

Ecuador's Good Living Socialism: A Preliminary Study*

Fang Xufei**

Towards the end of the 20th century, left wing political parties took power in Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Venezuela. In 2007, Ecuador joined their ranks, becoming the most powerful and influential radical leftist country after Venezuela. Good Living Socialism is a critical part of Socialism of the 21st Century, principles from the radical left wing governments of Latin America. Its theories and practices provide realistic and historical meaning for the development of Ecuador, Latin American left wing movements and the world socialist movement.

I

In Spanish “good living” is expressed by the terms “buen vivir” or “vivir bien”. In the indigenous Quechua Indian language it is called “sumak kawsay.” “Sumak” means fully, noble, pretty, respectable, and happy and “kawsay” means life, living, survival and coexistence. The combination of the two creates the meaning of “good living”. There are similar expressions from other Indian tribes: for example, the Aymara in Peru and Boliva say “suma qamaria”, the Guaraní in Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia say “nande reko”, the Shuar in Ecuador say, “shiiirwaras” while in Chile the Mapuche say “kume mongen”.

Good Living, as a traditional value of the Indian tribes, has some common key points. First, it emphasizes harmony between society and

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** Dr. Fang Xufei is an associate research professor at the Institute of Latin American Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Her research focuses on Latin American Socialist and Leftist Movements.

nature. Nature is the “Earth Mother” (Pachamama), the origin of life. Human beings are part of this and enjoy equal rights with other living beings; they are in a symbiotic relationship with the earth. Man cannot survive without the natural environment. Eduardo Gudynas, a well-known sociologist argued that Good Living is an ideology that is bio-centric rather than anthropocentric. It does not accept that humans are more important than other living things.¹ Second, it focuses on justice and equality, and views all nations as equal. Third, it emphasizes unity and mutual benefit, and opposes materialism and egoism. Good Living is not about improving one’s personal life by gaining material possessions or having a better than life than one’s neighbors. Alberto Acosta, a well-known economist and former Ecuadorian president of the Constitutional Assembly (2007-2008), said that according to the Andean indigenous peoples’ worldview, “traditionally poverty is not associated with a lack of material goods or wealth” and “one cannot simply associate it with the western idea of well-being.”²

For many years, Good Living has been seen as the continuation of pre-colonial culture; an expression of decolonization and the embodiment of the national collective consciousness of indigenous Indians. It gradually transcended the original cosmological and traditional philosophies and was combined with ecology, post-structuralism, socialism, radical democracy and other modern ideas. From a socio-political perspective, Ecuador’s radical left’s Good Living Socialism is the most typical and the most advanced. In the 2006 general election, then presidential candidate Rafael Correa suggested making Ecuador a modern socialist state. On January 15, 2007, Correa was officially inaugurated as the President and announced the implementation of Socialism of the 21st Century in Ecuador, after

¹ Eduardo Gudynas, *Buen Vivir: Germinando Alternativas al Desarrollo*”, in *América Latina en movimiento*, Febrero 2011, Quito, Ecuador, pp. 1-2.

² Francisco X. Abad Guerra, “Significance and Application of the Socialism of the 21st Century in Latin America: A Case Study on Ecuador and the Administration of President Rafael Correa”, p. 31, retrieved Sept. 10, 2015, from https://www.etbu.edu/files/5213/8608/9820/Francisco_Abad_Guerra.pdf.

Venezuela's example.¹ He vowed to build it with Ecuadorian characteristics.² President Correa localized Socialism of the 21st Century in Ecuador and set about combining it with the concept of Good Living.

Soon after his inauguration, Correa's Administration launched its *National Plan for Good Living 2007-2010—Citizens' Revolution Plan*. Guided by the Good Living concept, the plan called for a Citizens' Revolution and for changing the country's development path. Development, it said, was about all human beings living together in peace and harmony with nature to extend human culture infinitely. The outlook for development requires everyone to understand and reach consensus with each other to build a better common future. Good Living symbolizes human freedom, extending opportunities or potential and mutual acknowledgement of a shared future. So Good Living needed reforms to restore the capabilities of state management, state planning and distribution, and to encourage citizen participation.³ This was the first official appearance of Good Living. In the subsequent Constitution-making process, the topic aroused extensive discussion and was defined as the key guiding principle for the country's development and the core principle of the new Constitution. The president of the National Constitutional Assembly, Alberto Acosta, said the new Constitution should adopt the concepts and values of Good Living and absorb its essence.⁴ The final version of the Constitution indicated clearly that it was urgent for the country to adopt Good Living principles and that it was the strong desire of Ecuadorian people to do so. The government must plan national

¹ 徐世澄:《古巴模式的“更新”与拉美左派的崛起》,中国社会科学出版社,2013,第176页。

² Roger Burbach, Michael Fox and Federico Fuentes, *Latin America's Turbulent Transitions: the Future of the Twenty-First-Century Socialism*, Fernwood Publishing, Halifax, Winnipeg, 2013, p. 100.

³ Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo (SENPLADES), *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2007-2010, Planificación para la revolución Ciudadana*, Quito, Ecuador, pp. 54, 5-6.

⁴ Francisco X. Abad Guerra, "Significance and Application of the Socialism of the 21st Century in Latin America: A Case Study on Ecuador and the Administration of President Rafael Correa", p. 26, retrieved Sept. 10, 2015, from https://www.etbu.edu/files/5213/8608/9820/Francisco_Abad_Guerra.pdf.

development, eliminate poverty, promote sustainable development, and evenly allocate national resources and wealth. A plan for Good Living was thus laid out as were the rights and obligations under the Good Living Plan that citizens should enjoy. There were eight rights: the right to access to water and food, a healthy environment, information and communications, culture and science, education, housing, health, labor and social security. The Good Living plan also included measures to promote inclusion and equality and the preservation of biodiversity and natural resources.¹ The plan was approved in a referendum in September 2008 and took effect in October of that same year.

Good Living is now inscribed in Ecuadorian law as a basic state policy and as such is part of the country's national development plan. Since 2009, Correa's Administration has published the *National Plan for Good Living 2009-2013* and the *National Plan for Good Living 2013-2017*. The former described Good Living as satisfying needs, supporting quality of life, dying in dignity, mutual love, harmonious development between man and nature, the indefinite extension of human culture, common opportunities, freedom and equal rights. The latter expanded these ideas, adding that Good Living is not a spontaneous plan; it is a way of life for the lasting diversity and richness of a cultural environment. It seeks harmony, equality, justice and unity rather than chasing affluence and infinite economic growth. The *National Plan for Good Living 2013-2017* was approved in a referendum in February 2013 and took effect in October of that year and Ecuador's Socialism of the 21st Century was renamed Good Living Socialism. On May 1st, 2014, the ruling party, the Proud and Sovereign Fatherland Alliance (PAIS) adopted the new Party Constitution. Article 1 of the Constitution described PAIS as a political organization of citizens, communities, movements and collective groups. Its role is to fight for democracy, equality, sovereignty, unity, justice, socialism, diversity and to eliminate oppression, monopolization, inequality, injustice, and

¹ Constitución de La República del Ecuador 2008, retrieved Sept. 1st, 2015, from <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Ecuador/ecuador08.html#mozTocId273089>.

miserable circumstances. Its purpose is to build Good Living Socialism.¹ Good Living Socialism has become the will of the President and the will of the ruling party and an act of state. The National Development Plan was the vehicle through which it was developed. It combined the traditional Good Living ideas of the indigenous Indians with Socialism of the 21st Century—an alternative to neoliberalism.

II

There are many reasons why Ecuador has found its way to Good Living Socialism, and they are related to the political, economic, and social situations in the early 21st century, both international and domestic.

In the 1980s and 1990s, neoliberalism was very popular in Latin America. As part of this wave, Ecuador carried out reforms, such as currency devaluation, privatization of state-owned enterprises and market liberalization. In 2000, the domestic economy became “dollarized”; it ditched the sucre and adopted the US dollar. Although the reforms promoted economic growth for a short while, in the long run it was profoundly damaging, creating an economic crisis by the end of the 20th century. It was the worse economic crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s. In 1999, GDP had fallen 9.5% and per capita GDP had slumped 11.2%. The unemployment rate had risen to 15%, while the informal sector unemployment rate was 57%. The gap between the rich and the poor had widened considerably. Between 1990 and 2007, the poorest 10 percent of the population held 1.3% of the national income, a decline from 2.1%; while the share of the richest 10% increased from 30.5% to 42.1%.² The party system was fragmented. The traditional parties were mired in corruption and had lost touch with the people. Ecuador was torn by massive protests. From 1999 to 2007 there were seven presidents, and not one served a full term. Three were overthrown by popular protest. Neoliberalism was finished. It was urgent for the Ecuadorian people to find

¹ Alianza PAIS, “Manifiesto Ideológico”, retrieved Oct. 8, 2015, from <http://www.alianzapais.com.ec/2015/07/03/manifiesto-ideologico/>.

² Eduardo Silva, *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 181-182.

a new development model. So we can see that at the root of Good Living Socialism was the failure of neoliberalism.

Ecuador is strongly influenced by its indigenous peoples. It was a part of the Inca Empire in which the Indians created a brilliant civilization. Even today, native Indians and the Indo-Europeans make up 84% of the population. During the neoliberalism reforms, the Indians suffered from oppression and political, economic and cultural discrimination. With the rapid development of the oil exploration and extraction sectors, their traditional homeland was hit by environmental pollution, deforestation and species extinction. The Indians started to fight for their rights. They established a number of organizations, including CONAIE and Movimiento Pachakutik, which began to wield an increasing influence in state affairs and society. These emerging social movements reflected the political awareness of the indigenous community, and this also helped to later inject the idea of Good Living into the country's political and economic development.

The resurgence of leftism in Latin America, especially the radical left, had a significant impact on Ecuador's search for a new development model. The failure of neoliberalism in Ecuador was typical in Latin America. Other countries in the region were also seeking a new path. At the turn of the century, leftist parties were voted in in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Venezuela, Bolivia and Nicaragua. They reformed domestic and foreign policy and tried to turn around the negative impact of neoliberalism on their economies and societies and the lack of a western representative democracy. They attempted to build a post neoliberalism state, replacing democratization with substantive democracies. These governments of the radical left, represented by Venezuela's Hugo Chávez, saw socialism as the answer to post neoliberalism. They wanted fundamental changes politically, economically and socially. Ecuador was strongly influenced by Hugo Chávez's Socialism of the 21st Century and Bolivia's Evo Morales' Communitarian Socialism.

President Correa was the major driving force behind Good Living Socialism. Born to a middle-class family, Correa studied economics at the University of Illinois, US, where he received his PhD. Returning to

Ecuador, he taught at the University of San Francisco de Quito. As an economist, he was famous for his rejection of neoliberalism. In April 2005, he became Ecuador's Minister for Economy and Finance. He had to resign because of his hostility to the International Monetary Fund and his refusal to sign a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the US. He did not change his stance, but instead launched the Proud and Sovereign Fatherland Alliance Movement. He decided to campaign for the presidency in the 2006 election. He said that if he were elected he would eradicate poverty, corruption, and the mismanagement of political and economic institutions. He would end this "long and miserable night of neoliberalism".¹ His "Citizens' Revolution" was widely supported by the indigenous population and he won the election. He was also re-elected in 2009 and 2013. He has been president for nearly 10 years and during this time he has translated his ideas into concrete social policies and put Ecuador on a new development path.

III

According to the *National Plan for Good Living 2013-2017*, the aims of Good Living Socialism are to build a diversified, harmonious and united society that coexists with nature. It is a society that is dignified and idealistic, built on justice, equality, the freedom to work and to be creative. Efforts have been made to promote diversified modes of production, guaranteed economic security, better medical treatment, education, housing and living conditions, decent work conditions, an inclusive society, cultural diversity and sustainable development.²

As a development model, Good Living Socialism was built upon a rejection of capitalism, and neoliberalism in particular. Correa believes that capitalism is a tool for capital accumulation, and it ruins nation states because of outsourcing, labor brokers and other exploitation mechanisms,

¹ Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2011, p. 275.

² 徐世澄：“厄瓜多尔科雷亚‘公民革命’的成就及其挑战”，《当代世界》，2015年，第7期，第51页；Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo (Senplades), *Plan Nacional para el Buen Vivir: 2013-2017*, 2013, Quito, Ecuador, p. 29.

leading to inequality and poverty. Capitalism has caused a global crisis of excessive individualism, deregulation and free competition.¹ Good Living Socialism will challenge the production, growth and allocation modes of neoliberalism. It will prioritize resources distribution, whereas neoliberalism is obsessed with economic benefit. Good Living Socialism argues for an oppression-free regulated market that can merge with the global market, whereas neoliberalism blindly follows the open market and free trade model. Good Living is the focus of Good Living Socialism, whereas neoliberalism is fixated on economic growth rates. Good Living Socialism is based around the interests of the people, while neoliberalism advocates the concentration of power in the hands of a few people.²

At his 2007 inauguration, President Correa said Good Living Socialism could be achieved through a Citizens' Revolution, and this would also help to build an inclusive, united and fair society.³ The concrete measures were as follows: to improve participatory democracy and to reform the political system through "constitutional and political revolution"; to combat corruption with a "moral revolution"; to transform the economic growth model and to restore the government's role of re-allocation through an "economic revolution"; to bring equality to different ethnic groups, social classes and sectors and to encourage the growth of the education and medical sectors with a "social revolution"; and to set up new mechanisms to replace mercantilism and promote integration in Latin America through a "sovereignty and integration revolution". In 2010, he added "judicial revolution" and "ecological revolution" to the "Citizens' Revolution". The former aimed to depoliticize the judicial sector, to crack down on crime and to defend citizens' civil rights. The latter aimed to restore and preserve

¹ Carlos Oliva Campos, Gary Prevost and Harry Vanden, *Social Movement and Leftist Governments in Latin America: Confrontation or Co-option?* ZedBooks, 2012, p.129.

² Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo (Senplades), *Plan Nacional para el Buen Vivir: 2013-2017*, 2013, Quito, Ecuador, p.15.

³ Programa de Gobierno 2013-2017, *Gobernar para Profundizar el Cambio: 35 Propuestas para el Socialismo del Buen Vivir*, p.13.

environmental health and the ecological balance and respect the rights of nature. In 2012, the PAIS Alliance published *35 Tips for Good Living Socialism* which expanded on the meaning of Citizens' Revolution. It discussed building on individual and collective freedoms, to meeting demands, guaranteeing rights, altering modes of accumulation and re-distribution, boosting capacity to co-exist with nature through a "knowledge and technical revolution"; encouraging a collective consensus, encouraging cultural diversity through a "cultural revolution"; ending disordered urban development, encouraging good planning for both rural and urban areas, and building livable cities that are efficient and offer high-quality public services through "urban revolutions".

Correa has said he believes it will take several generations to achieve Good Living Socialism. The success of the movement rests on reforming power relations; power should be transferred from the hands of a few vested interest groups to the majority of the people. Good Living Socialism cannot be achieved without the active participation of the people. Society can only reach these new heights if there is democracy and social mobilization because that is the only way to peacefully protect diversity.¹ Good Living Socialism encourages public participation in democratic governance. The state needs to implement political reform to build a truly participatory democratic society, transforming rule by the bourgeoisie and serving the minority into a profoundly democratic society serving the common interests of the people. In 2008, Correa began political reforms with a new Constitution, and establishing the separation of the five powers (over the traditional separation of three powers) — that is the National Election Committee and the Citizen's Participation and Social Supervisory Committee were made independent as well as the executive, judicial and legislative branches. The National Election Committee has five members who each serve a six-year term. Their job is to organize, conduct and supervise all election matters in a transparent fashion and guarantee everyone's right to vote.

¹ Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo (Senplades), Plan Nacional para el Buen Vivir: 2013-2017, 2013, Quito, Ecuador, p. 24.

The public vote in members of the Citizen Participation and Social Supervisory Committee and it is their job to appoint the Attorney General, Comptroller General, and key members of the National Election Committee and Judiciary Committee. The committee was established to encourage public participation and transparency, to institutionalize public participation in politics and to strengthen the public's role in the supervision of policy-making. The new Constitution strengthens the power of the President also gives the President the power to enact emergency economic measures and to dismiss the legislature under certain conditions.

Good Living Socialism underlines the importance of a harmonious relationship between man and nature for the sake of sustainable development. It has rejected the idea that economic growth should be the key measurement of growth and also neoliberalism as the confrontation between state and market. State, market, society and nature are inextricably linked.¹ State is the driving force behind the revival of socio-economic construction; it should play a dominant role in protecting national interests, strictly control industries vital to national wellbeing and the people's livelihood such as oil, minerals, water resources and telecommunications, and improve macro planning and guidance of the national economy. Correa has nationalized the energy sector, controlled prices, postponed paying sovereign debt and withdrew central bank independence. At the heart of Good Living Socialism is the idea of a solidarity economy that merges the interests of the state, society, and business. It has earmarked the restructuring of production and establishing cooperative, community, state-owned, private and people and solidarity economies. It calls for setting up an egalitarian, efficient and sustainable means of production.² The *National Plan for Good Living 2009-2013* says that a Social and Solidarity Economy is the current ideal. And to turn this into a reality the country needs to transition to an economic model based on Good Living. It battles injustice and inequality, and aims to fundamentally change

¹ National Plan for Good Living 2009-2013: Building a Plurinational and Intercultural State, summarized version, SENPLADIES, 2010, p. 23.

² Programa de Gobierno 2013-2017, *Gobernar para Profundizar el Cambio: 35 Propuestas para el Socialismo del Buen Vivir*, pp. 87-88.

production, distribution, and spending, to reduce the dependence of the national economy on the primary commodity sectors such as oil and the extractive industries, and to build a strong tertiary industry based on services, ecotourism and biotechnology.¹

Good Living Socialism supports a people-oriented distribution model to assure benefits going to the middle and lower classes; it aims to narrow the wealth gap and build a society with strong civil rights. At the World Social Forum in Belem, Brazil in January 2009, Correa said capitalism focused on efficiency, while socialism focused on justice.² Good Living Socialism argues that human lives are more important than capital. The new Constitution guarantees citizens an entitlement to the Good Living rights of health care, education, food, energy resources, economic sovereignty, environment, communication and participation, and water and housing. The Correa Administration has urged for revolutions in education and medicine. It has been working on setting up a national medical system and it has reformed the education system and focused on improving literacy. Money spent on social issues went up from 10% of GDP in 2006 to 15% by 2012.³ Health care spending rose from less than 1% in 2006 to 4% in 2012.⁴ In the first eight years of Correa's term, the education budget rose to 12% of the national budget, reaching \$1.3 billion per year.⁵ Conditional cash transfers to disadvantaged groups such as mothers, the elderly and the disabled rose from \$15 per month in 2006 to \$50 per month in 2013, benefitting 1.8 million people. The monthly minimum wage in

¹ National Plan for Good Living 2009-2013: Building a Plurinational and Intercultural State, summarized version, SENPLADIES, 2010, p. 85.

² Roger Burbach, Michael Fox and Federico Fuentes, *Latin America's Turbulent Transitions: the Future of the Twenty-First-Century Socialism*, p. 100.

³ Martin Calisto Friant and John Langmore, "The Buen Vivir: A Policy to Survive the Anthropocene?" *Global Policy*, Volume 6, Issue 1, February 2015, p. 66.

⁴ Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo (Senplades), Plan Nacional para el Buen Vivir: 2013-2017, 2013, Quito, Ecuador, p.115.

⁵ "Education Prioritized in Ecuador Good Living", retrieved Dec. 1st, 2014, from <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Education-Prioritized-in-Ecuador-Good-Living-2014-0924-0074.html>.

Ecuador was raised from \$170 to \$394.¹

Good Living Socialism also calls for a new international order which should be multipolar and built up through the liberation, sovereignty and self-determination of nation states. It also calls for better democratization in global governance with more active involvement from regional political and economic powers and the global south; that universal disarmament should be promoted through the peaceful settlement of international disputes and conflicts; that trade and trade links should be strengthened between countries on a fair basis; political, economic and cultural integration should be promoted in Latin America; and a supranational organization should be established under the framework of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, ultimately leading to the establishment of a regional integration mechanism. The Correa government switched diplomatic allies from the US to the leftist nations in Latin America and has made new friends such as China and Russia. Ecuador, Venezuela, Bolivia and other radical leftist countries are largely anti-American. The Correa Administration rejected an FTA with the US, preferring to work on promoting Latin American integration without the intervention of the US. Ecuador officially joined ALBA (formerly the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas) in June 2009. The organization is headed by Venezuela. Member countries are mostly anti-US, object to the US-led Free Trade Area of the Americas and are looking for a new integration model. Ecuador signed a 10-year airspace agreement with the US, allowing 400 US troops to be stationed at Manta Air Base for the purposes of combating international drug trafficking. After taking office, President Correa has said repeatedly he will not extend the contract. When it expired in 2009, the US troops had to transfer to Colombia. The Administration has openly supported whistleblowers who disclose US secrets. In 2012, Ecuador's embassy in the UK offered asylum to Julian Assange, the founder of Wikileaks. It offered the same protection to Edward Snowden. Although Correa's anti-US stance seemingly conflicts

¹ Martin Calisto Friant and John Langmore, "The Buen Vivir: A Policy to Survive the Anthropocene?" *Global Policy*, Volume 6, Issue 1, February 2015, p. 66.

with the fact he was educated in the US, it does reflect his political beliefs.

Since Correa's inauguration in 2007, Good Living Socialism has made significant progress. The political situation in Ecuador is now relatively stable; compared with the previous decade when the country was hit by coup after coup. His popularity, especially in the 2013 election, has made him the most popular leader in Latin America. In April 2015, his approval rating was still at its high of 55%.¹ The economy has been growing steadily. In 2007 and 2014, the GDP growth rate was 4.3%, 3.2% percentage points higher than the average of Latin American countries. The countries' social indicators have been rising thanks to financial stabilization, low inflation, greater public investment and social expenditure. Income inequality has been reduced; the poverty rate declined from 36% in 2009 to 25.6% in 2013.² The top 20% owned 43% of the national wealth in 2012, compared with 48.8% in 2002; while the bottom 20% owned 6.4% up from 5.1%.³

IV

Compared to Asia and Africa, Latin America is relatively developed. Its ethnic diversity, early independence movements and proximity to the US are all regarded as advantages. Many scholarly theories have come from this region: the Center-Periphery theory, the theory of the Economic Commission for Latin America and Caribbean, Liberation Theology and Magic Realism, for example. In the political arena, there have been Peronism from Argentina, the Vargas Doctrine from Brazil, Aprismo from Peru and Sandinoism from Nicaragua. They are not just ideologies; they have been put into practice, making their mark on the region.

Latin America jumped on board with the rise of the international Communist Movement and socialism has been widely adopted. Both theory and practice have played their part in all countries in the region, as

¹ EIU, *Country Report—Ecuador*, July 2015, p. 21.

² World Bank, "World Development Indicators: Ecuador", retrieved Jan. 8, 2015, from <http://data.worldbank.org/country/ecuador>.

³ CEPAL, *Panorama Social de América Latina 2013*, Santiago de Chile, Diciembre de 2013.

well as most famously in Cuba. In the 1920s, Jose Carlos Mariategui, the leader of Peru's Communist Party said that Latin America's future lay in socialism. He said: "We must create an American Indian Socialism based on our reality and our languages." In the early 1970s, the Socialist Party of Chile won the general election and took power for 1,000 days under Salvador Allende Gossens. It attempted to make a new, diversified and free socialist order. Later, the People's National Congress (PNC) of Guyana put forward the idea of Cooperative Socialism: first the PNC attempted to institutionalize socialism and then it tried to use a system of cooperatives to achieve this. As Prime Minister and then President from 1964-1985, Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham pursued a host of socialism reforms. These movements all make up Latin America's unique socialist history.

Ecuador's Good Living Socialism represents a continuation of these socialist trends. It also represents the radical leftists of modern Latin America. It is an effort to update socialism and explore Latin America's development path by trying to right the wrongs of neoliberalism.

Following the end of the Cold War, and an outpouring of criticism for traditional socialism, new socialisms have emerged, such as socialism of the post-industrial society, eco-socialism, market socialism and post-socialism, in the West. Socialism of the 21st Century, including Good Living Socialism, is the result of pluralistic developments in Western socialism in Latin America, according to well-known scholars Federico Fuentes and Michael Fox. There is no uniform model or idea. It differs from country to country. Its chief task is to redefine the function of the state, to differentiate it from 20th century socialism.¹

We can say that Good Living Socialism is a mixture of Scientific Socialism, Utopian Socialism, Christian Socialism and Andean Socialism of Mariátegui. Politically, it does not favor class struggle. PAIS bases its legitimacy on democratic elections in the Western style. It might not stay in power for ever; If the party did not win the next election and is replaced by a new rightist party, progress on building a Good Living Socialism will be

¹ Roger Burbach, Michael Fox and Ferderico Fuentes, *Latin America's Turbulent Transitions: the Future of the Twenty-First-Century Socialism*, p. 5.

interrupted. Economically, it opposes the state's monopoly of the ownership of the means of production and supports private ownership but under strong state control. The privatization of the means of production, the integration of Latin America, the fight for sovereignty and objection to post-colonization by international economic institutions have become more important than controlling the means of production. From this perspective, Ecuador's Good Living Socialism is clearly different from Cuba's socialist system.

The fact that Socialism of the 21st Century and Good Living Socialism have emerged in Latin America reflects the relentless pursuit of developing countries for an alternative development model. Since the latter half of the 20th century, countries around the world have been assessing the traditional development model, and promoting a new understanding of development. Out of this, a number of new ideas have been put forward, many of them prefaced with "neo-", "anti-" and "post-". Like other parts of the world, Latin America has also been exploring new models, yet it has not yet found a good growth model that encompasses economic, social, and political stability and environmental sustainability. Socialism of the 21st Century tries to solve this issue in accordance with local conditions, and combining elements of state, market and society. It looks at economic growth but also at fostering well-being and environmental protection at the same time. At its heart it is anti-neoliberalist. It has provided a new answer.

Good Living Socialism builds on the basic principles of Socialism of the 21st Century.

It will take many years to fully achieve Socialism of the 21st Century. Federico Fuentes said it may need decades and the efforts of several generations.¹ Good Living Socialism in Ecuador faces many challenges. Latin America's leftist movement is unstable. In Brazil, an economic downturn and corruption scandals led to impeachment proceedings against President Dilma Rousseff in 2016. Mauricio Macri, leader of the centre-right party *Compromiso para el Cambio* (Commitment to Change)

¹ Roger Burbach, Michael Fox and Federico Fuentes, *Latin America's Turbulent Transitions: the Future of the Twenty-First-Century Socialism*, p. 5.

won the presidential election in Argentina and took office on December 10, 2015, ending the rule of the leftist party there. Venezuela, which is leader of the Socialism of the 21st Century movement and a bellwether for radical leftist governments, is struggling: its economy is flailing and the political situation is unstable. The opposition won a legislative majority in parliamentary elections in December 2015, threatening the ruling United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV). The future of Socialism of the 21st Century in Venezuela is uncertain. All this has affected Ecuador's Good Living Socialism. Oil revenues account for one-third of the state budget and its high price has in the past provided a steady source of revenue and a strong economic foundation for Good Living Socialism. However, most recently oil prices have fallen, and that means the government has had to cut public spending. Economic growth may slow. The Correa Administration has had to abandon some aspects of Good Living Socialism for the sake of economic growth and propping up state revenues. Correa's last term ends in 2017. After he leaves, what will happen to Good Living Socialism? Will his successor be up to carrying it on? In summary, complex circumstances, both at home and abroad, are making it difficult for Correa to govern his country properly. Good Living Socialism is looking uncertain. However, the theory and the practices of Ecuador's Good Living Socialism have benefitted and will continue to benefit the socialist movement in Latin America and the world.

China and the World

Communication, Cooperation and Challenges: A Roadmap for Sino-Indian Engagement in Afghanistan

Raffaello Pantucci, Ravi Sawhney, Hu Shisheng & Emily Winterbotham 40

The paper dwells upon the areas where China and India could cooperate in the reconstructions of Afghanistan. The very possible major areas for Sino-India to cooperate are the security, the economy and the political reconciliation. In each, some ideas for potential cooperation are offered. The major conclusion is that the stability of Afghanistan, will depend on its neighbours, with China and India in particular.

The New Financing Framework for Sustainable Development in Post-2015 Years and China's Responses

Huang Chao 73

Attainment of sustainable development goals was foremost in the minds of world leaders when they approved the Action Agenda at the Third International Conference on Financing for Development in Ethiopia. Promoting a financing structure along the lines of North-South cooperation, while using new financing institutions such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the BRICS Development Bank, will mean China's voice in international cooperation will be heard, to the greater benefit of developing countries.

European Studies

EU Common Asylum Policy: Development and Challenges

Tian Xiaohui 86

The European refugee crisis started in August 2015 and is regarded as the worst since World War II. It has had a serious impact on European society's security and stability; and it has also revealed the vulnerabilities and problems with the EU common refugee policy.

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Ecuador adopted Good Living Socialism in 2007 under the leadership of President Rafael Correa. Good Living Socialism is derived from traditional thinking of Ecuador's indigenous peoples and is a rejection of neoliberalism. It can also be considered a product of the leftist politics of modern Latin America, especially the radical left. It is an important part of Socialism of the 21st Century. Correa's Good Living Socialism has made remarkable achievements in the political, economic, social and foreign relations fields, but it is also facing serious challenges because of complicated external and internal circumstances. Its outlook remains uncertain.