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DEPENDENCE AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT OF BRAZIL IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF RUY MAURO MARINI

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Abstract: The aim of this article is to analyze the multiple aspects that involve the process of social and economic development in Brazil, in the context of the debate on the dependency theory. To do so, we will make a brief contextualization to analyze the historical bases of the Brazilian social formation during the 1960s. conditions of underdevelopment, taking as a reference the perspective of the Marxist theory of dependency of Ruy Mauro Marini. Finally, we will analyze the concept of superexploitation of work and the need for the working class revolution, according to Marini's perspective. **Keywords:** Underdevelopment. Dependency. Imperialism. Overexploitation of work.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article is to discuss the Brazilian and Latin American historical context of the 1950s and 1960s amid the debate about the economic and social dependence of these countries to the detriment of the central countries. We will deal with analyzes developed in the field of Brazilian political and social thought during the context of the sixties. We will take as reference in these studies, the perspective of Ruy Mauro Marini and his analyzes on the contradictions in the process of development of the Brazilian economy.

As far as possible, these discussions will help us to understand how the concepts of development and dependency are treated in the current situation. That is, we intend to observe the characteristics of the social and political reality in Brazil today in order to identify the validity (and importance) of studies of the Marxist theory of dependency on the condition of subalternity of the country before transnational corporations in

the context of capitalism contemporary.

Faced with the condition of dependence in which Brazil is inserted, some questions are necessary: In this scenario, what would be the options for the economic development of the country? What are the political forces that shape power relations? What is the meaning of the modernization adopted in Brazil? What are the relations with the current political situation of the present time? We will analyze the continuities and discontinuities of the process of modernization and capitalist development in Brazil and the contradictions that are inherent to them. The condition of underdevelopment of Latin American countries leads to the intensification of capitalist accumulation to the detriment of the production of social inequalities, according to the perspective of Ruy Mauro Marini.¹

The theoretical and historical challenges, as Theotonio dos Santos (2015) shows us, are gigantic on which we need to work tirelessly. This is the validity of the dependency theory to analyze the political relations about the paths taken in relation to the process of social and economic development in Brazil, and in Latin America, nowadays.

The foundations of Brazilian socioeconomic formation go back to the context of the Vargas era during the thirties. In this context, there was a process of modernization of the State, marked by the incipient industrialization and formation of national capitalism. It was only from the 1930s onwards that the figure of the Brazilian State would appear as a promoter of social development. Although the conditions indicated the presence of the oligarchy of the agrarian fraction of the Brazilian bourgeoisie, the stimulus to small property was observed, provided by the nascent urban

1. The idea of this text is to present Ruy Mauro Marini's perspectives on Brazil's dependence, based on a brief dialogue with authors of dependence theory and in relation to the dynamic integration of new countries into the global capitalist market.

agglomerations.²

From then on, much was questioned about the role and insertion of Brazil in relation to the international division of labor. The perception of the authors of the Marxist theory of dependency, in relation to the condition of Latin American countries, is based on the understanding of the position in which these countries find themselves, in relation to the process of economic development, in a systemic perspective of established relationships among the world's economies.

These relationships are constituted from capitalist accumulation and the international division of labor, in which frames of social inequalities are produced here, for example, from the overexploitation of labor (MARINI, 2012, 2017). The question to be debated by the authors is: how are we going to deal with the situation of an underdeveloped and dependent country in relation to countries with central capitalist economies? Is it possible to think of a social change from a socialist revolution?

Much has been discussed in the field of Social Sciences regarding the Brazilian social, economic and political formation, in which many of these analyses, especially in Marxism, essentially point to the character of the exploitation of productive activities in the process of capitalist development ³in Brazil, which, in short, they served the interests of the international market. The meaning of colonization in Brazil was to condition it to

the status of a peripheral country within the world economic system (PRADO JUNIOR, 2012). In essence, aspects of the capitalist development process are characterized by the existence of dependent countries in relation to the core capitalist countries. Brazil's dependence on foreign capital is due to the need to use resources and investments from developed countries.

Brazil paid abroad for the manufactures necessary for its consumption and subsistence and the origins of resources were based on exports of national production (PRADO JUNIOR, 2012). This is, therefore, the character of the Brazilian State in its class articulations, where the insertion of international financial capital in the Brazilian economy is revealed, that is, until that moment, our economy was basically "colonial" and not "national". From the perspective of Ruy Mauro Marini, with the rupture of the colonial model, the process of capitalist development in Brazil began ⁴. The need for this "project" consisted in the integration of new economies into the world market.

These are the reasons why Brazil is part of the imperialist system, in which the country would be one of the links between peoples, whose control is referred to the international imperialist system (PRADO JUNIOR, 2012). As this integration takes place, there is the development of the economy and the Brazilian domestic market is being formed and expanded. The condition of supplier of

2. The structure provided by the colonial past made it difficult to establish modern industry (PRADO JUNIOR, 2012), in addition, there was a deficiency in energy sources and an abundance of raw materials, such as iron. From the point of view of trade relations, there was no domestic consumer market in Brazil to be considered.

3. According to Ruy Mauro Marini, there is a transition from the colonial economy to the capitalist mode of production. Exporting economic activities until 1930 correspond to the period of transition to capitalism (MARINI, 2017).

4. According to Ruy Mauro Marini (2017): "The rupture of the Iberian colonial monopoly then becomes a necessity and, with that, the process of political independence is triggered, whose cycle ends practically at the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, giving rise to as a result, national borders generally still exist today. From that moment on, the dynamic integration of the new countries to the world market takes place, assuming two modalities that correspond to the real conditions of each country to carry out such integration and to the transformations that this is undergoing due to the advance of industrialization in the central countries". (MARINI, 2017, p. 48).

raw materials and tropical genres demonstrate how limited the prospects for economic development in Brazil are, based on historical experiences (PRADO JUNIOR, 2012).

Debates on dependence in Brazil originate in the context of the post-Second World War, in which several thinkers reflected on the conditions of economic development in Latin America, where efforts were made to find ways to overcome the condition of dependence and underdevelopment, under different circumstances. perspectives. What then were the reasons for the underdevelopment of Latin American countries? In general terms, on the one hand, the insertion of peripheral countries in the world economy would fundamentally question how an economy that exports primary products, constantly depreciated in relation to the terms of trade, could lead to development. There was, in those circumstances, an unequal exchange between the position of countries within the world economy. This phenomenon corresponds to the deterioration of the terms of trade (MARINI, 2017); on the other hand, the dual structure of Latin American economies, characterized by the existence of a modern capitalist sector combined with a backward pre-capitalist sector, demonstrated the character of underdevelopment.

Industrialization with the strong role of the State would be the path found for Brazil, and the Latin American countries, to be able to develop, autonomously, the regional economy through a specific path of the bloc of countries on the continent. In this context, currents of developmental thought emerge that reflect on Brazil's social and economic development in its industrialization phase.⁵

However, there was no autonomous development, as well as no substantive change in the country's agrarian structure. Development in Latin America would be blocked by external and internal forces that prevented the protagonism of local productive forces. It is precisely in this context, in which social movements emerged that defended, in general terms, the rupture of the process of capitalist development. Against the grain of a proposal for autonomous development in Latin America, we are witnessing coups d'état and the crisis of the national development model.

Industrialization in politics via import substitution brought about changes in economic structures, in which underdeveloped countries and those focused on imperialist integration in Latin America, such as Argentina, Mexico and Brazil, which managed to create a light industry capable of essentially satisfying internal demand of durable consumer goods (MARINI, 2017). In the case of Brazil, industrialization via import substitution found itself "at a dead end", which led to stagnation, mainly due to the lack of dynamism of the market, causing an increase in surplus work, leading to an increase in structural unemployment.

The term dependency, in short, refers to the integration of capitalist development in Latin America on a world scale. With this integration, dependency theory suggests reflecting and proposing changes on the multiple social, political and economic aspects involved in this development process, through articulations between the State and social classes.

5. Ruy Mauro Marini (2017) subdivides the industrialization process in Brazil into two situations: in the first case, the industry's interests strictly coincide with those of the agrarian-mercantile sector, it does not cause a change within the dominant classes; in the second case, the industrial class that is included among the urban middle classes is formed, in general, by immigrants, who are not yet integrated and reveal the conflicts that were present.

THE CONNECTION OF BRAZIL (AND LATIN AMERICA) TO THE WORLD MARKET AND THE REASONS FOR THE CONDITIONS OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF RUY MAURO MARINI'S DEPENDENCY THEORY

Ruy Mauro Marini was an important intellectual and militant of the Brazilian working class. He analyzed the capitalist development in Brazil and the economic dependence on foreign capital. It is therefore necessary to differentiate the economic categories that place developed and underdeveloped countries in different positions in the process of capitalist development. Structural dependency links are maintained. The economic development of Latin American countries is related to (and integrates with) the development of capitalism in central countries.

This relationship between the different stages of capitalist development among countries contributes to imperialist expansion, resulting from the phenomenon of wealth accumulation from the extraction of surplus value in underdeveloped countries, that is, “the role that foreign capital now assumes in America Latin America is to openly subtract a part of the surplus value created within each national economy, which increases the concentration of capital in the central

economies and feeds the process of imperialist expansion”. (MARINI, 2017, p. 49).

Latin American countries, especially Chile, Argentina and Brazil ⁶, significantly increase exports of raw materials, consequently, the insertion in the foreign market. In the period from 1945 to 1964, “a deterioration of the conditions on which the rules were based” (MARINI, 2017, p. 75) was observed, with the growth of the industrial sector combined with the difficulties of the external sector. In this period, industrial development and agro-export activities were in opposition. In addition, there was growing pressure from the popular masses (MARINI, 2017).

In *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (1977), Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto stated that Latin American countries were in a position to complete the process of forming their industrial sector and achieve self-sustaining development ⁷. Industrialization, in this perspective, would be a complementary resource for a development process ⁸based on the export of primary products.

To overcome the weak development of the internal market and the accentuated social inequalities, the next step would be the construction of public institutions that would foment the “full” development and the modernization of the Brazilian State (CARDOSO; FALETTTO, 1977). The organization of national centers would be

6. Ruy Mauro Marini (2017) states that the political history of Brazil in the 20th century is characterized by very distinct phases: the first of them, which is the result of profound social upheavals that culminated in the 1930 Revolution, when a new middle class, that is, an industrial bourgeoisie, properly speaking, linked to the internal market, and, of a new proletariat. Marini identifies that during the Estado Novo of 1937, the bourgeoisie stabilized in power in association with landowners and old merchant groups, that is, representing that the social changes that took place here were based on the articulations of the ‘new’ with the ‘old’, maintaining the structure of domination. The second phase is characterized by a period marked by fierce internal struggles, which began with Vargas’s suicide in 1954 and which led to the military dictatorship (MARINI, 2017).

7. According to Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto (1977), Latin American economies accumulated appreciable amounts of foreign exchange in the import substitution phase, and, therefore, were ready to start the production phase of capital goods domestically, where the internal market would stimulate the economic system, which would contribute to income redistribution.

8. The policy adopted by the Brazilian State must focus on the absorption of a technology that would promote the diversification of the productive structure. The perspective was that the State would create this infrastructure required for productive diversification (CARDOSO; FALETTTO, 1977).

the path to national development and the strengthening of the internal market, which would take place through an integrated development association ⁹.

In order to identify the form in which the social structure assumes, the perspective of Cardoso and Faletto (1977) demonstrates that it is necessary to analyze the set of variables and their relations, taking into account income and the structure of employment. In this sense, the analysis of specific Latin American conditions and the type of social integration of classes and groups must be conditioned by the main elements of the development process.

The definition of the concept of dependency for Cardoso and Faletto (1977), therefore, intends to give meaning to a series of facts and situations that appear together in a given movement that seeks to establish the relationships that make empirical situations intelligible according to the mode of connection between internal and external structural components (CARDOSO; FALETTO, 1977).

In this sense, it was necessary to find means for the modernization of the State, and part of the problems of Latin America could be solved, insofar as there was a link with the developed economies (CARDOSO; FALETTO, 1977). There is, in this perspective, the recognition of the political and social dependence built historically with the expansion of the economies of the central capitalist countries to the detriment of the peripheral economies. The notion of dependency directly alludes to the conditions of existence and functioning of politics and the economy that act in an articulated way. According to the perspective of Cardoso and Faletto, it is a question of first carrying out the modernization of the Brazilian State, and then leading the country to open its markets under external control.

9. Cardoso and Faletto (1977) recognize that this optimism falls to the ground, since the necessary measures were not taken to organize the political and economic systems, thus resulting in a high relative stagnation of the Brazilian economy in the 1960s (CARDOSO; FALETTO, 1977).

From a critical perspective, the connection with the central capitalist countries, the focus given by the Marxist theory of dependency, indicates that direct capital investments and the technology employed by foreign economies have as their main objective the development of exports, since this is the character of the Brazilian economy. In other words, the development process used in Brazil derives from the integration of part of the production system of peripheral countries to the central economy, which is done in terms of the world market and not the internal market. Control of the main export activities is in the hands of the local dominant classes, which answer directly to foreign capitalist interests.

In view of the price (and value) structure in which it is found in the world market, as well as the financialization processes oriented by large global corporations, which act directly as investors in the various branches of production, Ruy Mauro Marini (2017) states that a variable part of the surplus value produced here is directed (drained) to the central economies (MARINI, 2017). Thus, the wealth that is produced in underdeveloped countries, such as Brazil, consists of the amount of surplus value extracted that contributes to capitalist accumulation and, consequently, to imperialist expansion.

The process of capitalist integration results in what Ruy Mauro Marini calls super-exploitation of work, where the value of absolute surplus value is increased. This phenomenon, for example, can be observed in the work carried out by agricultural workers and/or miners in Brazil. This is the fundamental principle that guides the economies of underdeveloped countries, in which the internal market and the workforce inserted in this context are characterized

by low wages, in addition to the lack of job opportunities, illiteracy, malnutrition and police repression. (MARINI, 2017).

The super-exploitation of work, guided by the intensification of work, the extension of the working day and the reduction of wages in underdeveloped countries, is different from the working conditions in central countries (MARINI, 2017). The introduction of direct investment and the technology employed, which comes from central countries, combined with the overexploitation of the workforce, produces a growing surplus of workers, that is, a large industrial reserve army in the main urban centers of the country (MARINI, 2017).

The economies that emerge from the process of capitalist development in an integrated way with underdeveloped countries¹⁰, reestablish the ties of integration to international capitalism (MARINI, 2017). In these terms, Latin American countries were condemned to limit themselves to the primary-export type of economy. In summary, we can point out that the Brazilian internal bourgeoisie chose to give up its progressive project of capitalist development through industrialization, by adhering to imperialist integration, even if, under the condition of a subordinated, dependent and associative economy with the bourgeoisie of central countries.

The structure of domination and class relations in Brazilian reality demonstrate

the maintenance of forms of domination and class exploitation, based on the mutual articulation between the fractions of the agrarian-mercantile and rising industrial bourgeoisie. These relations take place within the scope of the State and class relations, through the need to accumulate surplus capital, produced by underdeveloped countries and supplied to the international economy. Faced with such circumstances in which the Brazilian reality finds itself, is it possible to think of autonomous capitalist development? Marini (2017) points out the contradictions in Brazil to promote an autonomous capitalist development¹¹. In this context, numerous tensions between fractions of the bourgeoisie manifested themselves in the core of opposing fields¹², that is, on the one hand, the link with the internal market was defended, for the possibility of developing an autonomous capitalism, while, on the other hand, the link to the subordinate condition in relation to the external market was defended.

With the context of the Cold War as a backdrop, there was a new scheme of power for the bourgeoisie, with the support of the middle classes and the proletariat, in which the interests of the former landlord and mercantile classes were superimposed (MARINI, 2017). These tensions have implications for the hegemonic imperialist center of capitalism and Ruy Mauro Marini (2017) pointed out the tendency to combine with the search for

10. This positioning of Brazil in relation to international economic relations, on the one hand, reinforces the imperialist system, forming a hegemonic center of power, that is, the United States. The integration of countries, in different poles of economic development, is guaranteed with military power; on the other hand, socialism is understood as a field of opposing forces (MARINI, 2017).

11. Marini shows us that the pact established between the agro-export and industrial bourgeoisies of Brazil was characterized by the antagonism in this "cooperation" between classes, with this power bloc, a coalition between the dominant fractions of the bourgeoisie (MARINI, 2017).

12. According to Ruy Mauro Marini: "In this struggle, the industrial bourgeoisie will make use of the pressure of the urban masses, which had increased considerably in the previous period, within the framework of a political game normally known as 'populism'. Its fruit will be the establishment of Bonapartist-type regimes, the clearest example of which is the government of Juan Domingo Péron in Argentina" (MARINI, 2017, p. 57). In matters related to imports and exports of the Brazilian economy, within the scope of profitability interests, the bourgeoisie clashes simultaneously with the mercantile landowner class and with international trusts (MARINI, 2017).

formulas capable of promoting autonomous capitalist development.¹³

However, this process makes transparent the fragility of the bourgeoisies of Latin American countries in developing the domestic capital goods sector, in the face of the obsession of foreign capital interests, which pressures them to seek to penetrate their projects in these countries with a peripheral economy. The national bourgeoisie associates with the capitals of the great centers of the international economy, which in turn prevailed, conditioning the policies of the Brazilian industrial sector, causing internally, to abdicate the autonomous capitalist development, according to the criticism of Marini (2017).

The growing introduction of technologies in domestic industries in Latin America imported from abroad has altered the dynamics of the labor market. Technologies have contributed to fixing wages for Latin American workers at their lowest level. In this sense, obsolete machinery allowed the increase in profitability of large corporations, to the detriment of the low cost price used with local labor. This is the phenomenon of extraordinary added value that the new machinery inserted in the development cycles of underdeveloped countries provides.

Amidst the political disputes that arose, the internal bourgeoisie did not embark on “some” autonomous capitalist development, instead, there was a consent with the dominant classes¹⁴, corroborating the structure of domination that was present since the remote times of social formation Brazilian, and Latin American, considering the specificities of each country. Imperialist integration manifests itself internally with rising inflation and the adoption of stabilization policies (MARINI, 2017). In addition to denoting the “new type of dependency” (MARINI, 2017, p. 62), this phenomenon revealed the fact that the bourgeoisie abandoned its revolutionary impetus, under the terms of an autonomous development model.¹⁵

The consequences of this historical process resulted in the establishment of technocratic-military dictatorships in Latin America in place of liberal-democratic regimes (MARINI, 2017) and the consolidation of the integrated and subordinate character with which the insertion of underdeveloped countries in the global economy occurs maintained the reproduction of capital in its imperialist form.

Under the influence of the United States, the military governments posted wage adjustments where the policy of integration with imperialism was put into practice¹⁶,

13. Marini (2017) points out the two reasons why the hegemony of the United States and the integration of production systems manifests itself: *i*) related to the advancement of capital concentration on a world scale, depositing an abundance of resources in the hands of large international companies capable of being invested; and *ii*) the great development of the capital goods sector in the central economies, is accompanied by its greater development in technology, in which they sent to the periphery, the equipment and machines that became obsolete and had not yet been fully amortized (MARINI, 2017, p. 62). According to Marini, foreign companies had obsolete and unredeemed machinery and equipment in the metropolises, which represented an effective advance in the prevailing technological level in Latin American countries (MARINI, 2017).

14. A sample of this consent, according to Marini (2017), is attributed to the fact that the industrial bourgeoisie is inclined to the interests of the agro-export sector, giving them facilities and incentives, to do so without limiting the accumulation of capital, fundamental to face the second stage of industrialization. The fundamental principle of the underdeveloped system is the overexploitation of labor.

15. As it was not possible to carry out structural social reforms, there was a divorce of alliances between the fractions of the bourgeoisie and the popular masses, in which, from the introduction of democratic-legal bourgeois mechanisms, enacted in public policies, means of opposition intensified.

16. This policy has a double effect, according to (Marini, 2017, p. 155): increasing the industry's productive capacity, thanks to the boost given to investments and technological rationalization, and, due to the latter, accelerating the existing imbalance between industrial growth and job creation by industry.

the expansion and intensity with which investments in technologies aimed at industrial activities leveraged technological rationalization, printing a reduction in supply of jobs from the domestic labor market and the rising incidence of unemployment.

Within the framework of the dialectic of world capitalist development, Latin American capitalism reproduced the general laws that govern the general laws that govern the system as a whole, but, in its specificity, it accentuated itself to the limit. The super-exploitation of labor on which it is based finally led it to a situation characterized by a radical break between the tendencies inherent in the system [...] and the most basic needs of the great masses, which manifest themselves in their demands for work and consumption. The general law of capitalist accumulation, which implies the concentration of wealth at one pole of society and the absolute pauperism of the vast majority of the people, is expressed here with complete brutality, placing on the order of the day the demand to formulate and practice a revolutionary policy, of struggle for socialism (MARINI, 2017, p. 63).

The contradictions present in the relations of capitalist integration of countries in underdevelopment conditions amplified the phenomenon of wealth accumulation through the internal surpluses generated with the overexploitation of the workforce. This is, therefore, the meaning of the economic integration of Latin American production systems into a monopoly production structure.

Marini draws attention to the fact that there was an irrationality present in the process of capitalist development in Brazil, since, on the one hand, we are incapable of controlling the technological process itself, after all, the introduction of technological instruments

in the country is carried out through importation. of these instruments, and, on the other hand, the Brazilian condition derives from the particular circumstances that the country has to face in order to seek a solution to the market problem abroad (MARINI, 2017). In these circumstances, the process of capitalist development in Brazil is relegated to its condition of dependence.

OVEREXPLOITATION OF LABOR AND WORKING-CLASS REVOLUTION

Ruy Mauro Marini (2012) understands that the overexploitation of work existing in this phase is accompanied by a growth in consumption and in the Brazilian domestic market, in which work intensifies and the low income of workers is perceived. The condition of dependence is also realized in the technological and financial sphere, during the 1970s, perpetuating the condition of Brazilian subordination within the scope of the international division of labor. It is necessary to understand this articulation present between the forms of dependence and the operating laws of the dependent economy (MARINI, 2012).

The super-exploitation of the worker, therefore, is manifested by the introduction of these new production techniques, which lead to increased productivity and the intensification of work. Under these circumstances, the available reserve army expands, especially with the emergence of new bonding conditions in labor relations. In other words, the overexploitation of work has led to a reduction in wage earnings¹⁷ and the precariousness of working conditions. The intensification of labor exploitation, especially through the reduction in the value of

17. As Marini states, “[...] which also implies that those layers of workers who earn wages above the average value of the workforce (skilled workers, technicians, etc.) see their wages constantly being pressured towards descending, dragged down [...]”. (MARINI, 2012, p. 33).

necessary goods, led to a constant devaluation of the workforce (MARINI, 2017), an essential element to reveal the contradictions between capital and labor in Brazil.

Ruy Mauro Marini tends to point to the prevalence of absolute surplus value extraction in labor relations in peripheral economies, and these characteristics tend to contribute to the lack of regulation in the labor market. The social and political framework of Brazilian workers, in this sense, puts them in a degrading situation in terms of living conditions. Faced with the social and historical context in which the Brazilian reality finds itself, where capitalist development was a fallacy, the life of the old semi-colonial export system in Brazil is prolonged, in which it linked the country even more to imperialism, leading it to the stage of sub-imperialism. Ruy Mauro Marini points to the need for organization of the working class and the socialist revolution, consequently.

The true state of civil war implanted in Brazil by the dominant classes, of which the military dictatorship is the expression, cannot be overcome through compromise formulas with some bourgeois strata. The emptying of these commitments, in the face of the relentless march of contradictions that the development of the system poses, necessarily propels the working class towards the trenches of the revolution. On the other hand, the international character that the sub-imperialist bourgeoisie intends to imprint on its exploitation identifies the class struggle of the Brazilian proletariat to the anti-imperialist war waged on the continent (MARINI, 2017, p. 161).

For Marini (2017), the anti-imperialist struggle waged in Latin America could lay the foundations for the emergence of a new democracy and a new economy, more open to the participation of the masses, which also includes the lower strata of the bourgeoisie, according to their own interests and needs.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Discussions about the role of the State and the economic development of a country are important for analyzing the existing conflicting relationships between social classes, driven by their different interests. The conduct of the political economy model adopted by the State precedes a development project designed for the country, whose elements put into practice often demonstrate the nature of this political struggle. From the debates on the effects of the liberalization of the economy and the development model in Brazil, we can see that our condition of dependence related to foreign capital is the determining factor, which reveals the precarious way in which relations of work in activities linked to transnational companies, aggravated in recent decades.

These circumstances, therefore, indicate the condition of subordination of Brazil, which has always played the role of exporter of raw materials, *commodities*, serving the interests of large global companies. The insertion of these new production techniques allowed the overexploitation of workers (MARINI, 2012, 2017), made possible by increased productivity. In this sense, the Marxist theory of dependency is extremely relevant for thinking about Brazil's condition of dependency and the contradictions of internal capitalist development, which accentuates the overexploitation of labor and the social inequalities inherent in the historical process. Finally, we understand that these studies are important to think about the organization of the working class today.

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