

announced formal recognition of the Solís Palma government, and regret that Panama had been removed from the Group of Eight nations comprising the Contadora support group. The Reagan administration's months-old operation to enlist Ibero-American nations in its war against Panama suffered a harsh setback.

Gen. Manuel Noriega closed the conference, reminding the delegates, "Panama is the mirror in which the rest of the governments and peoples below the Rio Bravo can see themselves reflected. . . . Like us, so too could every country

shout out the aggressions it has endured." He praised the crucial steps already accomplished. "There were no ideological positions, nor radical postures. . . . In Christian fashion, we sought out that which unites us, rather than that which divides us."

The tactics used for over 160 years to divide the continent—border conflicts, racial and ethnic conflicts, and the ideological conflicts of right and left—were overcome, while the delegates deliberated on the crucial mission that Ibero-America, united, must now fulfill.

Declaration of Panama

The delegates of the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean to the Meeting Toward a Second Amphictyonic Congress of Panama, meeting in Panama City from August 8-12, 1988, declare:

WHEREAS:

1) Hardly had they obtained independence, when the old Spanish colonies, united by the swords of the Liberators Bolívar and San Martín, were fragmented and balkanized by the concerted action of the exporting oligarchies and the foreign imperialist powers. With the *Patria Grande* divided, its Republics began to be the victims of innumerable violations of their sovereignty, of their territorial integrity, and of their dignity, by foreign powers who have imposed upon us new forms of neo-colonialist and imperialist domination.

2) As a result of the perpetuation of that domination, the development of our peoples has been impeded, submerging them in unemployment, malnutrition, hunger, illiteracy, backwardness, and violence that constitutes the social drama of our peoples down to the present day.

3) That this ignominious situation is aggravated by an unjust International Economic and Juridical Order, which has encouraged the overdevelopment of imperial powers at the cost of the exploitation of our human and natural resources.

4) That the relations of dependency based on that unjust International Order have led us into an indebtedness greater than \$400 billion, whose interest costs constitute a heavy burden on our weak economies, establishing a relation of domination by international finance capital.

5) That in this period, there exist numerous points of tension that constitute a flagrant violation of the peace, security, territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence, and human rights of the hemisphere, such as the occupa-

tion of the Malvinas by an extra-continental power, the aggressions by the United States against Nicaragua, El Salvador, in Central America, and against Panama.

6) That with systematic political and economic aggressions against the Republic of Panama on the part of the Reagan administration, the intention of ignoring the Torrijos-Carter Treaties is made clear, and is confirmed in the United States Congress by a resolution that seeks its unilateral abrogation under threat of invasion.

WE DECLARE:

1) That all these facts define for us a scenario that gives currency to the call made by the liberator Simón Bolívar when, in warning of the danger that threatens our nations through the expansionism of the Colossus of the North, he convoked the First Amphictyonic Congress of Panama.

2) That, for the purpose of the 1992 commemoration of the Fifth Centennial of the meeting of two cultures, the Latin American and Caribbean heads of state meet with the intention of forming or institutionalizing the Latin American Confederation.

3) That the concretization of that project of the *Patria Grande* that Bolívar conceived must be the result of the conscious will of all our peoples, and will only be achievable through the consolidation of national democracies in our states.

4) That it is historically imperative that we achieve Latin American integration, as the only way in which we can confront and overcome the constant and permanent threats against our countries, stemming from the foreign debt, the drug trade, and imperialism's military and economic aggressions.

WE REITERATE!

We energetically reject the aggression by the United States government, and we offer our firm determination to raise the voice of the *Patria Grande*, from Mexico to Argentina, in defense of the integrity and sovereignty of the Panamanian people.

We are determined to win this initial battle for the dignity of all of Latin America and the Caribbean.