



FULFILLING  
THE SUPREME  
DREAM OF BOLÍVAR

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Augusto C. Sandino. March 20, 1929



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An original project presented by the Army in Defense  
of Nicaragua's National Sovereignty to the government  
representatives of the twenty one Latin American States

# Fulfilling the Supreme Dream of Bolívar

*“... we must only think of our unity and understand that Yankee imperialism is the most brutal enemy that now threatens us and the only one determined to obliterate through conquest our racial honor and the freedom of our people... The dignified men of Latin America must imitate Bolívar, Hidalgo, San Martín...”*

**Augusto C. Sandino**

In its effort to promote the Latin American and Caribbean unionist thinking, the Bank of Alba is proud to publish the Plan for the Fulfillment of Bolívar's Supreme Dream to mark the 90th anniversary of its appearance. This document was prepared by the General of Free Men, Augusto C. Sandino, on March 20, 1919, in the Chipotón military camp, in the mountains of Las Segovias, Nicaragua.

This indispensable text, which today must be revisited and studied, is part and parcel of the efforts undertaken by a united and sovereign Latin America and Caribbean region dating back to the Treaty of Perpetual Union, League and Confederation of the Liberator Simón Bolívar up to the recent creation of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America, ALBA-TCP.

The document contains a Preamble and 44 Basic Points and was written in the throes of the battle against the US forces that invaded with blood and fire the Nicaraguan territory.

In those dire circumstances General Sandino affirmed:

“We are deeply convinced that American capitalism has reached the final stage of its development and has transformed into imperialism. It therefore no longer abides by theories of law and justice but brazenly tramples over the sacrosanct principles of independence of the various Latin American nationalities. The alliance of our Latin American States is thus not only indispensable but mandatory if we are to protect our independence against the imperialist avidity of the United States of America or of any other power wishing to subject us to its dictates.”

The Plan for the Fulfillment of Bolívar's Supreme Dream outlines fundamental proposals that resonate in today's attacks and threats of the US government against some countries of the Greater Homeland.

The letter begins by stating the need to abolish the so-called Monroe doctrine and “declaring the use of this doctrine null and void to intervene in the domestic and foreign policies of the Latin American States.”

It proposes instead the formation of an Alliance with a single Latin American and

Caribbean nationality, "... thus bringing into effect Latin American citizenship".

Sandino also favors the creation of a Latin American Court of Justice, "the body that will serve as the court of last resort to settle the disputes that in any form affect or may affect the Latin American States."

With a view to decolonize the region, he advocates the recovery of the areas used by the United States as naval or supply bases or for other belligerent purposes that threaten to undermine the sovereignty of the Latin American states, and proposes to compensate the Latin American States for the losses incurred during the occupations and invasions ordered by various US administrations.

In case of aggression against any member state of the Alliance, a joint response is proposed starting with the simultaneous expulsion of the diplomatic representatives of the aggressor country and "the automatic confiscation of the interests and investments of the aggressor power or powers within the limits" established by the Alliance.

Echoing the proposal of Liberator Simón Bolívar to the Antifictionic Congress of Panama in 1825, Sandino's Plan suggests the organization of a Latin American Army, symbolic in principle but with real bases, made up initially of "students and teachers of Law and Social Sciences".

The plan also includes some significant

proposals for regional development in the economic area, to wit: a Customs Union, "to unify the customs tariffs of the twenty-one States and to apply to the newly unified rate a 25% discount for exports and imports of the products of the twenty-one States in the markets of the Latin American Nation".

For the first time in our America, the Plan for the Fulfillment of Bolívar's Supreme Dream includes the creation of a Committee of Latin American Bankers, whose aim is to devise and execute the plan by means of which the Latin American Nation, "may pay off with its own funds existing contracts between the Latin American States and the United States of America", and undertake the construction of major infrastructure works such as the Interoceanic Canal of Nicaragua.

Undoubtedly, this is a valuable precedent in the journey taken by the Bank of Alba and the efforts to build a New Regional Financial Architecture.

The Bank of Alba, an instrument for the development and the sovereign integration of the peoples of the Greater Homeland encourages you to read, study and disseminate this extraordinary document.

**Raul Li Causi**  
**President of the Bank of Alba**  
**March, 2019**



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# PLAN FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF THE SUPREME DREAM OF BOLIVAR

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## PREAMBLE

Various theories have been proposed to achieve either a coming together, an alliance or a Federation taking in all twenty one parts of our America into a single NATIONALITY. Yet never as today that union, so longed for by the Latin American people, has been so crucial and necessary. Not until now the urgency has been so present along with the means that currently exist to reach that end historically prescribed as the greatest task faced by the citizens of Latin America.

We already had the opportunity to declare that “the first mistake of our Latin-Indian America was not to open for consultation the construction of the Panama Canal; but we can still avoid a similar blunder in the case of the Nicaraguan Canal.”

We are deeply convinced that American capitalism has reached the final stage of its development and has transformed into imperialism. It therefore no longer abides by theories of law and justice but brazenly tramples over the sacrosanct principles of independence of the various Latin American nationalities. The alliance of our Latin American States is thus not only indispensable but mandatory if we are to protect our independence against the imperialist greed of the United States of America or of any other power wishing to subject us to its dictates.

Before getting to the substance, allow me to sketch out here how, why and under what circumstances we have come to realize the urgent need to form the alliance of Latin American States which is spelled out in this document.

The conditions in which we have been waging our armed struggle in Nicaragua against the US invaders and their allies have led us to the conviction that the staunch resistance that we have put up for the last three years could linger two, three, four, or who knows how many years more. Yet, giving the plentiful resources of the enemy and the isolation of our action, unable to rely on the indispensable official or unofficial support of any Government in our Latin America or elsewhere, the enemy will prevail in the end. Such a bleak perspective has prompted us to find out a better way of preventing our foes from claiming victory. We have been working round the clock to develop an optimistic view of a triumphant tomorrow for our America.

We were equally mindful that the Government of the United States of America will never give up his determination to crush Central American Sovereignty to accomplish its ambitious projects in this part of our America, projects which for the most part imply the future maintenance of US dominance, even if in doing so they destroy an entire civilization and sacrifice innumerable human lives.

On the other hand, neither an isolated Central America nor an abandoned Nicaragua counting solely on the sympathetic grief and anguish of the Latin American people would be able to prevent imperialist greed grabbing Central American lands to build the Interoceanic Canal, establishing their planned naval base while tearing asunder our territories. We saw clearly that the silence of the Latin American governments as they witnessed the Central American tragedy unfold was tantamount to a tacit approval of the ag-

gressive and insolent attitude assumed by the United States of America against a vast area of the continent, an aggression that also includes the collective right to self-determination of the rest of Latin American States.

These reflections let us understand the absolute necessity that the harrowing drama lived by the mothers, wives and orphans of Central America who had lost their loved ones in the battlefields of Las Segovias at the hands of the soldiers of North American imperialism, should not be in vain and betrayed, rather it should trigger the consolidation of the LATIN AMERICAN NATIONALITY and the repudiation of all treaties, pacts and agreements that under a legal guise were actually undermining the absolute sovereignty, not just of Nicaragua but of other Latin American States as well.

To accomplish this, it was logical, decisive and vital to merge the twenty one States of our America into a single Latin American nationality, so as to subsume within that unity the rights over the inter-oceanic canal across Central America at the the Gulf of Fonseca, in waters belonging to Central America as well as over the other areas enclosed in the vast expanse of land extending from the Rio Bravo to the Magellan Strait, including Latin American islands useful either as strategic points or as communication routes in the common interest of all Latin American States. Along with these serious problems that affect the stability and autonomy of Latin American States, it is of the utmost priority to tackle without further delay the defense of the naval base in the Gulf of Fonseca and the

inter-oceanic canal route across Nicaragua, since in a not too distant future they will become a magnet and the key to the world. Under Latin American sovereign control, they will serve as a bulwark for the defense of Latin America's unconditional independence and as a marvelous driver to attain material and spiritual progress .

The project to be submitted to the august assembly deals with the issues described in the following BASIC POINTS.

## PROJECT

1) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION declares the Monroe Doctrine null and void thus ending the resort to that doctrine to intervene in the domestic and foreign policies of the Latin American States.

2) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION specifically recognizes the right of the twenty one States of the Continental Latin America to establish an alliance and therefore one single NATIONHOOD to be known as LATIN AMERICAN NATION, thus bringing into effect Latin American citizenship.

3) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation agrees to summon regular meetings exclusively with representatives of the twenty one States of the Latin American Nation without any interference from other nationalities.

4) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation declares constituted the Latin American Court of Justice, the body which will serve as the court of last resort to tackle issues that affect or may affect the Latin American States in whatever form and in which the so called Monroe Doctrine has been invoked.

5) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION resolves that the LATIN AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE will be based in Central America between the inter-oceanic canal route through Nicaragua and the naval base to be established in the Gulf of Fonseca. This location will not imply any special privileges for the Central American States rather by making that region the seat of the LATIN AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE the idea is to demonstrate to the world the joint surveillance exercised by the twenty one Latin American States over that geographic area, which in this case is, as no other territory, a strategic point for the defense of the integral Sovereignty of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION.

6) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation declares to recognize the LATIN AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE as the sole and supreme arbitral authority in cases of claims, border disputes and any other issues which in one way or another affects or may affect the close and strong harmony which should govern relations

between the twenty one Latin American States.

7) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION agrees to proceed to the immediate organization of an ARMY made up of FIVE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY citizens from students between the ages of eighteen and twenty five as well as teachers of law and social sciences. These teachers, as well as the rest of the members of this army, should be physically fit for military service. An indispensable prerequisite in order to join the army is to hold LATIN AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

This army does not constitute the effective LAND AND SEA FORCES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN ALLIANCE, but rather the fundamental core of troops with whom the LATIN AMERICAN NATION will count on for the defense and preservation of its Sovereignty.

This basic personnel of the LAND AND SEA FORCES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN ALLIANCE constitutes at the same time a symbolic representation of the compact between the twenty one Latin American States and their decision to cooperate to defend the interests of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION.

8) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation agrees that each of the twenty one accredited member States provide TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY CITIZENS to form the aforementioned army.



9) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION agrees that each of its governments shall contribute from their public Treasury a fixed and proportional amount for the sustenance of the basic personnel of the LAND AND SEA FORCES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

10) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION agrees to name the citizen presiding over the Latin American Court of Justice as Commander in Chief of the LAND AND SEA FORCES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

11) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION approves that the term of office of the President of the LATIN AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE and Commander in Chief of the LAND AND SEA FORCES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN ALLIANCE should be SIX years, on the understanding that by the express agreement of the representatives of the twenty one Latin American States to the LATIN AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE, that mandate could be revoked if the individual's permanence in such high office compromises the correct discharge of the functions in the Supreme Tribunal.

12) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION agrees that the election of the President of the LATIN AMERICAN COURT

OF JUSTICE will be held in the following order: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Panama, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Uruguay and Venezuela.

13) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation establishes that the President of the LATIN AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE and Commander in Chief of the LAND AND SEA FORCES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN ALLIANCE, will be elected exclusively by the citizens of the State whose turn it is to take up this responsibility considering that they are best qualified to judge the public and private virtues of the citizen chosen to fill such a high office.

14) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION bestows the Representatives of the governments of the twenty one Latin American States to the LATIN AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE with the right of veto in the event that the acceptance by this high Tribunal of the President elected might somehow undermine the optimum fulfillment of its objectives.

15) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION agrees that the choice of the two hundred and fifty citizens to represent each State within the LAND AND SEA FORCES OF THE LATIN AMERI-

CAN ALLIANCE should be the result of competitive examinations organized by the governments of the twenty one Latin American States. The TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY STUDENTS that stand out by their physical and intellectual aptitudes will be recognized as authentic representatives to the LAND AND SEA FORCES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

16) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION agrees that each government will name a fixed number of teachers of Law and Social Sciences who will discharge their duties in accordance with the Seventh Basic Point.

The TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY winners of the competitions of each State will elect among the academics of their respective State the person who shall represent that State before the LATIN AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE.

17) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION declares that one of the fundamental obligations of the members of both the Latin American Court of Justice and the LAND AND SEA FORCES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN ALLIANCE will be to submit a detailed report of their activities during their term in office to the Representative Conferences of the twenty one Latin American States. As agreed this will be a non-transferable duty to be performed periodically.

18) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION agrees that the members of both the Latin American Court of Justice and the Land and Sea Forces of the Latin American Alliance will take the oath of fealty to the Representative Conference of the twenty one Latin American States on the constitutive principles of the Latin American Nation and the Organic Law and regulations established for its operation, committing themselves to respect and ensure respect of the preservation of the Sovereignty and inalienable independence of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION.

19) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation agrees that the ranks and titles issued by the Land and Sea Forces of the Latin American Alliance to its members will be fully recognized in each and every one of the Latin American States.

20) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION agrees that each of the Governments of the accredited States accepts the permanent presence of a member of the Land and Sea Forces of the Latin American Alliance within their Military High Command, as a clear demonstration of the vital link between each one of the Governments of the twenty one Latin American States and the Forces of the Latin American Alliance.

21) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of

the Latin American Nation categorically forbids any active member of the Land and Sea Forces of the Latin American Alliance, from being part of a political party within or without the LATIN AMERICAN NATION.

22) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation agrees to grant the President of the Latin American Court of Justice and Commander of the Land and Sea Forces of the Latin American Alliance the power to recommend to the Governments of the twenty one Latin American States diplomats, specialists in international relations and experts whose abilities have been validated in the aforementioned bodies.

23) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION designates a COMMISSION in charge of drafting the ORGANIC LAW AND ITS REGULATION for both the LATIN AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE and the LAND AND SEA FORCES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN ALLIANCE. These instruments will come into force upon approval by the representatives of the Governments of the twenty one Latin American States.

24) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation declares that both the LATIN AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE and the LAND AND SEA FORCES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN ALLIANCE recognize and endeavor to preserve the absolute sovereignty of the twenty one Latin American

States and to ensure that the activities they carry out to discharge their duties in no way will entail any limitation of the Sovereignty of any member of the twenty one Latin American States, except for what is conceded in favor of the principle of LATIN AMERICAN NATIONHOOD to which they have consented by embracing the idea of common defense and well-being. However in no way this will hamper the norms regulating the domestic life of each country, on the contrary it will strengthen and consolidate the aforesaid LATIN AMERICAN NATIONHOOD.

25) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION declares that in the event of the outbreak of civil war in any of the States signatories to the Pact of Alliance, the belligerent parties have the right to request, if they so decide, armed contingents from the LAND AND SEA FORCES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN ALLIANCE; given their neutral character these contingents will constitute an effective guarantee for all those who, justifiably according to the LATIN AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE, desire not to put themselves under the rule of neither belligerent parties.

26) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION declares categorically that the only entity authorized to carry out the construction of the Inter-Oceanic Canal and of the naval base in the Gulf of Fonseca on Central American territory and similarly any other

work of common benefit to the twenty one Latin American States is the Latin American Nation for its own wellbeing and without compromising in the least the full Sovereignty of any State or States signatory to the Pact of Alliance.

27) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation declares that in case the material development and economic resources available are insufficient for the time being to build the Inter-Oceanic canal or for the establishment of a naval base in the Gulf of Fonseca or in any other strategic place for the defense of the Sovereignty and Independence of the Latin American Nation, the States signatories to the Pact of ALLIANCE will reserve the exclusive rights for the construction or establishment of the aforementioned works, ensuring that under no circumstances will the LATIN AMERICAN NATION permit the disposal, sale, transfer or lease of the works in question or any others in favor of a foreign power or powers other than the LATIN AMERICAN NATION that could compromise the Latin America's Sovereignty and Independence.

28) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation agrees that to carry out the aforementioned works, namely the Inter-Oceanic Canal or the Naval Base, the LATIN AMERICAN NATION will require the appropriate guarantees to ensure the contractors will deliver and indemnify the cities or States whose lives and interests might be affected by the projects.

29) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION agrees that in case of aggressions by one or more powers against the Latin American Nation, the Latin American States shall unanimously voice their formal protest against the aggressor and threaten to collectively expel its diplomatic representatives.

30) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION decides that if the representations mentioned in the preceding BASIC Point do not yield satisfactory results, the Governments of the twenty one Latin American States will automatically confiscate the interests and investments of the aggressor powers within the limits of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION. The proceeds will help finance the war effort against the aggressor power or powers.

31) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION declares that, should a given international conflict not merit outright military hostilities, the Governments of the twenty one member States will resort to economic boycott in defense of Latin American Sovereignty against the power or powers that instigated the conflict, annulling any purchase from or sale of products to said power or powers.

32) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation agrees that immediately following the signing of the PACT OF ALLIANCE, a Committee of

Latin American Bankers will be created in order to devise and execute a plan by means of which the LATIN AMERICAN NATION may pay off with its own funds existing contracts between the United States of America and the Latin American States. This Committee of Bankers will take up the responsibility to build the infrastructure works, means of communication and transport facilities as well as to grant loans which the Latin American States may need to deal with the treaties they may have with the United States of America.

33) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation agrees that the Latin American Nation may use all the advisable diplomatic and peaceful means available to acquire the rights to the Panama Canal from the United States of America, with the assistance of the Committee of Latin American Bankers, so as to make sure that the Canal remains under the absolute Sovereign Control of the Latin American Nation.

34) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION entrusts to the Latin American Court of Justice the mission to conduct a thorough investigation in Puerto Rico, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Panama, Mexico, Honduras and Nicaragua to assess the human and material losses endured by Latin American citizens in said States during the occupations and invasions ordered by the various administrations of the United States of America.

35) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION resolves that based on the report prepared by the Latin American Court of Justice, the Latin American Nation may proceed to demand the immediate and complete departure of the United States of North America from the occupied States, and the automatic recovery of the territory used as naval or supply bases or other military aims that pose a threat to the Sovereignty of the Latin American States.

36) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION declares that to prepare said report, neither the Latin American Court of Justice nor any particular State will accept any alleged obligations incurred by the Latin American States vis a vis the government of the United States of America while defending themselves against occupations or invasions conducted in flagrant violation of their sovereignty by US troops. The human and material losses experienced by the US shall be simply attributed to the lawful exercise of the right to self-defense inherent to all peoples victims of aggression.

37) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the LATIN AMERICAN NATION agrees to adopt the appropriate measures to ensure that the entry of citizens of the United States of America to Latin American territory does not pose any threat to the interests of the Latin American Nation, and to prevent North American financial capital from penetrating in the

form of investments or other guises. In this manner the Yankee government is deterred from resorting to the well-worn pretense of acting "in protection of the lives and interests of Americans" so as to undercut the Sovereignty of Latin American States.

38) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation agree to unify the customs tariffs of the twenty one States, applying, furthermore, to the newly unified rate, a discount of 25% on the exports and imports of the products of the twenty one States in the markets of the Latin American Nation. Cultural expressions, books, magazines, paintings and other inputs necessary for the development of the sciences and the arts will enjoy the utmost freedom of circulation in the twenty one Latin American States.

39) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation agrees that its accredited Governments should carry out a systematic exchange of students of the Social and Economic Sciences of the twenty one Latin American States so that each one of these may create the corresponding scholarships for a fixed number of students for each State.

40) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation agrees that its accredited Governments foment, in particular, tourism by Latin Americans so as to promote familiarity and mutual acquaintance among the citizens of

the twenty one Latin American States, offering to tourists, among other concessions, a fare reduction of 10% in the railway systems, passenger ships, airplanes and other means of communication and transport that exist or may come to be established in the twenty one States of our America.

41) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation agrees to name a special Commission to establish criteria and call for the relevant competitions to make it possible for Latin American scientists and intellectuals to formulate how to constitute the Committee of Latin American Bankers, the best way to ensure that the twenty one Latin American States get to know each other, how to reincorporate the Panama Canal into the Latin American Nation and, in general, work out the particular basis for each of the initiatives implied by this Project and what they require.

42) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation proclaims its recognition as the Flag of the Latin American Nation the banner which the Army in Defence of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua has the honour of presenting to the said Conference. This flag expresses in a harmonious union of colours the symbol of the fusion of each of the insignias of the twenty one Latin American States, together congregated in one sole, strong and glorious Nation.

43) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States

of the Latin American Nation adopts as the official motto of the Latin American Alliance entrusted to the Latin American Court of Justice and to the Land and Sea Forces of the Latin American Alliance the phrase that interprets the fruitful destiny of this nation now arising in world history, marking new frontiers, adapting Mexico's vibrant new generation and its motto of profound, creative concerns "The Spirit Will Speak for my Race".

44) The Conference of Representatives of the twenty one member States of the Latin American Nation, joining in fraternal consensus the Governments and peoples of the twenty one States, clarifies as the naming of the place in which the Latin American Court of Justice will be based as Simón Bolívar, and raising up as a homage full of admiration to the memory of this outstanding creator of Latin America's independence, in the Hall of Honour of the Latin American Court of Justice, a monument crowned by the founding image of the greatest maker of free peoples.

## CONCLUSION

Citizen representatives of the twenty one Latin American States:

On thus presenting the original Project that the Army in Defence of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua offers to this great assembly, with the high purpose of effecting the immediately urgent alliance of the twenty one diverse States of the Latin American Nation, we are indeed fully conscious of the enormous historical responsibility we are taking on in relation to our America and the World. For that reason we have not attempted to present an unrealistic or opportunist proposal but rather, interpreting our reality, we have worked hard to make this PROJECT highly effective and able to address the solution of our most immediate problems, dealing before anything else with the imperative need to carry out the universally desired Latin American Alliance in opposition to which one finds only lamentably sceptical theories with little influence in the internal and external policies of our States.

Affirming this reality, we propose an Alliance and not a Confederation of the twenty one States of our America. We understand that to achieve this great objective, the first thing is to lay the foundation of the elementary Base which the Alliance will present. But this is not the culmination of our aspirations. It constitutes only the first firm step of other future efforts by our Nation.

Perhaps people of advanced universal ideas will think that our concerns will en-

counter frontiers in the limited geographic extent between the Rio Bravo in the North and the Magellan Straits in the South of our America. But they might well meditate on the vital necessity for our Latin America to make this Alliance, prior to a Confederation of the twenty one States that compose it, in this way guaranteeing our freedom and our Sovereignty, now threatened by the most rapacious imperialism, so as to achieve at the earliest opportunity the great destiny of the Latin American Nation, now within reach as the promised land for women and men of all peoples and races.

**Given in El Chipotón, Las Segovias, Nicaragua, Central America on the twentieth day of March nineteen twenty nine.**

**Motherland and Freedom  
A.C. Sandino**



**Banco del**  
**ALBA**

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