

The Chavista Governments in Venezuela:
The Contextualization of Pragmatic and Populist Strategies

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The governments of Hugo Chávez and Nicolás Maduro responded to the opposition's attempts at regime change by implementing pragmatic policies favoring businesspeople who refused to participate in destabilization actions, as well as populist social measures benefiting the non-privileged. Both sets of policies have to be placed in political context. The characterization of allegedly pro-government businesspeople as a new ruling elite, referred to as the "boliburguesía," fails to take into account the sharp tensions between them and the Chavista leadership. The primary importance of social programs in the Chavista political triumphs over an extended period of time, as well as periodic initiatives to spark life into individual programs, implicitly rules out claims regarding the government's failure to alleviate poverty or achieve other social objectives. The Chavista governments failed to take full advantage of favorable periods and junctures when the opposition was demoralized following defeats in order to correct the negative side effects of pragmatic and populist class policies, such as bureaucratization and crony capitalism.

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Hollowing-Out of Nation-States by Transnational Capitalist Class Formation (2)

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The purpose of this article is to show a new model of *Colonization of Life-World by System* applied to the contemporary global capitalist social system, which is to be a relevant starting point for critical study of globalization.

This study examines firstly William Carroll's empirical analysis of the making of a transnational class, secondly the theoretical hypothesis of the *Global Capitalism School*, including the thesis of transnational capitalist class formation by Leslie Sklair and the thesis of transnational state formation by William Robinson and Jerry Harris, along with the criticisms to those theses and their debates. Finally it concludes that application of the Habermasian model of *Colonization of Life-World by System* to the global capitalist social system is crucial to overcome the theoretical ambiguities of the research on the relation between the transnational class formation and the nation-states, i.e. how deep is the hollowing-out of the nation-states by transnational capitalist formation. Then, the article actually showed a new model in conclusion, which has never attempted even by Jürgen Habermas himself.

(The concluding part)

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