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“GLOBALIZACIÓN: LIBERTADES DESDE LOS PARTICULARES PARA LA EXCLUSIÓN VS. INTEGRACIÓN: LIBERTADES DESDE EL ESTADO PARA LA INCLUSIÓN”

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RESUMEN:

En América Latina coexisten argumentos defensores de la presencia del Estado en las actividades económicas básicas, y contradictoriamente se encuentran razones para sobreestimar un régimen de “libertades” que reclama su no presencia o su negación en el contexto económico, como fundamento del modelo capitalista. La contradicción consiste en que las razones esgrimidas para la negación, son las mismas con las cuales se pudiera rescatar y reorientar la presencia del Estado. A partir de la revisión de los términos del “*liberalismo económico*” se muestra la *libertad* como uno de los principales referentes teórico-prácticos que ha generado refutación y desviación del orden natural de la sociedad capitalista, detectándose un abuso de este término, en expresiones como “sociedad libre de cualquier intervención del Estado”. Se promueven así en este trabajo, reflexiones críticas al concepto “*neoliberalismo*”, según el cual debe existir la “participación” (no intervención) del Estado, en aras del sostenimiento del capitalismo; conviniendo para el Estado el mantenimiento de la necesaria “sociedad de consumo” y la permanencia de condiciones en lo cual los capitalistas soporten la mayor reproducción de sus capitales, como fundamento de este sistema. Se muestra el ALCA como una de las formas de extensión de la lógica capitalista con la cual se han pervertido hasta las expectativas educativas, técnico-académicas; no obstante se introducen algunas buenas señales a partir del ALBA como el “despertar de las Américas” para hacer realidad el sueño de desarrollo armónico de los pueblos.

Palabras Clave: Neoliberalismo. Libertad. Intervención del Estado. ALCA. ALBA

“GLOBALIZATION: FREEDOMS FROM THE MATTERS FOR THE EXCLUSION VS. INTEGRATION: FREEDOMS FROM THE STATE FOR THE INCLUSION”

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ABSTRAC:

In Latin America arguments defenders of the presence of the State coexist in the basic economic activities, and contradictorily they are reasons to overestimate a régime of “freedoms” that claims their he/she doesn't witness or their negation in the economic context, like foundation of the capitalist pattern. The contradiction consists in that the reasons fenced for the negation, are the same ones with which you could rescue and to reorient the presence of the State. Starting from the revision of the terms of the “economic liberalism” the freedom is shown like theoretical-practical relating one of the main ones that has generated rebuttal and deviation of the natural order of the capitalist society, being detected an abuse of this term, in expressions like “society free of any intervention of the State.” They are promoted this way in this work, critical reflections to the concept “neoliberalismo”, according to which the should exist “participation” (non intervention) of the State, for the sake of the maintenance of the capitalism; suiting for the State the maintenance of the necessary one “consumption society” and the permanency of conditions in that which the capitalists support the biggest reproduction in their capitals, like foundation of this system. The RAZORBILL is shown like one in the ways of extension of the capitalist logic with which you/they have been perverted until the educational, technician-academic expectations; nevertheless some good signs are introduced to give birth to of the DAWN like the “to wake up of the America” to make reality the dream of harmonic development of the towns.

Words Key: Neoliberalismo. Freedom. Intervention of the State. RAZORBILL. ALBA

INTRODUCTION:

Before situations of the situation that Venezuela lives, as well as all the countries tercermundistas, it is believed in the necessary critical discussion, to not outline from an optics of academic size "ideologizante" neither "politiquera", the reasons for which defenders of the presence of the State exist in the basic activities of a country. In a contradictory way, defenders of a régime of freedoms also exist whose expression of "freedom" it has been kidnapped for "to kill" in fact the reasons that you fences to rescue and to reorient the presence of the State. One of the elements that should enter in reflection or discussion when of the presence or negation of the State is, it is the current of the "economic liberalism" and that of the "neoliberalismo", in which one in fact argues the "negation" (privation of the presence of the State)

The Economic Liberalism is an economic doctrine of final of the XVIII century, extended in the XIX century and magnified in the XX century; represented by economists Adam Smith (1.723-1790) and David Ricardo (1.772-1.823) who stand out some of the many aspects in which the is based "economic liberalism" like sustenance of the capitalist system; these economists were supported then by their homologous, well-known from beginnings of the XIX century as the classic of the economy or liberal economists, and crowned in their postulates, with the event of the French revolution.

The aspects that characterize this "economic liberalism" they are related with several starting points; presently work is tried to show the most excellent. In the first place the existence of a society is promoted that should defend the satisfaction of its freedom, that is to say, the society should demand the manifestation of all its freedoms; inside those freedoms, he/she is the freedom of the sense of property, the freedom to the sense of social diferenciación that generates the contradiction consequently among the men, as an aspect of the natural order of the societies. In second place, the economic liberalism promotes that, with that rule of the natural order of the things y/o of the societies, a society free of any intervention of the State should exist (as entity regulator of the societies); this "non intervention of the State", Smith, era sustains the only thing that would incline to the development of the initiatives peculiar of the society. That is to say, the economic liberalism raises a society without State, that which supposes would be equivalent to "society in development", assuming that the industrial and commercial development was not areas of competition of the State, but of the matters and owners of capitals. And in third place, the doctrine of the economic liberalism promotes that the private property of the capitals, according to David Ricardo, is what assured the creation of value; that is to say, it sustained that any other means of production (earth and the man's work) it generated as much value as the capital (money, investment of the matters); of there the widespread denomination of capitalist system, that which

means the primacy of the capital, of the money, of the investors, on any other means of production.

Presently document is tried to promote a critical reflection, more it is not sought the analysis and profundización of the average liberalista, but, its origin condition or root of the Neo-liberal economic pattern that one shows off represent the outline of “negotiation” from the matters, in a world political-economic context where it has been believed as “rational” to maintain the primacy of the capital or the perpetuity of the capitalist system as “solution” to the social problems that almost cross all the countries of the world. And I eat “I compensate” and under a comparative perspective, in this study some arguments of the proposal are presented of “integration” represented by the freedoms from the State, to promote their presence in a world political scenario where he/she has understood each other as “fair” to maintain their preeminencia like exit to the setbacks and contradictions of all nature that it drags the world as a consequence of more than a century of liberalism.

Economic Neoliberalismo:

As consequent of the conception of the economic liberalism, he/she understands each other that the “Neo-liberalism” it is an economic doctrine of relative recent it dates that reproduces the main aspects of the liberalism proclaimed by Adam Smith and David Ricardo, exalted at the end of the XIX century and during more than seven decades of the XX century. The Neo-liberalism takes validity to almost three decades to conclude the XX century, acclaiming in its postulates, the capitalists' strategies to perpetuate this system, and to displace the presence of the State in some sectors of the economy.

To understand the way like the average Neoliberalista extends, it is necessary to make reference to the logic of the capitalist system; according to the one which, by the middle of XX century, for convenience of the capitalism (“economic liberalism”), it begins to be managed the thesis of the participation (non intervention) of the State, as entity that consciously favored the continuity of the pattern economic capitalist as necessary to develop the economy of a country.

That thesis, opposing the postulates of the liberalism unavoidably (negation of the biggest presence in the State), it was proclaiming the presence of a State that became responsible or co-responsible for some economic activities related with the underground, exploitation of metallic and not metallic minerals, where the State assumed good part of the costs that generated those activities, leaving in hands of matters those areas where they were generated bigger earnings.

But, in spite of the ideology liberalista in the one that this neo-liberalism is based, he/she left generalizing the idea in the governments, that the State to which represented, could also be a State manager, participating in the earnings of some

companies. That idea could not maintain the primacy of the capital, but it appeared a primacy of the State. This way, the capitalist system necessarily marks territory demanding the presence of a State that alone position of those activities was made that you/they were not so profitable, that is to say that it assumed the control of some sectors where the private company had not seen bigger generation of earnings. Also, in that context he/she is demanded to the State that guarantees the necessary level of life so that the society of then he/she became the “consumption society”, that which is one of the foundations of the capitalist system.

In the economic and social context of the fullness of the XX century, the capitalist societies demanded gradually that the State guaranteed them that society of consumption of the goods that you/they are generated in the capitalist economy. To guarantee this “society”, the State should increase its public expense, assisting social programs as education, health, social security, among other and to guarantee to the capitalist economy the infrastructure construction (vialidad) for the commercialization and distribution of the production to the long and wide of the countries and among several countries. The presence of a State responsible for the employment generation was also demanded, well for the road of the insurance of benefits for the private economy when from there you abrieren new work squares, or, being the State the main employer that generated the circulating one enough to conform the system of consumers and to guarantee the natural order of the offer law and it demands like force that would move to the market to convenience of the capitalist system.

This begins to show a State “necessary”, “useful” for many purposes of the capitalist system. However, the idea of the presence of State that in fact took relevance in many environments of the economic activity, it begins to scare the capitalists; and it is recaptured the starting points of the liberalism like a new-liberalism then or “Neo-liberalism.” The necessity to recapture the liberalism (non State, or, society without State regulator of the economic activity) it is to crack or to disappear the ideas about the primacy of the State as entity guarantor of the economic activity that “he/she threatened” with taking force, joined to the tendencies “democratizantes” of Reformations of the State and of the Public Administration that you/they appeared as rational, the extension of the ideas Estatistas or he/she witnesses of the State.

One of the varied elements through which this politico-economic current extends “neo-liberalista”, it is by means of the phenomenon of the expansion of capitals and the creation of instruments or figures of international control that are mentioned next:

Alternative of extension of the average neoliberalista:

You begins to manage from approximately the last three decades of the XX century the concept of capitals “sagacious”, “swallows” or “capitals in passing”;

which represent an investment strategy for the creation and expansion of companies of the capitalist system inside the outline neo-liberalista. The capital “in passing”, it is that capital that doesn't have nationality or homeland that he/she goes toward the country where they offer him bigger rates of earnings on the investment that once it has achieved the goals in reproduction of that capital, he/she goes toward countries where the index risk country allows him to multiply that capital with more expansion indicators. This is one of the aspects of that logic of the capitalist system, that is to say, the reproduction of the capital. This way, the capitals were expanding toward everybody requiring the extension of the capitalist system toward government's regímenes in those that the primacy of the capital didn't exist but of the State, just as it was the case of China and Russia. Countries that have given opening to the capitalist system, have come presenting (I marry Russia) inconveniences and contradictions of the socio-economic activity that instead of improving the level of life, they accentuated the differences of classes, (unequal distribution of the wealth) the generation of indicators of poverty, unemployment, speculation, among other indicators that were not perceived in the previous régime.

Under this phenomenon of expansion of capitals they know each other proposals to make “eficientista” the operation of capitalist companies; proposals as, as outsourcing, international agreements of technician-financial attendance, joint venture, frank and strategic alliances as some of the most extended. These proposals have represented the escalation of the differential breach between poor countries and rich countries; or what is same, has intensified the unequal distribution of the wealth and the consequent social phenomenons (poverty, violence, marginalidad, exclusion, among many); and what is paradoxical is that they try to present (as hidden objectives) the “ineficiencia” of the presence of the State, as responsible for the level of life (purchasing power) and quality of life (bigger attributes in goods and consumed services and to consume) to which we are entitled all the citizens of the world.

To contemplate these elements of the context economic World cup marked by the vision neoliberalista, he/she forces to extend the reflection toward structural economic aspects of convenience for the world capitalist system and in detriment of the development of the poor economies. Inside those aspects it would be enough to point out hardly one, to understand our condition of citizens, lambs and annihilated in our potentiality of creating minimum conditions of true development. It is the structural economic behavior in economies tercermundistas to who you/they have been strangled (“strategically”) the industrial sector which is the base to create development conditions. This detriment of the industrial sector has been given through the mentioned alternatives (“capitals in passing”) and by means of the growth -no development - of commercialization activities, distribution and benefit of services of private initiative, showing a hipertrofia of the economic structure given by the disproportionate extension of this sector of the services and of the commercialization, because all that circulates in him is not product of the

development of our industry. That is to say, the sector services (third sector of the economy of a country) he/she has extended to expense of a strangulation of our industrial capacity; and this phenomenon is not another thing that the “logic” of the world capitalist system, to perpetuate our industrial dependence, for ends, our negation to the development; this happens under the claim that they make the peculiar investors of having bigger freedom to make bigger business,

It has been sought to extend as perpetual the operation of the capitalist system with that primacy of the capital on the State and the negation of the State; for these purposes, that is also known that the big capitalists of the world have imposed as “kindness” of the system, related with the concealment of their purposes of appropriation of more freedoms and the guarantee of a bigger dominance. In that sense it is pointed out the proposal of the RAZORBILL like alternative of the capitalist world in pro of the survival of the reproduction of the capital. The A.L.C.A or “Area of free trade for the America” it is a North American initiative that has attempted their implementation and extension to all Latin America, from approximately more than two decades, as expression neo-liberalista; that is to say, it is sustained in the liberalism and the neoliberalismo proclaimed for the opening from the commercialization to all the “America” (north, central and south). In spite of the strengths that he/she believes the “RAZORBILL” for the country that promotes it, (U.S.) se han producido fuertes contradicciones dentro de las sociedades que han manejado sus propuestas. One of those proposals is related with the privatization of many activities that before were in hands of the State, for the own convenience of the capitalist system. Then, to displace to the State, he/she becomes the capitalist strategy to show it as inefficient and incompetent in the execution until of the activities that are of their competition for their own nature, that is to say, health, education, social security, among some. That is to say, the proposal “RAZORBILL” it is to traffic of an economy of State (guarantor of the bases of the economic activity of a country), toward an economy of Market where all activity is managed under the payment outline as consideration of the alone acquired, regulated services for the offer and the demand and not for the activity moderator of the State.

The proposal of the RAZORBILL is based in the free trade among the nations of the continent, with the elimination or decrease of tariffs and the disappearance of any protection to the internal markets. Under that system, the transnational companies, coming in their majority, of the USA, they have bigger benefits that the companies of each country, because they would compete in oneself plane, but where inequalities that would make disappear the national production exist; inclusive, he/she makes impossible the existence of small companies and he/she threatens the internal agricultural production.

Nevertheless, the road for the RAZORBILL has been seriously truncated by the negative of a group of countries to undergo those conditions, to consider them unfavourable for its economies, and one of the episodes badges of that resistance,

was the Summit of Sea of Silver in August of 2005, where Bloque MERCOSUR'S countries, gave an intense debate against the proposal of the USA who left the meeting without positive results and criticized by the social movements that congregated in that Argentinean city. The only possibility that has seen USA to materialize, at least, a part of the RAZORBILL, they have been the Treaties of Free Trade (TLC) that has subscribed in a bilateral way with some countries and that they have injured other commercial agreements and communities.

Besides these treaties, and the foundation in the “privatization”, the RAZORBILL proposes as thesis of the liberalism, the freedom to care from North America all the necessary consumption goods to guarantee a high level of life of the society. This alternative of caring freely, without state intervencionismo, is what has generated the strangulation of the industrial activity of the underdeveloped countries. That is to say that the capitalist system required to implement a strategy so that Latin America stopped to produce the little thing that he/she took place, to extend the dependence of United States, to who should appeal under the limits of the “RAZORBILL”, to satisfy all type of social and economic necessities.

This strategy of the “RAZORBILL” he/she makes perpetual the capitalist system, because, on one hand, when being strangled the industry, that is to say, not to take place but caring all that we consume, is activated (I eat in fact it was activated) the disproportionate growth of the sector of the services, the commercialization and the distribution. Also, he/she has come demanding to the State the obligation every time bigger than developing roads, infrastructure for the economic growth, as well as more and more companies of services, where the import from the United States marks a landmark of socio-economic dependence very difficult of starting up. On the other hand, the perpetuity of the system is also guaranteed with the privatization of the essential services in a society, making to see to the State as unnecessary for inefficient and to justify the preeminencia of the “market economy.”

A look toward the Educational System under the neo-liberal optics:

This phenomenon of the neo-liberalism transcends the economic-structural thing toward the perversion of our education expectations and technician-academic formation; it is observed it in the fact that our universities starting from the last three decades of last XX century, stopped to carry out critical discussions about these economic currents; it is more, he/she extends the privatization of the education then by means of the proliferation of universities and private education institutes where they offer “careers” that point toward a development or growth of the sector services, and not toward the formation in careers that propendan to the development of our industrial sector.

Under the focus of this capitalist logic, a central argument is believed as regards political educational declaring that the big school systems are inefficient, not equal and their products are of low quality. Of such a statement deductions were promoted like that the public education failed and for ends they are justified political of reduction of the responsibility of the State in the education, presented as the only possible reformation.

The educational proposals in the neo-liberal context: in connection with the premise of "ineficiencia" of the investment that is carried out in the public education, the solutions proposed inside this neo-liberal logic, didn't spread to improve it, but just the opposite, the recommendation pointed toward the act of reducing the investment gradually, when not to eliminate it. A group of measures that you/they have that objective, is won by the citizenship from the last three decades of last XX century, like a pedagogic proposal loaded with technical attributes and of an organizational language. The most important in these neo-liberal measures for education, and that they were applied in more or smaller measure in Latin America, they are the decentralization and privatization of the educational systems, the flexibilización of the recruiting to the educational ones, the selectivity and the reduction of the educational plant and a strong control on the part of the national governments by means of the imposition of contents and common evaluations, descontextualizados of the reality of each country. Those measures were accompanied by a great discursive operation that presented to those mentioned reformations like an indispensable educational modernization and, mainly, the only one possible.

Some events were given starting from the decade of 1980, that you/they facilitated the fact that the neo-liberal reformation became an invention. The first of these events consisted in that there was a fertile land, because indeed the old school systems required modifications; the second has been the inadequacy of the reformation proposals carried out from liberal-democratic positions or of a renovated left. The result derived in that, existing old, new and future educational problems, the neo-liberalism diffused its proposal with authentic vigor and without finding more opposition than that of some too much critics you reactivate and lacking of alternative consistent. It could present their option like necessary and absolutely certain for the circumstances.

Inside that capitalist logic, in the system educational Latin American, until ends of the years 1980, no calamity had taken place and everything made foresee that, relatively, the prospective optimists of the international organisms would be completed referred to the regional education for ends of XX century. However, qualifiers of the educational models of the capitalism begin to point out for then that they continued taking place difficulties like the school desertion and the distribution of students in relatively coincident circuits with the class and social sector of origin; that is it he/she made see the pyramidal form or elitesca. It was also questioned the excessive centralization and bureaucratization of the school aparataje, the

slowness of their curricular, organizational and technological changes, among some other aspects.

This time of the years 1980 in reference, begins to develop some events in educational matter; one of the most prominent was the deterioration of the traditional knots of the relationship among adults and young and between professors and students. As added difficulty it begins to be observed that the formal thing and the norms reproduced during more than a hundred years, they lost their supposedly necessary character quickly and of instinctive execution; equally, the knowledge programmed for their teaching already lacked interest for educational and students; together to it, the study plans were discredited. Consequently the critic to the traditional teaching begins to charge force among the educators, but regrettably without ending up disassembling the didactic categories in question neither to build other new ones. Those critics were in charge of more than the contents that of the formality and institucionalidad; the normative ones political-institutional they suffered very few changes in schools, schools and universities, reason why tensions grew and the expectations of improvement evaporated.

Contrary to a prospective modification proposal, you begins to observe in the educational system from the reference time until final of the XX century, a discontinuity between the study pensa and the new trajectories of the science and of the technique; it is observed the inoperancia of the disciplinary norms and regulations; it is assumed as incongruous the structural formal elements of educator's positions and educating; such circumstances constitute part of the series of demands of final from century to the educational system of the Latin American countries. The answers on the part of the democratic political and educational forces were insufficient. The situation begins to demand starting from final of the decade of 1990, consistent answers that were not inside the neo-liberal system that propitiated the outrages.

The exit possible to the disastrous consequences:

However, in spite of these alternatives of perpetuating the capitalist system on the base of the dominance in vertebral systems as the education, through that which the poverty has been accentuated like main lash, the inequity like consequence, and the ethics problems as main added difficulty of the wrongs that bury the expectations of superación of our country, and, in spite of the fact that it has been possible to not establish the operation of the capitalist system alone with the primacy of the reproduction of the capital but in deteriorate of the work reproduction, in spite of everything it, nowadays he/she has strengthened a Civil Society that you/they are generating development proposals before not in addresses next to the support of the State traveled. One can observe an almost world attitude, toward projects that propenden to a true confrontation or decrease of the poverty, the fair distribution of our wealth and for ende to a way of living that

it exalts our own responsibility for the quality of the neighbor's life. In this sense it arises the DAWN like an alternative to confront the perpetuity of the system of social imbalances for whose reference, the already deceased Papa Juan Pablo II coined the term of "wild neoliberalismo."

ALBA: "ALTERNATIVE BOLIVARIANA FOR LATIN AMERICA":

It arises like an answer or a scream of some governments' from Latin America (liderados for the current President from Venezuela) to disappear the "RAZORBILL", and to wake up in those "America" (north, center and south America) the dream bolivariano of the union of the towns of Latin America. The is born "DAWN", to make force in the harmonic development of the towns sunk by the yoke of the economically stronger countries.

The Alternative Bolivariana for the America, "DAWN", it proclaims the industrial and commercial help that will take to Latin America toward a definitive economic independence of the United States. It is sustained under the principles of a Social Economy, where the force is in the organized civil society and prepared to democratize the property of the production means. That is to say, the "DAWN" it proclaims the transition from the Economy of Market to the Social Economy whose foundation is in the opportunity of developing industrial activity and commercial activity and of services, without the use of the foreign investment, and I eat strategy for the definitive substitution of imports.

The Alternative Bolivariana for the America (DAWN), it arises as answer to the position of the United States, of the implementation of an Area of Free Trade for the America (RAZORBILL) that should enter in validity in the year 2005; but that to the date, it is considered as an unlikely objective of achieving. You differentiate notables between both projects, they have made that you of an important debate, especially in the breast of the popular organizations of the continent who you/they can compare the benefits or disadvantages of each one of them in order to fix position.

The DAWN gives protagonism to the social thing, understanding the importance of the towns in the national development, and understanding the economy like a process of exchange in a fair way and according to necessities. It looks for the integration where the traffic among countries is not alone of merchandise, but of people and production means, and it impels the social solidarity in points like the education, the health, the sport and the help to the neediest. Under that perspective, it would be looked for the growth and integral development of the nations; also, it is understood that no nation can grow if its environment is sunk in the poverty.

The DAWN'S proposal begins to be materialized, then that the presidents from Venezuela and Cuba, they decided to consolidate the mutual support that you

leave developing you among these two nations, and in April of 2005, they formalize in Havana the DAWN'S signature, contemplating diverse aspects of collaboration, among them the energy, educational, formative, among other that has offered highly positive results for both nations during the first year of its execution. The strength of the "DAWN" they are the development programs outlined from the interior of the countries and with the financial participation of their organisms of State, dedicated for such ends; and with the participation of their institutions and the prepared civil society and organized as main actors, to assure that in the benefits and in the distribution of wealth, work the principles of justice, justness and social equality. These are the possible roads toward the definitive disappearance of the enormous social breach and the invigoration of an organized society and conciencia of the necessary preparation in areas that it allows the industrial development from inside (I develop endogenous).

The DAWN contains a fan of options for the integration of towns and countries that have had economic and technical disadvantages in front of those "colossuses" of the world. In this proposal strategies are promoted that allow to each country, to make effective, prosperous and productive, the gerenciar activity, so much resources (technicians and economic) as people, in areas where the reproduction of the capital doesn't prevail as approach of "efficiency", but rather it prevails the reproduction of the work and the reproduction of the social benefit, as approach of "conectividad." He/she understands each other that the DAWN is a complex dimension of socio-economic work, through which is obtained as main result, the knowledge about the function economic-social-productive point of the governments like of the governed society, and of the opportunities to generate socio-economic development from the interior of a country, until passing over its own difficulties, which he/she will be able to save with the integration of a country brother.

The Latin American countries understand that the DAWN is a proposal to strengthen advantages, to save obstacles and difficulties characteristic of the economic in arrears condition in which many have been sunk by many years; this invigoration is given with mechanisms of integration of competitions and of resources, reorienting the terms of "survival of the most capable" toward the complementariedad, conectividad and corresponsabilidad in the attainment of goals that they improve the quality of all the citizens' of the world life. With the DAWN redimensionar is attempted the gain concepts, benefit, excellence, level and quality of life; this way, assisting the deep meaning of these terms, the DAWN and all the strategies to her bound, it is served as instruments that give operability to the integration mechanism; that is to say, an integration is promoted that reproduces knowledge and information about administration indicators like main bastion in each country; one will have this way a road to qualify the government action as an effective practice as long as it reproduces evaluables by the light of the countries with who establishes exchange. It is a rule that confronts the rule of gold of the RAZORBILL, that is to say the "reproduction of capitals" that in this

proposal of integration of the DAWN, it is translated in the terms “reproduction of social benefits” or “social gain” in all the countries bolivarianos.

Under this alternative, among the year 2004, 2005, 2006 and so far in 2007, they have been come generating integration expectations and agreements to facilitate the reach and improvement of the quality of life in many Latin American countries. Venezuela has subscribed agreements of exchange of some important items, as the case of Argentina, Cuba, Bolivia, among some; and one works among so many other activities, in the integration by way of the training and formation of multipliers, for the execution of the combined plans of improvement of the sectors health, education, culture and sport. Among some of the more resaltantes integration actions inside the DAWN, carried out in the second trimester of the year 2006, the following ones can be pointed out:

April of the year 2006 29, the Leader of Bolivia, Moral Evo, together with the President from Cuba, Fidel Castro and the Boss of the Venezuelan State, Hugo Chávez, subscribed the DAWN'S agreement, with that which adheres to a third country to the treaty. But the non alone DAWN is applied to the signatory countries, but rather by means of agreements with regional or municipal governments of other nations or social organizations, inclusive in some cities of the USA, for supply of energy resources and attendance in the area of the health. Under this adhesion of Bolivia to the DAWN, it points out the “Agencia Bolivariana of News” that in the month of May of 2006, in a ceremony that was carried out in the Central Patio of the Palace of Government of The Peace, the presidents from Bolivia, Moral Evo, of Venezuela, Hugo Cold Chávez, and the vice-president from Cuba, Carlos Lage, they were present witness of the signature of a group of agreements, agreements and understanding memorandums for the activation of the Alternative Bolivariana for the towns of Our America (DAWN) and the Treaty of Trade of the Towns (TCP). The subscribed instruments embrace the education areas, tourism, hydrocarbons, petrochemical, financial, science, technology and communications, atmosphere, security and defense and of the mining.

During the same act, it points out the “ABN”, the Venezuelan president gave eight credits for the execution of productive projects of social organizations, financed by a bottom of 100 million dollars, opened up by the República Bolivariana of Venezuela in favor of the Republic of Bolivia, and that they will be dedicated to finance programs presented by the communities in the following items: you manufacture textile, primary production and wooden transformation, I develop integral of leather, mini industries of foods, plant of prosecution of milk, integral development of the honey, industrialization of the quinua and the creation of the tourist pole.

As regards hydrocarbons, it points out the “it Presses Presidential”, the cooperation agreement signed among Petroleums of Venezuela Anonymous Society (PDVSA) and Locations Oil Bolivian District attorneys (YPFB), it establishes the formation

and training in the work of professionals and Bolivian technicians; equally figure an intention letter for the construction of two plants of prosecution of gas; another for the exploration and exploitation of petroleum and gas, and a third agreement of formation of the Mixed Anonymous Society Petroandina Comercio and Supply, Mixed Anonymous Society." Of equal it forms in the area of the petrochemical one, the presidents of Pequiven and YPFRB, Saúl Ameliach and Jorge Alvarado, they signed an understanding memorandum for the implementation of a petrochemical complex (Fertisur) to produce fertilizers nitrogenados in the Republic of Bolivia.

In the mining they also agreed an understanding memorandum among the Ministry of Basic Industries and Mining of the República Bolivariana of Venezuela and the Ministry of Mining and Metallurgy of the Republic of Bolivia whose objective is to serve as mark of the relationships that contribute to foment the cooperation and complementation of capacities and resources to strengthen the national sovereignty on the mining resources and to impel exploration processes and rational use of the same ones.

In the mark of DAWN'S opening, in Caracas, in the month of May 2006, it points out the "ABN" the protocol of adhesion was approved from Venezuela to the Market Common of the South (MERCOSUR). During a press wheel in the Palace of Miraflores, the Venezuelan President referred that the approval of the document that contains 12 articles, concrete a fight begun in 1998. The advantages of the entrance of Venezuela to the MERCOSUR, refer to that the South American region will be able to gear to the rest of the continent. Inside this scenario, Venezuela will have a vital paper, when possessing a strategic position from the geographical, economic and social optics. From their focus, MERCOSUR doesn't resemble the TLC, because none of its countries members requests something that affects the sovereignty of the nations. This way, the common external tariff, will protect the production of the exports that you/they come from other countries, to become a community that builds a wall, to be protected of the unjust trade of the transnational ones, of the subsidized production, among other aspects.

To WAY OF he/she CLOSES:

For approximately four decades, the foreign policy of all the countries of the world, in the mark of the economy globalizada, it has been sustained contradictorily, in the integration agreements. Processes that, according to authors like Molina (2004) escalonadamente has advanced in Europe, but, for Latin American countries the only existent agreement that projected with force the topic of the integration, has been the Andean Community of Nations (DOG). But, the low foreign policy this entity, fed with the proposal of the RAZORBILL, reason for the one which nowadays he/she understands each other that he/she didn't really take place the referred Latin American integration.

The integration concept is contained equally in the option of the MERCOSUR, based in an area of free bigger trade, to create a situation of having bought fully unified. Nevertheless, it is exhorted their countries members to that you/they don't stay in the "I dream integracionista", in front of the indulgence with the treaties that become of the RAZORBILL with the same integration pretenses. They are recognized as certain all inconveniences among the countries subject to the integration, when arguments are used that are based in the RAZORBILL. What means that the outlined integration objectives, DOG or MERCOSUR have not either reached to be satisfactory, more, when they have been marked by events related with insurgent movements, drug traffic, terrorism and some signs of fragility in the democratic political systems. Phenomenons whose occurrence, many

international analysts have appreciated, as consequence of the subjection of the foreign policies, to the agreements of the RAZORBILL.

To overcome those reefs of an integration that it doesn't cover objectives of improvement of the quality of life in the subjected countries to the agreements of the RAZORBILL, it arises as flag of the social inclusion and of the justness in the distribution of the wealth, the construction of a model of growth and endogenous development, and of an education model for that reinención outline from inside that, in spite of the critic that you/they make sectors detractors, he/she has come taking body starting from big agreements and agreements that base to the DAWN, and that already the operacionalizan like the new integration alternative among Latin American countries.

He/she understands each other that to impel the DAWN it is required of proposals related with the education; in this sense he/she looks at himself toward the component of the superior education from where the changes are argued that the educators should generate in the levels initial and basic of the school system, so that all the Latin American and Caribbean towns have access to the culture and education of high quality; understanding for quality, the integral formation, that is to say, not only cognitive technique or professional, but also, essentially, ethical política, dirigida to form to live and to act in real democracy, that is to say, participativa, of having involved with necessary facultamiento to play the advances in educational matter. To this respect informations related with the discussion are had on the part of the ministers of education of the countries that the MERCOSUR integrates, about the creation of the university of MERCOSUR. This discussion is developed at beginning of the month of February of 2007 in Belo Horizonte, capital of Minas Gerais, Brazil, where he/she is projected the creation of an university for the regional economic block, as he/she informed the Agencia Brasil, official organ of communication of the Government of the South American country.

With the education and transmission of truths that were hidden, the hemispheric commercial opening from the USA toward Latin America and the Caribbean that the RAZORBILL argues, enters in flagrant contradiction with the DAWN'S limits, based on the development and superación of structural imbalances. It is appreciated this way that more than to mean confrontation or "war" among the integration alternatives, they are mere options dicotómicas, excluding, of different premeditation and of opposed effectiveness, irreconcilable purposes, that which doesn't admit bigger discussion, but, courage to conform a civic front, Venezuelan, Latin American that reproduces reasons to argue and to accept as of collective and nationalist coexistence, the support to the agreements subscribed in the DAWN.

As reflexive document, through the written present, exalting the freedom for the integration, it has been wanted to sow the "I benefit of the doubt" about the perpetuity of the capitalist system. It has been tried to generate discussion on of the ignorance of the hidden objectives that you/they had maintained us in situation of alienation y/o in the alignment end, losing our discernment capacity about the convenience of the alternabilidad among State, Market (private property and logic of the capitalist system) and a more and more avid Civil Society of participation and involucramiento, worthy of transparency, as the foundation for the exercise of the right to reproduce wealth starting from the reproduction of the work, and not alone of the reproduction of the capital, to which this Civil Society doesn't have access.

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