

### Reinventing the Left in the Global South

This book offers a fresh appraisal of the nature and significance of the democratic Left in the Global South. The moral and intellectual leadership of the Left is shifting south from its European birthplace. It is in the Global South, most notably in Latin America, that one finds newly self-confident progressive movements. This "new" democratic Left includes parties and social movements that not only are avoiding the familiar pitfalls that ensnared socialists and social democrats in the twentieth century, but also are coping with the realities of the twenty-first century, especially neoliberal globalization. In analyzing and illustrating three innovative strategies – moderate social democracy, radical social-democratic transition to socialism, and Left populism – this study nudges the debate about the Left out of the well-worn grooves into which it has fallen in recent decades.

Richard Sandbrook is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Toronto and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. Since 1968 he has focused his research on the Left's experience in the Global South, the relevance of social-democratic thinking to the reshaping of neoliberal globalization, the political economy of the basic-needs and market-oriented development strategies, the relationship of democratization to development, and the political role of workers and the urban poor in Africa. He has published over fifty articles and ten books, including *Social Democracy in the Global Periphery: Origins, Challenges, Prospects* (with Marc Edelman, Patrick Heller and Judith Teichman, Cambridge University Press, 2007).



# Reinventing the Left in the Global South

The Politics of the Possible

Richard Sandbrook

Department of Political Science University of Toronto





#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107072787

© Richard Sandbrook 2014

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2014

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Sandbrook, Richard.

Reinventing the left in the global South : the politics of the possible / Richard Sandbrook, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto.

pages cm

ISBN 978-1-107-42109-7 (paperback)

1. New Left – Developing countries. 2. Developing countries – Politics and government – 21st century. 3. Democracy – Developing countries.

4. Right and left (Political science) I. Title.

JF60.S257 2014

320.5309172´4-dc23

2014006985

ISBN 978-1-107-07278-7 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-42109-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 1, Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Politics is a strong and slow boring of hard boards ... Only he has the calling for politics who is sure that he shall not crumble when the world from his point of view is too stupid or too base for what he wants to offer. Only he who in the face of all this can say "In spite of all!" has the calling for politics.

Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation"



# Contents

	List of figures	page ix
	List of tables	X
	Acknowledgments	xi
1	Reinventing the Left	1
	An overview of the argument	3
	The Left and the double movement	8
	The realities of society	15
	Avoiding the pitfalls? Strategies of the Left	16
	Conclusion	24
2	Alternative visions: leftist versus neoliberal paradigms	27
	The dialectics of development paradigms	28
	Neoliberalism's paradigmatic assumptions	31
	Challenge and the adaptation of neoliberal doctrine	36
	The rise of inclusive neoliberalism	44
	The distinctive Left vision	50
	Conclusion	58
3	How neoliberalism fails	63
	The socioeconomic record	65
	Market volatility and recession	67
	Growing inequality	72
	Ecological degradation	81
	Deadly conflict	92
	Conclusion	99
4	Making history: agency, constraints and realities	102
	The politics of the Left	103
	Historical and structural constraints	112
	The indispensable market	124
	Conclusion	130
5	Pitfalls and promise of the moderate Left	133
	What is moderate social democracy?	137
	The populist temptation	142
	Power relations and the pull of social liberalism	147
	Moderate social democracy: cases	165

vii



viii		Contents	
		Moderate social democracy: a model Conclusion	171 182
		Conclusion	102
	6	The radical Left: moving beyond the socialist impasse	187
		The dead end of state socialism	190
		Twenty-first-century socialism?	197
		Radical social-democratic transition to socialism	214
		Conclusion	224
	7	Politics of the possible	230
		The national level: adaptive versus disruptive strategies	231
		Small-scale experiments in equitable cooperation	237
		Reconstructing globalization	249
		The Left and climate change	256
		Concluding observations	260
		Bibliography	264
		Index	294



# **Figures**

1.1	Varieties of the Democratic Left	page 17
3.1	Development Gap between the Poorest and Richest	
	Countries, 1960–1962 and 2000–2002 (per capita	
	GDP in constant 1995 US\$, simple average)	75
3.2	Number of Natural Disasters in Sub-Saharan Africa	
	since 1975	82



# **Tables**

3.1 Average percentage growth in per capita GDP	page 65
3.2 Gini coefficient: averages by region and decade	76

X



# Acknowledgments

Frankly, I never set out to write this book. If someone had suggested a dozen years ago that I write a book with the scope suggested by the title, I would have demurred. But one thing led to another. It dawned on me that we in the Global North, at a time when our Left has seemingly lost its way, have much to learn from the experience of the democratic Left in the Global South. And so the scope of my inquiry broadened. Yet whatever merit my readers ascribe to this study derives substantially from the advice and support provided by generous friends and colleagues.

Some of the commentaries and discussions helped me to establish the theoretical foundations and scope of this book. Particularly helpful in this respect were Atul Kohli (Politics, Princeton University), Frank Cunningham (Philosophy, University of Toronto), Ali Burak Güven (Politics, Birkbeck University of London), Mitu Sengupta (Politics, Ryerson University) and Marc Edelman (Anthropology, Hunter College, CUNY). The talented students in my graduate seminar on the Political Economy of International Development at the University of Toronto also helped clarify my thinking. There is no better crucible for developing ideas than a seminar in which one elucidates and defends various propositions.

Other friends and colleagues were kind enough to read chapters bearing on their geographical expertise to correct any errors of fact and interpretation, though some doubtless remain despite their best efforts. Judith Teichman (Political Science, University of Toronto) was very helpful on Latin America. Antoinette Handley (Political Science, University of Toronto) tried to steer me through the treacherous terrain of interpreting South Africa's political experience since 1990. Patrick Heller (Sociology, Brown University) and Anil Varughese (Political Science, Carleton University) shared their extensive knowledge pertaining to the leftist experience in Kerala and West Bengal. I would also like to acknowledge the contributions of three meticulous research assistants: Jennifer Fender, Sarah Ellis and Joelle Westlund. Inasmuch as the analysis of this book depends heavily on the experience of actual cases rather than abstract

хi



#### xii Acknowledgments

models, the contributions of these friends and assistants are clearly significant. But I am solely responsible for any remaining errors.

I wish also to acknowledge the contribution of Cambridge University Press's two anonymous reviewers. Their detailed, extensive and perceptive criticisms and suggestions were invaluable. Authors have mixed experiences with anonymous reviewers, but in this case John Haslam at Cambridge University Press selected readers who possessed both encyclopedic knowledge and open-mindedness. All three deserve high praise for their professionalism.