## **Abstracts**

## The Debate on Central Bank Independence Jorge Alano Silveira Garagorry

This article addresses the debate on the autonomy of the central bank, which is taking place in Brazilian society. It seeks to analyze its economic and political significance, in particular its coherence with the ideology of popular sovereignty.

## Unsustainable Development Célia M. Motta

Theories, strategies and promises of development sustained the programs of various Brazilian governments (whether dictatorial, "democratic" or "re-democratizing"), justified successively by the need to "reestablish" political, economic and social order. There was no economic development, political order is questionable and society is mired in misery – but the argument continues to be repeated.

## Imperialist Globalization Marcos Del Roio

One debate that is underway today and that has important political implications involves the character of the current phase of capitalist development. There exist different ideas about whether there is a unipolar or multipolar tendency, if the concept of imperialism continues to be useful, or whether today we are in the midst of a new and unprecedented phase. This article defends the idea that the current phase of capitalism is a phase that approximates the realization of a universal empire. This is a perspective that existed even before capitalism, buts its fundamental characteristics are expressed in a deepening of capitalist imperialism, particularly financially and militarily. Nevertheless, the very contradictions of imperialism will impede the realization of world empire.

## The Wars of National Liberation and the Process of Global Expansion of Capital

#### Marcelo Buzetto

The objective of this article is to reflect on the role of wars of national liberation during the process of capitalist development, as well as to better understand, through a reading of classic authors on Marxism and the art of war, the behavior of the United States in two of the most important wars of the contemporary world: Vietnam, in the twentieth century, and Iraq, at the beginning of the twenty-first.

## Local Power and the Technical and Productive Restructuring of Capital Terezinha Ferrari

More than a decade of experiences of Workers' Party governance at the municipal level has yielded a set of ideas that constitute a new regionalism. These ideas presuppose the submission of capital to politics and the construction of networks of partnerships in production chains, with less emphasis on competition. Urban productivity allows the circulation-less circulation of goods, which is the major goal of capital in an era of high labor productivity. Comparisons with centers of capital that have also carried out restructuring in labor processes have shaped the ideas discussed here.

### The Paulista Liberal Nationalists and the Construction of the Brazilian Nation Cássia Chrisiniano Adduci

With this article I attempt to present, in general terms, the proposal of a group of *paulista* intellectuals who, during the 1920s mobilized around the elaboration of a response to the challenge facing all Brazilian intellectuals: (re-) constructing the Brazilian nation.

## Slavery, Nationality and "Political Half-Breeds" Celso Uemori

This article deals with the following themes: the influence of slavery on the constitution of Brazilian society; the abolition of slavery and the concessions of liberty as instruments capable of extirpating the "original evils" produced by the social system of servitude; and the effects of this system on the creation of what Joaquim Nabuco termed "the political half-breeds" or, in other words, the coexistence in the Brazilian mindset of the authoritarianism of the master and the submissiveness of the slave.

## Popular Nationalism and the Crisis of National Populism in the Early 1960s Lúcio Flávio Rodrigues de Almeida

In an attempt to examine different social appropriations, we formulate a periodization that comprehends the continuities and ruptures in Brazilian national populism. The focus is especially on the final phase, at the beginning of the 1960s, marked by an intense appropriation of national populism by the popular classes. This appropriation would contribute to the deepening of the political crisis, whose end result was the coup of 1964, the starting point for 21 years of military dictatorship.

### The Genesis of Clientelism in the Brazilian Political Organization Elsio Lenardão

This article attempts to contribute to the elucidation of the social and historical conditions that stimulated the appearance of the phenomenon of political clientelism in Brazil. We focus special attention on its origins during the colonial period, by organizing relevant observations from a series of important historical works on this period. The effort to understand clientelism in Brazil is justified by the fact that it has established itself as a recurring feature of the country's political organization, which has brought negative political consequences from the point of view of the interests of the popular classes -- the poor people of Brazil.

## The Color of Our Struggles

#### Antonio Martins

What is there in common between the popular uprising that overthrew the president of Bolivia and the new world that the Porto Alegre Social Forum wants to build?

## Allende Once Again: At the Threshold of a New Historical Period Aníbal Quijano

This article analyzes the beginning of a counter-revolutionary process, focusing on the destruction of the Popular United regime of Salvador Allende in Chile in 1973. It discusses the omissions of the so-called "socialist field," as well as the effective participation of the United States, with the goal of defeating revolutionary processes that put American hegemony in Latin America at risk. We can see these experiences as models of resistance to the neoliberal offensive.

## The socialist party of Chile to the people Leandro Vergara-Camus,

The article analyses the role and responsibility of the Socialist Party in Chile's unconcluded democratisation. It identifies the decision of the party to demobilise the popular movement against the dictatorship has a fundamental moment in the party's re-integration into mainstream institutional politics. The author argues that this re-integration was possible because socialists adopted a new understanding of politics that privileged elite negotiations and rejected social mobilisation as a political recourse. The correspondent political practice has had the consequence of discrediting politicians and political parties. Through extracts of interviews with socialist leaders, the author shows how the dominant institutional and elitist conception of politics and power

impedes, even the leftist sector of the party, from changing this situation and thinking of alternatives that could put an end to Pinochet's institutional legacy.

## Cuba: Socialist Resistance in Latin America Rémy Herrera

This article seeks to struggle against the unified anti-Cuban thinking, which even some leftist circles have succumbed to and which constitues one of the many ideological faces of the current neoliberal and warlike model of globalization. The central idea is that the Cuban experience has demonstrated the possibility of a socialist, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist resistance in Latin America.

## Cooperation and Cooperatives: Instruments of Organization and Resistance of Landless Workers

#### Claudete Pagotto

The goal of this article is to contribute to the reflections on the double character of cooperativism: as an instrument of both political and economic organization for workers. In some nineteenth century socialist theoretical currents we find this kind of thinking in analyses of cooperative work alternatives. From this perspective, we can see the double character of cooperativism in the cooperative organizations created within social struggle. These have attempted to meet both the more immediate and the broader needs of landless workers in the construction of rural settlements and, above all, in the construction of spaces of resistance to neoliberal economic policies and to the contradictions of capitalism.

## The Socio-Territorial Movement and "Globalization": Some Reflections Based on the Case of the MST

## Jean-Yves Martin and Bernardo Mançano Fernandes

Does so-called "globalization," the central theme of the ultraliberal ideological discourse, announce the end of geography? Through reflections presented here and an analysis of the case of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST), we seek to show that geography is a body of knowledge that seeks to make itself a social science of space at many levels, including territorial conflict, the emergence of new sociospacial identities, participant observation by geographers, and the commitment of geographers to improving their own world. In this way, we argue that geography should be able to clarify and accompany the ongoing emergence of a new reality.

# The Current State of the Class Struggle in the United States Samuel Holder

The Bush administration's preparations for war in Iraq provoked unease throughout the world. After the bursting of the speculative stock market bubble associated with the new economy and the September 11, 2001 attack, the economic and military response of the major imperialist power has shown itself to be, more than ever, a menace to mankind. But any anti-imperialism that reduces itself to essentially a form of anti-Americanism would become a trap. It would aid the plans of the American bourgeoisie to present the population of the United States as a unified whole, nationalist and reactionary, docilely lined up behind their leaders, save for a handful of leftist intellectuals.

## The Classification of Latin American Governments by the United States

This article examines the classification of Latin American governments by the United States according to the criteria of willingness to implement the neoliberal agenda and capacity to obtain popular legitimacy for this policy.