DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

MASTER OF ARTS-POLITICAL SCIENCES

SEMESTER -IV

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

ELECTIVE 403

BLOCK-2

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

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FOREWORD

The Self Learning Material (SLM) is written with the aim of providing simple and organized study content to all the learners. The SLMs are prepared on the framework of being mutually cohesive, internally consistent and structured as per the university's syllabi. It is a humble attempt to give glimpses of the various approaches and dimensions to the topic of study and to kindle the learner's interest to the subject

We have tried to put together information from various sources into this book that has been written in an engaging style with interesting and relevant examples. It introduces you to the insights of subject concepts and theories and presents them in a way that is easy to understand and comprehend.

We always believe in continuous improvement and would periodically update the content in the very interest of the learners. It may be added that despite enormous efforts and coordination, there is every possibility for some omission or inadequacy in few areas or topics, which would definitely be rectified in future.

We hope you enjoy learning from this book and the experience truly enrich your learning and help you to advance in your career and future endeavours.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

BLOCK-1

BLOCK-2

BLOCK 2: POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

Introduction to the Block

Unit 8 deals with Socialism: Classical and Modern. In this unit, we will discuss the following issues: What is it that calls forth the need for socialism? And, what is socialism? Socialism is a set of doctrines or a cluster of ideas and a political programme that emerged at the beginning of the 19th century.

Unit 9 deals with Social Democracy and Market Socialism. In this unit, democracy is discussed as a form of government with socialistic principles and policy. Democracy is a way of life and represents a set of ideals.

Unit 10 deals with Fascism. The basic purpose of this unit is to make you understand the development of fascist ideas and states as extreme right wing political mobilisation.

Unit 11 deals with Emergence of New Ideologies: Feminism. To understand clearly the way in which the various schools of feminist thought describe the oppression and subjugation experienced by women.

Unit 12 deals with Environmentalism. Environmentalism or environmental rights is a broad philosophy, ideology, and social movement regarding concerns for environmental protection and improvement of the health of the environment, particularly as the measure for this health seeks to incorporate the impact of changes to the environment on humans, animals, plants and non-living matter.

Unit 13 deals with Identity Politics. Identity Politics has become a prominent subject in the Indian politics in the past few years. Rise of low castes, religious identities, linguistic groups and ethnic conflicts have contributed to the significance of identity politics in India.

Unit 14 deals with Radicalism. In this Unit we shall study the origins of the Radicalism and the significant features of the revolutionary period

UNIT 8: SOCIALISM: CLASSICAL AND MODERN

STRUCTURE

8.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

- To know the Doctrine of Social Progress, individualism and Capitalism
- To discuss the Socialism: Meaning and Early Strands
- To describe Karl Marx and Socialism
- To find out the Critiques of Marxist and Democratic Socialism

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we will discuss the following issues: What is it that calls forth the need for socialism? And, what is socialism? Socialism is a set of doctrines or a cluster of ideas and a political programme that emerged at the beginning of the 19th century. It arose out of a revolt against bourgeois property. Property in all "civilized" societies has been considered sacred. (Exceptions were cumulative" communities also known as tribal.) In bourgeois society, it loses it sacredness but gets a new type of sanction; it now becomes an inalienable right. (Inalienable is

anything which cannot be separated from the person, entrenched with the individual.) What then are the implications of property rights as inalienable? One lnain objective of the state is taken to be to ensure the liberty of property. Right to private property has been regarded, by much of the liberal theory, as the key to liberty of the individual and to the pursuit of his happiness. To John Locke, the father of liberal view of society, right to "life, liberty and property" is a natural right and human beings enter into a contract to create a state for the protection of this right. From then on, through Adam Smith to Jererny Bentham and the modern proponents of capitalism (which now has taken an aggressive posture under globalisation in our times) the institution of private property has been politically sacrosanct and an essential condition of social progress.

In sociology, various attempts have been made to identify the basic features of the dominant ideology of capitalist societies. This note reviews some of the general analytical problems associated with the notion of a dominant ideology and reviews the literature on individualism as an essential component of property relations in capital ism. It is argued that much of the confusion surrounding this issue can be resolved by distinguishing between the emergence of the individual in Western cultures, individualism as a doctrine of rights, individuality as an aesthetic theory of individual uniqueness and individuation as a bureaucratic process of surveillance. The connection between seventeenth-century individualism and the rise of capitalism was contingent. The early dominance of possessive individualism declined with the emergence of corporate structures in late capitalism; this decline is associated with the regulation of modern societies by the state (individuation), the pluralization of life-worlds and the crisis of the subject in the post-modernist culture of the intellectuals. The 'new' capitalist centres (such as Japan) appear to be developing without individualistic values and institutions, de pending instead on collectivist norms and authoritarian forms of management and organisation. In conclusion, it is argued that the relationship between individualism and capitalism is contingent and variable.

8.2 THE DOCTRINE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS, INDIVIDUALISM AND CAPITALISM

The doctrine of social progress is predicated on the assumption that the perusal of (rational) self-interest by every individual will over a period of time, even if temporary setbacks have I to be faced, lead to social good. This means that general social welfare will be the result of Individual maximization of interest. This prevailing view o fthe new Inan was well captured by Alexander Pope in the following verse: 'Thus God or nature formed the general functions And bade self-love and social be the same. We all know Adam Smith's oft quoted maxim ofthe "invisible hand." Everyone is not only a ~naxin~izer of self-interest, but is an infinite appropriator and an infinite consumer of goods of every kind. Property is the measure of man and in a capitalist society, whichever way one looks at it, all routes converge on property and through it the individual's pursuit of his happiness. What we get, as a picture of man under such a social arrangement is an egoistic person, dissociated from all other individuals and all by him in a space called the market place. This extreme individualism is best captured in the words of John Locke, the father philosopher of liberalism. He says, the state exists to promote civil interest and "civil interest I call life, liberty, inviolability of body, and the possession of such outward things as Money, Lands, Houses, Furniture and the like." ('A Letter Concerning Tolerance'). He then argues that "Though the earth . . . is common to all men, yet everyman has a 'property' in his own 'person'. This nobody has a right but himself." (Two Treatises of Government, Ch.: 'Of Property'.)

Ethical perspectives on capitalism First, we need to clarify the way in which we approach the relationship between the ethical and the economic in capitalism. According to the way they approach this relationship, different thinkers, economists, sociologists, and ethicists situate themselves closer or further away from two extreme positions. One of the extremes may be represented by Max Weber, who, in his book The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, considered that the ethics of puritanism could considered a strong lever for the expansion of that concept on life, which the great German sociologist called “the

spirit of capitalism" (Weber, 1993). At the other end, for instance, André ComteSponville (2004), who claims that, in fact, capitalism can be considered neither moral, nor immoral could be situated. The French ethicist talks about the existence of four types of order: the economic, technical and scientific order; the political and judiciary order; the moral order; and the order of love. They must not be mistaken for one another. In this case, capitalism cannot be judged as moral or immoral, but rather amoral, e.g. alien to the moral order. The ones who accept the idea that capitalism as an economic system can also be analysed from a moral point of view situate themselves on different grounds. Some consider that capitalism can be anything but moral. Along this line of thought, we should mention the utopian socialists first and foremost. In his well-known work Qu'est-ce que la propriété, published in 1840, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1840) wrote that "la propriété c'est le vol." Although a critic of Proudhon, Karl Marx maintains the same attitude towards capitalism. Situating himself in the position of the proletariat, he considered that this economic system meant exploitation, alienation, and inequality. "The worker becomes all the poorer the more wealth he produces, the more his production increases in power and size" (Marx, 1968), and, further on, "Private property is, thus, the product, the result, the necessary consequence of self-alienated labour" (Marx, 1968). Others, as Stephen Young, for example, consider the possible existence of a moral capitalism, which presupposes a "large as possible zone of interpenetration between virtue and private interest" (Young, 2009). Moreover, under the circumstances of our times, such a form of capitalism would be the only one capable of ensuring both the maintenance and development of capitalist companies and acquisition of profit.

3. Types and forms of individualism Beyond these conflicting positions regarding the morality of capitalism, it is generally accepted that individualism as a world view is connected to the birth and evolution of capitalism. However, we need to make it clear that the concept of individualism refers to a very diverse reality. Individualism takes various forms. For instance, Steven Lukes spoke of political, economic, ethical, religious, epistemological, and methodological individualism (Lukes,

2006). Pierre Birnbaum and Jean Leca mention a number of individualisms: romantic, market, juridical, ethical, sociological, and epistemological (Birnbaum & Leca, 1991). Individualism as an ideology and foundation of economic and political thinking has been imposed by the modern times. The English classical economists considered that the accomplishment of the individual and his/her interests in the economic life with as few limitations and as limited intervention of the state in the economic life as possible can ensure the individual and collective well-being. They believed that the "invisible hand", to use Adam Smith's metaphor, acts for the aggregation of individual interests in view of realizing collective interests. In the political area, individualism has been connected to the citizens' political participation and respect for human rights. It has also had a crucial role in the continuous democratization of society. This type of individualism imposed by the modern economists and philosophers was named "possessive individualism" by C.B. Macpherson. From his perspective, "society is reduced to an aggregate of free and equal individuals, linked to one another in that they are owners of their abilities and of what these abilities have allowed them to acquire" (Macpherson, 1971). The utilitarian individualism, with special reference to the one promoted by Herbert Spencer in Principles of Sociology (Spencer, 1891) and The Man Versus the State (Spencer, 1996), slips towards the theorization of social egoism and towards social Darwinism. The accentuation of the role of the individual, the absolutisation of his/her liberty, and consideration of egoism as a starting point of society simply push Spencer's theories towards the zone of extreme individualism. This is obviously exaggerated and offers arguments for the criticism of individualism. One of Spenser's profound critics is Émile Durkheim. His objectives are similar to those of the English sociologist, e.g. to show the difference between traditional and modern societies, to bring to light the mechanisms of social solidarity that make possible the existence of these societies, and to show the role the division of social labour plays. In spite of criticising Spenser's extreme individualism, and being considered a supporter of collectivism from the epistemological perspective, Durkheim is, first and foremost, the advocate of a type of individualism called "paradoxical"

(Jankélévitch, 2002). In an article from 1998, he revealed himself as a supporter of a certain type of individualism: “celui de Kant et de Rousseau, celui des spiritualistes, celui que la Déclaration des droits de l'homme a tenté, plus ou moins heureusement, de traduire en formules, celui qu'on enseigne couramment dans nos écoles et qui est devenu la base de notre cathéchisme moral” (Durkheim, 2002). Such individualism does not derive from egoism but from sympathy for people in general. The economic, social, and political evolutions in contemporary societies seem to be connected to a new type of individualism. Gilles Lipovetsky spoke about “une deuxième révolution individualiste” (Lipovetsky, 1983). What characterises this individualist revolution is a process of personalization, which “a promu et incarné massivement une valeur fondamentale, celle de l'accomplissement personel, celle du respect de la singularité subjective, de la personalité incomparable” (Lipovetsky, 1983). Hedonism and narcissism are the traits of this new “total” individualism. It is not our scope to discuss the consequences of such a type of individualism on one’s personality and society in general, and on the individuals’ participation to social life. Undoubtedly, it tends to encourage not only personal self-achievement, but also egoism. In view of this individualistic revolution unfolding within the globalization process, “total” individualism supports “the globalization of nothing” (Ritzer, 2010). Reasons connected with profit increase cause this type of individualism to be widely promoted, and consumers’ hedonistic temptations and consumerism to be stimulated. This results in the manifestation of capitalism, where the private interest hides the public interest almost completely, which makes this form of capitalism “immoral”, in our terms. Unfortunately, such individualism could open an “age of void” (Lipovetsky, 1983). Its impact is not wholly negative. It also has a positive facet associated with the process of the individual’s continuous emancipation. From a human standpoint, this emancipation signifies a tri-dimensional victory “of autonomy, authenticity, and of hedonistic allegation” (Fitoussi, Rosanvallon, 1999). This is about “individualization-emancipation”, which is unfortunately paralleled with “individualization-fragilization”. Starting from the model of the emancipated individual that capitalism promotes, François de Singly

demonstrates that individualism can truly be considered a form of humanism when some philosophical, social and political conditions are realized. (Singly, 2005) This humanist streak of individualism can constitute an ideological support for the development of the moral capitalism that Stephen Young was referring to, in the same manner as Spencer's extreme individualism, which is circumscribed by social Darwinism, and actually lies at the foundation of the wild capitalism. Before briefly reviewing the forms of individualism manifest in the post-communist societies, we should start from a broad definition of individualism. Louis Dumont proposes such a definition. In his view, individualism is "une idéologie qui valorise l'individu et néglige ou subordonne la totalité sociale" (Dumont, 1983).

4. Individualism in the post-communist society Post-communism, the period following more or less violent anti-communist revolutions mainly in the Eastern European countries at the end of the 20th century, is still a phenomenon that still stirs theoretical disputes and debates. However, some of its traits have already been established. Firstly, they were an act of rejection of the communist system, both under its economic and political aspects. This rejection was not accompanied by a preexistent model of action that envisages the new society to be built, by an ideology, or by a doctrine of transition from communism to a different type of society. The rejection of communism is accompanied by the desire to implement a market economy and democracy as the sole alternatives to a demand economy and totalitarian political regime. A somewhat common belief is that both the capitalist market economy and democracy are the only ones that can ensure an increase of the living standard and the quality of life. Although both the political leaders and the common citizens invest high hopes in this change, sometimes, they combine these hopes with widely exaggerated expectations. The complexity of the necessary changes in the political life and especially in the economic one, the lack of a model, the leaders' insecurities and hesitations towards adopting certain reforms (Romania is a perfect example in this respect), the fact that the new political and economic systems have had to be implemented with individuals who are still affected by the totalitarian regime, and the global economic crisis that,

unfortunately, started during this transition period, resulted in the post-communist achievements being more or less further away from expectations. Consequently, a general feeling of dissatisfaction and a lack of confidence in the future have emerged. Following the ideological pressure over the entire society during the communist totalitarianism, post-communism is characterised by an ideological void (Holmes, 2004), in the sense that there is no longer a dominant ideology, whether official or not. Even more, there is a form of refusal of political ideologies or doctrines of any kind. It is this kind of terrain where extremely diverse and often-contradictory views of the world have sprung. Under these circumstances, the place of individualism in this post-communist world should be questioned. We consider that we are dealing with a number of forms of individualism, which crisscross, sometimes completing or opposing one another. One first form that we are going to refer to is that which we have called survival individualism (Dascălu, 2012), a residue of totalitarianism, and a perverse offshoot of communist collectivism. The communist totalitarian society is a declared collectivist one. The official ideology is collectivist and individualism is considered an ideological deviation that has to be repelled fiercely. Despite this, a perverse offshoot has appeared within this collectivist society: a form of individualism which is similar to social egoism and which allows the survival under the hostile totalitarian conditions. The generalized political fear imposed by the owners of the political power, a defensive mechanism of the regime, and the penury economy (Kornai, 1984), which is an economy that faces a scarcity of commodities, of means of production, of work force, and financial resources lead to a necessary alienation of the individual who has to deal with this situation on his/her own, permanently hiding from the others to try to achieve his/her own interests, which are mostly connected to survival. Naturally, this type of individualism does not disappear concomitantly with the fall of communism. Its residues can be found in the postcommunist era as well. Moreover, the state of anomie, which is normal at the beginning of the post-communist period at least, encourages manifestations connected with this type of individualism. Out of the penury economy, the inhabitants of the former communist countries rapidly adapt to the

consumerist, hedonist, and narcissistic individualism of our times. In fact, it is considered that the temptation of unlimited consumption of goods and services in a society where they were scarce, as in the communist society, was one of the causes of the fall of communism. (Karnoouh, 2000) The mythology of a consumer society, which found its way more or less subversively inside the communist world almost devoid of services and consumption goods, has eroded its foundation and contributed to its fall. In post-communist era, the abundance of services and goods and the freedom to purchase them is, unfortunately, accompanied by the people's limited financial sources, which is a source of permanent frustration After having lived in a society where the respect for the individual was minimal, where the party-state used all its economic, political, and cultural means to try to achieve a perfect "social homogenisation", i.e. levelling an entire population to an amorphous mass of obedient subjects to the totalitarian power, at the fall of communism, the people discover or rediscover the human rights, the citizen rights, and the importance of personal success. We could say that they discover or rediscover the humanist views of individualism and adhere to them. In post-communism, political participation gradually acquires democratic valences; it is a participation of the free people, of the individuals that matter. Democracy involves an individualist view of the political. Eventually, the attainment of a market economy entails private initiative of people with individualistic thinking, who are capable of embarking on business enterprises and taking risks to obtain profit. The "possessive" individualism is thus revived on a political and economic field. It is obvious that these manifestations of individualism that have been discussed her, among many others not mentioned, gear the economy of post-communism towards more or less moral forms of capitalism.

The individualism and the morality of post-communism capitalism Many labels have been used to characterize the post-communist Romanian capitalism, which many consider to be immoral to a great extent. "Wild capitalism" is one of them. This term was created in the 1880's and defined not only the flourishing of the industrial revolution period of the 19th century (a period dominated by social inequalities, in which the

state assumed minimal duties as far as the functioning of the economy was concerned), but also the seventh decade of the 20th century, when we witness a certain revival of the neo-liberal policies, a limited intervention of state in economy, and ever deepening social inequalities. After 1990, this term has been used to define the post-communist economies, which are characterized by rapid and massive liberalization, by the lack or the inefficiency of the state intervention in economy, by corruption, and significant social movements of protest. It could be considered a less moral, or even immoral, form of capitalism because, in such a system, the private interest takes precedence over public interest. The insufficient judicial regulation of the economic life, the relative state of anomie that rules after the fall of communism, and the inefficiency of the Rule of Law in the former communist countries, account for the possible emergence and development of this form of capitalism. Ideologically, the wild capitalism seems related to Spencer's individualism, or to his social Darwinism. In the former communist countries, we think that, innately, it is also supported by the traces of the survival individualism, which blend with the ideas of classical economic liberalism and even dominates them. The term "crony capitalism" has also been used, and, with a Romanian twist it has become "in-law capitalism". (free translation) This is a "quasi-capitalism, based on nepotism, where the economic relationships are favoured by family alliances" (Young, 2009) or on subordination relationships of the Mafia type. Initially, the term was used to characterize the economies of some developing countries in the latter half of the 20th century. After 1990, it seems to have become a reality that is characteristic of some post-communist transition economies, profoundly marred by corruption. Obviously, we can discover the influence of survival individualism and the Spencerian radical individualism besides the mark of corruption and of some traditional group structures. To characterize the post-communist Romanian economy, Cătălin Zamfir advanced the term "prey economy", namely "an economy in which the profits are not gained through performance, but through looting the resources of state property, of the budget, and of the mass of consumers". (Zamfir, 2004) Beyond these labels, in the post-communist countries, it seems obvious that capitalism,

the objective these countries aim to achieve, takes different forms of immoral capitalism, which makes the transition and the functioning of their respective economies more difficult with more negative consequences on the consumers. Among the factors that allow the appearance and development of these immoral manifestations of capitalism, we need to consider some forms of individualism, as well. Yet, this does not mean that individualism must be condemned in its entirety. At the same time, we should not forget that individualist thinking supports the capitalist economy. It is true that the forms of manifestation and the consequences of the immoral capitalism seem more pronounced in the post-communist economies, but we should not overlook the fact that they also appear in the developed capitalist economies. According to some, the latest economic crisis is due to the immoral practices of the mega capitalist corporations. Through its humanist valences, individualism can support the emergence and development of a moral capitalism. This is a desideratum, a valid expectation of the former communist countries and, equally, of the developed capitalist countries.

8.3 SOCIALISM: MEANING AND EARLY STRANDS

What Is Socialism?

Socialism is a populist economic and political system based on public ownership (also known as collective or common ownership) of the means of production. Those means include the machinery, tools, and factories used to produce goods that aim to directly satisfy human needs. Communism and socialism are umbrella terms referring to two left-wing schools of economic thought; both oppose capitalism, but socialism predates the "Communist Manifesto," an 1848 pamphlet by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, by a few decades.

In a purely socialist system, all legal production and distribution decisions are made by the government, and individuals rely on the state for everything from food to healthcare. The government determines the output and pricing levels of these goods and services.

Socialists contend that shared ownership of resources and central planning provide a more equal distribution of goods and services and a more equitable society.

Socialism Explained

Common ownership under socialism may take shape through technocratic, oligarchic, totalitarian, democratic or even voluntary rule. Prominent historical examples of socialist countries include the former Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. Contemporary examples include Cuba, Venezuela, and China.

Due to its practical challenges and poor track record, socialism is sometimes referred to as a utopian or "post-scarcity" system, although modern adherents believe it could work if only properly implemented. They argue socialism creates equality and provides security – a worker's value comes from the amount of time he or she works, not in the value of what he or she produces — while capitalism exploits workers for the benefit of the wealthy.

Socialist ideals include production for use, rather than for profit; an equitable distribution of wealth and material resources among all people; no more competitive buying and selling in the market; and free access to goods and services. Or, as an old socialist slogan describes it, "from each according to ability, to each according to need."

Origins of Socialism

Socialism developed in opposition to the excesses and abuses of liberal individualism and capitalism. Under early capitalist economies during the late 18th and 19th centuries, western European countries experienced industrial production and compound economic growth at a rapid pace. Some individuals and families rose to riches quickly, while others sank into poverty, creating income inequality and other social concerns.

The most famous early socialist thinkers were Robert Owen, Henri de Saint-Simon, Karl Marx, and Vladimir Lenin. It was primarily Lenin who expounded on the ideas of earlier socialists and helped bring socialist planning to the national level after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.

Following the failure of socialist central planning in the Soviet Union and Maoist China during the 20th century, many modern socialists adjusted to a high regulatory and redistributive system sometimes referred to as market socialism or democratic socialism.

Socialism vs. Capitalism

Capitalist economies (also known as free-market or market economies) and socialist economies differ by their logical underpinnings, stated or implied objectives and structures of ownership and production. Socialists and free-market economists tend to agree on fundamental economics – the supply and demand framework, for instance – while disagreeing about its proper adaptation. Several philosophical questions also lie at the heart of the debate between socialism and capitalism: What is the role of government? What constitutes a human right? What roles should equality and justice play in society?

Functionally, socialism and free-market capitalism can be divided on property rights and control of production. In a capitalist economy, private individuals and enterprises own the means of production and the right to profit from them; private property rights are taken very seriously and apply to nearly everything. In a socialist economy, the government owns and controls the means of production; personal property is sometimes allowed, but only in the form of consumer goods.

In a socialist economy, public officials control producers, consumers, savers, borrowers, and investors by taking over and regulating trade, the flow of capital and other resources. In a free-market economy, trade is conducted on a voluntary, or nonregulated, basis.

Market economies rely on the separate actions of self-determining individuals to determine production, distribution, and consumption. Decisions about what, when and how to produce are made privately and coordinated through a spontaneously developed price system and prices are determined by the laws of supply and demand. Proponents say that freely floating market prices direct resources towards their most efficient ends. Profits are encouraged and drive future production.

Socialist economies rely on either the government or worker cooperatives to drive production and distribution. Consumption is

regulated, but it is still partially left up to individuals. The state determines how main resources are used and taxes wealth for redistributive efforts. Socialist economic thinkers consider many private economic activities to be irrational, such as arbitrage or leverage, because they do not create immediate consumption or "use."

Bones of Contention

There are many points of contention between these two systems. Socialists consider capitalism and the free market to be unfair and possibly unsustainable. For example, most socialists contend that market capitalism is incapable of providing enough subsistence to the lower classes. They contend that greedy owners suppress wages and seek to retain profits for themselves.

Proponents of market capitalism counter that it is impossible for socialist economies to allocate scarce resources efficiently without real market prices. They claim that the resultant shortages, surpluses and political corruption will lead to more poverty, not less. Overall, they say, that socialism is impractical and inefficient, suffering in particular from two major challenges.

The first challenge, widely called the "incentive problem," says no one wants to be a sanitation worker or wash skyscraper windows. That is, socialist planners cannot incentivize laborers to accept dangerous or uncomfortable jobs without violating the equality of outcomes.

Far more serious is the calculation problem, a concept originating from economist Ludwig von Mises' 1920 article "Economic Calculation in the Socialist Commonwealth." Socialists wrote Mises, are unable to perform any real economic calculation without a pricing mechanism. Without accurate factor costs, no true accounting may take place. Without futures markets, capital can never reorganize efficiently over time.

Can a Country be Both?

While socialism and capitalism seem diametrically opposed, most capitalist economies today have some socialist aspects. Elements of a market economy and a socialist economy can be combined into a mixed economy. And in fact, most modern countries operate with a mixed

economic system; government and private individuals both influence production and distribution.

Economist and social theorist Hans Herman Hoppe wrote that there are only two archetypes in economic affairs – socialism and capitalism – and that every real system is a combination of these archetypes. But because of the archetypes' differences, there is an inherent challenge in the philosophy of a mixed economy and it becomes a never-ending balancing act between predictable obedience to the state and the unpredictable consequences of individual behavior.

How Mixed Economies Develop

Mixed economies are still relatively young and theories around them have only recently codified. "The Wealth of Nations," Adam Smith's pioneering economic treatise, argued that markets were spontaneous and that the state could not direct them, or the economy. Later economists including John-Baptiste Say, F.A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, and Joseph Schumpeter would expand on this idea. However, in 1985, political economy theorists Wolfgang Streeck and Philippe Schmitter introduced the term "economic governance" to describe markets that are not spontaneous but have to be created and maintained by institutions. The state, to pursue its objectives, needs to create a market that follows its rules.

Historically, mixed economies have followed two types of trajectories. The first type assumes that private individuals have the right to own property, produce and trade. State intervention has developed gradually, usually in the name of protecting consumers, supporting industries crucial to the public good (in fields like energy or communications) providing welfare or other aspects of the social safety net. Most western democracies, such as the United States, follow this model.

The second trajectory involves states that evolved from pure collectivist or totalitarian regimes. Individuals' interests are considered a distant second to state interests, but elements of capitalism are adopted to promote economic growth. China and Russia are examples of the second model.

Transitioning from Socialism

A nation needs to transfer the means of production to transition from socialism to free markets. The process of transferring functions and assets from central authorities to private individuals is known as privatization.

Privatization occurs whenever ownership rights transfer from a coercive public authority to a private actor, whether it is a company or an individual. Different forms of privatization include contracting out to private firms, awarding franchises and the outright sale of government assets, or divestiture.

In some cases, privatization is not really privatization. Case in point: private prisons. Rather than completely ceding a service to competitive markets and the influence of supply and demand, private prisons in the United States are actually just a contracted-out government monopoly. The scope of functions that form the prison is largely controlled by government laws and executed by government policy. It is important to remember that not all transfers of government control result in a free market.

Privatizing a Socialist Economy

Some nation-wide privatization efforts have been relatively mild, while others have been dramatic. The most striking examples include the former satellite nations of the Soviet Bloc after the collapse of the U.S.S.R. and the modernization of the post-Mao Chinese government.

The privatization process involves several different kinds of reforms, not all of them completely economic. Enterprises need to be deregulated and prices need to be allowed to flow based on microeconomic considerations; tariffs and import/export barriers need to be removed; state-owned enterprises need to be sold; investment restrictions must be relaxed and the state authorities must relinquish their individual interests in the means of production. The logistical problems associated with these actions have not been fully resolved and several different theories and practices have been offered throughout history.

Should these transfers be gradual or immediate? What are the impacts of shocking an economy built around central control? Can firms be

effectively depoliticized? As the struggles in Eastern Europe in the 1990s show, it can be very difficult for a population to adjust from complete state control to suddenly having political and economic freedoms.

In Romania, for example, the National Agency for Privatization was charged with the goal of privatizing commercial activity in a controlled manner. Private ownership funds, or POFs, were created in 1991. The state ownership fund, or SOF, was given the responsibility of selling 10% of the state's shares each year to the POFs, allowing prices and markets to adjust to a new economic process. But initial efforts failed as progress was slow and politicization compromised many transitions. Further control was given to more government agencies and, over the course of the next decade, bureaucracy took over what should have been a private market.

These failures are indicative of the primary problem with gradual transitions: when political actors control the process, economic decisions continue to be made based on noneconomic justifications. A quick transition may result in the greatest initial shock and the most initial displacement, but it results in the fastest reallocation of resources toward the most valued, market-based ends. (For related reading, see "Are Social Security Benefits a Form of Socialism?")

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answer

b) Check your answers with those provided at the end of the unit

1. How do you know the Doctrine of Social Progress, individualism and Capitalism?

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2. Discuss the Socialism: Meaning and Early Strands.

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8.4 KARL MARX AND SOCIALISM

Marx's concept of socialism follows from his concept of man. It should be clear by now that according to this concept, socialism is not a society of regimented, automatized individuals, regardless of whether there is equality of income or not, and regardless of whether they are well fed and well clad. It is not a society in which the individual is subordinated to the state, to the machine, to the bureaucracy. Even if the state as an "abstract capitalist" were the employer, even if "the entire social capital were united in the hands either of a single capitalist or a single capitalist corporation," [89] this would not be socialism. In fact, as Marx says quite clearly in the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, "communism as such is not the aim of human development." What, then, is the aim?

Quite clearly the aim of socialism is man. It is to create a form of production and an organization of society in which man can overcome alienation from his product, from his work, from his fellow man, from himself and from nature; in which he can return to himself and grasp the world with his own powers, thus becoming one with the world. Socialism for Marx was, as Paul Tillich put it, "a resistance movement against the destruction of love in social reality."

Marx expressed the aim of socialism with great clarity at the end of the third volume of Capital: "In fact, the realm of freedom does not commence until the point is passed where labor under the compulsion of necessity and of external utility is required. In the very nature of things it lies beyond the sphere of material production in the strict meaning of the term. Just as the savage must wrestle with nature, in order to satisfy his wants, in order to maintain his life and reproduce it, so civilized man has to do it, and he must do it in all forms of society and under all possible modes of production. With his development the realm of natural necessity expands, because his wants increase; but at the same time the forces of production increase, by which these wants are satisfied. The freedom in this field cannot consist of anything else but of the fact that socialized man, the associated producers, regulate their interchange with nature rationally, bring it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by some blind power; they accomplish their task with the least expenditure of energy and under conditions most adequate to their

human nature and most worthy of it. But it always remains a realm of necessity. Beyond it begins that development of human power, which is its own end, the true realm of freedom, which, however, can flourish only upon that realm of necessity as its basis."

Marx expresses here all essential elements of socialism. First, man produces in an associated, not competitive way; he produces rationally and in an unalienated way, which means that he brings production under his control, instead of being ruled by it as by some blind power. This clearly excludes a concept of socialism in which man is manipulated by a bureaucracy, even if this bureaucracy rules the whole state economy, rather than only a big corporation. It means that the individual participates actively in the planning and in the execution of the plans; it means, in short, the realization of political and industrial democracy. Marx expected that by this new form of an unalienated society man would become independent, stand on his own feet, and would no longer be crippled by the alienated mode of production and consumption; that he would truly be the master and the creator of his life, and hence that he could begin to make living his main business, rather than producing the means for living. Socialism, for Marx, was never as such the fulfillment of life, but the condition for such fulfillment. When man has built a rational, nonalienated form of society, he will have the chance to begin with what is the aim of life: the "development of human power, which is its own end, the true realm of freedom." Marx, the man who every year read all the works of Aeschylus and Shakespeare, who brought to life in himself the greatest works of human thought, would never have dreamt that his idea of socialism could be interpreted as having as its aim the well-fed and well-clad "welfare" or "workers' " state. Man, in Marx's view, has created in the course of history a culture which he will be free to make his own when he is freed from the chains, not only of economic poverty, but of the spiritual poverty created by alienation. Marx's vision is based on his faith in man, in the inherent and real potentialities of the essence of man which have developed in history. He looked at socialism as the condition of human freedom and creativity, not as in itself constituting the goal of man's life.

For Marx, socialism (or communism) is not flight or abstraction from, or loss of the objective world which men have created by the objectification of their faculties. It is not an impoverished return to unnatural, primitive simplicity. It is rather the first real emergence, the genuine actualization of man's nature as something real. Socialism, for Marx, is a society which permits the actualization of man's essence, by overcoming his alienation. It is nothing less than creating the conditions for the truly free, rational, active and independent man; it is the fulfillment of the prophetic aim: the destruction of the idols.

That Marx could be regarded as an enemy of freedom was made possible only by the fantastic fraud of Stalin in presuming to talk in the name of Marx, combined with the fantastic ignorance about Marx that exists in the Western world. For Marx, the aim of socialism was freedom, but freedom in a much more radical sense than the existing democracy conceives of it-freedom in the sense of independence, which is based on man's standing on his own feet, using his own powers and relating himself to the world productively. "Freedom," said Marx, "is so much the essence of man that even its opponents realize it.... No man fights freedom; he fights at most the freedom of others. Every kind of freedom has therefore always existed, only at one time as a special privilege, another time as a universal right."

Socialism, for Marx, is a society which serves the needs of man. But, many will ask, is not that exactly what modern capitalism does? Are not our big corporations most eager to serve the needs of man? And are the big advertising companies not reconnaissance parties which, by means of great efforts, from surveys to "motivation analysis," try to find out what the needs of man are? Indeed, one can understand the concept of socialism only if one understands Marx's distinction between the true needs of man, and the synthetic, artificially produced needs of man.

As follows from the whole concept of man, his real needs are rooted in his nature; this distinction between real and false needs is possible only on the basis of a picture of the nature of man and the true human needs rooted in his nature. Man's true needs are those whose fulfillment is necessary for the realization of his essence as a human being. As Marx put it: "The existence of what I truly love is felt by me as a necessity, as a

need, without which my essence cannot be fulfilled, satisfied, complete." Only on the basis of a specific concept of man's nature can Marx make the difference between true and false needs of man. Purely subjectively, the false needs are experienced as being as urgent and real as the true needs, and from a purely subjective viewpoint, there could not be a criterion for the distinction. (In modern terminology one might differentiate between neurotic and rational [healthy] needs). Often man is conscious only of his false needs and unconscious of his real ones. The task of the analyst of society is precisely to awaken man so that he can become aware of the illusory false needs and of the reality of his true needs. The principal goal of socialism, for Marx, is the recognition and realization of man's true needs, which will be possible only when production serves man, and capital ceases to create and exploit the false needs of man.

Marx's concept of socialism is a protest, as is all existentialist philosophy, against the alienation of man; if, as Aldous Huxley put it, "our present economic, social and international arrangements are based, in large measure, upon organized lovelessness," then Marx's socialism is a protest against this very lovelessness, against man's exploitation of man, and against his exploitativeness towards nature, the wasting of our natural resources at the expense of the majority of men today, and more so of the generations to come. The unalienated man, who is the goal of socialism as we have shown before, is the man who does not "dominate" nature, but who becomes one with it, who is alive and responsive toward objects, so that objects come to life for him.

Does not all this mean that Marx's socialism is the realization of the deepest religious impulses common to the great humanistic religions of the past? Indeed it does, provided we understand that Marx, like Hegel and like many others, expresses his concern for man's soul, not in theistic, but in philosophical language.

Marx fought against religion exactly because it is alienated, and does not satisfy the true needs of man. Marx's fight against God is, in reality, a fight against the idol that is called God. Already as a young man he wrote as the motto for his dissertation "Not those are godless who have contempt for the gods of the masses but those who attribute the opinions

of the masses to the gods." Marx's atheism is the most advanced form of rational mysticism, closer to Meister Eckhart or to Zen Buddhism than are most of those fighters for God and religion who accuse him of "godlessness."

It is hardly possible to talk about Marx's attitude toward religion without mentioning the connection between his philosophy of history, and of socialism, with the Messianic hope of the Old Testament prophets and the spiritual roots of humanism in Greek and Roman thinking. The Messianic hope is, indeed, a feature unique in Occidental thought. The prophets of the Old Testament are not only, like Lao Tzu or Buddha, spiritual leaders; they are also political leaders. They show man a vision of how he ought to be, and confront him with the alternatives between which he must choose. Most of the Old Testament prophets share the idea that history has a meaning, that man perfects himself in the process of history, and that he will eventually create a social order of peace and justice. But peace and justice for the prophets do not mean the absence of war and the absence of injustice. Peace and justice are concepts which are rooted in the whole of the Old Testament concept of man. Man, before he has consciousness of himself, that is, before he is human, lives in unity with nature (Adam and Eve in Paradise). The first act of Freedom, which is the capacity to say "no," opens his eyes, and he sees himself as a stranger in the world, beset by conflicts with nature, between man and man, between man and woman. The process of history is the process by which man develops his specifically human qualities, his powers of love and understanding; and once he has achieved full humanity he can return to the lost unity between himself and the world. This new unity, however, is different from the preconscious one which existed before history began. It is the at-onement of man with himself, with nature, and with his fellow man, based on the fact that man has given birth to himself in the historical process. In Old Testament thought, God is revealed in history ("the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob"), and in history, not in a state transcending history, lies the salvation of man. This means that man's spiritual aims are inseparably connected with the transformation of society; politics is basically not a

realm that can be divorced from that of moral values and of man's self-realization.

Related thoughts arose in Greek (and Hellenistic) and Roman thinking. From Zeno, the founder of Stoic philosophy, to Seneca and Cicero, the concepts of natural law and of the equality of man exercised a powerful influence on the minds of men and, together with the prophetic tradition, are the foundations of Christian thinking.

While Christianity, especially since Paul, tended to transform the historical concept of salvation into an "other-worldly," purely spiritual one, and while the Church became the substitute for the "good society," this transformation was by no means a complete one. The early Church fathers express a radical criticism of the existing state; Christian thought of the late Middle Ages criticizes secular authority and the state from the standpoint of divine and natural law. This viewpoint stresses that society and the state must not be divorced from the spiritual values rooted in revelation and reason ("intellect" in the scholastic meaning of the word). Beyond this, the Messianic idea was expressed even in more radical forms in the Christian sects before the Reformation, and in the thinking of many Christian groups after the Reformation, down to the Society of Friends of the present time.

The mainstream of Messianic thinking after the Reformation, however, was expressed no longer in religious thought, but in philosophical, historical and social thought. It was expressed somewhat obliquely in the great utopias of the Renaissance, in which the new world is not in a distant future, but in a distant place. It was expressed in the thinking of the philosophers of the enlightenment and of the French and English Revolutions. It found its latest and most complete expression in Marx's concept of socialism. Whatever direct influence Old Testament thinking might have had on him through socialists like Moses Hess, no doubt the prophetic Messianic tradition influenced him indirectly through the thought of the enlightenment philosophers and especially through the thought stemming from Spinoza, Goethe, Hegel. What is common to prophetic, thirteenth-century Christian thought, eighteenth-century enlightenment, and nineteenth-century socialism, is the idea that State (society) and spiritual values cannot be divorced from each other; that

politics and moral values are indivisible. This idea was attacked by the secular concepts of the Renaissance (Machiavelli) and again by the secularism of the modern state. It seems that Western man, whenever he was under the influence of gigantic material conquests, gave himself unrestrictedly to the new powers he had acquired and, drunk with these new powers, forgot himself. The elite of these societies became obsessed with the wish for power, luxury, and the manipulation of men, and the masses followed them. This happened in the Renaissance with its new science, the discovery of the globe, the prosperous City States of Northern Italy; it happened again in the explosive development of the first and the present second industrial revolutions.

But this development has been complicated by the presence of another factor. If the state or the society is meant to serve the realization of certain spiritual values, the danger exists that a supreme authority tells man -and forces him -- to think and behave in a certain way. The incorporation of certain objectively valid values into social life tends to produce authoritarianism. The spiritual authority of the Middle Ages was the Catholic Church. Protestantism fought this authority, at first promising greater independence for the individual, only to make the princely state the undisputed and arbitrary ruler of man's body and soul. The rebellion against princely authority occurred in the name of the nation, and for a while the national state promised to be the representative of freedom. But soon the national state devoted itself to the protection of the material interests of those who owned capital, and could thus exploit the labor of the majority of the population. Certain classes of society protested against this new authoritarianism and insisted on the freedom of the individual from the interference of secular authority. This postulate of liberalism, which tended to protect "freedom from," led, on the other hand, to the insistence that state and society must not attempt to realize "freedom to," that is to say, liberalism had to insist not only on separation from State and Church, but had also to deny that it was the function of the state to help realize certain spiritual and moral values; these values were supposed to be entirely a matter for the individual.

Socialism (in its Marxist and other forms) returned to the idea of the "good society" as the condition for the realization of man's spiritual needs. It was antiauthoritarian, both as far as the Church and the State are concerned, hence it aimed at the eventual disappearance of the state and at the establishment of a society composed of voluntarily cooperating individuals. Its aim was a reconstruction of society in such a way as to make it the basis for man's true return to himself, without the presence of those authoritarian forces which restricted and impoverished man's mind.

Thus, Marxist and other forms of socialism are the heirs of prophetic Messianism, Christian Chiliastic sectarianism, thirteenth-century Thomism, Renaissance Utopianism, and eighteenth-century enlightenment. It is the synthesis of the prophetic-Christian idea of society as the plane of spiritual realization, and of the idea of individual freedom. For this reason, it is opposed to the Church because of its restriction of the mind, and to liberalism because of its separation of society and moral values. It is opposed to Stalinism and Krushchevism, for their authoritarianism as much as their neglect of humanist values.

Socialism is the abolition of human self-alienation, the return of man as a real human being. "It is the definitive resolution of the antagonism between man and nature, and between man and man. It is the true solution of the conflict between existence and essence, be tween objectification and self-affirmation, between freedom and necessity, between individual and species. It is a solution of the riddle of history and knows itself to be this solution". For Marx, socialism meant the social order which permits the return of man to himself, the identity between existence and essence, the overcoming of the separateness and antagonism between subject and object, the humanization of nature; it meant a world in which man is no longer a stranger among strangers, but is in his world, where he is at home.

8.5 CRITIQUES OF MARXIST AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

Criticism of Marxism has come from various political ideologies and academic disciplines. This include general criticism about a lack of internal consistency, criticism related to historical materialism, that it is a

type of historical determinism, the necessity of suppression of individual rights, issues with the implementation of communism and economic issues such as the distortion or absence of price signals and reduced incentives. In addition, empirical and epistemological problems are frequently identified.

Democratic socialists and social democrats reject the idea that societies can achieve socialism only through class conflict and a proletarian revolution. Many anarchists reject the need for a transitory state phase. Some thinkers have rejected the fundamentals of Marxist theory, such as historical materialism and the labour theory of value, and have gone on to criticise capitalism and advocate socialism using other arguments.

Some contemporary supporters of Marxism see many aspects of Marxist thought as viable, but contend that the corpus is incomplete or somewhat outdated in regard to certain aspects of economic, political or social theory. They may therefore combine some Marxist concepts with the ideas of other theorists such as Max Weber - the Frankfurt School provides one example of such an approach.

Historian Paul Johnson wrote: "The truth is, even the most superficial inquiry into Marx's use of evidence forces one to treat with skepticism everything he wrote which relies on factual data". For example, Johnson stated: "The whole of the key Chapter Eight of Capital is a deliberate and systematic falsification to prove a thesis which an objective examination of the facts showed was untenable".

The Problem with Marxist Socialism

One criticism of Marxist socialism is that it wants to abolish private property. But the ownership of private property is closely tied to freedom and liberty, which are essential to God’s design for human culture. When the government takes public ownership of all property, it reduces our ability to interact freely with each other in every cultural arena.

Another criticism of socialism is based on the work of an economist named Ludwig von Mises, who argued that economic activity isn’t sustainable without pricing set by the free market. Take, for example, the Soviet version of Marxist socialism. In its centrally planned economy, the prices were not determined naturally by supply and demand (as they

are in capitalism), but instead were determined artificially by the government. Officials in Moscow set prices on goods and services all around the country, from eggs to tractors to heart surgeries.

The problem with this approach is that it severely reduces the incentives people have to do their work with creativity and excellence, because there is no financial reward for it. If heart surgeons get paid the same as street sweepers, then the men and women who have the potential to make breakthrough discoveries in heart surgery might never have the motivation to go through many years of medical school or to work the 60-70 hours per week that world-renowned heart surgeons work. When there is no incentive for progress, the culture stagnates or declines.

A final criticism, and a very serious one, is that socialist forms of government have to be more coercive than democratic capitalist forms. The more the government controls, the more power it has. The 20th-century Russian version of socialism was authoritarian, as are the ongoing systems in Cuba and China.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answer

b) Check your answers with those provided at the end of the unit

1. Describe Karl Marx and Socialism.

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2. How do you find out the Critiques of Marxist and Democratic Socialism?

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8.6 LET US SUM UP

Essentially, the term “socialism” refers to an economic and political ideology attributed to Karl Marx, a German academic and philosopher, whose premise is for state ownership of non-human means or factors of

production and distribution, and centralized planning and control of economic activities, particularly activities in key and strategic commercial and industrial sectors of a country's economy.

The means or factors of production and distribution alluded to include land and the various forms of capital, such as raw materials, financial assets and institutions, manufacturing facilities, assembly plants, machinery and equipment, transportation facilities, service centers, and retail outlets.

In socialist countries, therefore, some elements of private ownership of the means or factors of production and distribution are permissible, particularly in non-strategic commercial and industrial sectors of a country's economy.

"Socialism," as envisioned by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, is encapsulated by the following Principle: "From each according to his [or her] ability to each according to his [or her] contribution." A worker's "ability" could be measured or determined in terms of his or her age, skills, experience, educational attainments, physical attributes, and the total number of hours worked.

With respect to a worker's "contribution," each and every worker in a socialist society would be expected to have access to benefits and compensation according to the level of difficulty of his or her job, the number of hours he or she would have worked, and any other measurable performance-related aspects of his or her work—generally similar to the calculation of compensation or rewards under capitalism.

"Marxism," like "socialism," refers to a political and economic ideology based on the writings of Karl Marx, whose premise is the creation of a communist state or the adoption of the ideology of "communism" by abandoning capitalism and establishing a socialist state as a transitory phase.

Communist ideology is encapsulated by the following Principle: "From each according to his [or her] ability to each according to his [or her] needs." According to Karl Marx (1875), the establishment of a communist society would guarantee the generation of enough goods and services to meet the needs of each and every member of society.

In this regard, a worker's "ability" could be measured or deter-mined in terms of his or her age, skills, experience, educational attainments, physical attributes, and the total number of hours worked, while his or her "needs" could include food, housing, clothing, healthcare, and transportation—no provision for "wants," "luxuries" or anything else beyond what would be prescribed by the government.

In the remainder of this article, let us consider the following themes:

(a) Rigid and unrealistic stratification of society by Karl 'Charles' Marx and Friedrich 'Frederick' Engels;

(b) Agitation for the abolition of competition by Marx and Engels;

(c) Agitation for the abolition of free trade by Marx and Engels;

(d) Several problematic issues associated with socialism;

(e) Historical events which marked a rejection of socialism as an alternative to capitalism in improving humanity's socioeconomic wellbeing;

(f) Socialism versus human nature;

(g) Examples of objections against Marxism;

(h) Misconceptions about China as being a robust and successful 'socialist' country;

(i) The apparent reasons for Marx and Engels' crusade against capitalism;

(j) Creation of an enabling socioeconomic environment where capitalism can be more benign; and

(k) Advocacy for a social welfare state.

Karl Marx is the thinker behind the communist revolutions of the 20th century, and in some ways he is the shaping hand behind socialist economics in the 21st century.

Marx believed that economic factors are the most important factors in any society and culture. He argued that world history is really a history of people struggling with economic reality and treating each other well or badly based on that reality. In their famous book, The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles, [contests between] freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed." Marx believed that humanity had evolved in stages economically — from hunter-gatherer societies, to slave-based societies, to medieval feudalism, to modern capitalism. And in his mind, capitalism needs to evolve into socialism.

Marx criticized capitalism by arguing that it undermines national identities and cultural distinctive, because it encourages people to clamor for wealth rather than honoring those traditional identities and distinctives. Most importantly, he argued that capitalism dehumanizes people by alienating them from their labor. In his view, capitalist economies value money and wealth acquisition more than they value workers. They view the worker as a business expense rather than as a human being. And, judging from the state of capitalism today, Marx's critique has some truth to it. But his solution was extreme: He believed that workers of the world should (and would) overthrow capitalism. When that happened, he argued, workers should abolish private property and eventually abolish the system.

It is important to note that socialism is a broad category and Marxism is just one version of it. To make things even more complex, Marx viewed socialism as only a temporary stage on the way to an even better (in his view) economic system: communism. Marx envisioned a day when his socialism (with state ownership of property) would be replaced by communism (in which the state would no longer exist). Marx's wishes were never fulfilled. In fact, quite the opposite happened: Marxist socialism has always created an even bigger and more intrusive government than existed before.

8.7 KEY WORDS

Socialism: Socialism is a range of economic and social systems characterised by social ownership of the means of production and workers' self-management as well as the political theories and movements associated with them. Social ownership can be public, collective or cooperative ownership, or citizen ownership of equity.

Marxism: Marxism is a method of socioeconomic analysis that views class relations and social conflict using a materialist interpretation of historical development and takes a dialectical view of social transformation. It originates from the works of 19th-century German philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Communism: Communism is a philosophical, social, political, and economic ideology and movement whose ultimate goal is the establishment of a communist society, which is a socioeconomic order structured upon the ideas of common ownership of the means of production and the absence of social classes, money, and the state.

8.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. How do you know the Doctrine of Social Progress, individualism and Capitalism?
2. Discuss the Socialism: Meaning and Early Strands
3. Describe Karl Marx and Socialism
4. How do you find out the Critiques of Marxist and Democratic Socialism?

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8.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 8.2
2. See Section 8.3

Check Your Progress 2

1. See Section 8.2
2. See Section 8.3

UNIT 9: SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND MARKET SOCIALISM

STRUCTURE

9.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

- Democracy and Contemporary Socialism: A Conceptual Framework

- Western Liberal Democracy
- Non-western Forms of Democracy
- Socialist Democracy
- Four Basic Tendencies of Socialism: The Essence of Socialist Democracy
- Broad Principles
- New Leftism: Attack on Soviet Marxism
- Challenges/Difficulties in the Implementation of Socialism through
- Democratic Procedures
- Market socialism
- Theoretical history
- In practice
- Relation to political ideologies
- Criticism: Market Socialism

In this unit, democracy is discussed as a form of government with socialistic principles and policy. Democracy is a way of life and represents a set of ideals. It is asserted that true democracy is socialistic and true socialism is democratic. The link between democracy and socialism is the most important single element in socialistic thought and policy. After studying this unit, you should able to:

• Understand the varied connotations / interpretations of democracy;

• Explain the difference between features of a liberal western democracy and socialist democracy;

• Define the concepts of Democratic Socialism and New Leftism; and

• Describe the methods adopted for the establishment of a new social order

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The term democracy indicates both a set of ideals and a political system, a feature it shares with the terms communism and socialism. 'Democracy' is harder to pin down, however, than either 'Socialism' or 'Communism', for while the latter labels have found in Marxism an ideological matrix, democracy has never become identified with a specific doctrinal source-it is rather a by-product of the entire process of liberalization of Western civilization. Not every political system claims to be a socialist system, but even the communist system claims to be democratic. Social democracy is generally conceived as an endogenous state and style of society, and should, therefore, not be confused with 'Socialist Democracy' which is a policy enforced by the state upon society. If we look into the history of socialism, we would find that successful socialist movements have grown up only in nations with strong democratic traditions, such as Great Britain, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Australia etc.

This is so because, where democratic constitutional government is generally accepted, socialists concentrate on certain programme like creation of opportunities for the underprivileged classes ending inequality, opening educational opportunities, ending discriminatory practices, regulation of economy for the benefit of all, and finally the proposal to rebuild society based on cooperation instead of competition. In this unit, we will attempt to make a comparative estimate between Western liberal democracy and socialist democracy, outline the tenets of democratic socialism and the ideology of New Leftism which has a socialist module, and finally understand, the imperativeness of socialist democracy for especially, developing and underdeveloped nations.

9.2 DEMOCRACY AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIALISM: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Let us first examine the concept of modern democracy before Karl Marx. It is important to note that his close associate Friedrich Engels does not speak about democracy, but always about pure democracy. By this he meant a bourgeois state, in which general suffrage prevails, but private property is not touched. It meant that it was either possible to erect a

socialist state directly after the overthrow of feudal and military monarchy or pure democracy, that is the bourgeoisie capitalistic republic, would first come into power. At that time, people came to accept a democratic state, as a bourgeoisie state governed by a method of general suffrage. When Marx began his political activities, he found democracy to be already a great international movement. The history of European democracy extended back two and a half millennia. In the republics of ancient Greece, the political form of democracy was the contract to aristocracy or oligarchy, to the rule of the "minority" of the rich or noble. In contrast to this, democracy was the rule of majority, of the masses in general, whereby the owners of property or the bearers of nobility had no privilege to claim. Greek political science already occupied itself with the question, whether every state in which will of the majority of citizens decides is a democracy, no matter what the composition of this majority is and how it arises or whether a definite class character belongs to a democracy. Aristotle answered the question thus: that democracy is nothing more than the rule of poor in the state; just as oligarchy is the rule of the rich. In the middle ages, democratic forms showed themselves in urban communes. During transition to modern times, the radical religious sects became the bearers of democratic ideas. Thus, democratic masses and their leaders were united in a distrust of modern development, and their view that both republic and democracy were primarily a moral matter, a moral renewal of the human race, already contained a condemnation of modern economic and social development. Today, the democratic ideal is more than a mere composite of individualism, socialism and nationalism. It is based upon the acceptance and promotion of characteristics of life of each group of men, thus uniting individualism with a form of regionalism or nationalism and on the other hand, it implies an organization of any one group, which is less homogenous than that implied in the earlier forms of socialism. For democracy, implies a freedom of voluntary association and the performance by such associations of many functions which the earlier socialists would have left to the state.

Democracy is to begin with a principle of legitimacy. Power is legitimate only when Socialist Democracy it is derived from authority of the people

and based upon their consent. From a normative standpoint, the definition of democracy strictly derives from the literal meaning of the term-"Power of the people". It is identified positively by the existence of developed representative institutions and by the establishment of constitutional government. It presupposes not a direct exercise of power, but delegation of power; that is a system of 'control' and 'limitation' of government. From the time the term 'demokratia' was coined in the fifth century B.C until roughly a century ago, democracy was used as a political concept. Tocqueville was struck, however, by the social aspect of American democracy and we thus speak of 'social democracy'. Marxism has popularized the expression 'economic democracy' and guild socialism; Webb's book 'Industrial Democracy' (1897) has given currency to the label 'industrialist democracy'. The labels people's democracy, soviet democracy and the like, pose a special democracy. When the socialist movement revived in Europe in the late 1860's, most socialist leaders were under the influence of Marxism. In 1881, the German Social Democratic Party and in 1897 the Swedish Democratic Social Party, accepted public ownership of all means of production, distribution and exchange as their objectives. Other socialist parties adopted the same objectives in their constitutions or manifestoes, and even the British labour movement, which had not accepted socialism till 1918, adapted to some extent the aim of public ownership. Now after a lapse of a little over three decades from the end of the Second World War, the picture is different. In all developed democratic countries of the West, except Italy and France, communist parties have been reduced to nullities, and even the Italian and French communist parties have been diminishing in strength. In the communist countries of Eastern Europe, there are growing revisionist tendencies while in Russia itself, there appears to be an increasing acceptance of Khrushchev's dictum that it is possible for communist parties to ignore the question of means. On the other hand, social democratic parties have grown in strength in all European countries. They have either been in power or have formed the main opposition. They no longer seek to replace the whole capitalist order by an economy based on public ownership of means of production, distribution or exchange. They are reconciled to a mixed economy

accompanied by full employment and social security. The authors of 'twentieth century' socialism have stressed that socialism should be defined in terms of basic values of equality, freedom and fellowship and not in terms of any particular means by which those values may be realized. Similar changes have taken place in the programs of all European Socialists – these parties are taking a much more discriminating attitude towards public ownership; however, social democracy supports the public demand that it is necessary to safeguard important public interests. Thus, the socialists in the underdeveloped world can draw some valuable lessons from a survey of these changes in the fortunes of communism and social democracy in Western countries and the altered objectives of social democratic parties.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) What do you understand by democracy?

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2) In what manner has the perception of democracy changed in erstwhile Communist countries?

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9.3 WESTERN LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

Modern liberal conception of politics acquired a realistic, pragmatic, secular and scientific orientation. State became the pivotal political organization. Rousseau introduced the idea of popular sovereignty and democracy. It was established that within the reach of the people, institutions such as state, government and semi–official institutions etc began to be treated as centers of political activity. Rights of private property, and individual liberty began to be asserted. In the advanced

liberal concept, the state is viewed as a positive welfare organ. Liberal democracy assured a competitive party model as essential to represent the wishes of people. This involves eliciting people's opinion through periodic elections to legislatures. Further, government is seen as limited and as operating in a world of voluntary associations. Society is viewed as pluralistic, which means that it is composed of autonomous sections and associations. Hence, government sets out to rule in common interest. Western liberal democracy is a political theory that emerged in Europe during the seventeenth century and has continued to this day as one of the dominant theories and ideologies in the world. This excludes the socialist countries with dictatorships of different kinds. In the development of this concept, mention must be made of John Locke, Jeremy Bentham and J.S Mill. Locke contributed the ideas of limited government, constitutionalism, individual rights and the rule of law. Bentham's contribution lay in the utilitarian conception of majority interest calculated in terms of individual utility. Mill contributed the idea of individual liberty, plurality of opinions, and the principle of development of individual personality. When we define the liberal state to be politically democratic, we should note that it refers not only to the electoral process, but also to aspects like the rule of law and right to property. In a liberal system without any written constitution such as in the United Kingdom, this means the law enacted by parliament is supreme. And the property rights granted in liberal democratic states prevent the government from making drastic changes in economic matters. This is the reason that the radical view criticizes liberal democracy, for not laying emphasis on economic equality. They called themselves people's democracy, which implies that the means of production are socially owned. Thus, the above gives a fairly good picture of liberal conception of democracy which is based on a number of assumptions; first, it holds that an individual is endowed with an autonomous mind, reason and will; that is, he is a rational being. So, he can decide what is best for him. Second, the individual is a moral being, which means that they are all equal. Each one should have an equal opportunity to participate in politics. Socialist Democracy Third, truth is relative and multi–dimensional and is not absolute. Therefore, at a

particular moment, truth can be established only through a free inter-play of ideas. That, tolerance is the essence of democracy was strongly argued by Mill in 'On Liberty'. Truth in a democracy implies that every one can participate in politics and it is the government of all people; therefore, a democratic government acts in the interest of all. Competition among leaders and parties ensures popular control over government and maximum liberty for individuals. Rule of law, equality before law and basic minimum rights are characteristics of a Western liberal democracy

9.4 NON-WESTERN FORMS OF DEMOCRACY

It may be surprising to some that countries like the erstwhile USSR (Soviet Russia), Communist China, North Korea and North Vietnam, to name but a few, claim to be democratic. Indeed, they claim to be the only true democracies. In order to understand that exact nature of this claim, it is important to go back to Marx. He believed that the politics of the West was characterized by class conflicts, and that competition between parties would be no more once the feud between classes ended. True democracy he thought, would exist only where one class predominated, embodying the overwhelming mass of the people. All other forms of democracy were denounced as bourgeois. If a power conflict existed on a competitive basis, so that it might be influenced by wealth, Marx considered that democracy to be bourgeois, and therefore, unworthy of any name. Competitive politics is condemned by communists for being a fraud. They themselves claim to have no other classes because they say that all the exploiting groups were eradicated in the early days of the Russian revolution. Soviet lawyers and political apologists argue that the West's version of democracy is a sham and fraud because of the existence of an economic system- Capitalism- which favors the rich.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) What are the salient features of Western liberal democracy?

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2) What do you understand by non-western forms of democracy?

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9.5 SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

In the west where capitalism has prevailed, this takes the form of accommodation of progressive dilution of the socialist principle. We all know what socialism is. In company with other ideological concepts, socialism has a double reference. On one hand, it refers to the ideals, values, properties of what is often called the socialist vision. On the other hand, it refers to empirical features of social and political institutions which embody the vision. At the level of values, the important ones are those of freedom, equality, community, brotherhood, social justice, a classless society, co-operation, progress, peace, prosperity, abundance and happiness. Sometimes, the value components are stated negatively: socialists are opposed to oppression, exploitation, inequality, strife, war, injustice, poverty, misery and dehumanization. At the level of institutions, the adherents and opponents alike would say that socialism is opposed to capitalist private enterprise system, which it seeks to replace by a system of control over wealth and property and the social supervision of organization of economic activity; this is summarized in the formula, the common or public ownership of means of production. Names in political discourse have shown themselves to be unstable over times. John Ruskin, for example, proudly called himself a communist, while he repudiated socialism, republicanism and democracy. For H.M Hyndman, the term socialism denoted mild, Christian-liberal do-goodery, while the term social democracy meant for him militant Marxism. Today, of course, the opposite would be the case. It was Proudhon, not Marx and Engels, who first called his doctrine ‘scientific socialism’. Bakunin, at

one time, held an organization which was called the Alliance for Socialist Democracy. Marx himself in his youth dismissed communism as being only an "imperfect realization of socialism"; later Marxian usage became more systematic, though never entirely free from ambiguity

9.6 FOUR BASIC TENDENCIES OF SOCIALISM: THE ESSENCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

An attempt is made in this unit to give a more systematic outline to the tendencies, which together make up socialist thought, reflected in the concept of socialist democracy. Egalitarianism is the first tendency, which is the classical principle of socialism. The dominant notion of equality culminates in a conception of community. Politically, egalitarianism obviously demands complete democracy, but democracy in its simple, classical, unitary sense, without enduring party divisions. Moralism, the next tendency, constitutes the Christian principle of socialism; that is, it stresses on high ideals which seek to bring justice by replacing enmity with mutual help, and fostering feelings of brotherly love and understandings among human beings. The political form most harmonious with moralist values is, again democracy, perhaps tempered by mild notions of paternalism and certainly presupposing a sense of moderation and responsibility on the part of individual principles. Small and large communities governed by a majoritarian system are fitting vehicles for the realization of the moralist ideal. Rationalism is the third tendency, in representing the principle of enlightenment. Here, the chief values are individual happiness, reason, knowledge, efficiency in production and the rational purposeful organization of human society in the interest of progress. The political form that rationalism leads towards is also democracy, since this tendency tends to acknowledge the fundamental equality of human beings and believes in self –sufficiency of individual human reason. It believes, however, that democracy should be tempered with meritocracy, constant guidance by experts, Socialist Democracy scientists, technicians, and intellectual people who are to be trusted with the promotion of general happiness. Libertarianism, which

could be termed the romantic principle of socialism, is the last of the basic tendencies in the sense that it is extreme and radical among socialist principles. It centers on the ideal freedom, in the sense of total absence of restraint, internal and external. Here, it would be difficult to talk in terms of a favored political arrangement, since this tendency would repudiate politics in toto. Anarchy is what comes nearest to its ideal; but again libertarianism too goes with the acceptance of equality in a fundamental sense. Libertarianism is the gentlest and the most tolerant of socialist tendencies. These are the four tendencies of socialism, which reflect the essence of socialist democracy. The relative weight of each tendency, however, varies from case to case. In other words, we find that one or another tendency assumes predominance over others in the case of a given country, doctrine, movement or historical period. This is why the predominance of libertarianism in the Western New left is in a large part due to the increasing moderation and integration of social democracy.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) What are the salient features of a socialist democracy?

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2) What do you understand by egalitarianism?

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9.6.1 Democratic Techniques and Socialism

The rise of fascism in Europe and the continuance of dictatorship of the Communist Party in erstwhile Soviet Union also led many socialists during the thirties to give increasing attention to the techniques of democracy under a collectivist regime. While the socialist movement in general had for many years maintained that collectivism without

democracy was a far cry from socialism and that there could be no socialism without the accompaniment of thorough-going democratic procedures in the economic, political and social institutions of the country, there were many who took the position prior to the thirties that all that was necessary to do was to transfer industry from private to public ownership and democracy would take care of itself. Experiments in state ownership and control in communist and fascist countries and even in lands with a democratic form of government, both in times of peace and war, proved a rude awakener to these students of the movement and caused large numbers within and without to think through ways and means of safeguarding and strengthening the democratic process under a co-operative system of industry. This examination caused them to lay increasing emphasis on:

1) The need for preserving and strengthening democratic forces of the population such as the trade and industrial-union movement, the consumers and producers co-operatives, laboures, socialist and progressive political parties, educational and cultural movement of the masses, and for endeavoring to make these movement thoroughly democratic.

2) The need for bringing about a close co-operation among industrial workers, the so-called middle class, the farming population, in the struggle for better social arrangements.

3) The need for applying effective democratic techniques to local, state, and federal governments so as to make them thoroughly responsive to the will of the people.

4) The need for encouraging, under a co-operative system of industry, an extensive system of voluntary co-operative enterprises, as a supplement to publicly owned industries, especially in agriculture, the distributive trades and in cultural activity.

5) The need for establishment within each industry of procedures whereby consumers, workers, and technical and administrative groups would be adequately represented in determination of policies.

6) The need of experimenting with the corporate of public ownership of a semiautonomous character, and of decentralizing control and administration of public ownership as much as seemed compatible and socially efficient.

7) The need for developing administrative procedures directed toward efficient, honest, and democratic administration through a sound system of civil service, public accounting, collective bargaining, personal relations etc. Techniques should be devised for stimulating industrial incentives through a proper system of rewards for work well done.

8) The need for freedom of consumer choice.

9) The necessity of preserving civil liberties and preventing discriminatory practices against any section of population because of race, religion, color, or national origin.

10) The need for co-operating with other countries with a view to eliminate the causes of war, of abolishing imperialistic controls, and of raising living standards throughout the world.

9.6.2 Trend towards Democratic Socialism

The goals of democratic socialism have one thing in common; that is to make democracy more real by broadening the application of democratic principles from political to non-political areas of society. Freedom of worship and freedom of political associations are still the most essential foundations of democracy. The Socialists concentrate on the promotion of these “finer points of democracy”. In contrast, socialist parties have fought an uphill and generally a losing struggle in nations were democracy is not a living thing, but an aspiration, a hope, an idea yet to be realized. This happened for example, in Germany, Italy and France

9.6.3 Democratic Socialism in England

England developed parliamentary institutions, which were conductive to the growth of socialism. England moved with the times, and brought about a compromise between democracy and socialism. Socialism was allowed to emerge peacefully without the need to have a bloody revolution. Democracy tolerated the rise of social principles. In Britain, there was no need for workers to revolt on a mass scale against the government, as the government itself took necessary steps to promote their interests. British soil was suitable for the growth of democratic socialism, while on the other hand, in Russia and China the climate was not favourable as the government neglected the interests of the poor and tried to suppress them. As a result, revolutionary socialism rose and its tide swept the government off its feet. Democratic socialism has no high priest like totalitarian communism. It has no Marx or Lenin. The most influential socialist thinkers in England have frequently been without any official position. Their impact has been due to their moral authority and felicitous literary style. The movement owes much to the ideas of Robert Owen, Sidney and Beartrice Webb, R.H. Tawney, G.D.H Cole, Harold Laski and many others. But the philosophy still remains undefined. According to Bhaktavatsalam, "the nature and content of democratic socialism cannot by any means be defined. It is a broad framework wherein we have to fit in our ideas of democracy and socialism in tune with our political background and cultural and spiritual heritage." So there is no definite shape of democratic socialism. It is to be different in different countries according to their needs and conditions. Still we can point out certain broad principles of democratic socialism.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Enumerate some of the techniques for reconciling democracy with socialism.

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2) Trace the evolution of democratic socialism in England

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9.7 BROAD PRINCIPLES

Democratic Socialism lays great stress on the importance of the larger interests of society as a whole, against the narrow and selfish interests of the individual. It is against individualism or laissez-faire, it is a theory of community welfare. It promotes cooperation instead of competition and removes antagonism between the employer and the employee. Socialism stands for the principle of economic equality. The state should prevent the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few individuals so that the gulf between the rich and the poor classes may not be wide. However, democratic socialism does not aim at establishing absolute equality, which is almost impossible. Its aim is to remove glaring inequality of wealth by progressive taxation of the rich. It stands for equitable opportunities for all. Democratic socialism also stands for common ownership of important means of production, which are to be utilized for common good. It is in favor of granting full civil, political and economic rights. The individual is free to lead his own way of life, outside intervention. It stands for extension of democracy from political to economic and social fields. Thus, there is a desire to widen the base of democracy. According to it, if democracy is to be real, it should go far beyond the frontiers of politics and enter the economic field. It is against the ownership of land, factories and other means of production by a few at the cost of the community. It must be clearly noted that democratic socialism is not against all forms of private property, but only against such private property, which becomes the means of exploitation. It allows small plots of land, houses and other limited property, as these cannot be put to anti-social uses. In conclusion, we may say that democratic socialism is neither merely anti-capitalism nor statism. According to J.P Narayan, “there is no exploitation of man by man, no

injustice, oppression, or denial of opportunities." One of the remarkable results of the victory of democratic socialism in Britain was the elimination of communism as an important factor in British politics. Even in developing countries, democratic socialism provides an alternative to the extremes of communism and capitalism by bringing about the much needed socio-economic transformation of societies.

9.8 NEW LEFTISM: ATTACK ON SOVIET MARXISM

The New Left has a particular characteristic of its own. It believes in socialism and yet strives to promote and protect humanism that had become a scapegoat under the 'socialist' system of the former Soviet Union. That is, while the achievements of socialism is the bedrock of traditional Leftism, socialism integrated with democracy and humanism is the keynote of, what is generally known as, New Leftism. What keeps the New left at a fundamental variance with the Old left is its stern emphasis on pursuing positive social and political goals. It believes in freedom and democracy, and is prepared to fight for these ideas. The New Leftism is a product of the post–Second World period. Its growth is on account of three factors: stern reaction against the version of official Marxism as given by the great comrades of the former Soviet Union, vehement protest against the social, economic and political make up of affluent societies of advanced Western countries, and very strong emphasis on the worth and dignity of man. That is, the movement came as a result of a multi-level protest—protest against Stalinist excesses, against the dogmatic and mechanistic version of Marxism as given by the Soviet 39 leaders, against centralized and undemocratic ways of doing things and against anti- Socialist Democracy humanistic, bureaucratic and bourgeoisie society of oppression. The most recent land mark is the reappearance of the New left, which may be termed 'New Socialism'. The fight of the American Negroes for civil rights, the student revolt in France aimed at changing the education system, the struggle of workers in Spain for democratization of the political system are some of the momentous events that inspired New Leftist thinkers to say that youthful elements can bring about the desired state of affairs. What is needed is

change: change towards real democracy, which can be brought about by youthful sections of people. This is because they alone can understand the pernicious dimensions of a socialist system and then fight for restoration of a free, democratic and dignified life. In brief, the aim of the New Leftists is to attack the variety of Marxism that developed in the former Soviet Union. Instead, they think in terms of a new variety of socialism based on practicable portion of Marxism. Socialism of this type must be in consonance with premises of a democratic system. So that people may have the boons of freedom, development and happiness.

9.9 CHALLENGES/DIFFICULTIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SOCIALISM THROUGH

To say that it is possible to achieve a change over to socialist rule with democratic means does not necessarily imply, however, that it is possible also to implement and maintain socialism with such means. Communist theory has persistently alleged—and on this point it has not yet changed—that it is impossible to carry through socialism under a system of free elections, freedom of speech, free association and free majority decisions. Soviet theorists do not stand alone in their contention that the implementation and maintenance of socialism are impossible with democratic means. Right-wing liberals, like Friedrich Hayek, agree with them on that count. Their interest is, of course, the opposite: they hope to see democracy maintained and socialism abandoned. But on the major issue under discussion here–whether it is possible to have both democracy and socialism—the two opponents are agreed. It is impossible, they say. In his 'Road of Serfdom' Hayek predicts that socialism will inevitably lead to the abolition of democratic liberties. One of his chief arguments is that socialism requires centralized planning and that, even in the event that there is a large majority for socialism, there frequently will be no majority able to agree on particulars ends and means. In such a case, he says, a democratic parliament "cannot direct". In appraising the Lenin-Hayek theory of incompatibility between democracy and socialism, we must not underestimate the strength of their combined arguments. They competently point to grave difficulties and

dangers. But they fail to prove the impossibility. Their allegations are half-true at best. It is a strong argument that those who are to lose their privileges are likely to rise in violent resistance when a radically socialist legislation issues from a pro-socialist majority in a democratic legislature. This was strikingly illustrated after the Spanish Revolution of 1931, when the democratic majority in the newly elected parliament engaged in simultaneously frontal legislative attacks against all vested interestsmonarchists, army, church, big land owners and big industrialists- before it had built up sufficiently strong armed forces of its own for support of the republican government. However, there is no justification for a scientific verdict that it was impossible to 40 Democracy avoid a similar outcome when an attempt is made to carry through socialism with democratic procedures. Another strong argument of this problem is that workers who have won parliamentary majorities may be impatient in their desire to secure tangible benefits quickly and beyond reasonable limits. In order to cope with this danger, it will be necessary to educate people in advance so as to prepare them for a meaningful exercise of majority powers. That may not be easy, but it is not necessarily impossible. Finally, it is a weighty argument when Hayek warns that the majority is likely to split whenever major decisions on planning become necessary. But once this danger has been well understood in advance, it may not be impossible to meet it by proper device, such as a careful preparation of master plans and delegation of the power to make current economic decisions under such plans to some board or commission. The question of compatibility of democracy and socialism, therefore, is still an open one. There is good reason to believe that it is necessary to go all the way along the totalitarian road, if a majority should be bent on carrying through socialism, although certain modifications in the process of economic legislation and administration will be necessary. Establishment of a penetrating and reassuring political theory regarding the compatibility of socialism and democracy could also offer encouragement to whatever tendencies there may develop in present Soviet Russia or some of its satellites towards introduction of more democratic institutions. It would make possible a stronger and more

precise language in international political discussion about both democracy and socialism, and coexistence as well.

Check Your Progress 5

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) What are the broad principles of Socialism?

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2) What is New Leftism?

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3) What are the challenges and difficulties in implementing socialism through democratic procedures?

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9.10 DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES

Procedural democracy is a democracy in which the people or citizens of the state have less influence than in traditional liberal democracies. This type of democracy is characterized by voters choosing to elect representatives in free elections.

Procedural democracy assumes that the electoral process is at the core of the authority placed in elected officials and ensures that all procedures of elections are duly complied with (or at least appear so). It could be described as a republic (i.e., people voting for representatives) wherein only the basic structures and institutions are in place. Commonly, the previously elected representatives use electoral procedures to maintain themselves in power against the common wish of the people (to some

varying extent), thus thwarting the establishment of a full-fledged democracy.

Procedural democracy is quite different from substantive democracy, which is manifested by equal participation of all groups in society in the political process.

Certain southern African countries such as Namibia, Angola, and Mozambique, where procedural elections are conducted through international assistance, are possible examples of procedural democracies.

For procedural democrats, the aim of democracy is to embody certain procedural virtue. Procedural democrats are divided among themselves over what those virtues might be, as well as over which procedures best embody them. But all procedural democrats agree on the one central point: for procedural democrats, there is no "independent truth of the matter" which outcomes ought track; instead, the goodness or rightness of an outcome is wholly constituted by the fact of its having emerged in some procedurally correct manner.

9.11 MARKET SOCIALISM

Market socialism is a type of economic system involving the public, cooperative or social ownership of the means of production in the framework of a market economy. Market socialism differs from non-market socialism in that the market mechanism is utilized for the allocation of capital goods and the means of production. Depending on the specific model of market socialism, profits generated by socially owned firms (i.e. net revenue not reinvested into expanding the firm) may variously be used to directly remunerate employees, accrue to society at large as the source of public finance or be distributed amongst the population in a social dividend.

Market socialism is distinguished from the concept of the mixed economy because models of market socialism are complete and self-regulating systems, unlike the mixed economy. Market socialism also contrasts with social democratic policies implemented within capitalist market economies. While social democracy aims to achieve greater economic stability and equality through policy measures such as taxes,

subsidies and social welfare programs, market socialism aims to achieve similar goals through changing patterns of enterprise ownership and management.

Although economic proposals involving social ownership with factor markets have existed since the early 19th century, the term market socialism only emerged in the 1920s during the socialist calculation debate. Contemporary market socialism emerged from the debate on socialist calculation during the early-to-mid 20th century among socialist economists who believed that a socialist economy could neither function on the basis of calculation in natural units nor through solving a system of simultaneous equations for economic coordination, and that capital markets would be required in a socialist economy.

Early models of market socialism trace their roots to the work of Adam Smith and the theories of classical economics which consisted of proposals for cooperative enterprises operating in a free-market economy. The aim of such proposals was to eliminate exploitation by allowing individuals to receive the full product of their labor while removing the market-distorting effects of concentrating ownership and wealth in the hands of a small class of private owners. Among early advocates of market socialism were the Ricardian socialist economists and mutualist philosophers. In the early 20th century, Oskar Lange and Abba Lerner outlined a neoclassical model of socialism which included a role for a central planning board (CPB) in setting prices equal to marginal cost to achieve Pareto efficiency. Although these early models did not rely on conventional markets, they were labeled market socialist for their utilization of financial prices and calculation. In more recent models proposed by American neoclassical economists, public ownership of the means of production is achieved through public ownership of equity and social control of investment.

9.12 THEORETICAL HISTORY

Classical economics

The key theoretical basis for market socialism is the negation of the underlying expropriation of surplus value present in other, exploitative,

modes of production. Socialist theories that favored the market date back to the Ricardian socialists and anarchist economists, who advocated a free market combined with public ownership or mutual ownership of the means of production.

Proponents of early market socialism include the Ricardian socialist economists, the classical liberal philosopher John Stuart Mill and the anarchist philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. These models of socialism entailed perfecting or improving the market mechanism and free price system by removing distortions caused by exploitation, private property and alienated labor.

This form of market socialism has been termed free-market socialism because it does not involve planners.

John Stuart Mill

Mill's early economic philosophy was one of free markets that he moved toward a more socialist bent, adding chapters to his Principles of Political Economy in defence of a socialist outlook, and defending some socialist causes. Within this revised work he also made the radical proposal that the whole wage system be abolished in favour of a co-operative wage system. Nonetheless, some of his views on the idea of flat taxation remained, albeit altered in the third edition of the Principles of Political Economy to reflect a concern for differentiating restrictions on unearned incomes which he favoured; and those on earned incomes, which he did not favour.

Mill's Principles, first published in 1848, was one of the most widely read of all books on economics in the period. As Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations had during an earlier period, Mill's Principles dominated economics teaching. In the case of Oxford University, it was the standard text until 1919, when it was replaced by Alfred Marshall's Principles of Economics.

Mill promoted substituting capitalist businesses with worker cooperatives, writing:

The form of association, however, which if mankind continue to improve, must be expected in the end to predominate, is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief, and work-people without a voice

in the management, but the association of the labourers themselves on terms of equality, collectively owning the capital with which they carry on their operations and working under managers elected and removable by themselves.

Mutualism

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon developed a theoretical system called mutualism which attacks the legitimacy of existing property rights, subsidies, corporations, banking and rent. Proudhon envisioned a decentralized market where people would enter the market with equal power, negating wage slavery. Proponents believe that cooperatives, credit unions and other forms of worker ownership would become viable without being subject to the state. Market socialism has also been used to describe some individualist anarchist works which argue that free markets help workers and weaken capitalists.

Individualist anarchism in the United States

For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster, "[i]t is apparent [...] that Proudhonian Anarchism was to be found in the United States at least as early as 1848 and that it was not conscious of its affinity to the Individualist Anarchism of Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews. [...] William B. Greene presented this Proudhonian Mutualism in its purest and most systematic form". Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first American anarchist, and the four-page weekly paper he edited during 1833, The Peaceful Revolutionist, was the first anarchist periodical published, an enterprise for which he built his own printing press, cast his own type, and made his own printing plates.

Warren was a follower of Robert Owen and joined Owen's community at New Harmony, Indiana. Josiah Warren termed the phrase "cost the limit of price", with "cost" here referring not to monetary price paid but the labor one exerted to produce an item. Therefore, "[h]e proposed a system to pay people with certificates indicating how many hours of work they did. They could exchange the notes at local time stores for goods that took the same amount of time to produce". He put his theories to the test by establishing an experimental "labor for labor store" called the

Cincinnati Time Store where trade was facilitated by notes backed by a promise to perform labor. The store proved successful and operated for three years after which it was closed so that Warren could pursue establishing colonies based on mutualism. These included Utopia and Modern Times. Warren said that Stephen Pearl Andrews' The Science of Society, published in 1852, was the most lucid and complete exposition of Warren's own theories.

Later, Benjamin Tucker fused the economics of Warren and Proudhon and published these ideas in Liberty calling them "Anarchistic-Socialism". Tucker said: "[T]he fact that one class of men are dependent for their living upon the sale of their labour, while another class of men are relieved of the necessity of labour by being legally privileged to sell something that is not labour. [...] And to such a state of things I am as much opposed as any one. But the minute you remove privilege [...] every man will be a labourer exchanging with fellow-labourers. [...] What Anarchistic-Socialism aims to abolish is usury [...] it wants to deprive capital of its reward". Left-wing market anarchism is a modern branch of free-market anarchism that is based on a revival of such market socialist theories.

Neoclassical economics: Early 20th century

Beginning in the early 20th century, neoclassical economic theory provided the theoretical basis for more comprehensive models of market socialism. Early neoclassical models of socialism included a role for a central planning board (CPB) in setting prices equal marginal cost to achieve Pareto efficiency. Alhough these early models did not rely on conventional markets, they were labeled market socialist for their utilization of financial prices and calculation. Alternative outlines for market socialism involve models where socially owned enterprises or producer co-operatives operate within free markets under the criterion of profitability. In recent models proposed by American neoclassical economists, public ownership of the means of production is achieved through public ownership of equity and social control of investment.

The earliest models of neoclassical socialism were developed by Leon Walras, Enrico Barone (1908) and Oskar R. Lange (c. 1936). Lange and

Fred M. Taylor (1929) proposed that central planning boards set prices through "trial and error", making adjustments as shortages and surpluses occurred rather than relying on a free price mechanism. If there were shortages, prices would be raised; if there were surpluses, prices would be lowered. Raising the prices would encourage businesses to increase production, driven by their desire to increase their profits, and in doing so eliminate the shortage. Lowering the prices would encourage businesses to curtail production to prevent losses, which would eliminate the surplus. Therefore, it would be a simulation of the market mechanism, which Lange thought would be capable of effectively managing supply and demand.

Although the Lange–Lerner model was often labelled as market socialism, it is better described as market simulation because factor markets did not exist for the allocation of capital goods. The objective of the Lange–Lerner model was explicitly to replace markets with a non-market system of resource allocation.

H. D. Dickinson published two articles proposing a form of market socialism, namely "Price Formation in a Socialist Community" (The Economic Journal 1933) and "The Problems of a Socialist Economy" (The Economic Journal 1934). Dickinson proposed a mathematical solution whereby the problems of a socialist economy could be solved by a central planning agency. The central agency would have the necessary statistics on the economy, as well as the capability of using statistics to direct production. The economy could be represented as a system of equations. Solution values for these equations could be used to price all goods at marginal cost and direct production. Hayek (1935) argued against the proposal to simulate markets with equations. Dickinson (1939) adopted the Lange-Taylor proposal to simulate markets through trial and error.

The Lange–Dickinson version of market socialism kept capital investment out of the market. Lange (1926 p65) insisted that a central planning board would have to set capital accumulation rates arbitrarily. Lange and Dickinson saw potential problems with bureaucratization in market socialism. According to Dickinson, "the attempt to check irresponsibility will tie up managers of socialist enterprises with so much

red tape and bureaucratic regulation that they will lose all initiative and independence" (Dickinson 1938, p. 214). In The Economics of Control: Principles of Welfare Economics (1944), Abba Lerner admitted that capital investment would be politicized in market socialism.

Late 20th century

Economists active in the former Yugoslavia, including Czech-born Jaroslav Vanek and Croat-born Branko Horvat, promoted a model of market socialism dubbed the Illyrian model, where firms were socially owned by their employees and structured on workers' self-management and competed with each other in open and free markets.

American economists in the latter half of the 20th century developed models based such as coupon socialism (by the economist John Roemer) and economic democracy (by the philosopher David Schweickart).

Pranab Bardhan and John Roemer proposed a form of narket socialism where there was a stock market that distributed shares of the capital stock equally among citizens. In this stock market, there is no buying or selling of stocks, which leads to negative externalities associated with a concentration of capital ownership. The Bardhan and Roemer model satisfied the main requirements of both socialism (workers own all the factors of production, not just labour) and market economies (prices determine efficient allocation of resources). New Zealand economist Steven O'Donnell expanded on the Bardhan and Roemer model and decomposed the capital function in a general equilibrium system to take account of entrepreneurial activity in market socialist economies. O'Donnell (2003) set up a model that could be used as a blueprint for transition economies and the results suggested that although market socialist models were inherently unstable in the long term, they would provide in the short term the economic infrastructure necessary for a successful transition from planned to market economies.

In the early 21st century, the Marxian economist Richard D. Wolff refocused Marxian economics giving it a microfoundational focus. The core idea was that transition from capitalism to socialism required the reorganization of the enterprise from a top-down hierarchical capitalist model to a model where all key enterprise decisions (what, how, and

where to produce and what to do with outputs) were made on a one-worker, one vote basis. Wolff called them workers self-directed enterprises (WSDEs). How they would interact with one another and with consumers was left open to democratic social decisions and could entail markets or planning, or likely mixtures of both.

Anti-equilibrium economics

Another form of market socialism has been promoted by critics of central planning and generally of neoclassical general equilibrium theory. The most notable of these economists were Alec Nove and Janos Kornai. In particular, Alec Nove proposed what he called feasible socialism, a mixed economy consisting of state-run enterprises, autonomous publicly owned firms, cooperatives and small-scale private enterprise operating in a market economy that included a role for macroeconomic planning.

9.13 IN PRACTICE

A number of market socialist elements have existed in various economies.

The economy of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is widely considered to be a model of market-based socialism which was based on the predominance of socially-owned cooperatives, workers' self-management and market allocation of capital.

Some of the economic reforms introduced by the leader of Czechoslovakia, Alexander Dubček, during the Prague Spring included elements of market socialism.

The Mondragon Corporation in the Basque Country and Coop in Italy are widely cited as highly successful co-operative enterprises based on worker- or consumer-ownership and democratic management.

Peter Drucker described the United States system of regulated pension funds providing capital to financial markets as "pension fund socialism". William H. Simon characterized pension fund socialism as "a form of market socialism", concluding that it was promising but perhaps with prospects more limited than those envisioned by its enthusiasts.

The economy of Cuba under the rule of Raúl Castro has been described as attempting market socialist reforms.

Similar policies to the market socialist proposal of a social dividend and basic income scheme have been implemented on the basis of public ownership of natural resources in Alaska (Alaska Permanent Fund) and in Norway (The Government Pension Fund of Norway).

Belarus ruled by Alexander Lukashenko is sometimes described as market-socialist.

Ethiopia under Abiy Ahmed has recently been described as market socialist.

9.14 RELATION TO POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

Marxism–Leninism

The phrase market socialism has occasionally been used in reference to any attempt by a Soviet-type planned economy to introduce market elements into its economic system. In this sense, market socialism was first attempted during the 1920s in the Soviet Union as the New Economic Policy (NEP) before being abandoned. Later, elements of market socialism were introduced in Hungary (where it was nicknamed goulash communism), Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (see Titoism) in the 1970s and 1980s. The contemporary Economy of Belarus has been described as a market socialist system. The Soviet Union attempted to introduce a market system with its perestroika reforms under Mikhail Gorbachev. During the later stages there was talk within top circles that the Soviet Union should move toward a market-based socialist system.

Historically, these kinds of market socialist systems attempt to retain state ownership of the commanding heights of the economy such as heavy industry, energy and infrastructure while introducing decentralised decision making and giving local managers more freedom to make decisions and respond to market demands. Market socialist systems also allow private ownership and entrepreneurship in the service and other secondary economic sectors. The market is allowed to determine prices for consumer goods and agricultural products, and farmers are allowed to sell all or some of their products on the open market and keep some or all of the profit as an incentive to increase and improve production.

Socialism with Chinese characteristics

The term market socialism has been used to refer to reformed economic systems in Marxist–Leninist states, most notably in reference to the contemporary economy of the People's Republic of China, where a free price system is used for the allocation of capital goods in both the state and private sectors. However, Chinese political and economic proponents of the socialist market economy do not consider it to be a form of market socialism in the neoclassical sense and many Western economists and political scientists question the degree to which this model constitutes a form of market socialism, often preferring to describe it as state capitalism.

Although similar in name, market socialism differs markedly from the socialist market economy and socialist-oriented market economy models practiced in the contemporary People's Republic of China and Socialist Republic of Vietnam, respectively. Officially these economic systems represent market economies that are in the long-term process of transition toward socialism. Key differences between models of market socialism and the Chinese and Vietnamese models include the role of private investment in enterprises, the lack of a social dividend or basic income system to equitably distribute state profits among the population and the existence and role of financial markets in the Chinese model—markets which are absent in the market socialist literature.

The Chinese experience with socialism with Chinese characteristics is frequently referred to as a socialist market economy where the commanding heights are state-owned, but a substantial portion of both the state and private sectors of economy are governed by market practices, including a stock exchange for trading equity and the utilization of indirect macroeconomic market mechanisms (i.e. fiscal, monetary and industrial policies) to influence the economy in the same manner governments affect the economy in capitalist economies. The market is the arbitrator for most economic activity, with economic planning being relegated to macro-economic government indicative planning that does not encompass the microeconomic decision-making that is left to the individual organizations and state-owned enterprises. This model includes a significant amount of privately owned firms that

operate as a business for profit, but only for consumer goods and services.

In the Chinese system, directive planning based on mandatory output requirements and quotas were displaced by market mechanisms for most of the economy, including both the state and private sectors, although the government engages in indicative planning for large state enterprises. In comparison with the Soviet-type planned economy, the Chinese socialist market model is based on the corporatization of state institutions, transforming them into joint-stock companies. As of 2008, there were 150 state-owned corporations directly under the central government. These state-owned corporations have been reformed and become increasingly dynamic and a major source of revenue for the state in 2008,leading the economic recovery in 2009 during the wake of the global financial crises.

This economic model is defended from a Marxist–Leninist perspective which states that a planned socialist economy can only emerge after first developing the basis for socialism through the establishment of a market economy and commodity-exchange economy; and that socialism would only emerge after this stage has exhausted its historical necessity and gradually transforms itself into socialism. Proponents of this model argue that the economic system of the former Soviet Union and its satellite states attempted to go from a natural economy to a planned economy by decree, without passing through the necessary market economy phase of development.

Democratic socialism

Some democratic socialists advocate forms of market socialism, some of which are based on self-management. Others advocate for a non-market participatory economy based on decentralized economic planning.

Anarchism

Main articles: Free-market anarchism, Individualist anarchism, Left-wing market anarchism, and Mutualism (economic theory)

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was the primary proponent of mutualism and influenced many later individualist anarchist and social anarchist thinkers.

The French philosopher Pierre Joseph Proudhon is the first person to call himself an anarchist and considered among its most influential theorists. He is considered by many to be the "father of anarchism". He became a member of the French Parliament after the revolution of 1848, whereon he referred to himself as a federalist. His best-known assertion is that "Property is theft!", contained in his first major work What Is Property?, published in 1840. The book's publication attracted the attention of the French authorities. It also attracted the scrutiny of Karl Marx, who started a correspondence with its author. The two influenced each other: they met in Paris while Marx was exiled there. Their friendship finally ended when Marx responded to Proudhon's The Philosophy of Poverty with the provocatively titled The Poverty of Philosophy. The dispute became one of the sources of the split between the anarchist and Marxian wings of the International Working Men's Association. Mutualism is an economic theory and anarchist school of thought that advocates a society where each person might possess a means of production, either individually or collectively, with trade representing equivalent amounts of labor in the free market. Integral to the scheme was the establishment of a mutual-credit bank that would lend to producers at a minimal interest rate, just high enough to cover administration. Mutualism is based on a labor theory of value that holds that when labor or its product is sold, in exchange, it ought to receive goods or services embodying "the amount of labor necessary to produce an article of exactly similar and equal utility".

Mutualism originated from the writings of philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. Mutualists oppose the idea of individuals receiving an income through loans, investments and rent as they believe these individuals are not laboring. Though Proudhon opposed this type of income, he expressed that he had never intended "to forbid or suppress, by sovereign decree, ground rent and interest on capital. I think that all these manifestations of human activity should remain free and voluntary for all: I ask for them no modifications, restrictions or suppressions, other

than those which result naturally and of necessity from the universalization of the principle of reciprocity which I propose". Insofar as they ensure the worker's right to the full product of their labor, mutualists support markets (or artificial markets) and property in the product of labor. However, they argue for conditional titles to land, whose ownership is legitimate only so long as it remains in use or occupation (which Proudhon called "possession"), advocating personal property but not private property.

Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first American anarchist and the four-page weekly paper he edited during 1833, The Peaceful Revolutionist, was the first anarchist periodical published. For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster, "[i]t is apparent [...] that Proudhonian Anarchism was to be found in the United States at least as early as 1848 and that it was not conscious of its affinity to the Individualist Anarchism of Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews. [...] William B. Greene presented this Proudhonian Mutualism in its purest and most systematic form". Later, the American individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker "was against both the state and capitalism, against both oppression and exploitation. While not against the market and property he was firmly against capitalism as it was, in his eyes, a state-supported monopoly of social capital (tools, machinery, etc.) which allows owners to exploit their employees, i.e. to avoid paying workers the full value of their labour. He thought that the "labouring classes are deprived of their earnings by usury in its three forms, interest, rent and profit". Therefore, "Liberty will abolish interest; it will abolish profit; it will abolish monopolistic rent; it will abolish taxation; it will abolish the exploitation of labour; it will abolish all means whereby any labourer can be deprived of any of his product". This stance puts him squarely in the libertarian socialist tradition and, unsurprisingly, Tucker referred to himself many times as a socialist and considered his philosophy to be "[a]narchistic socialism".

Benjamin Tucker, American individualist anarchist

French individualist anarchist Emile Armand shows clearly opposition to capitalism and centralized economies when he said that the individualist

anarchist "inwardly he remains refractory – fatally refractory – morally, intellectually, economically (The capitalist economy and the directed economy, the speculators and the fabricators of single systems are equally repugnant to him.)". He argued for a pluralistic economic logic when he said that "Here and there everything happening – here everyone receiving what they need, there each one getting whatever is needed according to their own capacity. Here, gift and barter – one product for another; there, exchange – product for representative value. Here, the producer is the owner of the product, there, the product is put to the possession of the collectivity". The Spanish individualist anarchist Miguel Gimenez Igualada thought that "capitalism is an effect of government; the disappearance of government means capitalism falls from its pedestal vertiginously. [...] That which we call capitalism is not something else but a product of the State, within which the only thing that is being pushed forward is profit, good or badly acquired. And so to fight against capitalism is a pointless task, since be it State capitalism or Enterprise capitalism, as long as Government exists, exploiting capital will exist. The fight, but of consciousness, is against the State". His view on class division and technocracy are as follows "Since when no one works for another, the profiteer from wealth disappears, just as government will disappear when no one pays attention to those who learned four things at universities and from that fact they pretend to govern men. Big industrial enterprises will be transformed by men in big associations in which everyone will work and enjoy the product of their work. And from those easy as well as beautiful problems anarchism deals with and he who puts them in practice and lives them are anarchists. [...] The priority which without rest an anarchist must make is that in which no one has to exploit anyone, no man to no man, since that non-exploitation will lead to the limitation of property to individual needs".

Left-wing market anarchism is a form of left-libertarianism and individualist anarchism associated with scholars such as Kevin Carson, Roderick T. Long, Charles W. Johnson, Brad Spangler, Samuel Edward Konkin III, Sheldon Richman, Chris Matthew Sciabarra and Gary Chartier, who stress the value of radically free markets, termed freed markets to distinguish them from the common conception which these

libertarians believe to be riddled with statist and capitalist privileges. Referred to as left-wing market anarchists or market-oriented left-libertarians, proponents of this approach strongly affirm the classical liberal ideas of free markets and self-ownership while maintaining that taken to their logical conclusions these ideas support anti-capitalist, anti-corporatist, anti-hierarchical, pro-labor positions in economics; anti-imperialism in foreign policy; and thoroughly liberal or radical views regarding cultural and social issues such as gender, sexuality and race.

The genealogy of contemporary market-oriented left-libertarianism, sometimes labeled left-wing market anarchism, overlaps to a significant degree with that of Steiner–Vallentyne left-libertarianism as the roots of that tradition are sketched in the book The Origins of Left-Libertarianism. Carson–Long-style left-libertarianism is rooted in 19th-century mutualism and in the work of figures such as Thomas Hodgskin and the American individualist anarchists Benjamin Tucker and Lysander Spooner. While with notable exceptions market-oriented libertarians after Tucker tended to ally with the political right, relationships between such libertarians and the New Left thrived in the 1960s, laying the groundwork for modern left-wing market anarchism. Left-wing market anarchism identifies with left-libertarianism which names several related but distinct approaches to politics, society, culture and political and social theory, which stress both individual freedom and social justice. Unlike right-libertarians, they believe that neither claiming nor mixing one's labor with natural resources is enough to generate full private property rights and maintain that natural resources (land, oil, gold and trees) ought to be held in some egalitarian manner, either unowned or owned collectively. Those left-libertarians who support private property do so under the condition that recompense is offered to the local or global community.

9.15 CRITICISM: MARKET SOCIALISM

Market abolitionists such as David McNally argue in the Marxist tradition that the logic of the market inherently produces inequitable outcomes and leads to unequal exchanges, arguing that Adam Smith's moral intent and moral philosophy espousing equal exchange was

undermined by the practice of the free market he championed—the development of the market economy involved coercion, exploitation and violence that Smith's moral philosophy could not countenance. McNally criticizes market socialists for believing in the possibility of fair markets based on equal exchanges to be achieved by purging parasitical elements from the market economy such as private ownership of the means of production, arguing that market socialism is an oxymoron when socialism is defined as an end to wage labour.

9.16 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have discussed at length the differences between Western liberal democracy and socialist democracy, together with the essential ingredients and essence of both the ideologies, i.e. democracy and socialism. The concept of socialist democracy embodies within itself a system, that builds society based on cooperation instead of competition.Since the last decade, communism as an ideology has been diminishing in strength, in Italy, France, Eastern Europe and Russia. On the other hand, social democratic parties have grown in strength in almost all European countries. Socialist democracy should be defined in terms of basic values such as freedom, equality and fellowship. It supports the demand for public control of resources and enterprises. The essence of socialist democracy lies in four basic tendencies of socialism. They are: egalitarianism, meaning the notion of equality, Moralism meaning feelings of brotherly love and understanding among human beings, rationalism meaning reason and knowledge leading towards democratic functioning and lastly, libertarianism which goes with acceptance of equality. There has been an increasing trend towards democratic socialism in recent times. The concept lays stress on larger interests of society, cooperation, economic equality, common ownership of production utilized for common good and on avoiding extremes of communism. During the first three decades after independence democratic socialism developed into India’s most influential political ideology. Democratic socialist orientation of Indian politics was spelled out in concrete terms in the constitution of the republic, in the five year plans since 1952 and generally, in the conduct of Indian government both

in domestic and international affairs. However, in the wake of globalization and consequent economic reforms, the situation has undergone a sea change. The reappearance of the New Left was termed as "New Socialism". This was so, because it aimed to attack the type of Marxism that developed in the erstwhile Soviet Union. The New Left emphasized the premises of a democratic system, meant for freedom and development. The establishment of a penetrating and reassuring political theory regarding compatibility of socialism and democracy is an encouragement towards the introduction of more democratic institutions. Today, if socialist democracy is to be made more realistic, it can be done by broadening the application of democratic principles from political to non-political areas of society. Socialism of this type must be in consonance with premises of a democratic system.

9.17 KEY WORDS

Oligarchy : State governed by a few persons.

Liberalization : ideology of extreme liberty and freedom.

Communism : order of society in which means of production are to be owned in common.

Egalitarian : asserting equality of mankind.

Leftism : political views of the Left.

9.18 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1) What do you understand by democracy?
2) In what manner has the perception of democracy changed in erstwhile Communist countries?
3) What are the salient features of Western liberal democracy?
4) What do you understand by non-western forms of democracy?

9.19 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

- Arthur Rosenberg, Democracy and Socialism, London, G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1939
- Francis. W Coker, Recent Political Thought, New York, 1934

- R.N. Berki: Socialism, New York
- Socialism: The First 100 Years; Analyst: The Center for Labour and Social Studies Inc., Italy

9.20 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1) See Sections 9.1 and 9.2
2) See Section 9.2

Check Your Progress 2

1) See Section 9.3
2) See Section 9.4

Check Your Progress 3

1) See Section 9.5
2) See Section 9.6

Check Your Progress 4

1) See sub-section 9.6.1
2) See sub-section 9.6.3

Check Your Progress 5

1) See Section 9.7
2) See Section 9.8
3) See Section 9.9

UNIT 10: FASCISM

STRUCTURE

10.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

- General Explanations and Features of Fascism
- Ideological Strands of Fascism
- Social Bases of Fascism
- State and Society under Fascism

The basic purpose of this unit is to make you understand the development of fascist ideas and states as extreme right wing political mobilisation. After reading this unit, you will be able to understand:

• Some general features of fascism and the nature of mobilisation to achieve dictatorial aims;

• Multiple ideological strands that contributed to the evolution of the fascist state and its organisational style;

• The socio-economic forces responsible for the emergence of fascism; and

• The nature of state and society under fascist regimes.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The project of Enlightenment in Europe posed a serious challenge to the older order of society and state based on the notion of divine sanction. By the 18th century, the idea of representation and a state organised around elected representatives had taken roots. This marked the inauguration of modern politics or mobilisation of people around some specific idea or policy to achieve a specific political aim. The institutional forms of this modern politics were elections, parties and modern newspapers with all the political insignia and trappings of modern political culture, which created a public space. This led to a whole range of political choices available and competing with each other for occupying this public space. By the end of the 19th century, this had crystallised in the triple ideological division of Europe into the Left, the Right and the Center. It is important to bear this in mind in order to understand the processes of political mobilisation that brought extreme right wing organisations or fascists to power in a number of European countries during the inter-war period. The growth of monopoly capitalism and resultant intense imperialist rivalries fuelled extreme nationalist ideologies and militarism after the 1870s. In the new political context, appeal for political support was made on the basis of new, seemingly non-class identities, especially, outside the workplace. As a result, unique mass-constituencies such as “war-veterans”, “tax-payers”, “sport-fans”, or simply “national-citizens” were created. The transformation of these latent social-cleavages into open conflict must also be seen as the necessary background for the growth of right-wing fascist dictatorship in Europe after World War I. The unit begins with some general features of fascism and then, details the ideological and social bases of fascism.

The Italian term fascismo is derived from fascio meaning "a bundle of sticks", ultimately from the Latin word fasces. This was the name given to political organizations in Italy known as fasci, groups similar to guilds or syndicates. According to Mussolini's own account, the Fascist Revolutionary Party (Partito Fascista Rivoluzionario or PFR) was founded in Italy in 1915. In 1919, Mussolini founded the Fasci Italiani di Combattimento in Milan, which became the Partito Nazionale Fascista (National Fascist Party) two years later. The Fascists came to associate the term with the ancient Roman fasces or fascio littorio—a bundle of rods tied around an axe, an ancient Roman symbol of the authority of the civic magistrate carried by his lictors, which could be used for corporal and capital punishment at his command.

The symbolism of the fasces suggested strength through unity: a single rod is easily broken, while the bundle is difficult to break. Similar symbols were developed by different fascist movements: for example, the Falange symbol is five arrows joined together by a yoke.

Definitions

Historians, political scientists, and other scholars have long debated the exact nature of fascism. Each group described as fascist has at least some unique elements, and many definitions of fascism have been criticized as either too wide or narrow.

According to many scholars, fascism – especially once in power – has historically attacked communism, conservatism, and parliamentary liberalism, attracting support primarily from the far-right.

One common definition of the term, frequently cited by reliable sources as a standard definition, is that of historian Stanley G. Payne. He focuses on three concepts: the "fascist negations": anti-liberalism, anti-communism, and anti-conservatism;

"fascist goals": the creation of a nationalist dictatorship to regulate economic structure and to transform social relations within a modern, self-determined culture, and the expansion of the nation into an empire; and "fascist style": a political aesthetic of romantic symbolism, mass mobilization, a positive view of violence, and promotion of masculinity, youth, and charismatic authoritarian leadership.

Historian John Lukacs argues that there is no such thing as generic fascism. He claims that National Socialism and communism are essentially manifestations of populism and that states such as National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy are more different than similar.

Roger Griffin describes fascism as "a genus of political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultranationalism". Griffin describes the ideology as having three core components: "(i) the rebirth myth, (ii) populist ultra-nationalism, and (iii) the myth of decadence". In Griffin's view, Fascism is "a genuinely revolutionary, trans-class form of anti-liberal, and in the last analysis, anti-conservative nationalism" built on a complex range of theoretical and cultural influences. He distinguishes an inter-war period in which it manifested itself in elite-led but populist "armed party" politics opposing socialism and liberalism and promising radical politics to rescue the nation from decadence. In Against the Fascist Creep Alexander Reid Ross writes regarding Griffin's view:

Following the Cold War and shifts in fascist organizing techniques, a number of scholars have moved toward the minimalist "new consensus" refined by Roger Griffin: "the mythic core" of fascism is "a populist form of palingenetic ultranationalism." That means that fascism is an ideology that draws on old, ancient, and even arcane myths of racial, cultural, ethnic, and national origins to develop a plan for the "new man."

Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser argue that although Fascism "flirted with populism ... in an attempt to generate mass support", it is better seen as an elitist ideology. They cite in particular its exaltation of the Leader, the race, and the state, rather than the people. They see populism as a "thin-centered ideology" with a "restricted morphology" which necessarily becomes attached to "thick-centered" ideologies such as fascism, liberalism, or socialism. Thus populism can be found as an aspect of many specific ideologies, without necessarily being a defining characteristic of those ideologies. They refer to the combination of populism, authoritarianism and ultranationalism as "a marriage of convenience."

Robert Paxton says that fascism is "a form of political behavior marked by obsessive preoccupation with community decline, humiliation, or

victimhood and by compensatory cults of unity, energy, and purity, in which a mass-based party of committed nationalist militants, working in uneasy but effective collaboration with traditional elites, abandons democratic liberties and pursues with redemptive violence and without ethical or legal restraints goals of internal cleansing and external expansion".

Roger Eatwell defines fascism as "an ideology that strives to forge social rebirth based on a holistic-national radical Third Way", while Walter Laqueur sees the core tenets of fascism as "self-evident: nationalism; social Darwinism; racialism, the need for leadership, a new aristocracy, and obedience; and the negation of the ideals of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution."

Racism was a key feature of German fascism, for which the Holocaust was a high priority. According to the historiography of genocide, "In dealing with the Holocaust, it is the consensus of historians that Nazi Germany targeted Jews as a race, not as a religious group." Umberto Eco, Kevin Passmore, John Weiss, Ian Adams, and Moyra Grant stress racism as a characteristic component of German fascism. Historian Robert Soucy stated that "Hitler envisioned the ideal German society as a Volksgemeinschaft, a racially unified and hierarchically organized body in which the interests of individuals would be strictly subordinate to those of the nation, or Volk." Fascist philosophies vary by application, but remain distinct by one theoretic commonality. All traditionally fall into the far-right sector of any political spectrum, catalyzed by afflicted class identities over conventional social inequities.

Position in the political spectrum

Most scholars place fascism on the far right of the political spectrum. Such scholarship focuses on its social conservatism and its authoritarian means of opposing egalitarianism. Roderick Stackelberg places fascism—including Nazism, which he says is "a radical variant of fascism"—on the political right by explaining: "The more a person deems absolute equality among all people to be a desirable condition, the further left he or she will be on the ideological spectrum. The more a

person considers inequality to be unavoidable or even desirable, the further to the right he or she will be".

Fascism's origins, however, are complex and include many seemingly contradictory viewpoints, ultimately centered around a myth of national rebirth from decadence. Fascism was founded during World War I by Italian national syndicalists who drew upon both left-wing organizational tactics and right-wing political views.

Italian Fascism gravitated to the right in the early 1920s. A major element of fascist ideology that has been deemed to be far-right is its stated goal to promote the right of a supposedly superior people to dominate, while purging society of supposedly inferior elements.

In the 1920s, the Italian Fascists described their ideology as right-wing in the political program The Doctrine of Fascism, stating: "We are free to believe that this is the century of authority, a century tending to the 'right,' a fascist century". Mussolini stated that fascism's position on the political spectrum was not a serious issue for fascists: "Fascism, sitting on the right, could also have sat on the mountain of the center ... These words in any case do not have a fixed and unchanged meaning: they do have a variable subject to location, time and spirit. We don't give a damn about these empty terminologies and we despise those who are terrorized by these words".

Major Italian groups politically on the right, especially rich landowners and big business, feared an uprising by groups on the left such as sharecroppers and labour unions. They welcomed Fascism and supported its violent suppression of opponents on the left. The accommodation of the political right into the Italian Fascist movement in the early 1920s created internal factions within the movement. The "Fascist left" included Michele Bianchi, Giuseppe Bottai, Angelo Oliviero Olivetti, Sergio Panunzio, and Edmondo Rossoni, who were committed to advancing national syndicalism as a replacement for parliamentary liberalism in order to modernize the economy and advance the interests of workers and common people. The "Fascist right" included members of the paramilitary Squadristi and former members of the Italian Nationalist Association (ANI). The Squadristi wanted to establish Fascism as a complete dictatorship, while the former ANI members, including Alfredo

Rocco, sought to institute an authoritarian corporatist state to replace the liberal state in Italy while retaining the existing elites. Upon accommodating the political right, there arose a group of monarchist fascists who sought to use fascism to create an absolute monarchy under King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy.

After King Victor Emmanuel III forced Mussolini to resign as head of government and placed him under arrest in 1943, Mussolini was rescued by German forces. While continuing to rely on Germany for support, Mussolini and the remaining loyal Fascists founded the Italian Social Republic with Mussolini as head of state. Mussolini sought to re-radicalize Italian Fascism, declaring that the Fascist state had been overthrown because Italian Fascism had been subverted by Italian conservatives and the bourgeoisie. Then the new Fascist government proposed the creation of workers' councils and profit-sharing in industry, although the German authorities, who effectively controlled northern Italy at this point, ignored these measures and did not seek to enforce them.

A number of post-World War II fascist movements described themselves as a "third position" outside the traditional political spectrum. Spanish Falangist leader José Antonio Primo de Rivera said: "[B]asically the Right stands for the maintenance of an economic structure, albeit an unjust one, while the Left stands for the attempt to subvert that economic structure, even though the subversion thereof would entail the destruction of much that was worthwhile".

"Fascist" as a pejorative

The term "fascist" has been used as a pejorative, regarding varying movements across the far right of the political spectrum. George Orwell wrote in 1944 that "the word 'Fascism' is almost entirely meaningless ... almost any English person would accept 'bully' as a synonym for 'Fascist'".

Communist states have sometimes been referred to as "fascist", typically as an insult. For example, it has been applied to Marxist regimes in Cuba under Fidel Castro and Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh. Chinese Marxists used the term to denounce the Soviet Union during the Sino-Soviet Split,

and likewise the Soviets used the term to denounce Chinese Marxists and social democracy (coining a new term in "social fascism").

In the United States, Herbert Matthews of The New York Times asked in 1946: "Should we now place Stalinist Russia in the same category as Hitlerite Germany? Should we say that she is Fascist?". J. Edgar Hoover, longtime FBI director and ardent anti-communist, wrote extensively of "Red Fascism". The Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s was sometimes called "fascist". Historian Peter Amann states that, "Undeniably, the Klan had some traits in common with European fascism—chauvinism, racism, a mystique of violence, an affirmation of a certain kind of archaic traditionalism—yet their differences were fundamental....[the KKK] never envisioned a change of political or economic system."

Professor Richard Griffiths of the University of Wales wrote in 2005 that "fascism" is the "most misused, and over-used word, of our times". "Fascist" is sometimes applied to post-World War II organizations and ways of thinking that academics more commonly term "neo-fascist".

10.2 GENERAL EXPLANATIONS AND FEATURES OF FASCISM

Fascism has been interpreted in multiple ways. A favourite Marxist position is to explain it as a violent, dictatorial instrument of monopoly finance capital, which emerged in the form of brutal attack on workers, rights in a period of intensification of class struggle and acute crisis in the capitalist economy. Another interpretation views fascism as the product of cultural and moral breakdown in the aftermath of brutality and savagery of World War I. According to Karl Polanyi's The Great Transformation, World War I destroyed the foundations of 19th century Europe and unleashed a long period of crisis marked by war-mobilisation, privation and dislocation. Oswald Spengler wrote his Decline of the West in 1918 and argued that Western civilisation, characterised by industrialism had reached a period of decline in the 20th century. Spengler attacked the rational strains of modernity in order to celebrate the 'Philosophy of Life' as an alternative. Wilhelm Reich, a neo-psycho analyst, in his Mass Psychology of Fascism explains Fascism as a result of extreme neurotic or pathological impulses that lay dormant

in the patriarchal family set-up. Another liberal interpretation traces fascism as a product of mass society where traditional solid identities based on kinship, religion, craft and guild and residence break down and a new amorphous mass-society is created. Some others relate it to a unique expression of middle-class radicalism against monopoly business houses' profit-motive. Lastly, it has been seen as a form of Bonapartism or an autonomous authoritarian state led by a charismatic leader independent of any specific class-interests or class-domination. Fascism emerged as a radical movement based on the rejection of liberalism, democracy and Marxist socialism. However, it differed from the conservative authoritarian groups. The conservative right invoked traditional legitimacies based on the church, the monarchy, kinship etc. whereas the Fascists wanted a radical institutional change and mobilised people in the name of Organic Nationalism, a belief in the harmonious collectivity of nation privileged over all other forms of human-identification. As in the human body, the structural relationship of the various organs or parts of the body to each other only serves to define and delimit their roles; so in the organic view of the fascist state, the state as the embodiment of national will takes precedence over the identities and rights of the individuals. This view also accounts for the deep-rooted hostility of fascism to inter-nationalism and to organisations and movements based on inter-nationalism such as communism, freemasonry, the League of Nations and to the multi-national Jewish community. In general, Fascism symbolised the rejection of political culture inherited from Enlightenment and its ideas such as rationalist materialism, the philosophy of individualism and pluralism. The fascist opposition to the democratic-bourgeois institutions and values did not rule out their use of mass, constitutional and plebiscite forms of politics, but they made use of these democratic institutions only to wreck them from inside and in order to undermine their value. Fascism was opposed, in all its forms, to the notion of democracy based on respect for pluralism, individual autonomy and the existence of civil and political liberties. The mass- mobilisation of fascists was based on the pattern of militarisation of politics. They made use of military insignia and terminology in their mobilisation. As military-organisations are based on

unity of command and order and perfect subordination of rank and file to the higher command, so the fascist organisations had their quasi-sacred figure of the leader-the Duce in Italy and the Fuhrer in Germanywhose will was supreme in all matters.

A party militia was often used to reinforce the sense of nationalism and wipe out opposition to their dictatorships. The extreme stress on the masculine principle or male-dominance in the fascist ideology and the exaltation of youth were also related to this militarisation of politics. Another significant feature of fascism was the organisation of some kind of regulated, class-collaborationist, integrated national-economic structure. The idea of corporatism as a community of people free from class-conflict emerged in reaction to the growth of individualism and the new centralising states. It was a residue of the feudal ideology of mystical 'community' of personal ties. But gradually it acquired a modern, class-collaborationist form. The ideology of societal corporatism believed in giving full autonomy to the corporations, but fascist ideology emphasized state corporatism or the complete subordination of corporations to the needs and requirement of the fascist state.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer. ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) What are the different ways in which fascism has been interpreted?

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2) Distinguish between fascism and conservative right wing authoritarianism.

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10.3 IDEOLOGICAL STRANDS OF FASCISM

At the ideological level, there was no single unifying idea that guided the fascist movement and state. Fascism emerged from heterogeneous borrowings from various ideas. The basic ingredient of fascism, as we have noted above, was a kind of synthesis of organic nationalism and anti-Marxist ideas. The influence of Sorel's philosophy of action based on intuition, energy and élan was also discernible in the pattern of fascist mass-mobilisation. The fascists also tried to apply Darwin's ideas to the development of society. They believed that people in any society compete for survival and only superior individuals, groups and races succeed. This belief directly fed into the anti-Jewish politics or anti-semitism practiced mainly under German fascism, but also elsewhere. Such application of Darwin's ideas in the realm of society came to be known as 'Social Darwinism'. Adolph Hitler's autobiographical statement in Mein Kampf (1924) made out an explicit case for the application of such Social-Darwinist racial ideas. In this book, Hitler characterised parliamentary democracy as a sin against 'the basic aristocratic principle of nature' and depicted all human culture as the exclusive product of the creative Aryan race and condemned the Jewish community as inferior and lacking in creativity. The mass–extermination of millions of Jews grew out of this insanity of Nazi ideology in Germany where completely impersonal bureaucratic 'extermination' of a people classified as a species of inferior inhumans was put into practice. The political theorist Carl Schmitt wrote his critiques of parliamentary democracy in the 1920s arguing for a plebiscitary dictatorship. The Philosopher Martin Heidegger attacked Western modernity for its technological violence and for a contempt of being. In various ways, these philosophies of the right were to become justifications for the Fascist and Nazi regimes in the 1930s. Fascism in Italy emerged as the convergence of three different trends.

The radical Syndicalist Confederation of Trade Unions split in 1914 over the issue of Italian participation in war (World War-I). The Syndicalists had believed in the 'self– emancipation' of the 'producers' through regulation at factory level. The workers associations or syndicates would replace the state at an appropriate time and these would act as the instruments of self–government. Now the right wing syndicalists moved

towards extreme nationalism. They described nations in class terms, i.e., as ‘plutocratic’ or having colonies or ‘proletarians’ or ‘have not’ nations without colonies. Italy was described as a proletarian nation. The Futurists who rejected traditional norms and existing institutions and exalted ‘violence’, and who were fascinated by speed, power, motors and machines or all the modern technological possibilities, contributed a second major ideological factor. Mussolini’s ‘socialistic’ views and ideas on ‘national revolution’ was the third major ideological strand of Italian fascism. This heterogeneity of ideas along with local political exigencies was responsible for variations in the form of the fascist movement and state.

10.4 SOCIAL BASES OF FASCISM

In the following sub–sections, we will describe the nature of political and institutional forces that helped in the development of the fascist movement and state and sustained it.

10.4.1 War, Diplomacy and Nationalism

World War I provided the sociological and psychological conditions for the crystallisation of the fascist state. It revealed the capacity of nationalism in the mobilisation of masses and economic resources. It further demonstrated the importance of unity of command, of authority, and moral mobilisation and propaganda in the service of the modern state. After the war, fascism emerged as a vision of a coherent and reunited people, mobilised on the basis of a whole communal liturgy of songs and torch- light procession, highlighting the cult of physical force, violence and brutality. At the Versailles, the victorious Allied powers tried to extract the terms of defeat from Germany. Severe reparations were imposed on Germany. Germany’s military might was reduced to 100,000 men. Germany also suffered in terms of territorial possessions including loss of its colonies. Discontent over the severity of the Allies’ peace terms and conflicts and squabbles over the newly drawn frontiers contained seeds of future conflicts. There was no mechanism to adjudicate rival claims and resolve conflicts. The League of Nations lacked the executive powers to impose peaceful solutions. Hitler was

ready to use military force to achieve union with Austria and to get sufficient 'living space' (Lebensraum) for the German people. Italian fascism claimed colonies for a 'proletarian' Italy. Japanese militarists demanded an 'equitable distribution of world resources' and were willing to favour a military action to achieve their aim. Nationalism, war and diplomacy forced individuals and groups within national boundaries to take sides. It also made it possible to restrict the public democratic space. Any person or group could be identified as the 'national enemy' or 'traitors' and wiped out for not owing allegiance or loyalty to the fascist 'national' state. Earlier defeat was attributed to the betrayal of these elements in the fascist propaganda.

10.4.2 The Economic Crisis of 1929

World War I resulted in mass destruction, of resources both physical and human, and hence, productive capacities of societies involved in it. Reconstruction and 'recovery' in Europe after the war was financed by US loans. The process went on smoothly till a crisis began in the US over the rapid drop in agriculture prices. As the world agriculture production began to rise with 'recovery' in Europe, North American agriculture was hit by a rapid drop in the prices and many faced bankruptcies. Soon the stock markets in America were affected in October 1929. As a result of the global integration of the markets, the crash affected all the economies. Plantations, farms and factories closed down throwing millions out of jobs and restricting output. The Industrialists who had taken advances and loans from banks and financial institutions found it difficult to repay. Many banks and financial institutions started facing bankruptcies. With millions out of jobs and factories, there was no demand for goods and services as the purchasing power of the people deteriorated. The economies showed no sign of recovery. In such circumstances, re-militarisation advocated by fascist leaders created jobs not only in the armies, but also in the armament industries. As this stimulated a demand for goods and services, the fascist programme appealed to people in crises-ridden times-especially when it also satisfied their 'national pride'.

10.4.3 The Political Mobilisation for Fascism

The initial programme of fascists in Italy, launched as 'Fasci Di Combattimento' (1919) called for the installation of a republic and reflected demands for radical democratic and socialistic reforms including confiscation of huge war- time profits of capitalists, the suppression of big joint-stock companies and land for landless peasants. These leftist elements of the programme were dropped in 1920 and only an emotive mixture of strident patriotism, justification of war, a concern for national greatness and aversion to the socialist party were retained. The growth of fascist squads, with the support and connivance of state officials and army was directly linked to actual or perceived threats of the left. The support of the traditional conservative elites such as army officers, bureaucrats, and businessmen was utilized and left its imprint on the fascist party and state. In order to achieve a broader mobilisation of people, the military type militia, semi-military propaganda type organisations and regimented fascist trade unions were also created. The Party and its grand Council controlled all these organisations. Similarly, chauvinist sentiment and popular radical demands in Germany were used by Hitler's fascist organization, the German National Socialist Worker's Party (NSDAP) in order to gain mass political support. It called for a greater Germany with land and colonies, the annulment of the treaty of Versailles, nationalisation of big monopoly business, profit sharing in big enterprises, the abolition of unearned incomes and agrarian reforms. German fascism capitalised on the growing unease created by the Great Depression of 1929 and its impact on the German economy. They made use of the political instability of the Weimer republic, whose own constitution was used as an instrument to subvert it from within. All these factors created conditions for the rise of the Nazi Party, the organisation of German fascism. It had a particular appeal for those patriotic Germans whose national pride had been hurt by the defeat of Germany in World War I and its subsequent humiliation at Versailles.

10.4.4 The Question of Hegemony and Coercion

The German fascist state associated with the Fuhrer Adolph Hitler earned for itself the distinction of being the most barbaric and destructive regime that used industrial techniques for the execution of planned mass murder and genocide. The secret state police office, or 'Gestapo' as it came to be known in Germany was created in 1933 under the Prussian Interior Ministry, and rapidly attained autonomy from the provincial government. From 1934, Heinrich Himmler became the head of this nation-wide fascist organ of terror. Its Prussian section was headed by Reinhard Heydrich, who was also in charge of the SD, a party intelligence organisation affiliated to the dreaded SS, with a nation-wide network of informers. It became the internal disciplinary executive of the German fascist state. Such organisations of terror acquired the complete power of life and death over every German. Any opposition to the fascist state was ruthlessly suppressed. Absolute power was concentrated in the hands of the Fuhrer. The use of a rational bureaucratic mechanism in order to exterminate the gypsies, Jews and political opponents through concentration camps is a well-known aspect of the fascist state. All this points towards overwhelming dependence of the fascist state on the coercive machinery of state power. Similarly, in Italy, Spain and other fascist regimes, every attempt was made to dismantle democratic institutions of the civil society and replace them with institutionalised dictatorships based on the personal command of the dictators. All this necessitated more and more regimentation of the civil society. Some scholars even characterise fascism as a 'totalitarian state' or a state, which acquires day-to-day control over the life of its citizens. But despite the dictatorial rule, fascism made use of certain consent-building experiments. At the ideological level, use of nationalist sentiments and even anti-Semitism had a popular sanction behind it. Apart from this, some new methods were also tried. The fascist state in Italy created the Opera Nazinale Dopolavoro in 1925. Its main concern was the organisation of leisure time for the working people. It ran a huge network of local clubs and recreational facilities with libraries, bars, billiard halls and sport grounds. The Dopolavoro circles arranged concerts, plays, films shows, and organised picnics and provided cheap summer holidays for children. By the 1930s, there were about 20,000 such circles in Italy.

Moreover, although the Syndical Law of 1926 brought labour under the control of the state in the interest of production and confirmed the fascist trade unions in their monopoly of negotiations with employers and banned strikes, the fascist state also introduced some welfare schemes for the workers in the 1930s. Family allowances were given in 1934, largely to compensate for the loss of income resulting from the imposition of a forty-hour week. Insurance against sickness and accident was incorporated into wage agreements, and later in the 1930s, Christmas bonus and holiday pay were introduced. All such measures were meant to establish legitimacy of the state that had abolished civil liberties and democratic rights. Compared to Italy, German labour was more tightly regimented under the Nazi regime.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Explain what ideological strands contributed to the growth of fascism.

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2) How was Italian fascism different from its German counter-part?

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10.5 STATE AND SOCIETY UNDER FASCISM

The fascist state emerged as the institutionalisation of personal dictatorship. In Italy, all opposition parties and organisations were banned in October 1926. The Public Safety Law (1926) made the security of the state take precedence over personal liberties. The Fascist Party itself was bureaucratised and syndicalist ideas were suppressed

within the party. Many industrialists from North Italy including the owner of Fiat Company, Giovanni Oienyale, had financed Mussolini's fascist organisation. Private capital was a beneficiary of the fascist control of labour. The "Corporate State" was formally created in 1934 with 22 combined corporations of employers and employees, but they lacked the real power to take economic decisions. State intervention in the economic life of the Italian nation was marginal in the early part of fascist regime. The Great Depression and the need to fulfill imperialist ambitions, especially in the Mediterranean Sea and Africa for its aggressive nationalist-militarist project led to an increased state intervention in the economic life. The foundation of the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (IRI) and Instituto Mobiliare Italiano (IMI) in the 1930s reflected this trend of economic regulation in the service of modern warfare. However, even in 1940, IRI possessed only about 17.8% of the total capital assets of Italian industry. The state, in particular, focused on the growth of chemical, electrical and machine industries and gave impetus to modernisation through electrification of railways and telephone and radio industry. However, compared to Germany, investments in military-production were low despite the regime's rhetoric of Italy "being in a permanent state of war". Moreover, despite early radical denouncements of the monopoly capitalist class, the fascist state helped in cartelisation and trusticisation i.e. creation of large industrial federations. Mussolini also tried to appease the Church. Large grants were made for the repair of war-damaged churches. In 1923, religious education was made compulsory in all secondary schools. The Roman question was finally settled in 1929. The Lateran Pacts were signed with the Church, giving virtual control of religious-education to the Church and the Pope's right to govern the Vatican was recognized. The Church's main lay organization, Catholic Action, was guaranteed freedom provided it stayed out of politics. The personal absolutism and party's control of social life was more stringent in Germany. In Italy, big business, industry, finance, army and professional bureaucracy retained a large degree of autonomy and fascism came to power on the basis of a tacit compromise with these established institutions and elites. In Germany, the Enabling Act (March 1933) became the legal basis for

Hitler's dictatorship. Legislative power was transferred to the executive. The bureaucracy was purged of politically undesirable and 'non-Aryan' elements. The federal character of the state was destroyed. The basic constitutional rights were suppressed. The "rule of law" was transformed into the 'rule of leader'. The extra-legal notion of the Fuhrer, to whom bureaucracy and the army swore 'unconditional obedience', assumed crucial importance in the administrative functioning and signified burial of constitutionalism. The will of the leader became the basis for the legitimacy of law. The independence of the judiciary was completely destroyed. Furthermore, the press was completely controlled. Liberal and Jewish-owned newspapers and the Socialist Press were forced to close down. Any type of literature, and art that was found anti-thetical to the fascist perception was banned. The control of cultural life of citizens through propaganda and education became one of the chief goals of the Nazi regime. All education was transformed in accordance with fascist ideals. Text- books were re-written. Jews were forbidden to teach and racial theories of 'Aryan- German' master race supremacy became a part of the curricula. The fascist state in Germany also attempted to achieve a complete regimentation of labour. "Trustees" appointed by the owners fixed wages. A labour front was created in October 1934. It operated not as a trade union, but as a propaganda machine, and included employers and professionals as members. Its stated aim was the maximisation of work, and the fascists controlled it. The fascist state's attitude to women was based on ultra-conservative patriarchal sentiments. The social role of women was defined by the slogan of "Kids, Kitchen and Church". The most oppressive aspect of fascism in Germany was a systematic persecution of Jews. The ideology of Nazi party in Germany was informed by a strong hatred of the Jews and an intense obsession with the maintenance of the Aryan purity of the German Master race. The Jews were stereotyped as inferior, racially impure and a source of all ills of Germany. They were deprived of citizenship, places in the universities and administration. Their businesses were attacked. They were subjected to all sorts of unprecedented discrimination. Later on, millions of them were sent to concentration camps and massacred during World War II. Italian fascism in contrast, lacked any systematic policy of racial anti-

semitism, at least, up to 1937. However, in November 1938, under the influence of the Nazis, racial anti-Jews laws were also passed in Italy.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. Describe the salient features of the fascist state and society.

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10.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, you have learnt the basic features of the fascist movement and the state, the role of war in preparing the conditions for the emergence of fascism and the basic ideological strands that contributed to fascism and its organisational styles. We should understand fascism as distinct from the conservative right-wing movements, it should be viewed as a radical attempt from a rightist perspective to restructure society and its institutions. Extreme nationalism bordering on imperial designs to obtain colonies, complete subordination of institutions like the judiciary, the press, labour-organisation and concentrations of all executive, legislative and judicial powers in the hands of dictators, and deep rooted hostility to democratic rights were some of the key elements of fascist polities. However, there were subtle variations within the fascist practices due to local specific conditions. Fascism was not a homogenous movement. Moreover, although coercive-machinery of the state was used to eliminate all political oppositions, fascist states also used certain measures to maintain legitimacy of dicatorial regimes, even if this legitimacy was based on chauvinistic and popular racial feelings.

Fascism (/ˈfæʃɪzəm/) is a form of far-right, authoritarian ultranationalism characterized by dictatorial power, forcible suppression of opposition, and strong regimentation of society and of the economy which came to prominence in early 20th-century Europe. The first fascist movements emerged in Italy during World War I, before spreading to other European

countries. Opposed to liberalism, Marxism, and anarchism, fascism is placed on the far-right within the traditional left–right spectrum.

Fascists saw World War I as a revolution that brought massive changes to the nature of war, society, the state, and technology. The advent of total war and the total mass mobilization of society had broken down the distinction between civilians and combatants. A "military citizenship" arose in which all citizens were involved with the military in some manner during the war. The war had resulted in the rise of a powerful state capable of mobilizing millions of people to serve on the front lines and providing economic production and logistics to support them, as well as having unprecedented authority to intervene in the lives of citizens.

Fascists believe that liberal democracy is obsolete and regard the complete mobilization of society under a totalitarian one-party state as necessary to prepare a nation for armed conflict and to respond effectively to economic difficulties. Such a state is led by a strong leader—such as a dictator and a martial government composed of the members of the governing fascist party—to forge national unity and maintain a stable and orderly society. Fascism rejects assertions that violence is automatically negative in nature and views political violence, war and imperialism as means that can achieve national rejuvenation. Fascists advocate a mixed economy, with the principal goal of achieving autarky (national economic self-sufficiency) through protectionist and interventionist economic policies.

Since the end of World War II in 1945, few parties have openly described themselves as fascist, and the term is instead now usually used pejoratively by political opponents. The descriptions neo-fascist or post-fascist are sometimes applied more formally to describe parties of the far-right with ideologies similar to, or rooted in, 20th-century fascist movements.

10.7 KEY WORDS

Anti-Semitism : prejudice against Jews.

Corporatism : A semi-collectivist creed that attempted harmonious relationship between employees and employers by binding them in a common organisation.

Militia : A semi-military organisation.

Mobilisation : preparing people for action around a particular idea.

Social-Darwinism : application of Darwin's ideas to the development of society, a belief that people in society compete for survival and only superior individuals, groups and races succeed.

Syndicalism : A belief in the self-emancipation of the producers through regulation at the factory level by workers' syndicates or associations.

10.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Describe the salient features of the fascist state and society.
2. Explain what ideological strands contributed to the growth of fascism.
3. How was Italian fascism different from its German counter-part?

10.9 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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10.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1) See Section 10.2

2) See Section 10.2

Check Your Progress 2

1) See Section 10.3

2) See Sections 10.3, 10.4 and 10.5

Check Your Progress 3

1) See Section 10.5

UNIT 11: EMERGENCE OF NEW IDEOLOGIES: FEMINISM

STRUCTURE

11.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit you should be able to

- To understand clearly the way in which the various schools of feminist thought describe the oppression and subjugation experienced by women.
- To discuss the way in which each of these schools explain and analyse the causes of this oppression.
- To perceive clearly the strategies recommended by each of these schools to liberate and empower women.
- To comprehend the weaknesses/limitations of each of these approaches.
- To assess the contribution of each of these approaches to the women's movement as a whole.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The second half of the twentieth century has seen a new impetus to the women's movement. There are many factors responsible for this. One of the main factors, however, has been the recognition of a common experience of marginalisation between various groups of subjugated peoples, and the development of various subaltern voices and movements that articulate, analyse and protest against the various forms of oppressive power that have left them outside of the mainstream of culture, tradition and life in each situation. The subaltern has realised that it has been perceived as the other, the different, the deviant. This attitude has been the source of its marginalisation, the rationalisation that justifies the inhuman treatment of human beings by other human beings. At the initial stages of any subaltern movement, the tendency is to accept the value-systems of the dominant group, the mainstream, even while one recognises that one has been excluded from that mainstream. At this stage, the values of the oppressor remain the yardstick, the paradigm that is the norm, and the subaltern endeavour is to prove itself of value in those terms. "Anything you can do, I can do just as well", might well be the slogan of this stage: the subaltern is struggling at this stage to prove that, despite the difference in colour, race, sex, caste, economic situation etc., there is no essential difference between the oppressor and the oppressed. The same humannness characterises both groups, and given the same opportunities, both would be equally capable of achievement. The next stage is, perhaps, a more positive one. The subaltern has reached a stage of being able to look more objectively at both sets of value systems, the dominant and the dominated. At this stage, it is possible for the subaltern to appreciate and value even those facets of its culture and tradition in which it most differs from the dominant. This stage involves, then, recognition and a celebration of what is viewed as the „intrinsic" value of the subaltern, on its own terms. This, by challenging the monopoly of the dominant value-system, subtly subverts its authority, creating a space for an alternative weltanschauung, an alternative mode of existence and of relating. „From margin to center," Bell Hooks's famous phrase (cited in Warhol and Herndl, 1991: 687) might well be the leitmotif of this stage, for with the legitimising of the alternatives, the peripheries are now centre-stage, the subaltern is now

dictating the terms of political correctness. Together with other subaltern movements, the women‟s movement has moved through these stages. When we think of feminism today, we imply three levels of activity:

1. A description of the oppression and subjugation experienced by women and an analysis of its causes.

2. An action-plan or prescription that suggests ways of transforming the situation, so as to liberate and empower women.

3. A celebration of the strengths and gifts of womanhood and an exploration of the alternative ways of functioning that are part of the modus operandi of women. (This point with its suggestion of essentialism in its understanding of „woman‟ is hotly debated by feminists of various schools of thought.)

11.2 LIBERAL FEMINISM

11.2.1 Liberal Thought

Liberal feminism draws heavily upon the world-view presented by the liberal humanist philosophy in which it has its roots. Very simply, liberal philosophy and liberal political thought hold the opinion that human beings are characterised by the use of reason: liberals tend to define the use in either moral or prudential terms. When the moral aspect is emphasised, the focus is on the value of individual autonomy; when reason is perceived as the best means to a desired end, the value of self-fulfilment is highlighted. A just society then is one which allows individuals to exercise their autonomy and to fulfil themselves: the ideal state maintains and preserves a system of individual rights which allows each person to pursue his or her own understanding of the desirable good, provided the rights of no other individual are thereby restricted.

11.2.2 Classical Liberal Feminism

This extremely simplistic understanding of liberal political thought gives us a framework for our understanding of the workings of liberal

feminism. There has been a shift from the classical position of the early liberal feminists of the 19th century to the welfare liberalism of the 20th century liberal feminists, who are more concerned with equality of opportunity which would then lead to a redistribution of wealth and thus a further equalisation of opportunity for all people. The classical liberal feminist text is, of course, Mary Wollstonecraft"s A Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792). In this truly revolutionary work, Wollstonecraft asserts that much of what is perceived as "feminine" and biologically determined, is rather a social construct, viz. Gender. While Wollstonecraft does not use these terms, she denies that women are by nature more focussed on pleasure and less capable of rationality than men. She reasoned that if men were confined to the same cages women find themselves locked in, they would develop the same characters. If denied the chance to develop their rational powers, to become moral persons who have concerns, causes and commitments beyond personal pleasure, men would become overly "emotional"…. (Tong, 1989: 14) Wollstonecraft is outraged by the trend in 18th century society to trivialise and de-rationalise the life and education of the affluent middle-class woman. She demands that girls and women be given an education that sharpen and focus the mind, enabling them to develop their rational and moral capacities. She posits this need not just for utilitarian purposes (women need to be equipped to perform their wifely and motherly duties in a sensible and satisfactory manner!) but also because if rationality is what distinguishes human beings from animals, then, as human beings, girls are entitled to an education that would enable them to develop their human potential to the fullest: Contending for the rights of woman, my main argument is built on this simple principle, that if she be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge and virtue; for truth must be common to all, or it will be inefficacious with respect to its influence on general practice. And how can woman be expected to co-operate unless she knows why she ought to be virtuous? unless freedom strengthens her reason till she comprehends her duty, and sees in what manner it is connected with her real good. (Wollstonecraft, 1982: 10) At the same time she claims for women, the right to autonomy, the right to make their own decisions

about right and wrong: Consider…whether, when men contend for their freedom, and to be allowed to judge for themselves respecting their own happiness, it be not inconsistent and unjust to subjugate women, even though you firmly believe that you are acting in the manner best calculated to promote their happiness? Who made man the exclusive judge, if woman partake with him of the gift of reason? (Wollstonecraft, 1982: 11) What Wollstonecraft wanted for women was the right to be fully human, fully autonomous persons. She rebelled against a frame of mind that saw women as mere appendages, created as a means to the end of masculine fulfilment, and she spoke out fiercely against both masculine and feminine reinforcement of this perspective. But though she demands an equal education for women, she seems to overlook the fact that the socio-economic condition of women at the time did not afford them the opportunity to exercise that education in any sphere other than the strictly domestic. Other liberal thinkers who spoke out against the subjection particularly of the middle-class woman of the 18th and 19th centuries, were John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill. Writing nearly a hundred years after Wollstonecraft, they join her in celebrating reason. Their liberalism is more conditioned by the utilitarian approach to life, however, and they insist that equality between men and women is only possible if women are accorded the same civil liberties and economic opportunities that men enjoy. Though the two wrote several joint essays, notably on the subject of marriage and the divorce laws of the time, they differed on a number of subjects, especially on issues relating to working women. For instance, while Mill believed that full liberation would be visible when women were allowed to enter and leave the workforce at will, Taylor believed that liberation was only possible when all women were actually working, regardless of financial necessity. Where Mills emphasises the need for education and for collegiality in the formation and administration of laws, Taylor frequently stresses the aspect of an equal partnership in the area of productive work; only so can women be the partners rather than the servants of their husbands. Where both Wollstonecraft and Taylor concentrate on the ordinary woman, tending to downplay the exceptional woman, Mill uses the exceptional woman as proof that makes nonsense of the patriarchal claim that all men

are more intelligent, rational and capable than all women. At the same time, all three recognise and seek to counter the double standard that has been set up in society. It is interesting to note that of the three it is Mill who, in The Subjection of Women (1869) makes the most radical claims for woman's intellect and gifts (attention to detail, use of concrete examples, intuitiveness). It is Mill who makes the most revolutionary assertions about the effects of education and social conditioning on the development of women in psychological and moral terms. It is Mill who analyses in clear-sighted terms the position of the wife under English law. Yet, oddly, it is Mill who believes that given the possibility of choice, given every opportunity, both educational and economic that would make the choice a viable one, liberated women would still opt to make a career of wifing and mothering: Like a man when he chooses a profession, so, when a woman marries, it may in general be understood that she makes choice of the management of a household, and the bringing up of a family, as the first call upon her exertions, during as many years of her life as may be required for the purpose; and that she renounces, not all other objects and occupations, but all which are not consistent with the requirements of this. (Mill, 1982: 264) The arguments of Wollstonecraft, Taylor and Mill shaped and oriented the women's movement in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The suffragette movement, the struggle for women's education, the efforts to change the legal system in order to achieve a greater equality between men and women, all speak eloquently of the impact of liberal humanism on the women's movement.

11.2.3 Second Wave Liberal Feminism

That, however, this was not enough is apparent from the fact that in the 50s and 60s, women began once again to articulate their condition, asserting that the so-called gains of the last hundred years or so had not in fact changed the essential evils of their situation. Virginia Woolf‟s A Room of One‟s Own (1957) with its uncompromising demand for a room, a space that a woman can call her own, in which she can choose to do whatever she wants, and her belief that real creativity can only take place away from the domestic preoccupations that seem a woman‟s lot,

expressed something of a sense of dissatisfaction with the achievements won so far. This dissatisfaction is underlined by the caustic comparison between the austerity of Fernham (the fictional women‟s college described in the essay) and the almost sybaritic luxury of the neighbouring Cantabrigian colleges for men. In The Feminine Mystique (1963), Betty Friedan points out that the assumption that women can find fulfilment exclusively in the traditional roles/functions of wife and mother is fallacious, leaving middle-class urban housewives with an inner wasteland of emptiness and frustration. This inner misery will inevitably affect their relationships with their husbands and children, creating either resentment and rebellion or an excessive and unhealthy dependence. Friedan insists that the only way out of this bind is for all women to be equipped with educational and professional qualifications that will enable them to find some meaningful work outside of the home, even if it is only part-time: this is necessary for the physical and emotional health of the women themselves as well as for their families. While Friedan is not asking women to give up marriage and families of their own in favour of careers, she is combating the assumption that all "normal" women, all "good" women, would choose marriage and motherhood over a career. It is, according to Friedan, possible to combine a commitment to both marriage and motherhood and to a career. Indeed, for many women, both commitments exercise an equal attraction. This concept she stresses in her book The Second Stage(1981): In our reaction against the feminine mystique, which defined women solely in terms of their relation to men as wives, mothers and homemakers, we sometimes seemed to fall into a feminist mystique which denied that core of women‟s personhood that is fulfilled through love, nurture, home. (Friedan, 1981: 27) In recommending that women can and should opt for both family and career, she recommends that concepts like flexitime be introduced in the workplace. At the same time, however, she still continues to perceive the tasks of homemaking and childrearing as being the responsibility of women. Like her predecessors, Friedan too had sent women out into the public sphere before an adequate sharing out of domestic responsibilities between men and women. This tendency she tries to correct in her second book by balancing "women‟s assimilation

into the workplace with a counter assimilation of men into the family" (Tong, 1989: 26) Liberal feminists today occupy various positions, ranging from the classical liberal to the welfare liberal, both of which rely heavily on legal interventions and remedies to redress the inequalities between sexes/genders. However, there also seems to be a movement today in the direction of the development of the androgynous personality, combining traits that are both masculine and feminine. Carolyn Heilbrun discusses this possibility in her book Towards the Promise of Androgyny (1973): Androgyny…seeks to liberate the individual from the confines of the appropriate. …[It] suggests … a full range of experience open to individuals who may, as women, be aggressive, as men, tender; it suggests a spectrum upon which human beings choose their places without regard to propriety or custom. (Heilbrun 1973: x-xi.)

11.2.4 Weakness/Limitations of the Liberal Feminism

One criticism levelled against the liberal feminists is that all too often their interiorisation of masculine ideals and value-systems has resulted in their substituting masculine for human. By insisting that women are just as capable of rationality and efficiency as men, they are reinforcing a value-system that valorizes these qualities over and above the so-called feminine qualities of sensitivity, nurturing and tenderness. The liberals seem to believe that women want to be like men. Instead, claim other feminists, there is a value and a power to the "roles" of mother and wife that transcend the patriarchal attempt to institutionalise them and thus control the exercise of these functions and identities. Mothering is not a "role" on par with being a file clerk, a scientist, or a member of the Air Force. Mothering is a complicated, rich, ambivalent, vexing, joyous activity which is biological, natural, social, symbolic and emotional. It carries profoundly resonant emotional and sexual imperatives. A tendency to downplay the differences that pertain between, say, mothering and holding a job, not only drains our private relations of much of their significance, but also over-simplifies what can or should be done to alter things for women, who are frequently urged to change roles

in order to solve their problems. (Elshtain, 1981: 253) The socialist feminists level yet another criticism against the liberals. Not only have liberal feminists been too ready to accept and own masculine values, their very idea of the self as an autonomous, rational agent is a fundamentally male concept – and a concept related to the WASP mentality, at that. Other ways of perceiving and defining the human person could use the framework of relationships and kinship, could valorize qualities other than rationality, could stress "being" rather than "agency" as the key condition of humanness. Western liberal thought has accepted a dualistic view of the world, which creates a problem for feminists, since this tends to devalue activities and functions related to the body, at the expense of those related to the mind. (The former are usually associated with women, where the latter are associated with men.) At the same time, the liberal view of the world can lead to two questionable assumptions:

- The rational, autonomous person is seen as being isolated, with needs and interests separate from, and even in opposition to, those of every other individual.

- By placing such a premium on human liberty and the individual's rights, the liberals seem to believe that there is no common answer to the fundamental questions of political philosophy. Socialist feminists assert that all persons are in community and it is the network of relatedness in these communities that shape the individual.

11.2.5 Contribution to the Women's Movement

However, in spite of its limitations, liberal feminism has contributed much to the women‟s movement. It was the liberal feminists who agitated for and won educational and legal reforms that have changed life so drastically for women, who enabled women to attain a professional and occupational stature within the workplace. That there is more to feminism in undeniable, but we cannot afford to trivialise their efforts, or even to relegate them to the past, for the struggle to ensure that all

women benefit from educational, legal and professional reforms, still continues.

11.3 MARXIST FEMINISM

11.3.1 Foundations of Marxist Feminism

The parallels between Marxism and feminism are immediately apparent. Where Marxism offers the working-classes or the proletariat, first, the tools for analysis of the causes of and reasons for their oppression, and second, the means whereby they can redress these inequalities and exploitation, feminism offers women a similar agenda: analysis, followed by strategies for empowerment. Another parallel may be traced. In its articulation of "historical materialism", Marxism fosters the development of a "class consciousness" that draws together similarly situated people with the same needs, problems and aspirations, through an arduous process of shared reflection and struggle. The class consciousness described enables workers to recognise that their interests, concerns and problems are shared by all their fellow-workers, and the best interests of all would be served by mutual support and solidarity, rather than by competing against each other. Feminism, too, makes evident that, while patriarchy is not a monolith (its manifestations vary from society to society, from community to community), yet all women experience subjugation and oppression in one form or another, and our best interests will be served by sisterhood and solidarity rather than by rivalry and antagonism inspired and reinforced by patriarchal structures. Check your Progress 1. What are the main principles underlying liberal thought? 2. What are the differences between classical liberal feminism and welfare liberal feminism? 3. What do you understand by Second Wave feminism? 4. What action, according to liberal feminists, would lead to greater equality and empowerment for women? 5. What are the limitations of the liberal school of feminism? 6. How has liberal feminism contributed to the women's movement? Though Marxists in general treat women‟s oppression as part of and secondary to their primary concern – the oppression of the worker – Engels addressed the problem of why women are oppressed in The Origin of the Family,

Private Property and the State (1884). He traces the origins of the family and its subsequent development through complex and highly cohesive clan and joint family systems to the splintered nuclear family of his time (and of the present day). He ascribes the movement from one stage to the next to changes in the mode of production. From the earliest and most primitive form of subsistence, when the work of each member of the tribe was essential for the survival of all, and gender relations were characterised by what he calls "promiscuous intercourse", the human race moved to a state of pairing-for-life, or marriage, because of the biological need to exclude the possibility of intercourse with various kinds of blood relatives and the subsequent reduction in the number of women available to each man. In the earlier stages (when the mode of production and the small wealth owned by the family, centred around the house, with women‟s work being vital for the tribe, and women producing wealth that could be passed on to the next generation), this pairing-for-life meant that the man would go into the woman‟s house and live there with her: societies at this stage, Engels suggests, tend to be matrilineal and even matriarchal in organisation, with much economic, social and political power invested in women. With the domestication of animals and the breeding of herds, the site of production shifted from the household to outside. New wealth was generated, this time controlled by men, and women lost much of the power they once had. As the work of men gained in economic importance and prestige, there was a concomitant decrease in the value and importance ascribed to women‟s work. More important, with the generation of an actual surplus controlled by men, they suddenly wanted to ensure that their wealth was transmitted to their children. As Engels put it, "mother-right had to be overthrown, and overthrown it was." This move was pivotal and constituted "the world-historic defeat of the female sex", according to Engels. Man took charge of the household by virtue of his economic power: "he is the bourgeois and the wife represents the proletariat". Further, since biologically, motherhood is easily proved, while paternity – until the days of DNA testing – remained a belief, it was necessary to curtail and control women‟s sexuality, so that men could ensure that only their own children would inherit their wealth. So sprang up an ideological

superstructure, with many accretions of mythic prescriptions and scriptural dicta through the centuries: a superstructure that valorized chastity and fidelity, equating these with virtue among women. Religion, law, tradition, education, social mores – all reinforced this in various ways in different communities, but the fact remained. (The transition from the matrilineal system among the Nairs in Kerala, with the relative freedom it offered the Nair women, to the patrilineal system visible today, would appear to support this analysis, though the transition must have been at least partially inspired by exposure to other societies, structured both patriarchally and patrilineally.) As societies move from the pastoral/nomadic to slave societies and thence to the feudal system, as wealth is concentrated more and more in the hands of men, as ideological and institutional superstructures continue to buttress men's power, women's inferior position is reinforced, and over the years, internalised and transmitted to future generations by women themselves. However, as Engels points out, while societies remained agrarian, women's work was still of direct economic value and they retained a degree of importance in the community. It is only with industrialisation and capitalism that the devaluation of women is complete. Once workplace and home are separated, once women's work no longer brings in direct economic advantage to family and community, women are reduced to nonentities. Interestingly, Engels holds that this devaluation is more acute among bourgeois women than among proletarian women, whose labour is visibly necessary for the survival of the family. In fact, he compares the bourgeois marriage to "the crassest prostitution" in which the wife "sells her body into slavery once and for all". Tracing much of the evil of women's position to the institution of private property and the consequent development of the monogamous marriage, Engels argues that women's liberation can only take place with the abolition of private property, and with women gaining economic independence from men. He posits the need for, first, the reintroduction of women into public industry and, second, the socialisation of housework and child-rearing.

11.3.2 Other Key Elements in Marxist Feminism

Other key Marxist concepts are also crucial in shaping the Marxist feminists‟ understanding of the oppressive forces at work in patriarchy. Marxists believe that the supremely humanising activity is work, i.e. the transformation of our environment in order to produce our means of subsistence. Men and women through their work create a society that then shapes them. Not consciousness but material existence determines our perceptions and patterns of living. The forces of production and the relations of production generate a superstructure that in turn supports and sanctions the mode of production that has generated it. This concept is taken up and emphasized by Marxist feminists who point out that the nature of woman‟s work and her role both in family and at workplace reinforce her social and economic subordination to men. According to Marxist theory, capitalism is not a system of voluntary exchange relations, as the Liberal view has it. Rather, it is a system of exploitative power relations. The employers‟ monopoly over the means of production enables them to exploit the workers. The surplus value generated by the worker, i.e. the difference between the wage he is paid and the value that is actually created by his work, forms the capitalist‟s profit. Workers may be free in that there is no overt coercion forcing them to work at a particular job (as there would be in slavery). But is the worker really free? If the choice is between accepting the job offered by the capitalist or starving, what becomes of the freedom? Apart from the monopoly capitalists exercise over the means of production, they also exercise another tactic to bolster their exploitation of the workers. By presenting the view that all life is a colossal network of exchange relations, capitalist ideologues lead workers and employers to accept what Marx termed “the fetishism of commodities” as one of the imponderable givens in life. Thus the exercise of power that underlies the surface exchange transaction is obscured. Marxist feminists claim that even as this fetishism of commodities deludes the worker, it provides a theoretical underpinning for the easy acquiescence of society in such relations as prostitution and surrogate motherhood, seeing them as being an exercise in free choice. How free is the woman who “decides” to sell her sexual or reproductive services only because she has nothing else to

offer in the marketplace? Marxist class analysis, too, has enabled feminists to understand their own oppression better, while at the same time raising the pertinent question of whether women in themselves constitute a class. There is, assert Marxist feminists, a vertical division of gender that cuts across the horizontal stratification of class; an oppression and a marginalisation experienced by all women regardless of their economic condition (or rather, the economic condition of father, husband, son). Though the ways in which this is experienced may differ, the fact of its existence is universal. It is this that enables women to perceive themselves as a class. The feminist struggle, both for equal wages and in campaigns like the one for "Wages for Housework" has helped women move towards a class consciousness that rejects as false consciousness all attempts to convince them that wifely and motherly duties cannot be recompensed as work because they are undertaken out of love. Marxist feminists also point out that though women"s work under capitalism is trivialised and women seen primarily as consumers rather than producers, they are in fact primarily producers. Alienation is yet another concept that gained special significance in Marxist ideology and has served Marxist and Socialist feminists well as a unifying concept. Marxist thought identifies multiple levels of alienation experienced by workers under capitalism:

- Alienation from the product of their labour which is no longer determined or controlled by themselves

- Alienation from themselves, since the supremely humanising activity has been reduced to a monotonous, repetitive, soul-deadening exercise on the assembly-line

- Alienation from other human beings who could have been colleagues and friends, but have been turned into competitors and enemies

- Alienation from nature since the very process of industrialisation has resulted in a perception of nature as a threat or an obstacle to survival.

Marxist and Socialist feminists, like Ann Foreman and Alison Jaggar, show that not only does all this apply to woman as worker, it also applies to her very being as woman. The reification of woman and especially of the female body, as a result of the combination of patriarchy and capitalism, has created multiple layers of alienation experienced by woman. She is alienated from her own body, from herself, from other women and from nature, as she works away at her body, struggling to make it conform to an externally-imposed standard of perfection. Motherhood, too, becomes institutionalised, and often becomes an alienating experience in a similar manner, as does the attempt to exercise her intellectual capabilities in the academic world.

11.3.3 Limitations of Marxist Feminism

Concvincing as Engels‟ argument appears, it has been challenged by feminists. As Millett points out: Engels ignores the fact that woman is viewed, emotionally and psychologically, as chattel property by the poor as well as, and often even more than, the rich. Lacking other claims to status a working class male is still more prone to seek them in sexual rank, often brutally asserted. (Millett, 1990: 122) Simone de Beauvoir, tracing the oppression of women to their position as the Other in her book The Second Sex, insists that the relations between men and women will not automatically change with the change from capitalism to socialism, for women are just as likely to remain the Other in the latter as in the former. Engels‟s assertion that men‟s will to power may be traced to the institution of private property is erroneous, she claims: “If the human consciousness had not included …an original aspiration to dominate the Other, the invention of the bronze tool could not have caused the oppression of women.” (de Beauvoir, 1986: 89) Marxist feminists themselves raise objections to Engels‟s theory. In an article entitled “Do Feminists Need Marxism?” (Flax, 1981: 174-85), Jane Flax holds that Engels has stressed the importance of production at the expense of reproduction. She is convinced that the overthrow of mother-right probably reflected a change in the perception of reproduction (“such as men discovering their role in reproduction and/or asserting control over reproduction”) as much as in the method of production.

Another flaw in Engels‟ theory is that he does not in any way explain why women were charged with household work while men engaged in productive work, The sexual division of labour, for Engels as for Marx, seems to originate with “the division of labour in the sexual act”. However, Socialist feminists like Alison Jaggar protest that this would seem to imply that there is no hope of abolishing the sexual division of labour as long as the “division of labour in the sex act” remains unchanged. (Jaggar, 1983: 69)

11.3.4 Contribution to the Women’s Movement

While classical Marxist ideology would suggest that women’s oppression is but one aspect of the exploitation of the worker and that both would be redressed when capitalism is replaced by socialism, feminists have disagreed with this from the earliest days. Marching side by side with their brothers in protest against injustice, they found that even the champions of workers‟ rights were unable at times to perceive the nature of the injustice experienced by women. From the earliest revolutionaries in Russia – Alexandra Kollontai, Clara Zetkin and others – to the present day Socialists, feminists realised that there is a real need for women to understand the forms that oppression takes in the “private” as well as the “public” domain. Recognising that patriarchy has predated capitalism and will probably outlive it, Socialist feminists combine the firm material base offered by Marxist analysis with the insights offered by psychoanalytical and radical feminists to arrive at a more holistic understanding of an oppression and injustice that touches every aspect of women‟s lives. Yet, by grounding the discourse in a solid material base, Marxism has rooted the feminist movement in reality and enabled it to join hands with all other liberation movement.

11.4 PSYCHOANALYTIC FEMINISM

11.4.1 The Beginnings of Psychoanalytic Feminism – Countering Freudian

Theories

Psychoanalytic feminism has its roots in a feminist critique of Freud‟s theories about sexuality and his theories about the development of both sexuality and morality in children. These theories have been challenged both by men – Adler, Lacan – as well as by women – Dinnerstein, Chodorow, Mitchell, Gilligan (all psychologists) as well as by other feminists like Millett, Firestone and Friedan. Very simply, Freud‟s theories on the subject (expressed in his Three Contributions to the Theory of Sexuality) may be summarised as dealing with

- the way in which anatomy as well as the process of development contributes to the way in which each individual experiences and expresses sexuality Check your progress:

1. How does Engels explain the reasons for the oppression of women?

2. How do other thinkers refute some of his arguments?

3. What are the parallels between Marxist thought and feminist thought?

4. What do you understand by the Marxist use of the terms “class consciousness” and “alienation”? How have feminists used these terms?

5. What, according to Marxist feminists, action should be taken in order to enable women’s liberation and empowerment?

6. What limitations do you see in Marxist feminism?

7. How has Marxist feminism contributed to the women’s movement?

- the stages of sexuality through which each individual passes in a movement from “perverse” to “normal” sexuality

- the Oedipus and the castration complexes, which need to be successfully resolved if the child is to grow into a “normal” “healthy” adult

- the link between sexuality and morality in the development of the superego

- the effect of penis envy on female sexuality and morality The main problems that feminists find in Freud‟s conclusions is that they tend towards a biological determinism that implies that biology is destiny in a way that is not open to change. Secondly, Freud‟s assumption is that boys learn to internalise the values of a patriarchal society when they successfully resolve the Oedipus complex and learn to identify with the father. This identification can never really happen in the case of a girl: on the one hand she is spared the traumatising fear of castration, but on the other hand, she is, as a result, never pushed into a situation in which she has to internalise the patriarchal value-system – the value-system that characterises „civilised‟ human beings. Her assumption of these values remain superficial, she is less capable of conscientious morality. In a famous essay on "Femininity"(1933), Freud wrote: The fact that women must be regarded as having little sense of justice is no doubt related to the predominance of envy in their mental life. … We also regard women as weaker in their social interests and as having less capacity for sublimating their instincts than men…(Ruth, 1980: 138) This highly unflattering picture of woman, which was taken as the last word on feminine psychology until the middle of the 20th century, angered many feminists who countered the stereotype vehemently, arguing that women‟s social position and powerlessness had little to do with biology and almost everything to do with social constructs of gender. Friedan attacked Freud for his biological determinism, and claimed that he was largely conditioned by Victorian ideas about culture and morality. She questioned the assumption that a woman‟s reproductive role and identity as well as her sexual preference were dependent on her lack of a penis and her ability or inability to come to terms with that fact. At the same time, she challenged the view that alternative ways of perceiving and living out one‟s reproductive and sexual identity were necessarily "abnormal". Finally, she quarrels with the fact that for Freud the inquiry centres around sexuality. Such an emphasis on sexuality further

underscores the stereotypical identification of woman as a sex object and/or a baby machine. Firestone, on the other hand, appreciates Freud‟s frank emphasis on sexuality as one of the key elements in human life. However, she questions the apolitical interpretation of female sexuality, which leaves out the issue of power relations between the sexes. Her assertion is that Freud erred in viewing the penis as the object of desire and envy in itself: rather it should be viewed as symbol of the power that is vested in the male in a patriarchal society. As a result, Freudian therapy seeks to help the nonconformist/rebel adapt to the hierarchy of power within the family and within society, rather than question and transform the unjust structures and practices that are being perpetuated. It is "reactionary to the core, its potential as a serious discipline undermined by its usefulness to those in power" (Firestone, 1970: 69) Millett is angered by the Freudian attempt to explain the woman‟s desire to give birth as a pathetic compensation for her lack of a penis, rather than as an impressive achievement in its own right. She also challenges the assumption that male sexual aggression is a biological given, built into all relations between sexes. Finally, she holds that if Freud were not so convinced of the centrality of the penis to all theories about sexuality, he would have been able to be more balanced in his interpretation of the neuroses of his patients.

11.4.2 Explanation by other Theorists

Psychologists like Adler, Horney and Thompson reject Freud‟s claims about woman‟s nature, contending that human experience of sexuality is, in the main, socially constructed. Recognising that society is constructed in such a way as to privilege the man, they hold that women‟s neuroses and other psychological problems are actually ways of protesting their helplessness in a patriarchal world. Further, they see development as a growth away from the basic instincts of one‟s biological nature and toward integration into the socio-cultural environment. Sexuality is also shaped and structured by this development. They offer a political understanding of the forces that control human behaviour and psychology, they see creativity, action and growth as gender-blind in themselves, and they refuse to accept the theory that there is only one

way to be a normal healthy male, and only one way to be a normal healthy female. Feminist psychologists have also explored these areas of human experience. Both Dorothy Dinnerstein in The Mermaid and the Minotaur (1977) and Nancy Chodorow in The Reproduction of Mothering (1978) have analysed the aspects of sexuality and motherhood in an attempt to understand gender relations and the way they affect our lives. While the theories are too detailed to enter into at this stage, both insist that many of the problems of unjust gender relations stem from the fact that in a patriarchal society it is almost always the woman who does all the mothering and becomes therefore the scapegoat for all that is wrong in our world. Dinnerstein emphasises that adult gender relations are coloured (usually negatively) by experiences in childhood and infancy with capricious female power. Chodorow, on the other hand, speaks of the desire of both men and women to re-experience in adult life the intimate symbiotic relationship they had known as infants. Both posit dual parenting as the solution: only when men and women are equally responsible for childrearing, equally linked to their children in intimacy, will the sexual/gender divisions break down, and men and women be equally free to develop their potential in both public and private domains.

11.4.3 Limitations of Psychoanalytic Feminism

Interesting though these theories are, they fail to take into account the effects of other factors in the environment. The family does not determine society: it is the other way around. In addition, while their theories might hold good for a Western, nuclear, middle-class, twoparent family, they will not hold good inter-culturally or even intra-culturally. They have assumed that the kind of family that they are most familiar with is the universal Family – an idea that has never had any real manifestation. Finally, many feminists insist that Dinnerstein and Chodorow have chosen the wrong remedy – one that will not necessarily solve all the problems in gender relations, and which might in fact have a counter-effect in the long run, since it will involve surrendering the woman‟s power in one of the very few areas in which she has any power at all. The question of morality is also raised by Carol Gilligan, who claims in her book In a Different Voice (1982) that men and women have

different, but equally valid concepts of morality and justice. The problem arises in that the male concept is the one that is valorised and reinforced by the structures in our world. Where men tend to think much more in terms of abstract norms and paradigms, women function much more on the level of the specific, the concrete, the real. Juliet Mitchell, on the other hand, addresses the issue of the Oedipus Complex. She points out that it had meaning in the days when families depended on an exchange of women for procreation and when the taboo on incest was most necessary. It is no longer necessary today, she claims, but lingers as a remnant of an outworn patriarchal structure. However, other feminists question her work, pointing out that she does not explain the reason why men were valued so highly and women devalued.

11.4.4 Contribution to the Women's Movement

Psychoanalytic explanations for women"s oppression do not provide a complete explanation for women"s subjugation and oppression. Nor are the remedies proposed sufficient in themselves. But the psychoanalytic feminists do give us insights that mesh in with our experience of life, of relationships and of ourselves. And they do present us with an understanding of the inner working of our own psyche that must be faced and transformed, together with external structures, if we are to arrive at true liberation.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1. Discuss about the Liberal Feminism.

……

……

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2. How does Marxist Feminism play role?

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3. Discuss the Psychoanalytic Feminism.

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11.5 RADICAL FEMINISM

11.5.1 Definition

Radical feminism (radical as "getting to the root") is a philosophy emphasizing the patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women, or, more specifically, social dominance of women by men.

Radical feminism views patriarchy as dividing rights, privileges and power primarily by gender, and as a result oppressing women and privileging men. (Jone Johnson Lewis) THE FEMINISTS, a group of radical feminist formed in New York in October 1968, said in their manifesto: „women, or "female", were the first class to be separated out from humanity and thus denied their humanity".

Second wave" radical feminism has from the beginning been concerned with forms of oppression which affect the life chances and human dignity of women, that is, with all forms of oppression. By attributing all forms of oppression to male domination, the early radical feminist accounts linked these together, and provided the beginnings of framework for understanding all forms of invidious hierarchical distinctions between categories of human beings. Denise Thompson asserts that this early radical feminist account was never challenged, despite its intrinsic faults. One of those problems was a tendency to locate the primacy of male domination in „history". The oppression of women, it was argued, provided the model for all other forms of oppression because it happened first in human history. Women were the first social group to be enslaved. Once men learned that other human beings, namely women, could be enslaved, they applied that model to other groups of men. The New York Redstockings said in 1970: Male supremacy is the oldest, most basic form of domination. All other forms of exploitation and oppression (racism, capitalism, imperialism, etc.) are extensions of male supremacy: men dominate women, a few men-dominated and male-oriented

(Redstockings, 1970: 599) Shulamith Firestone said: The natural reproductive difference between the sexes led directly to the first division of labour at the origins of class, as well as furnishing the paradigm of caste (discrimination based on biological characteristics)…[Radical feminism] see feminist issues not only as women‟s first priority, but as central to any larger revolutionary analysis…the current leftist Radical feminism views patriarchy as dividing rights, privileges and power primarily by gender, and as a result oppressing women and privileging men. (Jone Johnson Lewis) THE FEMINISTS, a group of radical feminist formed in New York in October 1968, said in their manifesto: „women, or "female", were the first class to be separated out from humanity and thus denied their humanity‟. 15 analysis…does not relate the structures of the economic class system to its origins in the sexual class system, the model for all other exploitive systems, and thus the tapeworm which must to be eliminated first by any true revolution. (Firestone 1981: 9, 37)

Feminists were not convinced by the rationale that was repeatedly provided by male politicos that the liberation of women could wait until after the socialist revolution, that, because women‟s subordination was connected to the private ownership of the means of production, the abolition of that private ownership would automatically mean the abolition of women‟s subordination. For radical feminists the aim was not simply to establish political priorities, although it was certainly that. It was also a radically different way of looking at the world, from the male dominant status quo. It placed the interests of women first, and from that standpoint spoke in the name of the universal human by asserting that the overcoming of women‟s subordination would mean the overcoming of all other forms of subordination as well. For Ti-Grace Atkinson, for example, the oppression of women by men created a world where no one could be free: A human being is not born from the womb; it must create itself. It must be free, selfgenerative. A human being must feel that it can grow in a world where injustice, inequality, hatred, sadism are not directed at it. No person can grow into a life within these conditions: it is enough of a miracle to survive as a functioning organism. (Atkinson, 1974:5) Radical feminism does not accept existing political

and social organization in general because they are tied to patriarchy. Instead, it supports cultural change that undermines patriarchy and associated hierarchical structures. Radical feminism opposes patriarchy, not men. To equate radical feminism to man-hating is to assume that patriarchy and men are inseparable, philosophically and politically. Where liberal feminism focussed on the issue of equal opportunities for women, in law, in education, etc., and Marxist feminism concentrated on the issue of the economic exploitation of women and the systematic devaluation of women‟s work, radical feminism explores a number of different topics – art, religion, literature, ecology, reproduction and mothering, sexuality and so on. The work of radical feminists has illumined a number of areas, and has transformed our perceptions of many things that we have hitherto taken for granted. But whatever area of human life the radical feminist discusses, each of them agrees on one thing: the oppression of women is “the first, the most widespread and the deepest form of human oppression” Liberal feminist thinking is a more reasoned, intellectual perspective than the radical feminist position, which has both emotional and political centring in its logical expressions. It has been said of the radical feminists that their tactics and their philosophy are inseparable." This is understandable, since their focus is on widespread cultural awakening rather than on scholarly debate." Their political vibrancy comes in part from the fact that (1) they are saying something relevant and true about men that can almost universally be appreciated by women, and (2) their logical standards are predicated on politics rather than precise theory and thus they become the be-all and end-all for a diversity of people. Gerda Lerner defines the radical position in the following manner: "Reforms and legal changes, while ameliorating the condition of women and an essential part of the process of emancipating them, will not basically change patriarchy. Such reforms need to be integrated within a vast cultural revolution in order to transform patriarchy and thus abolish it.

The oppression of women by men is assumed to be of the same intensity among all men, yet obviously as Imelda Whelehan has pointed out, “Men have different degrees of access to [the] mechanisms of oppression.” ”Radical feminism focuses on men as oppressors, yet says little about the

possibility of the woman being an oppressor of other women or of men." Radical feminists do not view prostitution as a harmless private transaction. On the contrary, they believe that it reinforces and perpetuates the objectification, subordination, and exploitation of women."

They see men as universally believing myths regarding their own sexuality. Two myths are: (1) that men need more sex than women and (2) that they are genetically the stronger sex and therefore should be dominant in relationships with women. Feminist writer Alison M. Jaggar describes the radical feminist view as one in which "almost every man/woman encounter has sexual overtones and typically is designed to reinforce the sexual dominance of men."According to the radical feminist view, men are socialized to have sexual desires and to feel entitled to have those desires met, whereas women are socialized to meet those desires and to internalize accepted definitions of femininity and sexual objectification." As men cling to the idea that their sexuality is an absolute expression of their need and dominance, they prevent women from effecting new attitudes, self-realizations, and behaviors. As discussed earlier, when radical feminists speak of "degradation," they inappropriately apply the term in ethical statements setting forth right or wrong behaviour. What they mainly are talking about is degradation in a social sense and not a moral sense, although they allude to their ideas as morally sound. In a social sense they seem to see degradation as existing over a broad spectrum of society in which everything that men do, from opening doors for women to sexual assault, reinforces their view of men as "dominating." In spite of the fact that radical feminists tend to overemphasize concepts such as degradation, they appear to more than compensate for it by making several assertions that have high credibility. One of these assertions is that human sexuality derives essentially from culture and not from biology. This idea is reasonable and consistent with contemporary biological theories which emphasize the role of culture rather than genetics in viewing the evolution of human societies. For example, zoologist Theodosius Dobzhansky would recognize the radical feminist assertion framed in biological and genetic terms. He views culture as an instrument of human adaptation that is virtually inseparable

from biology. ”Dobzhansky separates biological and cultural theories into three categories: ectogenic, autogenic, and biological.” Thus, there is a certain degree of support for the radical feminist view that people are not necessarily responding to biological forces that are exclusive of cultural influences. In the same way that biological knowledge can expand the ground of support for the arguments of feminists, so too can the study of ethics. The exploitation and oppression of human beings is considered to be an immoral act. Once women‟s oppression is framed in moral terms, it becomes easier to understand that there are other moral influences that can cause and exacerbate oppression.

11.5.2 The influences that shaped Radical Feminism

Simone de Beauvoir's Second Sex was a pioneering work that shaped many of the thought processes that influenced several other feminist scholars, like Kate Millett, who took up De Beauvoir's ideas. As Rosi Braidotti lucidly points out in her book Nomadic Subjects this description of the difference between men and women resulted in a dichotomy were 'normal subjectivity' is masculine subjectivity which is then phallogocentric, universal, rational, capable of transcendence, self-regulating, conscious and denying bodily origins, whereas the female is then conceived as the lack, the other-than-the-subject (which is then seen as an automatical devaloration), irrational, uncontroled, immanent and identified with the body. De Beauvoir thus thought that the best feminist political and theoretical thing to do for women was to gain the same entitlement to subjectivity as men. Women thus had to go for transcendence and rationality in order to bring their existence, which De Beauvoir thought as being yet unrepresented, into representation. This idea of Woman as lack is closely connected to the model of power as developed by Marx and which was also taken over by various feminist scholars in order to describe the oppression of women in a patriarchal society and the feminist answer to this. In Marx' view power consisted of the binary 'oppressors versus oppressed‟. The oppressors are then the group who have something (power that is) and the oppressed group are the mere victims of the oppressors. In her ground-breaking article De

Lauretis states that thinking of gender as sexual difference now keep feminist theory stuck in a patriarchal dichotomy which therefore gets universalized: woman as the difference from man. This concept prohibits analyzing differences among women, let alone differences within women, says De Lauretis; feminist theory is thus complicit to the sustaining of a binary that is invoked by patriarchal ideology. She gives a critique of feminist theory working with the Marxist notion of power relations, as it relies on a universal and homogeneous oppression of women prior to their entry in the social and historical field. Furthermore, this concept of gender as sexual difference keeps attempts of radical feminist thinking of conceiving the subject in a totally different way, in this case other than the dominant 'masculine' notion of rational and unified subjectivity, at a long distance. De Lauretis thus draws attention to the epistemological framework with which feminist theory was working. Women are not the mere victims of patriarchal oppression as their historical and cultural backgrounds give them a certain amount of agency in their specific patriarchal ideologies for as we can see with the Foucaulian model of power, power has also a positive side to it as you are not only subjected to it but it also gives you a potency for certain entitlements. In other words, because of ideology and power structures you can make an investment to work out your subjectivity. The next question then will be, of course, whose investments yield more relative power. A shift rather similar to De Lauretis' one, only on a different field, is taken up by Chandra Mohanty in her article "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses". In short, she uses this De Lauretis-shift not only on gender, but also on ethnicity, thus proposing a anti-white-centrism (as De Lauretis was proposing an anti-hetero-centrism).

In this article Mohanty wants to give a criticism of hegemonic Western scholarship on the big scale and of the colonialism in Western feminist scholarhip in particular. In fact, she does a renaming of the feminist position coming from the post-colonialist other. This project is, as well as De Lauretis' project, typical for feminist theory in the eighties which was a reaction to certain ideas in feminist theory in the seventies. The 19th Amendment, which was passed in 1920, is seen as the marking point of

the separation between liberal feminists and radical feminists. Some aspects of its philosophy might be seen to have their roots in the American cultural feminist tradition in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There seem to be particular links with the works of Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and her woman-identified utopia Herland (1911). The locus of radical activism has traditionally been the consciousness-raising (CR) group. In the early 70's, these consensus-based groups concluded that the linchpin of patriarchy is the institution of heterosexuality and the nuclear family. As long as society eroticizes male dominance and female subordination and thinks women's unpaid family labour is a fair deal, we're not going to have real justice. With such startling insights, no wonder both the FBI and the Socialist Workers Party planted provocateurs in these groups. However, most radicals will admit that other problems also weakened the movement. Intense disputes over power sharing, racism, classism, and in particular, heterosexuality and lesbianism corroded the "sisterhood" and in 1975, the majority of CR groups died.

11.5.3 What are the variations of Radical Feminism?

Radical feminism is known for its activism. It popularized the slogan, „Personal is the Political.‟ Some of those actions can be seen as staged sit-ins, acted out dramatizations, and marches. There are essentially two forms of radical feminism: radical-libertarian and radicalcultural feminists.

11.5.3.1 Radical- Libertarian Feminism

According to Tong, Radical-Libertarian feminists tend to hold the Radical feminist views of the 1960's and 1970's. They often argue that women's reproductive capabilities and sexual roles and responsibilities serve to oppress them in a patriarchal society, and limit their ability to be full human persons. They long for androgyny and hence embrace reproductive technologies as they can help women escape from the chains of motherhood and childbirth. "As we shall see, radical-libertarian feminists are convinced the fewer women are involved in the

reproductive process, the more time and energy they will have to engage in society¹s productive processes." Beliefs stem from the idea that gender is an aspect that is separated from sex, and that male dominated societies place unyielding gender rules to Gloria Steinem says, "I'm not sure feminism should require an adjective." control women. Patriarchy is the primary oppressor, not individual men. They believe that deconstruction of the nuclear family in favour of the communal family and contracted motherhood would also break chains of mothering stereotypes.

11.5.3.2 Radical-Cultural Feminism

This group of feminists sees femaleness as empowering and therefore believe women should embrace the values traditionally associated with femininity such as community, sharing, and body to name a few. Radical-cultural feminists see women's power to create new life as the ultimate source of our power and believe it is in women's best interests to procreate naturally. Radical-cultural feminists theorize that women's oppression is not caused by female biology and reproductive possibilities but rather by men's jealousy of women's reproductive abilities and their desire to control them through new reproductive technologies. Many earlier Radical feminists believed that reproduction was at the root of women's oppression and that we would be emancipated if we could free ourselves from "the tyranny of reproduction". At that point in time, "Technology was viewed as liberating women". Things have changed since those days, and today the more popular consensus is that technology is not the liberation Radical feminists thought it would be. Instead of freeing women, our bodies are simply being controlled by men in even greater capacities in the areas of in-vitro fertilization, artificial insemination and other technological methods of reproduction by predominantly male doctors and scientists. This however cannot be said for all Radical feminists. Radical-cultural feminists conclude that the idea of heterosexuality is male domination over females, and it sets the stage for a number of vices such as rape, sexual harassment, abuse, and prostitution. They also believe that men should be educated about women, and shown that their attitudes are detrimental to women. Only after this could men and women band together to change patriarchy.

Susan Brownmiller in her book, „Against Our Will" has done a threadbare analysis of rape.

11.5.4 Radical Feminism – Its Structure

Radical feminists, possessing no single core doctrine which informed their ideology, were fragmented from the start, a process exacerbated by their preference for small group formation, where each individual woman could find a voice, and were all tasks could be shared out equally.

Daly's Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism (1978) argues that men throughout history have sought to oppress women. In this book she moves beyond her previous thoughts on the history of patriarchy to the focus on the actual practices that, in her view, perpetuate patriarchy, which she calls a religion.

Radical feminism's, invisibility as an 'organisation' with no identifiable leaders and centres was perceived to be a major strength by its adherents: they did not subscribe to any one tradition in political thought and were therefore at liberty to constantly reinvent themselves. Much of their energies were focused on discussions around gender as a social construct from which permeated all other forms of material and ideological female oppression. In order to explore the nature of such oppression more thoroughly, radicals concentrated on the experiences of the individual woman in society, often using writing and art forms as a vehicle to communicate their own narratives of pain, and to convey their passionate belief that sexism lies at the heart of women's oppression. In terms of activity, sex role assigns domestic service and attendance upon infants to the female, the rest of the human achievement, interest and ambition to the male. The limited role allotted to the female tends to arrest her at the level of biological experience.

11.5.5 The Outcomes of the Movement

Radical feminists chose both theory and practice and a combination of the personal and political as a means by which women might transform their lifestyles. They were also militant in their approach for social transformation. The belief that radical feminism needs to Daly's Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism (1978) argues that

men throughout history have sought to oppress women. In this book she moves beyond her previous thoughts on the history of patriarchy to the focus on the actual practices that, in her view, perpetuate patriarchy, which she calls a religion question every single aspect of our lives that we have previously accepted as normal/ given/standard/acceptable and to find new ways of doing things‟ 39, resulted in a speech for alternative lifestyles removed from the stifling effects of patriarchy. Communes, businesses, cafes, women‟s festivals and other women-only concerns were established to allow women to pursue and construct their own identities unfettered by pre-given social institutions such as the family, marriage and domestic labour.

Germaine Greer, one of the most significant feminist voices, has created controversy ever since her book The Female Eunuch became an international best-seller in 1970, turning her into a household name and bringing her both adulation and opposition. She is also the author of many other books including, Sex and Destiny: The Politics of Human Fertility (1984); The Change: Women, Ageing and the Menopause (1991) and Shakespeare's Wife (2007). She currently serves as Professor Emeritus of English Literature and Comparative Studies at the University of Warwick. Germaine Greer has defined her goal as 'women's liberation' as distinct from 'equality with men'. "The title is an indication of the problem," Greer told the New York Times in 1971, "Women have somehow been separated from their libido, from their faculty of desire, from their sexuality. They've become suspicious about it. Like beasts, for example, who are castrated in farming in order to serve their master's ulterior motives.

Womyn is one of a number of alternative spellings of the word "women". “Womyn" will be used for simplicity, although there are many alternative spellings, including "womon" and "womin". The term has been used in modern times tied to the concept of feminism, as a form of the word without the connotations of a patriarchal society. Betty Frieden was a leading figure in the "Second Wave" of the U.S. Women's Movement, her 1963 book The Feminine Mystique is sometimes credited with sparking the "second wave" of feminism. Friedan co-founded National Organization for Women in 1966 which aimed to bring women

"into the mainstream of American society now [in] fully equal partnership with men". In 1970, Friedan organized the nation-wide Women's Strike for Equality on August 26, the 50th anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution granting women the right to vote. The national strike was successful beyond expectations in broadening the feminist movement. The New York City march alone attracted over 50,000 women. Friedan joined other leading feminists (including Gloria Germaine Greer, one of the most significant feminist voices, has created controversy ever since her book The Female Eunuch became an international best-seller in 1970, turning her into a household name and bringing her both adulation and opposition. She is also the author of many other books including, Sex and Destiny: The Politics of Human Fertility (1984); The Change: Women, Ageing and the Menopause (1991) and Shakespeare's Wife (2007). She currently serves as Professor Emeritus of English Literature and Comparative Studies at the University of Warwick. Germaine Greer has defined her goal as 'women's liberation' as distinct from 'equality with men'. "The title is an indication of the problem," Greer told the New York Times in 1971, "Women have somehow been separated from their libido, from their faculty of desire, from their sexuality. They've become suspicious about it. Like beasts, for example, who are castrated in farming in order to serve their master's ulterior motives — to be fattened or made docile — women have been cut off from their capacity for action. It's a process that sacrifices vigour for delicacy and succulence, and one that's got to be changed. Steinem, Shirley Chisholm,Fannie Lou Hamer, Bella Abzug, and Myrlie Evers-Williams) in founding the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971. All radical feminists agreed upon the need for separatism, but the scale of separatism varied considerably, ranging from political separatism (women-only discussion groups, dealing purely with issues that affect women), to complete separatism (communes, etc.) – or as complete as was economically or practically viable. Separatism is one of the most lambasted features of radical feminist policy.

11.5.6 Critiques of Radical Feminism

The most common criticism of radical feminism are that its view of patriarchy remains uninterrogated. Critiques feel that many of its arguments lapse into biologism of a reductive kind, and its focus on women‟s personal experiences makes it politically ineffectual, or at worst prescriptive – if, for example, it is seen to argue that „lesbian sexuality does serve as a paradigm for female sexuality‟. It lacks meta-theory but does not question subordination – domination relationship between women of different classes, castes, race, religions and ethnic backgrounds.

11.5.7 Contribution to the Women's Movement

We cannot deny however, that their contribution to the women‟s movement has been immense. They have transformed our perceptions of our own bodies, our sexuality, our understanding of the ways in which we have been shaped and conditioned by the patriarchal society we inhabit; they have highlighted the connections between these and pornography, rape, wife-battering, child-abuse, as well as the impact of the technological invasion into the area of reproduction on the role and status of women. And so one of their most important contributions has been to bring the issue of violence against women in the public domain. Rape is shown as a patriarchal way to keep women in a perpetual state of terrorization, humiliation, degradation and subjugation. Indeed, if the media had really wanted to find feminists who didn't stand by their man during the Clinton scandals, they could have easily interviewed the radicals--some in their 20s--who wrote pungent, sophisticated critiques on the World Wide Web. And if the Women's Studies community really wants to give students a feminist education, it cannot afford to view "radfem" as an outdated anachronism, especially after reading Radically Speaking: Feminism Reclaimed, Diane Bell and Renate Klein's bold, witty, and incisive anthology of contemporary radical activism around the world Radical feminists have pushed for many women‟s rights we know today, such as contraceptives, improvements to the Pill, legalization of abortion, and in-vitro fertilization. Radical feminists gained a lot of ground and respect from the LGBT movements, in helping to ease the fear and hate of homosexuality.

Contrary to rumors, "radfem" in the 90's is not dead. Radicals are far less numerous than their liberal counterparts (Kathleen Trigiani but they've made an undeniable impact on American society. They made the world treat rape in Bosnia as a war crime. They persuaded the medical community to admit that it's wrong to do "generic" research on white, middle class males only. They challenged those who opposed gay/lesbian sex to start taking homophobic hate crimes seriously. And these feminists who "brainwashed women" even forced John Gray to admit "women should have great sex", although for male-oriented reasons. Although financially leaner than liberal groups, such radical organizations as Women Against Pornography, Men Against Pornography, International Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, Sisterhood Is Global Institute, and the Feminist International Network of Resistance to Reproductive and Genetic Engineering (FINRRAGE) are still alive and kicking.

11.6 POSTMODERN FEMINISM

Postmodern feminism has often been termed French feminism, since most of its significant practitioners have been French. However, today it is a term that is applicable to all those who use a certain methodology – deconstruction – and who share a philosophical perspective that is characterised by certain features that were first articulated by theorists like Derrida, Foucault and others.

11.6.1 Postmodern Thought

Briefly, this perspective may be considered both a manifestation of and a contributor to what may be termed a “legitimation crisis”. In other words, postmodernism challenges the grand metanarratives of Western civilisation, the assumptions that were taken for granted. (e.g. Contrary to rumors, "radfem" in the 90's is not dead. Radicals are far less numerous than their liberal counterparts (Kathleen Trigiani but they've made an undeniable impact on American society. They made the world treat rape in Bosnia as a war crime. They persuaded the medical community to admit that it's wrong to do "generic" research on white, middle class males only. They challenged those who opposed gay/lesbian

sex to start taking homophobic hate crimes seriously. And these feminists who "brainwashed women" even forced John Gray to admit "women should have great sex", although for male-oriented reasons. Although financially leaner than liberal groups, such radical organizations as Women Against Pornography, Men Against Pornography, International Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, Sisterhood Is Global Institute, and the Feminist International Network of Resistance to Reproductive and Genetic Engineering (FINRRAGE) are still alive and kicking. Enlightenment faith in a historically progressive science.) At the same time, postmodernists like Foucault critique and resist the grand institutions of Western civilisation, seeing them as reifying, dominative disciplinary practices. In Foucault‟s monumental work, Discipline and Punish (1977, first published in French, 1975), he posits a homology between liberatory bureaucratic institutions like schools and more rigidly controlled institutions like prisons and armies. Both depend on regimental subordination of a kind that affects every dimension of the individual‟s life and definitively shapes his or her attitudes and thought. Foucault calls for an insurrection of subjugated knowledges. (The very use of a plural in a noun that traditionally is only used in the singular indicates a polyphonic understanding of “Truth”, “Knowledge” and other such ideas that were once considered to represent an objective and absolute reality.) In other words, these metanarratives and grand institutions, now considered forms of tyranny, are to be opposed and destabilised by shifting the epistemological ground for such theories and institutions, so as to allow local and historically contextual truths/practices to emerge and be heard. It is in this endeavour that postmodernism seems to be an ally of feminism. In short, postmodernism rejects all theory and all generalisations, indiscriminately. The obvious drawback to such an approach is that, taken to its logical extreme, it would result in an extreme nominalism in which only individual particulars have legitimacy. All theories, all generic statements are suspect. Three postmodern thinkers have been extremely influential in the development of postmodern feminism. The first of these is Michel Foucault, with his questioning of the metanarratives and grand institutions of civilisation. The second, Jacques Derrida, is responsible

for giving the world the concept and the tool of deconstruction. Derrida tried to liberate thinking from the assumption of singularity. He questioned the existence of one single truth or essence, of a transcendental signified which exists in and of itself as a giver of meaning. He tried to show how traditional interpretations of texts (anything communicated through language) have suppressed alternative interpretations. A totally anti-essentialist philosophical perspective, deconstruction critiques everything: ideas, social injustices, structures, language, systems. It views any search for universal definitions as valueless, and challenges traditional boundaries between oppositions as well as between disciplines. Deconstructionists questions two fundamental assumptions that have underpinned the edifice of Western philosophy for centuries:

- The essential unity of the self through space and time: how is self-identity possible, they ask, given that psychology has enabled us to understand that the workings of the unconscious mind are often inaccessible to us?

- The essential relationship between language and reality that has traditionally been termed truth: both language and reality are seen as variable and shifting, constantly missing each other in a kind of Heraclitean flux. (There is an inherent paradox here, of course, in that the postmoderns are challenging the assumptions and perspectives of tradition in the very language that is created to maintain it. This point will be dealt with in greater detail when we consider the Symbolic Order)

11.6.2 Postmodern rethinking of psychological explanation of gender

The third significant contribution to postmodern feminism came from a psychologist, Jacques Lacan. Lacan reinterpreted Freud, offering an alternative understanding of the process of development that a child undergoes in the journey from infancy to adulthood and pointing out the the subconscious is structured like a language – the Symbolic Order –

which has to be internalised and submitted to if we wish to fit into society. He holds that there are three stages in the development of any child: the pre-Oedipal, the mirror and the Oedipal. During the pre-Oedipal (also called the Imaginary phase, since it is the opposite of the Symbolic Order), the child is totally unaware of ego-boundaries, with an almost symbiotic relationship between child and mother. During the mirror stage (also part of the Imaginary), the child has begun to recognise its own identity: this is the stage at which the child can look into a mirror and realise that the mirror image and the real flesh-and-blood self are different. This brings in a very significant point: like Derrida"s concept of difference, this implies that part of our understanding not just of external objects, but of our own selves, is a recognition of that in which we differ from the Other. The communication at these two earlier stages is conducted in semiotic language, marked by rhythm, images, repetition, nonsense syllables and other characteristics of speech between mother and child. At the next stage, i.e. the Oedipal stage, there is a definite estrangement between the child and its mother. The mother is now viewed as the Other and is associated with the silent, undifferentiated womb state which the child now seeks to leave behind. There is incomplete communication because of the limitations of the "adult" language that the child is now beginning to learn. At this stage, the father represents the Symbolic Order, since the Symbolic Order is the vehicle of patriarchal authority – in fact, there is a very deep and integral relationship between the two. The male child identifies with the father and so enters subjecthood and individuality. Internalizing the value-laden roles of the dominant order, the boy is born again into language and the patriarchal structure that is created by and creates it. The girl child, however, can only experience incomplete identification with the father. Freud, as we saw earlier, had asserted that because of this, there is an incomplete development of the moral sense in women. Lacan, on the other hand, interprets the situation rather differently. Because there can be no complete identification between the girl and her father, women find themselves excluded from and marginalised by the Symbolic Order. Forced unwillingly into a Symbolic Order that disadvantages them, women are repressed, for they cannot internalise the "law of the fathers":

it has to be imposed upon them, superimposed over their natural beings. Femininity is squelched, silenced, straitjacketed by language. This is an immeasurable and profound loss, for the only language we as women have at our disposal is unable to express the way we feel. “Jouissance”, a term that communicates something of the sexual experience of women at the moment of orgasm, cannot be known because it cannot be expressed in phallic language. It can only be glimpsed, it exists only at the level of potentiality. If jouissance could be thought and spoken, the Symbolic Order would be destroyed. Three aspects of the Symbolic Order, in particular, are seen as oppressive by postmodern feminists. First, it is extremely logocentric: emphasising the primacy of the spoken Word. Second, its phallocentrism implies a single unitary drive to a single attainable goal. Third, it functions in a dualistic mode in which everything is traced to pairs of binary opposites. Because of these three features, it privileges a certain kind of communication and mode of thought that has been associated with “masculinity” in gender constructs. There is, as we saw earlier, a built-in paradox here, since feminists are struggling to challenge the Symbolic Order, but the only weapon they have – language – was in fact created to maintain the Symbolic Order and in turn, creates and perpetuates it. Though the Lacanian interpretation identifies and clearly articulates the repression of women in a patriarchal society, where Freud saw women as being inherently less moral and less capable of full personhood because they were women, both Freud and Lacan place women outside the Symbolic Order, as permanent outsiders because of their biological nature. This is a point that has been challenged by the postmodern feminists, even while they accept much of Lacan‟s interpretation.

11.6.3 Postmodern Feminist

For the postmodern feminists, the basic premise is that woman, the Other, the feminine, has been left unthematised and silent in the gap that blocks the union between language and reality. They critique the dominant totalising structures of patriarchy like language, systems of knowledge, etc., rejecting labels and generalisations since they carry with them the “phallogocentric drive to stabilise, organise and rationalise our

conceptual universe," as Moi puts it in her book Sexual/Textual Politics (1985: 130-1). The other point on the postmodern agenda, while using a term suggested by the existentialists, yet points to a major difference between the existentialist feminists and their postmodern sisters. Both speak of "the Other", but while de Beauvoir sees Otherness as an undesirable state, as something that is objectionable, the postmodern feminists celebrate Otherness and valorise the very qualities that were once used as negative epithets. There are three main figures – Cixous, Irigaray and Kristeva – who have been responsible for postmodern feminism as we know it today, though the ideas and the orientation have been taken over and further developed by later feminists. Helene Cixous is a novelist experimenting with literary style as well as a literary theorist. She applies Derrida‟s notion of difference to writing, and contrasts literatur, which she associates with white, European, ruling class and patriarchal structures, with l‟ecriture feminine. She objects to the binary oppositions and the dichotomies that abound in masculine writing and thought. These "dual hierarchized oppostions," as she terms them in "Sorties" (Lodge, 1990:287) find their inspiration in the fundamental opposition between man and woman in which the first is the concept and the second, the deviation. Man is the self, she claims, in the same essay, woman is his Other. Thus woman exists in man‟s world on his terms. She is either the Other for man, or she is unthought. After man is done thinking about woman, "what is left of her is unthinkable, unthought." (Lodge, 1990: 288) Cixous challenges women to write themselves out of the world men have constructed by putting into words, the unthinkable, the unthought. According to her, men‟s writing, in being canonised, has been petrified. It cannot move or change. Women‟s writing is characterised by marking, scratching, scribbling, jotting, which makes of it a Heraclitean everchanging river. In "The Laugh of the Medusa", she asserts that women‟s writing holds within itself "the very possibility of change, the space that can serve as a springboard for subversive thought, the precursory movement of a transformation of social and cultural standards" (Warhol and Herndl, 1991: 337) Cixous also draws analogies between male sexuality and masculine writing, on the one hand, and female sexuality and feminine writing, on the other.

The former are both characterised by a pointedness and singularity which is, for Cixous, ultimately limited and boring. The latter are open and multiple, varied and rhythmic, full of pleasures and possibilities. “Her writing can only keep going, without ever inscribing or discerning contours….Her language does not contain, it carries; it does not hold back, it makes possible.” (Warhol and Herndl, 1991) Cixous‟s own writings are characterised by an optimism and a joy that are lacking in both Derrida (who believed that logocentrism is inevitable) and Lacan (for whom the phallus will always dominate). Cixous, in contrast, believes that we can escape our dichotomous prisons, and that women can lead the revolt that will liberate men and women alike. “Now women return from afar, from always: from „without‟, from the heath where witches are kept alive; from beneath, from beyond culture.” (Warhol & Herndl, 1991: 335) The next key figure in this school is Luce Irigaray, who further developed and challenged Lacanian ideals. For her, the feminist enterprise was to empower women to move into the subject position – becoming “subjects and protagonists of their own reality, rather than objects and antagonists in the Father‟s drama.” The quest is to discover the feminine feminine (as opposed to a patriarchal construct of femininity) that has been entrapped in an Imaginary stage full of untapped possibilities; to enable mothers and daughters and wives to become women. Irigaray suggests three strategies of subversion. First, she invites women to develop and deepen their awareness of language and to discover a language that is neither masculine nor “neutral” (there is no such stance, it merely gives one the illusion of objectivity). Next, she invites us to an exploration of the multi-faceted terrain of the human body in order that we may find ways of expressing women’s experience, and learn to speak words, think thoughts, that will blow the phallus over and set the feminine feminine free. And finally, she suggests that we mime – and exaggerate – the roles men have imposed upon women. This subtle specular move, mirroring the mimicry of all women, subverts the effects and the authority of phallocentric discourse, simply by making the process conscious through exaggeration. At the same time, there is a tension between the conviction that we must end the process of labelling and categorising, and the antithetical conviction that we cannot help but

engage in this. The third feminist in this group is Julia Kristeva, who shares an orientation with the other two, but at the same time disagrees with them. Primarily, she disagrees with the collapse of language into biology as being part of the patriarchal straitjacket. The equation of male author and literatur, female author and l‟ecriture feminin is rejected, for Kristeva insists that boys can identify with mothers and girls with fathers. Boys can exist and write in a feminine mode and girls in a masculine mode. Another point of difference between the other two and Kristeva is that the latter adheres radically to the notion that even if the feminine exists, it must not be. “Woman, as such, does not exist,” she proclaims. Concepts like “woman” and “the feminine” are rooted in the essentialist philosophy that deconstruction seeks to deconstruct. At the same time, the fact that woman cannot be on this deeper level – always becoming, never being – allies her with other marginalised “misfit” groups: minorities, Jews, homosexuals, etc. Kristeva was preoccupied with the scapegoating of such groups, which she held was grounded in the “abject” – a sense of irrational disgust traceable to pre-Oedipal experiences of excrement, blood and mucus. As a sense of sex difference develops, this becomes associated with “the feminine”. Society’s fundamental problem is with the abject: the feminine is just one angle of it. Kristeva wants society to come to terms with the abject. All that has been marginalized, repressed by culture - the discourses of madness, of the maternal, the sexual, the irrational – must release their energies into language. She links social revolution to poetic revolution: “the historical and political experiences of the twentieth century have demonstrated that one cannot be transformed without the other,” she asserts in Revolution in Poetic Languages (1982). Using Lacan’s framework, Kristeva posits a contrast between the “semiotic” and the “symbolic”. Phallogocentric thought is based on a repression of the semiotic (and by extension, of the sexually unidentified pre-Oedipal maternal body). Maternal space is characterised by a different perception of time. Where symbolic time is historical, linear, pointing to a goal, semiotic time is cyclic, monumental, rhythmic and eternal. Symbolic writing too is linear, rational, objective, repressed, and decent, with normal syntax. Semiotic writing emphasizes rhythm, sound, colour, with breaks in syntax and grammar; unrepressed,

it has room for the repugnant, the horrific. A truly liberated person is able to acknowledge the interplay of the semiotic and the symbolic, the continual vacillation between chaos and order, and is able to avail of both with equal facility.

11.6.4 Limitations of Postmodern feminism

The postmodern feminists have been criticized on several grounds. They seem to delight in their own opacity and are often dismissed as ivory-tower academicians, irrelevant to the majority of women who cannot even access their work. The content of their work seems to border on a kind of biological essentialism, preaching the salvation of women through women's bodies. However, this may be a matter of inadequate translation, since most postmodern feminists do maintain that there is a difference between woman as a biological entity and woman as a social construct. Further there seems to be a valorization of female and feminine over male and masculine which could result in a fascistic matriarchy replacing the fascistic patriarchy that feminists are challenging. And finally, the philosophical underpinnings of postmodernism can lead us to chaos. Can we sustain any sort of community in total multiplicity, diversity, profusion. The issue here is a profoundly philosophical, political and personal one. Is difference a threat or an opportunity? Postmodern feminists have thematised the "many", but the problem of creating community is as much ours as theirs. In "Women's Time", Kristeva herself points out that "The reality of a world that is provisional in meanings, where logic is denigrated as a mode of thought, where all interpretations are valid and values are upset but not replaced, would be impossible." (Warhol & Herndl, 1991) Deconstructing our world, our codes, is one thing, but it will not provide us with new conceptual frameworks, new values and priorities, new boundaries. However different in scope and nature to the ones with which we are familiar, these things have to be for a society or a community to survive.

11.6.5 Contribution to the women's Movement

However, the basic contribution of postmodern feminism to the women's movement is undeniable. They have given us an appreciation for the latent possibilities in nothingness, absence, the marginal, the peripheral, and the repressed. They have also challenged us to think in non-binary, non-oppositional terms: no word (logos) but a myriad voices open to any number of interpretations. And with their celebration of multiplicity they have provided a new conceptual start that includes the ostracized and alienated, the abnormal, and the deviant. They have reminded us that even if we cannot be One, we can be Many.

11.7 BLACK FEMINISM AND WOMANISM

11.7.1 The Beginnings of Black Feminism

All the Women are White, All the Men are Black, but Some of us are Brave. The title of this anthology, edited by Gloria Hull, Patricia Bell Scott and Barbara Smith in 1982, clearly indicates the roots of black feminism. Black women realised that they were the ultimate silenced Other in both black and feminist discourse. While the black movement took little note of the problems specific to black women, feminists too seemed to use racist assumptions of universality as a foundation on which to build their arguments. „Black women‟s existence, experience, and culture and the brutally complex systems of oppression which shape these,‟ comments Smith, „are in the "real world" of white and/or male consciousness beneath consideration, invisible, unknown.‟ (1982:157)

11.8 CYBER FEMINISM

"Cyber feminism emerged at a particular moment in time, 1992, simultaneously at three different points on the globe. In Canada, Nancy Paterson, a celebrated high tech installation artist, penned an article called "Cyber feminism" for Stacy Horn's Echo Gopher server. In Australia, VNS Matrix Josephine Starrs, Julianne Pierce, Francesca da Rimini and Virginia Barratt coined the term to label their radical feminist acts and their blatantly viral agenda: to insert women, bodily fluids and

political consciousness into electronic spaces. In a similar year, British cultural theorist Sadie Plant formulated a term to describe her recipe for defining the feminizing influence of technology on Western society and its inhabitants In 1997 at the first International Cyber feminist conference in Germany, the Old Boys' Network (OBN), the organization that had arisen to be the central hub of Cyber feminist thinking, refused to define the school of thought, but instead drafted the "100 Anti-Theses of Cyber feminism" in order to make it open and free of classification. Their methodology to draw it was multilingual and non-restrictive. The underlying assumption was that there can be no definition because that limits what Cyber feminism means?

According to Jennifer Brayton- Cyber feminism, takes feminism as its starting point, and turns its focus upon contemporary technologies, exploring the intersections between gender identity, the body, culture and technology. Cyber feminism is a way of redefining the conjunctions of identities, genders, bodies and technologies, specifically as they relate to power dynamics. It is a celebration of multiplicity Carolyn G. Guertin, Quantum Feminist Mnemotechnics.

However, they simplify and argue that Cyber feminism refers to feminism(s) applied to and/or performed in cyberspace. An authoritative definition of cyber feminism is difficult to find in written works due to the fact that early cyberfeminists deliberately evaded a rigid elucidation. At the first International cyberfeminist conference, delegates avoided stating what cyberfeminism was and instead devised the 100 anti-theses and defined what cyber feminism was not. The idea of defining/not defining it through several overlapping ideas (anti-theses) is appropriate to post-modern feminist ideals of a fluid worldview rather than a rigid binary oppositional view and reflects the diversity of theoretical positions in contemporary feminism denoting cyberfeminism as an International movement. This combination of serious real world action mixed with a good dose of irony and sense of fun is also evident in many cyberfeminist artworks. Carolyn Guertin has perhaps lucidly dubbed cyberfeminism: "a way of redefining the conjunctions of identities, genders, bodies and technologies, specifically as they relate to power dynamics" in an interview for CKLN-FM in Toronto. Cyberfeminism is

a feminist community, philosophy and set of practices concerned with feminism‟s interactions with and acts in cyberspace.

11.8.1 Origin of Cyber Feminism

Equity studies have documented the massive historical resistance to women getting the education, credentials, and jobs available to similarly talented men; Rossiter (1982b); Walsh (1977). They have also identified the psychological and social mechanisms through which discrimination is informally maintained even when the formal barriers have been eliminated. Motivation studies have shown why boys and men more often want to excel in science, engineering, and maths than do girls and women. Some of these studies show how the uses and abuses of biology, the social sciences, and their technologies, reveal the ways science is used in the service of sexist, racist, homophobic and classist and social projects. Oppressive reproductive policies; white men's management of all women's domestic labour; the stigmatization of, discrimination against, and medical "cure" of homosexuals; gender discrimination in workplaces – all these have been justified on the basis of sexist research and maintained through technologies, developed out of this research, that move control of women's life from women to men of the dominant group. In her 1997 book, Zeros and Ones: Digital Women and the New Techno-culture, Sadie Plant takes up what was – at the time – an emerging, though still relatively unexplored, connection between feminism and „cyber culture‟, through a cultural historical and poststructuralist philosophical exploration of the history of technology via the development of the first computing machines in the industrial age of the 19th century. Plant's analysis shows the essential role played by a woman in the development of the difference engine through the example of the mathematician Ada Lovelace. It is by drawing attention to the contributions of Lovelace that Plant shows how women have generally been excluded from the narrative discourses supplying the established history of industrial and post-industrial technologies, and thereby it is women, in this case Lovelace, who provide a condition of possibility for the development of these world-changing inventions. Donna Haraway is the inspiration and genesis for cyber feminism with her 1991 essay "A

Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century" in "Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature" (1991). Cyber feminism was born mainly as a reaction to “the pessimism of the 1980s feminist approaches that stressed the inherently masculine nature of techno-science”, so it became a counter movement against the „toys for boys“ perception of new Internet technologies. As cyber feminist artist Faith Wilding argued “If feminism is to be adequate to its cyber potential then it must mutate to keep up with the shifting complexities of social realities and life conditions as they are changed by the profound impact communications technologies and techno science have on all our lives”. Contemporary science fiction is full of cyborgs – creatures simultaneously animal and machine, who populate worlds ambiguously natural and crafted. Modern medicine is also full of cyborgs, of couplings between organism and machine, each conceived as coded devices. Neelam Kumar outlines in “Gender and Stratification in Science: An Empirical Study in the Indian Setting” how women in India have been marginalized, excluded or even barred entry to many science institutions in the 19th century, and how issues such as neo- liberal policies of globalization, privatization of research, reduced Government aid and the increased cost of education in the 20th century have only worsened this exclusion. One of the feminist paradoxes - one that challenges many of its optimistic histories - is how patriarchy remains persistent over time. In this context Kumar seeks to show women in 19th and 20th century India as historical protagonists through their involvement and active participation in science and scientific research. There exists a gender gap in institutions of science in India, which has deepened even after independence.

Cyber feminism and its usage RAWA, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, was established in Kabul, Afghanistan, in 1977 as an independent political/social organization of Afghan women fighting for human rights and for social justice in Afghanistan. It projected Afghani women„s voices to the outside world during its many political crises“, particularly during the years when the Taliban held sway in this troubled country

11.8.2 Definition of the 100 Anti Thesis

The 100 anti-theses range from the serious and instructional, for example “Cyberfeminism is not just using words with no knowledge of numbers” (i.e. cyberfeminism requires active engagement with technology in addition to theory), to the whimsical, for example “Cyberfeminismo es no una banana”. The 100 Anti-theses is written primarily in English but includes several other languages in line with the 100th anti-theses “cyberfeminism has not only one language” denoting cyber feminism as an international movement. The 'definitions' exist only in opposition. The underlying assumption is that there can be no definition because that only limits what cyberfeminism is. These definitions are given only in opposition eg. Cyberfeminism is "not a structure," but is "not without connectivity," and being neither "a lack," "a wound" or "a trauma," it is also "not an empty space." This combination of serious real world action mixed with a good dose of irony and sense of fun is also evident in many cyberfeminist artworks .The idea of defining/not defining it through several overlapping ideas (anti-theses) is appropriate to post-modern feminist ideals of a fluid worldview rather than a rigid binary oppositional view and reflects the diversity of theoretical positions in contemporary feminism.

11.8.3 Cyber art and its relation to Cyber feminism

The practice of cyber feminist art has a deep connection with cyber feminist theory. The 100 anti-theses makes it clear that cyber feminism is not just about theory, but that it requires Cyber feminism and its usage RAWA, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, was established in Kabul, Afghanistan, in 1977 as an independent political/social organization of Afghan women fighting for human rights and for social justice in Afghanistan. It projected Afghani women’s voices to the outside world during its many political crises‟, particularly during the years when the Taliban held sway in this troubled country. 10 participation too. As one member of the cyber feminist collective of the Old Boys Network writes, cyber feminism is “linked to aesthetic and ironic strategies as intrinsic tools within the growing importance of

design and aesthetics in the new world order of flowing pancapitalism". Cyber feminism also has strong connections with the DIY feminism movement, as noted in the seminal text DIY Feminism, a grass roots movement that encourages active participation, especially as a solo practitioner or a small collective. Around the late nineties several cyber feminist artists and theorists gained recognition for their works, including the VNS Matrix and their Cyber feminist Manifesto for the 21st century, and Faith Wilding and Critical Art Ensemble. Some of the better known examples of cyber feminist work include Olia Lialina's My Boyfriend Came Back From the War, a browser based art work that plays with the conventions of HTML; Linda Dement's Cyberflesh Girlmonster a hypertext work that incorporates images of women's body parts and remixes them to create new monstrous yet beautiful shapes; and Shu Lea Cheang with the 1998 work Brandon which was the first Internet based artwork to be commissioned and collected by the Guggenheim.

11.8.4 Cyber Feminism – Practical Manifestation

Women have appropriated this space and used it with great creativity and innovation for a variety of purposes: creating solidarity, networking, building pressure groups, information sharing, giving a higher profile to women's contributions in the various fields. Often it has given voice to women's concerns and in some instances acted as the medium through which women have challenged tyranny, misogyny, political crisis etc. and given voice to their concerns. In UK, Discover! clubs have been devised as learning spaces dedicated to changing dominant cultural attitudes and to widening access and recruitment of Women into STEM Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths; subject and occupational fields traditionally dominated bymen13. They are a learning tool devised to capture the imagination and interest of young school aged girls, close to selecting their General Certificate in Secondary Education (GCSE) first choices. They provide a learning zone where dominant gendered constructions of curriculum and occupation that discourage young women from pursuing STEM are potentially disassembled. Shireen Ebadi Nobel Prize in Peace 2003 known for her work for the rights of women and children used the net as a means for speaking against the

political establishment. Tatania Mamonova was the first feminist dissident exiled from the Soviet Union in 1980 for reigniting the Russian women's movement; initiating her organization, then called Woman and Russia, the first NGO promoting the human rights of women from the Soviet Union and connecting Russian speaking women‟s voices and needs with the international community; and editing and publishing the samizdat Woman and Russia Almanac, now called Woman and Earth Almanac, an art and literary journal containing the first collection of Soviet feminist writings, which has now been published in languages and in over countries. In India too the cyber world has opened up new spaces for those women who have been marginalised from the outside world, either because of economic compulsions or traditional environments. NGOs working with women‟s issues such as Women Work & Health Initiative, India, Sampark and Jagori have tried to build cyber communities amongst the women, as a first step to providing knowledge access and thus empowerment.

11.8.5 Cyber Feminism challenges and its future

The goals of cyber feminist are many as there is no one „feminism but rather many feminisms‟. „Cyber feminists face myriad challenges, such as: how to work for a feminist The National Women‟s Museum The National Women’s History Museum researches, collects and exhibits the contributions of women to the social, cultural, economic and political life of our nation in a context of world history. The museum will use innovative and engaging means including permanent and online exhibits, educational programs, and outreach efforts to communicate the breadth of women's experiences and accomplishments to the widest possible audience. The sharing of this knowledge will illuminate and encourage women and men, people of all classes, races and cultures to move into the future with respect, equal confidence, greater partnership, and opportunity. The NWHM Board is bound together by the aspiration to honour the women who came before us and to ensure that their many traditional and non-traditional roles are systematically explored and acknowledged and brought into the mainstream culture.

political and cultural environment on the Net? What are various areas of feminist research and net activity that are already beginning to emerge as cyber feminist practice? Faith Wilding gives the The National Women‟s Museum The National Women‟s History Museum researches, collects and exhibits the contributions of women to the social, cultural, economic and political life of our nation in a context of world history. The museum will use innovative and engaging means including permanent and online exhibits, educational programs, and outreach efforts to communicate the breadth of women's experiences and accomplishments to the widest possible audience. The sharing of this knowledge will illuminate and encourage women and men, people of all classes, races and cultures to move into the future with respect, equal confidence, greater partnership, and opportunity. The NWHM Board is bound together by the aspiration to honour the women who came before us and to ensure that their many traditional and non-traditional roles are systematically explored and acknowledged and brought into the mainstream culture.14 example of The 1st Cyber feminist International during Documenta X in Kassel, which can be the prototype cell of feminist Net organis(m)ation . She describes how a varying and diverse group of more than thirty women--worked and lived together during the CI .The areas that were considered important for more research and further work included Creating a list of cyberfeminist artists, theorists and speakers to be sent to media festivals, presenting institutions, museums, and other public venues. Creating and publishing cyberfeminist theory, net criticism, position papers, bibliographies, data bases, image banks. Creating a feminist search engine which could link cyberfeminist websites; feminist lists, country by country reports of netactivity and cyberorganization for women. Creating coalitions with female technologists, programmers, scientists and hackers, to link feminist Net theory, content and practice with technological research and invention. Cyberfeminist education projects (for both men and women) in technology, programming, and software and hardware design, which address traditional gender constructions and biases built into technology. A translational cyber feminist action alert site. Creating new avatars, databodies, new self (ves) representations which disrupt and recode the gender biases usual in current commercially

available ones. Cyberfeminist meetings at all media festivals, activist conferences, exhibitions, and on other occasions whenever possible. Despite the many contributions made by women to the invention and development of computing technology, the Internet, which has its origins as a system to serve war technologies, is today a part of masculine institutions. While the net poses great promise and possibilities, feminists recognize that these can be realised only by recognising the thought processes that guided its origin and the political conditions. This being so, it can be seen as a radical act to insert the word feminism into cyber space, to interrupt the flow of masculine codes by boldly declaring the intention to bastardize, hybridize, provoke, and infect the male order of things by politicizing the environment of the Net. Cyberfeminism will work to bring in the feminist view point by dismantling the patriarchal conditions which produce the codes, languages, images, and structures that define the net.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1. Describe Radical feminism.

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2. How do you know Postmodern Feminism.

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3. What is Black Feminism and Womanism?

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4. Discuss about the Cyber Feminism.

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11.9 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, you have learnt the basic meaning of feminism. The origin of the term has been traced and the three broad strands of feminism - liberal, socialist and radical have been explained. Feminism and patriarchy are inextricably linked and thus, the latter has been analysed in detail. You also now know that 'one of the key contributions of feminist theory is the making of a distinction between "sex" and "gender".' The unit also tells us in detail about the developments in the sex/gender distinction in feminist theory. It should be realised that the sex/gender distinction is not as simple and straight as it may first appear. Through this overview, we have seen how feminist theory has developed over a century of political practice, generating new debates within it, and offering new challenges to key concepts of mainstream political theory.

11.10 KEY WORDS

Feminism: Feminism is a range of social movements, political movements, and ideologies that aim to define, establish, and achieve the political, economic, personal, and social equality of the sexes.

Liberal: Liberalism is a political and moral philosophy based on liberty, consent of the governed and equality before the law.

Empowerment: Empowerment is a set of measures designed to increase the degree of autonomy and self-determination in people and in communities in order to enable them to represent their interests in a responsible and self-determined way, acting on their own authority.

11.11 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What are the main principles underlying liberal thought?
2. What are the differences between classical liberal feminism and welfare liberal feminism?
3. What do you understand by Second Wave feminism?

4. What action, according to liberal feminists, would lead to greater equality and empowerment for women?
5. What are the limitations of the liberal school of feminism?
6. How has liberal feminism contributed to the women's movement?
7. Discuss about the Liberal Feminism.
8. How does Marxist Feminism play role?
9. Discuss the Psychoanalytic Feminism.
10. Describe Radical feminism.
11. How do you know Postmodern Feminism
12. What is Black Feminism and Womanism?
13. Discuss about the Cyber Feminism.

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11.13 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 11.2
2. See Section 11.3
3. See Section 11.4

Check Your Progress 2

1. See Section 11.5
2. See Section 11.6
3. See Section 11.7
4. See Section 11.8

UNIT 12: ENVIRONMENTALISM

STRUCTURE

12.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

- To know the Definitions of Environmentalism.
- To discuss the History of Environmentalism
- To describe the Environmental movement
- To know the Political Environmentalism In India
- To know about the Criticism and alternative views of Environmentalism.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Environmentalism or environmental rights is a broad philosophy, ideology, and social movement regarding concerns for environmental protection and improvement of the health of the environment, particularly as the measure for this health seeks to incorporate the impact of changes to the environment on humans, animals, plants and non-living matter. While environmentalism focuses more on the environmental and nature-related aspects of green ideology and politics, ecology combines the ideology of social ecology and environmentalism.

Environmentalism advocates the preservation, restoration and improvement of the natural environment and critical earth system elements or processes such as the climate, and may be referred to as a movement to control pollution or protect plant and animal diversity. For this reason, concepts such as a land ethic, environmental ethics, biodiversity, ecology, and the biophilia hypothesis figure predominantly.

At its crux, environmentalism is an attempt to balance relations between humans and the various natural systems on which they depend in such a way that all the components are accorded a proper degree of sustainability. The exact measures and outcomes of this balance is controversial and there are many different ways for environmental concerns to be expressed in practice. Environmentalism and environmental concerns are often represented by the colour green, but this association has been appropriated by the marketing industries for the tactic known as greenwashing.

Environmentalism is opposed by anti-environmentalism, which says that the Earth is less fragile than some environmentalists maintain, and portrays environmentalism as overreacting to the human contribution to climate change or opposing human advancement.

12.2 DEFINITIONS

Environmentalism denotes a social movement that seeks to influence the political process by lobbying, activism, and education in order to protect natural resources and ecosystems.

An environmentalist is a person who may speak out about our natural environment and the sustainable management of its resources through changes in public policy or individual behaviour. This may include supporting practices such as informed consumption, conservation initiatives, investment in renewable resources, improved efficiencies in the materials economy, transitioning to new accounting paradigms such as Ecological economics, renewing and revitalizing our connections with non-human life or even opting to have one less child to reduce consumption and pressure on resources.

In various ways (for example, grassroots activism and protests), environmentalists and environmental organisations seek to give the natural world a stronger voice in human affairs.

In general terms, environmentalists advocate the sustainable management of resources, and the protection (and restoration, when necessary) of the natural environment through changes in public policy and individual behaviour. In its recognition of humanity as a participant in ecosystems, the movement is centered on ecology, health, and human rights.

12.3 HISTORY

A concern for environmental protection has recurred in diverse forms, in different parts of the world, throughout history. The earliest ideas of environment protectionism can be traced in Jainism, which was revived by Mahavira in 6th century BC in ancient India. Jainism offers a view that may seem readily compatible with core values associated with environmental activism, i.e., protection of life by nonviolence; which could form the basis of strong ecological ethos thus adding its voice to global calls for protection of environment. His teachings on the symbiosis between all living beings and the five elements—earth, water, air, fire, and space—form the basis of environmental sciences today.

In Europe, King Edward I of England banned the burning of sea-coal by proclamation in London in 1272, after its smoke had become a problem. The fuel was so common in England that this earliest of names for it was acquired because it could be carted away from some shores by the wheelbarrow.

Earlier in the Middle East, the Caliph Abu Bakr in the 630s commanded his army to "Bring no harm to the trees, nor burn them with fire," and "Slay not any of the enemy's flock, save for your food." Arabic medical treatises during the 9th to 13th centuries dealing with environmentalism and environmental science, including pollution, were written by Al-Kindi, Qusta ibn Luqa, Al-Razi, Ibn Al-Jazzar, al-Tamimi, al-Masihi, Avicenna, Ali ibn Ridwan, Ibn Jumay, Isaac Israeli ben Solomon, Abd-el-latif, Ibn al-Quff, and Ibn al-Nafis. Their works covered a number of subjects related to pollution, such as air pollution, water pollution, soil

contamination, municipal solid waste mishandling, and environmental impact assessments of certain localities.

Early environmental legislation

Levels of air pollution rose during the Industrial Revolution, sparking the first modern environmental laws to be passed in the mid-19th century.

At the advent of steam and electricity the muse of history holds her nose and shuts her eyes (H. G. Wells 1918).

The origins of the environmental movement lay in the response to increasing levels of smoke pollution in the atmosphere during the Industrial Revolution. The emergence of great factories and the concomitant immense growth in coal consumption gave rise to an unprecedented level of air pollution in industrial centers; after 1900 the large volume of industrial chemical discharges added to the growing load of untreated human waste. The first large-scale, modern environmental laws came in the form of Britain's Alkali Acts, passed in 1863, to regulate the deleterious air pollution (gaseous hydrochloric acid) given off by the Leblanc process, used to produce soda ash. An Alkali inspector and four sub-inspectors were appointed to curb this pollution. The responsibilities of the inspectorate were gradually expanded, culminating in the Alkali Order 1958 which placed all major heavy industries that emitted smoke, grit, dust and fumes under supervision.

In industrial cities local experts and reformers, especially after 1890, took the lead in identifying environmental degradation and pollution, and initiating grass-roots movements to demand and achieve reforms. Typically the highest priority went to water and air pollution. The Coal Smoke Abatement Society was formed in 1898 making it one of the oldest environmental NGOs. It was founded by artist Sir William Blake Richmond, frustrated with the pall cast by coal smoke. Although there were earlier pieces of legislation, the Public Health Act 1875 required all furnaces and fireplaces to consume their own smoke. It also provided for sanctions against factories that emitted large amounts of black smoke. The provisions of this law were extended in 1926 with the Smoke Abatement Act to include other emissions, such as soot, ash and gritty

particles and to empower local authorities to impose their own regulations.

During the Spanish Revolution, anarchist controlled territories undertook several environmental reforms which were possibly the largest in the world at the time. Daniel Guerin notes that anarchist territories would diversify crops, extend irrigation, initiate reforestation, start tree nurseries and helped establish naturist communities. Once there was a link discovered between air pollution and tuberculosis, the CNT shut down several metal factories.

It was, however, only under the impetus of the Great Smog of 1952 in London, which almost brought the city to a standstill and may have caused upward of 6,000 deaths that the Clean Air Act 1956 was passed and airborne pollution in the city was first tackled. Financial incentives were offered to householders to replace open coal fires with alternatives (such as installing gas fires), or for those who preferred, to burn coke instead (a byproduct of town gas production) which produces minimal smoke. 'Smoke control areas' were introduced in some towns and cities where only smokeless fuels could be burnt and power stations were relocated away from cities. The act formed an important impetus to modern environmentalism, and caused a rethinking of the dangers of environmental degradation to people's quality of life.

The late 19th century also saw the passage of the first wildlife conservation laws. The zoologist Alfred Newton published a series of investigations into the Desirability of establishing a 'Close-time' for the preservation of indigenous animals between 1872 and 1903. His advocacy for legislation to protect animals from hunting during the mating season led to the formation of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds and influenced the passage of the Sea Birds Preservation Act in 1869 as the first nature protection law in the world.

First environmental movements

Early interest in the environment was a feature of the Romantic movement in the early 19th century. One of the earliest modern pronouncements on thinking about human industrial advancement and its influence on the environment was written by Japanese geographer,

educator, philosopher and author Tsunesaburo Makiguchi in his 1903 publication Jinsei Chirigaku (A Geography of Human Life). In Britain the poet William Wordsworth travelled extensively in the Lake District and wrote that it is a "sort of national property in which every man has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy".

John Ruskin an influential thinker who articulated the Romantic ideal of environmental protection and conservation.

Systematic efforts on behalf of the environment only began in the late 19th century; it grew out of the amenity movement in Britain in the 1870s, which was a reaction to industrialisation, the growth of cities, and worsening air and water pollution. Starting with the formation of the Commons Preservation Society in 1865, the movement championed rural preservation against the encroachments of industrialisation. Robert Hunter, solicitor for the society, worked with Hardwicke Rawnsley, Octavia Hill, and John Ruskin to lead a successful campaign to prevent the construction of railways to carry slate from the quarries, which would have ruined the unspoilt valleys of Newlands and Ennerdale. This success led to the formation of the Lake District Defence Society (later to become The Friends of the Lake District).

Peter Kropotkin wrote about ecology in economics, agricultural science, conservation, ethology, criminology, urban planning, geography, geology and biology. He observed in Swiss and Siberian glaciers that they had been slowly melting since the dawn of the industrial revolution, possibly making him one of the first predictors for climate change. He also observed the damage done from deforestation and hunting. Kropotkin's writings would become influential in the 1970s and became a major inspiration for the intentional community movement as well as his ideas becoming the basis for the theory of social ecology.

In 1893 Hill, Hunter and Rawnsley agreed to set up a national body to coordinate environmental conservation efforts across the country; the "National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty" was formally inaugurated in 1894. The organisation obtained secure footing through the 1907 National Trust Bill, which gave the trust the status of a statutory corporation. and the bill was passed in August 1907.

An early "Back-to-Nature" movement, which anticipated the romantic ideal of modern environmentalism, was advocated by intellectuals such as John Ruskin, William Morris, George Bernard Shaw and Edward Carpenter, who were all against consumerism, pollution and other activities that were harmful to the natural world. The movement was a reaction to the urban conditions of the industrial towns, where sanitation was awful, pollution levels intolerable and housing terribly cramped. Idealists championed the rural life as a mythical utopia and advocated a return to it. John Ruskin argued that people should return to a small piece of English ground, beautiful, peaceful, and fruitful. We will have no steam engines upon it . . . we will have plenty of flowers and vegetables . . . we will have some music and poetry; the children will learn to dance to it and sing it.

Practical ventures in the establishment of small cooperative farms were even attempted and old rural traditions, without the "taint of manufacture or the canker of artificiality", were enthusiastically revived, including the Morris dance and the maypole.

These ideas also inspired various environmental groups in the UK, such as the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, established in 1889 by Emily Williamson as a protest group to campaign for greater protection for the indigenous birds of the island. The Society attracted growing support from the suburban middle-classes as well as support from many other influential figures, such as the ornithologist Professor Alfred Newton. By 1900, public support for the organisation had grown, and it had over 25,000 members. The Garden city movement incorporated many environmental concerns into its urban planning manifesto; the Socialist League and The Clarion movement also began to advocate measures of nature conservation.

Original title page of Walden by Henry David Thoreau.

The movement in the United States began in the late 19th century, out of concerns for protecting the natural resources of the West, with individuals such as John Muir and Henry David Thoreau making key philosophical contributions. Thoreau was interested in peoples' relationship with nature and studied this by living close to nature in a

simple life. He published his experiences in the book Walden, which argues that people should become intimately close with nature. Muir came to believe in nature's inherent right, especially after spending time hiking in Yosemite Valley and studying both the ecology and geology. He successfully lobbied congress to form Yosemite National Park and went on to set up the Sierra Club in 1892. The conservationist principles as well as the belief in an inherent right of nature were to become the bedrock of modern environmentalism.

In the 20th century, environmental ideas continued to grow in popularity and recognition. Efforts were starting to be made to save some wildlife, particularly the American bison. The death of the last passenger pigeon as well as the endangerment of the American bison helped to focus the minds of conservationists and popularise their concerns. In 1916 the National Park Service was founded by US President Woodrow Wilson.

The Forestry Commission was set up in 1919 in Britain to increase the amount of woodland in Britain by buying land for afforestation and reforestation. The commission was also tasked with promoting forestry and the production of timber for trade. During the 1920s the Commission focused on acquiring land to begin planting out new forests; much of the land was previously used for agricultural purposes. By 1939 the Forestry Commission was the largest landowner in Britain.

During the 1930s the Nazis had elements that were supportive of animal rights, zoos and wildlife, and took several measures to ensure their protection. In 1933 the government created a stringent animal-protection law and in 1934, Das Reichsjagdgesetz (The Reich Hunting Law) was enacted which limited hunting. Several Nazis were environmentalists (notably Rudolf Hess), and species protection and animal welfare were significant issues in the regime. In 1935, the regime enacted the "Reich Nature Protection Act" (Reichsnaturschutzgesetz). The concept of the Dauerwald (best translated as the "perpetual forest") which included concepts such as forest management and protection was promoted and efforts were also made to curb air pollution.

In 1949, A Sand County Almanac by Aldo Leopold was published. It explained Leopold's belief that humankind should have moral respect for

the environment and that it is unethical to harm it. The book is sometimes called the most influential book on conservation.

Throughout the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and beyond, photography was used to enhance public awareness of the need for protecting land and recruiting members to environmental organisations. David Brower, Ansel Adams and Nancy Newhall created the Sierra Club Exhibit Format Series, which helped raise public environmental awareness and brought a rapidly increasing flood of new members to the Sierra Club and to the environmental movement in general. "This Is Dinosaur" edited by Wallace Stegner with photographs by Martin Litton and Philip Hyde prevented the building of dams within Dinosaur National Monument by becoming part of a new kind of activism called environmentalism that combined the conservationist ideals of Thoreau, Leopold and Muir with hard-hitting advertising, lobbying, book distribution, letter writing campaigns, and more. The powerful use of photography in addition to the written word for conservation dated back to the creation of Yosemite National Park, when photographs persuaded Abraham Lincoln to preserve the beautiful glacier carved landscape for all time. The Sierra Club Exhibit Format Series galvanised public opposition to building dams in the Grand Canyon and protected many other national treasures. The Sierra Club often led a coalition of many environmental groups including the Wilderness Society and many others.

After a focus on preserving wilderness in the 1950s and 1960s, the Sierra Club and other groups broadened their focus to include such issues as air and water pollution, population concern, and curbing the exploitation of natural resources.

Post-war expansion

In 1962, Silent Spring by American biologist Rachel Carson was published. The book cataloged the environmental impacts of the indiscriminate spraying of DDT in the US and questioned the logic of releasing large amounts of chemicals into the environment without fully understanding their effects on human health and ecology. The book suggested that DDT and other pesticides may cause cancer and that their agricultural use was a threat to wildlife, particularly birds. The resulting

public concern led to the creation of the United States Environmental Protection Agency in 1970 which subsequently banned the agricultural use of DDT in the US in 1972. The limited use of DDT in disease vector control continues to this day in certain parts of the world and remains controversial. The book's legacy was to produce a far greater awareness of environmental issues and interest into how people affect the environment. With this new interest in environment came interest in problems such as air pollution and petroleum spills, and environmental interest grew. New pressure groups formed, notably Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth (US), as well as notable local organisations such as the Wyoming Outdoor Council, which was founded in 1967.

In the 1970s, the environmental movement gained rapid speed around the world as a productive outgrowth of the counterculture movement.

The world's first political parties to campaign on a predominantly environmental platform were the United Tasmania Group Tasmania, Australia and the Values Party of New Zealand. The first green party in Europe was the Popular Movement for the Environment, founded in 1972 in the Swiss canton of Neuchâtel. The first national green party in Europe was PEOPLE, founded in Britain in February 1973, which eventually turned into the Ecology Party, and then the Green Party.

Protection of the environment also became important in the developing world; the Chipko movement was formed in India under the influence of Mhatmas Gandhi and they set up peaceful resistance to deforestation by literally hugging trees (leading to the term "tree huggers"). Their peaceful methods of protest and slogan "ecology is permanent economy" were very influential.

Another milestone in the movement was the creation of Earth Day. Earth Day was first observed in San Francisco and other cities on 21 March 1970, the first day of spring. It was created to give awareness to environmental issues. On 21 March 1971, United Nations Secretary-General U Thant spoke of a spaceship Earth on Earth Day, hereby referring to the ecosystem services the earth supplies to us, and hence our obligation to protect it (and with it, ourselves). Earth Day is now coordinated globally by the Earth Day Network, and is celebrated in more than 192 countries every year.

The UN's first major conference on international environmental issues, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (also known as the Stockholm Conference), was held on 5–16 June 1972. It marked a turning point in the development of international environmental politics.

By the mid-1970s, many felt that people were on the edge of environmental catastrophe. The Back-to-the-land movement started to form and ideas of environmental ethics joined with anti-Vietnam War sentiments and other political issues. These individuals lived outside normal society and started to take on some of the more radical environmental theories such as deep ecology. Around this time more mainstream environmentalism was starting to show force with the signing of the Endangered Species Act in 1973 and the formation of CITES in 1975. Significant amendments were also enacted to the United States Clean Air Act and Clean Water Act.

In 1979, James Lovelock, a British scientist, published Gaia: A new look at life on Earth, which put forth the Gaia hypothesis; it proposes that life on earth can be understood as a single organism. This became an important part of the Deep Green ideology. Throughout the rest of the history of environmentalism there has been debate and argument between more radical followers of this Deep Green ideology and more mainstream environmentalists.

21st century and beyond

Environmentalism continues to evolve to face up to new issues such as global warming, overpopulation, genetic engineering, and plastic pollution.

Research demonstrates a precipitous decline in the US public's interest in 19 different areas of environmental concern. Americans are less likely be actively participating in an environmental movement or organisation and more likely to identify as "unsympathetic" to an environmental movement than in 2000. This is likely a lingering factor of the Great Recession in 2008. Since 2005, the percentage of Americans agreeing that the environment should be given priority over economic growth has dropped 10 points, in contrast, those feeling that growth should be given

priority "even if the environment suffers to some extent" has risen 12 percent.

New forms of ecoactivism

Tree sitting is a form of activism in which the protester sits in a tree in an attempt to stop the removal of a tree or to impede the demolition of an area with the longest and most famous tree-sitter being Julia Butterfly Hill, who spent 738 days in a California Redwood, saving a three-acre tract of forest.

Sit-in can be used to encourage social change, such as the Greensboro sit-ins, a series of protests in 1960 to stop racial segregation, but can also be used in ecoactivism, as in the Dakota Access Pipeline Protest.

Before the Syrian Civil War, Rojava had been ecologically damaged by monoculture, oil extraction, damming of rivers, deforestation, drought, topsoil loss and general pollution. The DFNS launched a campaign titled 'Make Rojava Green Again' (a parody of Make America Great Again) which is attempting to provide renewable energy to communities (especially solar energy), reforestation, protecting water sources, planting gardens, promoting urban agriculture, creating wildlife reserves, water recycling, beekeeping, expanding public transportation and promoting environmental awareness within their communities.

The Rebel Zapatista Autonomous Municipalities are firmly environmentalist and have stopped the extraction of oil, uranium, timber and metal from the Lacandon Jungle and stopped the use of pesticides and chemical fertilisers in farming.

The CIPO-RFM has engaged in sabotage and direct action against wind farms, shrimp farms, eucalyptus plantations and the timber industry. They have also set up corn and coffee worker cooperatives and built schools and hospitals to help the local populations. They have also created a network of autonomous community radio stations to educate people about dangers to the environment and inform the surrounding communities about new industrial projects that would destroy more land. In 2001, the CIPO-RFM defeated the construction of a highway that was part of Plan Puebla Panama.

12.4 ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

The environmental movement (a term that sometimes includes the conservation and green movements) is a diverse scientific, social, and political movement. Though the movement is represented by a range of organisations, because of the inclusion of environmentalism in the classroom curriculum, the environmental movement has a younger demographic than is common in other social movements

Environmentalism as a movement covers broad areas of institutional oppression, including for example: consumption of ecosystems and natural resources into waste, dumping waste into disadvantaged communities, air pollution, water pollution, weak infrastructure, exposure of organic life to toxins, mono-culture, anti-polythene drive (jhola movement) and various other focuses. Because of these divisions, the environmental movement can be categorized into these primary focuses: environmental science, environmental activism, environmental advocacy, and environmental justice.

Free market environmentalism

Free market environmentalism is a theory that argues that the free market, property rights, and tort law provide the best tools to preserve the health and sustainability of the environment. It considers environmental stewardship to be natural, as well as the expulsion of polluters and other aggressors through individual and class action.

Evangelical environmentalism

Evangelical environmentalism is an environmental movement in the United States of America in which some Evangelicals have emphasized biblical mandates concerning humanity's role as steward and subsequent responsibility for the care taking of Creation. While the movement has focused on different environmental issues, it is best known for its focus of addressing climate action from a biblically grounded theological perspective. This movement is controversial among some non-Christian environmentalists due to its rooting in a specific religion.

Preservation and conservation

Environmental preservation in the United States and other parts of the world, including Australia, is viewed as the setting aside of natural resources to prevent damage caused by contact with humans or by certain human activities, such as logging, mining, hunting, and fishing, often to replace them with new human activities such as tourism and recreation. Regulations and laws may be enacted for the preservation of natural resources.

Organisations and conferences

Reef doctor work station in Ifaty, Madagascar

Environmental organisations can be global, regional, national or local; they can be government-run or private (NGO). Environmentalist activity exists in almost every country. Moreover, groups dedicated to community development and social justice also focus on environmental concerns.

Some US environmental organisations, among them the Natural Resources Defense Council and the Environmental Defense Fund, specialise in bringing lawsuits (a tactic seen as particularly useful in that country). Other groups, such as the US-based National Wildlife Federation, Earth Day, National Cleanup Day, the Nature Conservancy, and The Wilderness Society, and global groups like the World Wide Fund for Nature and Friends of the Earth, disseminate information, participate in public hearings, lobby, stage demonstrations, and may purchase land for preservation. Statewide nonprofit organisations such as the Wyoming Outdoor Council often collaborate with these national organisations and employ similar strategies. Smaller groups, including Wildlife Conservation International, conduct research on endangered species and ecosystems. More radical organisations, such as Greenpeace, Earth First!, and the Earth Liberation Front, have more directly opposed actions they regard as environmentally harmful. While Greenpeace is devoted to nonviolent confrontation as a means of bearing witness to environmental wrongs and bringing issues into the public realm for debate, the underground Earth Liberation Front engages in the clandestine destruction of property, the release of caged or penned

animals, and other criminal acts. Such tactics are regarded as unusual within the movement, however.

On an international level, concern for the environment was the subject of a United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972, attended by 114 nations. Out of this meeting developed UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme) and the follow-up United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992. Other international organisations in support of environmental policies development include the Commission for Environmental Cooperation (as part of NAFTA), the European Environment Agency (EEA), and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1. How do you know the Definitions of Environmentalism?

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2. Discuss the History of Environmentalism.

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3. Describe the Environmental movement.

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12.5 POLITICAL ENVIRONMENTALISM IN INDIA

The widespread assumption that the environment is of concern for advanced societies but not for developing countries is wrong. This is evident in South Asia. According to Anil Agarwal (1994: 346), the environment is ‘an idea whose time has come in India’. For more than

two decades, there has been a lively environmental debate along with a high degree of legislative activity in India. Of course, this intensified as a consequence of the Bhopal gas leak in 1984 (Khator, 1991; Krishna, 1996), which led to the Environment Protection Act of 1986. However, there is vast agreement that the results of various reforms and regulations have been disappointing. Implementation has been poor. India's course of development is most likely unsustainable (Paulus, 1992). Its current development strategy is therefore increasingly disputed along lines of ecological considerations (Hörig, 1995). According to a World Bank analysis (Brandon and Homman, 1996), the total cost of environmental damages in 1992 amounted to 9.7 billion US dollars in India. This was the equivalent of 4.5 percent of GDP. The comparative figures for China and Mexico were 2.6 and 3.3 percent of GDP. In industrialized nations the annual environmental damage was estimated at one to two percent. Anil Agarwal (1996) considered the World Bank data for India to be underestimated as they did not account for the loss of biodiversity, health costs due to hazardous waste and deforestation impacts other than timber depletion. Air and water pollution and lack of sanitation, garbage and sewage disposal and other basic urban services severely hamper the development of India's cities. The prime ecological worries in India's rural areas are soil erosion, deforestation, water pollution and the scarcity of safe drinking water. In the cities, up to one-third of household wastes are never collected by municipal services (Venkateswaran, 1994). The situation is particularly bad in slums, which house at least one-fifth of India's urban population. Up to three quarters of Indian city dwellers lack sanitation (J.M. Rao, 1995a).

Overall, India's environmental situation in bleak. J. Mohan Rao (1995a) claims that 60 percent of agricultural land is degraded to varying degrees. Semi-arid and fragile soils have been brought under the plough. Waterlogging, erosion, salinization and overgrazing add to the depletion. While the government targets one-third of the nation's land to be covered by forest, the ratio had dropped below 20 percent by the late 1980s. Seventy percent of surface waters are seriously polluted. Eighty percent of the population do not have permanent access to safe drinking water. Such data prove that India needs effective environmental policies.

Indeed, the issue has been of political concern since the early 1970s. This is discussed in the next section. Section 12.2 scrutinizes deficiencies in implementation. The failure of environmental policies has triggered opposition and social movements in India (section 12.3). The last section of this chapter reconsiders these phenomena in the case of the Calcutta agglomeration. Throughout this book, the emphasis will not so much be on the physical reality of India's environment, as it would be in an engineering context. As this is an effort in sociology, the focus will be on academic assessments of environmental initiatives and even more on governmental and semigovernmental reports that are normally expected to serve as guidelines for State action.

The Emergence of Environmental Policy In the early 1970s the environmental feasibility of economic growth became an issue of governmental concern in its own right for the first time in India. The impetus came from the 1972 United Nations Conference on Human Environment in Stockholm. This reflected the international trend. Before, there had been environmentally relevant disputes, for instance, over the use of water or forests. In the case of India, such historical developments have recently been of academic interest (Gadgil and Guha, 1992; Arnold and Guha, 1995). However, it was only when the very survival of humankind was perceived to be threatened because of ecological degradation that environmental policies and bureaucracies began to emerge on national and international levels (Jänicke and Weidner, 1997, Jänicke et al., 1999). The Stockholm conference was of lasting impact in this sense. As elsewhere, the environmental challenge was initially seen primarily as a threat to economic development in India. As quoted by Renu Khator (1991: 23), Prime Minister Indira Gandhi summed up this point of view in her address to the plenary session of the conference on 14 June 1972, stating: On the one hand the rich look askance at our continuing poverty, on the other they warn us against their own methods. We do not wish to impoverish the environment any further and, yet, we cannot for a moment forget the grim poverty of large numbers of people. Are not poverty and need the greatest polluters? In this perspective, environmental protection appeared to merely increase the costs of economic activity. It was thus considered unaffordable for developing

countries. Environmental worries were seen as a concern mainly of the rich world–and yet another means to keep the poor world poor (Paulus, 1992). To some extent, this perspective still prevails. In the words of J. Mohan Rao (1995a: 681), 'many in India today including government officials … regard the environmental lobby as a child of northern conspiracy and northern funding'. Even back in 1972, however, this was not the only attitude. Indira Gandhi returned from Stockholm having become something of an environmentalist herself. Renu Khator (1991) lists several reasons why this prime minister with autocratic tendencies became interested in the issue. Indira Gandhi saw herself as a leader not only of her nation but of the Third World in general and was therefore eager to pursue what she saw as a progressive issue. More important, she used this, and other issues, to centralize power. Forests, water and energy had previously fallen exclusively under state legislation. Pressing environmental concerns provided an opportunity for constitutional reform, increasing the influence of the central government. Finally, Indira Gandhi perceived the chance of using environmental issues in order to politically mobilize mass frustration by predominantly symbolic means. Khator labels the attempt to deal with environmental challenges without affecting the economic and social basis of the Indian society as 'politics of reconciliation' (1991): 22). While this may appear disappointing, it must be emphasized that it is typical of emerging environmental policies the world over to be chiefly symbolical at first (Jänicke and Weidner, 1997, Jänicke et al., 1999).

In 1974, the Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act was passed. Since then, there has been ample legislative activity in India (Pathak, 1988). In 1976, the constitution was amended in order to include environmental protection among the principles ruling State policy and even individual behaviour:

• The State shall endeavour to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forests and wildlife. (Art. 48A)

• It shall be the duty of every citizen of India … to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wildlife, and

to have compassion for living creatures. (Art. 51A) International environmental politics continued to affect the Indian government, as has been exemplified by the Montreal Protocol, the international agreement to phase out ozone-depleting substances. While Indian diplomacy played a role in securing funds for poor nations to pursue this goal, the government had difficulty in developing a national strategy (Sims, 1995).

Implementation Deficits

The 1974 Water Act serves as the paradigm of Indian environmental legislation and of its failure to achieve the desired goals. Khator (1991: 72) states that 'from the very beginning, several loopholes existed in the Water Act, making it symbolic in nature and ineffective in practice'. The Act established a network of State and Central Pollution Control Boards, but their hierarchy and responsibilities remained unclear. Neither acceptable limits of pollution nor clear time spans for their implementation were defined. Municipalities had been identified as the main polluters of India's water bodies, but they were not made liable for prosecution. By the mid-1980s, Khator (1991) counted more than fifty different items of environmental legislation in India, thirty of which dealt with pollution alone. There were various programmes of the central and state governments for afforestation and soil conservation. Major policy issues such as the prevention of air pollution and environmental protection in general became the jurisdiction of the Pollution Control Boards. In addition to their network, India today has a full-fledged Ministry of the Environment. It was initially established as the Department of the Environment in 1980 and turned into a ministry in 1985. The vast bureaucracy did little more than create awareness and establish a monitoring network. According to Khator (1991: 100), the achievements of this organizational endeavour can be 'summed up in a few sentences': The rate of deforestation has not been reduced; the level of pollution in water has not been decreased; and the quality of air has not been improved in any significant way….Even after ten years, the reports of the achievements of the Central Water Pollution Control Board emphasize activities rather than achievements. As argued above, local power structures in India do not necessarily reflect constitutional

aspirations. According to Khator, this also holds true for environmental regulations. She made out five core reasons for the almost complete failure of India's environmental bureaucracy:

• the cost of enforcement for local officials,

• the cost of compliance for polluters,

• conflicting interests of state and central authorities,

• rivalry with other state or central departments, and

• the politicization of bureaucratic structures. Khator's five arguments of 1991 are briefly summarized here.

While those who formulated policies were exposed to pressures by environmentally concerned international donor agencies, those in charge of implementation of the policies were under the pressures of powerful local elites, which include the usually well-connected owners of polluting industries. Within their bureaucracies, officials were held responsible for following procedural rules but not for the results of their actions. As they were generally perceived to be prone to corruption, there was no reputation to be lost. The future careers of the mostly frustrated and alienated low-ranking bureaucrats depended on their being perceived as not causing trouble. This scenario meant that the individual cost of enforcing strict environmental standards became considerably higher than that of paying lip service to procedures and neglecting environmental standards in practice. For the polluters, in turn, the cost of compliance tended to be higher than the cost of non-compliance. Corruption, litigation and (rather unlikely and normally low) fines were cheaper than installing anti-pollution devices. Most industries were operating under considerable pressure to cut costs in highly competitive markets. The polluters' general view was that bureaucrats could be bought. Their local power alliances with high-ranking party and State officials were based more on suspicion than on mutual interest. Business

people did not normally get involved in policy processes. The cost of lobbying would again have been higher than that of simple non-compliance. This, in turn, meant that legislation tended to be unrealistic in terms of economic viability, thus reinforcing polluters' general approach of non-compliance. Institutional inefficiency was exacerbated by the fact that state governments had to implement central government policies. The relationship between them was often characterized by animosity. Beyond formal recognition, there tended to be little concern for the needs of other government levels. Authorities at the state level were likely to see environmental regulations primarily as the central government's tools to delay projects and to interfere in state interests. The chances of successful environmental policy were further diminished by the fact that the bureaucracy concerned was a weak player within the rivalry of various government agencies. It had no powerful clientele, nor even a clearly defined target group. Information about the confusing multitude of environmental hazards was still scarce in India, making the cost of action appear to be higher than the costs of inaction. Finally, the environmental bureaucrats had little legal means of enforcing their policy objectives if other agencies proved unwilling to cooperate.

The politicization of the administrative bodies along partisan lines further diminished motivation and efficiency. In day to day practice, loyalty to party personnel mattered more than policy compliance. This scenario of 1991 still was basically accurate in 1998. However, public interest litigation had in the meantime given some clout to the Pollution Control Boards, as Deb Kumar Bose, chairman of the WBPCB, and other high ranking officers told me in interviews. Industries are now more afraid of increasing fines or closures of their companies in the case of non-compliance. Environmental consultancies have become good business because companies are required to prepare environmental impact assessments and are increasingly taking this matter seriously, particularly when large sums of investment are involved. The general impression today is that the judiciary has become an ally for those in the environmental bureaucracy committed to the goal of their institutions. Books on environmental law include extensive chapters of public interest litigation (Shastri, 1990; Leelakrishnan, 1992). Leading judges are aware

of their potentially decisive role, as the following quotation of former Supreme Court Chief Justice R.S. Pathak (1998: 1178f) exemplifies; Where, however, there is no law on the subject it will be a question for consideration whether the [Supreme] Court, in the guise of affirmative action, can embark on a programme of environmental protection and enter into the area of law making. The Court has done so in some cases, assuming an 'activist' role, provoked no doubt by the absence of pertinent executive action or of the requisite legislation. Nevertheless, Khator laments that Indian environmental policies have been mostly symbolic. While this complaint is common for OECD nations as well (Huber, 1991), in the case of India we are dealing with a keener perception of implementation deficits. Renu Khator (1991: 123) makes out as general deficiencies of India's institutional life:

Lack of rationality and neutrality in officials; absence of the public trust in the bureaucracy; presence of corruption and the acceptance of this corruption by the society; existence of the alliance between the elite and the ruling party; nonaccountability of technicians; and finally, the domination of political patronage in policy processes. Gadgil and Guha (1995: 48) agree with this dismal assessment of Indian government institutions: Each department has developed a culture of a well-knit, highly organized group pursuing its own vested interests in an independent fashion. Of course, each department does interact with others to carve out the total share of the pie, but to no other useful purpose. Given the sorry state of government affairs in India, it is naïve to merely suggest technocratic solutions to the ecological impasses. Specialized environmental courts, introduction of preventive strategies and modernization of public sector industries as suggested by Paulus (1992) can be of little help as long as societal conditions do not allow such instruments to operate effectively. Consequently, Paulus also demands greater transparency and public participation, as do an increasing number of Indian citizens (Qaiyum, 1997). Granting that 'ambient standards of air and water pollution continue to be routinely exceeded and in some places quality has distinctly deteriorated', a radical overhaul of India's environmental policies has been mooted (Mehta et al., 1997: 17). In tune with the recent international debate, the argument

is that restrictions and government regulations are less efficient than fiscal incentives. However, this approach has little to offer in terms of safeguarding implementation. Fiscal instruments, of course, would depend on tax collection effectively covering the entire economy, something not to be taken for granted. There will be little doubt that the senses of ecological threats and frustration with government action are particularly strong in India. However, it must be kept in mind that the emergence of the specific policy arena in India is following a pattern that has been made out internationally (Jänicke and Weidner, 1997, Jänicke et al., 1999). It is normal for environmental politics to begin with symbolical measures and then to become more stringent over the years (not least as the result of an increasingly intense public debate).

Opposition to Government Deficiencies In view of India's urgent ecological crisis, social protests and opposition movements have been emerging, mostly at local levels. The Chipko activities to protect mountain forests and the mass campaigns against the Narmada Dam project have gained international media coverage. They are examples of grassroots political opposition gaining momentum (Guha, 1989; Krishna, 1996; Baviskar, 1997). Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha (1994) list them as the most prominent examples of environment-related political activities throughout India. India has a long tradition of conflicts over the use of natural resources. Disputes with a clear environmental aspect have occurred at least since the British rule in 19th century (Gadgil and Guha, 1992; Arnold and Guha, 1995). However, arguments over the right to consume forest materials or of access to water were then seen to be rather of a social than of an environmental nature (Gadgil and Guha, 1994). Ecological issues were interpreted as matters of resource distribution not concerning the long-term ability of society as a whole to survive. Gadgil and Guha (1992) stress that up to today many environment-related conflicts in India have a sharper social edge than in the industrialized countries.

The livelihood and survival of those poor who are living at subsistence level are normally harmed whenever land use, water access or urban space are in dispute (Viegas and Menon, 1989). Sumi Krishna (1996) points out that for poor people involved in conflicts viewed as

environmental by scholars or journalists, the emphasis is still likely to be on the protection of their immediate livelihood. This includes the internationally known Chipko and Narmada movements (Guha, 1989; Baviskar, 1997). In the first case, villagers' rights to access and use the forest were at stake. In the second case, farmers do not want their land to be flooded. For these movements, ecological reasoning has become a resource in the socioeconomic struggle to protect livelihood. This helped to create coalitions that went beyond single communities. Krishna compares the Chipko and the Narmada movements to similar cases in which people were mobilized along linguistic or caste lines. The former tend to be less violent and more effective in rallying support from outside their respective regions. They also appear to be more successful in securing the livelihood of the people involved. Environmental arguments mobilize entire networks in civil society and give wider scope for successfully opposing government power. Grassroots movements emphasizing environmental aspects have found academic support. Members of India's urban elites take interest in these issues. The first widely regarded non-government documentations of environmental decay were published by the Centre for Science and Environment (1982, 1985). Critical social scientists and economists generally demand a new development model. They claim that the current policies of structural adjustment and world market integration are adding to ecological disaster tendencies (e.g. Shiva, 1991; Arun Ghosh, 1994, Gadgil and Guha, 1995; J.M. Rao, 1995b; P. Sheth, 1997). Empowerment of the rural masses is meant to lead to greater environmental protection. Particularly the rural poor, after all, depend immediately on the biomass production of their village and surroundings. Skeptical of reducing complexity by means of such somewhat romanticist ideologies, Sumi Krishna (1996) warn that it is very likely a misconception to believe that the rural poor are inherently more protective of the environment.

Nor does she consider women to be necessarily more ecologically aware than men, as suggested by 'eco-feminist' writers (Mies and Shiva, 1993). Sentimental visions of small village communities living in harmony with nature will easily appeal to the educated, urban elite (Krishna, 1996; Baviskar, 1997). However, for the people concerned, the day-to-day

reality may be one of grim struggle for survival. Given the choice, many might indeed opt for the consumerist development model both enjoyed and despised by members of the urban environmentalist elite. Both Krishna and Baviskar basically call for more participative democracy to resolve such dilemmas. This, in the end, is politically the same demand as that made by those accused of romanticism, with the difference that Krishna and Baviskar do not expect immediate ecological relief. As discussed earlier, public interest litigation has become an important arena for environmentalists (Shastri, 1990; Sharma, 1993). Before turning to the case studies that will elaborate such matters, it will be necessary to take a closer look at the local context of Calcutta.

12.6 CRITICISM AND ALTERNATIVE VIEWS

Many environmentalists believe that human interference with 'nature' should be restricted or minimised as a matter of urgency (for the sake of life, or the planet, or just for the benefit of the human species), whereas environmental skeptics and anti-environmentalists do not believe that there is such a need. One can also regard oneself as an environmentalist and believe that human 'interference' with 'nature' should be increased. Nevertheless, there is a risk that the shift from emotional environmentalism into the technical management of natural resources and hazards could decrease the touch of humans with nature, leading to less concern with environment preservation.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1. How do you know the Political Environmentalism In India?

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2. How do you know about the Criticism and alternative views of Environmentalism?

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12.7 LET US SUM UP

The environmental situation of the Calcutta agglomeration and the state of its environmental polity reflect what has been stated so far for the entire nation. The Metropolitan Area faces tremendous environmental challenges, as has been amply documented on behalf of the state government itself (A.K. Ghosh, 1988, 1991; State Planning Board, 1990; CEMSAP 1995). However, the activities of the authorities responsible have, in general, been more symbolic than effective. Opposition to inadequate and unimplemented government planning has been organized by various groups and associations, with many concerned citizens now resorting to public interest litigation. However, the activists normally are from the middle class. Their campaigns are not based on a struggle for their immediate livelihood. This section first assesses the major environmental problems of the Calcutta area. It then examines programmatic government documents that, overall, have not been implemented. Finally, the environmentalist action groups are discussed. Before turning to these environmental issues, it is useful to briefly discuss governance in West Bengal on a more general level. In the 1960s and 1970s this state was exposed to serious civil strife and was perhaps even the most troubled state in India. 'One measure of the chaos that existed in Calcutta in 1970 and 1971 is that, even under presidential rule, there could be as many as 60 political murders committed in a day.

Politics became a dangerous profession' (Kohli, 1990: 130). Today, this no longer holds true. In 1977, a Left Front coalition dominated by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPM) gained a solid majority in the state assembly. It has since been repeatedly re-elected. It is generally considered successful in having re-established civil peace and implemented some reforms (Kohli 1987, 1990; Webster, 1992, 1995; Lieten, 1994, 1996; Chatterjee, 1997b). It is true that some writing

supports the Left Front in West Bengal only with critical scepticism (Echeverri-Gent, 1992; Engelsen Ruud, 1994; Sengupta and Gazdar, 1997). Increasingly, it has been stated that the Left Front is pressing less and less for progressive social change, but rather has assumed the role of a power broker (Olnhausen, 1990; Webster, 1995). Nonetheless, even its harshest critic blames it only for not performing above average, rather than for particular abuses of power (Mallick, 1992, 1993). The progressive policies implemented by the Left Front were predominantly focused on the rural areas. They included a modest land reform and the establishment of village self-administration (panchayat raj). Contrary to what many well-to-do citizens of Calcutta express, the Metropolitan Area was not totally neglected. There have been noticeable improvements in traffic infrastructure and slum settlements, as is elaborated in the next sections. Nonetheless, the environmental challenges remain daunting, and some of the most important duties of city management, for instance urban planning, have not been carried out in a satisfactory way.

12.8 KEY WORDS

Environmentalism: Environmentalism or environmental rights is a broad philosophy, ideology, and social movement regarding concerns for environmental protection and improvement of the health of the environment, particularly

Politics: the activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power.

12.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. How do you know the Definitions of Environmentalism?
2. Discuss the History of Environmentalism.
3. Describe the Environmental movement.
4. How do you know the Political Environmentalism In India?
5. How do you know about the Criticism and alternative views of Environmentalism?

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12.11ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 12.2
2. See Section 12.3
3. See Section 12.4

Check Your Progress 2

1. See Section 12.5
2. See Section 12.6

UNIT 13: IDENTITY POLITICS

STRUCTURE

13.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

- What is Identity Politics?
- Identity Politics in India
- Conceptual Understanding
- Debates on Women's Rights
- Islamic Feminists Discourse
- Construction of Religious Identity in India
- The Politics of Religious Identity

13.1 INTRODUCTION

Identity Politics has become a prominent subject in the Indian politics in the past few years. Rise of low castes, religious identities, linguistic groups and ethnic conflicts have contributed to the significance of identity politics in India. The discourse on Identity, many scholars feel, is distinctly a modern phenomenon. Craig Calhoun aptly describes ' the situation when lie argues that it is in the modern times we encounter intensified efforts at consolidating individual and categorical identities and reinforce self-sameness. ' This is primarily a modern phenomenon because some scholars feel that emphasis on identity based on a central organising principle of ethnicity, religion, language, gender, sexual preferences, or caste positions, etc, are a sort of "compelling remedy for anonymity" in an otherwise interpersonal modem world. It is thus said to be a "pattern of belonging, a search for comfort, an approach to community." However, the complex social changes and the imbrications of various forces, factors and events in this modern world have rendeftd such production and recognition of identities problematic. This is to say that any search for an 'authentic self for identity' is not an innocent and unbanked possibility; it involves negotiating other, often overlapping and contested, heterodox or multiple 'selves'. Cascardi succinctly elucidates this by observing, "the modern subject is defined by its insertion into a series of separate value-spheres, each one of which tends to exclude or attempts to assert its priority over the rest", thereby rendering identity schemes problematic. Nonetheless, the concerns with individual and collective identity that simultaneously seeks to emphasize differences and attempt to establish commonality with others similarly distinguished, have become a universal venture.

13.2 WHAT IS IDENTITY POLITICS?

But the question is how do discourses on identity fit into the political landscape? What are the political underpinnings of these discourses on identity? What are the organising principles of movements that characterise themselves as those based on identity concerns?

Can we define movements of workers as an instance of identity politics? In short wh,%t is the politics of identity and what are its organising principles? Identity Politics is said to "signify a wide range of political activity and theorising founded in the shared experiences of' injustice of members of certain social groups". A s a political activity it is thus considered to signify a body of political projects thiit attempts a "recovery from exclusion and denigration" of groups hitherto marginalised on the basis of differences based on their 'selj7zood' determining characteristics like ethnicity, gender, sexual preferences, caste positions, etc. Identity politics thus attempls to attain empowerment, representation and recognition of social groups by asserting the very same markers that distinguished and differentiated them from the others and utilise those markers as an assertion of selfhood and identity based on dfirence rather than equality. Contrastingly placed, it is to imply that adherents of identity politics essentialise certain markers that fix the identities of social groups around an ensemble of definitional absolutes. These markers may be those of language, culture, ethnicity, gender, sexual preferences, caste positions, religion, tribe, race, etc. institutionalised in jargons, metaphors, stereotypes, and academic literature and reinforced through practices of positive discrimination or affirmative action. The proponents of identity politics thus, assign the primacy of some "essence" or a set of core features shared only by members of the collectivity and no others and accepts individual persons as singular, integral, altogether harmonious and unproblematic identities. These core markers are different from associational markers like those of the workers who are defined more by their common interests rather than by certain core essential naturally 'given' identity attributes of the groups engaged in identity politics. Though many would argue that "worker" was an identity deserving legitimacy and as a group, its movements can be referred to as identity Politics, but probably the term "identity politics" as a body of political projects implied to in contemporary discourses refers to certain essential, local and particular categorical identities rather than any universalising ideals or agenda. The adherents of identity politics utilise the power of myths, cultural symbols and kinship relations to mould the feeling of shared community and

subsequently politicise these aspects to claim recognition of their particular identities. The strongest criticism against Identity Politics is that it often challenged by the very same markers upon which the sense of self or community is sought to be built. It is despite the fact that identity politics is engaged in numerous aspects of oppression ancl powerlessness, reclaiming and transforming negative scripts used by dominant group:; into powerful instruments for building positive images of self and community. In other words the markers that supposedly defines the community are fixed to the extent that they harden and release a process of in-group essentialism that often denies internal dialogically within and without the group and itself becomes a new form of closure and oppression. Identity Politics as a field of study can be said to have gained intellectual legitimacy since the second half of the twentieth century, i.e., between 1950s and 1960s in the United States when large scale political movements of the second wave-feminists, Black. Civil Rights, Gay and Lesbian Liberation movements and movements of various Indigenous groups in the U.S. and other parts of the world were being justified and legitimated on the basis of claims about injustices done to their respective social groups. However, as scholars like Heyes point out that although "'Identity Politics' can draw on intellectual precursors from Mary Wollstonecraft to Frantz Fanon, writing that actually uses this specific phrase-Identity Politics-is limited almost exclusively to the last 15 years.

13.3 IDENTITY POLITICS IN INDIA

In India we find that despite adoption of a liberal democratic polity after independence, communities and collective identities have remained poweiful and continue to claim recognition. In fact, Beteille has shown that the Indian polity has consistently tried to negotiate the allegiance to a liberal [individual] spirit and the concerns and consciousness of community. According to Bikhu Parekh this process has recognised a wide array of autonomous and largely self-governing communities. It has sought to reconcile itself as an association of individuals and a community of communities, recognising both individuals and communities as bearer of rights. It was probably this claim for and

granting of recognition of particular identities by the post-independence state of India that led many scholars to believe that a material basis for the enunciation of identity claims has been provided by the post-independent state and its structures and institutions. In other words the state is seen as an "active contributor to identity politics through the creation and maintenance of state structures which define and then recognise people in terms of certain identities". Thus, we find identity politics of various hues abound in India, the most spectacular however, are those based on language, religion, caste, ethnicity or tribal identity. But having said this it would be wrong on our part to assume that each of these identity markers operate autonomously, independent of the overlapping influence of the other makers. In other words a homogenous linguistic group may be divided by caste affiliations that may be subdivided by religious orientations or all may be subsumed under a broader ethnic claim.

13 3 1 Caste

Caste-based discrimination and oppression have been a pernicious feature of Indian society and in the post-independence period its imbrications with politics have not only made it possible for hitherto oppressed caste-groups to be accorded political freedom and recognition but has also raised consciousness about its potential as a political capital. In fact Dipankar Gupta has poignantly exposed this contradiction when he elaborates the differences between Ambedkar and Mandal Commission's view of caste. While the former designed the policy of reservations or protective discrimination to remove untouchability as an institution from Indian social life and polity, the latter considered caste as an important political resource. Actually, the Mandal commission can be considered the intellectual inspiration in transforming caste-based identity to an asset that may. be used as a basis for securing political and economic gains. Though it can also be said that, the upper castes by virtue of their predominant position were already occupying positions of strengths in the political and economic system, and when the Mandal heightened the consciousness of the 'Dalits' by recognisisng their disadvantage of caste-identity as an advantage the confrontation ensues.

The caste system, which is based on the notions of purity and pollution, hierarchy and difference, has despite social mobility, been' oppressive towards the Shudras and the outcastes who suffered the stigma of ritual impurity and lived in abject poverty, illiteracy and denial of po1itic:al power. The origin of confrontational identity politics based on caste may be said to have its origin on the issue of providing the oppressed caste groups with state support in the form of protective discrimination. This group-identity based on caste that has been reinforced by the emergence of political consciousness around caste identities is il~stitutionalised by the caste-based political parties that profess to uphold and protr:ct the interests of specific identities including the castes. Consequently, we have the upper caste dominated BJP, the 1-ower caste dominated BSP (Bhaujan Sarnaj Party) or the ISP (Samajwadi Party), including the fact that left parties (for example use of caste idioms for mobilising agricultural labourers in Andhra Pradesh elections in 1950) have tacitly followed the caste pattern to extract mileage in electoral politics. The Cumulative result of the politicisation can be summarised by arguing that caste-based identity politics has had a dual role in Indian society and polity. It relatively democratised the caste-based Indian society but siinultaneously undermined the evolution of class-based organisations. In all, caste has become an important determinant in Indian society and politics, the new lesson of organised politics and consciousi~ess of caste affiliations learnt by the hitherto despised caste groups have transformed the contours of Indian politics where shiQing caste-class alliances are being encountered. The net effect of these mobilisations along caste-identities have resulted not only in the empowerment of newly emerging groups but has increased the intensity of confrontational politics and possibly leading to a growing crisis of governability.

13.3.2 Religion

Another form of identity politics is that affected through the construction of a community on the shared bond of religion. In India, Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism are some of the major religions practised by the people. Numerically the Hindus are considered to be the majority, which inspires many Hindu loyalist groups like the

RSS (Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh) or the Siva Sena and political paflies like the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) or the Hindu Mahasabha to claim that India is a Hindu State. These claims generate homogenising myths about India and its history. These claims are countered by other religious groups who foresee the possibility of losing autonomy of practise of their religious and cultural life under such homogenising claims. This initiates contestations that have often resulted in communal riots. The generally accepted myths that process the identity divide on religious lines centre on the 'appeasement theory', 'forcible religious conversions', general 'anti-Hindu' and tllus 'anti-India' attitude of the minority religious groups, the 'hegemonic aspirations' of majority groups and 'denial of a socio-cultural space' to minority groups. Historically, the Hindu revivalist movement of the 19 century is considered to be the period that saw the demarcation of two separate cultures on religious basis-the Hindus and the Muslims that deepened further because of the partition. This division which has become institutionalised in the form of a communal ideology has become a major challenge for India’s social secular formation.

It was for a major part of the last century signified Hindu-Muslim conflict, in recent years contestations between Hindus and Sikhs, Hindus and Christians have often crystallised into communal conflict. The rise of Hindu national assertiveness, politics of representational government, persistence of communal perceptions, and competition for the socio-economic resources are considered some of the reasons for the generation of communal ideologies and their transformation into major riots. Identity schemes based on religion have become a major source of conflict not only in the international context but since the early 1990s it has also become a challenge for Indian democracy and secularism. The rise of majoritarian assertiveness is considered to have become institutionalised after the BJP. that along with its 'Hindu' constituents gave political cohesiveness to a consolidating Hindu consciousness, formed a coalition ministry in March 1998. However, like all identity schemes the forging of a religious community glosses over internal differences within a particular religion to generate the "we are all of the same kind" emotion. Thus differences of caste groups within a

homogenous Hindu identity, linguistic and sectional differences within Islam are shelved to create a homogenous unified religious identity. In post-independence India the majoritarian assertion has generated its own antithesis in the form of minority religions assertiveness and a resulting confrontational politics that undermines the syncretistic dimensions of the civil society in India. The process through which this religious assertiveness is being increasingly institutionalised by a 'methodical rewriting of history' has the potential to refbrmulate India's national identity along communal trajectories.

13 3.3 Language

Identity claims based on the perceptioil of a collectivity bound together by language inay be said to have its origin in the pre-independence politics of the Congress that had promised reorganisation of states in the post-independent period on linguistic basis. But it was the "JVP" (Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya) Committee's concession that if public sentiment was "insistent and overwhelming", the formation of Andhra from the Telugu-speaking region of the then Madras could be conceded which as Michael Brecher mentions was the "opening wedge for the bitter struggle over states reorganisation which was to dominate Indian Politics from 1953 to 1956". Ironically, the claim of separate states for linguistic collectivities did not end in 1956 and even today continues to confront the concerns of the Indian leadership. But the problem has been that none of the created or claimed states are mono-ethnic in composition and some even have numerically and politically powerful minorities. This hqs resulted in a cascading set of claims that continue to threaten the territorial limits of existing states and disputes over boundaries between linguistic states have continued to stir conflicts, as for instance the similer tensions between Maharastra and Karnataka over the district of Belgaum or even the claims of the Nagas to parts of Manipur. The linguistic divisions have been complicated by the lack of a uniform language policy for the entire country. Since in each state the dominant regional language is often used as t& medium of instruction and social communication, the consequent affinity and allegiancehat develops towards one's own language gets

expressed even outside~one's state of origin. 'For instauice the fimhation of linguistic cultural and sooial grbups outside one's state of origin helps to consolidate the unity and sense of comrnunity in a separate linguistic society. Thus language becomes an important premise on which group identities are organised and establishes the conditions. Though it is generally felt that linguistic states provide freedom and autonomy for collectivities within a heterogene~us society, critics argue that linguistic states 'have reinforced regionalism and has provided a platfqrm for the articulation of a phenomenal number of identity claims in a country that has 1,652 'mother tongues' and only fourteen recognised languages around which states have been reorganised. They argue that the effective result of recognition for linguistic groups has disembodied the feelings of national unity and national spirit in a climate where 'Maharastra for Marathis, Gujrat for Gujratis, etc" has reinforced linguistic mistrust and defined the economic and political goods in linguistic terms.

13.3.4 Ethnicity

You will study in detail about the ethnicity in unit 26 of the book 2 of this course. There are two ways in which the concept of ethnic identity is used; one, it insiders the formation of identity on the basis of single attribute - language, religion, caste, region, etc. two, it considers the formation of identity on the basis, of multiple attributes cumulatively. However, it is the second way formation of identity on the basis of more than one characteristic - culture, customs, region, religion or caste, which is considered as the most common way of formation of the ethnic identity. The one ethnic identity is formed in relation to the other ethnic identity. The relations between more than one ethnic identity can be both harmonious and conflictual. Whenever there is competetion among the ethnic identities on the real or imaginary basis, it expressed in the form ol' autonomy movements, demand for session or ethnic riots.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) What is identity politics? Explain.

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2) Discuss the role language in Indian Politics.

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3) Write a note on the role religion and caste in Indian Politics?

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13.4 CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDING

There has been a growing body of research since the 1980s that shows an increasing prominence of religion as a marker of identity among Muslims in general and their women in particular. Various discourses of religion and identity are often used for internal empowerment.The interest of the‘community’and ‘identity’ always seen as protecting the sacred and secular rights and interests of women. At the same time, the question of identity is crucial for women since they are more often, than not considered the repositories of culture and markers of identity. The contradictions and tensions underlying the definitions of self, gender and collectivity are universally relevant since all societies have to deal with three incontrovertible and inescapable truths i.e. birth, life and the reality of the male and femalegender. Thus, gender definitions are central to all cultures and their sense of collective identity (Shaheed,1998, p.8). In other words, the production and reproduction of life and labor operate within patriarchal institutions. Further, it is also important to understand the complex and diverse reasons for the foregrounding of religion and gender identity. The concept of identity which, we are going to discuss here is explained as the one; we are born into, suchas religious, caste and community. Their rights are protected either within a collective members ship whose association with the collective is cohesive and permanent;

which are acquired either through birth or marriage and hence, based on a particular text of some religious, ethnic or tribal'ideology'or can be protected under the secular law of a particular country as citizenship rights. The former identity relies on socio-cultural differences, and is based on personal/family laws especially in whole world regions and domesticity, as the basic tenet in preserving their identity and the later recognized by the State under various constitutional provisions to protect the rights of the minorities' communities. Therefore, challenging the community identity codes especially the former, can even lead to death such as khap panchayats (which you have read in the previous unit) and so on. However, it is to be noted that the very notion of identity is a 'modern one' and modern identity is inherently political, because it ultimately demands recognition. Hence, 'modern identity politics' revolves around demands for recognition of group identities. Therefore, identity politics of any sort becomes troublesome when it arises in the context of modern liberal democracy. While modern democracies are built around individuals and their claims to rights, identity politics sacrifices the rights of individuals for the sake of the protection of groups and their traditions. It is a common tension to be found in liberal democratic societies between the individual's rights to equality and freedom, and the rights of religious minorities to religious, cultural and educational autonomy. This tension has become most apparent in the personal laws which govern religious communities in matters of marriage, inheritance and legal guardianship over children. While, the personal laws of religious communities have been considered instrumental for protecting the rights of religious minorities, they have also often discriminated against the fundamental rights of women as individual citizens. It is in this context that we will be discussing identity politics and how the process of recognition of a group identity affects the status and rights of women with special reference to Muslim women in India.

The concept of identity is contextual and represents one's unique personal experience, memory, ethnicity, culture, religious orientation, gender, occupational role, and so on. Oneness, a major component of identity endures as a self-regulating unity throughout change; or as

sameness that can be identified as being the same from among diversity or plurality of things. We all possess multiple and overlapping identities which make up our consciousness and usually they are not mutually exclusive, although they may be arranged and rearranged in different hierarchical orders. These hierarchies are related to the perception of our changing overlapping and often-contradictory power, material and or status interests that transform into gender, class, caste, national, ethnic, professional, political, cultural, linguistic or religious identities. Since we are social animals, each of these identities is also related to a specific group or community, and to which we are loyal or we reject. Sometimes these loyalties clash due to changes in the social and political environment which affect the interests of the person, particularly women who in almost all cultures are treated as a symbol of honour, identity as well as the community. In this clash between the interests of the person/ individual and the community, it the interests of the person/ individual – here women who are generally deprived of their rights –which suffer. The term identity politics was first used by L. A. Kauffman in the early and mid 1960s in describing the civil rights movement in USA. Identity politics is centered on the idea that activism involves groups' turning inward and stressing separatism, strong collective identities, and political goals focused on psychological and personal self-esteem. Escofier, writes about identity politics as a politics of culture that is able to create new and affirmative conceptions of the self, to articulate collective identities, and to forge a sense of group loyalty. Further, identity politics like nationalism requires the development of rigid definitions of the boundaries between those who have particular collective identities and those who do not possess a group identity. The emergence of identity politics is a slow ,evolutionary process. Its growth can be traced to the limitations of renaissance and nationalism, which, given the multi-religious and multicultural character of society, was forced to make a series of compromises with primordial identities. As a result, the society which emerged out of anti-colonial struggles continued to bear the burden of casteism and religiosity (Kumar, p.2011). Since the 1990s, we find a growing body of research on the increasing prominence of religion as a marker of identity. Religion seems to have played a central role in

the politics of identity. It is important to note that the role of religion in the production of identity is not just a question of significant philosophical or theological importance but is one that also possesses intriguing political, economic, and social implications. Several scholars have long sought to understand the processes of religious identification, especially how religion is used to create, mediate, and resist social change. Exercises of religious power, ranging from fundamentalist to syncretic practices, are integral to the construction of personal, familial, community and national identities (www.h-net.org: 2011). There are sufficient evidences that show that two thirds of contemporary wars turn on issues of religious, ethnic, or national identity (Appleby, 2000).

13.5 DEBATES ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

One of the key elements of conservative discourse on religious identity is the control of women. For instance, Christian Rights in the US promoting their views of morality by assassinating medical personnel who perform abortions, It is true of Islamic conservatives promoting gender apartheid in Iran, Sudan, Algeria and Afghanistan, it is equally true, certain sects and organizations are promoting sati (burning of wives alive on the pyre of their deceased husbands). Hence, religious conservatism cannot be isolated from other forms of conservatism which do not focus on religion, but do create ideological and political alliances with each other. The process of growing Islamization during the last three decades has had an impact not only on states, societies, and communities, but on women too. The daily practice and activities of conservatives, participating in a public quest for Islamic identity, directly affects women and the private sphere, particularly family codes or personal status laws which rule personal life, such as marriage, divorce, guardianship, child custody, polygamy, inheritance, standards of behavior, clothing and so on. It seems that the conservatives display a particular fondness for the private domain as a field of action towards restriction on women's participation in the public domain. For instance, in Afghanistan the Taliban have ordered Afghani women should not appear unveiled. The female education is not a priority. The acid attacks on women are common practice if they are not covering their face. This clearly

indicates how Islam is used by the conservative forces to deprive women, their rights in an Islamic country.Though the Islamic countries have modernized many laws related to economy, education, commerce, and politics there is practically no forward movement in the status of women. When it comes to women's rights, religion and theology are invoked. Laws pertaining to the public domain are governed more by secular considerations, but the laws governing personal and family matters (private domain) are still regulated by religion which you have already read in the MWG-009, Block 6. Further, the discourse on identity becomes complicated by the interlocking of traditional customs, values, and beliefs within ethnically defined or geographically specific framework outlining the parameters of woman's identity within particular community. The discourse on Islamic identity and the issue of women's rights further gets complicated when there is a clash between the universalisms of Islamic conservatives and western discourses. On the one hand, Universalist conservative discourse on Islamic identity and women's rights emphasize on implementing a similarity in their arguments without considering the difference in the historical, political and economic situation of the countries (for instance, Algeria, a 'socialist' country, Tunisia, capitalist and cosmopolitan, Saudi Arabia, a royal capital, Morocco a monarchist regime, Iran a theocratic state). On the other hand , western countries do deploythe human rights discourse in relation to women's rights against the spread of so-called Islamic fundamentalism and as an instrument to rationalize interventions with imperialist content. Further, within western countries with sizeable Islamic populations, a tendency to view Islam as an intrusion into western culture creates identity crises. For example, several commentators have argued that in a recent volume on Islam in North America, Muslims are described and interpreted by the West as 'other', 'non-us', or 'them', with Islam 'held up as an alien religion against an idealized, a historical Judeo Christian mirror' (Waugh et. Al. 1991: xi; cf. Hourani, 1991; cf. El-Guindi, 1981; Eickelman, 1987). Thus, women's lives are shaped, conditioned and governed by practices, customs, and laws synthesized into one cohesive whole in which no distinction is made between laws actually derived from Islamic doctrine and those borrowed

from outside. Their identities are defined by ethnic, national and religious culture and external laws as well as socio-economic structures (Shaheed, 2005). However, these two aspects of women's lives cannot be isolated from a host of other variables, such as cultural specificity, social and political structures as well as the level of economic development. The diversity of contexts within which Islamic women lives their life can neither be read off solely from Islamic ideology and practice, nor be entirely derived from global processes of socio-economic transformation, nor from universalistic premises of feminist theory (Kandyoti, 1991, p. 2)

13.6 ISLAMIC FEMINISTS DISCOURSE

Feminists have debunked the gender aspect of social relations - they reveal how all institutions whether it is of class, race, community or state that are based on patriarchal practices and are discriminatory in nature. These practices in turn are based on the patriarchal conception of power as the ability to use force to influence the other. Further, feminists focus on the idea that identities are designed to define a group as opposed to others and constructed to serve the interest of power. They have also shown how some identities like ethnic or religious are magnified and imposed while other identities like gender can be subsumed or positioned within other identities as and when necessary. Identity politics, according to Moghadam, refers to 'discourses and movements organized around questions of religious, ethnic, and national identity' (1994,p.ix). In Moghadam's view, women's rights can be achieved only when the 'woman's'identity is separated from other identities. It is also argued that community identity works against women. She further says, "identity assertions subordinate women's material interests"(Hasan,1994, p.x). This dimension of identity politics has troubled the women's movement and this is indeed a great concern for those who espouse the questions of citizenship rights. However, for women, who are frequently made the repositories of culture, the issue of identity is crucial. Women's empowerment both challenges and is being challenged by cultural and political issues of identity/identities: how identity is formed; who defines it; how definitions of gender fit into definitions of community (and those of a collective and personal self); and how these definitions interplay at

the local, regional, and international levels. All of these factors thus impact the aspirations and social mobility of women. Nevertheless, when we discuss the issue of women and identity, we need to consider two important factors. First, the societies that comprise the 'Islamic world'share a history of colonization or hegemonic rule and control. Most of them became nation-states without the benefit of an historical evolution of a nation, and all of them have had to grapple with both the challenges posed by state-building and the burdens of dislocated indigenous socio-economic structures and cultural systems (Taylor and Yapps, 1979, p. 23). Second, in the 'New World Order', the grounds of politics generally appear to have shifted away from defining the nature of the state and the appropriate socio-economic and political system to trying to work out the best deal within the existing system. This shift reinforces the tendency to make demands on the basis of identity rather than a well-articulated political agenda that spells out economic and social programs.

During the 1970s, Islamic feminists especially, Arab-Islamic feminists, focused on cultural differences, coupled with the rejection of the paternalistic models of Western feminism (El Guindi, 1999). This stage, which coincided in time with the so-called 'Islamic revival', engaged the feminists working within Islamic spaces, entangled in bitter debates around Islamic historiography and women (Saadawi, 1988). This debate determined the frame for the emergence of Islamic feminism during the 1990s. Islamic feminism that emerged in 1990s advocated women's rights, gender equality, and social justice by using Islamic discourse as its paramount discourse. Mernissi, Ahmed and Wadud argue for women's rights through Islamic law reform. They argue that feminist concepts in the Islamic world had to confront a triple consciousness i.e. national, transnational, and international which is articulated respectively along political, religious and gender lines . Islamic feminists and women's groups have frequently attempted to function in a way that engages with Islamic values and teachings rather than rejecting them as many groups that tried to ignore religion and pursued a Northbased notion of feminism that have not been able to make any impact on the common people. In the past twenty years or so, the majority of Islamic

feminists have taken what might be called an apologetic stand toward religion, and they have done this for non-cynical reasons. Leila Ahmed points out that a lot of Islamic feminists have felt that within the Islamic texts there is an egalitarian message which is unnoticed by the non-Islamic readers of the text and also not apparent to many of those who are anti-feminists among the Islam themselves (1992, p.65).Islamic feminist discourses on religious identity categorically speak about masculine hegemonies that have turned women into invisible elements of Islamic history through patriarchal discursive practices (Arebi, 1994; Nashat, 1999).

13.7 CONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS IDENTITY IN INDIA

You have read in MWG-002, Block 3,Unit 3 regarding the debates on this issue. Let us re-read some of the ideas related to it. The expression of Islamic identity in India is not a new phenomenon rather it dates back to the cusp of the 19th century when a section of the Islamic community began to lament the disintegration of the Mughal Empire in their endeavor to locate their position within the changing political structure (Ali, 2002). Reformers, publicists, writers and poets engaged in a 'self conscious reassessment of what was deemed authentic religion'based on a rereading of the classical texts. Studies of the Qur'an and hadith gained a prominence that had been unknown during the Mughal period (Washbrook, 1981 pp. 649- 721). Popular understandings of Islam underwent profound changes during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.If you would like to know more, please see the discussion(in Metacalf, Islamic Revival; Aziz Ahmed, Islamic modernism in India and Pakistan,1857-1904 (Rafiuddin Ahmed, [1967], London and The Bengal Muslims 1871-1906, 2nd edition Delhi,1988). The British also followed the same vision of Islam and visualized'Muslim'as a monolithic community. However, colonialism-inspired religious segregation and homogenization of India's diverse Islamic population. It has been argued that the 'parameters of the discourse established by the colonizers pushed nationalist forces into either supporting all traditions or initiating reform for women, within the

traditional-religious framework. For all participants in the debate, women came to represent 'tradition'and became the ground on which it was debated and reformulated' (Mani, 1989, p. 98). Hence, the discourse was not in fact women's welfare or status. The specific laws governing personal and family matters separated the parameters within which a 'Muslim' woman hoped to define her own identity. For example, the Islamic Marriage Dissolution Act 1939, granted men unconditional rights to divorce their wives while making divorce rights conditional for women.

13.8 THE POLITICS OF RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

After Independence and the creation of India and Pakistan, the political situation changed. Indian Islamic population, who had struggled for freedom opted to remain in India, found them referred to as a minority. In addition, being a minority and the feeling of insecurity attached to it, to a large extent, discouraged Muslims from advocating or demanding reforms in their personal law. Any attempt at reforming Islamic law took political color in which perceptions of threats to minority autonomy took precedence over women's rights. The claim of autonomy to maintain religious identity restricts any process towards claiming secular gender and legal equality. The legal equality granted to women under the constitutions of modern states is more often than not circumscribed by family legislation with traditional origin that privileges men in the areas of marriage, divorce, child custody, maintenance, and inheritance rights.In this situation, the preservation of religious identities often becomes detrimental to the realization of women's 'secular' rights. The case of Shah Bano in India is a historical example of depriving women of their secular rights in the name of maintaining community/religious identity. This case clearly brought out the discourse on constitutional rights, community identity and women's rights in which Shah Bano's identity as an Indian and her constitutional rights to equality were subsumed by her religious/community Identity.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Discuss the Conceptual Understanding.

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2) Discuss the Debates on Women's Rights.

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3) Describe Islamic Feminists Discourse.

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4) Discuss the Construction of Religious Identity in India.

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5) Discuss the The Politics of Religious Identity.

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13.9 LET US SUM UP

Identity has become an important phenomenon in the modern politics. The identification of members of the group on the basis of sharing common attributes on the basis of all or some of the attributes, language. gender, language, religion, culture, ethnicity etc. indicates the existence or formation of identity. The mobilisation on the basis of these markers is called identity politics. Identity politics gained legitimacy in the 1950s and 1960s in the United States and Europe. In India, the identity politics, hqs become an important aspect of politics. The rise of the dalit politics, especially the I3SP and backward class politics following the

implementation of the Mandal Con~mission Report; linguistic organisation of Indian states from the 1950s, and rise of the BJP, and the active role of the organisations like the RSS; and the ethnic conflict, insurgency and autonomy movements in several parts of the country are examples of the identity politics in India.

The democratic political system in India enables various groups to organise and assert on the basis the common attributes which they share. Identity politics has both negative and positive roles in Indian Politics.

In this Unit, we have read how women irrespective of religion,are often seen as the bearer of community identity. How identity relies on sociocultural differences (primarily based on patriarchal ideology), personal/ family laws, especially in the world and domesticity as the basic tenet in preserving their identity. Other identity recognized by the State under various constitutional provisions to protect the rights of the minority communities also question the legal rights of minority women. Both these aspects of identity have a strong impact on the sacred and secular rights of women. We have also discussed, as to how the nationalist projects often attempt to redefine, ethnically, religiously, and linguistically, diverse collectivities as a single nation through several means such as by virtue of citizenship in the state and formal equality before the law.

13.10 KEY WORDS

Identity: the fact of being who or what a person or thing is.

Politics: the activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power.

Feminism: Feminism is a range of social movements, political movements, and ideologies that aim to define, establish, and achieve the political, economic, personal, and social equality of the sexes.

13.11 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What is identity politics? Explain.
2. Discuss the role language in Indian Politics.
3. Write a note on the role religion and caste in Indian Politics?

4. Discuss the Conceptual Understanding.
5. Discuss the Debates on Women's Rights.
6. Describe Islamic Feminists Discourse.
7. Discuss the Construction of Religious Identity in India.
8. Discuss the The Politics of Religious Identity.

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13.13 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 13.2
2. See Subsection 13.3.3
3. See Sub Section 13.3.2

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 13.4
2. See Section 13.5
3. See Section 13.6
4. See Section 13.7
5. See Section 13.8

UNIT 14: RADICALISM

STRUCTURE

14.0 OBJECTIVES

In this Unit we shall study the origins of the Radicalism and the significant features of the revolutionary period. After reading this Unit you will be able to understand:

- how the economic crisis precipitated the revolution, the issues which mobilized the urban and rural force,

- the role of philosophers in providing an ideology,
- how the popular participation changed the course of revolutionary struggle,
- the democratic measures adopted by the national assembly and their implication,
- the principles of legitimation of the revolutionary government after the destruction of the old order,
- and the nature of political struggle which gave birth to political parties.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

'The French Revolution had made France a trailblazer in the domain of political culture. It not only established new principles of politics and democracy which continued to influence the European mind subsequently, it provided a new vocabulary of revolutionary action. The revolutionary doctrines of liberty, equality and fraternity continue to hold a special place even today in democratic societies the world over. In order to understand what led to the complete overthrow of the feudal structure in France along with monarchical government, it is necessary to have a brief background of the diverse social interests supporting or opposing the Revolution. Besides studying the immediate causes of the Revolution, it is necessary to know how the popular intervention of the menu-peuple (ordinary people) at crucial moments not only saved the Revolution but also influenced its course. The democratic action of the Third Estate laid dawn new principles of legitimacy. The crowd's direct action in 1792 pushed the Revolution towards a democratic Republic and revolutionary ideology and politics led to the formation of a rudimentary form of political parties.

14.2 REVOLUTIONARY OVERTHROW OF THE ANCIENT REGIME AND DEMOCRATIC ACTION

For most of the eighteenth century the French economy was marked by moderate growth and prosperity. There was a distinct expansion of tilt, oil industry cotton manufactures large seaports, sugar refinery and colonial commerce. From 1771-72, bad harvests led to an inevitable increase in grain and bread prices which caused disturbances at several places. The real economic crisis of the old regime began from 1775. Overproduction of wine caused falling prices and low profits. The depression of wine trade lasted seven to eight years. It was followed by a serious forage scarcity resulting in significant l~vestock losses affecting almost one-third of the French population. From 1787 a major cereal crisis followed catastrophic hailstorms, harsh winter and drought. The prices of grains and bread climbed between 50 and 100 percent. The rural crisis also had repercussions on the industrial sector where sales began to fall, affecting production and causing unemployment. The Franco-British trade treaty of 1786 made French workers vulnerable as the import tarlff of British products in France were 1-educed. These caused popular distnrbances and bread riots in many French towns, notably in Paris. Rumours and speculation stirred especially by lively pamphlets. fuelled fear and anger. In the countryside peasants ieacted to the harsh burden of state taxation and the. Their anger was also against bourgeois agents who set rules against common graLing rights in forests and posed a threat to common lands. This made tieorges Lefebvre conclude that the peasant revolution was both anti-feudal (against excessive seigneurial exploitation, that is, by traditional landlords) and anti-capitalist (against the appropriation of common land by the new landlords). Thus under the impact of economic crisis and political events, the peasant movement developed.

14.2.1 Economic Crisis and Popular Disturbances

This government was unable to get out of its unnecessary expenses and the defective taxation structure caused financial collapse. With a deficit

of 112 million livres and the credit of government exhausted, France faced national bankruptcy. The fiscal exemptions of the nobility and clergy was becoming a matter of resentment. The Controller-General of Finance, Calonne, tried to rationalize the tax structure through a new graduated land tax which would have undermined the financial privileges of the aristocracy; but he failed in this attempt. Calonne had a limited option. He could not depend on the Parliaments of Paris for approval because he expected violent opposition from its members. The summoning of the national representative assembly, the Estates-General, would have implied confessidn of state bankruptcy and would have rendered speedy action difficult. So he recommended the calling of an Assembly of Notables.

14.2.2 Financial Collapse of the State and Political Crisis

This government was unable to get out of its unnecessary expenses and the defective taxation structure caused financial collapse. With a deficit of 112 million livres and the credit of government exhausted, France faced national bankruptcy. The fiscal exemptions of the nobility and clergy was becoming a matter of resentment. The Controller-General of Finance, Calonne, tried to rationalize the tax structure through a new graduated land tax which would have undermined the financial privileges of the aristocracy; but he failed in this attempt. Calonne had a limited option. He could not depend on the Parlement of Paris for approval because he expected violent opposition from its members. The summoning of the national representative assembly, the Estates-General, would have implied confessidn of state bankruptcy and would have rendered speedy action difficult. So he recommended the calling of an Assembly of Notables.

14.2.3 Revolt of the Notables and Parliaments

The Assembly of Notables met at Versailles, the royal palace near Paris, on 22 February 1787. Members made bitter and unrestrained attacks on Calonne's fiscal proposals, and the reforms were brusquely rejected. The Assembly of Notables marks the beginning of the Revolution. The

aristocracy were bitterly hostile to the grolcing power of the royal government. The Notables declared that it was beyond their power to consent to the levying of new taxes. A leading notable, Lafayattee, argued that only a truly national assembly could assent to the drastic tax reforms and that such an assembly was the Estates-General which had not met since 1614. Brienne, the successor of Calonne, tried to push through a moderate programme of reforms through the Paris Parlement in September 1787, but failed. The delay in presenting the fiscal edicts by the government enabled the opposition groups in the Parlement of Paris to organise their forces. The proposals of stamp duty and land tax were rejected. Numerous tracts and pamphlets were circulated to seek popular support by propagating that Parlements lcere defending popular rights against the despotism of the central government. This resultcd in some anti-government riots in Paris, against intendants (royal civil servants) in Brittany and against the royal troops in Dauphine. Necker, who was again made the Controller-General, had no option but to call the meeting of Estates-General to get the reforms approved.

14.2.4 Calling of the Estates-General and the Coming Revolution

The clash between the aristocracy and centralized absolutism soon turned into a clash between the privileged and unprivileged orders when the government summoned the meeting of the Estates-General. In 1788, the French government had a debt of 4.5 billion livres and the king, Louis XVI, was compelled to seek additional funds from the EstatesGeneral which traditionally had the power to grant new taxes to the crown. The EstatesGeneral consisted of three groups representing the three parts of French society. Each part was called an estate. The First Estate, consisted of the Roman Catholic clergy, the Second Estate of the nobility, while the Third Estate comprised commoners representing the bulk of French population who were unprivileged and shouldered the entire tax burden. Within the Third Estate however, vast differences existed in matters of occupation, education and wealth. Separate elections were held for each estate and the voters drew up their list of grievances for their representatives. These were called cahiers de dolkances. Whereas the

cahiers of the nobility stressed the recognition of their traditional liberties, implying feudal rights and privileges, the cahiers of theThird Estate were mostly written by members of I the liberal professions demanding individual liberty and a written constitution. They also wished to see equality before law and the sharing of taxes by all the classes. It was not simply the economic crisis or political issues which brought the people together. The main problem was the growing contradictions in French society. A small percentage of total population enjoyed all the privileges while the bulk of the people shoulderd the I entire fiscal or tax burden of the state and faced social discrimination. However, the steady I growth of middle classes (called the bourgeoisie) both in terms of wealth and social status began to challenge the traditional order. The leadership came from this segment of society. while the masses were stirred to action by the prospects of radical reform. Together they formed the Third Estate. The Estates-General met on 5 May 1789 and matters came to head immediately in the absence of any firm lead from the government. The government had doubled the seats of the Third Estate because it represented the most populous segment of society. The Third Estate suggested that instead of voting separately, the three estates should vote together in a single body on the basis of one person one vote. Though several members of clergy were prepared to come to some understanding with the commoners, the nobility rejected these ideas and adopted an uncompromising position. Consequently the commoners walked out and voted itself a 'National Assembly' on 17 June 1789, calling themselves the true representatives of the people. They decided to draw up a constitution for France and bring about legal equality. In this way they reflected the Enlightenment ideas of popular sovereignty in place of a despotic government as suggested by Abbe Sieyes in his famous pamphlet, What is the Third Estate? The Revolution was not yet led by any well-formed party or movement but by a general consensus of ideas among a fairly c herent social group which imparted effective unity to the revolutionary struggle. This g 9 oup was the liberal bourgeoisie of professional men like lawyers, doctors, writers, notaries and office holders, familiar with the

ideas of classical liberalism and Enlightenment, as formulated by philosophers and economists.

The Tennis Court Oath I The National Assembly, considering that it has been summoned to establish the constitution of the kingdom, to effect the regeneration of public order, and to maintain the true principles of monarchy; that nothing ,can prevent it from continuing its deliberations in whatever place it may be forced to establish itselc and finally, that wheresoever its members are assembled, there is the National Assembly: Decrees that all members of this Assembly shall immediately take a solemn oath not to separate, and to reassemble wherever circumstances require, until the constitution of the kingdom is established and consolidated upon firm foundations.. . . a From A Docu~tary Survey of the French Revolution, ed. by John Hall Stewart (New York : Macmillan,. 1951),p. 88.

14 2 5 Role of Philosophers

The presence of philosophers with their ideas and new vocabulary probably made the difference between a mere replacement of one regime and the inauguration of a new order. Historians have debated the role of 'philosophers' (or philosophes in French) in' precipitating the French Revolution. An important strand of thought and action in the years between 1789 and 184'8 was set by Rousseau's Social Contract (1762) in which he wrote 'Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains'. Rousseau in particular and eighteenthcentury Enlightenment philosophy in general, questioned the traditional base of political, social and econon~ic authority. The Enlightenment taught that there would be human progress if those customary arrangements were challenged which benefited a few at the expense of the many. Enlightened thinkers regarded progress as the growth of individual self-expression and the elimination of authority based on birth, feudal privileges and guild regulations. Though the philosophers did not advocate revolution, they furnished the rising bourgeoisie and the entire nation with efficacious weapons in the revolutionary struggle with a potentially revolutionary vocabulary--words like citoyen, loi, patrie, etc. Rousseau's concept of 'sovereignty' of the people and 'general will' made the leaders feel that

society as a whole should decide its own interests. These ideas were disseminated through political discussions, clubs, masonic lodges and academic societies forming links with the popular movements. The spread of ideas of the Enlightenment to the literate elites was an important step but equally significant was the role of salons and clubs. Salons were the elegant drawing rooms of the wealthy urban elite where philosophers and guests gathered and often engaged themselves in academic and intellectual conversations centering on new ideas. At the onset of revolution, salons and clubs became the rallying point of reform-minded deputies like Mirabeau, Barnave, Robespierre, Petion, Duport and Sieyes.

14.2.6 Popular Participation in Overthrowing the Ancient Regime

Ever since the members of the Third Estate had assembled at an indoor tennis court (the most convenient hall they could find) on 20 June and the National Assembly, later joined by a majority of the clergy and some members of the nobility, matters had gone out of hand for the king. He reacted by dismissing his most popular minister Necker and summoned approximately 20,000 soldiers to garrison the Paris-Versailles region. Mirabeau's speech diverted the attention of the people and the popular reaction turned to violence. The elections to the Estates-General had already charged the political atmosphere through pamphlets and posters. The menu-peuple of Paris (consisting of workeis, journeymen, shop assistants, artisans and even small shopkeepers and rentiers of Faubourg Saint Antoine, a poor locality of Paris) responded by attacking the Bastille, a major prisoil fortress and royal armoury in the heart of Paris on July 14, 1789. The fall of the Bastille is tranditionally celebrated as the beginning of the French Revolution. The political consequences were remarkable. The National Assembly was not only saved, it received royal recognition. In Paris power passed to the committee of Electojs which set up a city council (the Paris commune). The king was forced to appoint I,afaye'tte as commander of a citizen's militia called the National Guard.. In rural areas, impact of Parisian events and harsh economic conditions caused troubles. What turned peasant unrest into a major upheaval was a

combination of provincial town risings and a wave of mass panic spreading across vast stretches of the country described as the Great Fear of late July and early August 1789. It was rumoured that the nobility were plotting to overthrow the Third Mate and seize power in alliance with grain speculators and hoarders by starving the people into submission. As a consequence, the people began to arm themselves by forming local militia or 'peasant guards.' Peasants began to attack their lords, burn and destroy chateaux (country mansions of the noblity), destroy feudal documents, and refuse to pay taxes and tithe. To pacify the peasants and reslore order, the National Assembly declared the abolition of the feudal regime along with seigneurial privileges and the old socio-political structure. The second malor work was the Declaration of the Rights of Man (proclamation of liberty, equality and fraternity) which became a manifesto of freedom. It tunled the royal subjects into citizens of France and were provided legal equality. Thus politics was made as much by pressures from outside the Assembly as by politicians within.

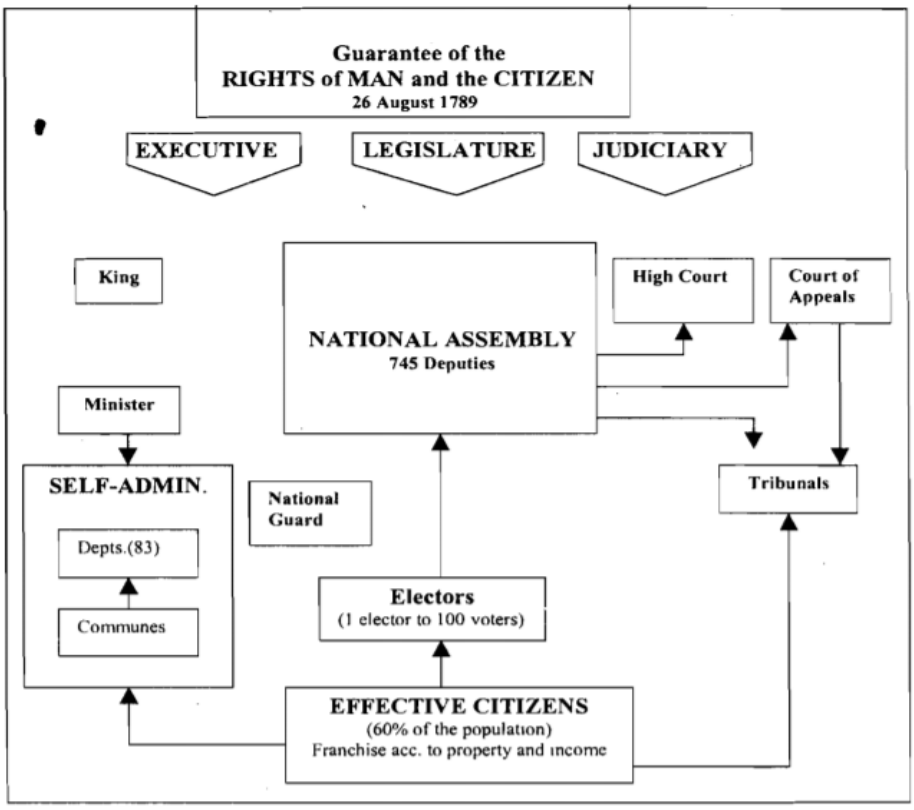
The Declaration of the Rights of Man August 27,1789. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights; social distinctions may be based only upon general usefulness.' 2. The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and inalienable rights of man; these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. 3. The source of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; no group, no individual may exercise authority not emanating expressly therefrom. 4. Law is the expression of the general will; all citizens have the right to concur personally or through their representatives in its formation; it must be the same for all, whether it protects orpunishes. All citizens, being equal before it are equally admissible to all public offices, positions, and employments, according to their capacity, and without other distinction than that of virtues and talents. 5. No one is to be disquieted because of his opinions; even religious, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law. 6. Free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Consequently every citizen may speak, write, and print freely, subject to

responsibility for the abuse of such liberty in the cases determined by law.

LOUIS XVI remained inactive all this time in Versailles. He refused to pron~ulgate the decrees on the abolition of feudalism and the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The Keolution was still not secure and the gains had to be fought for again in October 1789. An acute shortage of bread, the arrival of the Flanders regiment to protect Louis and his mdiffesent attitude towards the National Assembly led to an active involvement of women in the revolution that set off for Versailles in thousands. As an eye witness described, "Detachments of women coming up from every direction, armed with broomsticks, lances, pitchforks, swords, pistols and muskets were followed by huge croyds and reinforced by 20,000 Paris guards under Lafayette. They forced the king and his family to leave for the in Paris. As the king promised to lush food supplies to Paris and accept the decisions of the Assembly, he was escorted by the jubiliant crowd with a cry 'the baker, the baker's wife and the baker's boy'" (meaning of course the king, the queen and the heir the he throne. known as the Dauphin in France).

October 1789 until 1795 the women participated in the Revolution in a variety of ways. Olympe de Gouges became the principal spokesperson for the cause of political rights for women. They demanded equality with men. They demonstrated for bread and pi-ice contl-01s and joined in the defense of their 'Fatherland'. Women led soap riots caused by- the rising price of soap which affected thousands of laundry women. The Society for Revolutionary Republican Women composed of working class women, remained extremely active during the early part of the Revolution until it was suppressed. During the -1-error women opposed the Revolution owing to the harm it caused to family life, the Church and the supply of consumer goods. But in a period of male domination women's demands were not taken up very seriously. In the early phase of the Revolution, the National Assembly continued its attempts to ~.etol.ni the political structure into a constitutional monarchy but two events brought about a radical shift in the progress of revolution after 1791. The first was the religious issue. The Church was seen as a privileged order and supporter of the feudal regime. The abolition of tithe was followed

by the nationalisation of all Church property and land which was put for sale. By the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (12 July 1790), bishops and priests were to be elected by popular vote and the clergy were turned into salaried state officials who had to take the oath of allegiance to the constitution. Only 54 percent of the parish priests took the oath while the majority of the bishops refused it. This meant an end to tho period of national unity. It created conditions for the civil war as the anti-clerical issue split the nation along new lines. It brought about a realignment of counterrevolutionary forces of staunch Catholics, royalists, emigres, etc. The second event was the flight of the king 10 join hands with the emigres who tried to defeat the revolutionaries by seeking the help of foreign powers. This completely destroyed the cause of monarchy: France was declared a Republic In 1792 and Louis XVI was tried and executed in January 1793.



Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) What were the major economic grievances of the peasants? Answer in 100 words.

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2) Why did the economic reform proposals fail? Answer in 60 words.

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3) Explain the various divisions within the French society and the problems of the 'Third Estate. Answer in 100 words.

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4) Examine the role of philosophers in the French Revolution. Answer in 100 words

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14.3 PRINCIPLES OF LEGITIMATION

Recent writings on the French Revolution suggest that the Revolution was rooted in the political culture that took shape in the last years of the old regime, as an implicit contradiction, between absolutism and the politics of Enlightenment, resulting in crisis. How the absolute monarchy saw itself, its relation to the society within which it functioned seemed to be in glaring contradiction to the progressive principles of the new political culture. This new culture furnished the basis of a revolutionary discourse and raised the issue of legitimacy. A number of historians (e.g. Denis Richet, Gueniffy etc.) point out that the resolution voted on 17 June 1789 by the Third Estate to constitute itself into the National Assembly was the Est and the most profound revolutionary act. It implied a fresh set of principles of legitimacy for the revolutionary government. It was Sieyes who had stressed the ~mportance of the Third

Estate. Sieyes proposed two revolutionary theses: the identification of the nation exclusively with the Third Estate and the claim that the nation alone had the power to give France a constitution. Between May and August 1789, the entire anclen regime was destroyed. The French had rejected their national past and opted for the principles of the Revolution. When the National Assembly, after destroying feudal privileges, set about framing the future constitution of France. it became the Constituent Assembly. The decrees of 4th and 1 lth August abolished all personal privileges, serfdom and tithe and created free and equal justice and freedom of employment for all. Thus a new legal society had been established in France. Two debates of the Constituent Assembly were crucial from the point of view of the principles of legitimacy. Those were,

(a) the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and

(b) the subject of sovereignty.

By destroying the feudal regime, the Constituent Assembly had redefined the French people as individuals who were free and equal. Liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression were made some of the basic rights. In short, the subjects of the French ruler were made citizens of the nation. The Declaration of the Rights of Man brought about a radical conception of society, and organized the new public authorities to protect these rights by way of a written constitution based on revolutionary doctrines. The second debate beginning in September concerned the question of the nature and attribution of sovereignty. The issue of 'sovereign' proved to be extraordinarily difficult.

The destruction of .the society based on orders and privileges raised the new issue of representation. The leaders realized that it was nearly impossible to reconcile the sovereignty of the nation with the direct exercise of its rights by all the members of the nation. It was Sieyes who tried to provide a reasonable solution to the problem of the exercise of sovereignty between the need for new institutions and the claims of democracy. The unicameral Assembly became the only place where the

general will of the citizens could appear. It is argued by some writers that such definitions led to a new kind of absolutism of the National Assembly in place of the monarchy. In the following years, a fundamental conflict developed between the popular and parliamentary concept of democracy, each claiming indivisible sovereignty.

14.3.1 The Jacobin Republic and Terror (1792-94)

Louis XVI lost all authority and legitimacy to rule France as a constitutional monarch when he tried to escape from Paris in June 1791. The radicals used the threat of aristocrat reaction to ensure the success of revolution and declared war on Austria i11 April 1792 because the Austrian Emperor Leopold 11's Declaration of Pillnitz threatened to restore the full authority of the French crown by force with the support of European powers. The radicals drew support from the Parisian mob as well as from extremist political action groups like the Cordeliers and Jacobin clubs. They deposed the king and formed a National Convention to draft a new republican constitution in August-September 1792. It was chosen on the basis of universal male suffrage. An alliance between the Jacobins and the popular movement (particularly the sans-culottes of the Paris communes) provided an essential foundation for the revolutionary dictatorship under the leadership of Robespierre against the enemies of 'liberty'. The popular Parisian militants put into place a coherent set of ideas and practices after 1792 leading to a direct government and installation of a popular democracy as different from collective dictatorship of an assembly as suggested by Sieyes or Marat's notion of centralized dictatorship. Taking popular sovereignty as a given absolute, the Parisians deduced the principles of autonomy, the right to approve laws and to control and recall elected officials. Thus, representative democracy, the base of Jacobin dictatorship, was replaced by direct democracy. Appointment replaced election. The evolution of revolutionary committees is significant here -- the most powerful was the Committee of Public Safety. It concentrated all powers and portrayed itself as the representative of the 'general will' and became the powerful executive the convention. It carried out the law of the General Maximum (establishing price controls of goods ranging from food and drink to fuel

and clothing) as demanded by the radical working class of Paris. The war hysteria against the enemies of liberty and the Republic made the leaders engage in a Reign of Terror (January to July 1794) which witnessed over 40,000 men and women (the king, queen, secret royalist sympathizers, arch-Catholics, grain speculators and many others) beheaded by the guillotine. Robespierre is regarded as both a tyrant and dictator, and a saint of democracy who pointed the way to socialism. The Revolutionary government soon lost touch with the masses and became dictatorial in character and Robespierre lost his grip over the government.

The Thermidorian Reaction In two days after the execution of Robespierre, the whole Commune of Paris, consisting of about sixty persons, were guillotined in less than one hour and a half, in the Place de la Revolutioll and though I was standing above a hundred.paces from the place of execution, the blood of the victims streamed under my feet. What surprised me was, as each head fell into the basket, the cry of the people was no other than a repetition of "A has lr Maximum!" which was caused by the privations imposed on the populace by the vigorous exaction of that law which set certain prices upon all sorts of provisions, and which was attributed to Robespierre. The persons who now suffered were all of different trades; and many of them, indeed, had taken advantage of that law. and had abused it, by forcing the farmers and others who supplied the Paris market, to sell at the maximum price, and they retailed at an enormous advance to those who could afford to pay. I did not see Robespierre going to the guillotine; but have been informed that the crowd which attended the wagon in which he passed on that occasion. went so far as to thrust their umbrellas into the wagon against his body .... It now became a measure of personal safety, to be able to declare that one had been imprisoned during Robespierre's, tyranny.; It was dangerous even to appear like a Jacobin, as several persons were 'murdered, in the streets, by La Jeunesse Parisienne, merely because they were long coats and short hair. From English Witnesses of the French Revolution. ed. by J.M. Thompson (0xfol.d: Basil Blackwell. 1938). pp 248-49.

14.3.2 The Thermidorian Republic (1795-99)

After the fall of Robespierre all the fundamental problems re-surfaced and there was a fresh discussion in the convention on the Declaration of Rights, the sovereignty of the people and on the principle of representation. The new declaration contained the supremacy of law as an expression of general will but the rights of resisting oppression (1789) or of insurrection (1793) disappeared. The Right to Equality was accompanied by the declaration of 'Duties' aimed at avoiding the tension between the unlimited nature of rights and the necessity for social order based on law. The past experience of boundless power concealed within the democratic idea of sovereignty led to a rethinking on the subject. Here began a long tradition of discourse on the concept of sovereignty to be found in Benjamin Constant, Madame de Stael, Royer-Collard and Guizot. Sieyes suggested checks on sovereignty by creating a jurie constitutionnaire - a special body which would have the task of exercising control over the constitutionality of laws and administrative regulations. This was the first appearance of the notion of a jurisdiction superior to the legislative power in French history. The new constitution created a bi-cameral legislature representing the general will to be exercised with restraint based on high property qualifications. A Directorate was proposed with 5 Directors as the Executive. In practice the Directorial regime achieved the thorough depoliticizing of France, and in particular of Paris. The-bulk of the petty bourgeoisie was barred from all offices, voting existed only in name and politics was dominated by the oligarchs and professional administrators. The force of this regime resided not in legitmation by elections but in police, army and bureaucracy. Directory inaugurated social and political reign of notables - a class which d;minated in the nineteenth century.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) What were the new principles of legitimation after the abolition of the ancient regime? Answer in 100 words.

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2) Discuss the nature of power exercised by the Thermidorian Republic? Answer in 60 words.

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14.4 IDEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS AND CONTOURS OF PARTY POLITICS

The period of the Revolution was to see the emergence of numerous political societies which carried their own internal battles for power. The most notable of these was the I Cordeliers Club (called after the abandoned Cordelier monastery across the Seine where it held its meetings). It kept close contact with the activities of the sans-culottes (small property owners including artisans shopkeepers, journeyman with militant ideas and a belief in direct Republican democracy) and succeeded in enlisting and training the Paris niob into a highly effecifie political force. Similarly, the Jacobin Club originated at thevery beginning of the revolution. At first it was moderate and offertd a meeting place for the constitutional and educated elements. However, with the progress of Revolution it became increasingly radical and started creating branches all over France with a strong network. These clubs became a hotbed of republicanism. When the Legislative Assembly met in October 1791 in accordance with the provisions of the new constitution consisting of 745 members, there were no sharp divisions among the members who passed back and forth from one group to another. Party formations were slow and close party organisation hardly existed. However, many members of the assembly began to develop extreme views of republicanism - ideas spread and nurtured by the Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs. Most vocal groups were for the removal of the king and planned a demonstration. The events at Champs de Mars in July 1791, where the demonstration was organized and the firing ordered by Lafayette, led to a split when Lafayette and the royalist faction left the

Jacobins and formed the Feuillant Group. It was a moderate breakaway element which favoured constitutional monarchy.

14.4.1 Constitutionalists Vs Republicans

The events at Champ de Mars brought about a swift division within the Third Estate. There was a clear line of demarcation between those who sought compromise with the king and those who did not. Many men who had been patriots in 1789 felt threatened by the growing popular prrssure from below and fearing loss of property and polltical leadership, moved towards the supporters of monarchy and Feuillants. Led by Barnave, Duport and Eameth, these moderates attempted to make the constitution more favourable to the monarchy. Their number in the assembly was about 260. Keen to bring the revolution to an end before the middle classes were threatened by the rneizu-peuple, the Feuillants wished to reconcile monarchy with the nation. In the Assembly their conservative campaign for the revision of the constitution had a limited success. Less numerous but far more active were the Left Wing deputies of the Jacobin Club. Thelr strength was about 140. Like the Feuillants the Jacobins had their supporters in the electoral assembly and reflected two distinct political tendencies : The extreme radicals formed the nucleus of the future republican party. They were more powerful in the clubs than ,n the assembly. Their main leaders were Merlin de Thionville, Chabot, Couthon, etc. The dominating group of the left-wing deputies consisted of the followers of Brissot. Known as Brissotins in the Legislative Assembly, they came to be known as Girondins under the National Convention - because several of their best known representatives like Vergniaud, Grangeneuve, Ducos, came from the dkpartement of Gironde. The Girondins were staunch advocates of war against Austria and the allies from where the threat of counter-revolution came. They belleved that the war would forge national unity. However, the flight of Louis XVI and his family from Paris to join the counter-revolutionar~es destroyed the cause of constitutional monarchy. With it the Feuillants lost ground in French politics The coming of war in 1792 deepened the gulf between the moderates and the extremists. It intensified fears and panics due to grain shortages, speculation and black marketing and

external threats of counter-revolutionaries. The war pushed the lower section of Parislan society into prominence as voluntary armies (Revolutionary army) were created from the urban working population. Hence, the war and economic difficulties swung the revolution to the left. The sans-culottes in Paris combined into a powerful force and attacked the Tuileries, (the royal palace) on 10 August 1792. This brought about the downfall of the monarchy and France was made a Republic. The National Convention was called on 20 September lJ92 to frame a Republican constitution.

14.4.2 Political Struggle Between the Girondins and the Montagnards

In the National Convention there were three main political groups but the grouping was quite fluid. The majority, but not very stable, was generally formed by a great mass of independent deputies. They had no permanent commitments to any particular programme or faction and were known as 'Marais' or 'Plain' and constituted the centre party. The Girondins (former Brissotins) were led by Vergniaud, Brissot and Guadet. Though they were not in majority, they often controlled the balance of voting and supplied most of the ministers. The third important group or party were the Jacobins or Montagnard (Mountain), so-called from the upper tiers of seats they occupied in the assembly. It was led by very important personalities like Robespierre, Marat and Danton. The political struggle between the Girondins and Montagnards tore apart the Convention and lasted till the former were expelled by the invasion of the Parisian crowd. There is a difference of opinion on the nature of this struggle - whether it was based on personal rivalries and lust for power or a reflection of social and economic class struggle. Some writers regard Girondins a coherent party while others see the idea of Girondin party a result of Montagnard propaganda. Even Montagnards were also well organized whose tactics had often been concerted in the Jacobin clubs, of which they gained complete control. The Girondins is seen as a party of wealth representing the upper bourgeoisie while the Montagnards had a social base in the lower middle class and the menu-peuple. The Montagnards adopted policies geared to the needs of the masses and did not hesitate in

seeking popular support and adopt policies satisfying popular demands. The misconduct of foreign war and the daunting economic troubles within France such as the falling value of the assignat (revolutionary paper money) and the insoluble food problem was weakening the position of Girondins. Instead, they concentrated on the counter - revolution and laws against the emigrb. The decisive blow to the Girondins came from the radically inclined militant groups from Paris (sans-culottes) who invaded the Convention and brought Montagnards to power on 2 June 1793. So, it was the combined force of Montagnards (numerically small) and sans-culottes which brought about the coup. The Jacobins created a provisional revolutionary government in October 1793 leading to a virtual dictatorship and Terror. This government reflects an inextricable binding up of democratic and tyrannical trends. The various excesses of the Terror caused a reaction against the Jacobin Republic. On 27 July 1794 Montagnards led by Robespierre were eliminated by the conservatives who made use of the excesses of the radical revolution. The centre stage from 1795 came to be occupied by the Marais, the independents of the earlier period or the centre party. It included revived Girondins, repentant Montagnards, passionate republicans and even devoted Catholics. The members were mostly upper elements of bourgeoisie and ex-nobles more interested in expanding their own property than in any ideology. Sans-culottes were disarmed and the left groups were demolished. The last major episode of the French Revolution was the Babeuf Plot in 1796 to implement the radical leftist ideas of property distribution and an early form of communist idealism. Babeuf and his associates were captured and mercilessly executed. The party movement remained virtually suspended until the restoration of constitutional monarchy in 18 15 when the three major party divisions resurfaced.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Discuss the role of political clubs and societies in propagating the ideas of Republicanism. Answer in 100 words.

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2) What were the main ideas of the Feuillant party? Answer in 50 words.

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3) Point .out the chief elements of the rivalry between the Girondins and the Montagnards. Answer in 50 words.

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14.5 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit we have studied the impact of economic crisis on the common people in the villages and towns. It is evident that the financial difficulties of the state created social and political crisis leading to the French Revolution. You must have also noticed the role of philosophers in providing revolutionary language and ideology. We have examined how the Third-Estate became the National Assembly representing the citizens of France and not the subjects of the king. This established new principles of legitimacy to replace the feudal structure of the absolute state. We have also analysed how the principles of legitimacy continued to change with the shift in the nature of revolution. You would have noticed how revolutionary politics gave birth to the political parties and political ideologies.

Radicalism had played a pivotal role in the birth and development of parliamentarism and the construction of the modern Serbian state leading to the Yugoslavian unification. The People's Radical Party formed in 1881 was the strongest political party and was in power in the Kingdom of Serbia more than all others together. The 1888 Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbia that defined it as an independent nation and formalised parliamentary democracy was among the most advanced in the entire world due to Radical contribution and it is known as The

Radical Constitution. In 1902, a crack had occurred in which the Independent Radical Party left and "the Olde" remained in the party, leading the original People's Radical Party to stray far from progressivism and into right-wing nationalism and conservatism. In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Independent Radicals united with the rest of the Serbian opposition and the liberal and civic groups in the rest of the new country, forming the Yugoslav Democratic Party, while several Republican dissidents formed a Republican Party. The NRS had promoted Serb nationalism and put itself as the defender of Serb national interests. Democrats and Radicals were the dominant political parties, especially since the exclusion of the Communists.

In Montenegro, a People's Party was formed in 1907 as the country's first political party and remained the largest in the period of country's parliamentary history until the Yugoslavian unification. Later, a True People's Party was formed, which never got widespread popular support and whose bigger part had joined the original NS, but the difference was not ideological and instead was opposition and support of the Crown and sometimes in foreign relations to Serbia (the clubbists were the crown's dissidents and supporters of the people as well as Serbia as a regional power and brotherly ally—the rightists were generally anti-democratic and autocratic monarchist and also distrustful to the Serbian government's acts on the national plan).

14.6 KEY WORDS

Ancient Regime: a term invented in the 1790s for the way of life and government in France which was destroyed by the Revolution in 1789.

Cahiers: lists of grievances drawn up by each of the three estates or orders at the time of elections for the Estates-General in 1789.

Emigres: those who had emigrated from France and were trying to influence the foreign powers to suppress the revolution.

Estates: One of the three social orders into which France was divided these was the clergy, the nobility, and the common people.

Guillotine: a heavy slanting blade, mechanically rose to a great height between two tall wooden supports, and then dropped onto the neck of the prisoner. Owing to its weight and the height from which it was dropped,

it sliced through the neck efficiently and also reduced the labour of the executioner. It was invented by one Dr Guillotine.

Menu-people Parlement

Tithe: the common people sovereign law court created in selected towns to administer regional justice a tax collected by the church which was levied on the major crops like wheat, rye, barley and oats.

14.7 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1) Discuss the role of political clubs and societies in propagating the ideas of Republicanism. Answer in 100 words.
2) What were the main ideas of the Feuillant party? Answer in 50 words.
3) Point .out the chief elements of the rivalry between the Girondins and the Montagnards. Answer in 50 words.

14.8 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

- See for more information the section on Liberale und radikale Parteien in Klaus von Beyme: Parteien in westlichen Demokratien, München, 1982.
- Compare page 255 and further in the Guide to the Political Parties of South America (Pelican Books, 1973)
- Internacional Liberal|Movimento Liberal Social – Liberalismo em Portugal, Social Liberal Movement official website.
- Internationale Libérale, Europe Politique | europe-politique.eu.
- See page 1 and further of A sense of liberty by Julie Smith, published by the Liberal International in 1997.
- Hloušek, Vít; Kopeček, Lubomír (2010), Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties: East-Central and Western Europe Compared, Ashgate, p. 108
- Patrick H. Hutton, ed. Historical Dictionary of the Third French Republic, 1870-1940 (1986) vol 1 pp 12-13.

14.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1) See Sub-sec. 4.2.1.

2) Failure to cut governmental expenditure, defective taxation system, fiscal exemptions of the nobility, etc. See Sub-sec. 4.2.2.

3) See Sub-sec. 4.2.4.

4) See Sub-sec. 4.2.5.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Abolition of feudal privileges, establishment of equality and justice, declaration of the rights of man, etc. See Sec. 4.3.
2) See Sub-sec. 4.3.2.

Check Your Progress 3

1) See Sec. 4.4.

2) See Sub-sec. 4.4.1.

3) See Sub-sec. 4.4.2.