

ANOTHER INTEGRATION IS URGENT, POSSIBLE AND NECESSARY

HOW IS LATIN AMERICA INTEGRATED INTO TODAY'S WORLD?

1. Most of the governments of our region since the eighties assumed as own the dictates of the so-called Washington Consensus. It entailed a serious dismantling process of the industrial and agricultural productive capacity which has implied employment instability and poverty increase in absolute terms.
2. In the frame of privatization policies, a fair amount of Latin American governments sold up national enterprises which were the result of national savings and effort done by several generations, without the private investors have either created new employments or high-quality employments or have improved the productive base of our societies.
3. Nowadays, without greater controls, foreign investment has been specialized in speculative businesses (indebtedness, control of the financial sector, getting control of the retirement pension funds, etc.), focusing in the control of natural resources (water, energy, among others), in mining industry and plantation crops. These phenomena get worse by jeans of the free trade agreements.
4. Most of the governments of the region believe that the levers for development are foreign investment and export increase. For that, they compete for creating unbeatable conditions to the investors, lowering labor standards, weakening the negotiation power of syndicalism, making the remittance of profits easier and giving absolute freedom to foreign capital declining national production. To promote the exporting sector, labor incomes are sacrificed, seeking by this way for the competitiveness of our products in the international markets.
5. Although the last two years have showed a growth of the Latin American economies, it has been dragged more by the growth of the world economy and the good prices of oil and other raw materials than by the good performance of the productive sector. The Latin American growth indexes are, according to the analysts' viewpoint, volatile and weak, highly vulnerable to external factors and threatened by the dissatisfaction of the national majorities. On the other hand, the apparent development of our countries has not modified the inequality in the investment concentration, it does neither even insinuate the overcoming of poverty, nor has propitiate a greater degree of autonomy to our region, phenomena that, on the contrary, has been increased.
6. Nowadays, Latin America is a clear capital exporter, mainly due to the debt mechanism, but not only to it. Its participation in the world gross product and in the capital flows has decreased, in spite of the policies that would attempt to promote foreign investment. Its participation in the world trade is modest, as are the growth rates if they are compared with other regions of the world. Today, Latin America weighs less—economically and politically—in the international concert and, obviously, is more dependent and subordinate.
7. Nevertheless the region has lived in the last decades the return to democracy, it has lost its content when the societies have devoted themselves to lead the blind forces of the

market, and its development has been disoriented on entrusting the future to external factors: foreign investment and exporting capacity. In other words, democracy and politics have become mere control technique since they just set out to guarantee public order for the performance of businesses. The outcome is the subordination of politics by economy, the insubordination of the economic agents facing any ethical perspective, the loss of the meaning of politics and the total discredit of the political representatives. These phenomena, not exclusively of Latin America, turn the democratic institutionality unstable, unless the majorities impose a new path to the region.

8. Then, the neoliberal recipes has shown themselves avaricious upon offering the promised achievements, and generous upon giving the perverse effects. The failure of Neoliberalism is obvious and today Latin America anxiously is looking for alternatives for its economic and social development. This search becomes evident in the turmoil of the social movements and in the emergence of new and more progressive governments (at national and local levels), processes that mutually encourage themselves, without us being able to assert that the latest exhaust the representation of the former. It seems that Latin America goes the wrong way down the global tendencies and it is obvious that in our countries the pendulum comes back to the left, even though those who like it or not, from their ideologized viewpoint, only consider valid the neoliberal recipe book and appreciate this course hardly as the return to populism.

WHICH WOULD BE THE PARAMETERS FOR AN INTEGRATION FOUNDED IN EQUITY AND JUSTICE?

9. Deep technological, social and cultural mutations have led the contemporary societies to economic and political integration processes; our Latin American societies can not escape from this necessary path. However, the integration imposing as hegemonic is above all of the markets and is developed in function of the large transnational corporations and of the financial capital. It is an excluding process that does not know what is social, that is set up from closed business and technocratic circles, moving out of the way the national majorities by means of a labyrinth of standards in which even the experts are lost, and in which definition only a handful of individuals gets involved. It is a dynamics sacrificing human dignity and takes no notice of the achievements of humankind with regard to human rights. This integration is, without any doubt, part of the complex strategy of the accumulation of capital of our times, systematic generator of huge masses of impoverished people that not even reach the condition of costumers, and of marginalization of enormous regions of the world that are unviable to the eyes of the mighty of the world.

10. That is why, the challenge of finding the way of an alternative integration is part of the resistance of our peoples, not yet as a vague aspiration, but as a purpose in which the very survival is at stake. The time has neither come to persist in the mere denounce of the antisocial impacts of the dominant integration, nor to just insist in the analysis of the determinants of these impacts. The time has come to go to the formulation of viable alternatives which take up again the experience of our peoples and give to them a proper political and institutional expression. Which features should characterize this another possible integration?

11. In first place, only socially and politically integrated societies are able to successfully play in the scene of our times. The integration opposed to the hegemonic one will not be that whose prominent role lays in the States or in the business elites, but in the very societies, which implies to overcome the exclusion that divides into segments, segregates and discriminates. That is to say, the re-creation of our nations as communities with an unity of

fate, founded in social relations respecting diversity and appropriate to equity and justice, not as ideals still to be done, but as experienced realities. This will be the foundation of independent and sovereign nations that are able to audaciously open to the world and take part of supranational projects.

12. Re-creating our nations in equity and justice means making the human rights, not the programmatic statement by way of the appearance of the Constitutions, but an ongoing project giving sense to coexistence, catalyzing human and material resources and vivifying the state institutions. If we seriously aspire to build politically and socially united societies, the prime task is to guarantee the full citizenship to all the inhabitants of Latin America.

13. In the second place, an alternative integration should have conscientiously democratic institutions that embody its ethical and political ideals, at the same time as they can use as instruments to attain them. Without unknowing the value of the democratic forms, it is necessary to overcome the frivolous minimization of democracy which reduces it to formalities without substantial content. It means restoring the supreme value of what is public—the essence of republican life—, subordinating the economy to politics in order to turn it into an efficient means to achieve the full citizenship of the associates and the ends of the political coexistence. It also implies to open the channels to the effective participation of the citizens in defining the projects of which they are subjects. In our history, the incomplete democracies have been one more factor of the complete ungovernability we are suffering, that prevents to build common projects and throws us to dissent as a permanent status.

14. In the third place, other integration entails the assertion of the Latin American identity as constellation of multiple identities destined to empower themselves upon converging with the diverse streams of the contemporary world, but knowing their own meaning. This reunion of America Latina again with itself, with the best of its political and cultural traditions, should led to a deep intellectual reform that by way of spiritual revival awakens the energies of the region, inspires the democratization of our States and encourages the search of fairer and more equitable societies.

15. Finally, the necessary feature of the other integration to which we aspire is the development reorientation: not a mere economic growth, but the deployment of all the potentialities of all the individuals, of the communities to which they belong, of the regions in which they live and of the nations as a whole. It means a notion of development as a self-centered process that does not mean autistic, but favors national production and work, promotes scientific and technological development, generates balances among the sectors of the economy and the regions making up the nation. Then self-centered development is the one that favors the internal factors of development. In the frame of the regional integration the relationship among the self-centered regional economies means links based on solidarity, complementarity and neutralization of asymmetries. Development can not be understood as the sacrifice of dignity of the majorities in the interest of the GIP increase or of the improvement of a false per capita income.

WHAT WOULD BE THE DEMOCRATIC REGULATION MECHANISMS OF A CONTINENTAL INTEGRATION WITH EQUITY AND JUSTICE?

16. The subjugation of the economy to the politics is a basic principle that should be stated from the outset. The latest is destined to define the objectives and principles by which the political coexistence is justified, at the same time as determines the ends of the state action.

From this viewpoint, the political sphere is responsible of regulating how the economy operates, of establishing its limits, and setting objectives and goals. In that way, the economy should serve either to the construction of inclusive societies, respectful of diversity and environment, and as a democratic institutionality in which the citizenship fully develops itself, provided with the material conditions for the widest participation and in front of the genuine integration in the region and the world.

17. The foregoing means the participative development of a Social Charter that set the objectives of integration and the standards for fulfilling rights to which the States of the region will aspire to. This Charter can neither be an exclusive outcome of expert commissions, nor the result of the agreement of governments, but all kind of social movements, citizen organizations and political parties should participate in its preparation, so that it states the widest consensus. Thus, the Charter should set mechanisms for right exigibility and also their protection and guarantee in trade agreements, so it does not have the fate of the human rights instruments in the current integration processes: good-intention catalogs without any binding capacity.

18. An integration with equity and justice will create mechanisms for protecting common assets (water, energy, natural resources, public services, among others), so that at the same time that their private appropriation is avoided, their better use is guaranteed, favoring the self-centered development. Nowadays, the policy of the transnational corporations seeks for their absolute privatization, turning these common assets in a source for their enrichment, without any social scope.

19. Consistent with the foregoing, it is necessary to regulate the foreign investment. Under the premise that without foreign investment there is no development, our governments have entered into the unhealthy competition about which of them reduces more the labor standards and which gives more advantages to investors, until practically reaching the absolute deregulation. Such a foolish thing can not go on. It is necessary to define common patterns for the treatment of foreign investment, setting limits and obligations regarding technology transference, creation of quality employment and subjection to national laws. Likewise, it is necessary to harmonize wage policies so that the differences in this field do not create disloyal competition that only benefits rapacity. In this field it is necessary to regulate the speculative investments of the financial capital that are seeking only for opportunities and flee when the scene is unfavorable, leaving only economic and social devastation. It is urgent to define mechanisms for controlling the speculative investment and the establishment of rates which do not encourage it.

20. Debt is the central mechanism that has turned Latin America into a clear capital exporter. The debt service snatches huge resources for capital investment and for the development of social policies. It is seen that each country separately can not successfully face up the international credit agencies. A definition of a jointly and solidary behavior, that lead to in-bloc negotiations with arranged stances, is required.

21. Our economies are similar in many fields and at the same time, asymmetric (diverse sizes and different development rates). Integration with equity and justice means to develop policies that take into account the similarities and differences from the principles of social inclusion, solidarity and complementarity. Such policies can not define with the back up against the involved actors and will have to take into account the state of affairs of the small and medium urban and rural producers to obtain their consolidation and development.

HOW TO BUILD THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF INTEGRATION PROCESSES?

22. Integration—seen from the economic, social and political viewpoint—is a conflict field in which diverse social projects are fighting for its sense. Projects that simultaneously include divergent conceptions and different social practices. Projects that compete both in the formal sphere of institutionality, and in the informal spheres of public opinion, social movements and academic deliberation. These diverse fields are not exclusive when the governments serve the majority interests, and in this case, their convergence may be beneficial in order to build another possible integration.

23. The hegemonic integration is a highly regulated process, that opposed to what it seems to be—exclusively guided by the dynamics of the market, to which on principle nothing should interfere—, has a jungle of rules (about intellectual property, investments, state sector, etc.) as foundations. Rules whose definition is done without the intervention of the representation spaces and with the back up against the public opinion, by technicians that do obey the orthodox of their dogmas and finally, the interests of the financial capital and of the large transnationals which are systematically lobbying before the circles that set them. From here, two features that characterize this process result: opacity and secretiveness.

24. For those who aspire to an alternative integration, the first challenge is to break the opacity and secretiveness of the hegemonic integration. If in this integration, decisions that affect life and future of our peoples are making, it must be a process in which the affected intervene. Against the technicism and secrecy being around the definitions on integration, the transparency principle should be raised. It is much what has been reached in this regard, today there is more information and knowledge about what is negotiated and their implications. However, we are far from the time in which there would be in our countries a formed and informed public opinion. It is a first irreplaceable condition so that there would be democratic regulation in the integration process.

25. In addition, the organizations and technicians that participate in the design of the integration are required to assume the public responsibility. It is unbelievable that in democratic societies and States, and in multilateral organizations created and guided by these States, there are institutions and officers that do not respond for their acts and its repercussions before any representative institutions, many of them opposed to constitutional and legal precepts and the international agreements and covenants that have subscribed the States they represent.

26. What was said leads the Congresses assume the political control over the integration process. A control that should base on the supremacy of the universal precepts of human rights over the trade rules, and on the subordination of the trade agreements over the ends the States have set for themselves. The renunciation of the representative institutions from the control function is derived in first place from the separation between economy and politics that today is going through a forced currency regime, but also obeys the incapacity the parties and congresses have to assume the debate of these matters.

27. The democratic principle that all the individuals have the right to participate in the process of formation, definition and implementation of the decisions affecting them, implies that regarding integration matters, the citizens be consulted by means of plebiscites and referendums so they decide. In this process of public deliberation it will be necessary to give enough information in order to take sides at the same time that opinion trends with capacity of influencing during the integration process will be consolidated. That is why the citizen consultation about integration process is a fair and reasonable claim. The European experience, and even the Latin American one, shows that to consult on core issues about integration, far from hindering it, gives to it greater soundness and strength.

28. From the society, particularly from the social movements and networks of right defense institutions, organized levels for citizen review about integration process should be created.

They may be general or particular follow-up levels that deal with the spheres that are of more interest. These reviews reveal what the States consider as non-communicable and at the same time, serve to form the public opinion about the interests at stake and their repercussions. These organized levels will have greater dynamism if they are the result of the autonomous acting of the organized civil society and not necessarily they should be legal.

29. The ongoing integration processes have formed social participation institutions marked by formalism, the misappropriation of representation and by a barely-consultative condition. Today, the farmers, women, aboriginal peoples, Afro-descendent communities, among others, are not part of these institutions or are part of them as simple observers. A reestructuration is imperative, turning them in spaces for efficient deliberation, with representation of all the spheres of the society and with decision-making power.

30. Institutions of political representation have been formed in the regional integration processes such as the subregional parliaments—Andean Community of Nations (CAN), Common Market of the South (Mercosur), Central American Economic and Social Community (CESCA)—and the creation of a regional parliament with the consolidation of the South American Community is made public. The non-democratic composition of these political institutions follows the design of getting the representatives of the participant societies away from the decision-making processes, without clearly defined powers and competences. It is necessary that these institutions take shape in a democratic way, through direct electoral processes where the citizens choose programatic proposals and give real and revocation mandates. The foregoing implies that these institutions be provided with effective jurisdictions, so that they be something more than a part of the architecture of the integration.

HOW TO REESTRUCTURE THE CORRELATION OF FORCES IN FAVOR OF AN INTEGRATION WITH EQUITY AND JUSTICE?

31. At first sight, the circumstances of the contemporary world seems to suggest that the hegemonic integration is an inevitable way. The economy gurus stated that in this way, and the mighty of all the corners and the mass media daily make it public. However, the negotiations of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the very turbulent course of the Area of Free Trade Agreement for the Americas (FTAA) show the contrary. The battle is engaged in the field of the correlation of forces and only a greater power on the side of the excluded will make possible the course change of the hegemonic integration to an integration good for building fairer societies and more democratic States.

32. A first step is to clarify the field of the supporters of this another integration. The challenge is to create a huge convergence to be reached by everyone that in view of their interests result excluded or damnified from the hegemonic integration. A convergence to which be able to add those that from ethic or theoretical arguments believe that the hegemonic course of the integration will consolidate a world with a greater inequality and injustice and moreover, with the barbarity derived from the blind defense of the privileges. A wide alliance of governments, political parties, social movements, academic and cultural expressions, civil organizations, groups of interests, religious associations and even the ordinary citizen who is not inscribed in any of the indicated sets.

33. A convergence of such a quality is only possible if it is based on a project that expresses the postponed dreams of the majorities of our societies that at the same time be rigorously based and widely reflect the diversity of claims of the summoned actors. Certainly, it is not a new intention; it is framed in a centennial tradition in which the best exponents of Our America has devoted their lives, and whose legacy of concepts and experiences is necessary to take up again without prejudiced dogmatisms. It is not required this project be completed as a precondition, but it will be built in the very course of the resistance with the contribution of everyone, and is a living creativity process and systematic accumulation of learning.

34. It is clear that the genuine integration will have to answer to the challenges stated by its opponents. However, it will have to overcome the reactive character; it can not let itself be carried by the agenda imposed by the governments committed with the interests of the transnational corporations and the financial capital. The alternative integration, as has been happened, is to provide with its own agenda, and with its own resources impose its pace, its priorities and the junctures favorable to it. It is deal, finally, with getting the initiative, because the one who has it, acts with advantage.

35. For that, the convergence by another possible integration should show in its actions the diverse and plural condition of its components. In this sense, it can not be but a mobilization from the particularity of the social subjects that form it (national, local, social or sectorial movements), that combines the diverse forms of the citizen mobilization: the daily construction of alternatives of sociability and economy, the deliberation in meetings, seminars and workshops, the direct action, the consultations and referendums, the legislative initiative, the legal litigation, the dispute to make a favorable opinion, the cultural expressions, each one defined according to its relevance and from the autonomy of the engaged actors, who in the complexity of their actions develop a general meaning. That is why, convergence is defined as a constellation of actions developing with a regional perspective, because the fate of everyone is at stake in this scope, but also the national, local and sectorial perspectives are taking into account because without them, what is regional is barely a concept without strength and true existence.

36. Within the resistance to hegemonic integration, the civil society of the region has become constructing the Continental Social Alliance (ASC) as a space that express both the insatisfaction of the majorities of the Continent and its aspiration to a genuine integration. That is why the Alliance has been taken shape as the main actor of the failure of the Free Trade of the Americas Area. Together with the ASC the articulation space of the group of national and regional initiatives and efforts that share the aspiration of a region integrated for equity and justice should be established, as is the case of the Interamerican Platform for Human Rights, Democracy and Development (PIDHDD), the Latin American Association of Promotion Organizations (ALOP), the Latin American Council for Adult Education (CEAAL), the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) and the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization (ORIT), among others.

37. Likewise, the civil society has created an instrument to make the diagnostic, the enrichment of the analysis and the development of proposals viable: the World Social Forum, which arouse the interest and participation of very wide sectors, to the extent that becomes in the more important political referent of our times. In its regional dimension, the Forum should revitalize the interchange of experience, the deliberation around alternatives and the search of political definitions that give status to the convergence for another possible integration.

HOW TO QUALIFY THE ROLE OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF DEMOCRACY?

38. The history of our societies—from the colonial period and slavery until today—has been marked by the exclusion of the majorities from the government processes. The authoritarian political regimes created structures for the government of the elites, marked by centralism, hierarchy and power verticality. The democracies that follow the previous ones, kept the same power structures and continue treating the majorities as second-category citizens, whose citizenship does not go beyond expressing vote, from time to time, to elect candidates who represent the same interests.

39. With the return of democracy to Latin America, new constitutions were promulgated that enriched and updated the republican order, with the expansion of the charters of rights and the instauration of forms of participative democracy, among other reforms. In this same period the local elites joined, in a subordinate way, to the international financial capital and the transnational corporations, dramatically reducing their own power and the effective instruments of their governing capacity. The national State sets itself as guarantor of the neoliberal policies and abdicates its own powers in favour of the multilateral organizations that watch for the fulfilment of trade agreements. As a consequence, poverty and social gap increase due to the concentration of wealth and the incapacity the democratic institutions have to express the interests and necessities of the majorities.

40. Democracy appears as a façade that should be preserved in order to produce the illusion of participation and the formal legitimacy of governments which deprive peoples from rights, break the public spaces, repress the social movements, take power from parliament and from the political parties. In this context, generalized symptoms of distrust appear in the democratic institutions, at the same time as the obstacles to state alternatives regarding integration grow. To overcome this deficit, that is to say, to democratize the democracies, is a *sine qua non* condition for the construction of a genuinely integrated region.

41. The exhaustion of the neoliberal scheme is an opportunity for moving forward in the construction of alternatives of political and social order. The resistance to neoliberalism, a social, political and economic proposal of the capitalism in our times, is expressed in Latin America in the opposition to the hegemonic integration; it is also the field in which the dispute between society and state projects is settled. The existence of our nations, the weight of the region in the world concert and the same possibility of forming inclusive societies and really democratic and sovereign States are issues that are defined in the integration field.

42. Therefore, it is necessary to develop and implement a concept of an active regional citizenship. Citizenship—more than a legal status—is power and strength that shapes subjects of its own fate, is the principle that makes the citizen participate in the definition of the collective project and in the actions needed to achieve it. This protagonism, as suggests the liberal version of democracy, is not experienced from the isolated individual that is summoned to choose, but in the frame of class and gender decisions, as well as territorial, ethnical and cultural, ideological and political decisions which are experienced in a collective fashion. The citizen behavior, as long as collective action, is what creates and guarantees rights. In the dominant liberal view, the citizen is receiver and holder of rights; is a passive citizen, a recipient. The active citizenship is that that mobilizes the group of institutions and mechanism that already exist in society, and use them to exercise its autonomy. The active citizenship mobilizes the social conflict, and if the mechanisms or institutions don't have the ability to open into participation; the citizen actions create new institutionalities and

mechanisms. Nowadays, in Our America, who participates in the shared enterprise of constructing an authentically integrated region, from inclusive societies and really democratic States, is really a citizen.

43. The civil society is the dominion of the social life in which men and women are autonomously organized around their interests. The strength of the civil society of a democracy is crucial in its vitality, and the strength of a civil society depends on the fact that its associative fabric be strong and dense, capable of mobilizing the citizenship in the fight for its rights in the political and democratic field. Among us, the associative fabric is still very sparse because the elites have not had the promotion of the asociacionism among its concerns, because they still consider the generalization of an active citizenship a danger, and because, gripped by the efforts of immediate survival, our people don't have at their disposal the necessary time to live more widely this dimension of the social life. The fact is that the civil associations are a first step in the construction of public spirit, schools in the experience of democracy and breeding ground for democratic leaderships. The protagonism of civil society is a fundamental feature of a genuine integration. That is why, the right for association is basic in a democracy and today, to strengthen its exercise and defend it from the trap of whom criminalize it, is an urgent task

44. Maybe the social movements—a form of collective action that strives to impose a sense to the social life—are the most dynamic part of the contemporary civil societies. In Our America, the social movements have been a very important factor in the democratization of the societies and the States. They increasingly were given a defined power orientation which develops validated deliberation experiences and rights management that indicate an alternative model of state and economic reform. On the other hand, the dynamics of the social movements has transformed the political field in diverse aspects: redefining the place from which politics is created, supplying a redesign of the forms of its exercise and a change in the leaderships, until propitiating a renovated concept of the ends and the meaning of politics. Among us, the social movements acquire regional and fragmented appearances which make meanings and orientations that enrich them proliferate, and whose articulation is a condition for the success that should be created within the mobilization process. These features prefigure the quality of the new social order, in which unity will respect the diversity and the shared orientation will arise from the autonomy of the converging parts. Societies without exclusions, really democratic States, genuine regional integration are not possible without the decisive participation of the social movements. That is why, it is necessary to strengthen them, reinforce them in its political view and in its impact capacity.

45. The huge importance of the unique thought—monotonously crowded over by parrots repeating other persons' speeches—seemed to crush the views that moved away from the acclaimed truth. However, the intellectuality of the region is meeting again with the tradition of critical thought that during decades has enriched the work in social sciences, art and culture, and has made of Our America a region with own voice. The enriched and updated intellectuality of our countries needs the encouragement of the social movements, at the same time as they need the analytical capacity and proposition creativity arisen from the academic and professional spheres. This happy conjunction will consolidate a really alternative project which gives meaning to the mobilization for a genuine integration.

46. An ongoing expression of globalization is the emergence of nets articulating the defense of the common assets and expresses the emergence of a citizenship beyond the national fences. These nets that appear as coalitions, platforms, articulations and observatories, among other expressions, decisively contribute with the spread of the democratizing impulse, encourage dynamics to the internationalization of ideas and initiatives at the same time that provide flexible and dynamic systems for support and solidarity. Knowledge and skills that these nets harbor should start to serve the cause of the genuine integration without pretending inexistent representations or trying to achieve ephemeral protagonisms. On the

contrary, their efficiency will grow and their role will be legitimated if they become effective assistants in the constitution of a regional citizenship, capable of giving a different course to Our America.

47. Politics is the means for reaching the proposed objectives. That is why, the inevitable and necessary articulation of the civil society, the politicians and the parties of the change is imperative. To articulate means at the same time, to influence, illustrate, guide, dialogue and agree, as well as oppose, resist and act when it is relevant. The civil society has to be endowed with the means for influencing political decisions and occupying the place that is its own, which is that of diversity, loyalty to social ends and the non-conditioned and non-mediatised struggles, of the open and deep citizen conscience. Then this articulation will express itself in the dialogue that influence the political decisions, in the mobilization for supporting or resisting, for pushing or stopping, according the case, in the denunciation and in the convergent action from a deep compromise with independence. The active citizenship is the one that promote the democratization of democracy by means of its participation in the social processes, its intervention within the State, and the creation of new institutions. It is a movement of opposing the privatization of what is public, and appears as a process of politization of what is social and socialization of politics.

48. Through these mediations, Latin American women and men will be able to become subjects of its own fate, creators of a genuine integration, full citizens of a social and political order without exclusions and postponement. We will devote the best of our capacities and energy to this cause, convinced that when a people makes up its mind, any power will be able to restrain it.