Republic and new developmentalism

Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira *Folha de S. Paulo*, February 10, 2014

New social developmentalism is the best strategy to achieve the Republic, which is everyone's aim.

The Republic is us; it is the Brazilian nation and State; it is the necessary solidarity between all men; it is the hope of a world State. The Republic represents the values and the political goals that humanity built for itself; it is security and peace, it is the individual freedom that political liberalism taught us, it is the economic welfare defended by developmentalism, it is the democracy and social justice proposed by the socialists; it is the protection of the environment and, more broadly, of the *res publica*, defended by republicanism.

The new developmentalism is the strategy to promote progress or development, to achieve those major political goals defined in the last three hundred years and, therefore, guarantee the rights: civil rights, political rights, social rights and republican rights, these latter defined as every citizen's right of preventing public property, including the environment, from being captured by private interests.

To achieve these goals or to assert those rights, mankind's main instrument is the State, that is, the constitutional and legal system and the organization that guarantees it. The second instrument is politics, it is the art of reasoning and compromising, in order to win a majority and govern. The third one is the market.

Whereas the State is the major institution of a national society, that coordinates the social life from our birth to our death, the market is an institution regulated by the State that is irreplaceable when it comes to coordinating a competitive economic system.

In ancient times, the State was the instrument of a military and religious oligarchy. As of the Capitalist Revolution – the greatest revolution experienced by mankind since the appearance of agriculture and the formation of the first major civilizations – the State is gradually becoming democratic, as a result of much struggle. From then on the market complemented the State's coordination.

Unqualified progress or development is a historical process that begins when the industrial revolution completes the capitalist revolution. From this moment on begins the economic development that will open the way to the other forms of development, to the fulfillment of the major goals that mankind historically defined for itself: security, individual freedom, economic well-being, social justice and environmental protection.

Development is not a gift. It is the outcome of a social construction, implying conflict and cooperation in societies that are no longer caste societies, but social class ones. It implies class struggle and makes class coalitions possible.

The class struggle aspired to socialism, and did not solve matters. Yet class coalitions are today the type of society organization through which the fight for development takes place. Today the main struggle is waged between developmentalist coalitions loosely formed by businessmen, workers and public bureaucracy, and liberal coalitions composed of rent-seeking capitalists and financiers. Republic is everyone's aim. But a new social developmentalism, always renewed, is the best strategy to achieve it.

This was my last column. I have used it to summarize the chief values and beliefs that have guided me in writing it. I thank my readers who have followed me during these years, and to the *Folha* that published it.