

The Pan-American\Inter-American conferences

In 1881 James Blaine, the United States Secretary of State, attempted to organize an international congress in Washington, DC. However, the assassination of President James A. Garfield and the rise to the presidency of Chester Arthur – Blaine’s political enemy – prevented the plans for the first Pan-American meeting. Later, in 1888 the United States Congress agreed that the President of the United States was authorized to invite the various governments of the republics of Mexico, Central and South America, Haiti, Santo Domingo and the Empire of Brazil to celebrate, together with the United States, a conference in Washington DC the following year. Thus began a series of cycles of meetings between representatives of various nations of the hemisphere that were supposed to be held regularly in different capitals of the continent to discuss various issues.

I Pan-American Conference

2 October 1889 - 19 April 1890, Washington, D.C. (United States)

The aim was to discuss and to recommend the adoption of an arbitration plan for the settlement of disputes and issues that may arise between them in the future and, in general, the promotion of peace on the continent. It was recommended that trade among the countries of America be encouraged, railway and maritime transportation be promoted (in order to increase commercial traffic and direct means of communication between these countries), and an inter-American bank be created.

It was proclaimed the proscription of the right of conquest due to the fear of new attempts at armed incursion by European powers into the New World (although in the case of the United States for reasons very different from those of the Latin American nations). All American participants in the Washington Conference decided: 1) that the right of conquest was eliminated “forever” from American public law - repeating the demonym that the American delegates did not accept before, without objecting to it now; 2) that territorial cessions made under threat of war or invasion would be considered null and void; 3) the nation that suffered a territorial cession under the conditions indicated in the previous resolution, could resort to arbitration at all times; 4) that no nation could waive the right to resort to arbitration in the case mentioned in the previous number.

It was established that foreigners enjoy the same civil rights as the nationals of a country and that a country does not have to assume or recognize any obligations or responsibilities other than those established for nationals.

The International Union of the American Republics was established. It had its headquarters in Washington and its bulletins were printed in English, Spanish and Portuguese.

Conference Officers and Delegates:

President of the Conference: James G. Blaine (United States Secretary of State)

Vice presidents: Félix C. C. Zegarra (Peru) 1° vice president; Matías Romero (Mexico) 2° vice president

Secretaries: H. Rensen Whitehouse; Fidel G. Pierra; José Ignacio Rodríguez

Participating countries:

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, United States, Uruguay & Venezuela.

***Dominican Republic** did not attend the conference. In addition, **Cuba** and **Panama** were not yet independent.

II Pan-American Conference

22 October 1901 - 31 January 1902, Mexico City (Mexico)

With reference to the rights of foreigners, the recommendations made in the first conference were reaffirmed, establishing that in case of complaints or claims, suit should be brought before the competent court of the country and diplomatic channels should not be resorted to except when denial of justice was evident.

The question of arbitration was fully discussed and both a Treaty of Compulsory Arbitration and a Treaty of Arbitration on Pecuniary Claims were signed by all the nations in agreement.

In addition, questions about the means of protection for industry, agriculture and commerce; development of communications between the countries of the Union and the consular regulations of ports and customs were discussed. A convention which constituted a union that would recognize and protect the rights of literary and artistic property was approved.

Conference Officers and Delegates:

Honorary Presidents: Ignacio Mariscal (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mexico); John Hay (United States Secretary of State)

President: Genaro Raigosa, President of the Mexican delegation

Vice presidents: José Hygino Duarte Pereira (Brazil), 1° Vice president; Baltasar Estupinian, (El Salvador) 2° Vice president

General Secretary: Joaquín D. Casasús (Mexico)

Participating countries:

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, United States, Uruguay & Venezuela.

***Brazil** and **Venezuela** were represented at the first meetings, but the Brazilian delegate died on December 10, 1901 and Venezuela withdrew its delegation on January 14, 1902.

III Pan-American Conference

23 July - 27 August 1906, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)

After the II Pan-American Conference, held in Mexico City between December 1901 and January 1902, the political and economic context of Latin America was characterized by the growing influence of the United States over the region together with Europe. This is illustrated by the US control of the Panama Canal and the establishment of a “protected” state (1903), as well as the creation of a protectorate in Cuba through the Platt Amendment (1902). Both situations gave the United States an advantage over the European powers. During this same period, European countries also sought to maintain their control over Latin America, as evidenced by the tripartite intervention in Venezuela (1902-1903) by Great Britain, Germany and Italy, in order to collect public debts. This political context was the background for the discussions at the 3rd Pan American Conference

The topics discussed were: the International Office of the American Republics, arbitration, pecuniary claims, public debts, codification of public and private international law, naturalization, development of commercial relations between the American republics, customs and consular laws, patents and trademarks, commerce, sanitary police and quarantine, Pan-American railroad, literary property, exercise of liberal professions and future conferences.

The United States argued that the conference should not deal with controversial topics and Brazil, and in a more veiled form Mexico, sought to ratify the US position, probably due to its isolation: the only country with a monarchical form of government until 1889, the last to abolish the slavery in 1888, and its disputes over border issues and the navigation of some rivers in common with other South American countries. Other countries, like Argentina, Bolivia and Ecuador, in some way objected to the proposals of the official program of the conference, which agreed with the interests of the United States. Argentina's position obeyed the principles of what is known as the Drago and Calvo doctrine. These doctrines manifested themselves explicitly against the coercive collection of public debts, and even more, against the military interventions caused by this reason. The Argentine representative tried to include this discussion on the agenda; after a tough negotiation the US position prevailed. The issue was not explicitly included in the agenda but it was transferred to the Second Peace Conference in The Hague in order to arrive at an international agreement on arbitration. It was in this environment of such complex alliances and rivalries that the Rio de Janeiro Conference took place, with numerous points of debate between Brazil, Argentina and the United States.

In this conference the arbitration treaty approved at the Mexico Conference, and also signed a Convention on Arbitration regarding monetary claims was ratified. A resolution that allowed the International Union of the American Republics to continue its activities and to expand its functions was approved. The main theme was dedicated to increasing and strengthening ties between the American countries with a view to future integration - based on economics - leaving aside the ghost of European intervention to focus only on the future of continental relations.

From the International Union of the American Republics, the Commercial (or International) Bureau of the American Republics was created so that it would spread among the member countries the statistical data, tariffs, customs regulations and all kinds of information necessary to develop trade between the American countries. The importance that this office acquired throughout the 20th century was such that the date of its creation, April 14, 1890, was subsequently designated as Pan-American Day, since its transformation and expansion as a representative entity of the International Union of American Republics, would become the main antecedent of the OAS, created in 1948.

Various monetary and foreign trade problems were also discussed at this conference.

Conference Officers and Delegates:

Honorary Presidents: Elihu Root (United States Secretary of State); Baron of Rio-Branco (Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil)

President: Joaquim Aurélio Nabuco de Araújo (Ambassador of Brazil to the United States)

General Secretary: Joaquim Francisco de Assis Brasil (Brazil)

Participating countries:

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United States & Uruguay.

***Puerto Rico, Venezuela and Haiti** did not attend the conference.

IV Pan-American Conference

12 July - 30 August 1910, Buenos Aires (Argentina)

The 4th Pan-American Conference was held in Buenos Aires also as a way to commemorate the independence of Argentina and other republics, which having begun their uprisings in 1810, that would celebrate their centenary at the time of the Conference. On the other hand, there was an attempt by the delegates to the Board of Directors of the International Union of American Republics, based in Washington, so that the Conference could take place without setbacks, since the differences between some governments regarding political problems made it possible to anticipate difficulties. Border issues and mutual distrust between neighboring countries were the most critical points in inter-American relations: Brazil had conflicts with Venezuela and Paraguay; the host nation itself had diplomatic problems with Chile and Bolivia. There was also distrust among some of the countries regarding the formation of the United States as a power in the area, especially due to the interventionist desires that it had begun to show since the beginning of the 20th century. Another fact that cast a shadow over the Pan-American Conference was the claims of the Bolivian government for its virtual exclusion, because it had not received an invitation from its Argentine counterpart.

It was agreed to extend the life of the Treaty of Arbitration on Pecuniary Claims. In general, the recommendations on the use of arbitration made at The Hague meeting in 1907 were accepted. The Bureau of the American Republics was replaced by the Pan-American Union which was transformed into a permanent committee of the international American conferences.

Various problems regarding transportation and foreign trade were taken up, as was done in the previous conferences. In general, the topics discussed were: the Commemoration of the Independence of the American Republics, reports and memories, the reorganization of the International Office of the American Republics, a tribute to Mr. Andrew Carnegie for his generous donation for the construction of the new American Republics building in Washington, the Pan-American Railroad, steam communications for the conduction of mail, passengers and cargo between the American Republics, uniformity of consular documents, customs regulations, census and statistics, sanitary police, patents, trademarks and copyrights, monetary claims, cultural issues like a study of a plan for the exchange of professors and students between the Universities and Academies of the American Republics, the Scientific Congress of Santiago de Chile, the imminent commemoration of the opening of the Panama Canal and future conferences.

Conference Officers and Delegates:

Honorary Presidents: Philander C. Knox, United States Secretary of State; Carlos Rodríguez Larreta, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Religion of Argentina; Victorino de la Plaza, ex Minister of Foreign Affairs and Religion of Argentina

President: Antonio Bermejo, President of the Argentinian delegation

General Secretary: Epifanio Pórtela (Argentina)

Participating countries:

Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United States, Uruguay & Venezuela.

V Pan-American Conference

25 March - 3 May 1923, Santiago (Chile)

A Uruguayan proposal to create a League of American Nations was discussed and finally rejected. Among the various resolutions that were approved, those related to the codification of international law and the organization of the Pan American Union stand out, and the advisability of reducing military expenditures was brought up.

It was proposed that certain international disputes should be submitted to a special investigating commission which would function with the cooperation of the parties to the

conflict through the Gondra Treaty (so called because it was proposed by Dr. Manuel Gondra, former President of Uruguay and chief of its delegation). The formulation of the proposed Treaty to avoid or prevent conflicts between the American States was important because it «marks a first step, albeit limited, to establish an inter-American mechanism of effective peace».

During this Conference, issues related to the regulation of maritime, land and air communications were also discussed, as well as those aimed at cooperation between countries for the promotion and development of said communications and cooperation in agronomic studies. Various issues were included, such as improvements in the means of transportation and communication, uniformity of customs regulations and procedures, inspection of merchandise, proposals to simplify passports and adoption of a common model, sanitary measures aimed at preventing the spread of infectious diseases, with special reference to the recommendations of the International Sanitary Conferences.

It was also discussed about measures aimed at progressively reducing the consumption of alcoholic beverages, and future Conferences

Conference Officers and Delegates:

President: Agustín Edwards, President of the Chilean delegation

Vice presidents: Pedro César Dominid (Venezuela); Nardso Garay (Panama); Henry P. Fletcher (United States); Justino Jiménez de Aréchaga (Uruguay) and in his absence, Eugenio Martínez Thedy; Rafael M. Arízaga (Ecuador) and in his absence José Rafael Bustamante; Eduardo Poirier (Guatemala); Carlos Cuadra Pasos (Nicaragua); Alejandro Alvarado Quirós (Costa Rica); Afranio de Mello Franco (Brazil); and Sylvino Gurgel do Amaral, substitute; Cecilio Bustamante (El Salvador); Guillermo Valenda (Colombia); José C. Vidal Caro (Cuba); Manuel Gondra (Paraguay); Tulio M. Cestero (Dominican Republic); Benjamín Villaseca Mujica (Honduras); Manuel Augusto Montes de Oca (Argentina); Arthur Rameau (Haiti)

General Secretary: Manuel Rivas Vicuña (Chile)

Participating countries:

Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Unites States, Uruguay & Venezuela.

***Mexico, Bolivia and Peru** did not attend the conference.

VI Pan-American Conference

16 January - 20 February 1928, Havana (Cuba)

In view of the impossibility of preventing the United States from taking a direct part in the Pan-American Union, it was agreed that this agency should have no political functions. The problem of intervention was fully discussed in connection with the report presented by the Pan-American Meeting of Jurists (Rio de Janeiro, 1927). The majority of the countries present in Havana were in favor of the principle of nonintervention. However, in view of the refusal of the United States to concur, it was agreed that no formal resolution would be made on this topic.

At the same time, at the 6th Conference agreements on most of the issues were reached: progress had been made in the codification of private international law; the codification of international public law was advanced; there were important treaties on most topics of general interest (such as trade, navigation, marks, weights and measures); international criminal and civil law, as well as immigration, politics, diplomacy, war and arbitration, among others. In general, the topics discussed were about economic problems (the organization of an Inter-American Chamber of Commerce); social problems; reports on Treaties, Conventions and Resolutions and communications problems, such as the regulation of the international circulation of automobiles and means to facilitate the development of fluvial intercommunication between the American nations; intellectual cooperation, such as the establishment of a Pan-American Geographical Institute to serve as a center for the coordination, distribution, and dissemination of geographic studies in the American States and as an organ of cooperation among the geographic institutes of the Americas, to facilitate the study of border issues between the American nations; the recommendation to the countries of the Americas that in their respective legislation they establish the minimum of rights to the introduction of books and the minimum of postage to the circulation by mail of books and newspapers; the recommendation to the member countries of the Union that have not yet done so, to publish geological, agricultural plans, etc., that give an idea of their natural resources, possibilities for their development and also of their means of communication; the establishment of scholarships, exchange of teachers and students. It was recommended the creation of special chairs, financed or subsidized by the Governments, for the study of the Spanish, English and Portuguese languages, and their respective literatures; and the recommendation of special chairs in the universities of the countries, members of the

Pan American Union, for the study of the commercial legislation of the Republics of America.

Conference Officers and Delegates:

President: Antonio Sánchez de Bustamante, President of the Cuban delegation

Vice presidents: Jesús Melquíades Salazar (Peru); J. Varela (Uruguay); Ricardo J. Alfaro (Panama); Gonzalo Zaldumbide (Ecuador); Julio Garda (Mexico); J. Gustavo Guerrero (El Salvador); Carlos Salazar (Guatemala); Carlos Cuadra Pasos (Nicaragua); José Antezana (Bolivia); Santiago Key Ayala (Venezuela); Enrique Olaya Herrera (Colombia); Fausto Dávila (Honduras); Ricardo Castro Beeche (Costa Rica); Alejandro Lira (Chile); Raúl Fernandes (Brazil); Honorio Pueyrreción (Argentina) who resigned the position, which was filled by Laurentino Olascoaga; Lisandro Díaz León (Paraguay); Fernando Dennis (Haiti); Francisco J. Peynado (Dominican Republic); Charles Evans Hughes (United States)

General Secretary: Néstor Carbonell (Cuba)

Participating countries:

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United States, Uruguay & Venezuela.

VII Pan-American Conference

From 3 to 26 December 1933, Montevideo (Uruguay)

The 7th Pan American Conference was held at a time of crisis and enormous world changes in the economy, politics, and society. The birth of Nazism, fascism and Japanese nationalism followed by the world depression - which reached its maximum effect at the time of this Conference - created peculiar international conditions, to which were added the social movements that emerged from the economic and social tensions of the first postwar period, together with the expansion of the Communist International (Comintern).

Since the early 1930s, there has been great political and social instability in Latin America, with military revolts taking place in countries such as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, while Mexico was experiencing the post-revolutionary period. The South American region was threatened by border tensions between Peru and Colombia, and between Bolivia and

Paraguay, which ended in a war. In these years, the US intervention in Haiti and the US non-recognition of the Cuban government continued.

Despite the difficult economic and social situation that America and the world were going through in these years, this Conference raised for the first time, and very clearly, several points related to intellectual cooperation, the title under which inter-American cultural policy operated. This meeting raised the need to establish common denominators among the American cultural aspects, assuming that culture could be a factor of continental unity.

A variety of topics were considered at this conference: a non-aggression, anti-war treaty based on an Argentine proposal was adopted; the so-called Good Neighbor Policy of the United States was promulgated at this time; tariff reductions were recommended (largely as a result of the passage of the Smoot-Hawley tariff in the United States); the principle of nonintervention was again fully discussed and the Convention on Rights and Duties of the States was unanimously adopted (it provided that no State has the right to interfere in the internal or external affairs of other States); problems of international law (such as rights and duties of States, treaties and their interpretation; international responsibility of the State - with special reference to the responsibility for denial of justice; definition, duration and reciprocity of political asylum; extradition; nationality and territorial sea); political and civil rights of women; economic and financial problems, social problems; intellectual cooperation and communications (such as the inter-American river navigation and report of the Pan-American railroad commission).

Conference Officers and Delegates:

President: Alberto Mañé, Minister Secretary of State in the Department of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay

Vice presidents: Miguel Paz Baraona (Honduras); Cordell Hull (United States); Héctor David Castro (El Salvador); Tulio M. Cestero (Dominican Republic); Justin Barau (Haiti); Carlos Saavedra Lamas (Argentina); César Zumeta (Venezuela); Justo Pastor Benítez (Paraguay); José Manuel Puig Casauranc (Mexico); J. D. Arosemena (Panama); Casto Rojas (Bolivia); Alfredo Sldnner Klee (Guatemala); Afranio de Mello Franco (Brazil); Augusto Aguirre Aparicio (Ecuador); Leonardo Argüello (Nicaragua); Alfonso López (Colombia); Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal (Chile); Alfredo Solí y Muro (Peru); Angel Alberto Giraudy (Cuba)

General Secretary: Enrique E. Buero (Uruguay)

Participating countries:

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United States, Uruguay & Venezuela.

***Costa Rica** was not represented.

VIII Pan-American Conference

From 9 to 27 December, 1938, Lima (Peru)

In view of the prevailing international situation resulting from the advances of Nazism and the signing of the Munich Agreement, the importance of American solidarity was stressed and, at the same time, it was agreed that each country should take the defensive measures it deemed necessary. It was also agreed that if the territorial integrity of any American nation were violated, various measures would be invoked to effectuate the solidarity of the others. For these reasons the Declaration of Lima was adopted and the principle of nonintervention was reaffirmed.

Moreover, although the 8th Conference did not deal exhaustively with the subject of the indigenous population, it served as an important precedent for the organization of the First Indigenous Congress, which allowed the meeting of the majority of the American countries with the purpose of finding solutions to the indigenous problem, as well as for the founding of the Inter-American Indigenous Institute. The Pan-Americanist spirit was evident, both in the exchange of experiences between the countries and in the attempt to provide joint responses to common problems. Several delegates expressed their belief in a continental identity, sometimes referring to Indoamerica or the Indian hemisphere.

In general, topics discussed were: the improvement and coordination of inter-American peace instruments, the creation of an Inter-American Court of International Justice; the creation of a League or Association of American Nations; the declaration on the American doctrine of the non-recognition of acquisitions of territory by means of force; international law; economic problems; Inter-American trade policy; Inter-American media; immigration; political and civil rights of women; intellectual cooperation and moral disarmament; conservation and preservation of natural regions and historical places; the Pan-American Union and the International Conferences of American States.

Conference Officers and Delegates:

President: Carlos Concha, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Peru

Vice Presidents: Eduardo Diez de Medina (Bolivia); Julio Tobar Donoso, Ecuador; Pedro Manini Ríos (Uruguay); Julián López Pineda (Honduras); Manuel Cordero Reyes (Nicaragua); Juan J. Remos (Cuba); Tobías Zúñiga Montúfar (Costa Rica); León Alfred (Haiti); Cordell Hull (United States); Justo Pastor Benítez (Paraguay); Reyes Arrieta Rossi (El Salvador); Jorge Matte Gormaz (Chile); Francisco Castillo Nájera (Mexico); Narciso Garay (Panama); Max Henríquez Ureña (Dominican Republic); Isidoro Ruiz Moreno (Argentina); Carlos Salazar (Guatemala); Luis López de Mesa (Colombia); Diógenes Escalante (Venezuela); Afranio de Mello Franco (Brazil)

Secretario General: Arturo García Salazar (Perú)

Participating countries:

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United States, Uruguay & Venezuela.

Panamerican Union representatives:

L. S. Rowe, William Manger, William Sanders, Julia MacLean Viñas

IX Inter-American Conference

30 March - 2 May 1948, Bogotá (Colombia)

This Conference was to be held in 1943, that is, five years after the 8th held in Lima in 1938, but mainly due to World War II, it was postponed until 1948.

This Conference was especially noteworthy and important because it reorganized, consolidated and strengthened the Inter-American System. These purposes were met particularly through the adoption of the Charter of the Organization of American States and the American Treaty on Peaceful Settlement (Pact of Bogotá). The Charter changed the name of the meetings into “Inter-American Conference”, and at the same time specified the role and functions that it had to perform within the new structure created in Bogotá, in which it appears as the supreme body. What was formerly called Pan-American Union became the Organization of American States.

Three years before, in 1945, the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace (known as the Chapultepec Conference) was held in Chapultepec, Mexico. In that meeting

the future of inter-American relations were discussed giving the first step towards a post-military alliance in the Western Hemisphere. This Act also provided the basis for the Rio Treaty of 1947.

In the 9th conference, an economic agreement was formulated which was basically a repetition of various pronouncements on foreign trade, foreign investments, and international cooperation dating back to World War II years. The basic problems of Latin-American underdevelopment were virtually ignored, and ultimately only the Pact of Bogotá and the economic agreement were ratified by a few countries. Legal and political affairs were discussed such as the recognition of de facto governments; report of the Inter-American Juridical Committee; defense and preservation of democracy in America against the eventual installation of anti-democratic regimes on the continent. The conference also approved a Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and the Resolution XXXII on Preservation and Defense of Democracy in America which, strictly speaking, was no more than a violent explosion of anti-Communism and McCarthyism at the heart of the inter-American organization.

21 American nations were present in this Conference. The delegations, including their advisers, secretaries and assistants, totaled 545 people.

Conference Officers and Delegates:

Presidents: Hon. Mr. Laureano Gómez, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Colombia, and Hon. Mr. Eduardo Zuleta Angel, Colombian Minister of Foreign Affairs

General Secretary: Hon. Mr. Camilo de Brigard Silva

Assistant General Secretaries: Mr. José Joaquín Gori, Mr. Luis Humberto Salamanca

X Inter-American Conference

From 1 to 28 March 1954, Caracas (Venezuela)

At the height of the Cold War, this conference was used as an anti-Communist platform. The “Communist threat” to the hemisphere was the central topic of debate, and paradoxically, the only support the United States delegation was able to win was the far from unanimous and unconditional backing of the most brutal of the Latin American dictatorships. Mexico and Argentina suffered serious setbacks vis-à-vis the Caracas Declaration which fundamentally again nullified the principle of self-determination of nations, and Guatemala, which was

branded the red sheep of the Pan-American flock because of its democratic revolution, vigorously opposed that Declaration.

All the Member States of the Organization were represented, with the exception of Costa Rica. However, the Representative of that country in the Council of the Organization signed in the Pan American Union - on behalf of his Government - the Final Act of the Conference, on April 20, 1954. Subsequently, Costa Rica ratified the Conventions on Diplomatic Asylum, depositing in the Pan-American Union on February 24, 1955 the respective instruments of ratification.

In general, topics discussed were: legal and political matters; economic affairs; social affairs; cultural issues; and matters of organization and functioning.

Conference Officers and Delegates:

President: Hon. Mr. Aureliano Otáñez, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Venezuela

General Secretary: Hon. Mr. Doctor Ernesto Vallenilla Díaz

Assistant General Secretary: Hon. Mr. Doctor Victor Montoya

Participating countries:

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United States, Uruguay & Venezuela.

The Organization of American States and the Inter-American Specialized Organizations were represented as follows:

Organization of American States:

Alberto Lleras Camargo, General Secretary; William Manger, Assistant Secretary General; Charles Fenwick, Director of the Legal Department of the Pan American Union; Erico Veríssimo, Director of the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Pan American Union; Francisco Abrisqueta, Chief of the Statistics Division of the Pan American Union and Secretary General of the Inter-American Statistical Institute; Guillermo Nannetti, Chief of the Education Division of the Pan American Union

Pan-American Sanitary Bureau: Honorable Mr. Fred L. Soper

Inter-American Commission of Women: Honorable Mrs. María Concepción de Chaves

Inter-American Indian Institute: Honorable Mr. Antonio Ileguena, Honorable Mr. Walter Du Pouy

American International Institute for Child Protection: Honorable Mrs. Elizabeth Shirley Enochs, Honorable Mr. Ernesto Vizcarrondo

Pan-American Institute of Geography and History: Honorable Mr. André C. Simonpietri

Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences: Honorable Mr. Claudio A. Volio

The United Nations and its specialized agencies were represented as follows:

United Nations:

Dag Hammarskjöld (General Secretary), Benjamín Cohén (Assistant General Secretary), Gustavo Martínez Cabañas (Deputy Director General of the Technical Assistance Administration), Alfonso Santa Cruz (Director of the Economic Commission for Latin America)

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations: Honorable Mr. Andrés R. Córdova

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization:

Honorable Mr. Guillermo Francovich, Honorable Mr. Leonardo Díaz González

International Labor Office: Honorable Mr. A. Crespo, Honorable Mr. Boris Bunimov Parra

The main tools of the “*Pan-American movement*” were the Pan-American/Inter-American conferences that had a general nature, and the Special Inter-American conferences along with the Consultative Meetings, which brought together specialists of specific sectors. Each conference had the task of dealing with topics already discussed in the previous ones, but this does not mean that there was a useless repetition: what is done in a given conference about a certain topic constitutes a progress compared to what has been done previously about the same argument.

Special Inter-American Conferences:

Conference on the Maintenance of Peace: Buenos Aires, 1936

An Additional Protocol on Non-intervention was approved which stressed various of the principles supported in Montevideo three years before, as well as a Declaration of Principles of Inter-American Solidarity and Cooperation. However, the most important action of the meeting was probably the agreement to create a consultative mechanism which would operate in case of a threat to American security through war or other acts of aggression.

Conference on Problems of War and Peace: Mexico, 1945

Two main political documents were approved at this conference: The Act of Chapultepec and the Declaration of Mexico. These ratified various legal and political principles formulated at previous meetings. The proposals of Dumbarton Oaks on the System of the Organization of Nations, which was to be established the following year in San Francisco, were accepted with certain Latin-American reservations. The Economic Charter of the Americas was approved. Its purpose was to facilitate economic development and the normalization of trade in the postwar period. This document, in particular, gave rise to a clash between the interests of the great United States monopolies and the desire of broad sectors of Latin-American opinion for rapid development.

Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security: Quintandinha (Rio de Janeiro), 1947

The Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance was signed, involving a profound transformation of the Pan-American organization which was made to conform to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. By way of symbolic compensation for the political and military obligations assumed, the Latin-American governments brought pressure to bear to elicit sympathy from the United States for their economic problems, in order to increase financing through loans and direct investments.

Special Conference of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council at the Ministerial Level: Punta del Este, Uruguay, 1961

At this meeting, the so-called Declaration of the Peoples of America and the program known as the Alliance for Progress were adopted. These postulated the advisability of (1) carrying out certain institutional reforms (land, tax, educational, administrative, etc.), (2) obtaining greater external financing and more favorable commercial treatment from the industrial countries; and (3) planning and accelerating Latin-American economic integration.

First Extraordinary Conference: Washington, 1964

The essential purpose of this conference was to discuss the requirements for admission of new members to the OAS. Articles 2 and 108 of the Bogota Charter were ratified and the importance reiterated of fulfilling the collective hemisphere security obligations (Articles 24 and 25 of the Charter) and, particularly, of signing and ratifying the Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty of 1947.

Second Extraordinary Conference: Rio de Janeiro, 1965

The intervention of the United States in Santo Domingo had grave consequences. Even the customarily docile Latin American governments showed their concern and censured the behavior of the United States in one form or another. The United States immediately sought the proper occasion for redressing matters and found it at this conference. The aggression against the Dominican Republic was not even mentioned there, in return for which there was no insistence upon the establishment of the Inter-American Peace Force, and the criticisms of the OAS were answered by an agreement to revise the Bogotá Charter and to place greater stress upon certain forms of economic cooperation.

Third Extraordinary Conference: Buenos Aires, 1967

Its purpose was to revise the Charter of the Organization of American States. The main amendments consisted of revising and broadening the section of Economic Regulations, giving the permanent Council greater powers, substituting a General Assembly like that of the United Nations for the traditional irregular inter-American conferences, and establishing, together with the Economic and Social Council, an agency of equal scope for Education, Science and Culture. The advisability of promoting economic programming and integration was reiterated; and emphasis was given to the importance of collective or supranational action within the Pan-American framework. In other words, the Buenos Aires conference successfully utilized one of its severest crises to bolster the OAS.

Consultative Meetings:

First Meeting: Panama, 1939

A joint Declaration of Continental Solidarity was signed which in large part ratified the Lima Declaration. The possible consequences to America from an incipient World War II were

discussed, but it was, nevertheless, reiterated that the governments would act “... independently in their individual capacity with full recognition of their legal equality as sovereign states.”

Second Meeting: Havana, 1940

It was recommended that differences and disputes among the countries of America be settled. In the Havana Act, the possibility was foreseen of establishing a temporary system of protection for the American colonies and possessions of European countries through the adoption of a Resolution (XV) on Reciprocal Assistance and Cooperation, which provided that in case of acts or danger of aggression “on the part of a non-American state” against an American state “... the signatory states of the ... Declaration will consult with each other in order to decide upon the proper measures to be taken.” A resolution on economic and financial cooperation was approved.

Third Meeting: Rio de Janeiro, 1942

The creation of the Inter-American Defense Board was approved; it was to have the function of studying and recommending to American governments the necessary measures for the defense of the continent. Also approved was the establishment of the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense for the purpose of combating the subversive activities of the Nazis. The Inter-American Juridical Committee was reorganized and the functions of the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee were broadened.

Fourth Meeting: Washington, 1951

The Inter-American Defense Board was reinforced by imposing greater subordination of Latin America to the war policy of the United States, then engaged in its aggression upon Korea. Various resolutions were adopted on political, economic, and military cooperation because of the state of emergency decreed in Washington as a result of the supposed aggression of international Communism. The Washington Declaration reaffirmed the solidarity of the Latin American governments with the Cold War policy openly adopted by the United States in 1946.

Conflicts of jurisdiction between the OAS and the UN were discussed and an emergency economic cooperation program was agreed upon in which an attempt was made, obviously to the advantage of the United States, to combine its immediate procurement of the maximum

supply of raw materials and commodities with the traditional aspiration to long-term economic development of the other countries of the hemisphere.

Fifth Meeting: Santiago, Chile, 1959

Worried by the crushing victory of the Cuban Revolution and by the radical and nationalist character of the measures adopted by the Cuban government, the other governments of the continent vigorously defended “representative democracy” in the Santiago Declaration, and anti-Communist declarations mounted. The Inter-American Peace Committee was charged with keeping a check on the Caribbean situation and issuing a warning, without delay, in case it worsened. (During that time, the Cuban government denounced a joint invasion attempt by the overthrown dictator, Batista, and the perennial President of the Dominican Republic, General Trujillo.)

Sixth Meeting: San José, Costa Rica, 1960

The main purpose of this meeting was to investigate Venezuelan charges against the Trujillo government of the Dominican Republic. On the basis of a report from the Inter-American Peace Committee, the Dominican government was condemned by a wide majority for acts of intervention and aggression against Venezuela, and sanctions were imposed on it: diplomatic relations were severed and all shipments of arms and implements of war were immediately suspended. The United States was at first opposed to applying sanctions but finally adopted the position of the other countries represented.

Seventh Meeting: San José, Costa Rica, 1960

The United States denounced the installation of a Communist government as the equivalent of loss of independence by a country and as a grave danger to hemispheric security. Within the framework of these concepts, the Declaration of San José condemned the intervention of an extra-continental power in American affairs, and condemned as acts of aggression against the security of America, the attempts of the Sino-Soviet powers to take advantage of the position of an American country favorable to them. The Declaration also reaffirmed the mandatory nature of the principles adopted in Santiago (1959) with regard to representative democracy.

Actually, the meeting was nothing more than another episode in the anti-Communist crusade and a new attempt – the most determined up to that time – to prevent Cuba from carrying out a true social revolution. For that reason, the Cuban government accused the consultative

organ of OAS of intervening with the no right whatsoever in the affairs of other countries and of violating the right of self-determination of nations.

Eighth Meeting: Punta del Este, Uruguay, 1962

The struggle against the Cuban Revolution promoted by the United States came to a head at the Eighth Meeting of Foreign Ministers. In 1960, Cuba was branded a threat to continental security. In 1961, when the revolutionary process crystallized in an unprecedented social transformation, United States imperialism launched its unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion. And, several months later, at the Eighth Consultative Meeting, the OAS declared Cuba incompatible with Pan-Americanism and the principles of “representative democracy.” Never in the long history of Latin-American “gorillarchies” had a government been excluded from the OAS system for its undemocratic character. Yet when the small country of Cuba decided to reconstitute its sovereignty and, in the exercise thereof, to take forceful measures which affected the United States monopolies and the insignificant minority of wealthy Cubans, its action provoked greater hostility than the Mexican and Guatemalan revolutions in their time.

Ninth Meeting: Washington, 1964

On the basis of an alleged aggression upon Venezuela by Cuba, it was agreed to sanction Cuba under the Rio de Janeiro Treaty. Actually this treaty was shamelessly invoked not in defense against an “armed attack” or other aggression but to prevent a country from instituting the type of government and even the social system of its choice. Until 1964, all American nations could theoretically determine their own fate and organize their public life as they saw fit. After the Ninth Meeting of Foreign Ministers, however, it was made clear that what had traditionally been a right was now a crime, a serious threat to hemispheric solidarity. So-called representative democracy, with its abject attitude toward imperialism, foreign investors, and local military strong men, inevitably become the accepted form of government, and the only one in harmony with the strict rules of Pan-Americanism.

Tenth Meeting: Washington, 1965

Although this meeting was held during the critical days of the aggression against the Dominican Republic by the United States, nobody protested against it in time or with any firmness. The foreign ministers limited themselves to setting up a commission of representatives from five countries whose function was to report on the Dominican situation and help re-establish “peace and normalcy.” It was likewise agreed to “request the member

governments so desiring and in a position to do so, that they provide the OAS . . . with land, sea, air, or police forces to be used to integrate an inter-American force which would operate under the authority of this Tenth Consultative Meeting.”

Eleventh Meeting: Buenos Aires, 1967

The main task of this meeting was the organization of the Meeting of Presidents of American Countries held in Punta del Este in April, 1967, and the selection of topics and preparation of the principal texts to be taken up there. The Meeting of Presidents served in large measure to demonstrate the unity of the governments with relation to the principles of Pan-American and to fortify the OAS.

Twelfth Meeting: Washington, 1967

A new accusation against Cuba by Venezuela gave rise to this meeting at which violent anti-Communism was again manifested. Resolution 3, one of the principal resolutions of the meeting, vigorously condemned “the present government of Cuba for its repeated acts of aggression and intervention against Venezuela and for its policy of intervention in the internal affairs of Bolivia and other American states . . .” The Tricontinental conference and OLAS were denounced as instruments of Communism which threatened the security of America, and the governments having commercial and diplomatic relations with Cuba were asked to take part in what is a de facto boycott against.

References:

Aguilar, Alonso. *Pan-Americanism. From Monroe to the Present. A View from the Other Side.* Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1968.

Taking into consideration the period in which the book was written, Aguilar narrates the Inter-American system by making a critique of US imperialism and interventionism. It starts with Bolívar and Monroe, and surveys the long and dishonorable record of bullying, financial manipulation, covert plots and open armed intervention, down to the present Organization of American States.

Caicedo Castilla, José Joaquín. *El Panamericanismo.* Roque Depalma, Buenos Aires, 1961.

José J. Caicedo Castilla (1903-1979) was a Colombian senator, specialist in international law, president of the corporation and also of the commission for foreign relations. He wrote the report on the Rio de Janeiro protocol between Colombia and Peru that ends the border “dispute” that led to a war. He was also in charge of giving a presentation on the trade agreement between Colombia and the United States. He was also named Minister of Labor and diplomatic representative of Colombia in Central America.

dipublico.org - Chair I of Public International Law, *Universidad Católica de La Plata* (Buenos Aires, Argentina)

The website is aimed at disseminating information and educational material related to International Law material. It offers different products and/or services advertised both by dipublico.org and by third parties.

history.state.gov - Office of the Historian

The Office of the Historian is staffed by professional historians who are experts in the history of U.S. foreign policy and the Department of State and possess unparalleled research experience in classified and unclassified government records. The Office’s historians work closely with other federal government history offices, the academic historical community, and specialists across the globe. The Office is directed by The Historian of the U.S. Department of State.

Marichal, Carlos. *México y las Conferencias Panamericanas 1889-1938. Antecedentes de la Globalización*. Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, México, 2002.

This book is the result of research within the PhD course in History of the Colegio de México. The students used the “Genaro Estrada” Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mexico to search for documentation on the Pan-American conferences, held between 1889 and 1938. The result illustrates the significant role of these conferences in the history of relations between American nations with a particular focus on the role that Mexico has played.