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**CRITICAL POVERTY AND MARGINALITY IN LATIN AMERICA:
SECURITY AND DEFENSE PROBLEMS FOR THE LATIN
AMERICAN COUNTRIES IN THE NEAR FUTURE?**

BY

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**CRITICAL POVERTY AND MARGINALITY IN LATIN AMERICA:
SECURITY AND DEFENSE PROBLEMS FOR THE LATIN AMERICAN
COUNTRIES IN THE NEAR FUTURE?**

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ABSTRACT

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In the last fifteen years, the quality of life in Latin American countries has deteriorated drastically, observing in almost all the countries a decline in real salaries, because of an elevated rate of inflation and an increase in unemployment. The social outlook in Latin America is presently dark and many people are affected because of multiple unfulfilled needs. Society cannot guarantee the Latin America people rights considered today as fundamental human rights, like the right to stable employment. This paper outlines a brief analysis of how poverty affects Latin American countries, socially, economically, and politically, and the impact of these factors on various aspects of defense and security of these Latin American countries.

Introduction

“The worst form of violence is poverty”.

Mahatma Gandhi.

Poverty has many deep roots and it creates enormous social and economic challenges in Latin America. In the last fifteen years, the quality of life has deteriorated drastically, observing in almost all the countries a decline in real salaries, because of an elevated rate of inflation and an increase in unemployment. According to figures from the Regional Conference of Latin American Countries on Poverty that took place in Quito, the Regional U.N. Project on Poverty, estimated that approximately 270 million Latin Americans or about 62% of the population live in poverty. Since the 1980's, poverty in Latin America has persisted and what is worse is that it is a problem that is not diminishing, but is continually increasing.

The social outlook in Latin America is presently dark and many people are affected because of multiple needs. Society cannot guarantee the Latin American people rights considered today as fundamental human rights, like the right to stable employment. It is critical morally, socially and politically expedient to find solutions to protect these basic rights, because democracy and the political stability of the Latin American countries is endangered.

This investigation will present a brief analysis of how poverty affects Latin American countries, socially, economically, and politically. Further, it will address the impact of these factors on the aspects of defense and security of these Latin American countries.

The Individual and Society

1. Ethical Order

According to Article 22 of the Universal Human Rights Declaration: “Every human, as a member of a society, has the right to obtain economic, social, and cultural rights for their dignity and free development of their personality”¹. Participation in economic terms means the freedom to participate in activities including production, consuming, selling, and employment. Obtaining social and cultural rights is the ability to participate and intervene in your community, regardless of religion, color, sex, or race. We can conclude that for an individual to live better in this society, it is very important and necessary for one to participate economically, socially, and culturally so he can develop as an individual and human being. Unless the individual participates fully in these aspects, society will relegate him/her to a marginal position.

2. Economic Order.

For individuals to satisfy their basic needs to survive; they participate in society either traditionally or technically. “In a traditional society, the individual meets his or her basic needs through agriculture, hunting, and fishing. The individual consumes part of his/her profits and trades or sells the rest”². During trading, either a lack of communication or trading skills frequently cause problems that do not permit these people to meet their needs. Because many individuals do not meet their basic needs to survive, they migrate to different geographical areas looking for ways to escape poverty, causing marginal population or critical poverty in the big

cities. "In the technological society, individuals participate in different economical aspects of highly advanced technological equipment and live in urban areas. The individuals work to produce goods and services that will be consumed by the society."³ If society does not have the capacity to acquire them, the economy falters and what is called the poverty of resources or under-consumption results.

3. Social Order.

The human being is in a constant social relation. From birth, each individual is involved with his/her family, then church, school, and community. People adapt to their environment through social interaction with others. Through social interaction, they interact with different cultures, where they share ways of thinking, feelings, and behaviors. We can see each one of these processes as a system. In each system the individual can express impulses, needs, and interests, which he needs to satisfy through incorporation into the productive apparatus; although there exists the possibility of nonconformity or deviation from the social-cultural models.

Poverty and Marginality

1. Definitions. There are various ways to conceptualize the term "poverty":

- Voluntary carelessness with all that one has. (Poverty by vote).
- Lack of nobleness, gentleness, marginality. (Poverty of spirit).
- Individual's lack of basic needs for living"⁴. (Poverty of temporal needs)

In accordance with the last phrase, each individual requires the basic necessities to live and survive, among those are:

- *Housing:* For protection from inclement weather and to provide a safe and private place to raise a family.
- *Employment:* To earn money to buy food, clothes, housing, and other necessities to survive.
- *Education:* That permits incorporation into the labor force and into the different social groups.
- *Health:* To provide access to spiritual and health care.

Therefore, poverty can be described as a lack of economic, physical, and social resources which permit an integral development of the person in the society. We can also define poverty as a substandard class level. Class level is determined by measuring family spending and/or income.

Determination of minimal income allows us to determine two distinct socio-economic classes related to poverty: one that is barely above the marginal line to survive with basic necessities, also referred to as poverty, and the other that is below the marginal line, which is known as critical poverty. "Marginal social groups are groups that are no longer members of a society in a particular country. In this group of people, food is limited; which leads to high levels of malnutrition, infant mortality, lack of education, a high level of illiteracy, and a lack of proper housing that meets the minimum basics required."⁵

2. Socio-Economical Context.

Some socio-economic indicators of poverty are inequitable salaries and welfare injustices. Other indicators exist such as housing instability, illnesses, ignorance, frustration about lack of

education, and insecurity. Based on these indicators, we can say that the main root causes of marginalization are:

- Economic: Lack of a secure job to meet the minimum needs.
- Urban: Lack of housing or shelter .
- Public Services: Lack of water, urban cleanliness, sewer, transportation, electricity, and

other public services.

- Education: Lack of a good school system that allows children and youth the opportunity to a basic education.

- Social: Minimal interrelation with the family, no family relationships or culture.

- Sanitary: Lack of medical assistance, unsanitary conditions where they live, and/or minimal social security assistance.

These problems are all related to socio-economic issues, where education plays one of the most important roles. Education allows each individual to interact and enter the job market, so they can improve their economic situation, and allows them to obtain housing, better education for the children, clothing, food, and health care.

3. Political Context.

Migrations from rural areas to major cities in search of better living conditions, better education, and employment have increased the population that live in the cities. That mobilization may generate tensions, inequalities, and confrontation between disparate groups and at the same time create a potential source for the destruction of the democratic system. "Social mobilization is very typical in countries that are developing and constitutes a process through which economic, social, and psychological traditional models are replaced by new ideas and conduct"⁶.

When marginal group leaves their traditional society, they have a hard time incorporating into the new and modern life because they have to transition and adapt to a new lifestyle. On the other hand, economic, social, and political changes do not allow time to assimilate transition and readaptation. Also the congestion in the state's institutions has generated increments in public bureaucratic jobs and the introduction of union labor that does not support and defend the worker's rights, using the masses for political ends that produce negative results.

In accordance with the last phrase, Jose Antonio Gil Yopez, in his book El Reto de las Elites, points out limitations in the majority of Venezuela's politicians, which apply in general to all Latin-American countries.

- The distortion of problems and situations by the dogmatic and ideological application of principles.
- Lack in the access and influence of the private sector, either by not permitting direct access or by the politicization of the organizations.
 - The planning of business considered strategic.
 - The lack of policy formulation.
 - The lack of formal evaluations of the effects of policies”⁷.

These factors form part of what Gil Yopez calls **the vicious circle of the suspension of policy formation**. On the other hand, he also points out that “The politicians facing the reality of the failure of the dogmas and myths in their fight against poverty, social injustice, capitalism, imperialism and dependence, can take as the key to their development to look for the best resources to reduce as quickly as possible the problems of unemployment, housing, health, education, transportation, and communications, which affect the major part of the population, includ-

ing the highest levels of the society. The politicians who use power in a democratic regimen cannot expect that democracy will secure their survival, because power can be easily dispersed when it is confronted by social misfortunes”⁸.

The disposition of poverty reduction depends on the introduction of political internal reforms in several spheres. The adoption of admissible measures of political and macroeconomics stability is of prime importance. The political economy of poverty reduction is complex and varies according to the situation and the historical antecedents of each country.

Poverty and Marginality. A Latin American Reality.

During the 1980's, known as the “lost decade” in Latin-America, many Latin-American countries suffered a major economic contraction, a decrease in incomes from productive activity and an increase in welfare injustice. The concentration of income in the richest sectors in Latin America was more than in any other region of the world. In a parallel context “many stabilization and adjustment programs were begun in almost all the countries of the region, underpinned by an emphasis as the following ideas:

- a) Concentration of demand, emphasized in the necessity of minimizing public expenditure, reducing real salary and controlling credits.
- b) Implementing policies of relative control price with emphasis on devaluation.
- c) The application of long term policies of open market and financial reforms.”⁹

The economic, political, and social dealings of some Latin American countries during the past ten years, reflect general trends throughout all Latin America.

Argentina: In 1989, the Argentine president handed over the reins of government to a new president because of the social, economic, and political crisis in that country. Unemployment in this period increased from 4.5% to 7.1% and under-employment increased from 6.1% to 8.0%, producing a low level of activity and instability. In 1991, a new plan of convertibility was initiated, producing stability in prices and recovery of real wages, which in turn produced an increase in the breach between rich and poor people. Poverty in Argentina has increased dramatically since 1993, concentrated almost totally in Buenos Aires and the major cities, where the majority of the indigents whose incomes are insufficient to ensure their minimal basic needs were located. Bottom line: 14% of the population were considered part of vulnerable groups and almost half of them lived below the marginal line.

Brazil: The 1980's mark a period characterized by profound living poverty in that country, principally in insufficient incomes and its impact on the living conditions of a big part of the population. During this period there were profound changes; stabilization programs created elevated social problems and an increase in the concentration of wealth. The national economy increased only 17% between 1980 and 1991, which meant that each Brazilian became an average of 0.5% poorer year after year. The social crisis produced a dramatic lowering of incomes. Where 10% of the richest received 45% of the income in 1981, it increased to 52% in 1990. In 1981 there were 54.5 million people below the marginal line while in 1990 there were now over 56.6 million.

In relation to this point, in Brazil there have been very grave social problems, for example sacking of food stores and supermarkets by poverty stricken mobs looking for provisions to reduce hunger, and the death of children in Brazilian streets. On the other hand Brazil is consid-

ered today an economic giant in Latin America today. Recently its technological and structural development has increased, although its successes concerning poverty are disappointing, the most affected being the children and youth which constitute an important labor force for its future.

Colombia: In 1992, according to statistical calculations, at least six million Colombians lived with incomes considered below minimal subsistence and three out of four people lived in rural areas. It is considered that the poor of rural areas are poorer than those of urban areas. While the income of the former is 43.3% less than the minimal level of subsistence, that of the latter is 33% less, meaning that 16.66% of the population lives below the marginal line. In the cities the worst shortages are suffered disproportionately by the children, which are exposed daily to malnutrition, sickness and violence. In addition for more than 50 years Colombia has experienced uncontrollable violence, based in urban terrorism, organized guerrillas movements, and narcotraffic, the major part of the combatant guerrillas, and the drug cultivators, being peasants paid off by the guerrillas and narcotraffickers. This, added to the serious problem of poverty, exacerbates the already existing political, social, and economic instability in that country.

Honduras, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, and Guatemala: It has been estimated that in these countries more of the 50% of the population is considered poor and 30% extremely poor. In 1992 in Nicaragua, half of the population lived below the poverty line and 20% in extreme poverty. In the Dominican Republic during the same year, it has been estimated that one of five Dominicans was poor and one of ten lived in extreme conditions. In Guatemala, in the same year, it has been estimated that 35% of the population lived in critical poverty. This

same situation exists in the other Central American countries and, added to the internal guerrilla problems, constituted a grave political, economic, and social instability.

Mexico: In 1989, an official study indicated that 24 million inhabitants lived in poverty conditions and 17.3 million in extreme poverty or marginality. Of approximately 80 million inhabitants, according to the 1990 official census, half were younger than 18 years of age and more than a third of them lived below extreme conditions of poverty. At the same time, this report demonstrated that the richest 10% increased their participation in the market from 37.93% in 1989 to 38.17% in 1992, while the poorest sector decreased from 1.72% to 1.58% in the same years. This indicates that the inequality index increased in these years from 0.469 to 0.474. In the same way, the average income of the family decreased between 10% and 15% in those years. All this has resulted in an explosive increase in informal employment, massive immigration (legal and illegal) to the United States, and many incidents of armed insurrection by militant groups against the democratic system.

Venezuela: The poverty map elaborated by the Central Office of Statistics and Information (COSI) showed that a little less than the half of Venezuelans were poor in the 1980's. According to COSI more than 8 million people were actually in this condition of the approximately 21 million inhabitants. Statistics show that homes in marginal condition have increased from 69,000 in 1981 to more than 600,000 in 1989. The World Bank estimated poverty at 33% in 1982, while in 1989 it reached 53%. The marginal stratum reached 40% while the medium class stratum decreased from 14% in 1982 to 13% in 1992. At the same time, the social stratum with the highest incomes, increased by 3%, passing from 5% to 8% in those same years, which shows disproportionate sharing of income among the social classes. These factors, fueled by the accumulation of

social and economic distortions that fed a deteriorating situation in important sectors of the population and reinforced by speculation of monopolizing merchants and the alarm created by the announcement of severe economic policies resulted in social disruptions in different parts of the country in 1989. These were most serious in the main cities. Caracas, the capital, was the center of the most significant disturbances. These social disturbances, which frequently turned violent, were sometimes dealt with by intervention of the Armed Forces and needless deaths resulted.

This brief analysis, demonstrates a general panorama of the Latin American poverty situation in recent years. There is a strong correlation in Latin America between poverty and maldistribution of wealth and social unrest and violent behaviors. If appropriate corrective measures are not taken now by Latin American governments, then it seems likely that there are catastrophic implications for the future.

Security and Defense

Security is tied to the preservation of human life as a principal element. It is the individual's own protection, and that of his goods and interests in a tight bond with the condition of tranquility and well-being. Defense is the activity that has to be developed to protect oneself from danger that threatens life, property or tranquillity. Defense has as its objective the active protection of the individual in society, of the population and the resources that the state possesses. In the same light, defense is a fundamental means to maintain security. Its objective is the well-being of the community and the equality of man.

Security and defense include the maintenance and protection of the natural economic and material resources of the individual in society that permit one to live in freedom, peace and harmony with his fellow man. This conception of security and defense is also applicable to the maintenance and protection of the territorial integrity of nations. Each nation applies principles of security and defense, taking into account its culture, resources and interests, thus securing liberty, peace and institutional stability.

In all countries security and defense is based on the principle of international law, which embraces a group of rights concerning the security and defense of territory, individuals, property and the moral patrimony of the nations. Taking as a reference the Organic Law of Security and Defense of the Venezuela Republic, in the first title a clarification of the terms "Security and Defense" is given, defining them as follows:

- "National Security: Is the level of political, economic, social and military actions that a state can provide for the attainment and safeguarding of its national objectives.
- National Defense: Is the group of means taken by the nation and the employment of all the means at its disposal, with the aim of securing, maintaining and strengthening national security",¹⁰.

As we can see, these two definitions involve directly and indirectly all the activities of the nation-state, preserving the sovereignty, independence and integrity of the nation, and can be applied to any Latin American country being studied.

Each nation has its own regulatory procedures for security and defense, although at an international level institutions have been created that work coordinately for the security and defense of the affiliated countries; among these we have:

- Organization of the United Nations (UN), created in 1948 with the purpose of saving future generations from the pain of war, maintaining peace, reestablishing faith in human rights and promoting cultural, social and economic development of the member countries.

- Organization of the Union Nations for nourishment and Agriculture (FAO), created in 1945 for the study of the relative problems of nutrition, nourishment, and agriculture. Its objective is to increase the nutrition levels and life of span the population of the member countries.

- Commission on Human Rights (CHR), its mission is to promote and codify the fundamental rights of the individual.

- United Nations Fund for the Children (UNICEF). Its objective is to contribute permanently to the health and well-being of children and youth itself with the cure.

- International Organization of Health (IOH), it occupies itself with the cure and disappearance of sickness.

On a regional level, several Latin American organizations that care for the security and defense of the member countries have been created, among which are:

- Economic Commission for Latin-America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), created in 1948 as an economic commission of the U.N., its purpose is to analyze the economic behavior and social development of Latin American countries.

- Contadora Group, created in 1983, its objective was to develop a peace process in the sub-region and prevent the imminent outbreak of war between Central-American countries.

- Rio Group, created in 1986, with the objective of coordinating Latin American forces in favor of democracy and development.

- Andean Pact, created with the objective of harmonizing the political and economic decisions of the integrated countries.

On the other hand, international meetings are held with the intention of discussing and arriving at well defined accords about the principal problems that affect hemispherical security and defense, as is the case of the American Summit Meeting that was held in Miami, Florida, between the 9th and 11th of December, 1994.

In this meeting, 34 of the 35 governments of the Western Hemisphere, categorically affirmed the following: “The elected chiefs of state and government of the Americas, we are committed to promoting prosperity, values, democratic institutions and the security of our hemisphere...In the same way, we are convinced that we can promote the interests and values that we share through the creation of firm pacts.”¹¹

Among the principles established, the statesmen present at the American Summit decided an action plan based on the following parameters of interest for the subject that we are currently treating now:

- Strengthening democracy.
- The promotion and protection of human rights.
- Strengthening of society and community participation.
- Free market in the Americas.
- Universal access to education.
- Equitable access to basic services and health.
- Eradication of poverty and discrimination in our Hemisphere.

As can be seen, although Latin American countries have suffered a decline in productivity, there has been some political progress with the participation of the different organizations that work on security and defense, although the results have not been very encouraging. A well-known Venezuelan analyst, Dr. Jose Rodriguez Iturbe, affirmed at the conference that he gave at Harvard University on *Global Change and Hemispherical Security*, "...that the economic situation, the nations poverty, narcotraffic, terrorism, guerrilla movements, and illegal migrations must be incorporated into the new pacts of collective security"¹².

On the same order, the Constitutional President of Venezuela, Dr. Rafael Caldera, in his address to the country on November 8th of 1994, declared "national security and defense will be protected when the well-being of all the nation's inhabitants is assured..., poverty is a **Sword of Damocles** that threatens peace, stability and permanence of the constitutional system of nations." He also expressed the belief that "poverty is an enemy of democracy...hungry people are not disposed to defend their liberty and human rights"¹³.

By the same reason, we can say that poverty and marginality are opposed to the principles and conception of security and defense, being the primary causes of unemployment and inflation, which produce antisocial effects such as:

- Increase in criminality and delinquency.
- Attacks against private property.
- Neighborhoods with marginal populations that live on hope, from day to day.
- Political demagogy.
- Prostitution.
- Lack of education for children and youth people.

- General lack of culture and life that is more instinctive than rational.
- Corruption.

In Latin American countries with high poverty and marginality indices, it is clear that security and defense are disturbed by many factors:

Delinquency: Delinquency originates in personal insecurity, a grave problem today that not only affects Latin-American countries, but is also becoming a world-wide problem. Mass communications have exacerbated this with their violent programs, promoting consumption and providing few positive messages. Because of the lack of family support in the home, individuals frequently turn to delinquency. At the same time there has been a lack of political action that would grant security in the society.

Drugs: Drugs are a current problem, where a high number of adults and young people, including children, consume it routinely, which has resulted in a very serious social problem for all the consuming and producing countries. In Latin-America, illicit drugs are fostering violent attitudes and effects that day after day are damaging society, affecting physically and emotionally not only the person that consumes drugs but families and society itself. At the same time, people that consume drugs ruin their capacity to respond positively to their incorporation into the society and therefore suffer a diminished productive capacity that then correspondingly arrests the economic development of the countries. This grave social problem also generates delinquency and criminal behavior, directly affecting the integral security of all the other members of the society.

Malnutrition: Is a characteristic of marginal people who do not have sufficient resources to supply a balanced diet for and his/her family. This is a grave social problem, that brings as a

direct conscience to the individual, weakness, exhaustion, dementia, and other physical ills, limiting development as a whole person and resulting in the future under-development of the nation in general.

Illiteracy: Illiteracy is a characteristic of the countries that have marked poverty. The illiterate person does not have opportunity to be incorporated into the economic life and if he/she does incorporate, it is in an informal way, bringing significant social problems of an economic and educational order, limiting nations in their development.

Insurgency: Guerrilla warfare has been a common state of affairs for years in many Latin American countries as a violent form of protest against the social-political system of the various nations. Today, the additional ingredient of drug trafficking has been added, which has served as a basic element for supplying economic resources for the purchase of weapons, explosives and equipment. It is important to note that the great majority of insurgents and guerrillas do not have a guiding ideology. Many are, in fact, only paid guerrillas who fight because of the lack of stable employment and necessary resources for the subsistence of their families. They are frequently dedicated to this activity with the objective of obtaining money to survive.

Narcotraffic: Narcotrafficking is directly related to the activities mentioned before, where the big drug lords use frontier farmers to cultivate illicit drugs, and then distribute them to society, causing damage to individuals and drastically reducing the social development of the countries. Is important to note that in Latin American countries, it has been discovered that many powerful personalities from the public and private sectors are involved in narcotraffic problems, which brings as a consequence a high correspondingly high level of administrative corruption and moral and economic deterioration.

Illegal Mining: This is a significant problem that greatly affects some Latin American countries, especially on the borders where the invasion of illegal migrants is prolific, generally crossing the border from near-by countries. These people are looking for economic gain with the illegal and indiscriminate exploitation of resources coming from the mines, causing pollution and damage to the environment. This brings as a consequence the proliferation of delinquency, prostitution, and drugs, making it a complex security and defense problem which affects the diplomatic relations of the involved countries.

Inflation: Rampant inflation results in the inability of the individual to pay for and enjoy goods and services with the economic resources obtained by his/her work. Latin American countries have been characterized by this inflationary process over the last few years, where the most affected have been the poor and with a higher incidence among the marginal people of society. This has brought as a consequence dissatisfaction in society, labor conflicts, strikes in education institutions, delinquency, and greatly increased criminal behavior. These problems have brought social explosions such as those that have occurred in some Latin American countries recently, affecting the security of institutions and of democracy.

Demographic Explosion: The world population has been increasing greatly in the last several years. Since 1990 it has increased by approximately 90 million inhabitants per year, Latin-America being one of the principal producers of people in the world. It is expected that by 2025 Latin America will have approximately 780 million inhabitants. The problem with uncontrolled increases in population is that the countries that do not have an effective infrastructure will have to face a demographic explosion where the people will move to the big cities or populated areas

looking for job, that will guarantee them food and other basic needs, which will cause overcrowding, increasing the levels of marginality and critical poverty.

In addition to the problems mentioned before, there are numerous others that affect the security and defense of a nation which are omitted from this discussion, because this paper focuses only on the problems of marginality and poverty in Latin America and how they affect the security and defense of the Latin-America countries.

Conclusions

The security and defense of each Latin American country depends on its culture, interests and available resources, but they all desire peace, comfort and tranquillity of their society. Security and defense is concerned with social security, health in all its aspects, the financial market, education, housing, internal security, security of borders, and relations with neighboring countries. However marginality and poverty continue to debilitate them in all areas, which means that for Latin American countries that have all these vulnerabilities or weaknesses in common, they constitute a grave challenge and problem to guaranteeing social, economic, and political stability.

Poverty and marginality originate in weaknesses of the social system, where the solution is a total and radical change in the way that the people live. The goal is to create a change that could ensure justice and integral development by the incorporation of the individual into economic and active social life.

Latin America has been characterized in recent years by economic instability, with outflow of capital, and misgivings by foreign investors. On the other hand, economic stability has been threatened by the phenomenon of inflation that, combined with the existing economic inequali-

ties in their societies, has generated grave problems for security and defense, such as unemployment, delinquency, criminality, robbery, prostitution, drugs, corruption, narcotraffic, contraband, guerrilla, kidnappings, and illegal mining operations.

In past times, the concept of security was restricted and conformed to the realm of conflicts between states. Today peace is more than ever the result of justice based on the legitimate aspiration of countries to reach social development rather than the jealous protection of armed equilibrium and, in the process, the poverty of nations has come to be the most dangerous threat.

Finally, the process of the accumulation and concentration of wealth obstructs for the community the possibility of dedicating resources to the solution of basic social problems. The state cannot secure, even to a limited extent, employment, food, health, education, and housing, for a significant part of the population. The resources oriented to those sectors are irresponsibly undermined by generally ineffective political conduct and by an incapable, unresponsive bureaucracy. So, the quality of life of the population deteriorates, and frustration grows, leaving the violence-deficiency route as a real expression of desperation.

Recommendations.

Support an orderly and dynamic expansion of the economy capable of generating productive employment and an effective development. To advance economic objectives it is necessary to coordinate economic policies, so that dynamic impulses of these policies benefit all strata of society. Along the same line, to attain this would involve focusing on those policies oriented to increasing employment and distributing the effects of this growth across the economic strata.

Establish agrarian and commercial policies that encourage members of the agrarian or traditional society, not to leave their original regions to migrate the big cities looking for better living conditions. These policies should also guarantee, not only the cultivation of lands, but the opportunity to sell their products. At the same time it is necessary to create educational centers at secondary and technological levels designed to develop youth in the activities of the region, which will give the opportunity for cultural formation and employment, permitting them access to the economically active population.

Because poverty is reduced when productivity goes up and education is the key to escaping its chains, it is urgent to increase the public investment in health and educational services, because it will reverse low productive capacity of the poorer sectors.

Establish clear policies to bring an end to lack of discipline, disorder, dishonesty, and deficient professionalization, and eliminate corruption. This will give reinforced value to the institutions, perfect and deepen democracy and define a viable wide ranging national project, thus preventing potential future violent solutions

Endnotes

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