

ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT IN BRAZIL AND VENEZUELA AS A COUNTER HEGEMONY TO NEOLIBERALISM

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ABSTRACT

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Latin America has an interesting economic development dynamic. As an effort to get out from western imperialism, these countries are aggressively implementing an alternative economic system called Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI). However, this system did not last long and led to a crisis so that countries in Latin America inevitably adopted neoliberal economics. However, neoliberal development has created inequality between the people and a few elites. In such a situation, many countries in Latin America are trying to formulate alternative development recipes in order to get out of economic neoliberalism which has a negative impact on their social and political order. This paper will try to analyze development alternatives in Latin America using the counter hegemony concept developed by Antonio Gramsci. As a case study, this paper takes two examples of Latin American countries that are seeking development alternatives, namely Brazil and Venezuela. Even though they are both against the hegemony of neoliberal development, each of them has different patterns, where Brazil is more compromising, while Venezuela is more radically revolutionary. This difference also causes the success or failure of alternative development in each of these countries.

INTRODUCTION

For a long time, we have regarded the term "development" as a program that has become prevalent by itself as a consequence of the order of the global political regime. In fact, the term development was born inseparable from philosophical thinking and the context of social and political reality. For example, the development model that has been generally adopted by developing countries has a tendency to focus on economic growth efforts. This cannot be separated from the influence of the modernization agenda driven by the economic capabilities of developed countries. Although economic growth has no real impact on equitable distribution of public welfare, the model continues to be used as a result of the disciplining development discourse that has been formed since after World War II through the initiation of the Truman doctrine in the 1960s and 1970s (Winarno, 2013).

In 1949, in his inaugural address, Harry Truman propagated a "development" agenda with a vision and mission to help war-torn countries, especially Western Europe to carry out economic reconstruction, the vision of the mission was called Four Points (Hickel, 2018). Four Points offers one solution to many things and forms the pattern of the development agenda. However, as modernization increases, this development model has actually triggered inequality between developed and developing countries.

This development concept is supported by the existence of institutions under Bretton Woods which Oatley called Keystone International Economic Organizations (KIEOs), namely IMF, IBRD and GATT. The return of neoclassical ideas or neoliberalism marked by the Washington Consensus further worsened the development system. The prescriptions for development by neoliberal institutions tend to make it difficult for some countries to achieve their goal of leveling domestic development. Some neoliberal donor agencies, such as the IMF, require donor countries to achieve certain quantitative targets, especially in terms of economic growth, fiscal, and foreign exchange rates. To achieve this quantitative target, the role of upper-middle income people is prioritized (Bruce, 2008). Through capital borrowing, the upper middle class has resources that can be used to accelerate countries to achieve IMF quantitative targets, while low-income or even poor people play less role in development and find it difficult to carry out upward social mobility, even their economic capacity declines.

This phenomenon occurs due to neoliberalism based on the principle of guaranteeing private property through the rule of law and free market institutions. The guarantee of individual (corporate) freedom in the institution is considered good as through the granting of patents to encourage the proliferation of commercialized technological inventions, development in this context is believed to be achieved through a trickle-down effect (Harvey, 2009). Even if the state takes a role, then, the character of this neoliberal development recipe is a mechanism *Top-down*, for example the MDGs and SDGs promoted by the United Nations and derived as countries' development programs. The format of development *planner-top* This actually causes confusion because it is controlled by two forms of competition, economic and geopolitical whose results affect state policy, so,

whatever the alleviation program is only different in its polish and still abandons the inequality and poverty that are increasingly reproducing (Winarno, 2013). In addition to uneven economic growth, democratic repression often occurs in order to create stable political conditions and suitable for economic growth according to donor agency targets.

In the context of such neoliberal development, countries emerge that seek an alternative development that is in accordance with the conditions in their countries. These efforts, among others, emerged from countries in Latin America. This paper will try to examine the differences in alternative development pursued by countries in Latin America amid the ups and downs of neoliberal development concepts. To examine this, this study raised two countries, namely Brazil and Venezuela. Using the conceptual framework of hegemony – *counter hegemony* developed by Gramsci and a qualitative approach with comparative methods, this study shows that although they have the same vision, which is against neoliberal development, in designing alternative developments, they have different strategies.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This study uses the *counter hegemony* conceptual framework introduced by Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci was a neo-Marxist thinker. Gramsci's thought opposed the traditional Marxist idea that tended to understand capitalism as economic determinism and thus seemed dogmatic. Improving on the ideas of orthodox Marxism, as well as the thinkers of the Frankfurt School, Gramsci believed that the factor of ideas or ideas was also an important factor in shaping hegemony and class consciousness. According to him, hegemony occurs when the hegemonized internalizes the values of the ruler while agreeing to their position of subordination to the ruler or what Gramsci called mastery through moral and intellectual leadership (Hoare & Smith, 1971).

Counter hegemony is the development of the concept of hegemony. Gramsci defines counter hegemony as a form of resistance to dominant values and ideas that have been constitually accepted by society in general, examples of resistance that can be done such as criticism of the system or so-called resistance to a system (Merli, 2010). There are two counter-hegemony discourses. First, the nativist school, this school in its totality rejects globalization in favor of local communities. This group views globalization as the cause of the fading of traditional cultural and customary values, both in terms of economic systems and people's way of life. The group suggests that to maintain the balance of the biosphere, people should return to traditional lifestyles, such as consuming locally produced food and goods. The second stream is the global civil society movement, this group supports globalization while also supporting left-wing leadership as an alternative to neoliberalism. The group sees the optimistic progress of globalization as a means of unifying the global community and building global solidarity against global neoliberal interests (Im, 1991)

This paper will try to see alternative development practices in Latin American countries as counter-hegemonic efforts to existing neoliberal development. The two countries that will be taken as case examples are Brazil and Venezuela. This

research is a descriptive analysis that uses qualitative data analysis techniques and comparative methods. This study used secondary and primary data obtained through *desk research*. First, primary data is obtained through accurate sources such as official government or agency website documents, and reports from credible institutions, while secondary data is in the form of *press media releases*, books, and previous research on the proposed research topic.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Despite the period of economic growth that occurred in Latin America, inequality in these countries persisted and became an obstacle to the achievement of the Sustainable Development goals. Poverty in Latin America is reproduced just as wealth is reproduced through economic regimes and systems of wealth accumulation (Chaves, 2019). The mechanism of the regime refers to the system of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism first existed in Latin America under the military regimes of Chile and Argentina in the 1970s and 1990s. The basic goal of neoliberalism involves the application of the market system in sectors or institutions previously protected by the state from market liberalization. The system runs under pressure from the World Bank and IMF, and tries to liberalize markets, privatize public services, deregulate private economic activity, and open developing economies to cross-border flows of goods, services, and capital (Sankey, 2016).

Latin America, which had tried to adopt an alternative to the import substitution industrialization (ISI) economy to achieve economic growth and socio-economic modernization, ultimately failed (Baer, 1972). Various structural, political, and economic factors contributed to the demise of the ISI strategy, however, the context of economic neoliberalization became a closely related aspect in it. There is a gap in the consensus on the implementation of neoliberalization in Latin America with only a few economic and political elites representing the ideas and interests of the capitalist sector (Ystanes, 2018). This has a devastating impact in the form of significant economic inequality and continues to the economic, social and political crisis in the wider community. Against the background of such social conditions, countries in Latin America are trying to find alternative policies to get out of the system.

The emergence of various economic alternatives as an effort for national development in Latin America is a form of class consciousness of the state leadership. For Marx and Engels, class consciousness became an important element in liberation, because it was the initial capital for resistance in the struggle for class (Losurdo, 2016). Without class consciousness, man will not object to being oppressed, and even tend to enjoy. It is different if he realizes that the system that has been used is actually harming him. Resistance may be possible to encourage social change. In Marxist terms, this resistance is referred to as revolution. Then to encourage the revolution itself requires a leader to set in motion the revolution which is generally carried out by the people of the oppressed (Marx, 1998). This effort to sensitize the public is important, even more so to bring about revolutionary change.

In terms of development practices in a country, alternative development can be said to be a form of revolutionary change. Alternative development is paying attention to alternative practices and redefining the purpose of development. Alternative ways to achieve these development goals are taken by empowering and involving communities (Pieterse, 1998). It is not surprising that in this alternative development, civil society groups such as NGOs, communities, unions and other grassroots groups play an important role in realizing the development goals. It is hoped that these community groups will continue to play an active role after previously not experiencing social change when implementing neoliberal development recipes.

Not only that, alternative development also redefines its development goals. If development goals were defined simply as GDP growth, now human development is seen as a development goal and measure (Pieterse, 1998). According to Pieterse, alternative development also looks at how sustainable it will be in the future, encouraging equality and equity, derived from human skills, local resources, social capital, and local knowledge.

Alternative development that occurs in Latin America can be seen from the pattern of economic construction and solidarity. This neoliberal strategy was devised in the mid-1990s in response to problems posed by the workings of capitalism on the fringes of Latin America. This economic construction and solidarity has two varieties, one is complementary to the public sector of SOEs and the private sector as a poverty alleviation mechanism through the absorption of surplus rural labor trapped in the informal economy, second, theoretical and practical expressions such as those carried out by the Zapatista movement. From these two different perspectives, it can be said that social economy and solidarity are agents of social transformation, spaces for social cooperation and grassroots solidarity action within the broader macroeconomic system, or as non-, anti- and post-capitalist social movements (Veltmeyer, 2018). Despite the degree of diversity among these governments, their development agendas share the common goal of countering neoliberal market segregation and resubordinating the economy to society through protective measures that promote social equality, democratization, greater national sovereignty, and regional integration (Sankey, 2016).

Since the early 2000s, many Latin American countries have achieved remarkable economic growth coupled with reductions in poverty and inequality. Drawing on its rich intellectual heritage, Latin American leaders have devised new approaches in the pursuit of sustainable development. The alternative development narrative brought forward by left-wing governments has emphasized ideas such as *buen vivir*, arguably the most influential and revolutionary proposition emanating from the region since different variants of dependency theory (Humberto Campodónico & Vázquez, 2017).

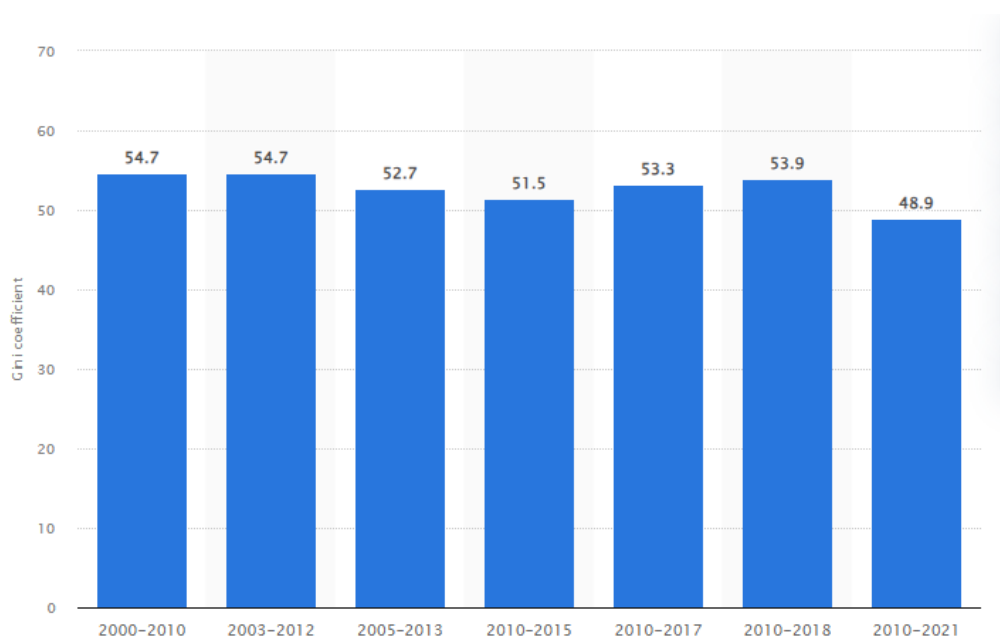
This paper will discuss two cases in Latin America, Brazil and Venezuela, in the search for alternative development after the failure of the implementation of the neoliberal development framework. In the struggle of these two countries, both are full of long left-leaning social movement struggles. These leftist struggles are seen as dialectics in space as a locus of production to fight for the interests of various groups, a dialectic that then creates participatory democracy or in Habermas's

language deliberative communication in the public sphere. However, the strategic struggle against neoliberalism from the two countries experiences quite differently despite using the same direction. Using the counter hegemony conceptual framework, the discussion will see what are the differences and similarities between the two alternative development practices in the two countries.

Alternative Development Efforts in Porto Alegre, Brazil

Brazil's development efforts are divided into two, namely alternative development and traditional development, where promoting the sustainable livelihoods of their communities and improving the quality of life of vulnerable communities are the main focuses of alternative development programs. While traditional development focuses on economic growth and infrastructure development. Data adapted from the official website of the World Bank, Brazil still faces a number of development challenges amid the condition of Brazil's economic development which has fluctuated in the last 10 years. Brazil still has low infrastructure, which affects transportation efficiency and logistics, its people still have difficulty in accessing financial assets as evidenced in 2019, one-fifth of Brazil's population is classified as chronically poor. Brazil has a significant problem in expanding opportunities for all its people because between 2010 and 2021, Brazil had an inequality level of wealth distribution based on the Gini coefficient of 48.9. (UNODC, 2023) (The World Bank, 2023) (FocusEconomics, 2024)(TMF Group, 2023) (The World Bank, 2023) (Statista, 2023).

Graphs 1. Inequality of income distribution with the Gini coefficient in Brazil 2010-2021



Source: Statista Research Department 2023

Brazil is one of the countries that fell due to the implementation of market liberalization. Market liberalization was initially implemented as a development effort under the authoritarian military regime that was in place since the 1980s. In that year, the neoliberal agenda of "structural reform" in macro-economic policy also began to be implemented massively through World Bank and IMF agencies as a widening of the imperial system (Petras, 2011). This led to significant economic growth in the 1990s with a total privatization of US\$83,311 by international industry, but the Gini coefficient or inequality index actually increased from year to year. The steady increase in the Gini coefficient makes Brazil the country with the highest level of inequality. This has an impact on the Human Development Index ranking in Brazil which is getting worse. (Baer, 2002)

In the same era, various resistance movements were increasingly organized ranging from class-based from urban (labor movement) to rural (peasant movement), focusing on issues *Land Reform* and workers' rights while others focus on issues not directly connected to the class struggle (a kind of misconception of postmodernism (Petras, 2011). Harvey (Harvey, 2012) looking at what is happening on the streets, among social movements it becomes important as a dialectical manifestation. He draws on Porto Alegre as a unique coalition between neoliberalization and democratization in Brazil in the 1990s that guarantees the right to the city as a result of the strength and significance of urban social movements that specifically promote democratization. This effort resulted in a program called *Participatory Budgeting* (PB). The NT directly involves ordinary city people in the formulation of the portion of the municipal government budget allocation through democratic policy making. Its successful implementation is considered an inspiring program in response to global neoliberalization that worsens the quality of life, this makes Porto Alegre, Brazil as the host city of the World Social Forum. Porto Alegre hosted the first World Social Forum on 25-30 January 2001. Not only first, since the formation of the World Social Forum, Porto Alegre has hosted it 6 times. This forum was formed and has accommodated the convergence of movements that support decolonization, to create equality of rights for all people on a global scale and affirm the necessity of democracy. (Timms, 2012)

Porto Alegre is the capital of Rio Grande do Sol, with a population of 1.4 million in 1989. The process of participatory government in Porto Alegre began in 1989 through the democratic struggle of the left-leaning Partido dos Trabalhadores/Worker's Party (PT) which allied with the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) in mayoral elections, both the Paris Commune and the workers' council at the beginning of the Russian revolution. Their vision was to translate elements of the socialist program into its local reality. The party's involvement in electoral democracy is the result of a long military dictatorship and many grassroots movements such as the Brazilian Democratic Movement (BDM) that have been unable to make a difference. Iain sees success in electoral politics as inseparable from the long and strong history of leftist movements in Brazil, such as the Union of Neighbourhood Association of Porto Alegre (UAMPA) which was quite massive

in the mid-1980s. One of the bases of the movement is in the district of Gloria, part of Porto Alegre, the district that first implemented the PB.(Bruce, 2014).

Through its victory at the local electoral level, the *Partido dos Trabalhadores/Worker's Party* began the PB experiment through budget deliberations. The following participatory spaces are designed by PB through five main stages, there are preparatory Meeting, Regional and Thematic Meeting, Municipal Meeting, Final Budget and Investment Plan and Rules Changes. (Cordeiro, 2004).

The PB allows budget openness, covering the amount of state debt, basic services, investment, development projects and all existing extra budgets through state banks for example. Social budgets are managed through fair property taxes at the local level. In the early 21st century, the success of the NT program was regarded as an organized leftist force with the capacity of social movements to mobilize, in short, the country seemed to offer an ideal opportunity for the left in other parts of the world wallowing in weakness. Brazil enjoys what Trotsky called "*The Privilege of Historical Backwardness*"(Lara, 2007) because its success is the impact of a long history of class struggle (Lara, 2007).

According to Panizza, Brazil is one of the Latin American countries that is considered a social democratic force through the PT party because it carries out social policies that overcome social inequalities due to free markets using the idea of socialism. The success of the NT is in reform, mobilization and raising of political awareness and a new relationship between society and the state that runs according to the existing legal, constitutional and framework so that this program can support neoliberal macroeconomic policies in Brazil (Bruce, 2004).

The NT can be assumed to be a compromising alternative model of development, in which the neoliberal framework is not completely rejected, but rather integrated with democratic patterns. For its efforts, Brazil received awards from the World Social Forum and the World Bank and its program was used as a model for pilot development by the World Bank. On this side, the implementation of social society in Brazil is considered by some to be a compromising democratic socialist program, not an alternative because it does not change systemically. Panizza characterizes it as the Post-Marxist Left who aims to reform capitalism under the interests of social welfare (Panizza, 2005)(Roberts, 2008). Nevertheless, Brazil has proven capable of reducing poverty and improving its HDI rating. The development model with a community participation approach tried by the city of Porto Alegre in Brazil is a solution for the country's revival in the face of post-crisis situations evidenced by economic changes that make the city a model for other cities in Brazil (Fadri, 2020).

Venezuela's Alternative Development Efforts

In addition to Brazil, Venezuela is also an example of the implementation of alternative development in Latin America. Venezuela is often referred to as the richest underdeveloped country in the world, however, the gap between the capitalist sector and the domestic sector continues to widen and give rise to income

inequality. The economic crisis of 1958–1961 also led to economic diversification away from oil exports and restrictions on luxury spending (Watters, 2021).

Venezuela underwent change and began to try to find alternatives to its economic development when Hugo Chavez came to power. Venezuela under the presidency of Hugo Chávez (1999–2013) spearheaded a political project called the Bolivarian revolution. This experiment is an attempt at merging anti-neoliberal and nationalist ideology and politics, an experiment with participatory democracy, and a social redistribution of oil wealth to marginalized countries (Strønen, 2022). Hugo Chávez managed to capture the hearts and imaginations of a large portion of the Venezuelan population frustrated by a decade of economic crisis, shifts in the social contract, the weakening of the institutionalized model of representation, and the consequences of neoliberal structural adjustment programs. Chavez won his first of four presidential elections and during his administration called for the drafting of a new constitution as part of a process of radical political, economic and social change in Venezuela (Hellinger & Spanakos, 2017).

During the crisis in the 1970s, Venezuela experienced an increase in oil revenues. Then-President Carlos Andrés Perez took steps to nationalize the oil and steel industries. However, in 1983, there was an event called 'Black Friday' where oil prices fell dramatically and the country's debt mounted. This led to an economic and political crisis (Briceño-león, 2006). The Perez government then borrowed aid funds from the IMF to overcome poverty which had implications for the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Program policy in Venezuela. Through this Structural Adjustment Program, import tariffs are eliminated, interest rates are liberalized, national companies are privatized. The neoliberal policies of President Perez and even President Caldera remain static and can contribute less to Venezuela's progress (Corrales & Penfold, 2011). Chavez continued the period of Carlos Andres Perez's rule which tended to favor the government elite and businessmen. Economic inequality and ballooning sovereign debt from neoliberal institutions such as the IMF and World Bank are problems he faces. Seeing this situation, Chavez, inspired by Simon Bolivar's struggle, founded the Bolivarian Revolutionary Movement to overthrow Perez.

In response to the political instability, Hugo Chávez formed an organization called *Movimiento Bolivariano Revolucionare-200* to instill the Bolivarian spirit in Venezuelan society. Not only that, on February 4, 1992, the organization was involved in a coup to oust Perez from office. However, this coup failed, and Chávez was imprisoned for two years. After his release from prison, Chávez returned with his Bolivarian revolutionary ideas. Chavez and a team from MBR-200 tried to convince the lower middle class that they were being oppressed. In 1997, Chavez's popularity increased. His policies of favoring the poor became popular and eventually MBR-200 decided to have Chavez run in Venezuela's presidential election. On December 6, 1998, Chávez was elected President with 56% of the vote followed by Chávez's people who occupied parliamentary seats, so that his policies could be easily realized (Bruce, 2008).

During Chavez's time, he amended Venezuela's constitution through the Constitutional Assembly to discuss a constitution that should be in favor of the people. The fundamental changes stipulated in the constitution include the Fisheries

policy, Chavez banning fishing using boats and large nets, nationalization of PDVSA, carried out because PDVSA is considered to make the state within a country with too powerful a structure and management that is considered corrupt. The Chávez government took over the PDVSA, and the old elite lost access to foreign oil companies, and through this policy scheme, people had cheap access to health and education. The Chávez government ensured that no more poor people were denied access to health care and education. In this policy, Chávez also cooperated with other leftist countries such as Cuba, where both exchanged advanced technologies to support the success of this Missions policy. This policy was released in 2003 after revenues from the country's oil industry began to improve, Agrarian Reform, the Chávez government restricted land ownership to private parties in Venezuela. Then Chavez gave easy access to poor people in rural areas to get opportunities to manage land (Cordeiro, 2004). The Bolivarian constitution became an alternative to Venezuela's development after neoliberal development failed and resulted in a corrupt government. At the time, the Bolivarian revolution was one of the most favored in Chávez's government. But the movement resulting from the Bolivarian Revolution has not been sufficiently implemented. Conflicts of interest continued, especially when President Chavez was forced from office in 2003, such as opposition to the nationalization and reform of PDVSA by the business elite. Chavez's pro-poor policies were considered detrimental to the businessmen, thus making these business elites launch protests to overthrow Chavez at Miraflores Palace (Nelson, 2012).

Chavez has succeeded in raising the consciousness of the lower middle class that they are oppressed under the pressure of the elite. The post of president allowed him to rule until 2012. The popular policies pursued by Chavez during his reign certainly cost a lot of money to overcome various crises. His foreign policy that tends to favor left countries makes him very generous in giving oil price discounts to Latin American left countries. This he did to maintain good relations with them (Carrillo, 2016). Unfortunately, this makes it difficult for the Chávez government to dig deeper into the benefits that might be maximized from Venezuela's abundant oil resources.

Under the late Hugo Chávez (1954–2013), Venezuela experienced rapid poverty alleviation and high economic growth rates underpinned by windfall oil revenues. However, Venezuela is facing its most acute economic and social crisis in years, with many saying Chavez has failed to change the country's oil dependence and has exacerbated it (Strønen, 2022). But on the other hand, the Bolivarian revolution has encouraged civil society to unite and increase public participation in development during Chávez's presidency. Although Hugo Chávez was hampered by unrealistic policies regarding agrarian reform, Chavez managed to maintain popular support and build alliances with other Latin American countries to resist US imperialism (Watters, 2021).

Venezuela has been experiencing a severe political, social, and economic crisis since last year 2013 when Nicolás Maduro was elected president replacing Hugo Chávez. Hugo Chávez was initially expected to be a democratic reformer who brought about good change, but then he systematically weakened democratic institutions. Chavez and Maduro through various legal means and arbitrary arrests

suppress and marginalize the political opposition. Despite the positive aspects, Chávez’s revolution ultimately undermined the main norms and rules of democracy with radical rhetoric. The post-Chavez economic crisis has its roots in populist

	Similarity	Difference
Brazil	Left-wing ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Compromising to the neoliberal system. - Using reformist strategy.
Venezuela	Left- wing ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Radical anti-development. - Revolutionary strategy.

policies under Chavez that do not pay attention to fiscal/monetary sustainability, which Margarita López Maya (2013) calls the ‘original sin’. For example, the huge use of oil revenues for social programs and infrastructure under Chávez, but this model was unsustainable and collapsed when commodity prices plummeted, foreign exchange reserves were depleted, Maduro printed massive money to cover the budget deficit, an economic crisis was inevitable. So it can be concluded that Chavez’s failure was very influential in Venezuela’s post-leadership crisis (U.S. Department of State, 2021) (Levine, 2002) (Maya, 2013).

Table 1. The similarity and Difference of Anti-development strategy

CONCLUSION

These two examples of alternative development show that both alternative development in Brazil and Venezuela are born out of responses to neoliberal development that tend to benefit certain parts of society. Both are inseparable from the long history of social movements that eventually formed political parties. The characteristics of alternative development are both policies that tend to be populist and benefit the lower class. Both are also progressive, with increased democratic participation in Brazil and increased class consciousness in Venezuela.

Although both have left-leaning movement bases, there are differences in the socialism strategies used in each country. Alternative development in Brazil is more compromising to the neoliberal system and liberal democracy. This strategy tended to be reformist rather than revolutionary, thus making it easily co-opted by liberal government institutions. Looking at Brazil’s post-Lula national political situation, there are two possibilities that arise whether the coup of Lula’s successor who is both from the PT because of alleged corruption cases is evidence that reforms are not radical or purely right-wing forces are starting to develop. Regardless, Brazil through its democratic socialist efforts now has a right-wing party challenge.

Venezuela is revolutionary and promotes class populism with radical changes made by its leader. With the leadership of the political elite, the public was moved to do the same as what the leader did. The more dynamic politics in Venezuela led to its policies, although consistent, but continued to improve in a more radical direction over time. This resulted in the Chávez government's control over all lines of state apparatus becoming stronger. Even with state control and restrictions on the private sector, the Chávez government seemed closed and less efficient in terms of management. So it could be that at any time it can experience a crisis like what is happening now. Therefore, it is necessary to make rescue efforts or reforms from the Venezuelan government to find a middle way in overcoming various kinds of current problems.

The practice of socialism by reformist Brazilians certainly tends to be safer, however, it has received many insinuations from radical Marxist circles, although Brazil was able to show the level of prosperity of its people during the leadership of the PT. Venezuela has often won praise from the left for its courage against the neoliberal system through the privatization of assets, which Lula has not.

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