

Marxism and Radicalism

Marx and Engels (19c) → Hobson (19c)

RADICALISM (Mid 19c)
(Marxism)

Revisionism (1910s)

Leninism (1910s)

Neo-Marxism (1950s-60s)

Dependency
theory (1970s)

World system
theory (1970s)

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Theoretical Assumptions

➤ At the individual level

- ❑ People are selfish, dominating, but can emancipate.
- ❑ Classes are major actors of international politics.
- ❑ Actions of individual are largely determined by economic class.

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Theoretical Assumptions

➤ At the state level

- ❑ States are important actors but not unitary actors.
- ❑ States pursue the interest of the dominant class or classes.
- ❑ States are just agents of the structure of international capitalism and the executing agents of the dominant class, i.e. the bourgeoisie.

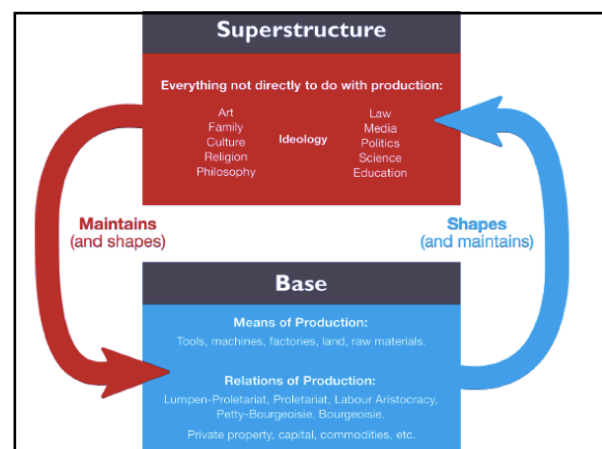
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Theoretical Assumptions

➤ At the international system level

- ❑ The structure of international system is hierarchical, highly stratified, and largely dominated by the capitalist system.
- ❑ International system is determined by distribution of productive forces and wealth. Core-periphery is its defining characteristics.
- ❑ MNCs play a significant role in making and keeping this international system.

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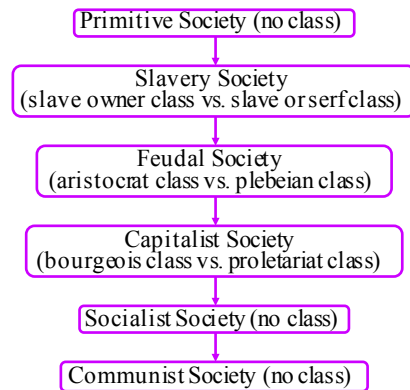


Theoretical Hypotheses

➤ Class Struggle

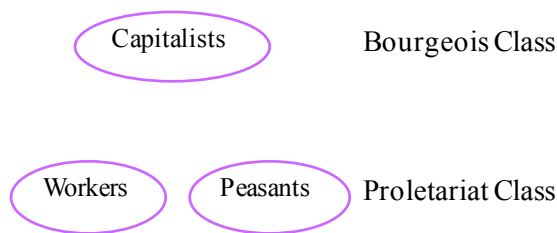
- ❑ The struggle between economic classes is the driving force of history.
- ❑ Marxism is a dialectical materialism and a historical materialism.
- ❑ Human history is the history of the evolution of productive forces and the history of the mode of production.
- ❑ Evolution of Human Society

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Classes of Capitalist Society



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Theoretical Hypotheses

➤ Economic Determinism

- ❑ Why classes come to conflict and struggle? Because of economy.
- ❑ Class is a segment of people that share same social and economic status in a society.
- ❑ Economic situation determines which class an individual belongs to and what positions people would like to take.

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Theoretical Hypotheses

➤ Economic Determinism

- ❑ Economic factors provide explanations not only of class struggle, but also of state foreign behavior.
- ❑ There are no unitary national interests, but only interests of the dominant class.
- ❑ Economics is the primary determining factor of state behavior and virtually all other phenomena as well.

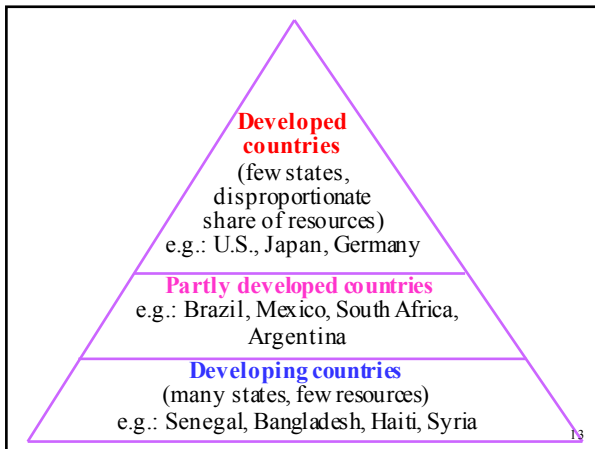
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Theoretical Hypotheses

➤ Economic Determinism

- ❑ Economic factors are the driving force of international system.
- ❑ The uneven development between advanced capitalist states and poor, less developed states results in the unequal distribution of wealth and thus helps to shape a hierarchical order of classes and states in the world.

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Theoretical Hypotheses

➤ The Theory of Imperialism

- ❑ The hierarchical structure of the international system is largely the by-product of imperialism.
- ❑ Imperialism is the policy and practice of extending the domination of one state over another through territorial conquest or economic domination.
- ❑ Imperialism is the final stage of expansion of the capitalist system (Lenin).

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Theoretical Hypotheses

➤ The Theory of Imperialism

- ❑ Imperialism is a necessity of the capitalist system.
- ❑ Hobson did not see imperialism as necessarily inevitable.
 - Overproduction
 - Under-consumption
 - Over-savings

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Theoretical Hypotheses

➤ The Theory of Imperialism

- ❑ Lenin believed that capitalist countries have to expand through imperialism; it is not a choice, but a necessity.
 - To find new markets
 - To obtain raw materials
 - To increase the rates of return on capital investment

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Theoretical Hypotheses

➤ The Theory of Imperialism

- ❑ Imperialism inevitably leads to war.
 - War between dominant capitalist states and developing regions over control of natural resources and labor markets.
 - War among the developed capitalist states over control of markets and developing regions.

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Theoretical Hypotheses

➤ Dependency Theory

- ❑ The poverty and underdevelopment in developing countries results from their historical dependence on and domination by rich countries.
- ❑ Different from interdependence, dependency specifically refers to the dependence of the South on the North, resulting from unequal and unjust international economic system.

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Theoretical Hypotheses

➤ Dependency Theory

- ❑ Less-developed countries are exploited because global capitalism makes them dependent on the rich countries, which create exploitative rules for trade and production.
- ❑ Through neo-imperialism, MNCs and international banks contribute to this exploitative relationship.

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Theoretical Hypotheses

➤ Capitalist World System Theory

- ❑ The perpetual and widening inequity among states is explained by capitalism's international division of labor and production.
- ❑ It allows the wealthy core countries to become richer and the peripheral states supplying raw materials and cheap labor to become poorer.

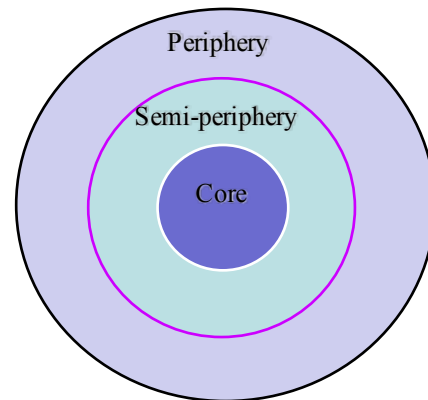
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Theoretical Hypotheses

➤ Capitalist World System Theory

- ❑ Immanuel Wallerstein identifies three categories of states:
 - core (wealthy)
 - periphery (poor)
 - semi-periphery (less developed)

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Theoretical Hypotheses

- Core areas: Advanced and complex economic activities (mass-market industries and sophisticated agriculture), Controlled by indigenous bourgeoisie
- Peripheral areas: Produce staple goods (wood, sugar, etc.), initially slavery and forced labour/now cheap labour, if there is any industrial activity then it is in the hands of capitalists of core areas
- Semi-periphery

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Theoretical Hypotheses

➤ Basic mechanism: Unequal exchange

- ❑ Surplus produced by low wage and low profit producers in the periphery is appropriated by high wage and high profit producers in the core.
- ❑ It is further accentuated because strong states can enforce unequal exchange on weak ones.

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Theoretical Hypotheses

- **Unequal exchange causes continuous tensions in the system**
 - ❑ Semi-periphery areas function as a kind of safety-valve and provide an element of political stability.
 - ❑ The advanced industrialized states in the core dominate and exploit poorer states in the periphery, and thus help to shape and maintain an international class structure.

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Theoretical Hypotheses

- **The world economy is dynamic**
 - ❑ There are shifts from periphery to semi-periphery and from semi-periphery to core and vice versa.
- **But the world capitalist system as such does not change**
 - ❑ It remains a hierarchy of core, semi-periphery and periphery based on unequal exchange

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Wallerstein and Waltz: similarities

- Both focus on the system rather than single units; what happens to countries very much depends on their position in the system
- Both see a hierarchy of states
- Both stress the decentralised nature of the system (anarchy)

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Wallerstein and Waltz: differences

- **Waltz**
 - ❑ Focus on relative political-military power in a condition of anarchy
 - ❑ Balance of power in the twentieth century
 - ❑ Primacy of politics
 - ❑ Static theory

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Wallerstein and Waltz: differences

- **Wallerstein**
 - ❑ Focus is on economic capability which is then connected with political power
 - ❑ Historical development of capitalism
 - ❑ Primacy of economics
 - ❑ Historical approach

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PARADIGM IN BRIEF

The Radical Paradigm

Key actors	States, social classes, transnational elites and groups, multinational corporations
View of the individual	Selfish; actions determined by economic class
View of the state	An agent of the structure of international capitalism and the bourgeoisie; not unitary actor; pursuing the interest of the dominant class or classes
View of the international system	Anarchic but highly stratified; a hierarchy of classes and states supported by distribution of wealth; dominated by international capitalist system; cycle of exploitation/dependency; radical change desired

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PARADIGM IN BRIEF	
The Radical Paradigm	
Core concerns	Equality and justice, social progress
Major approaches	Transformation of world politics; abolish capitalism; cooperation within transnational classes
Policy prescriptions	Topple the unfair and unequal international capitalist system and create a new equal one
Central concepts	Class; class struggle; imperialism; dependency theory; exploitation; capitalist world system
Major theorists	Marx, Lenin, Wallerstein, Cardoso, Santos

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In Sum: Contributions and Limitations

➤ Contributions

- ❑ Only radicalism examines the pattern of dependence that distinguishes the relations between rich and poor nations.
- ❑ It helps understand the role of economic forces and explain globalization.
- ❑ It offers proper and valuable critique of neo-imperialism and its negative impacts on less developed countries.

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In Sum: Contributions and Limitations

➤ Limitations

- ❑ It cannot account for imperialism of non-capitalist states.
- ❑ It ascribe underdevelopment of the South to its dependence on the North but deny that it is just the dependence of the South that lead to its poor.
- ❑ It ignores the impact of less developed states' policies on their development.

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