

# Shared Principles and Values of the Frente Amplio

*(Approved by the National Plenary, 24 September 2016)*

## Presentation

1. At its VII Congress, held in November 2013, the Frente Amplio resolved to deepen its work on ideological aspects, responding to concerns raised within the organization, which, although not central to its original call, are undoubtedly important for the political orientation of the Frente Amplio itself. In this spirit, the National Plenary appointed a commission in February 2014 to draft a document that would elaborate on the ideological definitions common to and shared among us.

2. Historically, this need has arisen in multiple moments: in Congresses, debates of ideas, discussions around Programmatic Foundations, and in evaluations of our trajectory—from the foundation of the Frente Amplio in 1971 to the present.

3. All our documents and agreements chart the path of our historical political thought. They are evidence of an identity built upon the core values of freedom, equality, solidarity, and justice. These are the values that define us and shape all our political expressions. Our history has been the struggle to overcome the lacerating inequalities produced by a country governed by a privileged minority; to recover democracy after the civic-military dictatorship that overwhelmed institutions and human rights while seeking to suffocate the political and social changes necessary in Uruguay; and to confront, in the neoliberal era, a parasitic and speculative financial system—one that emptied banks, orchestrated bankruptcies, and generated misery among the majority of the population.

**[Note: The “civic-military dictatorship” refers to Uruguay’s authoritarian regime from 1973–1985.]**

4. All public declarations, agreements, manifestos, and commitments assumed by the Frente Amplio since its emergence reaffirmed the principles and values inspired by the Artiguist revolutionary process.

**[Note: “Artiguist” refers to José Artigas, Uruguay’s independence leader, whose egalitarian and federalist ideals are foundational to Uruguayan political identity.]**

Two hundred years after that foundational period of the nation, it is timely to revisit and update those principles—as must be done continuously as the world, the region, and our own country evolve, including as a result of the eleven years of Frente Amplio government.

5. This document seeks to articulate the principles and values shared by all Frente Amplio members, and our common long-term vision regarding Uruguay in a globalized world, sustainable development, the relationships between the State, the market, and society, and democratic institutional life.

6. Accordingly:

a) The document does *not* include definitions of principles or values that are not shared by all. From its origins, the Frente Amplio has been a political force in which individuals, groups, and sectors have held and may continue to hold their own ideological definitions.

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This diversity is an expression of our richness—unity in diversity, without exclusions.

**b)** It does not include diagnoses of the current reality (except where indispensable to support the arguments).

**c)** It does not include programmatic aspects belonging to our Programmatic Foundations.

**d)** It does not include strategic, political line, or organizational considerations. All of these belong to other documents of the Frente Amplio.

**7.** We hope that the process of discussing this document will enrich dialogue and strengthen the commitment of Frente Amplio members, transforming it into a powerful tool for debate with society.

## Chapter I: The Common Values Guiding our Political Action

**8.** The values upon which a society is built constitute its pillars. Which substantive values bring us together as Frente Amplio members, call us to construct the future, allow us to define our vision or target image of the society we seek, and help us choose the path required to make that vision a reality?

**9.** Freedom, equality, work, justice, solidarity, democracy, and peace are the values upon which this political force has built its historical thinking and identity, and even justified its anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist *raison d'être*.

*[Note: “Anti-oligarchic” refers to opposition to concentration of political/economic power in privileged elites; “anti-imperialist” refers to resisting domination by foreign powers, a core Latin American left tradition.]*

**10.** Freedom enables the free and responsible participation of individuals and groups in both individual and collective life. It recognizes the existence of different cultural, religious, and ideological visions within the same society, and affirms the right to organize and express oneself socially. Freedom is a value of the highest order—inalienable and non-negotiable—because it is a basic pillar of human beings and of the most advanced and solidarity-based societies. It is a central value that orients the system of ideas within Frente Amplio thought.

**11.** The creation and distribution of knowledge and capabilities among people—individually, socially, and institutionally—together with the development of bonds, associations, and networks, and with equity and income distribution, are indispensable components for achieving equality. Incorporating the analysis of inequalities and applying transversal actions related to gender equity, intergenerational equity, ethnic-racial equity, equity based on sexual orientation, or place of birth or residence, constitutes an essential tool for promoting justice and is fundamental for pursuing sustainable development. The reforms carried out by this political project in universal social services, as well as the promotional dimension of certain public policies related to income, services, and rights, have been a first step toward social integration.

**12.** It is necessary to deepen this process by consolidating high-quality public goods that foster equal opportunities, along with specific strategies that enable differentiated access to certain public goods—forms of positive discrimination—to achieve equality in outcomes. Within this framework, improving income distribution—as Frente Amplio governments have

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done—is a requirement for reducing distances between social strata and fostering cohesion.

**13.** Solidarity, justice, democracy, and peace can only become effective through universal educational inclusion, contributing to the construction of a shared scale of values throughout society. Efforts to deconstruct violent relational stereotypes and to affirm these central values—values necessary for harmonious and sustainable development—are a priority for the Frente Amplio. Advancing in this direction requires investment in strategic areas, one of which is education. Universal, diversified, high-quality education will play a decisive role in sustainable development, which demands increasingly specialized education and training. Primary and secondary education are necessary and indispensable stages, but they must be complemented by high-quality tertiary and university education accessible to all. Cultural and educational formation will require a significant institutional effort to achieve the integral development of society and to establish strategic goals defined with transparency and precision, within a broad, diverse educational system consistent with the demands of a democratic society.

**14.** This central strategy—key to promoting equality and developing free individuals—can be complemented by monetary transfers and other social assistance policies that substantially improve the living conditions of individuals and families in situations of actual or potential vulnerability. But equity is grounded in a social protection system with strong universal components and an assistance network linked to those components, because the basis of equality lies in building individual and social capabilities—human and social—and institutional capacities.

**15.** We affirm and elevate dignified, creative work as a principal value of human development—work as the creation and recreation of the human person.

**16.** Therefore, work is a central value that justifies and explains the necessary construction of individual and social capabilities; it is linked to personal improvement and contributions to society, without gender or social stereotypes in the allocation of work—whether paid or unpaid. We speak of development when this process of contributing to the social effort takes place within growing frameworks of equity, justice, and participation in collective decision-making, accompanied by fair remuneration. And particularly, when this effort translates into forms of personal advancement, the construction of life projects, and personal and community fulfillment. Ultimately, it concerns the happiness of human beings—the central objective of any development process.

**17.** Social justice unequivocally requires the eradication of poverty in all its dimensions and the overcoming of structural inequalities—within capitalist societies whose diverse degrees of exploitation and social marginalization generate these inequalities. Thus, its achievement is linked to developing the human and social potential of the population, as well as building the material conditions that make it possible.

**18.** There is no development without a substantial reduction of inequalities, recognizing that these inequalities reinforce one another. Social justice requires greater equality and community—spaces where reciprocity and collective commitment extend beyond market logics and greed, promoting solidarity-based values of cooperation, shared responsibility, and integration.

**19.** Building social justice demands the establishment of a framework of coexistence that must be continually reaffirmed, because every society—even those with advanced levels of development and equity—is a human structure marked by conflict and diverse interests, where different systems of economic or cultural domination can easily take hold.

**20.** To make this possible within the current historical moment, and the medium-term horizon we envision, it is necessary to construct and consolidate a new Social Protection Matrix whose purpose is to guarantee the full exercise of rights for all inhabitants of the country under conditions of equity; to ensure equal opportunities for access to dignified work, universal social services, and high-quality social benefits; and to promote social cohesion. To achieve these objectives, the social protection matrix must include universal, high-quality components (health, education, housing and habitat, labor and employment, social security, culture, and social communication, among others), accompanied by an assistance and social integration network aimed at addressing and combating inequalities and rights violations—closely linked with the universal components. However, the shared responsibility of the State and society in creating these support networks—especially for care tasks traditionally carried out within families—must be complemented by a new cultural matrix that does not assign care for dependent populations exclusively to women, whether paid or unpaid. Building a future of social justice and substantive equality requires confronting and dismantling this sexual division of labor, which has historically sustained exploitation-based systems.

**21.** Collective trust in building the future and trust in social coexistence are highly relevant values in processes of transformation and future construction. Trust is built through dialogue and the institutionalized channelling of social contradictions and interests. This, in turn, generates new sources of trust and a foundation for dialogue, ultimately supporting solidarity and the shared responsibility of all individuals in the collective construction of society.

**22.** Solidarity implies recognizing oneself in others and adopting an attitude of understanding and support—especially toward the most vulnerable and those least supported or promoted by society. Political solidarity is a value guiding the programmatic and strategic vision of our political force. Solidarity is confronted daily in the struggle against individualistic, conservative, and consumerist anti-values that generate false expectations and ongoing frustration. Solidarity stands in opposition to individualistic and neoliberal economic approaches that marked Uruguay's recent past and continue to dominate in many societies of the region and world.

*[Note: “Neoliberal” refers to market-centered economic reforms in Latin America during the 1980s–1990s, emphasizing privatization, deregulation, and reduced welfare systems.]*

**23.** The gradual consolidation and expansion of solidarity-based and cooperative areas of organization—across economic, social, and cultural life—are part of this development vision. They reflect the diversity of models for organizing production and social activity.

**24.** This enables progress toward full social inclusion, understood as a way to heal the wounds caused by Uruguay's territorial and socioeconomic fragmentation—wounds that have most affected those harmed by exclusionary socioeconomic dynamics at the end of the last century and the beginning of this one. This inclusion must arise not only from equal opportunities for all, but also from equality in outcomes in relation to the efforts made.

**25.** We aspire to a society in which peace is a widely accepted value, and therefore an objective to be built with perseverance. Dialogue must be the primary means of addressing conflicts and ensuring they unfold within democratic institutional frameworks and rules of the game. It is about building solidaristic relations and promoting forms of interaction that are agreed upon—or even consensual—regarding the objectives of social transformation and the means to achieve them.

**26.** The democracy we aspire to trusts in the people's sound judgment, in their free and responsible participation, and in pluralism—a reciprocal pact of respect despite conflict, one that promotes and protects human rights in all their dimensions.

**27.** We believe in a democracy where people participate freely and responsibly—not only through voting—through a plurality of political parties arising from different interpretations of social reality, as well as through multiple social organizations and intermediary groups. A living and real democracy, with effective popular participation in public affairs. The vitality of democracy also expresses itself through social, neighborhood, community, labor, union, student, and human-rights organizations actively participate in the construction of citizenship.

**28.** Pluralism must be reflected in the full and equal acceptance of different political, religious, ideological, cultural, and social currents, and in their right to organize, cultivate, and disseminate their values.

**29.** Democratic institutions cannot be sustained without customs, values, and behaviors that support them—recognizing the superior authority of the citizenry as a whole, within a framework of broad freedoms and pluralism. On these foundations, democratic institutions outline the paths to access power and limit its use by those who hold it.

**30.** Democracy must include—not as a mere formality but as a commitment worth working for—a rights agenda clearly established in the corresponding chapter of the Constitution of the Republic. In defense of these political and social rights, our political force, the Frente Amplio, was born, with a permanent commitment to deepening democracy, reiterated in our political and programmatic documents from our founding to the present.

*[Note: Uruguay's 1967 Constitution—and its reforms—codifies an expansive set of civil, political, and social rights.]*

**31.** In this regard, the Frente Amplio defined in 1984 its orientation toward building an authentic democracy capable of serving the entire Uruguayan society—one supported by popular initiative and participation, which strengthen institutional forms and mechanisms; one that promotes permanent citizen oversight of major national decisions, expanding the use of instruments such as plebiscites, referenda, and popular initiatives, and strengthening other mechanisms of direct democracy; and one that defends a political system based on party plurality, ensuring that the popular will can access power structures expressed in the State, and promoting electoral legislation that guarantees such access, eliminating all factors that have traditionally hindered or distorted it.

*[Note: The 1984 reference corresponds to the period of democratic restoration following the civic-military dictatorship (1973–1985).]*

**32.** The experience of struggle in our recent history has taught us that essential aspects of democratic institutional life include the ideals of freedom—freedom of expression, the full

functioning of political parties and social organizations, and the electoral regime that regulates the renewal of constitutional organs of government.

**33.** As a recognition of the value of people acting in society, there is no doubt about the strength of grounding a national project in human rights:

- civil and political rights, linked to the principle of freedom;
- economic, social, and cultural rights, linked to equality;
- the rights of peoples, linked to solidarity;
- and the rights of future generations, linked to environmental conservation.

**34.** All human rights require the unwavering affirmation of their validity and permanence, and they constitute today—more than ever—an essential affirmation of our political force in its vision of development.

**35.** All human rights—civil and political rights such as the right to life, human dignity, equality before the law, and freedom of expression; economic, social, and cultural rights such as the right to work, social security, and education; the rights of peoples, such as the rights to development and self-determination; and the rights of future generations to inherit an unpolluted and biologically diverse planet—are indivisible, interrelated, and interdependent. The advancement of one facilitates the advancement of the others, just as the deprivation of one affects them all.

**36.** People have rights, and these rights are linked to the responsibilities that life in society demands—so that we may coexist in a context of growing collective satisfaction, and of personal and social advancement.

**37.** There can be no development without a profound respect for human rights, guaranteed by productive, social, political, and cultural structures, as well as by juridical agreements established within the full exercise of democracy and the rule of law.

**38.** The historical pursuit of truth, memory, and justice has marked the struggle for the validity of human rights. Deepening democracy requires continuity in this struggle.  
*[Note: In Uruguay, “truth, memory, and justice” refers primarily to accountability processes for crimes committed during the civic-military dictatorship (1973–1985).]*

**39.** In the medium and long term, it is also necessary to build social co-responsibility for development. Development is not the exclusive responsibility of the State or of any single social sector. On the contrary, it is the product of the joint efforts of workers, businesses, the State, and social actors and institutions. It is a responsibility that should involve all citizens and society in its diverse spaces and forms of organization. This implies fostering values, culture, and education around personal and collective responsibility in building a more developed, just, and democratic society.

**40.** We must develop and regulate aspects related to norms of coexistence, systems of incentives and disincentives, and everything concerning the ways of living together in society for all citizens.

**41.** Rights, and the efforts to realize them through public policies and sectoral, group, or institutional contributions, must be balanced with similar levels of individual, collective, and national obligations. There can be no rights without obligations.

**42.** An integrative and democratic coexistence requires a profound questioning of violence—in domestic life, in sports, in traffic, and in communities—upholding the right of all people to human dignity, and building a citizen security model as a social value constructed through the involvement of multiple actors.

**43.** The concept of shared responsibility, and the democratic and solidarity-based vision of society, stand in opposition to self-regulation and corporatism as approaches to management and social participation. The partial interests of pressure groups and the pursuit of immediate benefits are *not* part of a comprehensive, long-term approach to development and structural transformation—an approach based on the strategic values defined earlier and on the collective, long-term perspective typical of political parties, though not exclusive to them.

*[Note: In Uruguay, “corporativismo” refers to excessive influence of sectoral pressure groups—unions, business chambers, corporations—over public policy.]*

**44.** Social forces are also key protagonists in progressive transformations. Creating a denser, more integrated, and solidarity-based social fabric is both part of the strategy and part of the objective. This involves individuals and groups assuming a fair and necessary balance between rights and responsibilities.

**45.** Trust and social cohesion must be cultivated in all areas, but one of their pillars lies in spaces of collective management and administration. Transparency and ethical governance are distinctive qualities of a left political force that promotes value changes associated with a culture of service, honesty, commitment, and rigorous public administration. Public affairs demand a renewed and careful ethics of power. Abuse of power and its use for personal benefit are contrary to this ethical conception.

**46.** This set of central values—which we hope will characterize society in the medium term—requires a set of institutions and social relations different from those that currently exist. The new juridical-institutional frameworks to be built must ensure the prioritization and constant promotion of these values as part of the collective culture. Social values are built or destroyed, deepened or trivialized, depending on how deeply they take root in subjective and collective principles, but also depending on the juridical and institutional frameworks that determine or condition individual and group behavior. This will require multiple and progressive modifications to existing institutions.

Perfecto — seguimos con el siguiente bloque, que abarca el comienzo del **Capítulo II (Uruguay en un mundo globalizado)** y el inicio del **Capítulo III (Desarrollo sostenible)**.

## Chapter II: Uruguay in a Globalized World

**47.** We aim to contribute to the creation of a more just and solidarity-based international community, and to build a nation as an integrating project and process for society, since our viability as a country is linked to regional and global integration.

**48.** The devastating effects of capitalist globalization on the lives of millions of human beings—as well as the planet's climate change, generated by production and consumption patterns determined by the logic of capital accumulation in the current phase of financial predominance and market deregulation—demonstrate the unavoidable need to create conditions for overcoming current forms of social production.

**49.** The current crisis of capitalism is a crisis of vast scale, centered in the richest countries, and one that deepens its own contradictions: harming the environment and habitat, insisting on self-destructive energy matrices, failing to regulate food production to meet humanity's needs, and excluding thousands of people from work and other fundamental rights. These problems stem from the concentration of capital through large multinational corporations, which—supported by global communication technologies—preserve the profit rates of those who control them. Globalization, boosted by the technological revolution, intensifies the role of transnational corporations in appropriating knowledge through intellectual property and patent regimes. Another component of globalization is the absence of regulation of international financial flows and the imposition of unfair trade rules. Neoliberalism—as capital's global strategy to sustain profit rates—reduces and negatively affects working and living conditions for workers and peoples worldwide. All of this calls for a new international governance.

**50.** The international context of the early twenty-first century shows changes relative to earlier trends: the military and communication hegemony of the United States remains, but an asymmetrical multipolarity has emerged in the economic and commercial spheres—one marked by great instability. Crises generated by these trends concentrate gains among increasingly wealthy privileged groups, while excluding large populations from access to goods and services. These dynamics produce social instability and force millions of people to migrate in search of survival. This unjust process fuels authoritarianisms, fanatical and ultra-conservative positions, and cultural stereotypes far removed from respect for human rights. As a response, globalized capitalism resorts to military power, generating an era of global insecurity and violence.

**51.** The 2008 financial crisis, originating in the United States, is the deepest—and appears to be the most prolonged—crisis since the Great Depression of 1929, severely affecting production levels, incomes, and employment. This crisis heightens contradictions between capital and labor at multiple levels: between financial and productive capital; between state regulatory needs and speculative capital seeking to preserve profit rates by transferring losses onto workers domestically and worldwide. This is clearly evident in measures adopted within the European Union that undermine historical achievements of workers.  
*[Note: This refers to austerity measures in the EU following the 2008 crisis.]*

**52.** In this conflictive and aggressive globalized world, our country commits to regional integration—not only economic integration. We share common roots, common languages, and we embrace our diversity without discrimination. For small countries like Uruguay—limited in territory, population, and economic scale, and therefore facing difficulties in competing in sectors requiring higher industrialization—it is essential to establish productive complementation agreements that allow joint access to world markets, in addition to the regional market, which is highly significant on its own.

**53.** It is necessary to exchange experiences, deepen mutual understanding, and strengthen a Latin American bloc that can become a significant actor in defending peace,



the environment, sovereignty, the principle of national self-determination, and the negotiated resolution of international conflicts.

**54.** Politics is necessary as the capacity to forge broad, solid, long-term agreements that serve the general interest, and our Frente Amplio must embody this. Alongside politics stands democracy, as the way of organizing politics and structuring society. Democracy must be *deeply* committed to freedom, pluralism, and equality, enabling the basic consensuses required to fulfill these premises.

**55.** Democracy as a condition for progress. This must be our contribution to regional and global integration—improving globalization for our peoples by transforming its content and therefore its consequences.

**56.** In all our integration agreements, democracy and sovereignty must be strengthened. A left government cannot remain indifferent to the political systems of its potential allies.

**57.** Changing the content of globalization must be linked to internationalism as the action of peoples. This implies that concern for the world extends beyond commercial openness, and that international solidarity with peoples—not just those in our region—is essential when defining a left-wing international policy. This aligns with horizontal South–South cooperation, free from asymmetries.

**58.** Our struggle for peace and international security always requires condemning unilateral or multilateral interventions that deviate from building a collective security system to which all are responsible. Global environmental problems cannot be solved through agreements among only the major world actors. Fairer global trade rules cannot be imposed by a small group of powerful nations. Contribution must be made to the long, laborious, and legitimate path of multilateral negotiation in all regional and international organizations to which Uruguay belongs.

**59.** Our international conduct must contribute to building a fairer international law and expanding its application. Compliance with international law goes hand in hand with the promotion and protection of human rights throughout the world.

**60.** The left is global—or it is not. Latin American left movements cannot remain closed in on themselves; the experiences of European lefts—old and new—must not be ignored; global emancipatory movements form part of the left's tradition; and what happens in sub-Saharan Africa, the Maghreb, the Middle East, the Slavic world, South Asia, or the Far East must also concern us. Solidarity with the peoples of the world cannot be geographically limited.

*[Note: This reflects the FA's long-standing tradition of internationalist identity.]*

**61.** A left-wing, Frente Amplio foreign policy must play a central role in Uruguay's sustainable development strategy. It is a highly relevant public policy, and must always be at the service of the people—with the people and for the people.

**62.** Regional integration and the construction of a fairer international order. Integration processes in our region have two enemies: short-sighted nationalist positions and extra-regional actors who prefer the absence of a strong, united bloc on the international stage. Integration is not built to expand the nation-state; it is built from republican principles, where supranational institutions must increasingly gain weight and importance.

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**63.** Prioritizing the region must be framed within the strategic importance of promoting South–South relations—not only economic and commercial, but also political. Uruguay’s foreign policy must prioritize complex and diverse relations with Mercosur partners; take on the challenge of articulating overlapping integration processes in the continent; confront difficulties in fulfilling Mercosur agreements; and sustain the aspiration for our countries to develop an effective and active external agenda as a bloc, especially with Southern nations. This perspective must aim to deepen Latin American integration, still fragile and jeopardized by dominant international interests.

**64.** Regional defense constitutes a public good, and we are not exempt from contributing with our human and material resources. Regional and global governance is also our concern and includes a geo-strategic dimension. Brazil and Argentina are not merely neighbors from whom we expect to sell higher-value-added goods—they are countries with which we must deepen mutual trust and cooperation in defense and security, with full respect for human rights.

**65.** A left foreign policy must strengthen and guarantee the full exercise of political rights across the world, fighting to secure the vote for Uruguayans living abroad. The active participation of all Uruguayans—regardless of residence—in national democratic life is an inalienable right.

## **Chapter III: Sustainable Development**

**66.** The concept of development is dynamic and must be understood in relation to a specific historical moment. Although development—as a concept used to identify characteristics of certain societies—belongs mainly to the 20th century and reflects certain achievements, it is not a barrier that is simply crossed. We adhere to the concept of *human development* in evaluating whether the goods and services produced in a society are distributed or made accessible equitably among its population, without discrimination.

**67.** The countries that today are considered “developed” reached that status through productive transformations linked to industrialization and technological change; through the development of institutional capacities within the State and the formation of Welfare States; through processes of urbanization; and through major demographic changes associated with the consolidation of political democracy.

**68.** But although there are identifiable traits of development, these models are neither replicable nor desirable in every respect, since they have often involved the exploitation of inequalities associated with colonial and imperial domination—inequalities that condemn vast human populations in different regions of the planet to extreme poverty. They have also relied on hyper-consumption and the waste of natural resources, undermining environmental sustainability; they have been built on various forms of exclusion and inequality within their own societies; and, in some cases, even worse, have developed in the absence of freedom and democracy.

**69.** These ways of organizing society are becoming socially and environmentally unsustainable. Growth lacking ethics and sustainability does not form part of our ideological horizon and distances us from such proposals.

**70.** The practical formulation and parameters of development will necessarily evolve over time alongside social and scientific advances achieved by humanity. Since these parameters are unpredictable in the very long term, it is necessary to build scenarios based on concepts and timeframes that allow some measure of foresight. A development strategy and its associated goals must therefore be presented in relation to the historical moment in which we live—including its international context—and to the target image of country and society within a medium-term horizon.

**71.** Development must be conceived within a framework of referential values—its conceptual and ethical foundations—and along the guiding axes through which decisions are made and social alternatives are constructed. Increasingly, development is understood as involving integrated dimensions corresponding to the four basic forms of capital:

- natural resources available in a society;
- the capital developed by society itself in its diverse forms (infrastructure, productive, commercial, etc.);
- human resources, determined by the quality of nutrition, health, education, etc.;
- and social capital, referring to the collectively created social fabric, its ability to analyze, understand, make decisions, and mobilize all available human and material capacities.

No development process can be imagined if any one of these dimensions is disregarded or stimulated only partially. Development is comprehensive and integrative across all four areas, and its fullest potential is achieved through a balanced and interactive relationship among them.

**72.** The concept of development is multidimensional and encompasses social transformation and the adoption of individual, social, and institutional capacities. The Frente Amplio seeks a mode of development that reconciles rising material living standards with the expansion of freedoms and political participation, and with the construction of a progressively more egalitarian, solidarity-based, and co-responsible society.

**73.** This approach acknowledges that higher living standards and more advanced forms of social organization rely on increasing productive capacities.

**74.** Our society has experienced important cycles of growth followed by depressive periods, generating high levels of volatility. These experiences teach us that economic growth alone does not lead to more democracy, more equality, better services, greater cultural development, or improved well-being. The global idea of a productive country with equity is based on expanding wealth—because without economic growth there can be no change—and, at the same time, democratizing that wealth by building equality from the ground up and avoiding the constant reproduction of inequality, which is costly to reverse later. Moreover, since development is a dynamic concept, it is not enough to just distribute resources more fairly at any given moment; what is essential is finding ways to build a society capable of permanently reproducing the foundations of prosperity.

**75.** We conceive productive development as a process of transformation, specialization, and diversification of productive structures—incorporating research, scientific and technological knowledge; generating decent work; protecting the environment; and

improving quality of life. The network of public institutions plays a strategic role in this process.

**76.** Regarding structural transformation, regional integration is a key component—an especially suitable arena for strong productive integration, scientific-technological development, financial autonomy, and market integration. Culturally as well, regional integration is central, supported by preexisting cultural and linguistic affinities not always present in other successful integration processes. The development to which Uruguayan society can aspire cannot move forward disconnected from its closest regional environment or from an increasingly interconnected and globalized world. As a small country, Uruguay's development is unavoidably based on competitive integration into regional and global markets, while simultaneously defending and cultivating its cultural identity, and maintaining a system of science, technology, and innovation oriented toward the requirements of sustainable reproduction.

**77.** We are aware that world economic growth has to some extent been carried out at the expense of the environmental heritage of future generations—generating imbalances such as climate change, the destruction of ecosystems, and the extinction of animal and plant species. We now recognize that our development must incorporate environmental conservation and biosphere equilibrium.

**78.** Our concept of economic and social development promotes sustainability in ecological, social, economic, political, and cultural dimensions. Environmental protection requires us to defend life in all its forms and to seek ways of improving population well-being in harmony with our surroundings.

**79.** Our commitment to present and future generations is to promote sustainable development in all its dimensions. The social and economic development strategy must ensure proper functioning of natural systems and must treat environmental management of the territory as an unavoidable requirement for sustaining life while fulfilling development objectives.

**80.** The current environmental problems of the planet are extremely serious, including: growing greenhouse gas emissions; climate change marked by frequent floods and prolonged droughts; soil erosion; air pollution; the accelerated erosion of genetic resources; the disappearance of animal and plant species; the loss of ecosystems; indiscriminate use of toxic industrial products; waterway contamination; and the uncontrolled growth of urban settlements and inadequate disposal of industrial and household waste. These constitute a set of human-induced actions with severe consequences in the short, medium, and long term.

**81.** These situations have grave consequences for the planet and for humanity—affecting poorer sectors more intensely, since they are the most vulnerable.

**82.** Environmental and sustainability issues have increasingly gained relevance in global development debates and in proposals to achieve growing levels of well-being. The Frente Amplio has likewise incorporated these issues, increasingly expanding their importance within the vision guiding our actions in government.

**83.** In a long-term perspective, reversing the complex and troubling environmental reality of the planet requires building political capacity to confront and change the economic and

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social development model—within the context of globalized interdependence. This will demand significant changes in individual and collective attitudes and behaviors.

**84.** Improving living standards must not be confused with unrestrained or excessive consumerism, driven by countless mechanisms of capitalist society. These mechanisms create a comfort that is more apparent than real: although they may generate certain forms of growth, they also produce alienation and human and social dissatisfaction.

**85.** All this must be addressed without underestimating the value of natural resources—which are indispensable for medium-term growth and development—and while promoting ingenuity and creativity, and scientific and technological progress, without harming the country's natural heritage or the legacy owed to future generations. A responsible balance must be found between sustaining robust economic growth, orienting technological development and innovation to respect environmental equilibrium, and establishing strategies for climate-change mitigation and adaptation.

**86.** In our development vision, growth, distribution, technological change, and environmental protection must be considered jointly, within an integrated perspective. The key to sustainable development lies in balancing these elements.

**87.** We must generate mechanisms of solidarity in administering territorial resources as part of a planned public policy for sustainable development—mechanisms that ensure effective involvement of civil society and its organizations in activities and processes related to territorial planning, as well as their participation in monitoring and evaluating such management.

**88.** Uruguay's population and its territorial distribution are also essential components of sustainable development. Public policies must therefore adopt transversal approaches attentive to demographic dynamics that guide the pursuit of proposed values and sustained improvements in quality of life—within a framework of growing equity and social integration.

Perfecto — Llegamos al **bloque final del Documento 1**, que incluye **todo el Capítulo IV (Estado, mercado y sociedad)** y **todo el Capítulo V (Institucionalidad democrática, poder y gobierno)**.

Con este bloque, el primer documento queda **100% traducido**.

## Chapter IV: State, Market and Society

**89.** The conceptualization of the role of the State, the market, and society—and the ways of thinking and acting upon their interactions—constitute a specific sphere of politics.

**90.** In a democracy, the State is responsible for executing public policies that result from the activity of an authority vested with public power and governmental legitimacy. Our policies must take the form of a set of practices and norms stemming from one or several political actors: a government without a State cannot transform society; a State without a government is unpredictable in the short term and, in the long term, inevitably serves the most powerful.

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**91.** In our conception, the State must fulfill a fundamental political role in building our country and achieving sustainable development. This includes the broadest areas of social, economic, cultural, and political activity. The State we aspire to construct is characterized by high levels of efficiency and effectiveness—without becoming a bureaucratic or oversized institution. On the contrary, in our view, the State is an instrument of permanent transformation and therefore requires ongoing temporal and social adaptation. It must adopt dynamic and modern patterns of action and social construction, taking advantage of the synergy generated between innovation, technological development, management, and administration—linked to social participation in the collective construction of society. We seek a State that is guiding, regulating, social, and entrepreneurial—in other words, one that serves a program of growth, wealth distribution, modernization, democratization, and social inclusion. In short, a State that must be reclaimed to adequately fulfill its role as the driver of national development.

**92.** It must promote and guarantee access for all inhabitants to public services, to knowledge, to cultural goods, and to information and communication technologies—without discrimination and under conditions of equity—reinforcing its role as guarantor of the exercise of rights. It must promote inclusion and social integration, and ensure equitable distribution of the goods and services produced in the country. This implies a permanent review of its routines, norms, and action protocols, overcoming cultural stereotypes that discriminate and hinder progress toward these objectives. As indicated earlier, the strategic planning of objectives, goals, actions, and budget indicators serves as a support for its own transformation.

**93.** In its current phase, capitalism establishes inequalities through the private appropriation and exploitation of knowledge. In response, the State must promote a free and open knowledge society, with equity in access to and production of cultural goods. To this end, it must facilitate the absorption, reuse, and adaptation of knowledge for national cultural, scientific, and technological development.

**94.** For us, the State is both a powerful lever for national development and the guarantor of that development, as well as the creator of conditions that benefit society as a whole. The State will help resolve existing inequalities and maintain a presence in the strategic areas of the economy, firmly developing its role as coordinator.

**95.** The national development process requires State participation in regulating activities that may produce short-term benefits but entail economic, social, and environmental risks in the medium and long term.

**96.** The form of organization and exercise of State authority is one of the main issues of politics. In relation to economic relations, several aspects stand out:

**(a)** First, the system of promotion and regulation (via administrative and tax norms), with incentives aimed at promoting investment, technological innovation, and a National Innovation and Development System that increases productivity, generates quality employment, and contributes to social well-being and national autonomy—all while ensuring competitive international insertion.

**(b)** Second, defining instruments that promote economic and social development with particular attention to the cooperative and solidarity-based sector of the economy, ensuring that these enterprises are economically viable in the medium and long term.

**(c)** Third, the State is responsible for developing institutions and social spaces oriented toward planning, mobilizing social resources in the directions anticipated for areas whose results emerge over long periods.

**97.** The market, as the sole regulatory mechanism of the economy, has proven ineffective in solving development problems as conceived by the Frente Amplio. This has been demonstrated broadly by Latin American experiences in past decades, as well as those in other world regions. Likewise, systems regulated exclusively by the State have proven ineffective in building genuine paths of democratic development. When used in isolation, both mechanisms have become instruments of social subordination and have failed to deliver outcomes beneficial to society.

**98.** Our social project envisions a fair articulation between State and market. This relationship will always involve social contradictions, but it is the path toward a socio-economic model that best coordinates production units, workers and employers, and producers and consumers. The State must responsibly manage a strategic balance between public management and market mechanisms, seeking diverse forms of social cooperation and national development.

**99.** In an economy with three sectors—public, private, and cooperative/social-solidarity—responsibilities and strategic agreements must be defined to promote national development, summarized as follows:

**100.** The State must:

(a) produce public and strategic goods, especially in public infrastructure, energy, telecommunications, innovation, and the creation of an environment that enables economic functioning;

(b) provide goods with major societal benefits—such as education, health, culture, and citizenship-building—while also encouraging personal and community initiatives involved in providing these same goods.

**101.** Public enterprises and services are not exempt from demands for innovation, productivity, competitiveness, efficiency, and quality—and they are equally responsible for relations with workers, suppliers, and users of the goods and services produced.

**102.** We conceive private enterprise—whose logic is maximizing profit—as contributing to social solidarity and well-being from the moment value is created. Business success must be tied to contributing to the common good and improving productive capacity (productivity), without appealing to spurious rents or wage reductions as a way to maintain competitiveness.

**103.** The cooperative and social-solidarity sector—where associations of workers and/or users own and manage enterprises—should increasingly play an important role in the national economy.

**104.** Our vision of society, which includes the various actors involved in economic, social, and cultural life, is that these actors must participate and engage in building a new culture

—one that opposes dominant individualism and consumerism. We value the construction of shared public happiness by diverse actors, beyond the particular interests that shape their participation in society. The demands and proposed solutions to societal problems must emphasize managing community affairs, encouraging social influence, and ensuring accountability.

**105.** We aspire to an active and autonomous civil society, free to develop its own spaces, with voice, initiative, critical capacity, and oversight over public power.

**106.** The State must interact with organized civil society around diverse interests that stimulate association. A State seeking to guarantee rights must encourage organization and strengthen civil society, maintaining permanent dialogue that allows the State to identify necessary changes to secure accessibility and equality of opportunity.

## Chapter V: Democratic Institutional Life, Power, and Government

**107.** Historically, the foundation of the Frente Amplio responded to two challenges facing Uruguayan society in the second half of the twentieth century:

(a) halting the advance of authoritarianism, which sought to impose the harshest forms of domination; and

(b) building a broad political and social consensus capable of driving a project of integral development grounded in freedom and social justice.

Dictatorship or Democracy, Oligarchy or People, National Development or Dependence.

*[Note: Refers to the authoritarian drift of Uruguay prior to the 1973–1985 dictatorship.]*

**108.** The popular movement responded through the patient and determined construction of a unified labor confederation (overcoming decades of divisions and conflict), through political and social struggles against *Pachequista* authoritarianism, and ultimately through the foundation of the broad, inclusive political expression of the left and progressive forces: the Frente Amplio.

*[Note: “Pachequista” refers to President Jorge Pacheco Areco (1967–1972), known for heavy-handed repression and emergency rule.]*

The immediate commitment was to run in the 1971 elections with two major innovations: a single presidential candidate and a government program grounded in shared values and diverse ideologies—united by an ethics of political action based on freedom, equality, work, justice, solidarity, democracy, and peace. The Frente Amplio was born with a will to govern—both as resistance and as an alternative to the model of big capital.

**109.** After the long night of dictatorship, the Frente Amplio reemerged strengthened, with the same founding commitment: democracy and development go hand in hand, as do freedom and equality. The struggle against dictatorship taught the Frente Amplio to insist on deepening democracy and expanding citizen participation. The conviction is clear: democracy is defended by extending it to all aspects of civic life. Such a complex process—one that transforms power relations—requires patience and rejects shortcuts. It demands sustained citizen education and transformative political action.

**110.** For the left, the exercise of government and power must be founded on austerity, honesty, and faithful fulfillment of programmatic commitments made to the citizenry. It is a

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struggle against clientelism, corruption, corporatism, and any form of power used for personal or privileged group benefit, as well as against any form of violence exercised through institutional means—all of which must be subject to permanent ethical monitoring from a left perspective.

**111.** The ability to effectively influence society and generate change requires decisions with real possibilities of implementation. Such decisions must be based on negotiation processes, coordination among social and institutional actors, and engagement with citizens—where the political force, its organization, initiative, and responsiveness are essential.

**112.** Spaces of encounter, formation, and synthesis among Frente Amplio members at all levels—territorial, functional, thematic—such as the National Plenary, grassroots committees, political parties and sectors, are fundamental to the ongoing political work of the Frente Amplio. A political party of this size, with responsibilities in daily political action and in national, departmental, and municipal government, must continuously expand the participation and support of its social base. Its nature as both a coalition and a movement—its multi-class character and pluralism—are inherent to the political and cultural identity of the Frente Amplio. These traits must be reaffirmed while maintaining unity of strategy, leadership, and action to strengthen the political project representing national majorities. Political debate enriches us; the resulting synthesis must represent all and guide collective action.

**113.** This model of social construction is neither spontaneous nor granted—it must be built through the participation of all. To effectively respond to environmental challenges, inclusion, equity, democratic communication, and access to knowledge, among other issues, it is necessary to rebuild the world toward sustainability. In this task, our political force and civil society impulses play substantive roles.

**114.** We reaffirm our historical role in a democratic and republican system in which we participate, contribute to its care and development, and work toward its expansion and deepening—within an institutional framework that is balanced, transparent, and respectful of the different areas of State power. Within this institutional framework, we are part of a political system composed of diverse parties and political organizations that contribute from different ideological angles to national construction—where conflict over representation of interests and opposing visions predominates, as we acknowledge and respect. We reaffirm the importance of political plurality and the ongoing creation and reconstruction of national institutions that allow growing levels of citizen participation as a generator of ideas, opinions, accountability, and as a check on abuses of State power.

**115.** Citizenship-building, expanding spaces for analysis and decision-making on collective matters, and creating public goods allow for ongoing subsidiarity in public administration—understood as the principle whereby a government matter should be resolved by the authority closest to the citizenry. Based on this principle, the Frente Amplio has driven deep institutional transformation, including the creation of a third level of government. *[Note: Uruguay's "third level of government" refers to the creation of elected municipal councils below the departmental level (2010 reform).]*

**116.** Consolidating and deepening democracy requires—indispensably—citizens capable of pursuing life projects oriented toward personal and collective happiness. Government,

through the State's institutional architecture, public policies, and full respect for the rule of law, must promote this democratic citizenship—active and socially engaged.

**117.** Encouraging social organization is fundamental to building democratic citizenship. Social organizations created by citizens must be autonomous—setting their own agendas and objectives—capable of taking initiative and influencing political and social debate. At the same time, a democratic and pluralistic society is *not* a federation of corporations defending narrow interests above those of the whole. Social organizations that contribute to democratic institutional life must define their goals and actions with regard to how they contribute to integral development and shared public happiness.

**118.** Ultimately, it is necessary to confront the concept of democracy with the experience of its practice in government—and to allow this practice to enrich the concept itself.

**119.** Activating civil society, developing all institutional spaces and those created by society for citizen participation in State administration—in the functioning of public powers, in management and oversight, in promoting initiatives—in short, the full democratization of society so that its functioning is not foreign or distant to citizens: these were central goals of the Frente Amplio in government, from the beginning and up to the present, acknowledging errors and difficulties along the way.

**120.** Our objective is that citizens do not feel like citizens only once every five years, but every day—that they be able to exercise this protagonism through political spaces and through social organizations. Otherwise, if we do not build necessary spaces for popular participation, if we do not interact with them from government and from the political force, we risk falling into a form of State paternalism that generates a void distancing civil society—especially popular organizations—from the national project underway, weakening its historical projection.