

# Editorial

In March 2019, a few months before becoming the victim of a *coup d'État*, Bolivia's then-President Evo Morales had warned of the imperialist role the United States played through interventions in the internal affairs of other countries, calling it the "embodiment of a new colonialism". Morales referred to a historical process of colonial domination of Spain and Portugal over the South American peoples, which left deep marks on the social reality of these peoples, who have been experiencing a new imperialist attack by the great economic and military power that has always regarded the region as their "backyard". The coup in Bolivia, as well as political intervention in several Latin American countries, particularly Venezuela, has all the characteristics of a new shade of neocolonial expansionism.

European colonial expansion in the Americas, Asia, Africa and the Pacific, and the consequent struggles for liberation and foundation of formally sovereign but deeply dependent nation states, represents a fundamental movement to understand the meanings of power in modernity. In the last two centuries, the various forms of colonialism have corresponded to the characteristics of the metropolises and the relationship they maintained with their colonies. The concept of colonialism is commonly associated with the idea of asymmetric relations and domination between different states and nations. Such relations are also manifested internally by reproducing, under new configurations, old power relations.

The same occurs with the concept of neocolonialism, derived from colonialism itself and adopted in international political analyses after World War II, through a counterreaction to the decolonization process of Africa. The term was widely adopted by analysts to characterize the economic dependence of Asian and Latin American countries on world powers. Neocolonialism not only organizes the countries on the periphery of capitalism according to the interests of the great powers, but takes everything from them,

turning it into merchandise, such as social rights, cultural manifestations and natural riches. Following in parallel, it causes dominated societies to adopt the same cultural values as the explorer.

In addition to its political dimension, which in itself would be extremely relevant, the movements of domination and resistance were not limited only to pragmatic political aspects, but gained relevance in the field of theoretical debate on the very nature of science and philosophy, predominantly Eurocentric. A new way of thinking about power relations was warped in the interstices of an activist and academic theoretical-epistemological ethos.

It was necessary to rethink and deconstruct Eurocentric science and philosophy (only enunciative locus in effect) from the perspective of the historically dominated or “southern”. There is a search for a concept of totality that goes beyond the simple relationship between the parties. A totality that encompasses different logics, stories and ways of acting and thinking, which moves the whole in a multidirectional way, even if the movement is guided. Such a form of understanding alters the very concept of society, culture, state, capitalism etc.

There is a Nigerian proverb that says, “As long as lions do not tell their stories, hunting tales will always glorify hunters”. We believe that, in that spirit, aspects despised throughout our colonial history have gained importance. Adopting this attitude several thinkers produced a vast post-colonial and decolonial critical literature, expressed in important analyses such as the Mexican Pablo González Casanova, the Argentine Walter D. Mignolo, the Peruvian Aníbal Quijano, the Portuguese Boaventura de Souza Santos, the Indians Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak, the Palestinian Edward Said, the Cameroonian Achille Mbembe, the Jamaican Stuart Hall or the French Frantz Fanon, born on a small Caribbean island of French rule called Martinique. Understanding the world from the perspective of the colonized is part of a significant reflexive effort for the contemporary struggles of African and Latin American peoples in the economic, political, philosophical, sociological, and cultural terrain. It requires deep and broad knowledge of the relations between national and international forces and the social classes.

This edition of *World Tensions* on colonialism and neocolonialism in Latin America and Africa aims to contribute to the advancement and deepening of the debate on the multiple manifestations arising from the processes of neocolonial domination. In this sense, we begin with the article by Paula Baltar Gonçalves, who observes Critical Theory from its renewals and highlights the turn (or turning) away from “decolonial” as an important element for this process. Paula Gonçalves highlights the capacity of decolonial thinking both to examine eurocentrism and to broaden its scope, focusing on Walter Mignolo and Catherine Walsh’s analysis.

Still debating theoretical aspects, but now dialoguing with the ideas of the Italian Domenico Losurdo, we present the text by Diego Pautasso which analyzes the genealogy of liberalism, highlighting the United States of America (USA) as a great propagator of liberal ideas in modernity. For Pautasso, Liberalism is fundamental to understand the realistic power policy of the great Western powers, as it manifests itself in its imperialist face, taking various forms from neoliberal globalization. It is articulated through the various neocolonial interventionist mechanisms of USA and its allies. Therefore, Pautasso’s work suggests a look at neocolonialism from the critical understanding of imperialism.

Following the discussions, we have separated an article that deals with the reality of a country in Central America and the Caribbean: Haiti. Jhon Kelly Monacé, Waldecy Rodrigues and Nilton Marques de Oliveira narrate, originally in French, aspects of the political history of Haiti, thinking of colonialism and neocolonialism as complementary models of exploitation of that country by France. The study focuses on historical aspects of French colonization, such as the “Black Revolt” in Santo Domingo, to demonstrate that Haiti has been the “perfect laboratory” of experimentation and improvement of these models of domination. In their analysis, they indicate that colonialism was executed from the relations of production, while neocolonialism consolidated and refined the existing colonial relations. The authors also point out that France has accumulated wealth by directly exploiting Haitians, plunging their country into extreme poverty.

Showing an original reflection on the reality of the American continent, Oscar Toro Bardeci deals with the invasion of *Pehuenche* indigenous territories, located in the Andes – in south-central Chile and southwestern Argentina – by national states in the 19th century. Bardeci checks how forced occupation produced violent physical and cultural impacts among the Indians of that ethnic-group. Starting from the context in which domination was based on cultural homogenization as a justification of territorial appropriation, Oscar Bardeci investigates the written documentation of the nineteenth century, perceiving how invasion and territorial domination had a historical impact, since they forged a stereotyped image of the *Pehuenche*. The author also discusses how the forms of resistance of that ethnicgroup were effective and how those indigenous people responded with resistance, and sometimes adapted to violent changes.

The following two articles focus on the African continent. In his research, Professor Ercílio Neves Brandão Langa, analyzes historical background of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), founded by representatives of 32 governments of African countries to face colonialism and neocolonialism, especially the appropriation of the continent's natural wealth. The OAU emerged in 1963, being predecessor of the African Union, established in 2002. The context of the actions of the countries that composed it was part of the historical trajectory of the continent marked by exploration, slavery, colonization, armed struggles, pan-Africanism and nationalism; processes that culminated in decolonization, self-determination of peoples and independences

The second piece about the African continent, written by Samuel Correa Duarte and César Alessandro Sagrillo Figueiredo, addresses the armed struggle in Mozambique in the 1960s. The researchers focus on the analysis of the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO), a political party founded in 1962, which was fundamental in the struggle for the Mozambican independence process in 1975 against the colonial rule of the Portuguese. The article traces the trajectory of struggles of what was the only internationally recognized movement in the struggle for Mozambique's independence. FRELIMO has surpassed its role in armed struggle

and has become a relevant force in the field of constitutional political dispute. According to the authors, the movement tried to confront the old Portuguese colonial past, by proposing the construction of what was conventionally called “new Mozambican man”. The paper also discusses the role of the Mozambique National Resistance counteroffensive (RENAMO) in the power struggle in Mozambique.

Finally, two visions of Europe from original points of view. Luciana Benetti Marques Valio delves into the work known as “Parthenon of Books”, by Argentine artist Marta Minují. It is a large-scale replica of one of the world’s most famous structures, the Parthenon in Athens, erected with books censored during German Nazism and the military dictatorship in Argentina. The analysis starts from the curatorial proposal of the so-called “documenta 14”, the fourteenth art exhibition of the city of Kassel, Germany, to be transferred to Athens (part of the geopolitical South). The change provoked intense international debates about the complex geopolitical relationship between the global North and South, also involving discussions on post-colonialism and neocolonialism. Concluding this edition, Marco Gabbas writes about the influence of the Cuban Revolution and Che Guevara on the Italian leftist movement called “Lotta Continua” between 1969 and 1974. For this, the author uses as a source of research articles from the newspaper that bears the same name as the movement. What draws attention in Gabbas’ article is the labor movement of a European country that adopts Che Guevara’s revolutionary and anti-imperialist vision as a political and moral example. This same movement also seeks to devise a less mythical and more realistic view of the revolutionary. The author also analyzes Che’s influence on contemporary Italy.

As described above, this thematic edition is defined by the diversity and thematic, conceptual and methodological plurality, ranging from theoretical discussion, through documentary analysis to case study. The richness of the works contemplated in a very original way the proposal of this edition on colonialism and neocolonialism. Although the call highlighted the study of African and Latin American reality, we could not leave aside important

collaborations, which really enriched this issue. We promise the reader a good political and sociological debate about glaring phenomena in contemporary societies.

Good reading!

Note from the editors and organizers of this edition:

At the launch of the call for this thematic edition, we were surprised by the death of Colonel-Aviator Sued Castro Lima, founder and creator of the research group Observatory of Nationalities and editor of the journal *World Tensions*. We pay our solidarity to his family and our tribute to this democratic and socialist military, who left a relevant legacy to the Social Sciences in Ceará and the memory of the country, through his active participation in the National Truth Commission.

Editors