y a pas refondation d'un humanisme moderne sur la base d'engagements acceptés librement. La mise en œuvre permanente des principes de justice, de liberté, d'égalité et de solidarité marquera le début d'un grand changement: le passage d'une culture de la guerre à une culture de la paix. Pour allumer la flamme de la liberté, il faut éduquer les citoyens, modifier leurs habitudes et créer des institutions qui s'appuient sur des principes démocratiques.

9. Les principes démocratiques s'expriment aujourd'hui sous la forme d'une politique de l'insertion. Une telle politique exige de nous au moins huit engagements. Premièrement, éliminer la corruption de la vie politique. Deuxièmement, résoudre les conflits d'intérêts à l'intérieur des pays, ceci démocratiquement, par la voie du dialogue et de la négociation. Troisièmement, arrêter la course aux armements, surtout lorsqu'ils font appel aux technologies de pointe, encouragée par les pays producteurs d'armes, et proscrire la guerre comme moyen de résoudre les litiges frontaliers. Quatrièmement, assurer à tous la sécurité et la paix. Cinquièmement, donner

la priorité aux enfants et aux jeunes lorsque l'on cherche à résoudre les problèmes sociaux: gouverner pour les enfants et pour les jeunes, c'est gouverner pour le présent et pour l'avenir. Sixièmement, mettre fin à l'impunité des autorités publiques ou de quiconque exerce un pouvoir et encourager les citoyens à faire usage de leur droit de regard. Septièmement, offrir à tous la possibilité d'apprendre tout au long de la vie, en leur garantissant la même qualité d'enseignement. Huitièmement, sauvegarder l'environnement, la biodiversité et la qualité de la vie dans les centres urbains.

10. À la croisée des chemins où l'humanité parvient en cette fin de siècle, l'Amérique Latine et les Caraïbes peuvent et doivent choisir une voie nouvelle, condition indispensable à la consolidation de la paix, de la démocratie et du développement qui risquent d'être gravement compromis si l'on perpétue des modèles économiques injustes où règne l'absence de solidarité. Les participants au SOMMET RÉGIONAL POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT POLITIQUE ET LE RESPECT DES PRINCIPES DÉMOCRATIQUES lancent un appel aux dirigeants de nos pays afin qu'ils mettent en pratique ces huit engagements en vue d'un changement mené en commun. Si l'on veut gérer la mondialisation, il faut que les dirigeants soient capables de réflexion, qu'ils aient la volonté d'agir et qu'ils soient prêts à s'engager moralement. Il faut qu'ils soient capables de réfléchir pour comprendre une situation de plus en plus complexe et pour donner un sens nouveau à la vie en commun. Il faut qu'ils aient la volonté politique d'assumer les responsabilités morales et les risques inhérents aux décisions qu'exige ce changement. Il faut qu'ils soient prêts à s'engager moralement pour élever le niveau de la politique et pour la mettre au service des citoyens.

11. Les participants au SOMMET RÉGIONAL POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT POLITIQUE ET LE RESPECT DES PRINCIPES DÉMOCRATIQUES remercient le ministre de la culture du Brésil, le gouvernement du District Fédéral du Brésil et l'UNESCO, qui ont appuyé cette initiative par le biais de DEMOS, lieu de débat pluraliste et démocratique. □

Brasília, 6 juillet 1997

**Declaração da Cúpula Regional
para o Desenvolvimento Político
e os Princípios Democráticos**

GOVERNAR A GLOBALIZAÇÃO

O consenso de Brasília

1. Na véspera de um novo século, a humanidade se encontra na encruzilhada de uma mudança civilizatória. O progresso das inovações científicas e técnicas lhe deram capacidades imensas para proteger e preservar a vida; a criatividade cultural e artística produziram a festa alegre da pluralidade e da diversidade e elevaram a qualidade da experiência de viver. Mas a exclusão da maioria dos homens e mulheres, das mínimas condições de existência, assim como a desigualdade cada vez maior, fizeram crescer o padecimento e a dor humanos. Ao mesmo tempo, os efeitos perversos da cultura de massas empobrecem a qualidade de vida e propiciam um enorme mal-estar cultural, mesmo naqueles que possuem muito. Os avanços tecnológicos e científicos que, subordinados a uma modernidade ética e a um humanismo moderno, poderiam proporcionar a felicidade de homens e mulheres, muitas vezes servem para manter a injustiça, a falta de solidariedade e a banalidade da vida.

2. Esta encruzilhada se vive também na América Latina e no Caribe. Ao lado de reservas intelectuais e morais capazes de tornar realidade a promessa da vida latino-americana, coexistem a pobreza, o atraso e a marginalização. Durante quase todo o século XX, foi a região com a maior média de crescimento econômico. No entanto, os nossos países têm também a maior desigualdade social do mundo. Nos últimos anos foi feito um esforço exemplar por construir democracias e se generalizou a preocupação pelos direitos humanos; mas amplos setores da sua população, especialmente as mulheres e os que sofrem segregação étnica, enfrentam dificuldades às vezes insuperáveis para exercer os seus direitos

de cidadania. A criatividade intelectual e artística, assim como a sua diversidade cultural deram à América Latina uma personalidade histórica; mas ela não consegue, ainda, a sua unidade política e econômica como região, na época dos blocos.

3. Frente ao processo da globalização, a América Latina e o Caribe têm oscilado entre a adaptação passiva e a tentativa autárquica. Porém, está sendo realizada uma revolução cautelosa, um processo de maturação intelectual e social que procura se apropriar da complexidade, que sobre a base dos aspectos positivos de modernizações que custaram tanto, quer recuperar o crescimento econômico e associá-lo com a igualdade e a justiça social, preservando a sustentabilidade ambiental. Sem ignorar a globalização, mas sem submeter-se a ela, nossos povos têm ante si a tarefa de governar a globalização.

4. Governar a globalização é uma mudança de responsabilidade compartilhada. Compromete os países do Norte e os países do Sul, os governos e as organizações não governamentais, as comunidades locais e as organizações internacionais. Se estamos enfrentando problemas globais, necessitamos soluções globais. No final da segunda conflagração mundial, foram necessários planos políticos e econômicos que conquistaram a paz e recuperaram os derrotados das ruínas da guerra. Ao término da guerra fria, é imprescindível um novo pacto de governabilidade global. Ele deve incluir um novo contrato moral pela paz e uma nova organização que faça com que os fluxos econômicos internacionais sejam equitativos, controle a especulação financeira e democratize as comunicações, para construir uma ordem de desenvolvimento compartilhado que liberte a humanidade das ruínas sociais da pobreza e da desigualdade.

5. Esse pacto deve expressar o diálogo entre os poucos que desfrutam a modernidade e a imensa maioria que tem sido excluída dela. A sua única realização será o reconhecimento da necessidade de outra modernidade, aquela na qual as diversidades que compõem as nossas mestiçagens possam

se reconhecer em igualdade e as potencialidades humanas possam ser desenvolvidas. Para conquistar esse pacto que governe a globalização e preserve a autodeterminação da região e dos seus povos, a América Latina e o Caribe devem integrar todas as suas potencialidades. Aos esforços e aos avanços dos diversos organismos da integração regional, deve-se somar a vontade decidida dos nossos governos para a criação de uma Comunidade Latino-Americana de Nações e de uma Agenda Latino-Americana Comum que enfrente, desde a nossa perspectiva, problemas como a dívida externa, a proteção dessa pátria peregrina que são os nossos migrantes e o combate ao narcotráfico, assim como de uma cidadania regional de pleno direito. Estas são necessidades impostergáveis para viabilizar as próprias estratégias nacionais de cada um dos nossos países.

6. Buscar relações de plena igualdade no mundo obriga a construir a integração social, regional e técnica, dentro dos nossos países. A construção de sociedades sem exclusão é uma demanda econômica, social, política e ética. Se a região já aprendeu que mercados competitivos são indispensáveis para desatar as energias do crescimento econômico, agora aprende que nem a igualdade social nem a estabilidade política são bens que se conseguem no mercado. O desenvolvimento sustentável requer a reconstrução democrática do Estado. Um Estado reformado e modernizado, com a legitimidade e a eficiência suficientes para produzir os equilíbrios que o mercado não gera automaticamente, mas, sobretudo, um Estado que expresse os projetos estratégicos das nossas sociedades.

7. A reconstrução democrática do Estado deve estar sustentada nos cidadãos e nas cidadãs. Eles são os verdadeiros protagonistas da democracia. A reconstrução da vida pública é a criação de espaços de participação política que eduquem nas responsabilidades, nos direitos e nas obrigações, em um ambiente de pleno respeito a todas as liberdades, singularmente, a liberdade de expressão. Fortalecer os direitos invioláveis da pessoa e os valores da vida em comunidade, deve conduzir ao fortalecimento do poder local e municipal, à modernização dos parlamentos e dos executivos, a afiançar e democratizar o regime de partidos

políticos, à plena vigência das organizações autônomas da sociedade e ao reconhecimento da natureza multiétnica e pluricultural das nossas sociedades. A reconstrução democrática do Estado é a reivindicação de uma política austera, responsável e de profundas convicções éticas.

8. A política do futuro é a prática cotidiana dos princípios democráticos. Não é suficiente um novo discurso. É necessário reformular os costumes, despertar as consciências e pregar com o exemplo. A vida democrática entre as nações e entre os indivíduos necessita uma ética da responsabilidade. Não há futuro compartilhado sem refundação de um humanismo moderno baseado em compromissos adquiridos em liberdade. O exercício permanente dos princípios de justiça, liberdade, igualdade e solidariedade é o início de uma grande mudança: a mudança de uma cultura de guerra a uma cultura de paz. Educar, modificar as práticas do povo e criar instituições fundadas nos princípios democráticos é acender o fogo da liberdade.

9. Os princípios democráticos se expressam hoje como política da inclusão. Esta exige de todos nós pelo menos oito compromissos. O primeiro, desterrar a corrupção da política. O segundo, resolver os conflitos de interesse dentro dos países, em democracia e pela via do diálogo e da negociação. O terceiro, deter o armamentismo, especialmente aquele de alta tecnologia, propiciado pelos países produtores de armas, e proscrever a guerra como forma de solução de disputas fronteiriças. O quarto, procurar a segurança e a paz para todos. O quinto, dar prioridade à infância e à juventude na solução dos problemas sociais: governar para as crianças e para os jovens é governar para o presente e para o futuro. O sexto, eliminar a impunidade das autoridades públicas e de todos os poderes fáticos, e propiciar a capacidade dos cidadãos para exercer o devido controle de poder. O sétimo, proporcionar educação para todos, ao longo da vida, garantindo a igual qualidade da mesma. O oitavo, conservar o meio ambiente, a biodiversidade e a qualidade da vida urbana.

10. Ante a encruzilhada que vive a humanidade no final do século, a América Latina e o Caribe podem e devem escolher um novo rumo. Este

é imprescindível para consolidar a paz, a democracia e o desenvolvimento. Estes últimos correm severo perigo se são mantidos os modelos econômicos sem justiça, igualdade e solidariedade. A CÚPULA REGIONAL PARA O DESENVOLVIMENTO POLÍTICO E OS PRINCÍPIOS DEMOCRÁTICOS faz um apelo aos dirigentes dos nossos países: colocar em prática estes oito compromissos para a mudança de responsabilidade compartilhada. Governar a globalização requer líderes capazes de flexibilidade, vontade e compromisso ético. Flexibilidade para compreender uma situação de complexidade crescente e construir sentidos novos para a vida em comum. Vontade política para assumir o risco e a responsabilidade moral da decisão para a mudança. Compromisso ético para elevar a qualidade da política e colocá-la a serviço do povo.

11. Os participantes da CÚPULA REGIONAL PARA O DESENVOLVIMENTO POLÍTICO E OS PRINCÍPIOS DEMOCRÁTICOS agradecem ao Ministério da Cultura do Brasil, ao Governo do Distrito Federal do Brasil e à UNESCO por terem apoiado esta iniciativa através do DEMOS, espaço de debate plural e democrático. □

Brasília, 6 de julho de 1997

Regional Summit for Political Development and Democratic Principles

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