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THE SAO PAULO FORUM VS. THE CONSERVATIVE SUMMIT OF THE AMERICAS: FOR THE NEW CONFIGURATION OF POWER

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Abstract: At the beginning of July 1990, the region's left-wing political organizations met in São Paulo in order to analyze their situation after the fall of the Berlin Wall. After this meeting they decided to meet again and they did so in MEXICO. After almost three decades of the emergence of this organization, its counterpart identified with the ideology of the right and extreme right, "The Conservative Summit of the Americas" was born in Foz de Igauzu, BRAZIL, convened by Eduardo Bolsonaro and supported by his father, the president of Brazil. The two organizations are fighting for a new organization of regional power.

INTRODUCTION

The French philosopher Louis Althusser published in April 1970 the work "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in which, discussing Marx's thought, he analyzes the modes of production, the concepts of infrastructure and superstructure, the Marxist theory of the State and their ideological apparatuses, especially. He considers that the State is a structure that is based on various ideological apparatuses that he defines as "... a certain number of realities that are presented to the immediate observer in the form of different and specialized institutions" (Althusser, 2003,24) and presents a list of eight ideological apparatuses that go from religion to culture through the family and the political system.

When considering the ideological apparatuses, he defines ideology as "a relation of the imaginary representation of individuals with their real conditions of existence." (Althusser, 2003, 43), real conditions that are interpreted in the definition used by Robyn Quin of Edith Cowan University when she considers that ideology is "a set of ideas, normally political, deliberately formulated, coherent and rational, used to delimit and

understand the way in which society can be organized" (Quin, 2013,1), Althusser's real conditions of existence would be that organization of society.

Several have been the "coherent ideas" used for social organization; but these coherent ideas are transformed, according to Althusser, into "consciousness, belief, acts, practices and rituals", elements that are present in whoever executes that ideology, appearing the subject that acts to the extent that it is acted upon by the following system (statement in its order of real determination): existing ideology in a material ideological apparatus that prescribes material practices regulated by a material ritual, practices that exist in the material acts of a subject who acts with full consciousness according to his belief. (Althusser, 2007, XX)

Destutt de Tracy, a French Enlightenment philosopher, is credited with first using the term ideology. He did so in his treatise Elements of Ideology; however, ideas about politics have been presented since the time of the first philosophers. The grouping of ideas gave rise to ideology and this to doctrines. The world knows several ideologies throughout its history, many of them dominated the world and some still do.

At the end of the Second World War, the leaders of the allied countries that won it, Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, met in Yalta and after that conference they decided to divide up Europe, which was devastated by the war; This gave rise to an ideological struggle between the two world powers and their allies, who represented the ideologies that survived the world hecatomb, ideologies that are based on liberalism and communism. After the Cold War and the implosion of the Soviet Union, bastion of communist doctrine, several analysts considered that "the end of history" had arrived; however, the survivors sought to rebuild Marx's ideology from the rubble of the Berlin Wall.

This paper seeks to establish the relationship that Latin American political organizations identified with the socialist doctrine and with the São Paulo Forum have to strengthen and spread the Marxist ideology in the region; likewise, the one that has those identified with liberalism and conservative governments for their own

The presentation begins with the following question: What strategies are used by the São Paulo Forum and the Conservative Summit of the Americas in their political action in Latin American countries governed by “progressive” and “conservative” governments? The research question is answered with the following hypothesis: The two organizations affect the political thought of the rulers of Latin America identified with XXI century socialism and liberalism, with consequences in the political, economic, military and social fields.

To support my position I will use three elements of analysis: ideology, populism and democracy.

THE FORUM OF SÃO PAULO (FSP)

Genesis: according to the final declaration of what was the first meeting of left-wing organizations, which a year later became known as the São Paulo Forum, at the invitation of the Workers’ Party of BRAZIL and its president, the metalworker unionist Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, “...convened the meeting of left-wing parties and organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean, the original name of what is today the São Paulo Forum” (Regalado, 2008, 34). In response to this invitation, 48 left-wing organizations from 14 Latin American and Caribbean countries met in the Brazilian city of São Paulo on July 4, 1990, but “The idea of holding this meeting arose from a conversation between the first secretary of the Party Communist of Cuba, Fidel Castro Ruz and the leader of

the Workers’ Party Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva” (Regalado, 2008, 27).

The objective of this meeting, according to its final declaration, was: “To conquer economic and political sovereignty, to reaffirm socialist, anti-imperialist and popular concepts and objectives” (Final Declaration); However, one of the most serious detractors of the São Paulo Forum, Alejandro Peña Esclusa, considers that the organization’s objective was “the seizure of power in Latin America” (Peña, 2008, 11). Likewise, the final declaration of this first meeting considers that “Summoned by the Workers’ Party (PT) we met in São Paulo, BRAZIL, representatives of 48 organizations, parties and leftist fronts from Latin America and the Caribbean” in the that activities were developed that allowed:

- Analyze the situation of the world capitalist system and the imperialist offensive, covered by a neoliberal discourse, launched against our countries and our peoples...
- Also promote specialized exchanges around the economic, political, social and cultural problems facing the continental left.
- Confront the...steps taken to militarize Andean areas of South America in order to fight against “narco-terrorism.” (Final Declaration)

At the end of this “meeting” it was resolved that a new meeting of the political parties and left-wing organizations of Latin America and the Caribbean would be held, it was decided “hold a second meeting in the city of MEXICO at the end of February and beginning of March 1991” (Regalado, 2008, 38), a meeting that took place in the agreed city but from June 12 to 15, 1991 and not in February. This decision is embodied in the “Declaration” of the meeting, the same one that was drafted among the enthusiasm that the world soccer championship that was being played in Italy

aroused in the attendees on those dates.

MEETINGS AND OBJECTIVES:

It is from the second meeting of left-wing organizations, held in MEXICO, where the official name of the São Paulo Forum was adopted, which was born as a continental grouping of political organizations from Latin America and the Caribbean, but with the official rejection for to give rise to the constitution of a transnational political party “The rejection of the creation of a partisan organization that had some resemblance to the Third International... motivated the emphasis on the character of an open and plural forum” (Regalado, 2008, 42) features that it maintains up to now. The table below shows the venues of the different meetings.

Meetings: From the “Meeting of left-wing parties and organizations of Latin America and the Caribbean” in São Paulo and the one in MEXICO, which is officially considered the birth of the São Paulo Forum, to date, 24 meetings have been held. The venues for the meetings have normally been the capitals of countries governed by presidents belonging to political organizations that are members of the Forum or major cities in those countries. The table shows the venues where the 24 meetings of the São Paulo Forum took place.

MEETIG	CITY/COUNTRY	DATE	NOTES
I	SÃO PAULO/BRAZIL	July 2-4, 1990	Initial meeting
II	MEXICO/MEXICO	June 12-15, 1991	nominated FSP
III	MANAGUA, NICARAGUA	July 16-19, 1992	
IV	LA HABANA, CUBA	July 21-24, 1993	
V	MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY	2May 25-28, 1995	
VI	SAN SALVADOR,	July 26-28, 1996	
VII	PORTO ALEGRE, BRAZIL	July 31 to August 3, 1997	
VIII	MEXICO, MEXICO	October 29 to 31, 1998	
IX	MANAGUA, NICARAGUA	February 17 to 21, 2000	
X	LA HABANA, CUBA	December 4 to 7, 2001	
XI	ANTIGUA, GUATEMALA	December 2 to 4, 2002	
XII	SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL	July 1 to 4, 2005	
XIII	SAN SALVADOR	12 to 14 January 2007	
XIV	MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY	May 22 to 25, 2008	
XV	MEXICO, MEXICO	August 20 to 23, 2009	
XVI	BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA	August 17 to 20, 2010	
XVII	MANAGUA, NICARAGUA	May 16 to 20, 2011	
XVIII	CARACAS, VENEZUELA,	July 4 to 6, 2012	
IXX	SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL	July 31, 2013	
XX	LA PAZ, BOLIVIA	August 25 to 29, 2014	
XXI	MEXICO, MEXICO	July 29 to 2015	
XXII	SAN SALVADOR	June 23 to 26, 2016	
XXIII	MANAGUA, NICARAGUA	July 15-19, 2017	
XXIV	LA HABANA, CUBA	5 to 17 July 2018	

VENUES AND DATES OF THE FSP MEETINGS

Source: Forum official website São Paulo <http://forodeSãopaulo.org/>

Goals: The proposed objective of the meeting of leftist organizations that took place in São Paulo in 1990 was “to conquer economic and political sovereignty, to reaffirm socialist, anti-imperialist and popular concepts and objectives”. (Declaration of São Paulo, 1990) The objective set for this meeting demonstrates the reason to vindicate the thought of the left in the Marxist ideology; however, Peña Esclusa believes that the real objective was “the seizure of power in Latin America.” (Peña, 2008,11). In the meetings held, no new objectives are determined, neither in the calls nor in the meetings, leaving this as the objective, which is stated in the declaration of the first meeting as the objective of the São Paulo Forum; Therefore, the parties and member organizations designated for the organization of the next meetings, only comply with what was resolved in the previous meeting, because “Neither the Forum leads the Latin American left nor is it going to lead the revolution that Latin America needs” (Regalado, 6).

THE CONSERVATIVE SUMMIT OF THE AMERICAS (CCA)

After almost three decades of the emergence of the Sao Paulo Forum, its counterpart identified with the ideology of the right and extreme right, “The Conservative Summit of the Americas” convened by Eduardo Bolsonaro and supported by his father, was born in Foz de Igauzu, Brazil. the president of brazil This summit brought together some representatives of the regional extreme right. The objectives of the nascent organization are twofold: 1) to position itself as a meeting space for sectors related to the right in the Americas and 2) to reduce the value of the Sao Paulo Forum.

In this paper, the strategy, characteristics and democratic behavior of these groups of left-wing political organizations in Latin America that fight for the new configuration

of power are determined, finding interesting similarities.

Eduardo Bolsonaro, the most voted deputy in the history of Brazil and son of the president-elect, summoned, on December 8 of last year in Foz de Iguazu, the representatives of the regional extreme right. “The summit organized by the Indigo Foundation for Public Policies, the think tank of the now ruling Social Liberal Party, was born as a reaction to the SÃO PAULO Forum” (Oliva, 2019). This summit was attended by political leaders of the Latin American extreme right, academics graduated from universities in the United States and Europe, (many Chicago boys) and Colombian, Venezuelan and Brazilians from the Social Liberal Party, who were distributed among the four tables that dealt with issues related to culture, security, economy, and politics.

Pablo Stefanoni in his article published in Nueva Sociedad “Bible, ox and bullet... recharged” he considers that the CCA has as its purpose an anti-communist Latin American current of **IDEOLOGY**.

The leftist movements, therefore the Sao Paulo Forum, base their ideology on Marxism and on communist and socialist doctrine, in most cases. The Marxist ideology submitted to critical theory by different authors gave rise to new forms of interpretation but is always based on class struggle, dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Antonio Gramsci, the Marxist philosopher and Italian communist and anti-fascist politician, considers, according to Bates, that: “The best way to build a socialist order is not through the violent revolutionary path promoted by the Marxist-Leninists, but through a gradual and persistent transformation of the institutions, ideas and values that predominate in a society.” (Bates, 1975, 354), I complement this with the idea that “Socialism is organization and not only political and economic organization, but also

and especially knowledge and will, achieved through cultural activity". (Gramsci, 1918).

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the thought of Antonio Gramsci was resuming relevance in the ideologues of the left organizations that survived the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), bastion of the ideology of Marx and Lenin, this Thought becomes current, especially in relation to the best way to "build" socialism; and also, what this doctrine is, what it means and how it must be updated to be applied in Latin America during the third millennium, in the 21st century. Supported by the thought and word of Fidel Castro, ideologues arise who conceive a new socialism, the socialism of the 21st century.

Heinz Dietrich, a German philosopher, university professor who lives in Mexico, is the ideologue of the so-called 21st century socialism, a doctrine that is based on the ideology of Marx, who has spread it since 1996 and which its author considers "The fourth phase of evolution of modern socialism" because it is based on "its economic base that operates on the economy of democratically planned equivalences, as in the superstructure, with participatory democracy in the four fundamental human relations". (Dietrich, 2010).

Hugo Chávez was the main promoter of this doctrine from the beginning of his government administration.

It is considered that Chávez was an instrument of the Venezuelan left for the seizure of power. Hugo Chávez He entered the Military Academy in 1971, "on the express advice of his brother Adán, who already belonged to the insurrectional nucleus [...] understood the need to plant a revolutionary in the armed forces" (Krauze, 2008, 164), following Gramsci's idea of "infiltrating all organizations... in order to build the cultural hegemony that will allow the advent of the

socialist order" (Kaiser&Alvarez, 2016, 83) and this need was implemented with the Chávez's Marxist thought, a thought that became a Bolivarian when he entered the armed forces, because the socialist doctrine did not fit inside it. "Hugo Chávez understood, from his days as a cadet, that in the Armed Forces it was impossible to promote a conspiracy movement using ideas of Marxist origin as a banner" (Ochoa, 2007, 14), "so he changed his revolutionary and Marxist discourse to a patriotic, Bolivarian and nationalist discourse" (Haro, 2015,130).

After the dissemination of the doctrine of XXI century socialism, various Ibero-American philosophers and politicians assume it as their own and seek to interpret and apply it to reality. The most well-known case is that of the Spanish politician Pablo Iglesias, leader of the Spanish political movement "Podemos" which embraces the ideological interpretation of Gramsci in the concept of hegemony and considers that "What we must do then is to change the hegemony using the democratic structures to get to control the power of the State. Once installed, proceed towards socialism" (Iglesias, 2015). That hegemony has evolved into the socialism of the 21st century, but its totalitarian procedures remain, according to various authors; Therefore, according to them, the ideology that supports the doctrine of XXI Century Socialism is a totalitarian ideology such as the one held by the leaders of the totalitarianisms "Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Chávez, Correa, Mao, Mussolini and Castro... are, in essence, representatives of the same totalitarian ideology" (Kaiser&Álvarez, 2016,21).

The doctrine professed by the member organizations of the São Paulo Forum is, according to the authors analyzed, a totalitarian doctrine supported by Marxist idealism that gives rise to the socialist and communist doctrine; therefore, according

to them, 21st Century Socialism, a doctrine governed by the members of the São Paulo Forum who have come to power in some Latin American countries, is based on a totalitarian ideology”... 21st century socialism is Thus, one of a Marxist type, as was National Socialism” (Kaiser & Álvarez, 2016,)

The conservative summit of the Americas includes the conservative, capitalist and liberal ideology, based on the thought of Adam Smith and John Williamson.

POPULISM

Populism is the second element of analysis in this paper to confirm whether or not this political phenomenon is a characteristic of the rulers who belong to the São Paulo Forum and those of the CCA. At this point, Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela are considered research units as members of the Sao Paulo Forum and Argentina, Brazil and Chile that have “conservative” governments, because these countries are or have been governed by Evo Morales, Rafael Correa, Hugo Chávez and Nicolás Maduro, members of the left-wing political conclave and Macri, Bolsonaro and Piñera, of the CCA. For the analysis, the traits of populist leaders that several scholars highlight are established: Charismatic personalist leadership, charismatic domination, popular-confrontational discourse, authoritarian character: personalization and concentration of power.

Flavia Freidenberg defines populism as follows “A style of leadership, characterized by the direct, personalistic, paternalistic relationship between leader and follower” (Freidenberg,).

The direct, personal and paternalistic relationship characterized by the author, is present in the governing members of the São Paulo Forum studied, since they communicate directly with the bases through different means; They do it personally,

through social networks, which are widely used as communication channels with their followers, and through television and/or radio contacts, which are normally carried out weekly, with no set time, in the best style of Fidel Castro due to their duration. (minimum 3 hours) and content; as well as the features that characterize the populist leader are present: charismatic personalist leadership, charismatic domination, popular-confrontational discourse (the oligarchy, the institutions) and authoritarian character: personalization and concentration of power.

In these presidential programs, the populist leaders attack businessmen, the oligarchy, the empire, the presidents of the United States and Colombia, defend and praise the armed forces and their commanders but also sing and dance on stage attacking their political enemies but also use the Gramscian dogma: *Socialism is organization and not only political and economic organization, but also and especially knowledge and will, achieved through cultural activity.*

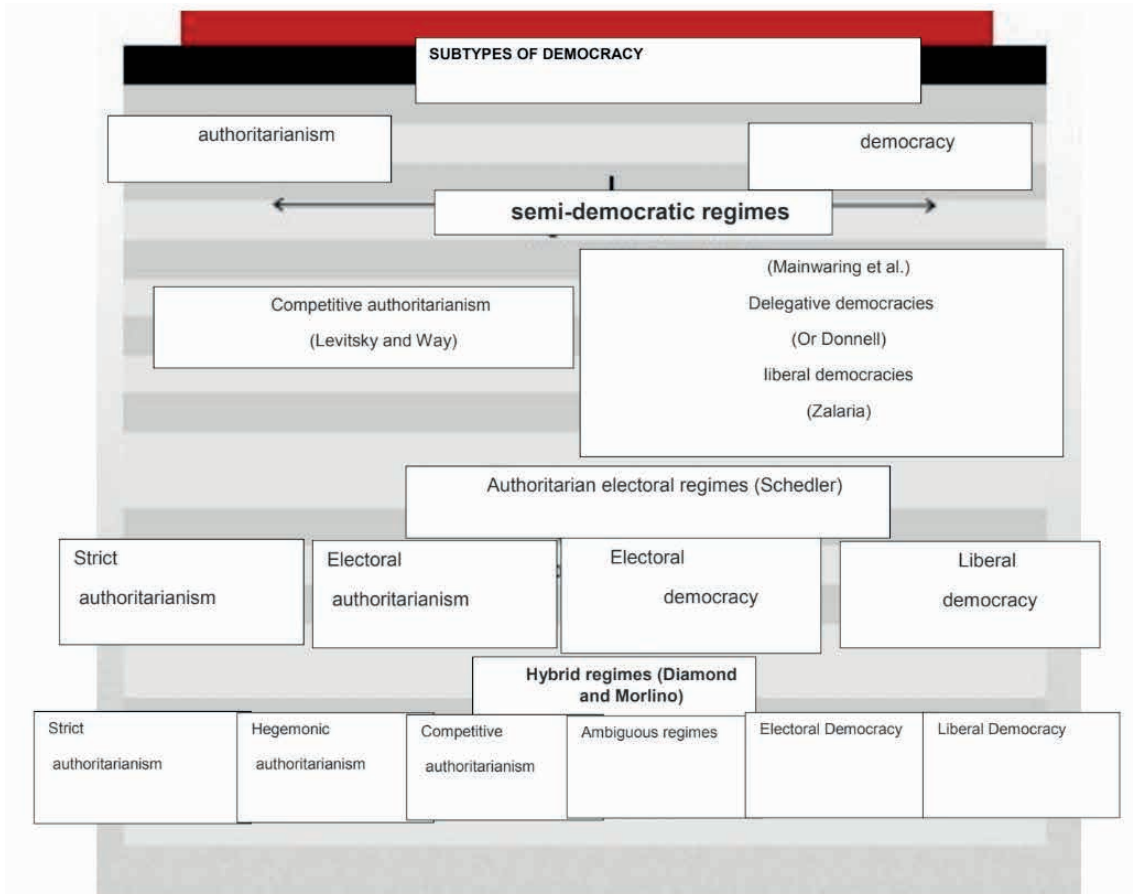
The use of this “direct, personal, paternalistic relationship between leader and follower” demanded a great logistical and economic effort, since they were carried out in front of thousands of followers of the president, many of whom were forced or paid to attend; it was difficult for an opponent to attend and if that happened and he was identified. By forming an audience of sympathizers to listen to a populist leader, Mayorga’s definition of populism “A pattern of personalist and anti-institutionalist politics mainly rooted in appealing to the marginal masses or in their mobilization” (Mayorga) is objectified.

DEMOCRACY

Democracy is the third established element of analysis; since some analysts consider that the “progressive” governments in this investigation are not democracies,

that they have lost the characteristics to be considered such and that they are located; according to Mainwaring's classification, within the subtypes of democracy, oriented towards authoritarianism, while conservative governments identify more with

democracy. In the table below, democracy and authoritarianism are presented as two extremes, and between them and according to the authors indicated, their subtypes and their location in the spectrum established for this purpose:



Source: Pachano, 2011, 275-293

The analysis of this element is given on the basis of what Diamond and Morlino consider for a minimalist democracy to exist, on the four properties of democracy proposed by Mainwaring and on the chain links of democratic election proposed by Schedler.

Diamond and Morlino establish the need for, at least, the following elements for a democracy to be considered as such:

1. Universal suffrage of the adult population.
2. Free, competitive, recurring and

correct elections.

3. Validity of more than one serious party.
4. Existence of different and alternative information.

The properties of democracy that Mainwaring proposes are:

1. Competitive and fair elections to designate the Legislative and Executive.
2. Universal political citizenship for the adult population.
3. Protection of political and civil rights.
4. Effective government of the elected

authorities and political control of the military

The chain proposed by Schedler establishes the following links:

1. Object of choice (Empowerment)
2. Range of alternatives (Political alternatives)
3. Formation of preferences (Freedom of demand)
4. Subjects of the election (Inclusion)
5. Expression of preferences (Protection)
6. Preference Aggregation (Integrity)
7. Consequences of the choice (Decisiveness)

CONCLUSIONS

The São Paulo Forum, established at the initiative of the president of the Workers' Party and on the recommendation of Fidel Castro, was born at the meeting of left-wing parties and organizations from Latin America and the Caribbean, held in the Brazilian city of São Paulo on July 4, 1990 as a consequence of the fall of the Berlin Wall, of the ideological and economic crisis in which these political organizations found themselves, including the armed insurgent movements that operated in Latin America, and of the reestablishment of the capitalist system after the Cold War; but this initiative officially takes the name of Foro de São Paulo, at the second meeting of left-wing organizations held in Mexico between June 12 and 15, 1991.

At the moment, at least 120 political organizations belonging to 51 countries of Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, Africa and Europe are members of the São Paulo Forum and 7 Latin American countries are governed by members of this organization and these are: Bolivia: Evo Morales (MAS), Cuba: Miguel Díaz-Canel (PCC), Dominica: Roosevelt

Skerrit (PL), Ecuador: Lenin Moreno (AP), Nicaragua: Daniel Ortega (FSLN), Dominican Republic: Danilo Medina (PLD), Uruguay:

Tabaré Vázquez (FA), Venezuela: Nicolás Maduro (PSUV).

In the countries taken as investigative units and governed by presidents who are members of the São Paulo Forum, actions have taken place or are taking place that harm the democratic system. Corruption, the relationship with drug trafficking and organized crime, excessive repression, the politicization of the armed forces, intervention by the executive in other functions of the State, the control of rulers over electoral processes with the purpose of stay in power, leave much to be desired in the regimes of Morales in Bolivia, Maduro in Venezuela and Correa in Ecuador, which is why, according to the analysis carried out, they are subtypes of democracy; subtypes that aim to stay in power by implementing the socialist system in their respective countries.

The CCA convened by the Brazilian extreme right seeks to integrate into this organization the right-wing parties and the governments that have emerged from that ideology store; but they also seek the support of the President of the United States fully identified with this ideology and the conservative orientation in the social, economic, political, moral and security concepts.

At the moment the following South American rulers, at least, identify with the CCA: Mauricio Macri from Argentina, Jair Bolsonaro from Brazil, Sebastián Piñera from Chile, Iván Duque from Colombia, Mario Abdo from Paraguay, Martín Vizcarra from Peru and with those who support the elimination of UNASUR and the creation of PROSUR.

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