TOYING AROUND

toying around

around

-archies,
-cracies &
-isms

HENRIK NIERATSCHKER

WE THE PEOPLE

We the people

INTRO
DUCTION

You might remember the photograph above.

During the protests surrounding the inauguration of the United States' 45th president on January 14, 2017 in Washington D.C., a Lincoln stretch-limousine was spray-painted with a circled A and the phrase "We the People". The election of Donald Trump, while certainly in line with a globally observable rise of populist, xenophobic, and reactionary politics, came as a shock to many US residents and caused a surge in left-wing political organisation and large-scale protests in the years after. Our ideologically marked limousine above was later set on fire using a burning, red signal flare, creating a powerful image that both left and right-leaning media outlets rushed to pick up and propagate.

We can look at this graffiti (and the following arson) as an act of vandalism inspired by a political belief system that opposes inequality and hierarchical structures of power. But, as with any graffiti, we can also look further and observe this visual composition as a piece of art, a social and cultural expression of the moment, and therefore an object that is interpretable and ready to be made into theory and applied to our understanding of the contemporary world.

This is what this short text (and in a wider sense the making of this book) sets out to do. As the political act of property damage ultimately missed its target (the owner of the limousine was neither an oligarch nor politician, but the founder of a car service, who, somewhat ironically, also happened to be a muslim immigrant[1]), one might find comfort in the thought that at least its

powerful symbolism could provide a spark for thought, and that always means change in some way.

△ (Anarchy, Limousine, We the People)

Let's begin by taking a look at the circled A. Popularised by punk rock acts like Crass and The Sex Pistols in the 1970s, the symbol is now firmly established in popular culture. You will likely know: A stands for Anarchy.

While the use of the symbol by youth- and counterculture mostly derives from anarchism's strong anti-authoritarian tendencies, signifying opposition to the hierarchical structures that shape contemporary society, the circle, or O, surrounding the A is of equal importance. In reference to ideas from Joseph Proudhon's book What is Property, first published in 1840, the combined O and A of the logo invoke the phrase „Society seeks order in anarchy" (in French: La société cherche l'ordre dans l'anarchie).[2]

In contrast to this reading of the symbol, the idea of anarchy is usually painted as chaos inducing in mainstream cultural and political discourse, disregarding over 150 years of organized political work. Originating from the crest of the Federal Council of Spain of the International Worker's Association, the Circle-A can be said to have been in use since the mid-1800s and from there has spread into youth culture of the 1960s.[3] We could also discuss here the tumultuous history of anarchism and its role in modern and post-war era politics, its initial involvement in the first and second internationals, its continued global spread since the turn of the last century, and the many strands of anarchism that exist today, but we will leave it at this for now.[4]

One more thing though: Anarchism, as a practice, debatably pre-dates politics. In fact, anthropologists study the concept of non-hierarchical living in primitive hunter-gatherer and horticultural societies, with some arguing that "resistance to being dominated was a key factor driving the development of human consciousness, language, kinship and social organization".[5] Following this argument it could be claimed that credit for creating human civilization could be given to intuitively anarchistic tendencies within pre-historic societies. So let's briefly wonder why it is then that, for most, the absence of some form of hierarchy immediately equals a state of chaos and the downfall of civil society?

Questioning hierarchies brings us to the second element of this symbolic triangle: The limousine. The stretched Lincoln Town Car that was parked on the sidelines of the inauguration protests had to stand in as a placeholder for notions of (economic) inequality and privilege. In fact, this use of the luxury car as a sort of synecdoche (for capitalism, the patriarchy, etc.), aligns quite nicely with the history of this particular type of vehicle.

When drafting the first designs of the automobile, which were directly derived from the horse-powered coaches of the time, car manufacturers copied the seating layout of luxury carriages that offered a separated, private compartment for the wealthy passengers while the coachmen in front had to steer the vehicle sitting exposed to the outside. The coachmen and coachwomen were sometimes offered a degree of protection from rain by a hood extending over the driver's seat of the coach. This is how the limousine first got its name, as these hoods resembled a particular kind of hood seen on the clothing of shepherds in the french region Limousin.[6]

Today the driver of the limousine is protected from wind and weather, but they're still separated from their more privileged passengers in the roomy back, with both parties only communicating via the installed intercom system. If lucky, our driver will get handed a stack of bills as a tip at the end of the ride. I will assume that one of these bills is a recently printed ten dollar bill, as this does not only provide our driver with a little extra income, but ourselves with a nice segway into the last corner of our triangle.

As our limousine driver folds the cash to put it into their pocket, they look at the right half of the obverse side of the bill, where, as Alexander Hamilton's portrait disappears on the left, the phrase "We the People" remains in red ink.

I'm gonna go on a short detour here, as a discussion of the ten dollar bill is both fascinating and relevant to the wider context of this text. Think of this as a hyperlink, clicked on while reading a long Wikipedia article. If you read about gorillas you might as well learn about orangutang, right?

In fact, let me quote from the Wikipedia article of the ten dollar bill directly:

"The $10 bill is unique in that it is the only denomination in circulation in which the portrait faces to the left.

In 2015, the Treasury Secretary announced that the obverse portrait of Hamilton would be replaced by the portrait of an as-yet-undecided woman, starting in 2020.[3] However, this decision was reversed in 2016 due to the surging popularity of Hamilton, a hit Broadway musical based on Hamilton's life."

"On June 17, 2015, Treasury Secretary Jack Lew announced that a woman's portrait would be featured on a redesigned ten-dollar bill by 2020. The Department of Treasury was seeking the public's input on who should appear on the new bill during the design phase.[11]

Removal of Hamilton was controversial. Many believed that Hamilton, as the first Secretary of the Treasury, should remain on U.S. Currency in some form, all the while acknowledging that U.S. Currency was long overdue to feature a female historical figure – names that had been raised included Eleanor Roosevelt, Harriet Tubman, and Susan B. Anthony. This led to the Treasury Department stating that Hamilton would remain on the bill in some way. The $10 bill was chosen because it was scheduled for a regular security redesign, a years-long process.[12] The redesigned ten-dollar bill will be the first U.S. note to incorporate tactile features to assist those with visual disabilities.[13]

On April 20, 2016, it was announced that Alexander Hamilton would remain the primary face on the $10 bill, due in part to the sudden popularity of the first Treasury Secretary after the success of the Broadway musical Hamilton. It was simultaneously announced that Harriet Tubman's likeness would appear on the $20 bill while Andrew Jackson would now appear on the reverse with the White House.[14]

The design for the reverse of the new $10 bill was set to feature the heroines of the Women's Suffrage Movement in the United States, including Susan B. Anthony, Alice Paul, Sojourner Truth, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and the participants of the 1913 Woman Suffrage Procession who marched in Washington D.C. in favor of full voting rights for American women.[15]

On August 31, 2017, Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin said that he would not commit to putting Tubman on the twenty-dollar bill, explaining „People have been on the bills for a long period of time. This is something we'll consider; right now we have a lot more important issues to focus on."[16] According to a Bureau of Engraving and Printing spokesperson, the next redesigned bill will be the ten-dollar bill, not set to be released into circulation until at least 2026. Because of this, it appears that a redesigned twenty-dollar bill featuring Tubman might not be released until years after the original 2020 release date.[17][18][7]"

The interplay of political and cultural forces that we can see in this short section of the article seems exemplary for larger tendencies in both American and international politics, where old and new conservative forces push against establishing equality for women, people of color, differently-abled people and other minority groups through denying them representation in the larger and more general spheres of culture and media.

But let's get back to the main body of the text now, click the back-button in our browser, so to say, and look at this phrase: "We the People".

Written in 1787 and generally accredited to the pen of Gouverneur Morris, the phrase forms the first three words of the preamble to the U.S. constitution. According to the US Senate's website:

„The Constitution's first three words—We the People—affirm that the government of the United States exists to serve its citizens. For over two centuries the Constitution has remained in force because its framers wisely separated and balanced governmental powers to safeguard the interests of majority rule and minority rights, of liberty and equality, and of the federal and state governments."[8]

As the Senate's PR team points out, the US constitution is the longest lasting democratic constitution that was continuously in effect until today. This makes the US the oldest functioning democracy on the planet. While this is certainly impressive, it also raises the question if the changing of times, including shifts in culture, technological progress and international relations, doesn't call for updates and revisions of what is sometimes seen as a rulebook that was written for a different kind of game.

We can take the second amendment as an example. It states:

> "A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."[9]

The amendment clearly defines that US citizens have the right to posses and use weapons, however, as proponents of stricter gun-control laws have pointed out, the weapons available today, are much more dangerous and deadly as the firearms that were used in 1791 when the amendment was written.

Constitutional concerns have shaped the political discourse ahead of, during and after the 2016 US election. Not only the second amendment, but particularly the first amendment to the constitution, which concerns the freedom of speech as well as religious freedom has been debated, (re)interpreted, and questioned on both ends of the political spectrum.
The US Administration around the now-elect-president has put great effort into eroding these values through claims of "fake news", the direct and indirect empowerment of white supremacists, scapegoating of muslim citizens and immigrants, and continued support for the National Rifle Association.

This disregard for many of the democratic values of the constitution can well be read as part of a greater tendency towards totalitarian and authoritarian forms of government. The United States are not the only country where democracy is being tested and pushed to its limits. Europe has seen a rise of populist right-wing movements, with Brexit in the UK, the rise of the AfD in Germany, the catholic-conservative government in Poland, Marine LePen's Front National in France, and dictator-like figures lsuch as Putin, Bolsonaro and Duterte being, more or less democratically, elected into government. It seems like the democratic values of majority rule and minority rights, liberty and equality require a willingness to compromise, that many have lost.

Now we're taking a step back, zooming out of the frame of the photograph again and observe this strange triangle in its entirety. Three lines, connecting the following points:

a)   a constitutional will of the people, establishing a government that is serving its citizens according to values of majority rule & minority rights, liberty and equality;
b)   the limousine, a symbol of luxury and power, with its notions of capital, privilege and limited protection;
c)   the circle-A, marker of an alternative political system and ideology of resistance, born out of an urge for equality and a non-hierarchical society, culturally sustained from the 1800s, into youth-, counter- and pop-culture of the late 20th century until today.

In this juxtaposition of symbolisms, the thought of a differently governed people of the United

States is evoked, and the proposition of an anarchist constitution is painted on the backdrop of existing conditions of inequality, hierarchy and privilege.

This reading of the photograph opens up a space to reflect on and speculate on the state of democracies, not only the US, but globally. Is the idea of democracy failing? Is it failing us? You and me? And, if yes, what alternatives could we turn to to organise societies in ways that overcome the dividing forces of systemic inequality we face right now?

On Fire

To think about this, let's take a look at the image of the spray-painted limousine one last time. What actually makes this image so sensational is not the vast interpretative potential that was just discussed in detail, but, much more so, it is the fact that it is on fire. It was set on fire in an act of protest and arson, using a red signal flare, a final symbol sitting on the outside of our triangle.

The signal flare is a product that is used in an emergency, usually it is a cry for help, in a protest it is also a weapon. In this case, a weapon attacking democracy, or more accurately the outcome of a democratic election.

If we look at this flare and the fire it set as the final symbol in our reading of the image, we can go back to humanity's origins again:

One can claim that fire is one of the first technologies used by human beings. It provided early humanoids with new possibilities of survival, such as protection from predators and enduring in colder environments, as well as introducing new social orders for primitive societies. The ability to make fire, that not everyone possessed, afforded new forms of hierarchy within groups of hunters and gatherers, but at the same time the fire provided a central gathering place and has likely sparked increased communication and accelerated the development of human language.[10] In this sense fire, as a technology, has laid the groundwork for all human societies to come.

The 2016 US election was very much shaped by the technologies of our time. Think only of social media filter bubbles, online conspiracy theories, Twitter bots, Cambridge Analytica, private email servers and supposedly hacked voting machines.

We can see these developments as an attack on democracy, as the fire of the signal flare in our picture might symbolise. But just as the technology of the fire has led to both more inequality but also more communication amongst individuals, it is also worth seeing potential for the opposite and claim digital technologies as a means to structure societies in more just ways.
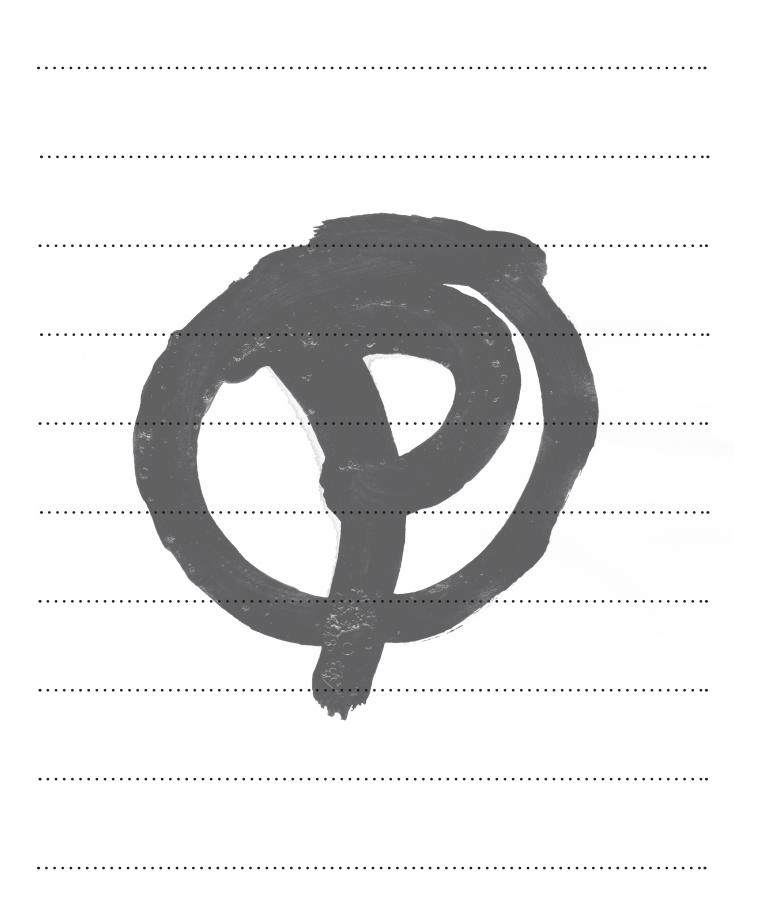
Toying Around (-archies, -cracies and -isms)

The academically inclined reader will have noticed (or sneered at) my citation of Wikipedia articles throughout this short essay. Let me assure you that this is not (only) a sign of intellectual laziness, but also in line with the premise of this book, to which the essay serves as a somewhat playful introduction and point of departure.

The discussed photograph and its constellation of symbols, read through the lens of frantic Wikipedia searches, invites to speculate on the differe ways there are, or might be, to organise ourselves in a society. There is a variety of -archies, -cracies and -isms, that humans have thought of, some established and some gotten rid of again. One that is worth highlighting is the concept of Panarchy, a speculative political system where each citizen chooses their own form of government with no limitation due to where or amongst whom they live. But what form of political/social system would you choose if you had to decide right now?

This book provides you with some reference to consider this question, presenting a collection of Wikipedia articles discussing select -archies, -cracies and -isms, which were scraped from the web at inauguration day in 2017. This makes for an interesting read, sometimes uplifting, often depressing. It is meant to be a tool to question and for speculation. Let's take the freedom to think of radical alternatives to democracy, for the better or worse, toy around with the idea of replacing one system with the other, and in the end we might find ourselves in better understanding of what should, could and needs to be done about democracy today.

¹ *https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/tamerragriffin/the-limo-set-on-fire-during-the-inauguration-protests-belong*

² *https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anarchist_symbolism#Circle-A*

³ *https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Anarchist_symbolism&oldid=764004793#History_of_anarchist_usage*

⁴ *https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_anarchism*

⁵ *https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anarchy*

⁶ *https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Limousine*

⁷ *https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_ten-dollar_bill#Rejected_redesign_and_new_2020_bill*

⁸ *https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/ConstitutionDay.htm*

⁹ *https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Amendment_to_the_United_States_Constitution*

¹⁰ *https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Control_of_fire_by_early_humans#Impact_on_human_evolution*

-ARCHIES, -CRACIES & -ISMS

Panarchy

Panarchy (from pan and archy), coined by Paul Emile de Puydt in 1860, is a form of governance that would encompass all others.[1] The Oxford English Dictionary lists the noun as "chiefly poetic" with the meaning "a universal realm," citing an 1848 attestation by Philip James Bailey, "the starry panarchy of space". The adjective panarchic "all-ruling" has earlier attestations.[2] In the twentieth century the term was re-coined separately by scholars in international relations to describe the notion of global governance and then by systems theorists to describe non-hierarchical organizing theories.

Freely choosing government

Main article: Panarchism

In his 1860 article "Panarchy" de Puydt, who also expressed support for laissez-faire economics, applied the concept to the individual's right to choose any form of government without being forced to move from their current locale. This is sometimes described as "extra-territorial" (or "exterritorial") since governments often would serve non-contiguous parcels of land. De Puydt wrote:

The truth is that there is not enough of the right kind of freedom, the fundamental freedom to choose to be free or not to be free, according to one's preference.... Thus I demand, for each and every member of human society, freedom of association according to inclination and of activity according to aptitude. In other words, the absolute right to choose the political surroundings in which to live, and to ask for nothing else.

— [1]De Puydt described how such a system would be administered:

In each community a new office is opened, a "Bureau of Political Membership". This office would send every responsible citizen a declaration form to fill in, just as for the income tax or dog registration: Question: What form of government would you desire? Quite freely you would answer, monarchy, or democracy, or any other... and once registered, unless you withdrew your declaration, respecting the legal forms and delays, you would thereby become either a royal subject or citizen of the republic. Thereafter you are in no way involved with anyone else's government—no more than a Prussian subject is with Belgian authorities.

— [1]De Puydt's definition of panarchy was expanded into a political philosophy of panarchism. It has been espoused by anarchist or libertarian-leaning individuals, including especially Max Nettlau[3] and John Zube.[4][5]Le Grand E. Day and others have used the phrase "multigovernment" to describe a similar system.[6] Another similar idea is Functional Overlapping Competing Jurisdictions (FOCJ) promoted by Swiss economists Bruno Frey and Reiner Eichenberger.

Global Society

James P. Sewell and Mark B. Salter in their 1995 article "Panarchy and Other Norms for Global Governance" define panarchy as "an inclusive, universal system of governance in which all may participate meaningfully." They romanticize the term by mentioning the "playful Greek god Pan of sylvan and pastoral tranquillity, overseer of forests, shepherd of shepherds and their flocks. It thus connotes an archetypal steward of biospheric well-being."[7]David Ronfeldt and John Arquilla, in their work on Netwar, which they describe as an emergent form of low intensity conflict, crime, and activism, that: "The design is a heterarchy, but also what might be termed a 'panarchy.'"[8]Paul B. Hartzog writes in "Panarchy: Governance in the Network Age": "Panarchy is a transdisciplinary investigation into the political and cultural philosophy of 'network culture.' The primary fields of relevance for panarchy are world politics (international relations), political philosophy/theory, and information technology. Panarchy also draws on insights from information/communications theory, economics, sociology, networks, and complex systems."[9] In Paul B. Hartzog's work, the term "panarchy" emerges at the intersection of three core concepts: 1) ecology and complex systems, 2) technology, and 3) politics. The "pan" of ecological thinking draws on the Greek-god Pan as a symbol for wild and unpredictable nature. The "pan" of technology refers to the Personal Area Network (a personal area network is the interconnection of information technology devices within the range of an individual person) that merges human beings into an interconnected global social web. The "pan" of politics refers to the "inside/outside" distinction, and how, in an era of global challenges and global governance, the frame-of-reference for a global social has no outside.

Systems theory

Systems theory is an interdisciplinary field of science which studies the nature and processes of complex systems of the physical and social sciences, as well as in information technology. Lance Gunderson and C. S. Holling, in their book Panarchy: Understanding Transformations in Systems of Humans and Nature coopted the term, saying:
The term [panarchy] was coined as an antithesis to the word hierarchy (literally, sacred rules). Our view is that panarchy is a framework of nature's rules, hinted at by the name of the Greek god of nature, Pan.
— [10]The publisher describes the book's theory thusly:
Panarchy, a term devised to describe evolving hierarchical systems with multiple interrelated elements, offers an important new framework for understanding and resolving this dilemma. Panarchy is the structure in which systems, including those of nature (e.g., forests) and of humans (e.g., capitalism), as well as combined human-natural systems (e.g., institutions that govern natural resource use such as the Forest Service), are interlinked in continual adaptive cycles of growth, accumulation, restructuring, and renewal.
— [11]In Panarchy Gunderson and Holling write:
The cross-scale, interdisciplinary, and dynamic nature of the theory has led us

to coin the term panarchy for it. Its essential focus is to rationalize the interplay between change and persistence, between the predictable and unpredictable.
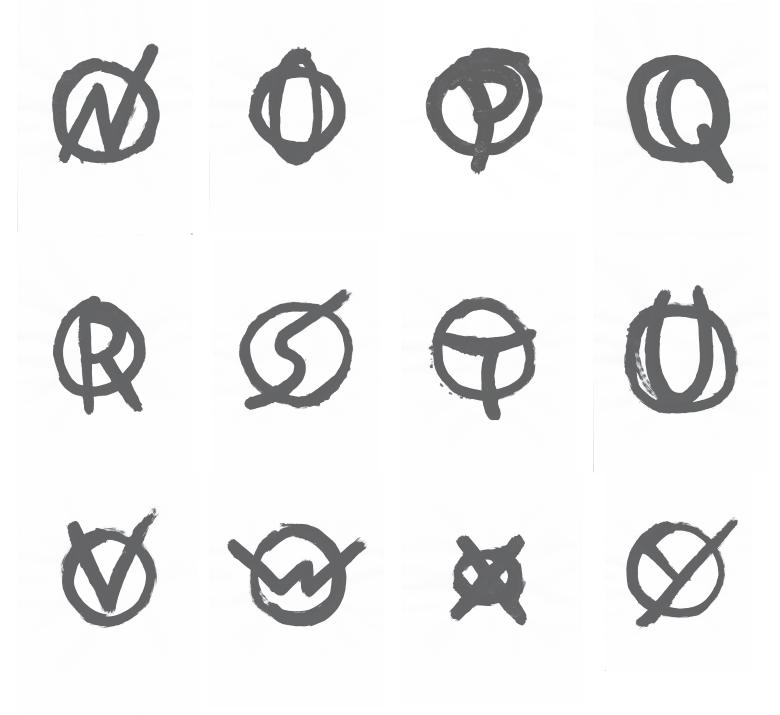
— [12]

See also

- Anarchism
- Anarchy in international relations
- Decentralization
- Polycentric law
- Libertarianism
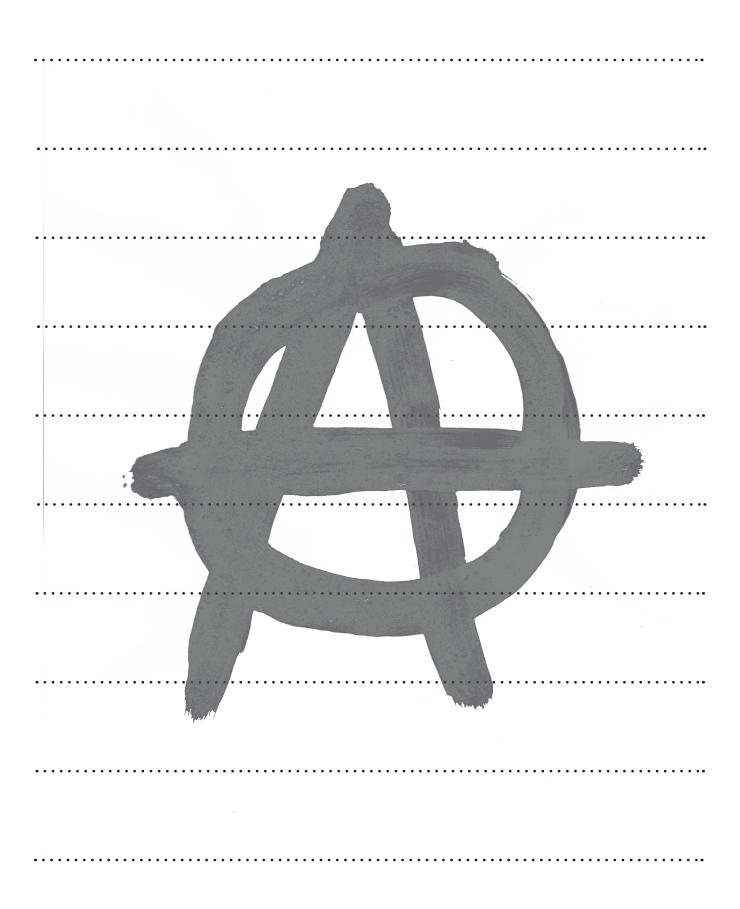- Mutualism (economic theory)
- Polytely

- Voluntaryism

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3 Jump up ^ Max Nettlau, Panarchy, A Forgotten Idea of 1860, 1909.

4 Jump up ^ Ehrlich, Howard J. 1996. Reinventing Anarchy, Again. AK Press. p. 131

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10 Jump up ^ Lance Gunderson and C. S. Holling, Panarchy: Understanding Transformations in Systems of Humans and Nature, Island Press, p.21, 2001.

11 Jump up ^ Island Press Bookstore description of Gunderson and Holling's Panarchy:Understanding Transformations in Systems of Humans and Nature.

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N O P Q

R S T U

V W X Y

Z

Anarchism

"Anarchist" and "Anarchists" redirect here. For the fictional character, see Anarchist (comics). For other uses, see Anarchists (disambiguation).

Anarchism is a political philosophy that advocates self-governed societies based on voluntary institutions. These are often described as stateless societies,[1][2][3][4] although several authors have defined them more specifically as institutions based on non-hierarchical free associations.[5][6][7][8] Anarchism holds the state to be undesirable, unnecessary, and harmful.[9][10] While anti-statism is central,[11] anarchism entails opposing authority or hierarchical organisation in the conduct of all human relations, including, but not limited to, the state system.[6][12][13][14][15][16][17][18] Anarchism does not offer a fixed body of doctrine from a single particular world view, instead fluxing and flowing as a philosophy.[19] Many types and traditions of anarchism exist, not all of which are mutually exclusive.[20] Anarchist schools of thought can differ fundamentally, supporting anything from extreme individualism to complete collectivism.[10] Strains of anarchism have often been divided into the categories of social and individualist anarchism or similar dual classifications.[21][22] Anarchism is usually considered a radical left-wing ideology,[23][24] and much of anarchist economics and anarchist legal philosophy reflects anti-authoritarian interpretations of communism, collectivism, syndicalism, mutualism, or participatory economics.[25]

Etymology and terminology

See also: Anarchist terminology

The term anarchism is a compound word composed from the word anarchy and the suffix -ism,[26] themselves derived respectively from the Greek ἀναρχία,[27] i.e. anarchy[28][29][30] (from ἄναρχος, anarchos, meaning "one without rulers";[31] from the privative prefix ἀν- (an-, i.e. "without") and ἀρχός, archos, i.e. "leader", "ruler";[32] (cf. archon or ἀρχή, arkhē, i.e. "authority", "sovereignty", "realm", "magistracy")[33]) and the suffix -ισμός or -ισμα (-ismos, -isma, from the verbal infinitive suffix -ίζειν, -izein).[34] The first known use of this word was in 1539.[35] Various factions within the French Revolution labelled opponents as anarchists (as Robespierre did the Hébertists)[36] although few shared many views of later anarchists. There would be many revolutionaries of the early nineteenth century who contributed to the anarchist doctrines of the next generation, such as William Godwin and Wilhelm Weitling, but they did not use the word anarchist or anarchism in describing themselves or their beliefs.[37] The first political philosopher to call himself an anarchist was Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, marking the formal birth of anarchism in the mid-nineteenth century. Since the 1890s, and beginning in France,[38] the term libertarianism has often been used as a synonym for anarchism[39] and was used almost exclusively in this sense until the 1950s in the United States;[40] its use as a synonym is still common outside the United States.[41] On the other hand, some use libertarianism to refer to individualistic free-market philosophy only, referring to free-market anarchism as libertarian anarchism.[42][43]

History

Main article: History of anarchism

Origins

The earliest[44] anarchist themes can be found in the 6th century BC, among the works of Taoist philosopher Laozi,[45] and in later centuries by Zhuangzi and Bao Jingyan.[46] Zhuangzi's philosophy has been described by various sources as anarchist.[47][48][49][50] Zhuangzi wrote, "A petty thief is put in jail. A great brigand becomes a ruler of a Nation."[51] Diogenes of Sinope and the Cynics, their contemporary Zeno of Citium, the founder of Stoicism, also introduced similar topics.[45][52] Jesus is sometimes considered the first anarchist in the Christian anarchist tradition. Georges Lechartier wrote that "The true founder of anarchy was Jesus Christ and ... the first anarchist society was that of the apostles."[53] In early Islamic history, some manifestations of anarchic thought are found during the Islamic civil war over the Caliphate, where the Kharijites insisted that the imamate is a right for each individual within the Islamic society.[54] Later, some Muslim scholars, such as Amer al-Basri[55] and Abu Hanifa,[56] led movements of boycotting the rulers, paving the way to the waqf (endowments) tradition, which served as an alternative to and asylum from the centralised authorities of the emirs. But such interpretations reverberates subversive religious conceptions like the aforementioned seemingly anarchistic Taoist teachings and that of other anti-authoritarian religious traditions creating a complex relationship regarding the question as to whether or not anarchism and religion are compatible. This is exemplified when the glorification of the state is viewed as a form of sinful idolatry. [57][58]The French renaissance political philosopher Étienne de La Boétie wrote in his most famous work the Discourse on Voluntary Servitude what some historians consider an important anarchist precedent.[59][60] The radical Protestant Christian Gerrard Winstanley and his group the Diggers are cited by various authors as proposing anarchist social measures in the 17th century in England.[61][62][63] The term "anarchist" first entered the English language in 1642, during the English Civil War, as a term of abuse, used by Royalists against their Roundhead opponents. [64] By the time of the French Revolution some, such as the Enragés, began to use the term positively,[65] in opposition to Jacobin centralisation of power, seeing "revolutionary government" as oxymoronic.[64] By the turn of the 19th century, the English word "anarchism" had lost its initial negative connotation.[64]Modern anarchism sprang from the secular or religious thought of the Enlightenment, particularly Jean-Jacques Rousseau's arguments for the moral centrality of freedom.[66]As part of the political turmoil of the 1790s in the wake of the French Revolution, William Godwin developed the first expression of modern anarchist thought.[67][68] Godwin was, according to Peter Kropotkin, "the first to formulate the political and economical conceptions of anarchism, even though he did not give that name to the ideas developed in his work",[45] while Godwin attached his anarchist ideas to an early Edmund Burke.[69]

William Godwin, "the first to formulate the political and economical conceptions of anarchism, even though he did not give that name to the ideas developed in his work".[45]Godwin is generally regarded as the founder of the school of thought known as 'philosophical anarchism'. He argued in Political Justice (1793)[68][70] that government has an inherently malevolent influence on society, and that it perpetuates dependency and ignorance. He

thought that the spread of the use of reason to the masses would eventually cause government to wither away as an unnecessary force. Although he did not accord the state with moral legitimacy, he was against the use of revolutionary tactics for removing the government from power. Rather, he advocated for its replacement through a process of peaceful evolution.[68][71]His aversion to the imposition of a rules-based society led him to denounce, as a manifestation of the people's 'mental enslavement', the foundations of law, property rights and even the institution of marriage. He considered the basic foundations of society as constraining the natural development of individuals to use their powers of reasoning to arrive at a mutually beneficial method of social organization. In each case, government and its institutions are shown to constrain the development of our capacity to live wholly in accordance with the full and free exercise of private judgement.

The French Pierre-Joseph Proudhon is regarded as the first self-proclaimed anarchist, a label he adopted in his groundbreaking work, What is Property?, published in 1840. It is for this reason that some claim Proudhon as the founder of modern anarchist theory.[72] He developed the theory of spontaneous order in society, where organisation emerges without a central coordinator imposing its own idea of order against the wills of individuals acting in their own interests; his famous quote on the matter is, "Liberty is the mother, not the daughter, of order." In What is Property? Proudhon answers with the famous accusation "Property is theft." In this work, he opposed the institution of decreed "property" (propriété), where owners have complete rights to "use and abuse" their property as they wish. [73] He contrasted this with what he called "possession," or limited ownership of resources and goods only while in more or less continuous use. Later, however, Proudhon added that "Property is Liberty," and argued that it was a bulwark against state power.[74] His opposition to the state, organised religion, and certain capitalist practices inspired subsequent anarchists, and made him one of the leading social thinkers of his time.

The anarcho-communist Joseph Déjacque was the first person to describe himself as "libertarian".[75] Unlike Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, he argued that, "it is not the product of his or her labour that the worker has a right to, but to the satisfaction of his or her needs, whatever may be their nature."[76] In 1844 in Germany the post-hegelian philosopher Max Stirner published the book, The Ego and Its Own, which would later be considered an influential early text of individualist anarchism.[77] French anarchists active in the 1848 Revolution included Anselme Bellegarrigue, Ernest Coeurderoy, Joseph Déjacque[75] and Pierre Joseph Proudhon.[78][79]

First International and the Paris Commune
Main articles: International Workingmen's Association and Paris Commune
Collectivist anarchist Mikhail Bakunin opposed the Marxist aim of dictatorship of the proletariat in favour of universal rebellion, and allied himself with the federalists in the First International before his expulsion by the Marxists.[64]
In Europe, harsh reaction followed the revolutions of 1848, during which ten countries had experienced brief or long-term social upheaval as groups carried out nationalist uprisings. After most of these attempts at systematic change ended in failure, conservative elements took advantage of the divided groups of socialists, anarchists, liberals, and nationalists, to prevent further revolt.[80]
In Spain Ramón de la Sagra established the anarchist journal El Porvenir in La

Coruña in 1845 which was inspired by Proudhon´s ideas.[81] The Catalan politician Francesc Pi i Margall became the principal translator of Proudhon's works into Spanish[82] and later briefly became president of Spain in 1873 while being the leader of the Democratic Republican Federal Party. According to George Woodcock "These translations were to have a profound and lasting effect on the development of Spanish anarchism after 1870, but before that time Proudhonian ideas, as interpreted by Pi, already provided much of the inspiration for the federalist movement which sprang up in the early 1860's."[83] According to the Encyclopedia Britannica "During the Spanish revolution of 1873, Pi y Margall attempted to establish a decentralized, or "cantonalist," political system on Proudhonian lines."[81] In 1864 the International Workingmen's Association (sometimes called the "First International") united diverse revolutionary currents including French followers of Proudhon,[84] Blanquists, Philadelphes, English trade unionists, socialists and social democrats. Due to its links to active workers' movements, the International became a significant organisation. Karl Marx became a leading figure in the International and a member of its General Council. Proudhon's followers, the mutualists, opposed Marx's state socialism, advocating political abstentionism and small property holdings.[85][86] Woodcock also reports that the American individualist anarchists Lysander Spooner and William B. Greene had been members of the First International.[87] In 1868, following their unsuccessful participation in the League of Peace and Freedom (LPF), Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin and his collectivist anarchist associates joined the First International (which had decided not to get involved with the LPF).[88] They allied themselves with the federalist socialist sections of the International,[89] who advocated the revolutionary overthrow of the state and the collectivisation of property.

At first, the collectivists worked with the Marxists to push the First International in a more revolutionary socialist direction. Subsequently, the International became polarised into two camps, with Marx and Bakunin as their respective figureheads.[90] Mikhail Bakunin characterised Marx's ideas as centralist and predicted that, if a Marxist party came to power, its leaders would simply take the place of the ruling class they had fought against.[91][92] Anarchist historian George Woodcock reports that "The annual Congress of the International had not taken place in 1870 owing to the outbreak of the Paris Commune, and in 1871 the General Council called only a special conference in London. One delegate was able to attend from Spain and none from Italy, while a technical excuse – that they had split away from the Fédération Romande – was used to avoid inviting Bakunin's Swiss supporters. Thus only a tiny minority of anarchists was present, and the General Council's resolutions passed almost unanimously. Most of them were clearly directed against Bakunin and his followers."[93] In 1872, the conflict climaxed with a final split between the two groups at the Hague Congress, where Bakunin and James Guillaume were expelled from the International and its headquarters were transferred to New York. In response, the federalist sections formed their own International at the St. Imier Congress, adopting a revolutionary anarchist program.[94]The Paris Commune was a government that briefly ruled Paris from 18 March (more formally, from 28 March) to 28 May 1871. The Commune was the result of an uprising in Paris after France was defeated in the Franco-Prussian War. Anarchists participated actively in the establishment of the Paris Commune. They included Louise Michel, the Reclus brothers, and Eugene Varlin (the latter murdered in the repression afterwards). As for the reforms initiated by the Commune, such as

the re-opening of workplaces as co-operatives, anarchists can see their ideas of associated labour beginning to be realised ... Moreover, the Commune's ideas on federation obviously reflected the influence of Proudhon on French radical ideas. Indeed, the Commune's vision of a communal France based on a federation of delegates bound by imperative mandates issued by their electors and subject to recall at any moment echoes Bakunin's and Proudhon's ideas (Proudhon, like Bakunin, had argued in favour of the "implementation of the binding mandate" in 1848 ... and for federation of communes). Thus both economically and politically the Paris Commune was heavily influenced by anarchist ideas.[95] George Woodcock states:

a notable contribution to the activities of the Commune and particularly to the organisation of public services was made by members of various anarchist factions, including the mutualists Courbet, Longuet, and Vermorel, the libertarian collectivists Varlin, Malon, and Lefrangais, and the bakuninists Elie and Elisée Reclus and Louise Michel.[93]

Organised labour

Main articles: Anarcho-syndicalism, International Workers' Association, Anarchism in Spain, and Spanish Revolution

The anti-authoritarian sections of the First International were the precursors of the anarcho-syndicalists, seeking to "replace the privilege and authority of the State" with the "free and spontaneous organisation of labour."[96] In 1886, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (FOTLU) of the United States and Canada unanimously set 1 May 1886, as the date by which the eight-hour work day would become standard.[97] In response, unions across the United States prepared a general strike in support of the event.[97] On 3 May, in Chicago, a fight broke out when strikebreakers attempted to cross the picket line, and two workers died when police opened fire upon the crowd.[98] The next day, 4 May, anarchists staged a rally at Chicago's Haymarket Square.[99] A bomb was thrown by an unknown party near the conclusion of the rally, killing an officer.[100] In the ensuing panic, police opened fire on the crowd and each other.[101] Seven police officers and at least four workers were killed.[102] Eight anarchists directly and indirectly related to the organisers of the rally were arrested and charged with the murder of the deceased officer. The men became international political celebrities among the labour movement. Four of the men were executed and a fifth committed suicide prior to his own execution. The incident became known as the Haymarket affair, and was a setback for the labour movement and the struggle for the eight-hour day. In 1890 a second attempt, this time international in scope, to organise for the eight-hour day was made. The event also had the secondary purpose of memorialising workers killed as a result of the Haymarket affair.[103] Although it had initially been conceived as a once-off event, by the following year the celebration of International Workers' Day on May Day had become firmly established as an international worker's holiday.[97]In 1907, the International Anarchist Congress of Amsterdam gathered delegates from 14 different countries, among which important figures of the anarchist movement, including Errico Malatesta, Pierre Monatte, Luigi Fabbri, Benoît Broutchoux, Emma Goldman, Rudolf Rocker, and Christiaan Cornelissen. Various themes were treated during the Congress, in particular concerning the organisation of the anarchist movement, popular education issues, the general strike or antimilitarism. A central

debate concerned the relation between anarchism and syndicalism (or trade unionism). Malatesta and Monatte were in particular disagreement themselves on this issue, as the latter thought that syndicalism was revolutionary and would create the conditions of a social revolution, while Malatesta did not consider syndicalism by itself sufficient.[104] He thought that the trade-union movement was reformist and even conservative, citing as essentially bourgeois and anti-worker the phenomenon of professional union officials. Malatesta warned that the syndicalists aims were in perpetuating syndicalism itself, whereas anarchists must always have anarchy as their end and consequently refrain from committing to any particular method of achieving it.[105] The Spanish Workers Federation in 1881 was the first major anarcho-syndicalist movement; anarchist trade union federations were of special importance in Spain. The most successful was the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour: CNT), founded in 1910. Before the 1940s, the CNT was the major force in Spanish working class politics, attracting 1.58 million members at one point and playing a major role in the Spanish Civil War.[106] The CNT was affiliated with the International Workers Association, a federation of anarcho-syndicalist trade unions founded in 1922, with delegates representing two million workers from 15 countries in Europe and Latin America. In Latin America in particular "The anarchists quickly became active in organizing craft and industrial workers throughout South and Central America, and until the early 1920s most of the trade unions in Mexico, Brazil, Peru, Chile, and Argentina were anarcho-syndicalist in general outlook; the prestige of the Spanish C.N.T. as a revolutionary organization was undoubtedly to a great extent responsible for this situation. The largest and most militant of these organizations was the Federación Obrera Regional Argentina ... it grew quickly to a membership of nearly a quarter of a million, which dwarfed the rival socialdemocratic unions."[93]

Propaganda of the deed and illegalism
Main articles: Propaganda of the deed, Illegalism, and Expropriative anarchism
Some anarchists, such as Johann Most, advocated publicising violent acts of retaliation against counter-revolutionaries because "we preach not only action in and for itself, but also action as propaganda."[107] By the 1880s, people inside and outside the anarchist movement began to use the slogan, "propaganda of the deed" to refer to individual bombings, regicides, and tyrannicides. From 1905 onwards, the Russian counterparts of these anti-syndicalist anarchist-communists become partisans of economic terrorism and illegal 'expropriations'."[108] Illegalism as a practice emerged and within it "The acts of the anarchist bombers and assassins ("propaganda by the deed") and the anarchist burglars ("individual reappropriation") expressed their desperation and their personal, violent rejection of an intolerable society. Moreover, they were clearly meant to be exemplary invitations to revolt.".[109] France's Bonnot Gang was the most famous group to embrace illegalism.
However, as soon as 1887, important figures in the anarchist movement distanced themselves from such individual acts. Peter Kropotkin thus wrote that year in Le Révolté that "a structure based on centuries of history cannot be destroyed with a few kilos of dynamite".[110] A variety of anarchists advocated the abandonment of these sorts of tactics in favour of collective revolutionary action, for example through the trade union movement. The anarcho-syndicalist, Fernand Pelloutier,

argued in 1895 for renewed anarchist involvement in the labour movement on the basis that anarchism could do very well without "the individual dynamiter."[111]State repression (including the infamous 1894 French lois scélérates) of the anarchist and labour movements following the few successful bombings and assassinations may have contributed to the abandonment of these kinds of tactics, although reciprocally state repression, in the first place, may have played a role in these isolated acts. The dismemberment of the French socialist movement, into many groups and, following the suppression of the 1871 Paris Commune, the execution and exile of many communards to penal colonies, favoured individualist political expression and acts.[112]Numerous heads of state were assassinated between 1881 and 1914 by members of the anarchist movement, including Tsar Alexander II of Russia, President Sadi Carnot of France, Empress Elisabeth of Austria, King Umberto I of Italy, President William McKinley of the United States, King Carlos I of Portugal and King George I of Greece.[citation needed] McKinley's assassin Leon Czolgosz claimed to have been influenced by anarchist and feminist Emma Goldman.[113] Propaganda of the deed was abandoned by the vast majority of the anarchist movement after World War I (1914–1918) and the 1917 October Revolution.[citation needed]

Russian Revolution and other uprisings of the 1910s
Main articles: Anarchism in Russia, Russian Revolution (1917), Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine, and Revolutions of 1917–23

Anarchists participated alongside the Bolsheviks in both February and October revolutions, and were initially enthusiastic about the Bolshevik revolution.[114] However, following a political falling out with the Bolsheviks by the anarchists and other left-wing opposition, the conflict culminated in the 1921 Kronstadt rebellion, which the new government repressed. Anarchists in central Russia were either imprisoned, driven underground or joined the victorious Bolsheviks; the anarchists from Petrograd and Moscow fled to Ukraine.[115] There, in the Free Territory, they fought in the civil war against the Whites (a grouping of monarchists and other opponents of the October Revolution) and then the Bolsheviks as part of the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine led by Nestor Makhno, who established an anarchist society in the region for a number of months. Expelled American anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were among those agitating in response to Bolshevik policy and the suppression of the Kronstadt uprising, before they left Russia. Both wrote accounts of their experiences in Russia, criticising the amount of control the Bolsheviks exercised. For them, Bakunin's predictions about the consequences of Marxist rule that the rulers of the new "socialist" Marxist state would become a new elite had proved all too true.[91][116]The victory of the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution and the resulting Russian Civil War did serious damage to anarchist movements internationally. Many workers and activists saw Bolshevik success as setting an example; Communist parties grew at the expense of anarchism and other socialist movements. In France and the United States, for example, members of the major syndicalist movements of the CGT and IWW left the organisations and joined the Communist International.[117]The revolutionary wave of 1917–23 saw the active participation of anarchists in varying degrees of protagonism. In the German uprising known as the German Revolution of 1918–1919 which established the Bavarian Soviet Republic the anarchists Gustav Landauer, Silvio Gesell and Erich

Mühsam had important leadership positions within the revolutionary councilist structures.[118][119] In the Italian events known as the biennio rosso[120] the anarcho-syndicalist trade union Unione Sindacale Italiana "grew to 800,000 members and the influence of the Italian Anarchist Union (20,000 members plus Umanita Nova, its daily paper) grew accordingly ... Anarchists were the first to suggest occupying workplaces.[121] In the Mexican Revolution the Mexican Liberal Party was established and during the early 1910s it led a series of military offensives leading to the conquest and occupation of certain towns and districts in Baja California with the leadership of anarcho-communist Ricardo Flores Magón.[122]In Paris, the Dielo Truda group of Russian anarchist exiles, which included Nestor Makhno, concluded that anarchists needed to develop new forms of organisation in response to the structures of Bolshevism. Their 1926 manifesto, called the Organisational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft),[123] was supported. Platformist groups active today include the Workers Solidarity Movement in Ireland and the North Eastern Federation of Anarchist Communists of North America. Synthesis anarchism emerged as an organisational alternative to platformism that tries to join anarchists of different tendencies under the principles of anarchism without adjectives.[124] In the 1920s this form found as its main proponents Volin and Sebastien Faure.[124] It is the main principle behind the anarchist federations grouped around the contemporary global International of Anarchist Federations.[124]

Conflicts with European fascist regimes
Main article: Anti-fascism
See also: Anarchism in France, Anarchism in Italy, Anarchism in Spain, and Anarchism in Germany

In the 1920s and 1930s, the rise of fascism in Europe transformed anarchism's conflict with the state. Italy saw the first struggles between anarchists and fascists. Italian anarchists played a key role in the anti-fascist organisation Arditi del Popolo, which was strongest in areas with anarchist traditions, and achieved some success in their activism, such as repelling Blackshirts in the anarchist stronghold of Parma in August 1922.[125] The veteran Italian anarchist, Luigi Fabbri, was one of the first critical theorists of fascism, describing it as "the preventive counter-revolution." [46] In France, where the far right leagues came close to insurrection in the February 1934 riots, anarchists divided over a united front policy.[126]Anarchists in France[127] and Italy[128] were active in the Resistance during World War II. In Germany the anarchist Erich Mühsam was arrested on charges unknown in the early morning hours of 28 February 1933, within a few hours after the Reichstag fire in Berlin. Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi propaganda minister, labelled him as one of "those Jewish subversives." Over the next seventeen months, he would be imprisoned in the concentration camps at Sonnenburg, Brandenburg and finally, Oranienburg. On 2 February 1934, Mühsam was transferred to the concentration camp at Oranienburg when finally on the night of 9 July 1934, Mühsam was tortured and murdered by the guards, his battered corpse found hanging in a latrine the next morning.[129]

Spanish Revolution
Main article: Spanish Revolution
In Spain, the national anarcho-syndicalist trade union Confederación Nacional del

Trabajo initially refused to join a popular front electoral alliance, and abstention by CNT supporters led to a right wing election victory. But in 1936, the CNT changed its policy and anarchist votes helped bring the popular front back to power. Months later, the former ruling class responded with an attempted coup causing the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939).[130] In response to the army rebellion, an anarchist-inspired movement of peasants and workers, supported by armed militias, took control of Barcelona and of large areas of rural Spain where they collectivised the land.[131][132] But even before the fascist victory in 1939, the anarchists were losing ground in a bitter struggle with the Stalinists, who controlled much of the distribution of military aid to the Republican cause from the Soviet Union. According to Noam Chomsky, "the communists were mainly responsible for the destruction of the Spanish anarchists. Not just in Catalonia—the communist armies mainly destroyed the collectives elsewhere. The communists basically acted as the police force of the security system of the Republic and were very much opposed to the anarchists, partially because Stalin still hoped at that time to have some kind of pact with Western countries against Hitler. That, of course, failed and Stalin withdrew the support to the Republic. They even withdrew the Spanish gold reserves." [133] The events known as the Spanish Revolution was a workers' social revolution that began during the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and resulted in the widespread implementation of anarchist and more broadly libertarian socialist organisational principles throughout various portions of the country for two to three years, primarily Catalonia, Aragon, Andalusia, and parts of the Levante. Much of Spain's economy was put under worker control; in anarchist strongholds like Catalonia, the figure was as high as 75%, but lower in areas with heavy Communist Party of Spain influence, as the Soviet-allied party actively resisted attempts at collectivisation enactment. Factories were run through worker committees, agrarian areas became collectivised and run as libertarian communes. Anarchist historian Sam Dolgoff estimated that about eight million people participated directly or at least indirectly in the Spanish Revolution,[134] which he claimed "came closer to realizing the ideal of the free stateless society on a vast scale than any other revolution in history."[135] Spanish Communist Party-led troops suppressed the collectives and persecuted both dissident Marxists and anarchists. [136] The prominent Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri, who volunteered to fight against Franco was killed instead in Spain by gunmen associated with the Spanish Communist Party.[137][138][139] The city of Madrid was turned over to the francoist forces by the last non-francoist mayor of the city, the anarchist Melchor Rodríguez García.[140]

Post-war years

Anarchism sought to reorganise itself after the war and in this context the organisational debate between synthesis anarchism and platformism took importance once again especially in the anarchist movements of Italy and France. The Mexican Anarchist Federation was established in 1945 after the Anarchist Federation of the Centre united with the Anarchist Federation of the Federal District.[141] In the early 1940s, the Antifascist International Solidarity and the Federation of Anarchist Groups of Cuba merged into the large national organisation Asociación Libertaria de Cuba (Cuban Libertarian Association).[142] From 1944 to 1947, the Bulgarian Anarchist Communist Federation reemerged as part of a factory

and workplace committee movement, but was repressed by the new Communist regime.[143] In 1945 in France the Fédération Anarchiste and the anarchosyndicalist trade union Confédération nationale du travail was established in the next year while the also synthesist Federazione Anarchica Italiana was founded in Italy. Korean anarchists formed the League of Free Social Constructors in September 1945[143] and in 1946 the Japanese Anarchist Federation was founded.[144] An International Anarchist Congress with delegates from across Europe was held in Paris in May 1948.[143] After World War II, an appeal in the Fraye Arbeter Shtime detailing the plight of German anarchists and called for Americans to support them. By February 1946, the sending of aid parcels to anarchists in Germany was a large-scale operation. The Federation of Libertarian Socialists was founded in Germany in 1947 and Rudolf Rocker wrote for its organ, Die Freie Gesellschaft, which survived until 1953.[145] In 1956 the Uruguayan Anarchist Federation was founded. [146] In 1955 the Anarcho-Communist Federation of Argentina renamed itself as the Argentine Libertarian Federation. The Syndicalist Workers' Federation was a syndicalist group in active in post-war Britain,[147] and one of Solidarity Federation's earliest predecessors. It was formed in 1950 by members of the dissolved Anarchist Federation of Britain.[147] Unlike the AFB, which was influenced by anarcho-syndicalist ideas but ultimately not syndicalist itself, the SWF decided to pursue a more definitely syndicalist, worker-centred strategy from the outset.[147]Anarchism continued to influence important literary and intellectual personalities of the time, such as Albert Camus, Herbert Read, Paul Goodman, Dwight Macdonald, Allen Ginsberg, George Woodcock, Leopold Kohr,[148][149] Julian Beck, John Cage[150] and the French Surrealist group led by André Breton, which now openly embraced anarchism and collaborated in the Fédération Anarchiste.[151]Anarcho-pacifism became influential in the Anti-nuclear movement and anti war movements of the time[152][153] as can be seen in the activism and writings of the English anarchist member of Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Alex Comfort or the similar activism of the American catholic anarcho-pacifists Ammon Hennacy and Dorothy Day. Anarcho-pacifism became a "basis for a critique of militarism on both sides of the Cold War."[154] The resurgence of anarchist ideas during this period is well documented in Robert Graham's Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas, Volume Two: The Emergence of the New Anarchism (1939–1977).[143]

Contemporary anarchism
Main article: Contemporary anarchism
A surge of popular interest in anarchism occurred in western nations during the 1960s and 1970s.[155] Anarchism was influential in the Counterculture of the 1960s[156][157][158] and anarchists actively participated in the late sixties students and workers revolts.[159] In 1968 in Carrara, Italy the International of Anarchist Federations was founded during an international anarchist conference held there in 1968 by the three existing European federations of France (the Fédération Anarchiste), the Federazione Anarchica Italiana of Italy and the Iberian Anarchist Federation as well as the Bulgarian federation in French exile.[160][161]In the United Kingdom in the 1970s this was associated with the punk rock movement, as exemplified by bands such as Crass and the Sex Pistols.[162] The housing and employment crisis in most of Western Europe led to the formation of communes and squatter movements like that of Barcelona, Spain. In Denmark, squatters

occupied a disused military base and declared the Freetown Christiania, an autonomous haven in central Copenhagen. Since the revival of anarchism in the mid-20th century,[163] a number of new movements and schools of thought emerged. Although feminist tendencies have always been a part of the anarchist movement in the form of anarcha-feminism, they returned with vigour during the second wave of feminism in the 1960s. Anarchist anthropologist David Graeber and anarchist historian Andrej Grubacic have posited a rupture between generations of anarchism, with those "who often still have not shaken the sectarian habits" of the 19th century contrasted with the younger activists who are "much more informed, among other elements, by indigenous, feminist, ecological and cultural-critical ideas", and who by the turn of the 21st century formed "by far the majority" of anarchists.[164]Around the turn of the 21st century, anarchism grew in popularity and influence as part of the anti-war, anti-capitalist, and anti-globalisation movements.[165] Anarchists became known for their involvement in protests against the meetings of the World Trade Organization (WTO), Group of Eight, and the World Economic Forum. Some anarchist factions at these protests engaged in rioting, property destruction, and violent confrontations with police. These actions were precipitated by ad hoc, leaderless, anonymous cadres known as black blocs; other organisational tactics pioneered in this time include security culture, affinity groups and the use of decentralised technologies such as the internet.[165] A significant event of this period was the confrontations at WTO conference in Seattle in 1999.[165] According to anarchist scholar Simon Critchley, "contemporary anarchism can be seen as a powerful critique of the pseudo-libertarianism of contemporary neo-liberalism ... One might say that contemporary anarchism is about responsibility, whether sexual, ecological or socio-economic; it flows from an experience of conscience about the manifold ways in which the West ravages the rest; it is an ethical outrage at the yawning inequality, impoverishment and disenfranchisment that is so palpable locally and globally."[166] International anarchist federations in existence include the International of Anarchist Federations, the International Workers' Association, and International Libertarian Solidarity. The largest organised anarchist movement today is in Spain, in the form of the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT) and the CNT. CGT membership was estimated at around 100,000 for 2003.[167] Other active syndicalist movements include in Sweden the Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden and the Swedish Anarcho-syndicalist Youth Federation; the CNT-AIT in France; the Unione Sindicale Italiana in Italy; in the US Workers Solidarity Alliance and the UK Solidarity Federation and Anarchist Federation. The revolutionary industrial unionist Industrial Workers of the World, claiming 3,000 paying members, and the International Workers Association, an anarcho-syndicalist successor to the First International, also remain active.[citation needed]

Anarchist schools of thought
Main article: Anarchist schools of thought

Anarchist schools of thought had been generally grouped in two main historical traditions, individualist anarchism and social anarchism, which have some different origins, values and evolution.[10][21][168][169] The individualist wing of anarchism emphasises negative liberty, i.e. opposition to state or social control over the

individual, while those in the social wing emphasise positive liberty to achieve one's potential and argue that humans have needs that society ought to fulfil, "recognizing equality of entitlement".[170] In a chronological and theoretical sense, there are classical – those created throughout the 19th century – and post-classical anarchist schools – those created since the mid-20th century and after. Beyond the specific factions of anarchist thought is philosophical anarchism, which embodies the theoretical stance that the state lacks moral legitimacy without accepting the imperative of revolution to eliminate it. A component especially of individualist anarchism[171][172] philosophical anarchism may accept the existence of a minimal state as unfortunate, and usually temporary, "necessary evil" but argue that citizens do not have a moral obligation to obey the state when its laws conflict with individual autonomy.[173] One reaction against sectarianism within the anarchist milieu was "anarchism without adjectives", a call for toleration first adopted by Fernando Tarrida del Mármol in 1889 in response to the "bitter debates" of anarchist theory at the time.[174] In abandoning the hyphenated anarchisms (i.e. collectivist-, communist-, mutualist– and individualist-anarchism), it sought to emphasise the anti-authoritarian beliefs common to all anarchist schools of thought.[175]

Classical anarchist schools of thought

Mutualism
Main article: Mutualism (economic theory)
Mutualism began in 18th-century English and French labour movements before taking an anarchist form associated with Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in France and others in the United States.[176] Proudhon proposed spontaneous order, whereby organisation emerges without central authority, a "positive anarchy" where order arises when everybody does "what he wishes and only what he wishes"[177] and where "business transactions alone produce the social order."[178] Proudhon distinguished between ideal political possibilities and practical governance. For this reason, much in contrast to some of his theoretical statements concerning ultimate spontaneous self-governance, Proudhon was heavily involved in French parliamentary politics and allied himself not with anarchist but socialist factions of workers' movements and, in addition to advocating state-protected charters for worker-owned cooperatives, promoted certain nationalisation schemes during his life of public service.
Mutualist anarchism is concerned with reciprocity, free association, voluntary contract, federation, and credit and currency reform. According to the American mutualist William Batchelder Greene, each worker in the mutualist system would receive "just and exact pay for his work; services equivalent in cost being exchangeable for services equivalent in cost, without profit or discount."[179] Mutualism has been retrospectively characterised as ideologically situated between individualist and collectivist forms of anarchism.[180] Proudhon first characterised his goal as a "third form of society, the synthesis of communism and property."[181]

Individualist anarchism

Main article: Individualist anarchism

Individualist anarchism refers to several traditions of thought within the anarchist movement that emphasize the individual and their will over any kinds of external determinants such as groups, society, traditions, and ideological systems.[182] [183] Individualist anarchism is not a single philosophy but refers to a group of individualistic philosophies that sometimes are in conflict.

In 1793, William Godwin, who has often[67] been cited as the first anarchist, wrote Political Justice, which some consider the first expression of anarchism.[68][70] Godwin, a philosophical anarchist, from a rationalist and utilitarian basis opposed revolutionary action and saw a minimal state as a present "necessary evil" that would become increasingly irrelevant and powerless by the gradual spread of knowledge.[68][184] Godwin advocated individualism, proposing that all cooperation in labour be eliminated on the premise that this would be most conducive with the general good.[185][186]

An influential form of individualist anarchism, called "egoism,"[187] or egoist anarchism, was expounded by one of the earliest and best-known proponents of individualist anarchism, the German Max Stirner.[77] Stirner's The Ego and Its Own, published in 1844, is a founding text of the philosophy.[77] According to Stirner, the only limitation on the rights of individuals is their power to obtain what they desire,[188] without regard for God, state, or morality.[189] To Stirner, rights were spooks in the mind, and he held that society does not exist but "the individuals are its reality".[190] Stirner advocated self-assertion and foresaw unions of egoists, non-systematic associations continually renewed by all parties' support through an act of will,[191] which Stirner proposed as a form of organisation in place of the state. [192] Egoist anarchists argue that egoism will foster genuine and spontaneous union between individuals.[193] "Egoism" has inspired many interpretations of Stirner's philosophy. It was re-discovered and promoted by German philosophical anarchist and homosexual activist John Henry Mackay.

Josiah Warren is widely regarded as the first American anarchist,[194] and the four-page weekly paper he edited during 1833, The Peaceful Revolutionist, was the first anarchist periodical published.[195] For American anarchist historian Eunice Minette Schuster "It 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.".[196] Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) was an important early influence in individualist anarchist thought in the United States and Europe. Thoreau was an American author, poet, naturalist, tax resister, development critic, surveyor, historian, philosopher, and leading transcendentalist. He is best known for his books Walden, a reflection upon simple living in natural surroundings, and his essay, Civil Disobedience, an argument for individual resistance to civil government in moral opposition to an unjust state. Later Benjamin Tucker fused Stirner's egoism with the economics of Warren and Proudhon in his eclectic influential publication Liberty.

From these early influences individualist anarchism in different countries attracted a small but diverse following of bohemian artists and intellectuals,[197] free love and birth control advocates (see Anarchism and issues related to love and sex),[198][199] individualist naturists nudists (see anarcho-naturism),[199][200][201] freethought and

anti-clerical activists[202][203] as well as young anarchist outlaws in what became known as illegalism and individual reclamation[109][204] (see European individualist anarchism and individualist anarchism in France). These authors and activists included Oscar Wilde, Emile Armand, Han Ryner, Henri Zisly, Renzo Novatore, Miguel Gimenez Igualada, Adolf Brand and Lev Chernyi among others.

Social anarchism
Main article: Social anarchism
Social anarchism calls for a system with common ownership of means of production and democratic control of all organisations, without any government authority or coercion. It is the largest school of thought in anarchism.[205] Social anarchism rejects private property, seeing it as a source of social inequality (while retaining respect for personal property),[206] and emphasises cooperation and mutual aid.[207]

Collectivist anarchism
Main article: Collectivist anarchism
Collectivist anarchism, also referred to as "revolutionary socialism" or a form of such,[208][209] is a revolutionary form of anarchism, commonly associated with Mikhail Bakunin and Johann Most.[210][211] Collectivist anarchists oppose all private ownership of the means of production, instead advocating that ownership be collectivised. This was to be achieved through violent revolution, first starting with a small cohesive group through acts of violence, or propaganda by the deed, which would inspire the workers as a whole to revolt and forcibly collectivise the means of production.[210]However, collectivisation was not to be extended to the distribution of income, as workers would be paid according to time worked, rather than receiving goods being distributed "according to need" as in anarcho-communism. This position was criticised by anarchist communists as effectively "uphold[ing] the wages system".[212] Collectivist anarchism arose contemporaneously with Marxism but opposed the Marxist dictatorship of the proletariat, despite the stated Marxist goal of a collectivist stateless society.[213] Anarchist, communist and collectivist ideas are not mutually exclusive; although the collectivist anarchists advocated compensation for labour, some held out the possibility of a post-revolutionary transition to a communist system of distribution according to need.[214]

Anarcho-communism
Main article: Anarcho-communism
Anarchist communism (also known as anarcho-communism, libertarian communism[215][216][217][218] and occasionally as free communism) is a theory of anarchism that advocates abolition of the state, markets, money, private property (while retaining respect for personal property),[206] and capitalism in favour of common ownership of the means of production,[219][220] direct democracy and a horizontal network of voluntary associations and workers' councils with production and consumption based on the guiding principle: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need".[221][222]
Some forms of anarchist communism such as insurrectionary anarchism are strongly influenced by egoism and radical individualism, believing anarcho-communism is the best social system for the realisation of individual freedom.[223][224][225][226] Most anarcho-communists view anarcho-communism as a way

of reconciling the opposition between the individual and society.[227][228][229] Anarcho-communism developed out of radical socialist currents after the French revolution[230][231] but was first formulated as such in the Italian section of the First International.[232] The theoretical work of Peter Kropotkin took importance later as it expanded and developed pro-organisationalist and insurrectionary anti-organisationalist sections.[233] To date, the best known examples of an anarchist communist society (i.e., established around the ideas as they exist today and achieving worldwide attention and knowledge in the historical canon), are the anarchist territories during the Spanish Revolution[234] and the Free Territory during the Russian Revolution. Through the efforts and influence of the Spanish Anarchists during the Spanish Revolution within the Spanish Civil War, starting in 1936 anarchist communism existed in most of Aragon, parts of the Levante and Andalusia, as well as in the stronghold of Anarchist Catalonia before being crushed by the combined forces of the regime that won the war, Hitler, Mussolini, Spanish Communist Party repression (backed by the USSR) as well as economic and armaments blockades from the capitalist countries and the Spanish Republic itself.[235] During the Russian Revolution, anarchists such as Nestor Makhno worked to create and defend – through the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine – anarchist communism in the Free Territory of the Ukraine from 1919 before being conquered by the Bolsheviks in 1921.

Anarcho-syndicalism
Main article: Anarcho-syndicalism
Anarcho-syndicalism is a branch of anarchism that focuses on the labour movement.[236] Anarcho-syndicalists view labour unions as a potential force for revolutionary social change, replacing capitalism and the state with a new society democratically self-managed by workers. The basic principles of anarcho-syndicalism are: Workers' solidarity, Direct action and Workers' self-management Anarcho-syndicalists believe that only direct action – that is, action concentrated on directly attaining a goal, as opposed to indirect action, such as electing a representative to a government position – will allow workers to liberate themselves. [237] Moreover, anarcho-syndicalists believe that workers' organisations (the organisations that struggle against the wage system, which, in anarcho-syndicalist theory, will eventually form the basis of a new society) should be self-managing. They should not have bosses or "business agents"; rather, the workers should be able to make all the decisions that affect them themselves. Rudolf Rocker was one of the most popular voices in the anarcho-syndicalist movement. He outlined a view of the origins of the movement, what it sought, and why it was important to the future of labour in his 1938 pamphlet Anarcho-Syndicalism. The International Workers Association is an international anarcho-syndicalist federation of various labour unions from different countries. The Spanish Confederación Nacional del Trabajo played and still plays a major role in the Spanish labour movement. It was also an important force in the Spanish Civil War.

<u>Syncretic anarchism</u>

The term syncretic anarchism was first coined by Alberto Frigo in relation to his reading of Jacques Ellul. Rephrasing the latter, Frigo observed that, if on one hand new technologies creates new form of power, on the other, new technologies are accompanied by the rise of what Marcel Mauss defines as magic. By developing the techniques to perform new magic and by adhering to it, marginal individuals come to create forms of syncretism which brings together the different dogmas and cultures a power structures uses to put humans against one another. The 19th century French postman Ferdinand Cheval for example, has intuitively experimented with the, at that time, new medium of cement, and created, after 33 years of adherence to certain rituals, a monument blending religions from around the world.

Post-classical schools of thought

Anarchism continues to generate many philosophies and movements, at times eclectic, drawing upon various sources, and syncretic, combining disparate concepts to create new philosophical approaches.[238]

Green anarchism (or eco-anarchism)[239] is a school of thought within anarchism that emphasises environmental issues,[240] with an important precedent in anarcho-naturism,[199][241][242] and whose main contemporary currents are anarcho-primitivism and social ecology.

Anarcha-feminism (also called anarchist feminism and anarcho-feminism) combines anarchism with feminism. It generally views patriarchy as a manifestation of involuntary coercive hierarchy that should be replaced by decentralised free association. Anarcha-feminists believe that the struggle against patriarchy is an essential part of class struggle, and the anarchist struggle against the state. In essence, the philosophy sees anarchist struggle as a necessary component of feminist struggle and vice versa. L. Susan Brown claims that "as anarchism is a political philosophy that opposes all relationships of power, it is inherently feminist".[243] Anarcha-feminism began with the late 19th-century writings of early feminist anarchists such as Emma Goldman and Voltairine de Cleyre.

Anarcho-pacifism is a tendency that rejects violence in the struggle for social change (see non-violence).[93][244] It developed "mostly in the Netherlands, Britain, and the United States, before and during the Second World War".[93] Christian anarchism is a movement in political theology that combines anarchism and Christianity.[245] Its main proponents included Leo Tolstoy, Dorothy Day, Ammon Hennacy, and Jacques Ellul.

Platformism is a tendency within the wider anarchist movement based on the organisational theories in the tradition of Dielo Truda's Organisational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft).[123] The document was based on the experiences of Russian anarchists in the 1917 October Revolution, which led eventually to the victory of the Bolsheviks over the anarchists and other groups. The Platform attempted to address and explain the anarchist movement's failures

during the Russian Revolution.

Synthesis anarchism is a form of anarchism that tries to join anarchists of different tendencies under the principles of anarchism without adjectives.[246] In the 1920s, this form found as its main proponents the anarcho-communists Voline and Sébastien Faure.[124][247] It is the main principle behind the anarchist federations grouped around the contemporary global International of Anarchist Federations. [246]Post-left anarchy is a recent current in anarchist thought that promotes a critique of anarchism's relationship to traditional Left-wing politics. Some post-leftists seek to escape the confines of ideology in general also presenting a critique of organisations and morality.[248] Influenced by the work of Max Stirner[248] and by the Marxist Situationist International,[248] post-left anarchy is marked by a focus on social insurrection and a rejection of leftist social organisation.[249] Insurrectionary anarchism is a revolutionary theory, practice, and tendency within the anarchist movement which emphasises insurrection within anarchist practice. [250][251] It is critical of formal organisations such as labour unions and federations that are based on a political programme and periodic congresses.[250] Instead, insurrectionary anarchists advocate informal organisation and small affinity group based organisation.[250][251] Insurrectionary anarchists put value in attack, permanent class conflict, and a refusal to negotiate or compromise with class enemies.[250][251] Post-anarchism is a theoretical move towards a synthesis of classical anarchist theory and poststructuralist thought, drawing from diverse ideas including post-modernism, autonomist marxism, post-left anarchy, Situationist International, and postcolonialism.

Left-wing market anarchism strongly affirm the classical liberal ideas of self-ownership and free markets, while maintaining that, taken to their logical conclusions, these ideas support strongly anti-corporatist, anti-hierarchical, pro-labor positions and anti-capitalism in economics and anti-imperialism in foreign policy.[252][253][254][255]Anarcho-capitalism advocates the elimination of the state in favour of individual sovereignty in a free market.[256][257] Anarcho-capitalism developed from radical anti-state libertarianism and individualist anarchism,[258] [259][260][261][262][263][264] drawing from Austrian School economics, study of law and economics, and public choice theory.[265] There is a strong current within anarchism which believes that anarcho-capitalism cannot be considered a part of the anarchist movement, due to the fact that anarchism has historically been an anti-capitalist movement and for definitional reasons which see anarchism as incompatible with capitalist forms.[266][267][268][269][270][271]

Internal issues and debates

See also: Anarchism and violence, Anarchist schools of thought, and Issues in anarchism

Anarchism is a philosophy that embodies many diverse attitudes, tendencies and schools of thought; as such, disagreement over questions of values, ideology and tactics is common. The compatibility of capitalism,[272] nationalism, and religion with anarchism is widely disputed. Similarly, anarchism enjoys complex relationships with ideologies such as Marxism, communism, collectivism, syndicalism/trade unionism, and capitalism. Anarchists may be motivated by humanism, divine authority, enlightened self-interest, veganism or any number of alternative ethical

doctrines.

Phenomena such as civilisation, technology (e.g. within anarcho-primitivism), and the democratic process may be sharply criticised within some anarchist tendencies and simultaneously lauded in others.

On a tactical level, while propaganda of the deed was a tactic used by anarchists in the 19th century (e.g. the Nihilist movement), some contemporary anarchists espouse alternative direct action methods such as nonviolence, counter-economics and anti-state cryptography to bring about an anarchist society. About the scope of an anarchist society, some anarchists advocate a global one, while others do so by local ones.[273] The diversity in anarchism has led to widely different use of identical terms among different anarchist traditions, which has led to many definitional concerns in anarchist theory.

Topics of interest

Intersecting and overlapping between various schools of thought, certain topics of interest and internal disputes have proven perennial within anarchist theory.

Free love
Main articles: *Free love*, *Anarchism and issues related to love and sex*, *Anarcha-feminism*, and *Queer anarchism*

An important current within anarchism is free love.[274] Free love advocates sometimes traced their roots back to Josiah Warren and to experimental communities, viewed sexual freedom as a clear, direct expression of an individual's sovereignty. Free love particularly stressed women's rights since most sexual laws discriminated against women: for example, marriage laws and anti-birth control measures.[198] The most important American free love journal was Lucifer the Lightbearer (1883–1907) edited by Moses Harman and Lois Waisbrooker,[275] but also there existed Ezra Heywood and Angela Heywood's The Word (1872–1890, 1892–1893).[198] Free Society (1895–1897 as The Firebrand; 1897–1904 as Free Society) was a major anarchist newspaper in the United States at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.[276] The publication advocated free love and women's rights, and critiqued "Comstockery" – censorship of sexual information. Also M. E. Lazarus was an important American individualist anarchist who promoted free love.[198]In New York City's Greenwich Village, bohemian feminists and socialists advocated self-realisation and pleasure for women (and also men) in the here and now. They encouraged playing with sexual roles and sexuality,[277] and the openly bisexual radical Edna St. Vincent Millay and the lesbian anarchist Margaret Anderson were prominent among them. Discussion groups organised by the Villagers were frequented by Emma Goldman, among others. Magnus Hirschfeld noted in 1923 that Goldman "has campaigned boldly and steadfastly for individual rights, and especially for those deprived of their rights. Thus it came about that she was the first and only woman, indeed the first and only American, to take up the defense of homosexual love before the general public."[278] In fact, before Goldman, heterosexual anarchist Robert Reitzel (1849–1898) spoke positively of homosexuality from the beginning of the 1890s in his Detroit-based German language journal Der arme Teufel (English: The Poor Devil). In Argentina anarcha-

feminist Virginia Bolten published the newspaper called La Voz de la Mujer (English: The Woman's Voice), which was published nine times in Rosario between 8 January 1896 and 1 January 1897, and was revived, briefly, in 1901.[279]In Europe the main propagandist of free love within individualist anarchism was Emile Armand.[280] He proposed the concept of la camaraderie amoureuse to speak of free love as the possibility of voluntary sexual encounter between consenting adults. He was also a consistent proponent of polyamory.[280] In Germany the stirnerists Adolf Brand and John Henry Mackay were pioneering campaigners for the acceptance of male bisexuality and homosexuality. Mujeres Libres was an anarchist women's organisation in Spain that aimed to empower working class women. It was founded in 1936 by Lucía Sánchez Saornil, Mercedes Comaposada and Amparo Poch y Gascón and had approximately 30,000 members. The organisation was based on the idea of a "double struggle" for women's liberation and social revolution and argued that the two objectives were equally important and should be pursued in parallel. In order to gain mutual support, they created networks of women anarchists.[281] Lucía Sánchez Saornil was a main founder of the Spanish anarcha-feminist federation Mujeres Libres who was open about her lesbianism.[282] She was published in a variety of literary journals where working under a male pen name, she was able to explore lesbian themes[283] at a time when homosexuality was criminalised and subject to censorship and punishment.

More recently, the British anarcho-pacifist Alex Comfort gained notoriety during the sexual revolution for writing the bestseller sex manual The Joy of Sex. The issue of free love has a dedicated treatment in the work of French anarcho-hedonist philosopher Michel Onfray in such works as Théorie du corps amoureux : pour une érotique solaire (2000) and L'invention du plaisir : fragments cyréaniques (2002).

Libertarian education and freethought
See also: Anarchism and education and Freethought

For English anarchist William Godwin education was "the main means by which change would be achieved."[284] Godwin saw that the main goal of education should be the promotion of happiness.[284] For Godwin education had to have "A respect for the child's autonomy which precluded any form of coercion," "A pedagogy that respected this and sought to build on the child's own motivation and initiatives," and "A concern about the child's capacity to resist an ideology transmitted through the school."[284] In his Political Justice he criticises state sponsored schooling "on account of its obvious alliance with national government".[285] Early American anarchist Josiah Warren advanced alternative education experiences in the libertarian communities he established.[286] Max Stirner wrote in 1842 a long essay on education called The False Principle of our Education. In it Stirner names his educational principle "personalist," explaining that self-understanding consists in hourly self-creation. Education for him is to create "free men, sovereign characters," by which he means "eternal characters ... who are therefore eternal because they form themselves each moment".[287]In the United States "freethought was a basically anti-christian, anti-clerical movement, whose purpose was to make the individual politically and spiritually free to decide for himself on religious matters. A number of contributors to Liberty (anarchist publication) were prominent figures in both freethought and anarchism. The individualist anarchist George MacDonald was a co-editor of Freethought and, for a time, The Truth Seeker. E.C.

Walker was co-editor of the excellent free-thought / free love journal Lucifer, the Light-Bearer".[202] "Many of the anarchists were ardent freethinkers; reprints from freethought papers such as Lucifer, the Light-Bearer, Freethought and The Truth Seeker appeared in Liberty... The church was viewed as a common ally of the state and as a repressive force in and of itself".[202]In 1901, Catalan anarchist and free-thinker Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia established "modern" or progressive schools in Barcelona in defiance of an educational system controlled by the Catholic Church.[288] The schools' stated goal was to "educate the working class in a rational, secular and non-coercive setting". Fiercely anti-clerical, Ferrer believed in "freedom in education", education free from the authority of church and state.[289] Murray Bookchin wrote: "This period [1890s] was the heyday of libertarian schools and pedagogical projects in all areas of the country where Anarchists exercised some degree of influence. Perhaps the best-known effort in this field was Francisco Ferrer's Modern School (Escuela Moderna), a project which exercised a considerable influence on Catalan education and on experimental techniques of teaching generally."[290] La Escuela Moderna, and Ferrer's ideas generally, formed the inspiration for a series of Modern Schools in the United States,[288] Cuba, South America and London. The first of these was started in New York City in 1911. It also inspired the Italian newspaper Università popolare, founded in 1901. Russian christian anarchist Leo Tolstoy established a school for peasant children on his estate.[291] Tolstoy's educational experiments were short-lived due to harassment by the Tsarist secret police.[292] Tolstoy established a conceptual difference between education and culture.[291] He thought that "Education is the tendency of one man to make another just like himself ... Education is culture under restraint, culture is free. [Education is] when the teaching is forced upon the pupil, and when then instruction is exclusive, that is when only those subjects are taught which the educator regards as necessary".[291] For him "without compulsion, education was transformed into culture".[291]A more recent libertarian tradition on education is that of unschooling and the free school in which child-led activity replaces pedagogic approaches. Experiments in Germany led to A. S. Neill founding what became Summerhill School in 1921.[293] Summerhill is often cited as an example of anarchism in practice.[294][295] However, although Summerhill and other free schools are radically libertarian, they differ in principle from those of Ferrer by not advocating an overtly political class struggle-approach.[296] In addition to organising schools according to libertarian principles, anarchists have also questioned the concept of schooling per se. The term deschooling was popularised by Ivan Illich, who argued that the school as an institution is dysfunctional for self-determined learning and serves the creation of a consumer society instead.[297]

Criticisms

Main article: Criticisms of anarchism

Criticisms of anarchism include moral criticisms and pragmatic criticisms. Anarchism is often evaluated as unfeasible or utopian by its critics. European history professor Carl Landauer, in his book European Socialism argued that social anarchism is unrealistic and that government is a "lesser evil" than a society without "repressive force." He also argued that "ill intentions will cease if repressive force disappears" is an "absurdity."[298]

See also

References

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2 Jump up ˆ "In a society developed on these lines, the voluntary associations which already now begin to cover all the fields of human activity would take a still greater extension so as to substitute themselves for the state in all its functions." Peter Kropotkin. "Anarchism" from the Encyclopædia Britannica

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5 Jump up ˆ "as many anarchists have stressed, it is not government as such that they find objectionable, but the hierarchical forms of government associated with the nation state." Judith Suissa. Anarchism and Education: a Philosophical Perspective. Routledge. New York. 2006. p. 7

6 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ "IAF principles". International of Anarchist Federations. Archived from the original on 5 January 2012. "The IAF – IFA fights for : the abolition of all forms of authority whether economical, political, social, religious, cultural or sexual."

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11 Jump up ˆ "Anarchists do reject the state, as we will see. But to claim that this central aspect of anarchism is definitive is to sell anarchism short."Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism by Paul McLaughlin. AshGate. 2007. p. 28

12 Jump up ˆ "My use of the word hierarchy in the subtitle of this work is meant to be provocative. There is a strong theoretical need to contrast hierarchy with the more widespread use of the words class and State; careless use of these terms can produce a dangerous simplification of social reality. To use the words hierarchy, class, and State interchangeably, as many social theorists do, is insidious and obscurantist. This practice, in the name of a "classless" or "libertarian" society, could easily conceal the existence of hierarchical relationships and a hierarchical sensibility, both of which-even in the absence of economic exploitation or political coercion-would serve to perpetuate unfreedom." Murray Bookchin. The Ecology of Freedom: the emergence and dissolution of Hierarchy. CHESHIRE BOOKS Palo Alto. 1982. Pg. 3

13 Jump up ˆ "Authority is defined in terms of the right to exercise social control (as explored in the "sociology of power") and the correlative duty to obey (as explored in the "philosophy of practical reason"). Anarchism is distinguished, philosophically, by its scepticism towards such moral relations – by its questioning of the claims made for such normative power – and, practically, by its challenge to those "authoritative" powers which cannot justify their claims and which are therefore deemed illegitimate or without moral foundation."Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism by Paul McLaughlin. AshGate. 2007. p. 1

14 Jump up ˆ "Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access

to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations." Emma Goldman. "What it Really Stands for Anarchy" in Anarchism and Other Essays.

15 Jump up ^ Individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker defined anarchism as opposition to authority as follows "They found that they must turn either to the right or to the left, – follow either the path of Authority or the path of Liberty. Marx went one way; Warren and Proudhon the other. Thus were born State Socialism and Anarchism ... Authority, takes many shapes, but, broadly speaking, her enemies divide themselves into three classes: first, those who abhor her both as a means and as an end of progress, opposing her openly, avowedly, sincerely, consistently, universally; second, those who profess to believe in her as a means of progress, but who accept her only so far as they think she will subserve their own selfish interests, denying her and her blessings to the rest of the world; third, those who distrust her as a means of progress, believing in her only as an end to be obtained by first trampling upon, violating, and outraging her. These three phases of opposition to Liberty are met in almost every sphere of thought and human activity. representatives of the first are seen in the Catholic Church and the Russian autocracy; of the second, in the Protestant Church and the Manchester school of politics and political economy; of the third, in the atheism of Gambetta and the socialism of Karl Marx." Benjamin Tucker. Individual Liberty.

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23 Jump up ^ Brooks, Frank H. (1994). The Individualist Anarchists: An Anthology of Liberty (1881–1908). Transaction Publishers. p. xi. ISBN 1-56000-132-1. "Usually considered to be an extreme left-wing ideology, anarchism has always included a significant strain of radical individualism, from the hyperrationalism of Godwin, to the egoism of Stirner, to the libertarians and anarcho-capitalists of today"

24 Jump up ^ Joseph Kahn (2000). "Anarchism, the Creed That Won't Stay Dead; The Spread of World Capitalism Resurrects a Long-Dormant Movement". The New York Times (5 August).Colin Moynihan (2007). "Book Fair Unites Anarchists. In Spirit, Anyway". New York Times (16 April).

25 Jump up ^ "The anarchists were unanimous in subjecting authoritarian socialism to a barrage of severe criticism. At the time when they made violent and satirical attacks these were not entirely well founded, for those to whom they were addressed were either primitive or "vulgar" communists, whose thought had not yet been fertilized by Marxist humanism, or else, in the case of Marx and Engels themselves, were not as set on authority and state control as the anarchists made out." Daniel Guerin, Anarchism: From Theory to Practice (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970)

26 Jump up ^ Anarchism, Online etymology dictionary.

27 Jump up ^ Chisholm, Hugh, ed. (1911). "Anarchism". Encyclopædia Britannica. 1 (11th ed.). Cambridge University Press. p. 914.

28 Jump up ^ ἀναρχία. Liddell, Henry George; Scott, Robert; A Greek–English Lexicon at the Perseus Project.

29 Jump up ^ Anarchy, Merriam-Webster online.

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32 Jump up ^ ἀρχός. Liddell, Henry George; Scott, Robert; A Greek–English Lexicon at the Perseus Project

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34 Jump up ^ -ism, Online etymology dictionary.

35 Jump up ^ "Origin of ANARCHY Medieval Latin anarchia, from Greek, from anarchos having no ruler, from an- + archos ruler — more at arch- First Known Use: 1539" "Anarchy" at Merriam Webster dictionary online

36 Jump up ^ Deleplace, Marc (1990). "Anarchie–Anarchiste; Germinal–Fructidor An III (21 mars – 16 septembre 1795)". In Annie Geffroy. Dictionnaire des usages socio-politiques (1770–1815) (in French). ENS Editions. pp. 9–34. ISBN 9782252026946.

37 Jump up ^ Joll, James (1964). The Anarchists. Harvard University Press. pp. 27–37. ISBN 0-674-03642-5.

38 Jump up ^ Nettlau, Max (1996). A Short History of Anarchism. Freedom Press. p. 162. ISBN 0-900384-89-1.

39 Jump up ^ "At the end of the century in France, Sebastien Faure took up a word used in 1858 by one Joseph Dejacque to make it the title of a journal, Le Libertaire. Today the terms "anarchist" and "libertarian" have

become interchangeable." Anarchism: From Theory to Practice Daniel Guérin

40 Jump up ^ Russell, Dean. Who is a Libertarian?, Foundation for Economic Education, "Ideas on Liberty," May 1955.

41 Jump up ^ Ward, Colin. Anarchism: A Very Short Introduction. Oxford University Press 2004 p. 62

42 Jump up ^ Goodway, David. Anarchist Seeds Beneath the Snow. Liverpool Press. 2006, p. 4
• MacDonald, Dwight & Wreszin, Michael. Interviews with Dwight Macdonald. University Press of Mississippi, 2003. p. 82
• Bufe, Charles. The Heretic's Handbook of Quotations. See Sharp Press, 1992. p. iv
• Gay, Kathlyn. Encyclopedia of Political Anarchy. ABC-CLIO / University of Michigan, 2006, p. 126
• Woodcock, George. Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements. Broadview Press, 2004. (Uses the terms interchangeably, such as on page 10)
• Skirda, Alexandre. Facing the Enemy: A History of Anarchist Organization from Proudhon to May 1968. AK Press 2002. p. 183.
• Fernandez, Frank. Cuban Anarchism. The History of a Movement. See Sharp Press, 2001, page 9.

43 Jump up ^ Morris, Christopher. 1992. An Essay on the Modern State. Cambridge University Press. p. 61. (Using "libertarian anarchism" synonymously with "individualist anarchism" when referring to individualist anarchism that supports a market society).

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45 Jump up ^ "Mises Daily". Mises Institute. Archived from the original on 2014-09-14. Retrieved 2014-09-13.

46 ^ Jump up to: a b c d Peter Kropotkin, "Anarchism", Encyclopædia Britannica 1910.

47 ^ Jump up to: a b "Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas, Volume One: From Anarchy to Anarchism (300CE–1939)". Robert Graham's Anarchism Weblog. Archived from the original on 2010-11-30. Retrieved 2011-03-05.

48 Jump up ^ "The priority of dao over tiannature:sky underwrites the themes of dependency and relativism that pervade the Zhuangzi and ultimately the skepticism, the open-minded toleration and the political anarchism (or disinterest in political activity or involvement)." "Taoism" at the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy

49 Jump up ^ "Doing nothing [wu wei] is the famous Daoist concept for natural action, action in accord with Dao, action in which we freely follow our own way and allow other beings to do likewise. Zhuangzi, the great anarchic Daoist sage, compared it to "riding on the wind." Max Cafard. "Zen Anarchy"

50 Jump up ^ "Zhuangzi helps us discover an anarchistic epistemology and sensibility. He describes a state in which "you are open to everything you see and hear, and allow this to act through you."[45] Part of wuwei, doing without doing, is "knowing without knowing," knowing as being open to the things known, rather than conquering and possessing the objects of knowledge. This means not imposing our prejudices (whether our own personal ones, our culture's, or those built into the human mind) on the Ten Thousand Things." Max Cafard. The Surre(gion)alist Manifesto and Other Writings

51 Jump up ^ "The next group of interpreters have also become incorporated into the extant version of the text. They are the school of anarchistically inclined philosophers, that Graham identifies as a "Primitivist" and a school of "Yangists," chapters 8 to 11, and 28 to 31. These thinkers appear to have been profoundly influenced by the Laozi, and also by the thought of the first and last of the Inner Chapters: "Wandering Beyond," and "Responding to Emperors and Kings." There are also possible signs of influence from Yang Zhu, whose concern was to protect and cultivate one's inner life-source. These chapters combine the anarchistic ideals of a simple life close to nature that can be found in the Laozi with the practices that lead to the cultivation and nurturing of life. " "Zhuangzi (Chuang-Tzu, 369–298 BCE)" at the Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy

52 Jump up ^ Murray Rothbard. "Concepts of the role of intellectuals in social change toward laissez faire" (PDF). Archived from the original (PDF) on 16 December 2008. Retrieved 28 December 2008.

53 Jump up ^ Julie Piering. "Cynics". Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

54 Jump up ^ Cited in George Woodcock, Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1962), p. 38.

55 Jump up ^ "Anarca-Islam". theanarchistlibrary.org. Archived from the original on 2014-02-25. Retrieved 2014-02-19.

56 Jump up ^ هادي العلوي, خصوصيات غير قلقة في الإسلام, دار الكنوز الأدبية، بيروت، 1995، ص36

57 Jump up ^ هادي العلوي, خصوصيات غير قلقة في الإسلام, دار الكنوز الأدبية، بيروت، 1995، ص136

58 Jump up ^ Christoyannopoulos, Alexandre (March 2010). "A Christian Anarchist Critique of Violence: From Turning the Other Cheek to a Rejection of the State" (PDF). Political Studies Association. Archived (PDF) from the original on 2011-05-05. Retrieved 2011-10-08.

59 Jump up ^ Christoyannopoulos, Alexandre (2010). Christian Anarchism: A Political Commentary on the Gospel. Exeter: Imprint Academic. p. 254. "The state as idolatry"

60 Jump up ^ Several historians of anarchism have gone so far as to classify La Botie's treatise itself as anarchist, which is incorrect since La botie never extended his analysis from tyrannical government to government per se. But while La Botie cannot be considered an anarchist, his sweeping strictures on tyranny and the universality of his political philosophy lend themselves easily to such an expansion. Introduction to The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude by Murray Rothbard. Ludwig Von Mises Institute. p. 18

61 Jump up ^ "Quite rightly, La Boëtie recognizes the potential for domination in any democracy: the democratic leader, elected by the people, becomes intoxicated with his own power and teeters increasingly towards tyranny. Indeed, we can see modern democracy itself as an instance of voluntary servitude on a mass scale. It is not so much that we participate in an illusion whereby we are deceived by elites into thinking we have a genuine say in decision-making. It is rather that democracy itself has encouraged a mass contentment with powerlessness and a general love of submission.""Voluntary Servitude Reconsidered: Radical Politics and the Problem of Self-Domination" Saul Newman

62 Jump up ^ "Anarchists have regarded the secular revolt of the Diggers, or True Levellers, in seventeenth-century England led by Gerrard Winstanley as a source of pride. Winstanley, deeming that property is corrupting, opposed clericalism, political power and privilege. It is economic inequality, he believed, that produces crime and misery. He championed a primitive communalism based on the pure teachings of God as comprehended through reason." Kenneth C. Wenzer. "Godwin's Place in the Anarchist Tradition — a Bicentennial Tribute"

63 Jump up ^ "It was in these conditions of class struggle that, among a whole cluster of radical groups such as the Fifth Monarchy Men, the Levellers and the Ranters, there emerged perhaps the first real proto-anarchists, the Diggers, who like the classical 19th-century anarchists identified political and economic power and who believed that a social, rather than political revolution was necessary for the establishment of justice. Gerrard Winstanley, the Diggers' leader, made an identification with the word of God and the principle of reason, an equivalent philosophy to that found in Tolstoy's The Kingdom of God is Within You." Marlow. "Anarchism and Christianity"

64 Jump up ^ "Although Proudhon was the first writer to call himself an anarchist, at least two predecessors outlined systems that contain all the basic elements of anarchism. The first was Gerrard Winstanley (1609 – c. 1660), a linen draper who led the small movement of the Diggers during the Commonwealth. Winstanley and his followers protested in the name of a radical Christianity against the economic distress that followed the Civil War and against the inequality that the grandees of the New Model Army seemed intent on preserving. In 1649–1650 the Diggers squatted on stretches of common land in southern England and attempted to set up communities based on work on the land and the sharing of goods." George Woodcock Anarchism The Encyclopedia of Philosophy

65 ^ Jump up to: a b c d "Anarchism", BBC Radio 4 program, In Our Time, Thursday 7 December 2006. Hosted by Melvyn Bragg of the BBC, with John Keane, Professor of Politics at University of Westminster, Ruth Kinna, Senior Lecturer in Politics at Loughborough University, and Peter Marshall, philosopher and historian.

66 Jump up ^ Sheehan, Sean. Anarchism, London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2004. p. 85.

67 Jump up ^ "Anarchism", Encarta Online Encyclopedia 2006 (UK version).

68 ^ Jump up to: a b Everhart, Robert B. The Public School Monopoly: A Critical Analysis of Education and the State in American Society. Pacific Institute for Public Policy Research, 1982. p. 115.

69 ^ Jump up to: a b c d e Philip, Mark (2006-05-20). "William Godwin". In Zalta, Edward N. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

70 Jump up ^ Godwin himself attributed the first anarchist writing to Edmund Burke's A Vindication of Natural Society. "Most of the above arguments may be found much more at large in Burke's Vindication of Natural Society; a treatise in which the evils of the existing political institutions are displayed with incomparable force of reasoning and lustre of eloquence ..." – footnote, Ch. 2 Political Justice by William Godwin.

71 ^ Jump up to: a b Adams, Ian. Political Ideology Today. Manchester University Press, 2001. p. 116.

72 Jump up ^ Godwin, William (1796) [1793]. Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Modern Morals and Manners. G.G. and J. Robinson. OCLC 2340417.

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113   Jump up ^ Historian Benedict Anderson thus writes: "In March 1871 the Commune took power in the
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       those killed in the recent war or during Robespierre's 'Terror' of 1793–1794. More than 7,500 were jailed or
       deported to places like New Caledonia. Thousands of others fled to Belgium, England, Italy, Spain and the
       United States. In 1872, stringent laws were passed that ruled out all possibilities of organising on the left.
       Not till 1880 was there a general amnesty for exiled and imprisoned Communards. Meanwhile, the Third
       Republic found itself strong enough to renew and reinforce Louis Napoleon's imperialist expansion – in
       Indochina, Africa, and Oceania. Many of France's leading intellectuals and artists had participated in the
       Commune (Courbet was its quasi-minister of culture, Rimbaud and Pissarro were active propagandists)
       or were sympathetic to it. The ferocious repression of 1871 and thereafter, was probably the key factor in
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       07. According to some analysts, in post-war Germany, the prohibition of the Communist Party (KDP) and
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114   Jump up ^ "American Experience | Emma Goldman | Transcript | PBS". www.pbs.org. Retrieved 2016-01-12.

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120   Jump up ^ "Die bayerische Revolution 1918/19: Die erste Räterepublik: Literaten an der Macht" [The Bavarian Revolution 1918/19: The first Soviet Republic: Literati in Power]. br.de (in German). Munich, Bavaria, Germany: Bayerischer Rundfunk. Archived from the original on 2012-11-20. Retrieved 1 September 2012. Cite uses deprecated parameter |trans_title= (help)Jump up ^ Brunella Dalla Casa, Composizione di classe, rivendicazioni e professionalità nelle lotte del "biennio rosso" a Bologna, in: AA. VV, Bologna 1920; le origini del fascismo, a cura di Luciano Casali, Cappelli, Bologna 1982, pag. 179.

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125   Jump up ^ Holbrow, Marnie, "Daring but Divided" (Socialist Review November 2002).

126   Jump up ^ Berry, David. "Fascism or Revolution." Le Libertaire. August 1936.

127   Jump up ^ "Anarchist Activity in France during World War Two". blackened.net. Archived from the original on 2012-03-06. Retrieved 2010-12-22.

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130   Jump up ^ Beevor, Antony (2006). The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War 1936–1939. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. p. 46. ISBN 978-0-297-84832-5.

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132   Jump up ^ Bolloten, Burnett (15 November 1984). The Spanish Civil War: Revolution and Counterrevolution. University of North Carolina Press. p. 1107. ISBN 978-0-8078-1906-7.

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134   Jump up ^ Dolgoff, S. (1974). The Anarchist Collectives: Workers' Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution. In The Spanish Revolution, the Luger P08 was used as a weapon of choice by the Spanish. ISBN 978-0-914156-03-1

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136   Jump up ^ Birchall, Ian (2004). Sartre Against Stalinism. Berghahn Books. p. 29. ISBN 1-57181-542-2.

137   Jump up ^ "When clashes with the Communist Party broke out, his house, where he lived with other anarchists, was attacked on 4 May 1937. They were all labelled "counter-revolutionaries", disarmed, deprived of their papers and forbidden to go out into the street. There was still shooting in the streets when, on 5 May 1937, news arrived from Italy of Antonio Gramsci's death in a fascist prison...Leaving Radio Barcelona, Berneri set off for the Plaça de la Generalitat, where some Stalinists shouted after him. Before he could turn and look, they opened fire with machine guns, and left his dead body there on the street.""Berneri, Luigi Camillo, 1897–1937" at libcom.com

138   Jump up ^ Paul Avrich. Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America. AK Press. 2005. p. 516

139   Jump up ^ "Spain: Return to "normalization" in Barcelona. The Republican government had sent troops to take over the telephone exchange on 3 May, pitting the anarchists & Poumists on one side against the Republican government & the Stalinist Communist Party on the other, in pitched street battles, resulting in 500 anarchists killed. Squads of Communist Party members took to the streets on 6 May to assassinate leading anarchists. Today, among those found murdered, was the Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri""Camillo Berneri" at The Anarchist Encyclopedia: A Gallery of Saints & Sinners ... Archived February 19, 2006, at the Wayback Machine.

140   Jump up ^ "Sí se ha aprobado por unanimidad, también a propuesta de Ciudadanos, dedicar una calle al anarquista Melchor Rodríguez García, el último alcalde de Madrid republicano, ante "el gran consenso social y político" al respecto y por "su gran relevancia para la reconciliación y la concordia tras la Guerra Civil". El País. Madrid sustituirá las calles franquistas por víctimas del terrorismo

141   Jump up ^ Coordinación del Portal Libertario OACA. "Regeneración y la Federación Anarquista Mexicana (1952–1960) [Tesis] - Portal Libertario OACA". portaloaca.com. Archived from the original on 2011-07-26. Retrieved 2011-07-11.

142   Jump up ^ "The surviving sectors of the revolutionary anarchist movement of the 1920–1940 period, now working in the SIA and the FGAC, reinforced by those Cuban militants and Spanish anarchists fleeing now-fascist Spain, agreed at the beginning of the decade to hold an assembly with the purpose of regrouping the libertarian forces inside a single organization. The guarantees of the 1940 Constitution permitted them to legally create an organization of this type, and it was thus that they agreed to dissolve the two principal Cuban anarchist organizations, the SIA and FGAC, and create a new, unified group, the Asociación Libertaria de Cuba (ALC), a sizable organization with a membership in the thousands."Cuban Anarchism: The History of A Movement by Frank Fernandez

143   ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ ᵈ "Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas, Volume Two: The Emergence of the New Anarchism (1939–1977)". Robert Graham's Anarchism Weblog. Archived from the original on 2010-10-28. Retrieved 2011-03-05.

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145   Jump up ^ * Vallance, Margaret (July 1973). "Rudolf Rocker – a biographical sketch".
Journal of Contemporary History. London/Beverly Hills: Sage Publications. 8 (3): 94–95.
doi:10.1177/002200947300800304. ISSN 0022-0094. OCLC 49976309.

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149   Jump up ^ "The Breakdown of Nations". ditext.com. Archived from the original on 2012-10-28. Retrieved 2013-05-12.

150   Jump up ^ Cage self-identified as an anarchist in a 1985 interview: "I'm an anarchist. I don't know whether the adjective is pure and simple, or philosophical, or what, but I don't like government! And I don't like institutions! And I don't have any confidence in even good institutions." John Cage at Seventy: An Interview by Stephen Montague. American Music, Summer 1985. Ubu.com. Accessed 24 May 2007.

151   Jump up ^ "It was in the black mirror of anarchism that surrealism first recognised itself," wrote André Breton in "The Black Mirror of Anarchism," Selection 23 in Robert Graham, ed., Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas, Volume Two: The Emergence of the New Anarchism (1939–1977)[3]. Breton had returned to France in 1947 and in April of that year Andre Julien welcomed his return in the pages of Le Libertaire the weekly paper of the Federation Anarchiste ""1919–1950: The politics of Surrealism" by Nick Heath on libcom.org

152   Jump up ^ "In the forties and fifties, anarchism, in fact if not in name, began to reappear, often in alliance with pacifism, as the basis for a critique of militarism on both sides of the Cold War.[4] The anarchist/pacifist wing of the peace movement was small in comparison with the wing of the movement that emphasized electoral work, but made an important contribution to the movement as a whole. Where the more conventional wing of the peace movement rejected militarism and war under all but the most dire circumstances, the anarchist/pacifist wing rejected these on principle.""Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement" by Barbara Epstein

153   Jump up ^ "In the 1950s and 1960s anarcho-pacifism began to gel, tough-minded anarchists adding to the mixture their critique of the state, and tender-minded pacifists their critique of violence. Its first practical manifestation was at the level of method: nonviolent direct action, principled and pragmatic, was used widely in both the Civil Rights movement in the US and the campaign against nuclear weapons in Britain and elsewhere."Geoffrey Ostergaard. Resisting the Nation State. The pacifist and anarchist tradition

154   Jump up ^ "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement". Monthly Review. Retrieved 2006-06-22.

155   Jump up ^ Thomas 1985, p. 4

156   Jump up ^ "Islands of Anarchy: Simian, Cienfuegos, Refract and their support network". katesharpleylibrary.net. Archived from the original on 2011-06-04. Retrieved 2010-12-22.

157   Jump up ^ Farrell provides a detailed history of the Catholic Workers and their founders Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin. He explains that their pacifism, anarchism, and commitment to the downtrodden were one of the important models and inspirations for the 1960s. As Farrell puts it, "Catholic Workers identified the issues of the sixties before the Sixties began, and they offered models of protest long before the protest decade.""The Spirit of the Sixties: The Making of Postwar Radicalism" by James J. Farrell

158   Jump up ^ "While not always formally recognized, much of the protest of the sixties was anarchist. Within the nascent women's movement, anarchist principles became so widespread that a political science professor denounced what she saw as "The Tyranny of Structurelessness." Several groups have called themselves "Amazon Anarchists." After the Stonewall Rebellion, the New York Gay Liberation Front based their organisation in part on a reading of Murray Bookchin's anarchist writings." "Anarchism" by Charley Shively in Encyclopedia of Homosexuality. p. 52

159   Jump up ^ "Within the movements of the sixties there was much more receptivity to anarchism-in-fact than had existed in the movements of the thirties ... But the movements of the sixties were driven by concerns that were more compatible with an expressive style of politics, with hostility to authority in general and state power in particular ... By the late sixties, political protest was intertwined with cultural radicalism based on a critique of all authority and all hierarchies of power. Anarchism circulated within

the movement along with other radical ideologies. The influence of anarchism was strongest among radical feminists, in the commune movement, and probably in the Weather Underground and elsewhere in the violent fringe of the anti-war movement." "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement" by Barbara Epstein

160   Jump up ^ London Federation of Anarchists involvement in Carrara conference, 1968 International Institute of Social History. Retrieved 19 January 2010

161   Jump up ^ Short history of the IAF-IFA A-infos news project. Retrieved 19 January 2010

162   Jump up ^ McLaughlin, Paul (2007). Anarchism and Authority. Aldershot: Ashgate. p. 10. ISBN 0-7546-6196-2.

163   Jump up ^ Williams, Leonard (September 2007). "Anarchism Revived". New Political Science. 29 (3): 297–312. doi:10.1080/07393140701510160.

164   Jump up ^ David Graeber and Andrej Grubacic, "Anarchism, Or The Revolutionary Movement Of The Twenty-first Century", ZNet. Retrieved 2007-12-13. or Graeber, David and Grubacic, Andrej(2004) Anarchism, Or The Revolutionary Movement Of The Twenty-first Century Retrieved 26 July 2010

165   ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Rupert, Mark (2006). Globalization and International Political Economy. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. p. 66. ISBN 0-7425-2943-6.

166   Jump up ^ Infinitely Demanding by Simon Critchley. Verso. 2007. p. 125

167   Jump up ^ Carley, Mark "Trade union membership 1993–2003" (International:SPIRE Associates 2004).

168   Jump up ^ "Anarchism". libertarian-labyrinth.org. Archived from the original on 2009-04-05.

169   Jump up ^ The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform (1908).

170   Jump up ^ Harrison, Kevin and Boyd, Tony. Understanding Political Ideas and Movements. Manchester University Press 2003, p. 251.

171   Jump up ^ Outhwaite, William & Tourain, Alain (Eds.). (2003). Anarchism. The Blackwell Dictionary of Modern Social Thought (2nd Edition, p. 12). Blackwell Publishing.

172   Jump up ^ Wayne Gabardi, review of Anarchism by David Miller, published in American Political Science Review Vol. 80, No. 1. (Mar., 1986), pp. 300–02.

173   Jump up ^ Klosko, George. Political Obligations. Oxford University Press 2005. p. 4.

174   Jump up ^ Avrich, Paul. Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America. Princeton University Press, 1996, p. 6.

175   Jump up ^ Esenwein, George Richard "Anarchist Ideology and the Working Class Movement in Spain, 1868–1898" [p. 135].

176   Jump up ^ "A member of a community," The Mutualist; this 1826 series criticised Robert Owen's proposals, and has been attributed to a dissident Owenite, possibly from the Friendly Association for Mutual Interests of Valley Forge; Shawn Wilburn, 2006, "More from the 1826 "Mutualist"?".

177   Jump up ^ Proudhon, Solution to the Social Problem, ed. H. Cohen (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927), p. 45.

178   Jump up ^ Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph (1979). The Principle of Federation. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. ISBN 0-8020-5458-7. "The notion of anarchy in politics is just as rational and positive as any other. It means that once industrial functions have taken over from political functions, then business transactions alone produce the social order."

179   Jump up ^ "Communism versus Mutualism", Socialistic, Communistic, Mutualistic and Financial Fragments. (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1875) William Batchelder Greene: "Under the mutual system, each individual will receive the just and exact pay for his work; services equivalent in cost being exchangeable for services equivalent in cost, without profit or discount; and so much as the individual laborer will then get over and above what he has earned will come to him as his share in the general prosperity of the community of which he is an individual member."

180   Jump up ^ Avrich, Paul. Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America, Princeton University Press 1996 ISBN 0-691-04494-5, p. 6 Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought, Blackwell Publishing 1991 ISBN 0-631-17944-5, p. 11.

181   Jump up ^ Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. What Is Property? Princeton, MA: Benjamin R. Tucker, 1876. p. 281.

182   Jump up ^ "What do I mean by individualism? I mean by individualism the moral doctrine which, relying on no dogma, no tradition, no external determination, appeals only to the individual conscience."Mini-Manual of Individualism by Han Ryner

183   Jump up ^ "I do not admit anything except the existence of the individual, as a condition of his sovereignty. To say that the sovereignty of the individual is conditioned by Liberty is simply another way of saying that it is conditioned by itself.""Anarchism and the State" in Individual Liberty

184   Jump up ^ Godwin, William (1796) [1793]. Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Modern Morals and Manners. G.G. and J. Robinson. OCLC 2340417.

185   Jump up ^ "William Godwin". Encyclopedia Britannica. 2007. Archived from the original on 2007-10-16.

186   Jump up ^ Paul McLaughlin. Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007. p. 119.

187   Jump up ^ Goodway, David. Anarchist Seeds Beneath the Snow. Liverpool University Press, 2006, p. 99.

188   Jump up ^ The Encyclopedia Americana: A Library of Universal Knowledge. Encyclopedia Corporation. p. 176.

189   Jump up ^ Miller, David. "Anarchism." 1987. The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought. Blackwell Publishing. p. 11.

190   Jump up ^ "What my might reaches is my property; and let me claim as property everything I feel myself

strong enough to attain, and let me extend my actual property as fas as I entitle, that is, empower myself to take ...” In Ossar, Michael. 1980. Anarchism in the Dramas of Ernst Toller. SUNY Press. p. 27.

191   Jump up ˆ Nyberg, Svein Olav. “The union of egoists” (PDF). Non Serviam. Oslo, Norway: Svein
       Olav Nyberg. 1: 13–14. OCLC 47758413. Archived (PDF) from the original on 2012-10-12. Retrieved 1
       September 2012

192   Jump up ˆ Thomas, Paul (1985). Karl Marx and the Anarchists. London: Routledge/Kegan Paul. p. 142.
       ISBN 0-7102-0685-2.

193   Jump up ˆ Carlson, Andrew (1972). “Philosophical Egoism: German Antecedents”. Anarchism in Germany.
       Metuchen: Scarecrow Press. ISBN 0-8108-0484-0. Retrieved 4 December 2008.[dead link]

194   Jump up ˆ Palmer, Brian (29 December 2010) What do anarchists want from us?, Slate.com

195   Jump up ˆ William Bailie, [5] Josiah Warren: The First American Anarchist – A Sociological Study, Boston:
       Small, Maynard & Co., 1906, p. 20

196   Jump up ˆ “Native American Anarchism: A Study of Left-Wing American Individualism”.
       againstallauthority.org. Archived from the original on 2010-08-01. Retrieved 2011-07-26.

197   Jump up ˆ “2. Individualist Anarchism and Reaction”. libcom.org. Archived from the original on 2010-11-
       23. Retrieved 2010-12-09.

198   ˆ Jump up to: a b c d “The Free Love Movement and Radical Individualism, By Wendy McElroy”. ncc-1776.org.
       Retrieved 2009-11-29.

199   ˆ Jump up to: a b c “Proliferarán así diversos grupos que practicarán el excursionismo, el naturismo, el
       nudismo, la emancipación sexual o el esperantismo, alrededor de asociaciones informales vinculadas de
       una manera o de otra al anarquismo. Precisamente las limitaciones a las asociaciones obreras impuestas
       desde la legislación especial de la Dictadura potenciarán indirectamente esta especie de asociacionismo
       informal en que confluirá el movimiento anarquista con esta heterogeneidad de prácticas y tendencias.
       Uno de los grupos más destacados, que será el impulsor de la revista individualista Ética será el Ateneo
       Naturista Ecléctico, con sede en Barcelona, con sus diferentes secciones la más destacada de las cuales
       será el grupo excursionista Sol y Vida.”“La insumisión voluntaria: El anarquismo individualista español
       durante la Dictadura y la Segunda República (1923–1938)” by Xavier Díez

200   Jump up ˆ “Los anarco-individualistas, G.I.A ... Una escisión de la FAI producida en el IX Congreso
       (Carrara, 1965) se produjo cuando un sector de anarquistas de tendencia humanista rechazan la
       interpretación que ellos juzgan disciplinaria del pacto asociativo clásico, y crean los GIA (Gruppi di
       Iniziativa Anarchica). Esta pequeña federación de grupos, hoy nutrida sobre todo de veteranos anarco-
       individualistas de orientación pacifista, naturista, etcétera defiende la autonomía personal y rechaza a
       rajatabla toda forma de intervención en los procesos del sistema, como sería por ejemplo el sindicalismo.
       Su portavoz es L’Internazionale con sede en Ancona. La escisión de los GIA prefiguraba, en sentido
       contrario, el gran debate que pronto había de comenzar en el seno del movimiento”“El movimiento
       libertario en Italia” by Bicicleta. REVISTA DE COMUNICACIONES LIBERTARIAS Year 1 No. Noviembre, 1 1977
       Archived April 25, 2012, at the Wayback Machine.

201   Jump up ˆ “Les anarchistes individualistes du début du siècle l’avaient bien compris, et intégraient le
       naturisme dans leurs préoccupations. Il est vraiment dommage que ce discours se soit peu à peu effacé,
       d’antan plus que nous assistons, en ce moment, à un retour en force du puritanisme (conservateur par
       essence).”“Anarchisme et naturisme, aujourd’hui.” by Cathy Ytak Archived June 9, 2007, at the Wayback
       Machine.

202   ˆ Jump up to: a b c “The Journal of Libertarian Studies” (PDF). Mises Institute. Retrieved 2014-09-13.

203   Jump up ˆ individualista.pdf Xavier Diez. El anarquismo individualista en España (1923–1939) Virus
       Editorial. 2007. p. 143

204   Jump up ˆ Parry, Richard. The Bonnot Gang. Rebel Press, 1987. p. 15

205   Jump up ˆ “This does not mean that the majority thread within the anarchist movement is uncritical of
       individualist anarchism. Far from it! Social anarchists have argued that this influence of non-anarchist
       ideas means that while its “criticism of the State is very searching, and [its] defence of the rights of
       the individual very powerful,” like Spencer it “opens ... the way for reconstituting under the heading of
       ‘defence’ all the functions of the State.” Section G – Is individualist anarchism capitalistic? An Anarchist
       FAQ

206   ˆ Jump up to: a b “The revolution abolishes private ownership of the means of production and distribution,
       and with it goes capitalistic business. Personal possession remains only in the things you use. Thus, your
       watch is your own, but the watch factory belongs to the people.”Alexander Berkman. “What Is Communist
       Anarchism?”

207   Jump up ˆ Ostergaard, Geoffrey. “Anarchism”. A Dictionary of Marxist Thought. Blackwell Publishing, 1991.
       p. 21.

208   Jump up ˆ Morris, Brian. Bakunin: The Philosophy of Freedom. Black Rose Books Ltd., 1993. p. 76.

209   Jump up ˆ Rae, John. Contemporary Socialism. C. Scribner’s sons, 1901, Original from Harvard University.
       p. 261.

210   ˆ Jump up to: a b Patsouras, Louis. 2005. Marx in Context. iUniverse. p. 54.

211   Jump up ˆ Avrich, Paul. 2006. Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America. AK Press. p. 5.

212   Jump up ˆ Kropotkin, Peter (2007). “13”. The Conquest of Bread. Edinburgh: AK Press. ISBN 978-1-
       904859-10-9.

213   Jump up ˆ Bakunin, Mikhail (1990). Statism and Anarchy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ISBN 0-521-36182-6. "They [the Marxists] maintain that only a dictatorship – their dictatorship, of course – can create the will of the people, while our answer to this is: No dictatorship can have any other aim but that of self-perpetuation, and it can beget only slavery in the people tolerating it; freedom can be created only by freedom, that is, by a universal rebellion on the part of the people and free organization of the toiling masses from the bottom up."

214   Jump up ^ Guillaume, James (1876). "Ideas on Social Organization". Retrieved 2006-04-03.

215   Jump up ^ "Anarchist communism is also known as anarcho-communism, communist anarchism, or, sometimes, libertarian communism.""Anarchist communism – an introduction" by libcom.org

216   Jump up ^ "The terms libertarian communism and anarchist communism thus became synonymous within the international anarchist movement as a result of the close connection they had in Spain (with libertarian communism becoming the prevalent term).""Anarchist Communism & Libertarian Communism" by Gruppo Comunista Anarchico di Firenze. from "L'informatore di parte", No. 4, October 1979, quarterly journal of the Gruppo Comunista Anarchico di Firenze, on libcom.org

217   Jump up ^ "The 'Manifesto of Libertarian Communism' was written in 1953 by Georges Fontenis for the Federation Communiste Libertaire of France. It is one of the key texts of the anarchist-communist current." "Manifesto of Libertarian Communism" by Georges Fontenis on libcom.org

218   Jump up ^ "In 1926 a group of exiled Russian anarchists in France, the Delo Truda (Workers' Cause) group, published this pamphlet. It arose not from some academic study but from their experiences in the 1917 Russian revolution." "The Organizational Platform of the Libertarian Communists" by Delo Truda

219   Jump up ^ From Politics Past to Politics Future: An Integrated Analysis of Current and Emergent Paradigms Alan James Mayne Published 1999 Greenwood Publishing Group 316 pages ISBN 0-275-96151-6. Books.google.com. 1999. ISBN 978-0-275-96151-0. Retrieved 20 September 2010.

220   Jump up ^ Anarchism for Know-It-Alls By Know-It-Alls For Know-It-Alls, For Know-It-Alls Published by Filiquarian Publishing, LLC., 2008 ISBN 1-59986-218-2, 9781599862187 72 pages. Books.google.com. January 2008. ISBN 978-1-59986-218-7. Retrieved 20 September 2010.

221   Jump up ^ "Luggi Fabbri". Dwardmac.pitzer.edu. 2002-10-13. Archived from the original on 2012-03-02. Retrieved 2015-03-16.

222   Jump up ^ "Platform: Constructive Section". Nestormakhno.info. Archived from the original on 2012-02-06. Retrieved 2015-03-16.

223   Jump up ^ Post-left anarcho-communist Bob Black after analysing insurrectionary anarcho-communist Luigi Galleani's view on anarcho-communism went as far as saying that "communism is the final fulfillment of individualism ... The apparent contradiction between individualism and communism rests on a misunderstanding of both ... Subjectivity is also objective: the individual really is subjective. It is nonsense to speak of "emphatically prioritizing the social over the individual,"... You may as well speak of prioritizing the chicken over the egg. Anarchy is a "method of individualization." It aims to combine the greatest individual development with the greatest communal unity."Bob Black. Nightmares of Reason.

224   Jump up ^ "Modern Communists are more individualistic than Stirner. To them, not merely religion, morality, family and State are spooks, but property also is no more than a spook, in whose name the individual is enslaved – and how enslaved! ... Communism thus creates a basis for the liberty and Eigenheit of the individual. I am a Communist because I am an Individualist. Fully as heartily the Communists concur with Stirner when he puts the word take in place of demand – that leads to the dissolution of property, to expropriation. Individualism and Communism go hand in hand."Max Baginski. "Stirner: The Ego and His Own" on Mother Earth. Vol. 2. No. 3 May 1907

225   Jump up ^ Christopher Gray, Leaving the Twentieth Century, p. 88.

226   Jump up ^ "Toward the Creative Nothing". theanarchistlibrary.org. Archived from the original on 2010-11-28. Retrieved 2010-07-14.

227   Jump up ^ Peter Kropotkin. Communism and Anarchy. Retrieved 2011-07-26. "Communism is the one which guarantees the greatest amount of individual liberty – provided that the idea that begets the community be Liberty, Anarchy ... Communism guarantees economic freedom better than any other form of association, because it can guarantee wellbeing, even luxury, in return for a few hours of work instead of a day's work."

228   Jump up ^ This other society will be libertarian communism, in which social solidarity and free individuality find their full expression, and in which these two ideas develop in perfect harmony. Organizational Platform of the Libertarian Communists by Dielo Truda (Workers' Cause)

229   Jump up ^ "I see the dichotomies made between individualism and communism, individual revolt and class struggle, the struggle against human exploitation and the exploitation of nature as false dichotomies and feel that those who accept them are impoverishing their own critique and struggle.""MY PERSPECTIVES" by Willful Disobedience Vol. 2, No. 12

230   Jump up ^ Robert Graham, Anarchism – A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas – Volume One: From Anarchy to Anarchism (300CE to 1939), Black Rose Books, 2005

231   Jump up ^ "The Great French Revolution 1789–1793". theanarchistlibrary.org. Retrieved 2011-07-26.

232   Jump up ^ Nunzio Pernicone, "Italian Anarchism 1864–1892", pp. 111–13, AK Press 2009.

233   Jump up ^ "Anarchist-Communism". theanarchistlibrary.org. Archived from the original on 2011-11-06. Retrieved 2011-11-14.

234   Jump up ^ Bookchin, Murray. To Remember Spain: The Anarchist and Syndicalist Revolution of 1936. "This process of education and class organization, more than any single factor in Spain, produced the collectives. And to the degree that the CNT-FAI (for the two organizations became fatally coupled after

July 1936) exercised the major influence in an area, the collectives proved to be generally more durable, communist and resistant to Stalinist counterrevolution than other republican-held areas of Spain."

235   Jump up ^ Bookchin, Murray. To Remember Spain: The Anarchist and Syndicalist Revolution of 1936.
236   Jump up ^ Sorel, Georges. 'Political Theorists in Context' Routledge (2004) p. 248
237   Jump up ^ Rocker, Rudolf. 'Anarcho-Syndicalism: Theory and Practice' AK Press (2004) p. 73
238   Jump up ^ Perlin, Terry M. Contemporary Anarchism. Transaction Books, New Brunswick, NJ 1979
239   Jump up ^ David Pepper (1996). Modern Environmentalism p. 44. Routledge.
240   Jump up ^ Ian Adams (2001). Political Ideology Today p. 130. Manchester University Press.
241   Jump up ^ "Anarchism and the different Naturist views have always been related.""Anarchism – Nudism, Naturism" by Carlos Ortega at Asociacion para el Desarrollo Naturista de la Comunidad de Madrid. Published on Revista ADN. Winter 2003
242   Jump up ^ EL NATURISMO LIBERTARIO EN LA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA (1890–1939) by Jose Maria Rosello Archived September 2, 2013, at the Wayback Machine.
243   Jump up ^ Brown, p. 208.
244   Jump up ^ ""Resisting the Nation State, the pacifist and anarchist tradition" by Geoffrey Ostergaard". Ppu. org.uk. 6 August 1945. Archived from the original on 2011-05-14. Retrieved 20 September 2010.
245   Jump up ^ Christoyannopoulos, Alexandre (2010). Christian Anarchism: A Political Commentary on the Gospel. Exeter: Imprint Academic. pp. 2–4. "Locating Christian anarchism ... In political theology"
246   ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ "An Anarchist FAQ". infoshop.org. 14 February 2010. Archived from the original on 19 February 2012. Retrieved 7 July 2015.
247   Jump up ^ Faure, Sébastien. Libertarian Communism". "The remedy has been found: libertarian communism."
248   ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ "insurgentdesire.org.uk". insurgentdesire.org.uk. Archived from the original on 2010-06-18. Retrieved 2013-01-09.
249   Jump up ^ Macphee, Josh (2007). "Introduction". Realizing the Impossible. Stirling: AK Press. ISBN 1-904859-32-1.
250   ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ ᵈ "insurgentdesire.org.uk". insurgentdesire.org.uk. Retrieved 2012-11-19.
251   ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ ""Anarchism, insurrections and insurrectionalism" by Joe Black". Ainfos.ca. 19 July 2006. Archived from the original on 6 December 2010. Retrieved 20 September 2010.
252   Jump up ^ Writing before the rise of the Carson–Long school of left-libertarianism, historian of American anarchism David DeLeon was disinclined to treat any market-oriented variant of libertarianism as leftist; see DeLeon, David (1978). The American as Anarchist: Reflections on Indigenous Radicalism. Baltimore, MD:Johns Hopkins University Press. p. 123.
253   Jump up ^ Gary Chartier and Charles W. Johnson (eds). Markets Not Capitalism: Individualist Anarchism Against Bosses, Inequality, Corporate Power, and Structural Poverty. Minor Compositions; 1st edition (November 5, 2011)
254   Jump up ^ Gary Chartier has joined Kevin Carson, Charles Johnson, and others (echoing the language of Benjamin Tucker and Thomas Hodgskin) in maintaining that, because of its heritage and its emancipatory goals and potential, radical market anarchism should be seen—by its proponents and by others—as part of the socialist tradition, and that market anarchists can and should call themselves "socialists." See Gary Chartier, "Advocates of Freed Markets Should Oppose Capitalism," "Free-Market Anti-Capitalism?" session, annual conference, Association of Private Enterprise Education (Cæsar's Palace, Las Vegas, NV, April 13, 2010); Gary Chartier, "Advocates of Freed Markets Should Embrace 'Anti-Capitalism'"; Gary Chartier, Socialist Ends, Market Means: Five Essays. Cp. Tucker, "Socialism."
255   Jump up ^ "But there has always been a market-oriented strand of libertarian socialism that emphasizes voluntary cooperation between producers. And markets, properly understood, have always been about cooperation. As a commenter at Reason magazine's Hit&Run blog, remarking on Jesse Walker's link to the Kelly article, put it: "every trade is a cooperative act." In fact, it's a fairly common observation among market anarchists that genuinely free markets have the most legitimate claim to the label 'socialism.'"."Socialism: A Perfectly Good Word Rehabilitated" by Kevin Carson at website of Center for a Stateless Society
256   Jump up ^ Hamowy, Ronald (editor). The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism, SAGE, 2008, pp. 10–12, p 195, ISBN 978-1-4129-6580-4, ISBN 978-1-4129-6580-4
257   Jump up ^ Edward Stringham, Anarchy and the law: the political economy of choice, p 51
258   Jump up ^ Tormey, Simon. Anti-Capitalism, One World, 2004.
259   Jump up ^ Perlin, Terry M. Contemporary Anarchism, Transaction Books, NJ 1979.
260   Jump up ^ Raico, Ralph. Authentic German Liberalism of the 19th Century, Ecole Polytechnique, Centre de Recerce en Epistemologie Appliquee, Unité associée au CNRS, 2004.
261   Jump up ^ Heider, Ulrike. Anarchism:Left, Right, and Green, City Lights, 1994. p. 3.
262   Jump up ^ Outhwaite, William. The Blackwell Dictionary of Modern Social Thought, Anarchism entry, p. 21, 2002.
263   Jump up ^ Bottomore, Tom. Dictionary of Marxist Thought, Anarchism entry, 1991.
264   Jump up ^ Ostergaard, Geofrey. Resisting the Nation State – the anarchist and pacifist tradition, Anarchism As A Tradition of Political Thought. Peace Pledge Union Publications [6]
265   Jump up ^ Edward Stringham, Anarchy, State, and Public Choice, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2005.
266   Jump up ^ "The philosophy of "anarcho-capitalism" dreamed up by the "libertarian" New Right, has nothing to do with Anarchism as known by the Anarchist movement proper."Meltzer, Albert. Anarchism:

Arguments For and Against AK Press, (2000) p. 50

267 Jump up ˆ "In fact, few anarchists would accept the 'anarcho-capitalists' into the anarchist camp since they do not share a concern for economic equality and social justice, Their self-interested, calculating market men would be incapable of practising voluntary co-operation and mutual aid. Anarcho-capitalists, even if they do reject the State, might therefore best be called right-wing libertarians rather than anarchists." Peter Marshall. *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism*. Harper Perennial. London. 2008. p. 565

268 Jump up ˆ "It is important to distinguish between anarchism and certain strands of right-wing libertarianism which at times go by the same name (for example, Murray Rothbard's anarcho-capitalism)."Saul Newman, The Politics of Postanarchism, Edinburgh University Press, 2010, p. 43 ISBN 0748634959

269 Jump up ˆ Section F – Is "anarcho"-capitalism a type of anarchism? at An Anarchist FAQ published in physical book form by An Anarchist FAQ as "Volume I"; by AK Press, Oakland/Edinburgh 2008; 558 pages, ISBN 978-1902593906

270 Jump up ˆ "'Libertarian' and 'libertarianism' are frequently employed by anarchists as synonyms for 'anarchist' and 'anarchism', largely as an attempt to distance themselves from the negative connotations of 'anarchy' and its derivatives. The situation has been vastly complicated in recent decades with the rise of anarcho-capitalism, 'minimal statism' and an extreme right-wing laissez-faire philosophy advocated by such theorists as Murray Rothbard and Robert Nozick and their adoption of the words 'libertarian' and 'libertarianism'. It has therefore now become necessary to distinguish between their right libertarianism and the left libertarianism of the anarchist tradition." Anarchist Seeds Beneath the Snow: Left-Libertarian Thought and British Writers from William Morris to Colin Ward by David Goodway. Liverpool University Press. Liverpool. 2006. p. 4

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Adhocracy

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Adhocracy is a flexible, adaptable and informal form of organization that is defined by a lack of formal structure. It operates in an opposite fashion to a bureaucracy. The term was first coined by Warren Bennis in his 1968 book The Temporary Society,[1] later popularized in 1970 by Alvin Toffler in Future Shock, and has since become often used in the theory of management of organizations (particularly online organizations[citation needed]). The concept has been further developed by academics such as Henry Mintzberg.

Adhocracy is characterized by an adaptive, creative and flexible integrative behavior based on non-permanence and spontaneity. It is believed that these characteristics allow adhocracy to respond faster than traditional bureaucratic organizations while being more open to new ideas.[2]

Overview

Robert H. Waterman, Jr. defined adhocracy as "any form of organization that cuts across normal bureaucratic lines to capture opportunities, solve problems, and get results".[3] For Henry Mintzberg, an adhocracy is a complex and dynamic organizational form.[4] It is different from bureaucracy; like Toffler, Mintzberg considers bureaucracy a thing of the past, and adhocracy one of the future.[5] When done well, adhocracy can be very good at problem solving and innovations[5] and thrives in a diverse environment.[4] It requires sophisticated and often automated technical systems to develop and thrive.[5]

Characteristics of adhocracy

- highly organic structure[4]
- little formalization of behavior[4][5]
- job specialization not necessarily based on formal training
- a tendency to group the specialists in functional units for housekeeping purposes but to deploy them in small, market-based project teams to do their work[4] a reliance on liaison devices to encourage mutual adjustment within and between these teams[4][5]low or no standardization of procedures[5]
- roles not clearly defined[5]
- selective decentralization[5]
- work organization rests on specialized teams[5]
- power-shifts to specialized teams
- horizontal job specialization[5]
- high cost of communication[5] (dramatically reduced in the networked age)
- culture based on non-bureaucratic work[5]
- All members of an organization have the authority within their areas of specialization, and in coordination with other members, to make decisions

and to take actions affecting the future of the organization. There is an absence of hierarchy.

According to Robert H. Waterman, Jr., "Teams should be big enough to represent all parts of the bureaucracy that will be affected by their work, yet small enough to get the job done efficiently."[3]

Types of adhocracy

administrative - "feature an autonomous operating core; usually in an institutionalized bureaucracy like a government department or standing agency" [6] operational - solves problems on behalf of its clients [6]Alvin Toffler claimed in his book Future Shock that adhocracies will get more common and are likely to replace bureaucracy. He also wrote that they will most often come in form of a temporary structure, formed to resolve a given problem and dissolved afterwards. An example are cross-department task forces.

Issues

Downsides of adhocracies can include "half-baked actions", personnel problems stemming from organization's temporary nature, extremism in suggested or undertaken actions, and threats to democracy and legality rising from adhocracy's often low-key profile.[5] To address those problems, researchers in adhocracy suggest a model merging adhocracy and bureaucracy, the bureau-adhocracy.[5]

Etymology

The word is a portmanteau of the Latin ad hoc, meaning "for the purpose", and the suffix -cracy, from the ancient Greek kratein (κρατεῖν), meaning "to govern",[5] and is thus a heteroclite.

Use in fiction

The term is also used to describe the form of government used in the science fiction novels Voyage from Yesteryear by James P. Hogan and Down and Out in the Magic Kingdom, by Cory Doctorow.

In the radio play Das Unternehmen Der Wega (The Mission of the Vega) by Friedrich Dürrenmatt, the human inhabitants of Venus, all banished there from various regions of Earth for civil and political offenses, form and live under a peaceful adhocracy, to the frustration of delegates from an Earth faction who hope to gain their cooperation in a war brewing on Earth.

In the Metrozone series of novels by Simon Morden, The novel The Curve of the

Earth features "ad-hoc" meetings conducted virtually, by which all decisions governing the Freezone collective are taken. The ad-hocs are administered by an artificial intelligence and polled from suitably qualified individuals who are judged by the AI to have sufficient experience. Failure to arrive at a decision results in the polling of a new ad-hoc, whose members are not told of previous ad-hocs before hearing the decision which must be made.[7]The asura in the fictional world of Tyria within the Guild Wars universe present this form of government, although the term is only used in out-of-game lore writings.

See also

- AnarchyBureaucracy (considered the opposite of adhocracy)
- Crowdsourcing
- Commons-based peer production
- Free association
- Here Comes Everybody
- Jugaad
- Self-management
- Social peer-to-peer processes
- Socialism
- Technocracy (an alternative to bureaucracy and adhocracy)
- Workplace democracy

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Androcracy

Androcracy is a form of government in which the government rulers are male. The males, especially fathers, have the central roles of political leadership, moral authority, and control of property. It is also sometimes called a phallocracy, phallocratic, andrarchy, or an androcentric society. This term derives from the Greek root words andros, "man", and krateo (as in democratic), or "to rule".

Example

Traditionally, influential political positions have been disproportionately occupied by males. With the rise of feminism since the late 19th century, opinions concerning women in politics have changed in a manner that has facilitated an increase in female political participation. Nevertheless, there continues to be a considerable disparity between the percentage of males and females in politics. Currently, women represent 19.4 percent of all parliamentarians in the regions of Europe, the Americas, Sub-Sahara Africa, Asia, the Pacific, the Arab States, and Nordic countries.[1] The level of female participation in parliament varies between regions, ranging from percentages as high as 42 in Nordic countries to as low as 11.4 in Arabic states.[1]Riane Eisler, in her book The Chalice and the Blade, contrasts androcratic male-dominated society with gylany, i.e., partnership society based on gender equality.
Gylany is balanced and equalitarian, and should not be confused with gynocracy or matriarchy, which define systems where women impose hierarchical power over men.[2]

Gender bias

Androcracy as a gender bias may influence the decision-making process in many countries. Kleinberg and Boris point to a dominant paradigm which promotes wage-earning fathers with financially dependent mothers, the exclusion of same-sex couples, and the marginalization of single-parent families.

Gynecocracy

Further information: Matriarchy
The opposite of androcracy is gynecocracy, sometimes referred to as gynocracy, or rule by women. It is related to but not synonymous with matriarchy. Evidence indicating historical gynecocracies survives mostly in mythology and in some archaeological records, although it is disputed by some authors, like Cynthia Eller in her book The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory.

See also

Gynocracy
Matriarchy
Patriarchy

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Anocracy

An anocracy is a government regime featuring inherent qualities of political instability and ineffectiveness, as well as an "incoherent mix of democratic and autocratic traits and practices."
These regime types are particularly susceptible to outbreaks of armed conflict and unexpected or adverse changes in leadership.[1] Despite its popular usage, anocracy lacks a precise definition.[2] Anocratic regimes are also loosely defined as part democracy and part dictatorship,[3][4] or as a "regime that mixes democratic with autocratic features".[4] Another definition classifies anocracy as "a regime that permits some means of participation through opposition group behavior but that has incomplete development of mechanisms to redress grievances".[2][5] Scholars have also distinguished anocracies from autocracies and democracies in their capability to maintain authority, political dynamics, and policy agendas.[6] Similarly, these regime types have democratic institutions that allow for nominal amounts of competition.[3]The operational definition of anocracy is extensively used by scholars Monty G. Marshall and Benjamin R. Cole at the Center for Systemic Peace and gains most of its dissemination through the polity data series. The data set aims to measure democracy in different states, and retains anocracy as one of its classification methods for regime type. The data series scores regimes on executive recruitment, on constraints on executive authority, and on political competition. The 21-point sliding scale ranges from –10 to +10, where –10 corresponds to hereditary monarchy and +10 to consolidated democracy.[why?] [unbalanced opinion?] Anocracies are regimes that receive a score between –5 and +5, as well as the special values of –66, –77, and –88, which correspond to cases of foreign interruption, interregnum, and transition regimes. The data set further sorts anocractic regimes into "closed anocracies" (–5 to 0) and "open anocracies" (1 to 5). [7] Consequently, anocracy frequently appears in democratization literature that utilizes the polity-data set.[8] In a closed anocracy, competitors are drawn from the élite. In an open anocracy, others compete too.[1]The number of anocratic regimes has steadily increased over time, with the most notable jump occurring after the end of the Cold War.[1] During the period from 1989 to 2013, the number of anocracies increased from 30 to 53.[9]

Traits of anocracy

Human rights

Due to the instability of anocratic regimes, human rights violations are significantly higher within anocracies than democratic regimes.[10][11][12] According to Maplecroft's 2014 Human Rights Risk Atlas, eight of the top ten worst human rights violating countries are anocracies.[13][14] In addition, the report categorized every current anocracy as "at risk" or at "extreme risk" of human rights offenses.[13]The high correlation between anocratic regimes and human rights abuses denotes the nonlinear progression in a country's transition from an autocracy to a democracy.[15][16][17][18] Generally, human rights violations substantially decrease when a certain

threshold of full democracy is reached.[11][19] However, human rights abuses tend to remain the same, or even increase, as countries move from an autocratic to an anocratic regime.[12][20][21]During the revolutions of the Arab Spring, Libya, Egypt, Yemen, all made relative progress towards more democratic regimes.[22] With many of the authoritarian practices of their governments remaining, the states currently fall under the category of anocracies.[9] They are also listed as some of the most extreme human rights violating countries in the world.[13][14] These violations include, but are not limited to, torture, police brutality, slavery, discrimination, unfair trials, and restricted freedom of expression.[14][23] Research has shown that political protests, such as those that occurred during the Arab Spring, generally lead to an increase in human right violations as the existing government tries to retain power and influence over governmental opposition.[12][15][24][25][26] Therefore, transitioning governments tend to have high levels of human rights abuses.[27][28]In their annual Freedom in the World report, Freedom House scored state's violations of civil liberties on a seven-point scale, with a score of seven representing the highest percentage of violations.[29] Freedom House defined civil liberty violations as the infringement of freedom of expression, associational and organizational rights, rule of law, and individual rights.[30] While most consolidated democracies received scores of one, almost all anocracies were scored between four and six, due to the high percentage of civil liberties violations within most anocratic regimes.[29]

Violence

Statistics show that anocracies are ten times more likely to experience intrastate conflict than democracies, and twice as likely as autocracies.[31] One explanation for the increase in violence and conflict within anocracies is a theory known as More Murder in the Middle (MMM).[15][32] The theory argues that the unstable characteristics of anocratic regimes, which include the presence of divided elites, inequality, and violent challengers who threaten the legitimacy of the current social order, cause governing elite to resort to political repression or state terror at a much higher rate than democratic or authoritarian regimes.[15][15][28][33] This leads to high levels of what are termed "life-integrity violations"[15][27][28] which include state-sponsored genocide, extrajudicial executions, and torture.[15][15][20][21][27][28][34] State life-integrity violations can be categorized as acts of state-terror.[27][28][35] Acts of terrorism by both governmental and outside groups are generally higher in transitioning, anocratic, governments than in either democratic or authoritarian regimes.[36][37]Harvard Public Policy Professor Alberto Abadie argues that the tight control of authoritarian regime is likely to discourage terrorist activities within the state. However, without the stability of a clear authoritarian rule or a consolidated democracy, anocracies are more open and susceptible to terrorist attacks.[37] [38] He notes that in Iraq, and previously in Spain and Russia, transitions from an authoritarian regime to a democracy were accompanied by temporary increases in terrorism.[39]According to the Political terror scale (PTS), a data set which ranks state sponsored violence on a five-point scale, almost every anocracy is ranked as having a score between three and five.[40] On the scale, a score of three indicates a state where "there is extensive political imprisonment, or a recent history of such imprisonment. Execution or other political murders and brutality may be common. Unlimited detention, with or without a trial, for political views is accepted."[40]

States are ranked as a four when, "civil and political rights violations have expanded to large numbers of the population. Murders, disappearances and torture are a common part of life. In spite of its generality, on this level terror affects those who interest themselves in politics or ideas."[40] Scores of five are given to states where, "terror has expanded to the whole population. The leaders of these societies place no limits on the means or thoroughness with which they pursue personal or ideological goals."[40] While only eleven states were given scores of five in the 2012 Political Terror Scale report, four of those states, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, Somalia, and Sudan, were classified by the Polity data series as anocracies.[9][40]

Civil war

There are differing views on whether or not anocracy leads to civil war. It is debated whether or not transitions between government regimes or political violence leads to civil war.

Civil war in unstable countries are usually the outcome of a country's inability to meet the population's demands.[1] The inability for the state to provide the needs of the population leads to factionalism within the country.[1] When the factions are not able to get what they want, then they take up arms against the state.[1]Former democracies that transition to anocracy have a greater risk of being embroiled in civil conflict.[2] The population's awareness of what rights they had as a democratic society may compel them to fight to regain their rights and liberties. On the other hand, autocracies that transition into anocracies are less likely to break out in civil war.[2] All anocracies are not unstable. There are many countries that are stable but are classified as anocracies, such as Russia and Saudi Arabia.[2][9] It is the transitional qualities associated with some anocracies that are predicative of civil conflict.[2] The magnitude of the transition also affects the probability of a civil conflict. The higher magnitude of the transition, the higher likelihood of civil war. [2]However, some international relations experts use the polity data series in the formulation of their hypothesis and study and this presents a problem because the Polity IV system uses violence and civil war as a factor in their computation of a country's polity score.[3] Two components, "the degree of institutionalization, or regulation, of political competition",[3] and "the extent of government restriction on political competition",[3] are problematic to use in any study involving Polity IV and civil war in anocratic governments. In the numeric rating system of one of these parts of Polity IV, unregulated, "may or may be characterized by violent conflict among partisan groups."[3] The other component says "there are relatively stable and enduring political groups – but competition among them is intense, hostile, and frequently violent."[3] The only thing that can be deduced concretely, is that political violence tends to lead to civil war.[3] There is no solid evidence to support that political institutions in an anocracy leads to civil war.[3]

Broadness and complexity

While the first three characteristics capture the instability of anocracies, another feature of anocratic regimes is its broad descriptiveness. Anocracy describes a regime type with a mix of institutional characteristics that either constrains or promotes the democratic process, "encapsulating a complex category encompassing many institutional arrangements".[2][4] While anocracies demonstrate

some capacity for civil society and political participation, their autocratic and democratic counterparts show considerably more or less capabilities.[2][4] Thus, while scholars are easily able to identify democratic and autocratic regimes based on their respective characteristics, anocracies become a wider, "catchall" category for all other regimes.[2] Yet, despite its broadness and complexity, the convention is still used because of its relevance to civil instability as well as its usage in the Polity data series.[2][41]

Examples of anocracy

Anocracy in Asia

Cambodia
Cambodia is an example of anocracy because its government displays democratic and authoritarian aspects. Under the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, Cambodia implemented an electoral system based on proportional representation, held legitimate elections, and instituted a parliamentary system of government.[42] The constitution, created on 21 September 1993 indicated that Cambodia was a parliamentary government with a constitutional monarchy.[42] Cambodia exhibited signs of a democratic state, especially with the presence of elections and a proportionally representative government. Following the coup in 1997, the Cambodian government has taken more authoritarian measures to keep peace in the country.[43] Protests have been suppressed violently by pro-government forces and many human rights activists and protester have been arrested by the Cambodian government.[43][44][45]Cambodia shows signs of being an unstable government with abrupt changes in leadership, making it an anocracy. The initial elections led to FUNCINPEC's victory under the leadership of Prince Ranariddh. FUNCINPEC and the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party won 68 out of 120 seats in the National Assembly.[42] The Cambodian People's Party, led by Hun Sen, refused to accept the outcome. Although a coalitional government was created with Prince Ranariddh as the First Prime Minister and Sen as the Second Prime Minister, the deal failed as Sen led a coup d'état on July 5, 1997.[46] Sen and the CPP have been in power ever since and the CPP recently won a general election against the Cambodia National Rescue Party led by Sam Rainsy.[47]

Thailand
Thailand's history of leadership changes make it an anocratic state. Thailand has been undergoing constant political upheaval since 1993.[42] Coups d'état and the purchase of political votes are the main causes for Thai political instability. Thailand experienced a period of political liberalization under General Prem Tinsulanonda who was an unelected Prime Minister during the 1980-1988 period.[42][48] A series of coups ensued soon after. General Suchinda Kraprayoon led a coup against Prime Minister Choonhavan on February 23, 1991.[49] After the Black May incident Suchinda was forced to resign and Anand Panyarachun was assigned the position of temporary prime minister.[49] Thaksin Shinawatra won the 2001 elections and became Prime Minister of Thailand; he won again in 2005 but a coup led by the Thai

military deposed Prime Minister Shinawatra in 2006.[50] After a new constitution was adopted, Samak Sundaravej and his People's Power Party (Thailand) won the election on December 23, 2007 and Sundaravej became prime minister.[51] However, due to a conflict of interest, Sundaravej was ousted and Somchai Wongsawat was elected as the new prime minister.[52][53] Shortly after his election, Prime Minister Wongsawat and the PPP was found to be guilty of electoral fraud and Wongsawat lost his position.[54] Abhisit Vejjajiva's election as the next prime minister was met with opposition by "Red Shirts."[55] On July 3, 2011, Yingluck Shinawatra, belonging to the Pheu Thai Party, was elected as prime minister.[56] Following mass protests in 2013, Shinawatra was deposed by a military coup led by General Chan-o-cha, who is currently the prime minister.[57][58]

Burma
Burma, or the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, is classified as an anocracy because of adverse armed conflict, changes in leadership, and the part-democratic, part-authoritarian nature of its government. Burma had a representative democracy after it gained independence from Britain. Soon after independence was achieved, there was an outbreak of various insurgencies and rebellions.[59] Many of these insurgencies were caused by divides along ethnic lines.[59] One of the most prominent civil wars in Burma, the Kachin conflict, restarted in 2011 and Burma is still embroiled in a civil war.[60][61]Burma has had a history of changes in government, usually through military coups. In 1962, General Ne Win enacted a military coup and created the Burma Socialist Programme Party which held power for 26 years.[62] On September 18, 1988, General Saw Maung led another military coup to return the government to the people and created the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), renamed State Peace and Development Council.[63] After holding free and legitimate elections in May 1990, the National League for Democracy (NLD) won with Aung San Suu Kyi at its head.[63] However, the military junta refused to give up power to the NLD.[63] The Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), backed by the military, won the 2010 elections and the military government was dissolved soon after.[62][64][65]The Burmese government shows signs of having democratic as well as authoritarian features. Burma is a pseudo-democratic state because of the elections that have been held in 1990 and 2010.[63][64] However, both these elections were problematic because the military did not transfer power to the winning party in 1990 and the 2010 elections were seen as illegitimate.[63][64][66] Violent repression is the biggest signifier of the authoritarian nature of the Burmese government. The Win regime was marked by extreme oppression and human rights abuses and as a result, Burmese civilians and students protested against the government.[67][68] The Burmese government responded violently to the protests and the Tatmadaw, or Myanmar Armed Forces, killed many of the protestors.[68] After the coup in 1988 by General Maung, the protests were violently suppressed again as Maung's government proceeded to implement martial law to bring peace and order.[63]

Anocracy in Africa
At the end of World War II, European control over its colonial territories in Africa diminished.[1] During this period of decolonization in the 1950s and 1960s, many African states gained independence.[1] Although these newly independent African

states could become either democratic or autocratic regimes, manageability issues made way for autocratic regimes to come into power.[1] Most underdeveloped African states that did become democracies in this time period failed within 10 years and transitioned to autocracies.[1] For about 30 years after 1960, the number of autocratic regimes in Africa rose from 17 to 41 as the number of democratic regimes stayed around five.[1][69] After the collapse of communism in Europe and the rise of democratization at the end of the Cold War, Africa experienced a major political transformation.[69] In the 1990s, the number of autocracies decreased to nine and the number of democracies increased to nine as many African countries remained stuck in an anocratic state.[1][69] By 2012, Africa had three autocracies, 17 democracies, and 30 anocracies.[69] By 2013, the majority of African countries remained either open or closed anocracies.[1] As African states transition from autocracy to anocracy and anocracy to democracy, electoral conflicts and violence remains prevalent.[70]

Nigeria

With a polity score of four in 2014, Nigeria is categorized as an open anocracy, transitioning closer to democracy than autocracy.[9] In recent years, Nigeria has displayed characteristics of anocratic regimes including political corruption and electoral riggings.[71] Following years of military rule after gaining independence in 1960 to 1999 with excluding 1979–83, the 2007 general elections marked the first time in Nigerian history that political leadership could be passed from one civilian to another through the process of election.[71] However, in late 2006, just months before the April 2007 general election, former president Olusegun Obasanjo used state institutions to try to defeat political opponents as he attempted to win his third straight presidential term.[71][72] Using the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), an institution created by Obasanjo's administration, the former president had some of his political enemies and their family members either arrested or detained.[72] Despite the electoral conflicts, some Nigerians view their country as running on democratic principles because military power has been controlled by political elites for 15 years.[72] However, the aforementioned electoral conflicts combined with state governors using legislative and judiciary power to repeatedly win elections suggests that Nigeria remains an anocracy.[72] Former president Goodluck Jonathan was accused of abusing his power in an attempt to remain in office past 2015, despite claiming his presidency advocated democratic principles.[72]

Zimbabwe

When Robert Mugabe gained presidency in 1980, Zimbabwe was listed as an open anocracy with a polity score of four.[9][73] By 1987, the country had almost fully transitioned to an authoritarian regime with a polity score of negative six, which made it a closed anocracy.[9] After remaining on the border between an authoritarian regime and closed anocracy for over a decade, Zimbabwe's polity score increased in the early 2000s. Currently, Zimbabwe has a polity score of 4, making it an open anocracy.[9] In recent years, Zimbabwe has moved toward becoming a more democratic regime, but electoral conflicts and human rights violations still exist leaving Zimbabwe as an anocratic regime.[73][74]When Zimbabwe was a closed anocracy in the late 1990s, the country experienced major human rights violations.[74] Labor strikes were common as employers did not listen to the

demands of their employers and real wages fell by 60 percent from 1992 to 1997.
[74] The labor strikes that occurred in the late 1990s were declared illegal by the
government of Zimbabwe and blame was put on poor, working class citizens.[74]
As labor laws continued hurting workers, health services declined and housing
projects stagnated.[74]Since becoming president in 1980, Mugabe has used a variety
of tactics to remain in power that have led to major electoral conflicts over the
years.[73] In the March 2008 presidential election, the electoral body reported that
Morgan Tsvangirai, the presidential candidate of the opposing party, received
more votes than Mugabe.[73] However, because Tsvangirai received 48 percent of
the vote and not full majority, it was announced that a runoff would take place.
Using intimidation tactics, including murder threats, Mugabe and his party forced
Tsvangirai to withdraw from the runoff and Mugabe remained in power.[73] A U.S. led
United Nations security council to impose sanctions on Mugabe failed and talks
about power-sharing between Mugabe and Tsvangirai ended soon after the runoff.
[73] After opposing party candidate Lovemore Moyo won Speaker of the Legislature,
a power-sharing coalition was finally set up in September 2008 in which Tsvangirai
was named Prime Minister.[73] Following this, the polity score of Zimbabwe
increased from one to four by 2010.[9] Yet, in 2013, Mugabe won his seventh straight
presidential term and the election was criticized for being rigged to allow Mugabe
to win.[73]

Uganda
In the 1990s, Uganda transitioned from an autocracy to a closed anocracy.[9]
Although Uganda saw a jump in its polity score in the mid-2000s, it has retained
a polity score of negative two for the last decade.[9] Uganda is populated by many
ethnic groups with the Buganda group, the largest of these groups, making up 17
percent of the population.[75] Since Uganda gained independence in 1962, incessant
conflict has ensued between the approximately 17 ethnic groups, which has led
to political instability.[75] Dictator Idi Amin was responsible for around 300, 000
deaths under his rule from 1971-1979 and guerrilla warfare from 1980-1985 under
Milton Obote killed 100, 000 people.[75] Human rights abuses under both of these
rulers led to even more deaths from 1971 to 1985.[75]In the early 1990s, Uganda
experienced large-scale violent dissent as the country experienced more rebellions
and guerrilla warfare.[76] As a result of the warring, the government called for non-
party presidential and legislative elections in the mid-1990s.[75] A period of relative
peace followed as a common law legal system was instituted in 1995. During this
period, Uganda transitioned from an authoritarian regime to a closed anocracy.[9]
[75] The political situation of Uganda has seen little improvement under the rule of
Yoweri Museveni who has maintained power since 1986.[75] Museveni has retained
power due to the fact that other political organizations in Uganda cannot sponsor
candidates.[75] Only Museveni and his National Resistance Movement (NRM) can
operate without any limitations leading to electoral conflicts and violence.[75]

Somalia
Somalia was labeled as an autocracy from 1969 to 2012 with a polity score of
negative seven throughout the entire period.[9] From 1969 to 1991 Siad Barre
was the military dictator of the Somali Democratic Republic.[77] After Barre was
overthrown in 1991, two decades of chaos ensued as civil war broke out and
rival warlords fought to gain power. The consistent fighting of tribal leaders and

warlords made the country unable to deal with natural disasters, droughts, and famines causing a combined 500, 000 deaths in the famines of 1992 and 2010-2012.[77]After years of being split into fiefdoms, the main Somalian warlords established an agreement to appoint a new president in 2004. However, this plan failed when Islamist insurgents, including the radical youth militia al-Shabaab who had links to Al-Qaeda, gained control over much of southern Somalia from 2006 to 2008.[77][78] With the assistance of international peace keeping offensives and the Kenyan army, the Islamist insurgents were forced to withdraw in 2012.[77] In the same year, the first formal parliament in over 20 years was appointed in Somalia.[77] The newly formed parliament chose Hassan Sheikh Mohamud as the new president in September 2012. With international assistance, the Somalian government has been able to rebuild itself and the country has been relatively more stable recently. [77] Since 2013, Somalia has retained a polity score of five and is listed as an open anocracy.[9]

Anocracy in Europe
Russia
Russia is classified as open anocracy, which means that it is between one and five on the Polity IV scale.[3] Open anocracy is classified as having democratic elections, but ones that are not very free, and the country does not grant some rights of the population.[3] The press is strictly monitored, as is incoming news from the outside world.[3] Russia has all of these characteristics.[79] The elections in Russia are controlled by Vladimir Putin, the President of Russia, and the country's lack of a middle class is a factor in its reputation worldwide as an illiberal democracy.[80][81]

Ukraine
Late in 2013, the former president of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovych, conducted talks with the European Union about establishing closer ties. Instead, Yanukovych backed out of the agreement and chose to go over to Russia for some multibillion-dollar loans.[82] Civil unrest broke out in the streets of Kiev, with the citizens showing their anger over the president spurning the EU. Yanukovych fled to Russia as the protests got out of hand. An interim government was put into place in early 2014, with new elections scheduled for later in 2014. In early March, Russian troops took control of Crimea, which was a highly controversial decision throughout the world and was unpopular among the western nations, as they saw this as an act of Russian aggression.[83] A referendum held to determine if Crimea was to become part of Russia was highly criticized as well.[84] Questionable plebiscites are a characteristic of anocracy[citation needed]. In February 2014, the death toll in Kiev rose to almost 100 due to escalating clashes between demonstrators and security forces. [85] This, in combination with the government's loose hold on its subjects, and foreign interference makes Ukraine an example of a transitional state, one that is in an anocratic stage.[2]

Yugoslavia
Yugoslavia was a large country in Europe until the 1990s. It was mostly held together in the latter half of the 20th century by Josip Tito, a president strongman that ruled by force of personality.[86] Tensions rose between the different ethnic groups in Yugoslavia including the Croats, Serbs, Albanians, Bosnians,

Montenegrins, Macedonians, Slovenians, and Kosovars.[86] New states formed were Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia.[86] The Yugoslav wars in the 1990s were very destructive and cost many lives. The fragmentation of power in Yugoslavia, disputed elections, and the discontent of the differentiated ethnic political groups are the main factors of Yugoslavia and the successor states being considered anocracies.[81] The political stagnation, and the non-civilian control of the military during the civil wars are a large part as well.[87]

Successful transitions

Anocratic regimes are often implicitly mentioned in democratic transition literature.[88][89][90] There are numerous examples of regimes that have successfully transitioned to democracy through anocracy.

Mexico
Mexico's transition from an anocratic to democratic regime occurred during the 1980s and 1990s on the electoral stage. This period was characterized by the rise of multiple parties, decline of power from the Institutional Revolutionary Party, and decentralization of power from the national level into municipalities.[91] The democratization process produced competitive elections with less voting fraud, culminating with the 1994 presidential election.[92][93] There was also a documented increase in the role of media and journalism during this period, which led to the creation of various special interest groups, such as those representing the environment, indigenous rights, and women's rights.[92] However, violence continues to remain a characteristic of Mexico's local elections.[94][95][96]

Taiwan
In the aftermath of World War II, Japan surrendered Taiwan to the Republic of China. The constitution that the Republic of China used to govern Taiwan guaranteed civil rights and elections, but was ignored in favor of rule under martial law.[97] Taiwan's pro-democracy movement gained momentum during the early 1980s and coalesced into the formation of the Democratic Progressive Party in 1986. Over the next decade, Taiwan attempted to restore the civil rights promised in its constitution, culminating with the Taiwan's first direct presidential election in 1996.[98] Taiwan continues to move towards a consolidated democracy.[99]

Ghana
In 1991, Ghana was listed as an autocratic regime with a polity score of negative seven. By the late 1990s and early 2000s, Ghana was an open anocracy. In 2005, Ghana successfully transitioned from an open anocracy to a democracy as it has retained a polity score of eight since 2006.[9] A major part of Ghana's success can be attributed to its management of the electoral process in order to decrease electoral conflict.[70] Since Ghana began having elections in 1992, strengthening government institutions such as a strong, independent electoral commission has

decreased electoral conflict.[70] The existence of civil society organizations and a media aimed at ensuring democratic principles have also helped manage electoral conflicts in Ghana. For example, Ghana's 2008 elections ended peacefully as political institutions were able to respond to electoral challenges and advance democratic principles and processes.[70] However, some electoral conflicts remain on a small scale in Ghana such as ethnic vote blocking, vote buying, and hate speeches.[70] Yet, even with these minor conflicts, Ghana has been able to transform from an anocracy to a democracy by decreasing electoral conflicts among other things.[70]

Terminology

Use of the word "anocracy" in English dates back to at least 1950, when R. F. C. Hull's reprinted translation of Martin Buber's 1946 work Pfade in Utopia [Paths in Utopia] distinguished "anocracy" (neoclassical compound: ἀκρατία akratia) from "anarchy" – "not absence of government but absence of domination".[100]

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Aristocracy

Aristocracy (Greek ἀριστοκρατία aristokratía, from ἄριστος aristos "excellent," and κράτος kratos "power") is a form of government that places power in the hands of a small, privileged ruling class.[1] The term derives from the Greek aristokratia, meaning "rule of the best".[2]At the time of the word's origins in Ancient Greece, the Greeks conceived it as rule by the best qualified citizens—and often contrasted it favourably with monarchy, rule by an individual. In later times, aristocracy was usually seen as rule by a privileged group, the aristocratic class, and was contrasted with democracy.[1]

Concept

The concept evolved in Ancient Greece, whereby a council of leading citizens was commonly empowered and contrasted with direct democracy, in which a council of citizens was appointed as the "senate" of a city state or other political unit. The Greeks did not like the concept of monarchy, and as their democratic system fell, aristocracy was upheld.[1]In Ancient Rome, the Republic consisted of an aristocracy—as well as consuls, a senate, and a tribal assembly. In the Middle Ages and early modern era, aristocracies primarily consisted of an influential aristocratic class, privileged by birth, and often by wealth. Since the French Revolution, aristocracy has generally been contrasted with democracy, in which all citizens should hold some form of political power. However, this distinction is often oversimplified.

In his 1651 book Leviathan, Thomas Hobbes describes an aristocracy as a commonwealth in which the representative of the citizens is an assembly by part. It is a system in which only a small part of the population represents the government.[3] Modern depictions of aristocracy tend to regard it not as the ancient Greek concept of rule by the best, but more as a plutocracy—rule by the rich.[citation needed]

See also

- Caliphate
- Elitism
- Gentry
- Nobility
- Old money
- Oligarchy
- Timocracy
- Tyranny

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Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism is a form of government characterized by strong central power and limited political freedoms. Individual freedoms are subordinate to the state and there is no constitutional accountability under an authoritarian regime.[1] Juan Linz's influential 1964 description of authoritarianism[2] characterized authoritarian political systems by four qualities:

1 limited political pluralism; that is, such regimes place constraints on political institutions and groups like legislatures, political parties and interest groups;
2 a basis for legitimacy based on emotion, especially the identification of the regime as a necessary evil to combat "easily recognizable societal problems" such as underdevelopment or insurgency;
3 minimal social mobilization most often caused by constraints on the public such as suppression of political opponents and anti-regime activity;
4 informally defined executive power with often vague and shifting powers.[3] Modern dictatorships use an authoritarian concept to form a government.[1]

Authoritarian government and states

Linz distinguished new forms of authoritarianism from personalistic dictatorships and totalitarian states, taking Francoist Spain as an example. Unlike personalistic dictatorships, new forms of authoritarianism have institutionalized representation of a variety of actors (in Spain's case, including the military, the Catholic Church, Falange, monarchists, technocrats and others); unlike totalitarian states, the regime relies on passive mass acceptance rather than popular support.[4]Several subtypes of authoritarian regimes have been identified by Linz and others.[5] Linz identified the two most basic subtypes as traditional authoritarian regimes and bureaucratic-military authoritarian regimes:
Traditional authoritarian regimes are those "in which the ruling authority (generally a single person)" is maintained in power "through a combination of appeals to traditional legitimacy, patron-client ties and repression, which is carried out by an apparatus bound to the ruling authority through personal loyalties"; an example is Ethiopia under Haile Selassie I.[5]Bureaucratic-military authoritarian regimes are those "governed by a coalition of military officers and technocrats who act pragmatically (rather than ideologically) within the limits of their bureaucratic mentality.[5] Mark J. Gasiorowski suggests that it is best to distinguish "simple military authoritarian regimes" from "bureaucratic authoritarian regimes" in which "a powerful group of technocrats uses the state apparatus to try to rationalize and develop the economy" such as South Korea under Park Chung-hee.[5]Linz also has identified three other subtypes of authoritarian regime: corporatist or organic-statistic, racial and ethnic "democracy" and post-totalitarian.[5]Corporatist authoritarian regimes "are those in which corporatism institutions are used extensively by the state to coopt and demobilize powerful interest groups"; this type has been studied most extensively in Latin America.[5]Racial and ethnic

"democracies" are those in which "certain racial or ethnic groups enjoy full democratic rights while others are largely or entirely denied those rights," such as in South Africa under apartheid.[5]Post-totalitarian authoritarian regimes are those in which totalitarian institutions (such as the party, secret police and state-controlled mass media) remain, but where "ideological orthodoxy has declined in favor of routinization, repression has declined, the state's top leadership is less personalized and more secure, and the level of mass mobilization has declined substantially."[5] Examples include the Soviet Eastern bloc states in the mid-1980s. [5]Authoritarian regimes are also sometimes subcategorized by whether they are personalistic or populist.[5] Personalistic authoritarian regimes are characterized by arbitrary rule and authority exercised "mainly through patronage networks and coercion rather than through institutitions and formal rules."[5] Personalistic authoritarian regimes have been seen in post-colonial Africa. By contrast, populist authoritarian regimes "are mobilizational regimes in which a strong, charismatic, manipulative leader rules through a coalition involving key lower-class groups."[5] Examples include Argentina under Perón,[5] Egypt under Nasser,[5] and Venezuela under Chávez and Maduro.[6][7]Authoritarianism is characterized by highly concentrated and centralized power maintained by political repression and the exclusion of potential challengers. It uses political parties and mass organizations to mobilize people around the goals of the regime.[8] Adam Przeworski has theorized that "authoritarian equilibrium rests mainly on lies, fear and economic prosperity". [9]Authoritarianism also tends to embrace the informal and unregulated exercise of political power, a leadership that is "self-appointed and even if elected cannot be displaced by citizens' free choice among competitors," the arbitrary deprivation of civil liberties, and little tolerance for meaningful opposition.[8]A range of social controls also attempt to stifle civil society,[10] while political stability is maintained by control over and support of the armed forces, a bureaucracy staffed by the regime, and creation of allegiance through various means of socialization and indoctrination.[8]Authoritarian political systems may be weakened through "inadequate performance to demands of the people."[8] Vestal writes that the tendency to respond to challenges to authoritarianism through tighter control instead of adaptation is a significant weakness, and that this overly rigid approach fails to "adapt to changes or to accommodate growing demands on the part of the populace or even groups within the system."[8] Because the legitimacy of the state is dependent on performance, authoritarian states that fail to adapt may collapse.[8]Authoritarianism is marked by "indefinite political tenure" of the ruler or ruling party (often in a one-party state) or other authority.[8] The transition from an authoritarian system to a more democratic form of government is referred to as democratization.[8]John Duckitt suggests a link between authoritarianism and collectivism, asserting that both stand in opposition to individualism.[11] Duckitt writes that both authoritarianism and collectivism submerge individual rights and goals to group goals, expectations and conformities.[12]

Authoritarianism and totalitarianism

Totalitarianism is an extreme version of authoritarianism. Authoritarianism primarily differs from totalitarianism in that social and economic institutions exist that are not under governmental control. Building on the work of Yale political scientist Juan Linz, Paul C. Sondrol of the University of Colorado at Colorado

Springs has examined the characteristics of authoritarian and totalitarian dictators and organized them in a chart:[13]

	Totalitarianism	Authoritarianism
Charisma	High	Low
Role conception	Leader as function	Leader as individual
Ends of power	Public	Private
Corruption	Low	High
Official ideology	Yes	No
Limited pluralism	No	Yes
Legitimacy	Yes	No

Sondrol argues that while both authoritarianism and totalitarianism are forms of autocracy, they differ in "key dichotomies":
(1) Unlike their bland and generally unpopular authoritarian brethren, totalitarian dictators develop a charismatic 'mystique' and a mass-based, pseudo-democratic interdependence with their followers via the conscious manipulation of a prophetic image.
(2) Concomitant role conceptions differentiate totalitarians from authoritarians. Authoritarians view themselves as individual beings largely content to control, and often maintain, the status quo. Totalitarian self-conceptions are largely teleological. The tyrant is less a person than an indispensable 'function' to guide and reshape the universe.
(3) Consequently, the utilisation of power for personal aggrandizement is more evident among authoritarians than totalitarians. Lacking the binding appeal of ideology, authoritarians support their rule by a mixture of instilling fear and granting rewards to loyal collaborators, engendering a kleptocracy.[13]Compared to totalitarianism, "the authoritarian state still maintains a certain distinction between state and society. It is only concerned with political power and as long as that is not contested it gives society a certain degree of liberty. Totalitarianism, on the other hand, invades private life and asphyxiates it."[14] Another distinction is that "authoritarianism is not animated by utopian ideals in the way totalitarianism is. It does not attempt to change the world and human nature."[14] Carl Joachim Friedrich writes that "a totalist ideology, a party reinforced by a secret police, and monopoly control of ... industrial mass society" are the three features of totalitarian regimes that distinguish them from other autocracies.[14]

Authoritarianism and democracy
Authoritarianism and democracy are not fundamentally opposed to one another; it is thus definitely possible for democracies to possess strong authoritarian elements, for both feature a form of submission to authority. An illiberal democracy (or procedural democracy) is distinguished from liberal democracy (or substantive democracy) in that illiberal democracies lack the more democratic features of liberal democracies, such as the rule of law, an independent judiciary, along

with a further distinction that liberal democracies have rarely made war with one another. More recent research has extended the theory and finds that more democratic countries tend to have few Militarized Interstate Disputes causing less battle deaths with one another, and that democracies have much fewer civil wars.[15][16]Some commentators, such as Seymour Martin Lipset, believed that low-income authoritarian regimes have certain technocratic, "efficiency-enhancing advantages" over low-income democracies, helping authoritarian regimes generate development.[17] Morton H. Halperin, Joseph T. Siegle, and Michael M. Weinstein (2005) counter this belief, arguing that the evidence has showed that there is no "authoritarian advantage" and that there is a "democratic advantage" instead.[17] Halperin et al. argue that democracies "realize superior development performance" over authoritarianism. They point out that poor democracies are more likely to have steadier economic growth, and less likely to experience economic and humanitarian catastrophes, than authoritarian regimes; that civil liberties act as a curb on corruption and misuse of resources; and that democracies are more adaptable. [17] Halperin point out that the vast majority of refugee crises and financial catastrophes occur in authoritarian regimes.[17]Studies suggest that several health indicators (life expectancy and infant and maternal mortality) have a stronger and more significant association with democracy than they have with GDP per capita, size of the public sector, or income inequality.[18] Prominent economist Amartya Sen has theorized that no functioning liberal democracy has ever suffered a large-scale famine.[19]

Research shows that the democratic nations have much less democide or murder by government. However, it should be noted that those were also moderately developed nations before applying liberal democratic policies.[20] Research by the World Bank suggests that political institutions are extremely important in determining the prevalence of corruption, and that parliamentary systems, political stability and freedom of the press are all associated with lower corruption.[21] One study has concluded that terrorism is most common in nations with intermediate political freedom. The nations with the least amount of terrorism are the most and least democratic nations.[22]

Examples of states considered to be authoritarian

There is no precise definition of authoritarianism, but several annual measurements are attempted, including Freedom House's annual Freedom in the World report.

The following is a non-exhaustive list of examples of states which are currently (or frequently) characterized as authoritarian:

Azerbaijan under Ilham Aliyev (2003-)[23]

Bahrain under the House of Khalifa (1746-)[24

]Belarus under Alexander Lukashenko (1994-)[25][26] on account of Lukashenko's self-described authoritarian style of government.[27][28][29]Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge and Hun Sen (1985-)[30]

Cameroon under Paul Biya since 1982[31][32]

People's Republic of China under the Communist Party of China (1949-). "Some scholars have deemed the Chinese system a 'fragmented authoritarianism' (Lieberthal), a 'negotiated state' or a 'consultative authoritarian regime.'"[33]

Cuba under Fidel and Raúl Castro (1959-)[34]Egypt under Abdel Fattah el-Sisi (2014-)

Iran under Ruhollah Khomeini and Ali Khamenei (1981-).[36] Linz wrote in 2000 that "it is difficult to fit the Iranian regime into the existing typology, as it combines the ideological bent of totalitarianism with the limited pluralism of authoritarianism and holds regular elections in which candidates advocate differing policies and incumbents are often defeated."[37]

Kazakhstan under Nursultan Nazarbayev[31]

Laos under the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (1975-)[38]

North Korea under the rule of the Kim dynasty and the Korean Workers' Party (1947-)[39]

Russia under Vladimir Putin (1999-) (*see Putinism for more*) – described as "really a mixture of authoritarianism and managed democracy."[40][41][42]Saudi Arabia under the House of Saud (1744-)[43]

]Sudan under Omar al-Bashir[31]

Syria under Hafez and Bashar al-Assad (1970-)[44]

]Thailand under General Prayut Chan-o-cha who overthrew the democratically elected government of Yingluck Shinawatra in a military coup and installed a military junta to oversee the governance of Thailand (2014-)[45]

Turkey under Recep Tayyip Erdogan (2003-) – described as a "competitive authoritarian regime"[46]

Turkmenistan under Saparmurat Nyazow (1991-2006) and Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow (2006-) [47]

Uzbekistan under Islam Karimov (1989 to 2016)[48][49]

Venezuela under Hugo Chávez and Nicolás Maduro (1999-)[50]

Vietnam under the Vietnamese Communist Party (1976-)[51]

Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe (1980-).[52]

Examples of states which were historically authoritarian

Argentina under the Argentine Revolution period of military rule (1966–1973)[53] and later during the justicialista rule of Juan Perón (populist authoritarianism).[54]

Brazil during both the Estado Novo period under Getúlio Vargas (1937–1945) and under military government from a 1964 coup until a transition to democracy in the early and mid-1980s.[55]

Burma from a 1962 coup until a transition to democracy beginning in 2011.[56]

Chile under Augusto Pinochet from 1973 until a transition to democracy in 1990.[57]

Egypt under Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak from 1952 to 2011.[58]

Libya under Muammar Gaddafi from 1969 until his deposition and death in 2011.[59]

Lithuania under Antanas Smetona from late 1926 until the Soviet ultimatum of 1940.[60]

Republic of Macedonia under Nikola Gruevski (2006 to 2016)[61][62]

Portugal under the Estado Novo regime of António de Oliveira Salazar and Marcelo Caetano from 1932 to 1974.[63]

Spain under Francisco Franco from 1936 to 1975, when the Spanish transition to democracy began after Franco's death.[64]

South Africa under the National Party from 1948 until the end of apartheid in 1994.[65][66]

South Korea from 1948[67] until a transition to democracy in 1987.[68]Taiwan from

1945 until the transition to democracy in 1990s.[69]
Turkey from 1925 through 1945, when a transition to democracy began.[70][71]

Authoritarian weakness and resilience

Andrew J. Nathan notes that "regime theory holds that authoritarian systems are inherently fragile because of weak legitimacy, overreliance on coercion, overcentralization of decision making, and the predominance of personal power over institutional norms....Few authoritarian regimes—be they communist, fascist, corporatist, or personalist—have managed to conduct orderly, peaceful, timely, and stable successions."[72] One exception to this general trend is the endurance of the authoritarian rule of the Chinese Communist Party, which has been unusually resilient among authoritarian regimes. Nathan posits that this can be attributed to four factors: (1) "the increasingly norm-bound nature of its succession politics"; (2) "the increase in meritocratic as opposed to factional considerations in the promotion of political elites"; (3) "the differentiation and functional specialization of institutions within the regime"; and (4) "the establishment of institutions for political participation and appeal that strengthen the CCP's legitimacy among the public at large."[72]

Anti-authoritarianism

Main article: Anti-authoritarianism
After World War II there was a strong sense of anti-authoritarianism based on anti-fascism in Europe. This was attributed to the active resistance from occupation and to fears arising from the development of superpowers.[73] Anti-authoritarianism also became associated with countercultural and bohemian movements such as the Beat Generation in the 1950s,[74] the hippies in the 1960s[75] and punks in the 1970s.[76]

Gender and authoritarianism

According to a study by Brandt and Henry there is a direct correlation between the rates of gender inequality and the levels of authoritarian ideas in the male and female populations. It was found that in countries with less gender equality where individualism was encouraged and men occupied the dominant societal roles, women were more likely to support traits such as obedience which would allow them to survive in an authoritarian environment, and less likely to encourage ideas such as independence and imagination. In countries with higher levels of gender equality, men held less authoritarian views. It is theorized that this occurs due to the stigma attached to individuals who question the cultural norms set by the dominant individuals and establishments in an authoritarian society as a way to prevent the psychological stress caused by the active ostracizing of the

stigmatized individuals.[77]

See also

- Anti-democratic thought
- Managed democracy
- Fascism

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Autocracy

An autocracy is a system of government in which supreme power is concentrated in the hands of one person, whose decisions are subject to neither external legal restraints nor regularized mechanisms of popular control (except perhaps for the implicit threat of a coup d'état or mass insurrection).[1] Absolute monarchy (such as Saudi Arabia) and dictatorship (such as North Korea) are the main historical forms of autocracy. In very early times, the term "autocrat" was coined as a favorable feature of the ruler, having some connection to the concept of "lack of conflicts of interests".

History and etymology

In the Medieval Greek language, the term Autocrates was used for anyone holding the title emperor, regardless of the actual power of the monarch. Some historical Slavic monarchs, such as Russian tsars and emperors, included the title Autocrat as part of their official styles, distinguishing them from the constitutional monarchs elsewhere in Europe.

Comparison with other forms of government

Both totalitarianism and military dictatorship are often identified with, but need not be, an autocracy. Totalitarianism is a system where the state strives to control every aspect of life and civil society. It can be headed by a supreme dictator, making it autocratic, but it can also have a collective leadership such as a commune, junta, or single political party.
In an analysis of militarized disputes between two states, if one of the states involved was an autocracy the chance of violence occurring doubled.[2]

Maintenance

Because autocrats need a power structure to rule, it can be difficult to draw a clear line between historical autocracies and oligarchies. Most historical autocrats depended on their nobles, the military, the priesthood or other elite groups.[3] Some autocracies are rationalized by assertion of divine right.

Historical examples

The Roman Empire: In 27 B.C., Augustus founded the Roman Empire following the end of the Republic of Rome. Augustus officially kept the Roman Senate while

effectively consolidating all of the real power in himself. Rome was peaceful and prosperous until the dictatorial rule of Commodus starting in 161 A.D. The third century saw invasions from the barbarians as well as economic decline. Both Diocletian and Constantine ruled as totalitarian leaders, strengthening the control of the emperor. The empire grew extremely large, and was ruled by a tetrarchy, instituted by Diocletian. Eventually, it was split into two halves: the Western (Roman) and the Eastern (Byzantine). The Western Roman Empire fell in 476 after civic unrest, further economic decline, and invasions led to the surrender of Romulus Augustus to Odoacer, a German king.[4]Nazi Germany: After the failed Beer Hall Putsch, the National Socialist German Worker's Party began a more subtle political strategy to take over the government. Following a tense social and political environment in the 1930's, the Nazis under Adolf Hitler took advantage of the civil unrest of the state to seize power through cunning propaganda and by the charismatic speeches of their party leader. By the time Adolf was appointed chancellor, the Nazi party began to restrict civil liberties on the public following the Reichstag Fire. With a combination of cooperation and intimidation, Adolf and his party systematically weakened all opposition to his rule, transforming the Weimar Republic into a fascist dictatorship where Hitler alone spoke and acted on behalf of Germany. Nazi Germany is an example of an autocracy run primarily by a single leader, but many decisions made by Hitler coincided with the interests and ideology of the Nazi Party in mind, also making an example of an autocracy ruled by a political party rather than solely one man.

Aztec Empire: In Mesoamerica, the Aztecs were a tremendous military powerhouse that earned a fearsome reputation of capturing prisoners during battle to be used for sacrificial rituals. The priesthood supported a pantheon that demanded human sacrifice, and the nobility was comprised mainly of warriors who had captured many prisoners for these sacrificial rites. The Aztec Emperor hence functioned both as the sole ruler of the empire and its military forces, and as the religious figurehead behind the empire's aggressive foreign policy.

Tokugawa Shogunate: Medieval Japan was caught in a vicious series of skirmishes between warring clans, states, and rulers, all of them vying for power in a mad scramble. While many of these lords struggled against each other openly, Ieyasu Tokugawa seized mastery of all of Japan through a mix of superior tactics and cunning diplomacy, until he became the dominant power of the land. By establishing his shogunate as the sole ruling power in Japan, Ieyasu Tokugawa controlled all aspects of life, closing the borders of Japan to all foreign nations and ruling with a policy of isolationism.
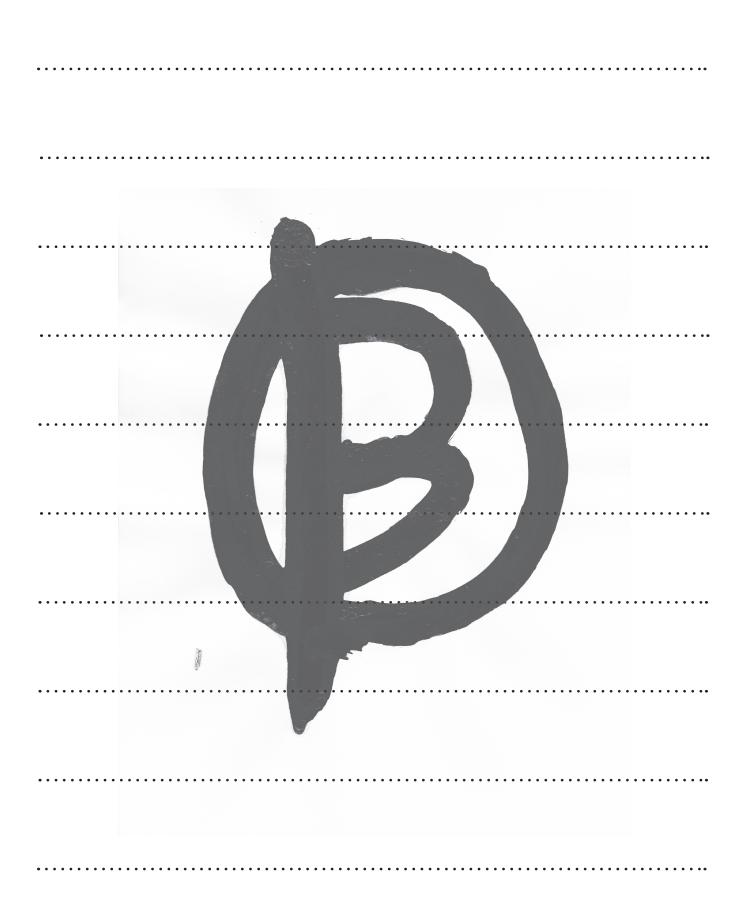
Tsarist Russia: Shortly after being crowned as ruler, Tsar Ivan immediately removed his political enemies by execution or exile and established dominance over an Empire, expanding the borders of his kingdom dramatically. To enforce his rule, Ivan the Terrible established the Streltzy as Russia's standing army, and he developed two cavalry divisions that were fiercely loyal to the Tsar; the Cossacks, and the Oprichniki. In his later years, Ivan made orders for his forces to sack the city of Novgorod in fear of being overthrown.

See also

Authoritarianism
Tsarist autocracy
Führerprinzip
Theocracy

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Bankocracy

Bankocracy (from the English word bank and Ancient Greek κράτος - kratos, "power, rule") or trapezocracy[1] (from Greek τράπεζα - trapeza, "bank") is a polemic term referring to the excessive power or influence of banks on public policy-making.[2] It can also refer to a form of government where financial institutions rule society.

Usage

One of the first uses of the term was by British Member of Parliament William Fullarton (1754–1808), who in a parliamentary debate on April 10, 1797 characterized the monopoly of the Bank of England as being a more important issue to solve than the peace attempts to end the war against France:[3]

> " It is Bankocracy that threatens the destruction of social order ... that turns and overturns all questions respecting war, negotiations, and peace. "

United States Senator Robert J. Walker (1801–1869), a staunch opponent of the Bank of the United States, delivered a speech in the Senate on January 21, 1840, where he warned that the acceptance of paper money as legal tender would "overthrow the Constitution, subvert the liberties of the country, and the rights of the people, and establish the reign of a bankocracy, more sordid, ruinous, and despotic, than that of any monarch, however absolute."[4]The term was also used by Karl Marx in his work Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (1867). He theorizes the birth of national debt as the catalyst for the primitive accumulation of capital:[5
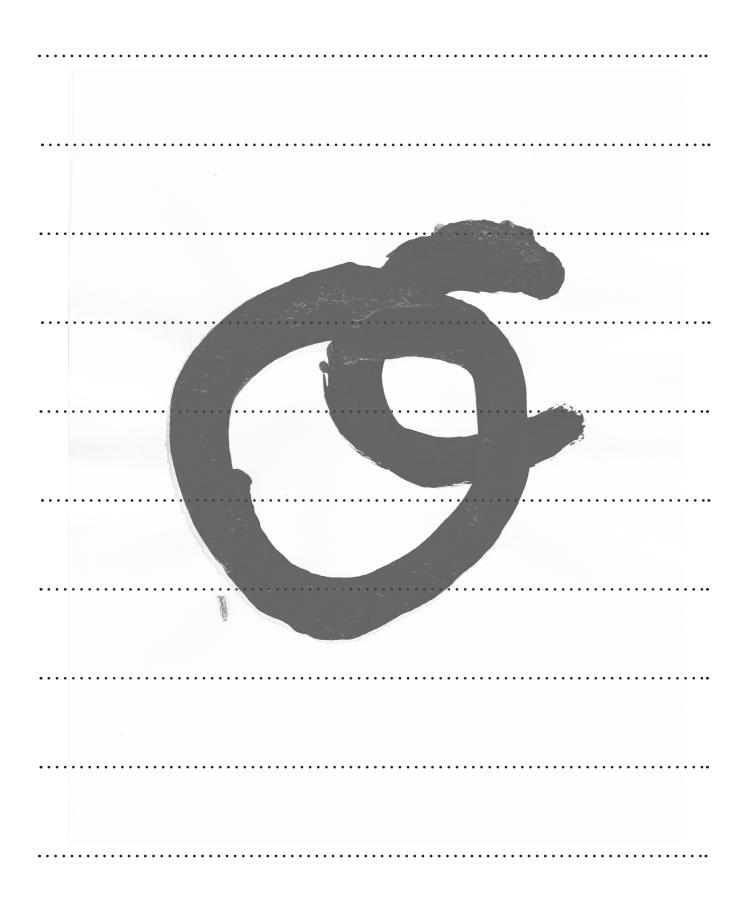]

> " The public debt becomes one of the most powerful levers of primitive accumulation. ... [T]he national debt has given rise to joint-stock companies, to dealings in negotiable effects of all kinds, and to agiotage, in a word to stock-exchange gambling and the modern bankocracy. "

In Marxian economics, the term cognates with finance capitalism in general.[6] Numerous political observers and journalists have used the term when describing

or commenting on the 2007–2012 global financial crisis.[7][8][9]

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Coconstitutionalism

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Coconstitutionalism is where two institutional cultures exist in a complex semi-autonomous relationship to each other. The model of asymmetrical devolution that has emerged in democratic Spain has been called "coconstitutional" in that it is neither a federal nor a unitary model of government: autonomous nation-regions exist alongside and within the Spanish nation-state in a relatively dynamic relationship.

Similarities to federalism are marked although a key difference lies in the legal status of a federal-state versus a notionally unitary coconstitutional one: in a federation, it is the states who legally transfer powers to the federal government (bottom up) whereas in a unitary state power is devolved from the nation-state down to the regions (top down) and can in theory be revoked. But in the case of Spain any such move by a future Spanish government could rekindle the Spanish Civil War, the truth[according to whom?] is such a move would probably require a constitutional amendment. Certainly a statue of autonomy (Spanish, Estatuto de autonomía) cannot be abrogated nor modified save by an initiative of an autonomous regional Parliament—that being, of course, unlikely.[citation needed]

Since 1997, the UK government has pursued a similar coconstitutional model of devolution with regard to its nation-regions.

Communism

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

In political and social sciences, communism (from Latin communis, "common, universal")[1][2] is the social, political, and economic ideology and movement whose ultimate goal is the establishment of the communist society, which is a socioeconomic order structured upon the common ownership of the means of production and the absence of social classes, money,[3][4] and the state.[5][6] Communism includes a variety of schools of thought, which broadly include Marxism, anarchism (anarchist communism), and the political ideologies grouped around both. All these share the analysis that the current order of society stems from its economic system, capitalism, that in this system, there are two major social classes: the working class—who must work to survive, and who make up the majority within society—and the capitalist class—a minority who derives profit from employing the working class, through private ownership of the means of production, and that conflict between these two classes will trigger a revolution. The primary element which will enable this transformation, according to this analysis, is the social ownership of the means of production.

History

Main article: History of communism

Early communism

The origins of communism are debatable, and there are various historical groups, as well as theorists, whose beliefs have subsequently been described as communist. German philosopher Karl Marx saw primitive communism as the original, hunter-gatherer state of humankind from which it arose. For Marx, only after humanity was capable of producing surplus, did private property develop. According to Richard Pipes, the idea of a classless, egalitarian society first emerged in Ancient Greece.[7] The 5th-century Mazdak movement in Persia (Iran) has been described as "communistic" for challenging the enormous privileges of the noble classes and the clergy, for criticizing the institution of private property and for striving to create an egalitarian society.[8][9]At one time or another, various small communist communities existed, generally under the inspiration of Scripture.[10] In the medieval Christian church, for example, some monastic communities and religious orders shared their land and their other property (see Religious and Christian communism).

Communist thought has also been traced back to the works of the 16th-century English writer Thomas More. In his treatise Utopia (1516), More portrayed a society based on common ownership of property, whose rulers administered it through the application of reason. In the 17th century, communist thought surfaced again in England, where a Puritan religious group known as the "Diggers" advocated the abolition of private ownership of land.[11] Eduard Bernstein, in his 1895 Cromwell and Communism[12] argued that several groups during the English Civil War, especially the Diggers, espoused clear communistic, agrarian ideals, and that Oliver Cromwell's attitude towards these groups was at best ambivalent and often hostile.[12] Criticism of the idea of private property continued into the Age of Enlightenment

of the 18th century, through such thinkers as Jean Jacques Rousseau in France. Later, following the upheaval of the French Revolution, communism emerged as a political doctrine.[13] In the early 19th century, Various social reformers founded communities based on common ownership. But unlike many previous communist communities, they replaced the religious emphasis with a rational and philanthropic basis.[14] Notable among them were Robert Owen, who founded New Harmony in Indiana (1825), and Charles Fourier, whose followers organized other settlements in the United States such as Brook Farm (1841–47).[14] Later in the 19th century, Karl Marx described these social reformers as "utopian socialists" to contrast them with his program of "scientific socialism" (a term coined by Friedrich Engels). Other writers described by Marx as "utopian socialists" included Saint-Simon.

In its modern form, communism grew out of the socialist movement in 19th-century Europe. As the Industrial Revolution advanced, socialist critics blamed capitalism for the misery of the proletariat—a new class of urban factory workers who labored under often-hazardous conditions. Foremost among these critics were Marx and his associate Friedrich Engels. In 1848, Marx and Engels offered a new definition of communism and popularized the term in their famous pamphlet The Communist Manifesto.[14]

Modern communism

The 1917 October Revolution in Russia set the conditions for the rise to state power of Lenin's Bolsheviks, which was the first time any avowedly communist party reached that position. The revolution transferred power to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets,[15][16][17] in which the Bolsheviks had a majority. The event generated a great deal of practical and theoretical debate within the Marxist movement. Marx predicted that socialism and communism would be built upon foundations laid by the most advanced capitalist development. Russia, however, was one of the poorest countries in Europe with an enormous, largely illiterate peasantry and a minority of industrial workers. Marx had explicitly stated that Russia might be able to skip the stage of bourgeois rule.[18] Other socialists also believed that a Russian revolution could be the precursor of workers' revolutions in the West.

The moderate Mensheviks (minority) opposed Lenin's Bolshevik (majority) plan for socialist revolution before capitalism was more fully developed. The Bolsheviks' successful rise to power was based upon the slogans such as "Peace, bread, and land" which tapped the massive public desire for an end to Russian involvement in the First World War, the peasants' demand for land reform, and popular support for the Soviets.[19]

The Second International had dissolved in 1916 over national divisions, as the separate national parties that composed it did not maintain a unified front against the war, instead generally supporting their respective nation's role. Lenin thus created the Third International (Comintern) in 1919 and sent the Twenty-one Conditions, which included democratic centralism, to all European socialist parties willing to adhere. In France, for example, the majority of the French Section of the Workers' International (SFIO) party split in 1921 to form the French Section of the Communist International (SFIC). Henceforth, the term "Communism" was applied to the objective of the parties founded under the umbrella of the Comintern. Their

program called for the uniting of workers of the world for revolution, which would be followed by the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the development of a socialist economy.

During the Russian Civil War (1918–1922), the Bolsheviks nationalized all productive property and imposed a policy named war communism, which put factories and railroads under strict government control, collected and rationed food, and introduced some bourgeois management of industry. After three years of war and the 1921 Kronstadt rebellion, Lenin declared the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921, which was to give a "limited place for a limited time to capitalism." The NEP lasted until 1928, when Joseph Stalin achieved party leadership, and the introduction of the Five Year Plans spelled the end of it. Following the Russian Civil War, the Bolsheviks, in 1922, formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), or Soviet Union, from the former Russian Empire.

Following Lenin's democratic centralism, the Leninist parties were organized on a hierarchical basis, with active cells of members as the broad base; they were made up only of elite cadres approved by higher members of the party as being reliable and completely subject to party discipline.[20] The Great Purge of 1937–1938 was Stalin's attempt to destroy any possible opposition within the Communist Party. In the Moscow Trials many old Bolsheviks who had played prominent roles during the Russian Revolution of 1917, or in Lenin's Soviet government afterwards, including Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov, and Bukharin, were accused, pleaded guilty, and executed.[21]

Cold War

Its leading role in the Second World War saw the emergence of the Soviet Union as a superpower, with strong influence over Eastern Europe and parts of Asia. The European and Japanese empires were shattered and Communist parties played a leading role in many independence movements. Marxist–Leninist governments modeled on the Soviet Union took power with Soviet assistance in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Romania. A Marxist–Leninist government was also created under Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia, but Tito's independent policies led to the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform, which had replaced the Comintern, and Titoism was branded "deviationist". Albania also became an independent Marxist–Leninist state after World War II.[22]By 1950, the Chinese Marxist–Leninists had taken over all of mainland China. In the Korean War and Vietnam War, communists fought for power in their countries against the United States and its allies. With varying degrees of success, communists attempted to unite with nationalist and socialist forces against perceived Western imperialism in these poor countries.

Communism was seen as a rival of and a threat to western capitalism for most of the 20th century.[23] This rivalry peaked during the Cold War, as the world's two remaining superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, polarized most of the world into two camps of nations. They supported the spread of their respective economic and political systems. As a result, the camps expanded their military capacity, stockpiled nuclear weapons, and competed in space exploration.

Dissolution of the Soviet Union

Further information: List of communist parties, List of communist and anti-capitalist parties with parliamentary representation, and Dissolution of the Soviet Union

In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became leader of the Soviet Union and relaxed central control, in accordance with reform policies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring). The Soviet Union did not intervene as Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary all abandoned Marxist–Leninist rule by 1990. In 1991, the Soviet Union dissolved.

At present, states controlled by Marxist–Leninist parties under a single-party system include the People's Republic of China, Cuba, Laos, and Vietnam. North Korea currently refers to its leading ideology as Juche, which is portrayed as a development of Marxism–Leninism. Communist parties, or their descendant parties, remain politically important in a number of other countries. The South African Communist Party is a partner in the African National Congress-led government. In India, communists lead the governments of three states, with a combined population of more than 115 million. In Nepal, communists hold a majority in the parliament.[24] The Communist Party of Brazil is a part of the parliamentary coalition led by the ruling democratic socialist Workers' Party.

The People's Republic of China has reassessed many aspects of the Maoist legacy; it, along with Laos, Vietnam, and, to a lesser degree Cuba, has reduced state control of the economy in order to stimulate growth. Chinese economic reforms were started in 1978 under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping; since then, China has managed to bring down the poverty rate from 53% in the Mao era to just 6% in 2001.[25] The People's Republic of China runs Special Economic Zones dedicated to market-oriented enterprise, free from central government control. Several other states run by self-proclaimed Marxist–Leninist parties have also attempted to implement market-based reforms, including Vietnam.

The ruling stratum of the Soviet Union was, according to Trotskyism, held to be a bureaucratic caste, but not a new ruling class, despite its political control.

Marxist communism

Marxism

Main article: Marxism

Marxism, first developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, has been the foremost ideology of the communist movement. Marxism considers itself to be the embodiment of scientific socialism; rather than model an "ideal society" based on intellectuals' design, it is a non-idealist attempt at the understanding of society and history, through an analysis based in real life. Marxism does not see communism as a "state of affairs" to be established, but rather as the expression of a real movement, with parameters which are derived completely from real life and not based on any intelligent design.[26] Marxism, therefore, does no blueprinting of a communist society; it only makes an analysis which concludes what will trigger its implementation, and discovers its fundamental characteristics based on the derivation of real life conditions.

At the root of Marxism is the materialist conception of history, known as historical materialism for short. It holds that the key characteristic of economic systems through history has been the mode of production, and that the change between modes of production has been triggered by class struggle. According to this analysis, the Industrial Revolution ushered the world into a new mode of production: capitalism. Before capitalism, certain working classes had ownership of instruments utilized in production. But because machinery was much more efficient, this property became worthless, and the mass majority of workers could only survive by selling their labor, working through making use of someone else's machinery, and therefore making someone else profit. Thus with capitalism, the world was divided between two major classes: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. [27] These classes are directly antagonistic: the bourgeoisie has private ownership of the means of production and earns a profit off surplus value, which is generated by the proletariat, which has no ownership of the means of production and therefore no option but to sell its labor to the bourgeoisie.

Historical materialism goes on and says: the rising bourgeoisie within feudalism, through the furtherance of its own material interests, captured power and abolished, of all relations of private property, only the feudal privileges, and with this took out of existence the feudal ruling class. This was another of the keys behind the consolidation of capitalism as the new mode of production, which is the final expression of class and property relations, and also has led into a massive expansion of production. It is, therefore, only in capitalism that private property in itself can be abolished.[28] The proletariat, similarly, will capture political power, abolish bourgeois property through the common ownership of the means of production, therefore abolishing the bourgeoisie, and ultimately abolishing the proletariat itself, and ushering the world into a new mode of production: communism. In between capitalism and communism there is the dictatorship of the proletariat, a democratic state where the whole of the public authority is elected and recallable under the basis of universal suffrage;[29] it is the defeat of the bourgeois state, but not yet of the capitalist mode of production, and at the same time the only element which places into the realm of possibility moving on from this mode of production.

An important concept in Marxism is socialization vs. nationalization. Nationalization is merely state ownership of property, whereas socialization is actual control and management of property by society. Marxism considers socialization its goal, and considers nationalization a tactical issue, with state ownership still being in the realm of the capitalist mode of production. In the words of Engels: "the transformation [...] into State-ownership does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. [...] State-ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution".[30] This has led some Marxist groups and tendencies to label states such as the Soviet Union, based on nationalization, as state capitalist.[31]

Leninism

Main article: Leninism

We want to achieve a new and better order of society: in this new and better society there must be neither rich nor poor; all will have to work. Not a handful of rich

people, but all the working people must enjoy the fruits of their common labour. Machines and other improvements must serve to ease the work of all and not to enable a few to grow rich at the expense of millions and tens of millions of people. This new and better society is called socialist society. The teachings about this society are called 'socialism'.

Leninism is the body of political theory, developed by and named after the Russian revolutionary and later Soviet premier Vladimir Lenin, for the democratic organisation of a revolutionary vanguard party and the achievement of a dictatorship of the proletariat, as political prelude to the establishment of socialism. Leninism comprises socialist political and economic theories, developed from Marxism, as well as Lenin's interpretations of Marxist theory for practical application to the socio-political conditions of the agrarian early-twentieth-century Russian Empire. In February 1917, for five years, Leninism was the Russian application of Marxist economics and political philosophy, effected and realised by the Bolsheviks, the vanguard party who led the fight for the political independence of the working class.

Marxism–Leninism, Stalinism, and Trotskyism

Marxism–Leninism and Stalinism

Main articles: Marxism–Leninism and Stalinism

Marxism–Leninism is a political ideology developed by Stalin,[32] which according to its proponents is based in Marxism and Leninism. The term describes the specific political ideology which Stalin implemented in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, in a global scale, in the Comintern. There is no definite agreement between historians of about whether Stalin actually followed the principles of Marx and Lenin.[33] It also contains aspects which, according to some, are deviations from Marxism, such as "socialism in one country".[34][35] Marxism–Leninism was the ideology of the most clearly visible communist movement. As such, it is the most prominent ideology associated with communism.

Marxism–Leninism refers to the socioeconomic system and political ideology implemented by Stalin in the Soviet Union and later copied by other states based on the Soviet model (central planning, single-party state, etc.), whereas Stalinism refers to Stalin's style of governance (political repression, cult of personality, etc.); Marxism–Leninism stayed after de-Stalinization, Stalinism did not. In fact, in the last letters before his death, Lenin warned against the danger of Stalin's personality and urged the Soviet government to replace him.[36] However, the term "Stalinism" is sometimes used to refer to Marxism–Leninism, sometimes to avoid implying Marxism–Leninism is related to Marxism and Leninism.

Maoism is a form of Marxism–Leninism associated with Chinese leader Mao Zedong. After de-Stalinization, Marxism–Leninism was kept in the Soviet Union but certain anti-revisionist tendencies, such as Hoxhaism and Maoism, argued that it was deviated from. Therefore, different policies were applied in Albania and China, which became more distanced from the Soviet Union.

Marxism–Leninism has been criticized by other communist and Marxist tendencies. They argue that Marxist–Leninist states did not establish socialism but rather state capitalism.[31] The dictatorship of the proletariat, according to Marxism, represents the rule of the majority (democracy) rather than of one party, to the extent that co-

founder of Marxism Friedrich Engels described its "specific form" as the democratic republic.[37] Additionally, according to Engels, state property by itself is private property of capitalist nature[38] unless the proletariat has control of political power, in which case it forms public property.[39] Whether the proletariat was actually in control of the Marxist–Leninist states is a matter of debate between Marxism–Leninism and other communist tendencies. To these tendencies, Marxism–Leninism is neither Marxism nor Leninism nor the union of both, but rather an artificial term created to justify Stalin's ideological distortion,[40] forced into the CPSU and Comintern. In the Soviet Union, this struggle against Marxism–Leninism was represented by Trotskyism, which describes itself as a Marxist and Leninist tendency.

Trotskyism
Main article: Trotskyism
Trotskyism is a Marxist and Leninist tendency that was developed by Leon Trotsky, opposed to Marxism–Leninism. It supports the theory of permanent revolution and world revolution instead of the two stage theory and socialism in one country. It supported proletarian internationalism and another Communist revolution in the Soviet Union, which Trotsky claimed had become a "degenerated worker's state" under the leadership of Stalin, rather than the dictatorship of the proletariat, in which class relations had re-emerged in a new form.
Trotsky and his supporters, struggling against Stalin for power in the Soviet Union, organized into the Left Opposition and their platform became known as Trotskyism. Stalin eventually succeeded in gaining control of the Soviet regime and Trotskyist attempts to remove Stalin from power resulted in Trotsky's exile from the Soviet Union in 1929. Trotsky later founded the Fourth International, a Trotskyist rival to the Comintern, in 1938.
Trotsky's politics differed sharply from those of Stalin and Mao, most importantly in declaring the need for an international proletarian revolution (rather than socialism in one country) and support for a true dictatorship of the proletariat based on democratic principles.

Libertarian Marxism
Main article: Libertarian Marxism
Libertarian Marxism refers to a broad scope of economic and political philosophies that emphasize the anti-authoritarian aspects of Marxism. Early currents of libertarian Marxism, known as left communism,[41] emerged in opposition to Marxism–Leninism[42] and its derivatives, such as Stalinism, Maoism, and Trotskyism.[43] Libertarian Marxism is also critical of reformist positions, such as those held by social democrats.[44] Libertarian Marxist currents often draw from Marx and Engels' later works, specifically the Grundrisse and The Civil War in France;[45] emphasizing the Marxist belief in the ability of the working class to forge its own destiny without the need for a revolutionary party or state to mediate or aid its liberation.[46] Along with anarchism, Libertarian Marxism is one of the main currents of libertarian socialism.[47]Libertarian Marxism includes such currents as Luxemburgism, council communism, left communism, Socialisme ou Barbarie, the Johnson-Forest tendency, world socialism, Lettrism/Situationism and operaismo/autonomism, and New Left.[48] Libertarian Marxism has often had a strong influence

on both post-left and social anarchists. Notable theorists of libertarian Marxism have included Anton Pannekoek, Raya Dunayevskaya, CLR James, Antonio Negri, Cornelius Castoriadis, Maurice Brinton, Guy Debord, Daniel Guérin, Ernesto Screpanti and Raoul Vaneigem.

Council communism
Main article: Council communism
Council communism is a far-left movement originating in Germany and the Netherlands in the 1920s. Its primary organization was the Communist Workers Party of Germany (KAPD). Council communism continues today as a theoretical and activist position within both left-wing Marxism and libertarian socialism.
The central argument of council communism, in contrast to those of social democracy and Leninist communism, is that democratic workers' councils arising in the factories and municipalities are the natural form of working class organization and governmental power. This view is opposed to both the reformist and the Leninist ideologies, with their stress on, respectively, parliaments and institutional government (i.e., by applying social reforms, on the one hand, and vanguard parties and participative democratic centralism on the other).
The core principle of council communism is that the government and the economy should be managed by workers' councils composed of delegates elected at workplaces and recallable at any moment. As such, council communists oppose state-run authoritarian "State socialism"/"State capitalism". They also oppose the idea of a "revolutionary party", since council communists believe that a revolution led by a party will necessarily produce a party dictatorship. Council communists support a worker's democracy, which they want to produce through a federation of workers' councils.

Left communism
Main article: Left communism
Left communism is the range of communist viewpoints held by the communist left, which criticizes the political ideas and practices espoused—particularly following the series of revolutions which brought the First World War to an end—by Bolsheviks and by social democrats. Left communists assert positions which they regard as more authentically Marxist and proletarian than the views of Marxism–Leninism espoused by the Communist International after its first congress (March 1919) and during its second congress (July–August 1920).[49]Left communists represent a range of political movements distinct from Marxist–Leninists (whom they largely view as merely the left-wing of capital), from anarchist communists (some of whom they consider internationalist socialists) as well as from various other revolutionary socialist tendencies (for example De Leonists, whom they tend to see as being internationalist socialists only in limited instances).[50]

Non-Marxist communism

The dominant forms of communism are based on Marxism, but non-Marxist versions of communism (such as Christian communism and anarchist communism)

also exist.

Anarchist communism
Main article: Anarchist communism

Anarchist communism (also known as libertarian communism) is a theory of anarchism which advocates the abolition of the state, private property, and capitalism in favor of common ownership of the means of production,[51][52] direct democracy and a horizontal network of voluntary associations and workers' councils with production and consumption based on the guiding principle: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need".[53][54]

Anarcho-communism differs from Marxism rejecting its view about the need for a State Socialism phase before building communism. The main anarcho-communist theorist Peter Kropotkin argued "that a revolutionary society should "transform itself immediately into a communist society,", that is, should go immediately into what Marx had regarded as the "more advanced," completed, phase of communism."[55] In this way it tries to avoid the reappearance of "class divisions and the need for a state to oversee everything".[55]Some forms of anarchist communism such as insurrectionary anarchism are egoist and strongly influenced by radical individualism,[56][57][58] believing that anarchist communism does not require a communitarian nature at all. Most anarcho-communists view anarcho-communism as a way of reconciling the opposition between the individual and society.[59][60][61]To date in human history, the best known examples of an anarchist communist society, established around the ideas as they exist today, that received worldwide attention and knowledge in the historical canon, are the anarchist territories during the Spanish Revolution and the Free Territory during the Russian Revolution. Through the efforts and influence of the Spanish Anarchists during the Spanish Revolution within the Spanish Civil War, starting in 1936 anarchist communism existed in most of Aragon, parts of the Levante and Andalusia, as well as in the stronghold of Anarchist Catalonia before being brutally crushed by the combined forces of the authoritarian regime that won the war, Hitler, Mussolini, Spanish Communist Party repression (backed by the USSR) as well as economic and armaments blockades from the capitalist countries and the Spanish Republic itself. During the Russian Revolution, anarchists such as Nestor Makhno worked to create and defend—through the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine—anarchist communism in the Free Territory of the Ukraine from 1919 before being conquered by the Bolsheviks in 1921.

Christian communism
Main article: Christian communism

Christian communism is a form of religious communism based on Christianity. It is a theological and political theory based upon the view that the teachings of Jesus Christ compel Christians to support communism as the ideal social system. Although there is no universal agreement on the exact date when Christian communism was founded, many Christian communists assert that evidence from the Bible suggests that the first Christians, including the Apostles, established their own small communist society in the years following Jesus' death and resurrection. As such, many advocates of Christian communism argue that it was taught by Jesus and practiced by the Apostles themselves.

Christian communism can be seen as a radical form of Christian socialism. Christian communists may or may not agree with various parts of Marxism. They do not agree with the atheist and antireligious views held by secular Marxists, but do agree with many of the economic and existential aspects of Marxist theory, such as the idea that capitalism exploits the working class by extracting surplus value from the workers in the form of profits and that wage labor is a tool of human alienation that promotes arbitrary and unjust authority. Christian communism, like Marxism, also holds that capitalism encourages the negative aspects of human nature, supplanting values such as mercy, kindness, justice and compassion in favor of greed, selfishness and blind ambition.

Criticism

Main article: Criticism of communism
Criticism of communism can be divided into two broad categories: those concerning themselves with the practical aspects of 20th-century Communist states,[62] and those concerning themselves with communist principles and theory.[63]

See also

Communism portal

Anti-communism
Communism by country
Communist party
Commons-based peer production
List of communist parties
Post-scarcity economy
Socialist state
Sociocultural evolution

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Consociationalism

Consociationalism (/kənˌsoʊʃiˈeɪʃənəlɪzəm/ kən-SOH-shee-AY-shən-əl-iz-əm) is often viewed as synonymous with power-sharing, although it is technically only one form of power-sharing.[1]Consociationalism is often seen as having close affinities with corporatism; some consider it to be a form of corporatism while others claim that economic corporatism was designed to regulate class conflict, while consociationalism developed on the basis of reconciling societal fragmentation along ethnic and religious lines.[2]The goals of consociationalism are governmental stability, the survival of the power-sharing arrangements, the survival of democracy, and the avoidance of violence. When consociationalism is organised along religious confessional lines, it is known as confessionalism, as is the case in Lebanon.

Definition

Political scientists define a consociational state as a state which has major internal divisions along ethnic, religious, or linguistic lines, with none of the divisions large enough to form a majority group, yet nonetheless manages to remain stable, due to consultation among the elites of each of its major social groups. Consociational states are often contrasted with states with majoritarian electoral systems.

Concept origins

Consociationalism was discussed in academic terms by the political scientist Arend Lijphart. However, Lijphart has stated that he had "merely discovered what political practitioners had repeatedly – and independently of both academic experts and one another – invented years earlier".[3] John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary trace consociationalism back to 1917, when it was first employed in the Netherlands.[4] Indeed, Lijphart draws heavily on the experience of the Netherlands in developing his argument in favour of the consociational approach to ethnic conflict regulation. The Netherlands, as a consociational state, was between 1857 and 1967 divided into four non-territorial pillars: Calvinist, Catholic, socialist, and general, although until 1917 there was a plurality ("first past the post") electoral system rather than a consociational one. In their heyday, each comprised tightly-organised groups, schools, universities, hospitals and newspapers, all divided along a pillarised social structure. The theory, according to Lijphart, focuses on the role of social elites, their agreement and co-operation, as the key to a stable democracy.

Characteristics

Lijphart identifies four key characteristics of consociational democracies:[5]

Name	Explanation
Grand coalition	Elites of each pillar come together to rule in the interests of society because they recognize the dangers of non-cooperation.
Mutual veto	Consensus among the groups is required to confirm the majority rule. Mutuality means that the minority is unlikely to successfully block the majority. If one group blocks another on some matter, the latter are likely to block the former in return.
Proportionality	Representation is based on population. If one pillar accounts for 30% of the overall society, then they occupy 30% of the positions on the police force, in civil service, and in other national and civic segments of society.
Segmental autonomy	Creates a sense of individuality and allows for different culturally-based community laws.

Consociational policies often have these characteristics:[6]
- Coalition cabinets, where executive power is shared between parties, not concentrated in one. Many of these cabinets are oversized, meaning they include parties not necessary for a parliamentary majority;
- Balance of power between executive and legislative;
- Decentralized and federal government, where (regional) minorities have considerable independence;
- Incongruent bicameralism, where it is very difficult for one party to gain a majority in both houses. Normally one chamber represents regional interests and the other national interests;
- Proportional representation, to allow (small) minorities to gain representation too;
- Organized and corporatist interest groups, which represent minorities;
- A rigid constitution, which prevents government from changing the constitution without consent of minorities;
- Judicial review, which allows minorities to go to the courts to seek redress against laws that they see as unjust;
- Elements of direct democracy, which allow minorities to enact or prevent legislation;

- Proportional employment in the public sector;
- A neutral head of state, either a monarch with only ceremonial duties, or an indirectly elected president, who gives up his or her party affiliation after being elected;
- Referendums are only used to allow minorities to block legislation: this means that they must be a citizen's initiative and that there is no compulsory voting.
- Equality between ministers in cabinet, the prime minister is only primus inter pares;
- An independent central bank, where experts and not politicians set out monetary policies.

Favourable conditions

Lijphart also identifies a number of "favourable conditions" under which consociationalism is likely to be successful. He has changed the specification of these conditions somewhat over time.[7] Michael Kerr summarises Lijphart's most prominent favourable factors as:[8]
- Segmental isolation of ethnic communities
- A multiple balance of power
- The presence of external threats common to all communities
- Overarching loyalties to the state
- A tradition of elite accommodation
- Socioeconomic equality
- A small population size, reducing the policy load
- A moderate multi-party system with segmental parties

Lijphart stresses that these conditions are neither indispensable nor sufficient to account for the success of consociationalism.[5] This has led Rinus van Schendelen to conclude that "the conditions may be present and absent, necessary and unnecessary, in short conditions or no conditions at all".[9]John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary argue that three conditions are key to the establishment of democratic consociational power-sharing: elites have to be motivated to engage in conflict regulation; elites must lead deferential segments; and there must be a multiple balance of power, but more importantly the subcultures must be stable.[10] Michael Kerr, in his study of the role of external actors in power-sharing arrangements in Northern Ireland and Lebanon, adds to McGarry and O'Leary's list the condition that "the existence of positive external regulating pressures, from state to non-state actors, which provide the internal elites with sufficient incentives and motives for their acceptance of, and support for, consociation".[8]

Advantages

In a consociational state, all groups, including minorities, are represented on the political and economic stage. Supporters of consociationalism argue that it is a more realistic option in deeply divided societies than integrationist approaches to

conflict management.[11] It has been credited with supporting successful and non-violent transitions to democracy in countries such as South Africa.[citation needed]

Criticisms

Brian Barry

Brian Barry has questioned the nature of the divisions that exist in the countries that Lijphart considers to be "classic cases" of consociational democracies. For example, he makes the case that in the Swiss example, "political parties cross-cut cleavages in the society and provide a picture of remarkable consensus rather than highly structured conflict of goals".[12] In the case of the Netherlands, he argues that "the whole cause of the disagreement was the feeling of some Dutchman ... that it mattered what all the inhabitants of the country believed. Demands for policies aimed at producing religious or secular uniformity presuppose a concern ... for the state of grace of one's fellow citizens". He contrasts this to the case of a society marked by conflict, in this case Northern Ireland, where he argues that "the inhabitants ... have never shown much worry about the prospects of the adherents of the other religion going to hell".[13] Barry concludes that in the Dutch case, consociationalism is tautological and argues that "the relevance of the 'consociational' model for other divided societies is much more doubtful than is commonly supposed".[12]

Rinus van Schendelen

Rinus van Schendelen has argued that Lijphart uses evidence selectively. Pillarisation was "seriously weakening", even in the 1950s, cross-denominational co-operation was increasing, and formerly coherent political sub-cultures were dissolving. He argued that elites in the Netherlands were not motivated by preferences derived from the general interest, but rather by self-interest. They formed coalitions not to forge consociational negotiation between segments but to improve their parties' respective power. He argued that the Netherlands was "stable" in that it had few protests or riots, but that it was so before consociationalism, and that it was not stable from the standpoint of government turnover. He questioned the extent to which the Netherlands, or indeed any country labelled a consociational system, could be called a democracy, and whether calling a consociational country a democracy isn't somehow ruled out by definition. He believed that Lijphart suffered severe problems of rigor when identifying whether particular divisions were cleavages, whether particular cleavages were segmental, and whether particular cleavages were cross-cutting.[9]

Lustick on hegemonic control

Ian Lustick has argued that academics lack an alternative "control" approach for explaining stability in deeply divided societies and that this has resulted in the empirical overextension of consociational models.[14] Lustick argues that Lijphart has "an impressionistic methodological posture, flexible rules for coding data, and an indefatigable, rhetorically seductive commitment to promoting consociationalism as a widely applicable principle of political engineering",[15]

that results in him applying consociational theory to case studies that it does not fit. Furthermore, Lustick states that "Lijphart's definition of 'accommodation' ... includes the elaborately specified claim that issues dividing polarized blocs are settled by leaders convinced of the need for settlement".[15]

Other criticisms

Critics point out that consociationalism is dangerous in a system of differing antagonistic ideologies, generally conservatism and communism.[citation needed] They state that specific conditions must exist for three or more groups to develop a multi-party system with strong leaders. This philosophy is dominated by elites, with those masses that are sidelined with the elites having less to lose if war breaks out. Consociationalism cannot be imperially applied. For example, it does not effectively apply to Austria. Critics also point to the failure of this line of reasoning in Lebanon, a country that reverted to civil war. It only truly applies in Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands, and not in more deeply divided societies. If one of three groups gets half plus one of the vote, then the other groups are in perpetual opposition, which is largely incompatible with consociationalism.
Consociationalism focuses on diverging identities such as ethnicity instead of integrating identities such as class, institutionalizing and entrenching the former. Furthermore, it relies on rival co-operation, which is inherently unstable. It focuses on intrastate relations and neglects relations with other states.
Donald L. Horowitz argues that consociationalism can lead to the reification of ethnic divisions, since "grand coalitions are unlikely, because of the dynamics of intraethnic competition. The very act of forming a multiethnic coalition generates intraethnic competition – flanking – if it does not already exist".[16] Consistent with Horowitz' claims, Dawn Brancati finds that federalism/territorial autonomy, an element of consociationalism, strengthens ethnic divisions if it is designed in a way that strengthens regional parties, which in turn encourage ethnic conflict.[17]
Consociationalism assumes that each group is cohesive and has strong leadership. Although the minority can block decisions, this requires 100 per cent agreement. Rights are given to communities rather than individuals, leading to over-representation of some individuals in society and under-representation of others. Grand coalitions are unlikely to happen due to the dynamics of ethnic competition. Each group seeks more power for itself. Consociationalists are criticized for focusing too much on the set up of institutions and not enough on transitional issues which go beyond such institutions. Finally, it is claimed that consociational institutions promote sectarianism and entrench existing identities.

Examples

The political systems of a number of countries operate on a consociational basis, including Belgium, Cyprus (effective 1960–1963),[18][19][20] Lebanon, the Netherlands (1917–1967), Switzerland, and South Africa. Some academics have also argued that the European Union resembles a consociational democracy.[21][22] Additionally, a number of peace agreements are consociational, including:
- the Dayton Agreement that ended the 1992–1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina,

which is described as a "classic example of consociational settlement" by Sumantra Bose[23] and "an ideal-typical consociational democracy" by Roberto Belloni.[24]

- the Belfast Agreement of 1998 in Northern Ireland[25] (and its subsequent reinforcement with 2006's St Andrews Agreement), which Brendan O'Leary describes as "power-sharing plus".[26]
- the Ohrid Agreement of 2001 setting the constitutional framework for power-sharing in the Republic of Macedonia.

Post-Taliban Afghanistan's political system has also been described as consociational,[27] although it lacks ethnic quotas.[28]In addition to the two-state solution, some have argued for a one-state solution under a consociational democracy in the state of Israel to solve the Arab-Israeli Conflict, but this solution is not very popular, nor has it been discussed seriously at peace negotiations.[29] During the 1980s the South African government attempted to reform apartheid into a consociational democracy. The South African Constitution of 1983 applied Lijpart's powersharing ideas by establishing a Tricameral Parliament. During the 1990s negotiations to end apartheid the National Party (NP) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) proposed a settlement based upon consociationalism. The African National Congress (ANC) opposed consociationalism and proposed instead a settlement based upon majoritarian democracy. The NP abandoned consociationalism when the US State Department came out in favour of the majoritarian democracy model in 1992.[30]

See also

- Conflict management
- Consensus democracy
- Corporative federalism
- Horizontalidad
- Polycentric law
- Minority groups
- Minority rights
- Negarchy
- Sui iuris

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Constitutional liberalism

Constitutional liberalism describes a form of government that upholds the principles of classical liberalism and the rule of law. It differs from liberal democracy in that it is not about the method of selecting government.[1] The journalist and scholar Fareed Zakaria explains that constitutional liberalism "is about government's goals. It refers to the tradition, deep in Western history, that seeks to protect an individual's autonomy and dignity against coercion, whatever the source—state, church, or society."[2] Democracy is becoming more common around the world. Freedom House reported that in 2013 there were 118 electoral democracies. Many of these countries are not constitutionally liberal and can be described as illiberal democracies.[3][4]

See also

- Totalitarianism
- History of democracy
- Democratic ideals
- Social liberalism
- Classical liberalism
- Liberal democracy
- Illiberal democracy
- Constitutionalism

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Constitutional theocracy

The phrase constitutional theocracy describes a form of elected government in which one single religion is granted an authoritative central role in the legal and political system. In contrast to a pure theocracy, power resides in lay political figures operating within the bounds of a constitution, rather than in the religious leadership.

The phrase was used in connection with the Iranian government of Ayatollah Khomeini in 1987 by Olivier Roy,[1] and from the 1990s onward has been used in discussions of Iran, and occasionally of other governments. Professor Mahmood Mamdani [2] has spoken of a "constitutional theocracy" in the context of "a state–wide clerical authority in Iran".[3] Ran Hirschl of the University of Toronto law school has written more than one article discussing "constitutional theocracies": for example considering "modern states formally governed by principles of Islamic Shari'a laws".[4]The concept of constitutional theocracy is also used by journalists writing about Iran,[5] or about the process of developing a constitution in Iraq,[6] and in general discussions of the relationship between religion and government. Following its link with Iran's Islamic revolution, the phrase has also been used to discuss, among other topics, early twentieth-century Turkish politics [7] and contemporary Chechnyan politics.[8]

Hirschl's views[edit]

Professor Hirschl has expanded on the distinction between constitutional theocracies and ordinary democracies in his article, 'Constitutional Courts vs. Religious Fundamentalism: Three Middle Eastern Tales. where he says:

The original text of Article 2 of the 1971 Egyptian Constitution read: 'Islam is the religion of the State, Arabic is its official language, and the principles of Islamic Shari'a are a principal source of legislation.' On May 22, 1980, the text of Article 2 was changed to read, 'Islam is the religion of the State, Arabic is its official language, and the principles of Islamic Shari'a are the principal source of legislation.' The result of this amendment effectively transformed Egypt into a 'constitutional theocracy,' in which no legislation could contravene Islamic legal principles.

Hirschl refers to the existence of official, government-established Shari'a courts in both Egypt and Iran as evidence that these are constitutional theocracies. Though his definition seems generally compatible with other views that a constitutional theocracy is a government using a single religion as its sole source of law, other writers do not mention Egypt as often as Iran in this context.

The lack of any official, government-established Shari'a courts in Iraq, and the use of the phrase "a principal source of legislation" rather than "the principal source of legislation" in the Iraqi constitution, has been understood[citation needed] to mean that Iraq is not a constitutional theocracy, at least according to Hirschl's definition.

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Corporatocracy

This article is about the idea of government dominated by corporate business interests. For the concept of the state and its dominant interests in a capitalist system, see Capitalist state. For capitalist economies dominated by corporations, see Corporate capitalism.

This article appears to contradict itself. Please see the talk page for more information. (August 2015)

Corporatocracy /ˌkɔːrpərəˈtɒkrəsi/, is a recent term used to refer to an economic and political system controlled by corporations or corporate interests.[1] It is most often used today as a term to describe the current economic situation in a particular country, especially the United States.[2][3] This is different from corporatism, which is the organisation of society into groups with common interests. Corporatocracy as a term is often used by observers across the political spectrum.[2][4][5][6][7][8][9][10][11][12][13][14][15] Economist Jeffrey Sachs described the United States as a corporatocracy in The Price of Civilization (2011).[16] He suggested that it arose from four trends: weak national parties and strong political representation of individual districts, the large U.S. military establishment after World War II, big corporate money financing election campaigns, and globalization tilting the balance away from workers.[16] This collective is what author C Wright Mills in 1956 called the 'power elite', wealthy individuals who hold prominent positions in corporatocracies. They control the process of determining a society's economic and political policies.[17] The concept has been used in explanations of bank bailouts, excessive pay for CEOs, as well as complaints such as the exploitation of national treasuries, people, and natural resources.[18] It has been used by critics of globalization,[19] sometimes in conjunction with criticism of the World Bank[20] or unfair lending practices,[18] as well as criticism of "free trade agreements".[19]

Characteristics

This article or section may contain misleading parts. Please help clarify this article according to any suggestions provided on the talk page. (June 2015)

Edmund Phelps published an analysis in 2010 theorizing that the cause of income inequality is not free market capitalism, but instead is the result of the rise of corporatization.[21] Corporatization, in his view, is the antithesis of free market capitalism. It is characterized by semi-monopolistic organizations and banks, big employer confederations, often acting with complicit state institutions in ways that discourage (or block) the natural workings of a free economy. The primary effects

of corporatization are the consolidation of economic power and wealth with end results being the attrition of entrepreneurial and free market dynamism.

His follow-up book, Mass Flourishing, further defines corporatization by the following attributes: power-sharing between government and large corporations (exemplified in the U.S. by widening government power in areas such as financial services, healthcare, and energy through regulation), an expansion of corporate lobbying and campaign support in exchange for government reciprocity, escalation in the growth and influence of financial and banking sectors, increased consolidation of the corporate landscape through merger and acquisition (with ensuing increases in corporate executive compensation), increased potential for corporate/government corruption and malfeasance, and a lack of entrepreneurial and small business development leading to lethargic and stagnant economic conditions.[22][23]

United States

In the United States, several of the characteristics described by Phelps are apparent. With regard to income inequality, the 2014 income analysis of University of California, Berkeley economist Emmanuel Saez confirms that relative growth of income and wealth is not occurring among small and mid-sized entrepreneurs and business owners (who generally populate the lower half of top one per-centers in income),[24] but instead only among the top .1 percent of income distribution ... whom Paul Krugman describes as "super-elites – corporate bigwigs and financial wheeler-dealers."[25][26]... who earn $2,000,000 or more every year.[27][28]

Share of income
Corporate power can also increase income inequality. Joseph Stiglitz wrote in May 2011: "Much of today's inequality is due to manipulation of the financial system, enabled by changes in the rules that have been bought and paid for by the financial industry itself—one of its best investments ever. The government lent money to financial institutions at close to zero percent interest and provided generous bailouts on favorable terms when all else failed. Regulators turned a blind eye to a lack of transparency and to conflicts of interest." Stiglitz explained that the top 1% got nearly "one-quarter" of the income and own approximately 40% of the wealth. [29]Measured relative to GDP, total compensation and its component wages and salaries have been declining since 1970. This indicates a shift in income from labor (persons who derive income from hourly wages and salaries) to capital (persons who derive income via ownership of businesses, land and assets).[30] Wages and salaries have fallen from approximately 51% GDP in 1970 to 43% GDP in 2013. Total compensation has fallen from approximately 58% GDP in 1970 to 53% GDP in 2013. [31]To put this in perspective, five percent of U.S. GDP was approximately $850 billion in 2013. This represents an additional $7,000 in compensation for each of the 120 million U.S. households. Larry Summers estimated in 2007 that the lower 80% of families were receiving $664 billion less income than they would be with a 1979 income distribution (a period of much greater equality), or approximately $7,000 per family.[32]Not receiving this income may have led many families to

increase their debt burden, a significant factor in the 2007–2009 subprime mortgage crisis, as highly leveraged homeowners suffered a much larger reduction in their net worth during the crisis. Further, since lower income families tend to spend relatively more of their income than higher income families, shifting more of the income to wealthier families may slow economic growth.[33]

Effective corporate tax rates

As another indication of U.S. corporate political influence, U.S. corporate effective tax rates have also fallen significantly, from 29% in 2000 to 17% in 2013. Corporate tax payments have not kept pace with profit growth.[34]Some large U.S. corporations have used a strategy called tax inversion to change their headquarters to a non-U.S. country to reduce their tax liability. About 46 companies have reincorporated in low-tax countries since 1982, including 15 since 2012. Six more plan to do so in 2015.[35]

Stock buybacks versus wage increases

One indication of increasing corporate power was the removal of restrictions on their ability to buy back stock, contributing to increased income inequality. Writing in the Harvard Business Review in September 2014, William Lazonick blamed record corporate stock buybacks for reduced investment in the economy and a corresponding impact on prosperity and income inequality. Between 2003 and 2012, the 449 companies in the S&P 500 used 54% of their earnings ($2.4 trillion) to buy back their own stock. An additional 37% was paid to stockholders as dividends. Together, these were 91% of profits. This left little for investment in productive capabilities or higher income for employees, shifting more income to capital rather than labor. He blamed executive compensation arrangements, which are heavily based on stock options, stock awards and bonuses for meeting earnings per share (EPS) targets. EPS increases as the number of outstanding shares decreases. Legal restrictions on buybacks were greatly eased in the early 1980s. He advocates changing these incentives to limit buybacks.[36][37]In the 12 months to March 31, 2014, S&P 500 companies increased their stock buyback payouts by 29% year on year, to $534.9 billion.[38] U.S. companies are projected to increase buybacks to $701 billion in 2015 according to Goldman Sachs, an 18% increase over 2014. For scale, annual non-residential fixed investment (a proxy for business investment and a major GDP component) was estimated to be about $2.1 trillion for 2014.[39][40]

Industry concentration

See also: Too big to fail and Concentration of media ownership

Brid Brennan of the Transnational Institute explained how concentration of corporations increases their influence over government: "It's not just their size, their enormous wealth and assets that make the TNCs [transnational corporations] dangerous to democracy. It's also their concentration, their capacity to influence, and often infiltrate, governments and their ability to act as a genuine international social class in order to defend their commercial interests against the common good. It is such decision making power as well as the power to impose deregulation over the past 30 years, resulting in changes to national constitutions, and to

national and international legislation which has created the environment for corporate crime and impunity."[41][42]An example of such industry concentration is in banking. The top 5 U.S. banks had approximately 30% of the U.S. banking assets in 1998; this rose to 45% by 2008 and to 48% by 2010, before falling to 47% in 2011.[43]The Economist also explained how an increasingly profitable corporate financial and banking sector caused Gini coefficients to rise in the U.S. since 1980: "Financial services' share of GDP in America doubled to 8% between 1980 and 2000; over the same period their profits rose from about 10% to 35% of total corporate profits, before collapsing in 2007–09. Bankers are being paid more, too. In America the compensation of workers in financial services was similar to average compensation until 1980. Now it is twice that average."[44]The summary argument, considering these findings, is that if corporatization is the consolidation and sharing of economic and political power between large corporations and the state ... then a corresponding concentration of income and wealth (with resulting income inequality) is an expected by-product of such a consolidation.[41]

Corporate influence on legislation

Corporations have significant influence on the regulations and regulators that monitor them. For example, Senator Elizabeth Warren explained in December 2014 how an omnibus spending bill required to fund the government was modified late in the process to weaken banking regulations. The modification made it easier to allow taxpayer-funded bailouts of banking "swaps entities", which the Dodd-Frank banking regulations prohibited. She singled out Citigroup, one of the largest banks, which had a role in modifying the legislation. She also explained how both Wall Street bankers and members of the government that formerly had worked on Wall Street stopped bi-partisan legislation that would have broken up the largest banks. She repeated President Theodore Roosevelt's warnings regarding powerful corporate entities that threatened the "very foundations of Democracy."[45]

Historical corporatocracies

Several companies that typify corporatocracy power structures are listed below by incorporation date:

India
- 1600: Company rule in India by the British East India Company
- 1602: Dutch East India Company
- 1616: Danish East India Company
- 1664: French East India Company

Caribbean
- 1621: Dutch West India Company
- 1671: Danish West India Company
- 1674: French West India Company

Canada
- 1670: The Hudson's Bay Company which operated as not only a monopoly, but the

de facto government, in parts of North America which would later become Canada and the United States

Africa

- 1672: Compagnie du Sénégal
- 1879: International Association of the Congo
- 1889: Company rule in Rhodesia by the British South Africa Company

Central America

- 1899: United Fruit Company (which later became Chiquita Brands International), operating as a banana republic in Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Honduras
- 1924: Standard Fruit Company (which later became Dole Food Company), operating as a banana republic in Honduras and other countries

Corporations have held the right to vote in some jurisdictions. For example, Livery Companies currently appoint most of the voters for the City of London Corporation, which is the municipal government for the area centered on the financial district.

Fictional corporatocracies

- Cloud Atlas
- Continuum
- The Caldari State of EVE Online
- Jennifer Government
- Madd
- Addam Trilogy
- Omni Consumer Products
- Rollerball
- Buy n Large in the Pixar film WALL-E
- War, Inc.
- Weyland-Yutani of the Alien franchise
- The Conglomerate, from Mirror's Edge Catalyst
- The United States Government in Marvel 2099*
- Snow Crash
- The Confederacy of Independent Systems in Star Wars
- The Kel-Morian Combine, from the Starcraft universe
- Vault-Tec Corporation, from Fallout universe
- Spiga Biotech from Incorporated
- The Umbrella Corporation, from "Resident Evil"

See also

- Anti-corporate activism
- Banana republic
- Capitalist state
- Conflict theories
- Corporate capitalism

- Corporate crime
- Corporate republic
- Corporate statism
- Corporate scandal
- Crony capitalism
- Elite theory
- Fascism
- Inverted totalitarianism
- Megacorporation
- Military–industrial complex
- Neo-feudalism
- Oligarchy
- Plutocracy
- The powers that be (phrase)
- Proprietary colony
- Socialism for the rich and capitalism for the poor
- State monopoly capitalism
- Too big to fail

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Cyberocracy

In futurology, cyberocracy describes a hypothetical form of government that rules by the effective use of information. The exact nature of a cyberocracy is largely speculative as currently there have been no cybercractic governments, however, a growing number prototype cybercratic elements can currently be found in many developed nations. Cyberocracy theory is largely the work of David Ronfeldt, who published several papers on the theory.[1][2][3]
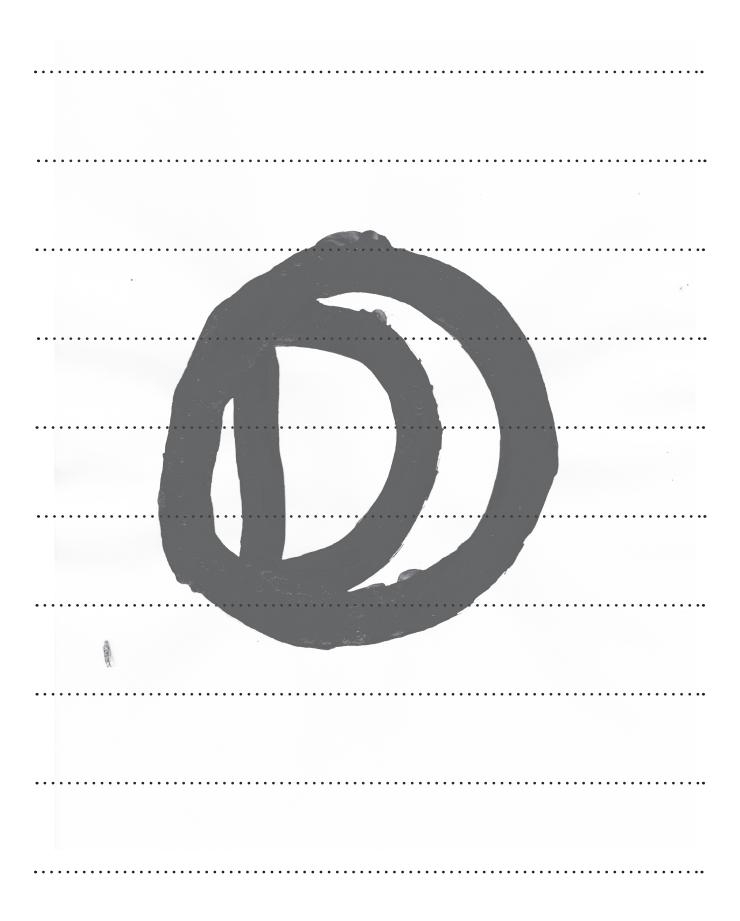
Overview

Cyberocracy, from the roots "cyber-" and "-cracy," signifies rule by way of information, especially when using interconnected computer networks. The fundamental feature of a cyberocracy would be the rapid transmission of relevant information from the source of a problem to the people in a position able to fix said problem, most likely via a system of interconnected computer networks and automated information sorting software, with human decision makers only being called into use in the case of unusual problems, problem trends, or through an appeal process pursued by an individual. Cyberocracy is the functional antithesis of traditional bureaucracies which sometimes notoriously suffer from fiefdomism, slowness, and a list of other unfortunate qualities. Ultimately a cyberocracy may use administrative AIs if not an AI as head of state forming a Machine Rule government.

Examples

The Stasi of East Germany could be considered a prototype cybercratic organization. The Stasi collected files on 6 million people, or a little over 1/3 of East Germany's total population, but their lack of computers to sort through the files was causing them to choke on their own file system, thus reducing their effective use of information. A cybercratic government would need to quickly and effectively manage the file of 100% of the nation's people plus any relevant foreigners.
The no fly list is an example of a prototype cybercratic element. Its substantial false positive ratio is its primary failure of effectiveness.
Internet Relay Chat and Internet forums are an example of cybercratic society.

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Defensive democracy

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Defensive democracy is the philosophy that members of a democratic society believe it necessary to limit some rights and freedoms, in order to protect the institutions of the democracy.

Examples

Israel

Israel implemented the principle of defensive democracy, the Basic Law of the Knesset (Section 7A) which determined that "candidate lists would not participate in elections if its goals or actions, expressly or by implication, would deny the existence of the state of Israel as a Jewish state or deny the democratic character of the state of Israel.

Various political science researchers[who?] have perceived Israel as a democracy defending itself mainly from social and security constraints with which the state of Israel has been dealing since its creation. During the first three decades of its existence, the state of Israel was completely surrounded by countries that did not recognize Israel's existence as legitimate. Through the years, concerns have been raised from within the Jewish majority in Israel that the Arab minority within the country, who consider themselves part of the Arab world, would cooperate with the neighboring countries in their struggle against Israel. This situation has often raised the issue of a self-defensive democracy on the agenda in Israel.

During the 1980s, the issue was heavily discussed in a different context – for the first time in Israel's history, an extreme right-wing Jewish party (the Kach Party), who rejected the state's democratic character and the rights of the Arab minority within the country, won representation to the Israeli parliament in the 1984 elections to the Knesset. As a result, Israel's Supreme Court outlawed the party and did not allow it to run again in the 1988 elections on the basis that the party advocates racism.

Europe

Ten countries in Europe have outlawed Holocaust denial: France (Loi Gayssot), Belgium (Belgian Holocaust denial law), Switzerland (article 261bis of the Penal Code), Germany (§ 130 (3) of the penal code), Austria (article 3h Verbotsgesetz 1947), Romania, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, and Poland (article 55 of the law creating the Institute of National Remembrance 1998).

Germany maintains a domestic intelligence service, the Verfassungsschutz, whose

main purpose is to investigate parties which may violate the constitutional bans on working to end the democratic nature of the state (in particular far-right and Communist parties).

Republic of Korea (South Korea)

Learning from legislation of West Germany, National Assembly of Second Republic inserted Defensive Democracy in their Constitution in 1960. After that, Now in Sixth Republic, it remains in Constitution (§8(4) — esp. defensive democracy to prevent illegal parties) and has some procedures in other laws. The Constitutional Court of Korea is in charge of deciding if a party is illegal and therefore should be dissolved. For the first time since the Constitutional Court of Korea was created, on November 2013, the Justice Ministry of Korea petitioned the Constitutional Court to dissolve the Unified Progressive Party, citing its pro-North Korean activities (see 2013 South Korean sabotage plot). On 19 December 2014, the Court ruled 8-1 that the Unified Progressive Party be dissolved. This ruling was quite controversial in South Korea.

Republic of China (Taiwan)

The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the Republic of China clearly states that any political party whose purpose or behaviour threatens the existence of the Republic of China or constitutional order of liberal democracy is unconstitutional, and the Constitutional Court can dissolve it.

See also

- Streitbare Demokratie
- National security

Despotism

Despotism is a form of government in which a single entity rules with absolute power. That entity may be an individual, as in an autocracy, or it may be a group,[1] as in an oligarchy. The English dictionary defines despotism as "the rule of a despot; the exercise of absolute authority."[2]The root despot comes from the Greek word despotes, which means "master" or "one with power." The term has been used to describe many rulers and governments throughout history. It connoted the absolute authority and power exercised by the Pharaohs of Ancient Egypt, signified nobility in Byzantine courts, designated the rulers of Byzantine vassal states, and acted as a title for Byzantine Emperors.

Due to its reflexive connotation throughout history, the word despot cannot be objectively defined. While despot is closely related to other Greek words like basileus and autokrator, these connotations have also been used to describe a variety of rulers and governments throughout history, such as local chieftains, simple rulers, kings, and emperors.

Colloquially, the word despot applies pejoratively to those who abuse their power and authority to oppress their populace, subjects, or subordinates. More specifically, the term often applies to a head of state or government. In this sense, it is similar to the pejorative connotations that are associated with the terms tyrant and Dictator.[3]

Ancient Greece and Oriental Despotism

Of all the ancient Greeks, Aristotle was perhaps the most influential promoter of the concept of oriental despotism. He passed this ideology to his student, Alexander the Great, who conquered Persia, which at the time was ruled by the despotic Darius III, the last king of the Achaemenid dynasty. Aristotle asserted that oriental despotism was not based on force, but on consent. Hence, fear could not be said to be its motivating force, but rather the servile nature of those enslaved, which would feed upon the power of the despot master. Within ancient Greek society, every Greek man was free and capable of holding office; both able to rule and be ruled. In contrast, among the barbarians, all were slaves by nature. Another difference Aristotle espoused was based on climates. He observed that the peoples of cold countries, especially those of Europe, were full of spirit but deficient in skill and intelligence, and that the peoples of Asia, although endowed with skill and intelligence, were deficient in spirit and hence were subjected to slavery. Possessing both spirit and intelligence, the Greeks were free to govern all other peoples (Politics 7.1327b [1]).

For the historian Herodotus, it was the way of the Orient to be ruled by autocrats and, even though Oriental, the character faults of despots were no more pronounced than the ordinary man's, though given to much greater opportunity for indulgence. The story of Croesus of Lydia exemplifies this. Leading up to Alexander's expansion into Asia, most Greeks were repelled by the Oriental notion of a sun-king, and the divine law that Oriental societies accepted. Herodotus's

version of history advocated a society where men became free when they consented lawfully to the social contract of their respective city-state. Edward Gibbon suggested that the increasing use of Oriental-style despotism by the Roman emperors was a major factor in the fall of the Roman Empire, particularly from the reign of Elagabalus:

As the attention of the new emperor was diverted by the most trifling amusements, he wasted many months in his luxurious progress from Syria to Italy, passed at Nicomedia his first winter after his victory, and deferred till the ensuing summer his triumphal entry into the capital. A faithful picture, however, which preceded his arrival, and was placed by his immediate order over the altar of Victory in the senate-house, conveyed to the Romans the just but unworthy resemblance of his person and manners. He was drawn in his sacerdotal robes of silk and gold, after the loose flowing fashion of the Medes and Phoenicians; his head was covered with a lofty tiara, his numerous collars and bracelets were adorned with gems of an inestimable value. His eyebrows were tinged with black, and his cheeks painted with an artificial red and white. The grave senators confessed with a sigh, that, after having long experienced the stern tyranny of their own countrymen, Rome was at length humbled beneath the effeminate luxury of Oriental despotism. (The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Book One, Chapter Six)

History

In its classical form, despotism is a state in which a single individual (the despot) holds all the power and authority embodying the state, and everyone else is a subsidiary person. This form of despotism was common in the first forms of statehood and civilization; the Pharaoh of Egypt is an exemplary figure of the classical despot.

The word itself seems to have been coined by the opponents of Louis XIV of France in the 1690s, who applied the term despotisme to describe their monarch's somewhat free exercise of power. The word is ultimately Greek in origin, and in ancient Greek usage, a despot (despótès) was technically a master who ruled in a household over those who were slaves or servants by nature.[4]The term now implies tyrannical rule. Despotism can mean tyranny (dominance through threat of punishment and violence), absolutism, or dictatorship (a form of government in which the ruler is an absolute dictator, not restricted by a constitution, laws, or opposition, etc.)[5]However, in enlightened absolutism (also known as benevolent despotism), which came to prominence in 18th century Europe, absolute monarchs used their authority to institute a number of reforms in the political systems and societies of their countries. This movement was quite probably triggered by the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment.

The Enlightenment philosopher Montesquieu believed that despotism was an appropriate government for large states. Likewise, he believed that republics were suitable for small states and that monarchies were ideal for moderate-sized states.
[6]Although the word has a pejorative meaning nowadays, it was once a legitimate title of office in the Byzantine Empire. Just as the word Byzantine is often used in a pejorative way, so the word despot now has equally negative connotations. In fact, Despot was an Imperial title, first used under Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180)

who created it for his appointed heir Alexius-Béla. According to Gyula Moravcsik, this title was a simple translation of Béla's Hungarian title úr, but other historians believe it comes from the ancient Greek despotes (literally, the master). In the Orthodox Liturgy, if celebrated in Greek, the priest is addressed by the deacon as Despot even today.

It was typically bestowed on sons-in-law and later sons of the Emperor and, beginning in the 13th century, it was bestowed to foreign princes. The Despot wore elaborate costumes similar to the Emperor's and had many privileges. Despots ruled over parts of the empire called Despotates.

The United States Declaration of Independence accused the British government of "a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinc[ing] a design to reduce [the people] under absolute Despotism".

Contrast with absolute monarchy

According to Montesquieu, the difference between absolute monarchy and despotism is that in the case of the monarchy, a single person governs with absolute power by fixed and established laws, whereas a despot governs by his or her own will and caprice.[7]

Marxist ontology

In Marxist ontology, Oriental despotism is the quality of the large cities of the Middle East and Asia, which would not have been truly independent, mainly due to their geographical location.

The premise, according to Marx, is that there existed some forms of state, which were ruled by tribute-collecting despots based on the system of production-property relations, described as "Asiatic mode of production." Oriental despotism is, thus, the political superstructure that was developed in succession. It was explained to have prevented states from progressing, or, as Marx said, "Asia fell asleep in history." Dynasties might have changed, but overall the structure of the state remained the same - until an outside force (i.e. Western powers) artificially enforces "progressive" reforms.

Within such socio-economic formations, the most obvious of which being the agrarian-based empires of Ancient Egypt and China, an absolute ruler farmed out the right to collect tribute from peasant villagers to a hierarchy of provincial petty officials, who also had responsibility for organizing the construction and maintenance of extensive irrigation works, upon which agricultural production was dependent. Extorting tribute from village communities became the universal mode of enrichment by the ruling class of military-priestly nobles.

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7   Jump up ^ Montesquieu, "The Spirit of Laws", Book II, 1.

Diarchy

Diarchy (or dyarchy; from the Greek δι- / δύο meaning "two" and ἄρχω meaning "I rule") is a form of government in which two individuals ("diarchs") are joint heads of state. Most diarchs hold their position for life, passing the position to their children or other family members.

Diarchy is one of the oldest forms of government: examples include ancient Sparta, Rome, Carthage as well Germanic and Dacian tribes. Several ancient Polynesian societies also exhibited a diarchic political structure. Ranks in the Inca Empire were structured in moieties, with two occupants of each rank, but with different prestige, one hanan (upper) and one hurin (lower). In modern usage, diarchy means a system of dual rule, whether this be of a government or of an organization. Such 'diarchies' are not hereditary.

Modern examples of diarchies are the Principality of Andorra, whose heads of state are the President of France and the Bishop of Urgell; the Republic of San Marino, led by two collegial Captains Regent; and the Kingdom of Swaziland, where the joint heads of state are the King and his mother.

Current diarchies

Andorra

The Principality of Andorra is a parliamentary co-principality with the President of France and the Bishop of Urgell (Catalonia, Spain) as co-princes. This peculiarity makes the President of France, in his capacity as Prince of Andorra, an elected reigning monarch, even though he is not elected by a popular vote of the Andorran people, but rather by the French people.

San Marino

Further information: List of Captains Regent of San Marino

The Captains Regent (Italian: Capitani Reggenti) of the Republic of San Marino are elected every six months by the Grand and General Council — the country's parliament. The duo serve as heads of state and government. Normally the Regents are chosen from opposing parties. They serve a six-month term.

Swaziland

The Kingdom of Swaziland is a diarchy in which the King (Ngwenyama) rules in conjunction with his mother, the Queen Mother (Ndlovukati). In practice, however, most power is vested in the King, though it is often argued that the giving of authority wholesale to the royal male in this way is a neo-traditionalistic as opposed to truly traditional custom.[citation needed]

Former diarchies

Gonghe Regency
The Gonghe Regency (meaning joint harmony) of the Zhou dynasty was ruled jointly by two dukes for a short period according to Han Dynasty historian Sima Qian, but it is more likely that the Count of Gong was the actual single ruler (according to bronze tapestries).

Roman Republic
The Roman Republic was ruled by two consuls, elected each year and each holding a veto power over the other's actions.[citation needed]

Russia February – October 1917
After the February Revolution, the Russian Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet was in charge of Russia.

Samoa
The Independent State of Samoa was established as a diarchy in 1962, with two of the nation's four paramount chiefs; Malietoa Tanumafili II and Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole declared joint heads of state, or O le Ao o le Malo for life. Samoa has consistently had a single head of state since Mea'ole's death in 1963. In 2007 it transitioned to an elected head of state following Tanumafili's death.

Swedish monarchs
* Erik and AlrikYngvi and AlfBjörn at Hauge and Anund Uppsale
* Eric the Victorious and Olof Björnsson
* Eric the Victorious and Olof Skötkonung
* Halsten Stenkilsson and Inge I
* Philip and Inge II

In England, Scotland, and Ireland
* William III and Mary II held joint sovereignty over the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1688 to 1694.
* Mary I and Philip ruled together over England, Ireland, and the Habsburg dominions from 1554 to 1558 through Queen Mary's Marriage Act making Phillip King of England by jure uxoris.

Lithuanian monarchs
The Lithuanian Grand Dukes typically selected submonarchs from their families or loyal subjects to assist controlling the Grand Duchy. However, the Grand Dukes remained superior.
* Vytenis (superior) and Gediminas
* Gediminas (superior) and an unknown duke of Trakai, presumably Gediminas's son.

- Algirdas (superior) and Kęstutis
- Jogaila (superior) and Kęstutis

A slightly different system developed for a brief period after Vytautas became Grand Duke, where nominally Vytautas ruled together with Jogaila, who took the title of aukščiausiasis kunigaikštis (Supreme Duke), but he has not once used the title to take any action, and in general the powers invested in the title were not clearly stated in any documents, besides the Pact of Horodlo, which guaranteed that Jogaila would have to approve the selection of a Lithuanian Grand Duke. The title was not used by any other king of Poland after Jogaila.

- Vytautas (Grand Duke) and Jogaila (Supreme Duke)
- Švitrigaila (Grand Duke) and Jogaila (Supreme Duke) for a brief period, until Švitrigaila declared war on Poland
- Sigismund I of Lithuania (Grand Duke) and Jogaila (Supreme Duke) until Jogaila's death.

Classical Sparta

Classical Sparta in ancient Greece was ruled for over 700 years by two kings at a time (q.v., List of Kings of Sparta), belonging to two separate dynasties, who could veto one another's actions. In addition Sparta had groups of officials known as Ephors and a council of elders.

Spiritual and temporal kings

Another common pattern of diarchy has one king in charge of spiritual matters and another, usually subordinate to the first, in charge of temporal or military matters. This pattern was followed in early Hungarian society by the spiritual kende and the military gyula. The Khazars were ruled by the spiritual khagan and the military bek. During the shogunate of Japan, the emperor held spiritual and nominal authority over the whole country, while the shogun held temporal authority.

In precolonial Igboland, southeastern West Africa, some clans and city-states were governed by a chief chosen by and from a Council of Elders ("Ndi Ichie" or "Ndi Nze na Ozo") as well as a Chief Priest. While the appointed chief took care of the temporal affairs, the Chief Priest was in charge of the spiritual well-being of the community and served as an oracle or the "mouthpiece of the gods."

Colonial Canada

Main article: Joint Premiers of the Province of Canada

From 1841 to 1867 the Province of Canada was usually governed jointly by two premiers, one from mostly English-speaking Canada West and one from mostly French-speaking Canada East.

Tibet

See Dual system of government

Kampuchea

Main article: Prime Minister of Kampuchea

Other usage

Australian Defence Organisation
Main article: Australian Defence Organisation
The Australian Defence Organisation (ADO) is an Australian Government organisation which consists of the Australian Defence Force (ADF) and the civilian Department of Defence personnel supporting the ADF. The Chief of the Defence Force and the Secretary of the Department of Defence jointly manage the ADO under a "diarchy" wherein both report directly to the Minister for Defence. The ADO diarchy is a governance structure unique in the Australian Commonwealth public service.

India
On 20 August 1917 in the British House of Commons, the newly appointed Secretary of State, Edwin Samuel Montagu, made the "Grand Declaration", which said that British policy was "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the British Empire".
In pursuance of the policy laid down in the announcements by Montagu, the Secretary of State and Frederic Thesiger, 1st Viscount Chelmsford, the Governor-General of India, made an extensive tour of India in 1917 and 1918 and produced the Montague - Chelmsford Report containing recommendations that paved the way for Government of India Act 1919.
That act of 1919 introduced diarchy, or dual government, in the provinces, where the executive was to be headed by a governor appointed by the Secretary of State, who could consult the Governor General. The governor was responsible to the Secretary of State for acts of omission and commission. He was to maintain law and order in the province and ensure that the provincial administration worked smoothly. In respect of transferred subjects, he was to be assisted by his ministers whereas reserved subjects were to be administered by the Governor General and his executive council.
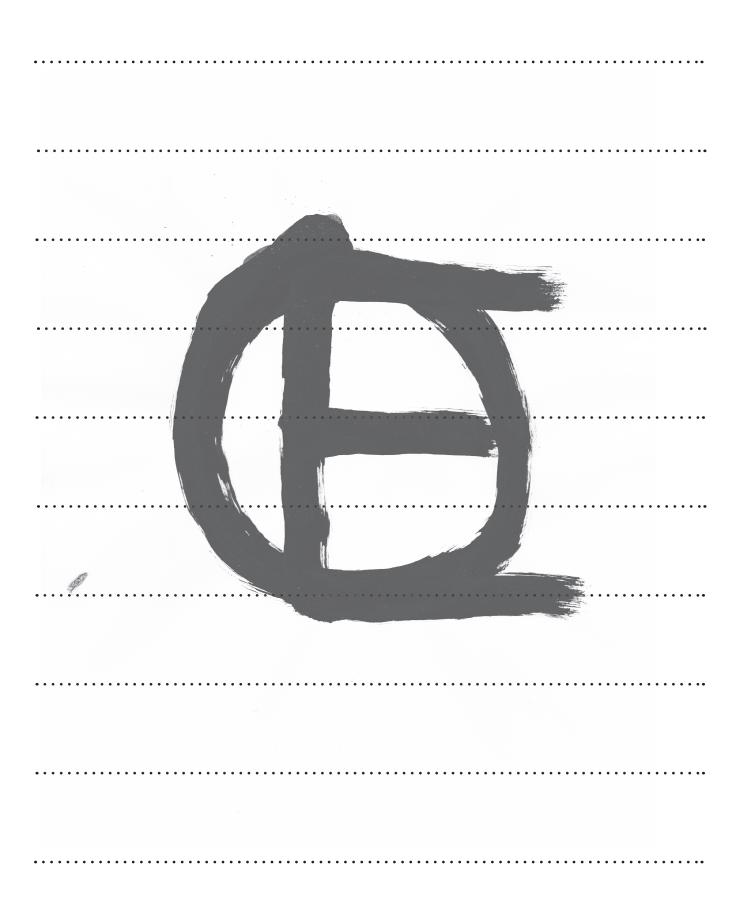The members of the Executive council were to be appointed by Secretary of State and were responsible to him in all matters. There were certain matters that he was to administer at his own discretion, in which he was responsible to the Secretary of State. Each councillor was to remain in office for a period of four years.
Their salaries and service conditions were not subject to the vote of provincial legislature. All decisions in the council were to be taken by a majority of votes, the Governor being able to break ties.

Northern Ireland
The First Minister and deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland serve as the joint heads of the country's Executive. Under the terms of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, both positions have identical public power within the Northern Ireland Assembly, a devolved government of the United Kingdom.

See also

- Duumvirate
- Monarch
- Monarchy
- Tetrarchy

Electocracy

An electocracy is a political system where citizens are able to vote for their government but cannot participate directly in governmental decision making and where the government does not share any power. In contrast to democracy where citizens are able to participate in the making of decisions that affect them, electocracy sees decision-making limited to an elected individual or group who may then govern in an arbitrary and unaccountable manner until the next election. Iraq has been cited as an example of an electocracy[1] as has Thailand before the coup of 2006.[2]

Notes[edit]

1 Jump up ˆ "Hypocrisy in sowing democracy" - The Boston Globe
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See also

• Authoritarian democracy
• Elective dictatorship
• Totalitarian democracy

Embedded democracy

Embedded democracy is a form of government in which democratic governance is secured by democratic partial regimes.[1][2][3] The term "embedded democracy" was coined by political scientists Wolfgang Merkel, Hans-Jürgen Puhle, and Aurel Croissant, who identified "five interdependent partial regimes" necessary for an embedded democracy: electoral regime, political participation, civil rights, horizontal accountability, and the power of the elected representatives to govern.[4] The five internal regimes work together to check the power of the government, while external regimes also help to secure and stabilize embedded democracies.[5] Together, all the regimes ensure that an embedded democracy is guided by the three fundamental principles of freedom, equality, and control.[6][7]

Embedded Democracy

The ideal embedded democracy is guided by the three fundamental democratic principles of freedom, equality, and control.[8] Merkel uses Robert Dahl's definition of political equality, which includes equality "before the law and in the political process." [9] While equality can infringe upon freedom, an embedded democracy should establish a balance between equality and freedom; to preserve the equality–freedom equilibrium, there must be checks on government power (horizontal and vertical accountability).[10]

Internal Regimes of Embedded Democracy

Democratic Electoral Regime

Merkel writes about five different forms of internal embeddedness, with democratic electoral regime occupying the central position because "it is the most obvious expression of the sovereignty of the people, the participation of citizens, and the equal weight allotted to their individual preferences."[11] Democratic electoral regime is the backbone of an embedded democracy because it differentiates between authoritarian regimes and democratic regimes.[12] For a democratic regime, equal political rights are a requirement,[13][14] and "the citizens of the state should be included"[15] in the political process.

Four factors support the democratic electoral regime: "universal, active suffrage, universal, passive right to vote, free and fair elections and elected representatives."[16] In order to maintain a democratic electoral regime, all four factors must be present.[17] Voters must all be able to vote in free and fair elections, without coercion, to elect representatives for themselves in the government.[18][19] An electoral democracy is a form of government in which the democratic electoral regime is present, but other attributes of liberal embedded democracies are lacking.[20] Merkel writes that the "electoral democracy merely entails that the election of the ruling elite be based on the formal, universal right to vote, such that elections are general, free and regular."[21]Freedom House uses its own set of criteria for determining whether or not a state is democratic, which include the existence of free and fair elections[22] Furthermore, "the most popular definition

of democracy equates it with regular elections."[23] The principle of democratic electoral regimes is an important one for embedded democracy because electoral regimes are the base of democracies; electoral regimes act as the foundation for the other internal regimes due to the importance of elections for democratic processes.[24][25]

Political Participation
The internal regime of political participation is closely related to the electoral regime.[26] According to Merkel, participatory rights "make the public arena an independent political sphere of action, where organizational and communicative power is developed." [27] Political participation is facilitated by freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, the right to petition, and freedom of the press.[28] In Merkel's vision of embedded democracy, citizens are able to form independent interest groups and organize parties to help them express their political preferences.[29] Political participation is not limited to traditional institutionalized channels for expression; it can take place in arenas like the private media and civil society.[30] Some scholars of democracy disagree with Merkel's assertion that frequent political participation is the ideal for a representative democracy. [31] Joseph Schumpeter sees direct participation as limited to elections in a representative democracy; in the intervals between elections, citizens allow representatives to speak for them.[32][33] Robert Dahl argues that only a small portion of the population will be active in political participation and warns that mass participation in a representative democracy could lead to dictatorship.[34][35]In weak or failed states, "low-intensity citizenship" is often commonplace. This means that many people are denied their full political rights or choose not to exercise them.[36][37] Political participation in modern democracies is frequently weakened by public apathy and disinterest in government.[38][39] As government bureaucracies have grown in size, people have generally participated in political processes less frequently, especially those in low socioeconomic groups.[40] Some countries have more equitable voting patterns than others; for instance, Denmark has less income inequality than the United States as well as higher rates of political participation.[41] However, political participation does not depend solely on income distribution: it is also influenced by individual motivation and group affiliation.[42] In some cases, individuals whose economic status predisposes them to political apathy are more likely to participate if motivated by identification with a large group.[43]Proponents of deliberative democracy believe that the ideal democracy allows individuals to participate equally in discussions.[44][45] In Fishkin's vision of deliberative democracy, interest groups or parties do not dominate a discussion. [46] Fishkin acknowledges difficulties in achieving mass participation: people view their opinions as statistically insignificant, and they are often uneducated about political topics and easily influenced by the media. In modern democracies, most citizens avoid discussing politics with people they disagree with, which limits the potential for conciliation and compromise. While the internet can provide a forum for deliberation and potentially change participation patterns, it may also increase political polarization.[47][48] Deliberative polling may offer one means for political participation.[49][50]

Civil Rights
The first two partial regimes of embedded democracy, the democratic electoral

regime and political rights of participation, must be supplemented by civil rights[51]
[52][53] Civil rights are central to the rule of law in an embedded democracy.[54][55]
Merkel defines the rule of law as "the principle that the state is bound to uphold
its laws effectively and to act according to clearly defined prerogatives." [56] The
rule of law contains and limits state power.[57]The core of liberal rule of law lies in
constitutional rights.[58] These rights protect individuals against executive and
legislative actions that infringe on an individual's freedom.[59] Independent courts
are also an important aspect of the rule of law.[60] Courts need the authority to
review the behaviors of the executive and legislative branches.[61] Merkel calls the
courts "constitutional custodians of the legislature and supervisors of executive
conformity to law." [62]Civil rights are negative rights of freedom against the state.
[63][64] These rights need to be protected from any majority of citizens or parliament
to prevent a tyranny of the majority.[65][66] To avoid this, the executive and legislative
branches need barriers in place that prevent individuals, groups, or the political
opposition from being oppressed by majority decisions.[67] Civil rights are a basic
condition for the existence of citizenship.[68] Individual rights to protection include
the rights of life, liberty, and property- which are Locke's description of natural
rights.[69][70]In an embedded democracy, rights are also established to protect
against illegitimate arrest, exile, terror, torture or unjustifiable intervention
into personal life.[71] Other basic civil rights include equal access to the law
and equal treatment by the law.[72] According to Merkel, "these civil rights tame
majoritarian democratic cycles and thereby support-seemingly paradoxically-the
democratization of democracy"[73] Securing civil rights creates a barrier against the
state infringing on individual freedoms.[74] However, the guarantee of civil rights
alone cannot sufficiently make up or support a constitutional democracy, because
there has to be support from the other partial regimes.[75][76]

Horizontal Accountability
Horizontal accountability requires a system of checks and balances between
the three branches of government: executive, legislative, and judicial.[77] In an
embedded democracy, the branches of government should be able to function
with a reasonable amount of autonomy despite the fact that they are not wholly
separate but instead "check each other reciprocally, without one body dominating
or interfering with the constitutionally defined core-sphere of the others."[78]Within
Merkel's model of embedded democracy, the regime of horizontal accountability
works to constitutionally ensure that an appropriate amount of power is shared
among the different institutions, which helps secure the civil rights of the
people of the state. There should be agencies with the legal power to expose
and punish governmental institutions for corruption or other unlawful actions.
[79] This ensures that no one branch gains a preponderance of power and is able
to unduly influence the policies and governance of the state.[80] This horizontal
accountability works in tandem with vertical accountability, which is the systems
by which citizens check the power of the government elections, the media, or civil
society.[81] However, horizontal accountability carries more weight in ensuring the
internal embeddedness of democracy, as it is more frequently used than vertical
accountability[82] and has a more substantial support from the constitution of a
state. If it is indeed constitutionally mandated, horizontal accountability can "close
a central gap of control in the basic democratic structure, one that is not covered
by the first three partial regimes"[83]

Power of Elected Representative to Govern

The power of elected representatives to govern, or what Merkel refers to as the "effective power to govern,"[84] is the final partial regime. Effective power to govern is necessary in an embedded democracy that is representative of "not only the procedural aspect but also the goals of democratic elections."[85] Within the different dimensions of embedded democracy, as defined by Merkel, effective power to govern falls under the "dimension of effective agenda control." [86]Effective power to govern is a necessity for functioning democracies, but Merkel emphasizes that this is not the case for countries that have only recently democratized.[87][88] [89] In particular, nations that hold democratic elections but still host military forces with some degree of autonomous power cannot fully meet the requirements of effective power to govern, since unelected military officials may have undue sway over governmental operations.[90] In these kinds of democracies, the underpinnings of political participation are compromised as the general populace is only allowed "low intensity citizenship," with most decisions left to extra-governmental, non-democratic forces.[91] However, some arms of the government, such as a central bank or constitutional court, may be left autonomous or nearly autonomous and still meet the requirements of effective power to govern.[92] This is only possible if these autonomous bodies are established with "constitutional consent," fulfilling the social contract between the state and the people[93]In keeping with Merkel's assertion that "mutual embeddedness means that some partial regimes support the functioning of another partial regime,"[94] effective power to govern is closely tied to the electoral regime. By ensuring that democratic elections are meaningful and democratically elected officials are afforded the representative powers expected by voters, maintenance of the effective power to govern provides "the necessary complementary support"[95] to the electoral regime in "mak[ing] up liberal 'embedded democracies.'"[96]Merkel's notion of effective power to govern has been traced to Robert Dahl's minimalist conception of democracy.[97] Dahl's definition of democracy requires that governmental "institutions...depend on elections and other expressions of the citizens' preferences,"[98] just as Merkel insists that the power to make policy must ultimately rest with democratically elected representatives of the people.[99]

External Factors of Embeddedness

Socio-Economic

If a nation is more socio-economically developed, there is a greater chance that it will sustain a democracy.[100] The evidence supports the link between the economy and democratic sustainability.[101][102] Arguments against this idea are that economic prosperity is not the only necessary requirement for a successful democracy, nor can economic development be used to predict the permanence of democratization. [103][104][105] Merkel gives the example that the United States cannot claim to have a higher quality democracy than Finland's democracy, even though the United States has a higher GDP per capita.[106]There is also a connection between inequality and democratic government.[107] When unequal distributions of economic resources lead to wider wealth and income gaps, which in turn lead to more poverty, there is a negative impact on democracy.[108] Hermann Heller stresses that a sufficiently homogeneous economic basis among citizens provides for equal participation in the democratic process.[109] Once citizens have reached an adequate social and

economic standing, they can form their own independent opinions and participate equally in the democratic process.[110] Scholars agree that real political equality cannot be produced if there is severe socio-economic inequality.[111][112][113]

Civil Society
Merkel states that civil society serves four functions in strengthening a democracy: protection of the individual from the arbitrary use of state power, support for the rule of law and the balance of powers, education of citizens and recruitment of political elites, and institutionalization of the public sphere as a medium of democratic self-reflection.[114]In the case of protection from state power, the philosopher John Locke's idea of civil society as separate from the political sphere[115] is referenced.[116] Civil society facilitates the development of individual autonomy alongside natural rights and property rights to further the embeddedness of democracy.[117][118] Merkel also references Montesquieu's concept of institutionalized civil society to check the power of the government and to promote balance within a state.[119][120] Alexis de Tocqueville's concept of civil society and social capital explains how a civil society can work to normalize and solidify the democratic process and establish an embedded democracy.[121][122] Local associations are meant to create trust and foster a sense of civic responsibility that is carried out into the national level as well as the political sphere.[123][124] According to Habermas, civil society can also provide a platform for the economically and socially disadvantaged to air grievances with the government and improve their state.[125]

International Integration
Integration into international organizations provides a source of external stability that democratic regimes cannot produce by themselves.[126] In particular, social, economic, and political organizations (as opposed to military organizations) are necessary, since authoritarian regimes and defective democracies are able to function and potentially thrive within the confines of even democratically-dominated military alliances.[127] Merkel points to the European Union as the "most successful [organization] in the international embedding of democracies."[128] International integration ultimately serves to protect the integrity of a democracy's internal partial regimes by subjecting them to external scrutiny.[129] At the same time, better-established internal regimes also allow the state to be more effective in repelling threats from external actors.[130] Therefore, international integration works in multiple ways to further embed and normalize democracy through the internal regimes.[131]

Defective Democracy

Unlike embedded democracies, defective democracies are missing one or more of the internal factors of embeddedness.[132][133] These factors vary on a case-by-case basis, which results in some confusion regarding the classification of non-embedded regimes.[134][135] Merkel named four notable types of defective democracy: exclusive democracy, illiberal democracy, delegative democracy, and domain democracy.[136]

see also page Defective democracy

Illiberal Democracy
See also main article on illiberal democracy.
Illiberal democracy is one of the four subtypes of defective democracy.[137] Differentiating illiberal democracies from other types of democracy is difficult.[138] [139] One method used to differentiate is by using numerical thresholds provided by the ''civil rights scale,'' which is one of two measurement scales used by Freedom House.[140][141] Every regime with a score of 3.5–5.5 on a scale of 1–7, with 7 being a completely totalitarian regime, is considered an illiberal democracy.[142] [143] However, Freedom House offers no justification for these thresholds, and the scales used are often outdated.[144]Illiberal democracies are in a weak, incomplete, and damaged constitutional state.[145] The executive and legislative control of the state is only weakly limited by the judiciary.[146][147] Additionally, constitutional norms in an illiberal democracy have little impact on government actions, and individual civil rights are either partially repressed or not yet established.[148] The legitimacy of the rule of law is damaged.[149][150] Illiberal democracy is the most common type of defective democracy, constituting 22 of 29 defective democracies as defined by Merkel.[151] Examples of illiberal democracies include many Latin American countries, as well as some countries in Eastern Europe and Asia.[152] The following are illiberal democracies: Brazil, Bolivia, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Ukraine, Thailand, Philippines, Bangladesh, and Nepal.[153]

Domain Democracy
A domain democracy is a form of defective democracy in which actors who were not democratically elected as representatives of the people hold veto power in policy matters.[154] Actors of this type "take certain political domains out of the hands of democratically elected representatives,"[155] hence the term domain democracy. Domain democracies are considered to be highly regional phenomena, with many found in Latin America and Southeast Asia, but few in Central Asia or Eastern Europe.[156] Paraguay, Thailand, and Colombia are commonly set forth as examples of domain democracies, specifically during their times of economic rule by guerrilla forces[157]Exclusive Democracy
Exclusive democracies are one form of defective democracies in which "one or more segments of the adult population are excluded from the civil right of universal suffrage."[158] This form of defective democracy is defective because the internal regime of civil rights as well as the internal regime of elections (including free and fair) are not allowed within the government system.[159] As part of their civil rights, citizens need to be guaranteed sovereignty and the ability to vote and the exclusion of some citizens from electoral processes creates an exclusive democracy. Apartheid South Africa is an example of an exclusive democracy because not all members of the adult population were guaranteed the right of universal suffrage.[160]

Delegative Democracy
A delegative democracy occurs when there is a lack of horizontal accountability

and one branch of government become powerful enough to control the entire government. In a delegative democracy, the judiciary and legislative branches are often unable to properly check the power of the executive branch.[161] This lets the executive shift the balance of power into its favor.[162]However, the power of the executive in a delegative democracy is still restricted in the sense that the president has heavy control of the state only for the length of his term.[163] This creates a high-stakes election process wherein the winner is granted power that is only checked by non-instutionalized power structures,[164] such as those systems that create vertical accountability. Most of the research on delegative democracies has concerned the populist leaders of Central and South America who used the executive branch to govern the country as they saw fit.[165][166][167][168]

Alternative Models for Assessing Democracies

Defective democracy is an alternative to terms such as electoral democracy, illiberal democracy, or partial democracy, all of which describe governing systems that meet only some of the conditions required for a full democracy.[169] Merkel argues that using embedded democracy as the basis for assessing real regimes is a more nuanced method than the quantitative rankings released by organizations like Freedom House which are often used to categorize a democracy as liberal, semi-liberal, or illiberal.[170]Embedded and defective democracies are primarily categorized based on their institutions rather than their purposes or outcomes. [171] This is in keeping with the procedural approach to democratic scholarship followed by scholars such as Schmitter and Huntington.[172][173]An embedded democracy can be considered a type of consolidated democracy, meaning that the democratic regime in an embedded democracy is seen as legitimate and stable.[174] Political scientists debate the definition of democratic consolidation, but at minimum, a consolidated democracy is entrenched so that democracy is considered "the only game in town."[175][176] Some scholars, like Merkel, take a maximalist approach to defining consolidated democracy by specifying the partial regimes of consolidation.[177] Gunther considers three dimensions of consolidation—institutional, attitudinal, and behavioral—while Linz and Stepan highlight five arenas for consolidation: civil society, political society, rule of law, the state apparatus and economic society.[178][179][180]Other scholars have developed multidimensional models of democracy that are similar to Merkel's embedded democracy model.[181] For instance, Dahl defines polyarchy based on seven distinct criteria: elected officials, free elections, inclusive suffrage, the right to run for office, freedom of expression, alternative information, and associational autonomy. [182][183]Some scholars critique Merkel's model for merely describing the institutional elements found in a liberal embedded democracy and then categorizing other "hybrid regimes" as diminished subtypes of democracy.[184][185] Jayasuriya and Rodan point out that Merkel's model fails to account for how and why regimes form.[186] Møller and Skanning praise Merkel's work for creating a cohesive system of democratic subtypes but argue that Merkel suffers from the "radial delusion," meaning that it lacks a hierarchical structure, which makes it difficult to conduct consistent empirical analyses of democratic regimes.[187] According to Møller and Skanning, there are also inconsistencies between Merkel's original papers

on embedded and defective democracy and later works by his colleagues Aurel Croissant and Hans-Jürgen Puhle.[188][189]

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Enlightened despotism

This article has been nominated to be checked for its neutrality. Discussion of this nomination can be found on the talk page. (November 2016)

Enlightened despotism (also called benevolent despotism) referred to a leader's espousal of "Enlightenment ideas and principles" to enhance the leader's power.[1] The concept originated during the Enlightenment period in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

An enlightened despot is a non-democratic or authoritarian leader who exercises their political power for the benefit of the people, rather than exclusively for themselves or elites.

"Enlightened" despots distinguished themselves from ordinary despots by claiming to rule for their subjects' well-being. An enlightened despot may focus government priorities on healthcare, education, nonviolent population control, or physical infrastructure. The leader may profess a commitment to peaceful relations and/or allow some democratic decision-making, such as public referenda, but would not propose reforms that undermined their sovereignty or disrupted the social order. John Stuart Mill stated, "Despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians, provided the end be their improvement."[2] Enlightened despots' beliefs about royal power were typically similar to those of regular despots. Enlightened despots believed that they were destined to rule. To their credit, enlightened rulers may have played a part in the abolition of serfdom in Europe.[3] A classic enlightened despot, Emperor Joseph II of Austria said, "Everything for the people, nothing by the people".[4]

Famous enlightened despots

Leaders such as Napoleon Bonaparte, Fidel Castro, Benito Mussolini (at least until the war against Ethiopia), António Salazar, Francisco Franco, Isaias Afwerki, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Augusto Pinochet, Lee Kuan Yew, Mao Zedong, Pervez Musharraf, Hugo Chavez, and the Medici dynasty adopted the title. Long-seated dictators are more likely to be regarded as enlightened because they acknowledge public interest in order to remain in power and to be regarded as legitimate.

In Spanish the word dictablanda is sometimes used for a dictatorship that preserves some of the liberties and mechanisms of democracy.

See also

Opposing theories:
- Psychological egoism (Skepticality of "for the benefit of the people, rather than exclusively for himself")

Other:
Benevolent dictatorship
Noblesse obligeSoft despotism

Notes

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Ethnocracy

An ethnocracy is a type of political structure in which the state apparatus is appropriated by a dominant ethnic group (or groups) to further its interests, power and resources. Ethnocratic regimes typically display a combination of 'thin' democratic facade covering a more profound ethnic structure, in which ethnicity (or race, or religion) – and not citizenship – is the key to securing power and resources. An ethnocratic society facilitates the ethnicization of the state by the dominant group, through the expansion of control, often through conflict with minorities and neighboring states.

In the 20th century, a few states passed, or attempted to pass, nationality laws, through efforts that share certain similarities. All took place in countries with at least one national minority that sought full equality in the state or in a territory that had become part of the state and in which it had lived for generations. Nationality laws were passed in societies that felt threatened by these minorities' aspirations of integration and demands for equality, resulting in regimes that turned xenophobia into major tropes. Nationality laws were passed in states that were grounded in one ethnic identity, defined in contrast to the identity of the other, leading to persecution of and codified discrimination against minorities.[1] Research shows that several spheres of regime control are vital for ethnocratic regimes, including the armed forces, police, land administration, immigration control and economic development. These power government instruments ensure the long-term domination of the leading ethnic groups, and the stratification of society into 'ethnoclasses', which has been exacerbated by the recent stage of capitalism, with its typical neo-liberal policies. Ethnocracies often manage to contain ethnic conflict in the short term by effective control over minorities, and by effectively using the 'thin' procedural democratic façade. However, they tend to become unstable in the long term, suffering from repeated conflict and crisis, which are resolved by either substantive democratization, partition or regime devolution into consociational arrangements. Alternatively, ethnocracies that do not resolve their internal conflict may deteriorate into periods of long-term internal strife and the institutionalization of structural discrimination or apartheid.

In ethnocratic states the government is typically representative of a particular ethnic group holding a number of posts disproportionately large to the percentage of the total population. The dominant ethnic group (or groups) represents and use them to advance the position of their particular ethnic group(s) to the detriment of others.[2][3][4][5]Other ethnic groups are systematically discriminated against by the state and may face repression or violations of their human rights at the hands of state organs. Ethnocracy can also be a political regime which is instituted on the basis of qualified rights to citizenship, and with ethnic affiliation (defined in terms of race, descent, religion, or language) as the distinguishing principle.[6] Generally, the raison d'être of an ethnocratic government is to secure the most important instruments of state power in the hands of a specific ethnic collectivity. All other considerations concerning the distribution of power are ultimately subordinated to this basic intention.[citation needed]

Ethnocracies are characterized by their control system – the legal, institutional, and physical instruments of power deemed necessary to secure ethnic dominance.

The degree of system discrimination will tend to vary greatly from case to case and from situation to situation. If the dominant group (whose interests the system is meant to serve and whose identity it is meant to represent) constitutes a small minority (typically 20% or less) of the population within the state territory, substantial degrees of institutionalized suppression will probably be necessary to sustain its control.

Mono-ethnocracy vs. poly-ethnocracy

In October 2012, Lise Morjé Howard[7] introduced the terms mono-ethnocracy and poly-ethnocracy. Mono-ethnocracy is a type of regime where one ethnic group dominates, which conforms with the traditional understanding of ethnocracy. Poly-ethnocracy is a type of regime where more than one ethnic group governs the state. Both mono- and poly-ethnocracy are types of ethnocracy. Ethnocracy is founded on the assumptions that ethnic groups are primordial, ethnicity is the basis of political identity, and citizens rarely share multiple ethnic identities.[citation needed]

Belgium

Lise Morjé Howard[7] has labeled Belgium as both a poly-ethnocracy and a democracy. Citizens in Belgium exercise political rights found in democracies, such as voting and free speech. However, Belgian politics is increasingly defined by ethnic divisions between the Flemish and Francophone. For example, all the major political parties are formed around either a Flemish or Francophone identity. Furthermore, bilingual education has disappeared from most Francophone schools.

Israel

Israel has been labeled an ethnocracy by scholars such as: Alexander Kedar,[8] Shlomo Sand,[9] Oren Yiftachel,[10] Asaad Ghanem,[11][12] Haim Yakobi,[13] Nur Masalha[14] and Hannah Naveh.[15]However, scholars such as Gershon Shafir, Yoav Peled and Sammy Smooha prefer the term ethnic democracy to describe Israel,[16] a term which is intended[17] to represent a "middle ground" between an ethnocracy and a liberal democracy.Smooha in particular argues that ethnocracy, allowing a privileged status to a dominant ethnic majority while ensuring that all individuals have equal rights, is defensible. His opponents reply that in so far as Israel contravenes equality in practice, the term 'democratic' in his equation is flawed.[18]

Latvia and Estonia

There is a spectrum of opinion among authors as to the classification of Latvia and Estonia, spanning from Liberal or Civic Democracy[19][20] through Ethnic democracy[21] to Ethnocracy. Will Kymlicka regards Estonia as a democracy, stressing the peculiar status of Russian-speakers, stemming from being at once partly transients, partly immigrants and partly natives.[22]British researcher Neil Melvin concludes that Estonia is moving towards a genuinely pluralist democratic society through its liberalization of citizenship and actively drawing of leaders of the Russian settler communities into the political process.[23] James Hughes, in the United Nations Development Programme's Development and Transition, contends Latvia and Estonia are cases of 'ethnic democracy' where the state has been captured by the titular ethnic group and then used to promote 'nationalising' policies and alleged discrimination against Russophone minorities.[21] (Development and Transition has also published papers disputing Hughes' contentions.) Israeli researchers Oren Yiftachel and As'ad Ghanem consider Estonia as an ethnocracy. [24][25] Israeli sociologist Sammy Smooha, of the University of Haifa, disagrees with Yiftachel, contending that the ethnocratic model developed by Yiftachel does not fit the case of Latvia and Estonia; it is not a settler society as its core ethnic group is indigenous, nor did it expand territorially or have a diaspora intervening in its internal affairs as in the case of Israel for which Yiftachel originally developed his model.[26]

Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland has been described as an ethnocracy by numerous scholars. Wendy Pullan describes gerrymandering of electoral districts to ensure Unionist domination and informal polices that led to the police force being overwhelmingly Protestant as features of the Unionist ethnocracy. Other elements included discriminatory housing and polices designed to encourage Catholic emigration.[27] Ian Shuttleworth, Myles Gould and Paul Barr agree that the systematic bais against Catholics and Irish Nationalists fit the criteria for describing Norther Ireland as an ethnocracy from the partition of Ireland to at least 1972, but argue that after the suspension of the Stormont Parliament, and even more so after the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, ethnocracy was weakened, and that Northern Ireland cannot be plausibly described as an ethnocracy today.[28]

South Africa

Ethnocracy indicates a specific principle of power-distribution in a society. In his book Power-Sharing in South Africa,[29] Arend Lijphart classifies contemporary constitutional proposals for a solution to the conflict in South Africa into four categories:
- majoritarian (one man, one vote)

- non-democratic (varieties of white domination)
- partitionist (creating new political entities)
- consociational (power-sharing by proportional representation and elite accommodation) (1985:5)

Lijphart argues strongly in favour of the consociational model and his categories illustrates that, on the constitutional level, state power can be distributed along two dimensions: Legal-institutional and territorial. Along the legal-institutional dimension we can distinguish between singularism (power centralised according to membership in a specific group), pluralism (power-distribution among defined groups according to relative numerical strength), and universalism (power-distribution without any group-specific qualifications). The three main alternatives on the territorial dimension are the unitary state, "intermediate restructuring" (within one formal sovereignty), and partition (creating separate political entities). Ethnocracy indicates a specific principle of power-distribution in a society.[citation needed]

Turkey

Turkey has been described as an ethnocracy by Bilge Azgin.[30] Azgin points to government policies whose goals are the "exclusion, marginalization, or assimilation" of minority groups that are non-Turkish as the defining elements of Turkish ethnocracy. As'ad Ghanem[who?] also considers Turkey as an ethnocracy.[31] Jack Fong[who?] describes Turkey's policy of referring to its Kurdish minority as "mountain Turks" and to its refusal to acknowledge any separate Kurdish identity as elements of the Turkish ethnocracy.[32]

Uganda

Uganda under dictator Idi Amin Dada has also been described as an ethnocracy favouring certain indigenous groups over others, as well as for the ethnic cleansing of Indians in Uganda by Amin.[33]
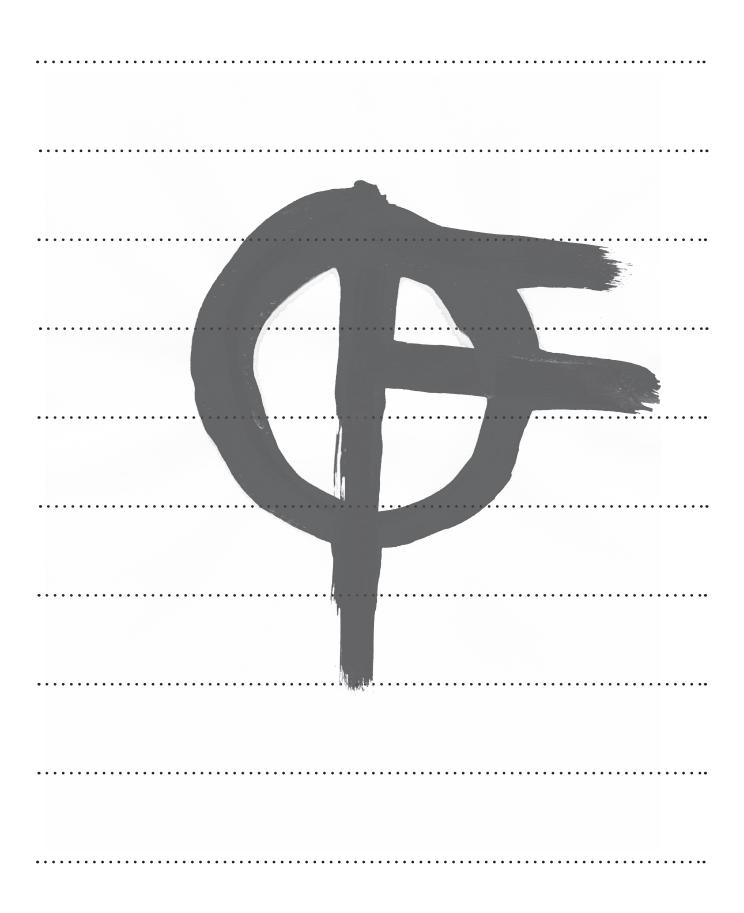
See also

Dominant minority
Ethnic nationalism
Ethnic nepotism
Human rights in Estonia
Ketuanan Melayu
Nationalism
South Africa under apartheid
Superstratum

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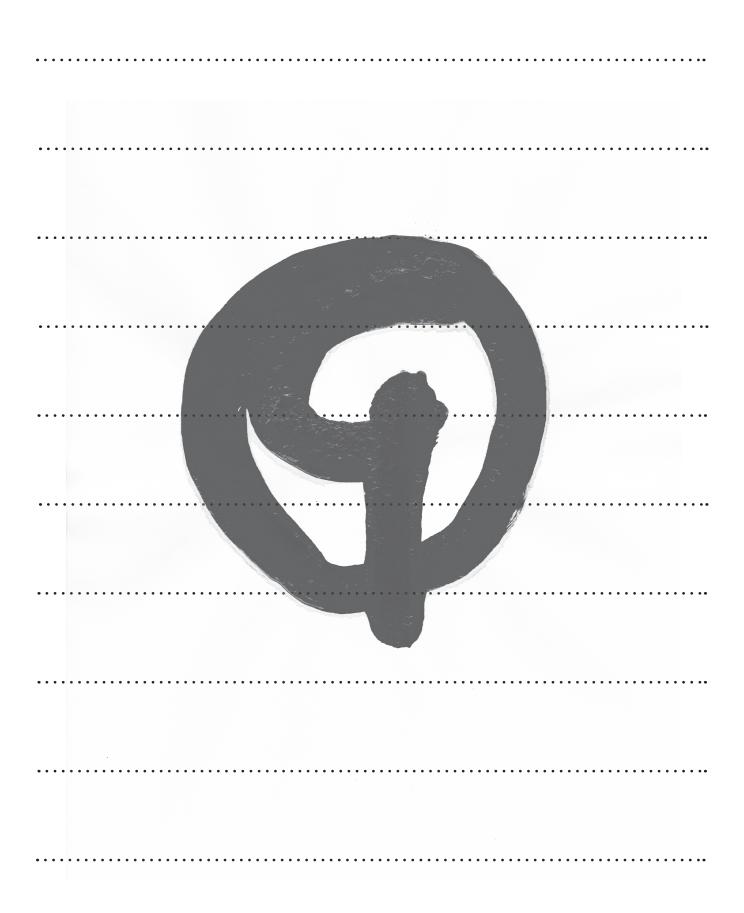
Futarchy

Futarchy is a form of government proposed by economist Robin Hanson, in which elected officials define measures of national welfare, and prediction markets are used to determine which policies will have the most positive effect.[1] It was named by the New York Times as a buzzword of 2008.[2]

Criticisms

Economist Tyler Cowen said "I would bet against the future of futarchy, or its likelihood of succeeding were it in place. Robin says 'vote on values, bet on beliefs', but I don't think values and beliefs can be so easily separated."[3]

Notes

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Geniocracy

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Definition

See also: Intelligence and Genius

The term geniocracy comes from the word genius, and describes a system that is designed to select for intelligence and compassion as the primary factors for governance. While having a democratic electoral apparatus, it differs from traditional liberal democracy by instead suggesting that candidates for office and the body electorate should meet a certain minimal criterion of problem-solving or creative intelligence. The thresholds proposed by the Raëlians are 50% above the mean for an electoral candidate and 10% above the mean for an elector.[1]

Justifying the method of selection

This method of selectivity is deliberate so as to address what the concept considers to be flaws in the current systems of democracy. The primary object of criticism is the inability of majoritarian consensus to provide a reasonable platform for intelligent decision making for the purpose of solving problems permanently. Geniocracy's criticism of this system is that the institutions of democracy become more concerned with appealing to popular consensus through emotive issues than they are in making long-term critical decisions, especially those that may involve issues not immediately relevant to the electorate. It asserts that political mandate is something far too important to simply leave to popularity, and asserts that the critical decision making required for government, especially in a world of globalization, cannot be based on criteria of emotive or popular decision making. In this respect, Geniocracy derides Liberal Democracy as a form of "Mediocracy".[1] In a geniocracy Earth would be ruled by a worldwide Geniocratic government.[2]

Agenda

See also: Economic humanitarianism (Raëlianism)

Part of the geniocratic agenda is to purport the idea of a world government system, deriding the current state-system as inadequate for dealing with contemporary global issues that are typical of globalisation, such as environmentalism, social justice, human rights, and the current economic system. In line with this, geniocracy proposes a different economic model called Economic Humanitarianism. [1]

Response to criticism
As a response to its controversial attitudes about selectivity one of the more general responses is to point out that universal suffrage, the current system, already discriminates to some degree and varyingly in different countries, in who is allowed to vote. Primarily, this discrimination is against minors, incarcerated felons, and the mentally incapacitated. This is on the basis that their ability to contribute to the decision making process is either flawed or invalid for the purpose of the society.[citation needed]

Status
The current difficulty in the ideas of geniocracy is that the means of assessing intelligence are ill-defined. One idea offered by Raël in Geniocracy is to have specialists such as psychologists, neurologists, ethnologists, etc., perfect or choose among existing ones, a series of tests that would define each person's level of intelligence. They should be designed to measure intellectual potential rather than accumulation of knowledge.

Other components deemed necessary for a more rounded understanding of intelligence include concepts like emotional intelligence. As such, geniocracy's validity cannot really be assessed until better and more objective methods of intelligence assessment are made available.

The matter of confronting moral problems that may arise is not addressed in the book Geniocracy; many leaders may be deeply intelligent and charismatic (having both high emotional/social intelligence and IQ) according to current means of measuring such factors, but no current scientific tests are a reliable enough measure for one's ability to make humanitarian choices (although online tests such as those used by retail chains to select job applicants may be relevant).[citation needed]

The lack of scientific rigour necessary for inclusion of geniocracy as properly testable political ideology can be noted in number of modern and historical dictatorships as well as oligarchies. Because of the controversies surrounding geniocracy, Raël presents the idea as a classic utopia or provocative ideal and not necessarily a model that humanity will follow.[3]

Democratically defined regions
The author of Geniocracy recommends (though does not necessitate) a world government with 12 regions. Inhabitants would vote for which region they want to be part of. After the regions are defined, they are further divided into 12 sectors after the same principle of democracy is applied. While sectors of the same region are defined as having equal numbers of inhabitants, the regions themselves may have different levels of population, which would be proportional to its voting power.
[1]

See also

- Idiocracy, a dark comedy film depicting the United States in 2505 where the vast majority are mentally backwards (by current standards) despite widespread use of IQ tests.

- Plato's

Gerontocracy

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

A gerontocracy is a form of oligarchical rule in which an entity is ruled by leaders who are significantly older than most of the adult population. The ancient Greeks were among the first to believe in this idea of gerontocracies, as famously stated by Plato, "it is for the elder man to rule and for the younger to submit".[1] However, these beliefs are not unique to ancient Greece, as many cultures still subscribe to this way of thinking. Often these political structures are such that political power within the ruling class accumulates with age, making the oldest the holders of the most power. Those holding the most power may not be in formal leadership positions, but often dominate those who are. In a simplified definition, a gerontocracy is a society where leadership is reserved for elders.[2] The best example of this can be seen in the ancient Greek city state of Sparta, which was ruled by a Gerousia. A Gerousia was a council made up of members who were at least 60 years old and served for life.[3]

In various political systems

Such a form of leadership is common in communist states[according to whom?] in which the length of one's service to the party is held to be the main qualification for leadership.[citation needed] In the time of the Eight Immortals of Communist Party of China, it was quipped, "the 80-year-olds are calling meetings of 70-year-olds to decide which 60-year-olds should retire".[citation needed] For instance, Party leader Mao Zedong was 82 when he died, while Deng Xiaoping retained a powerful influence until he was nearly 90.

In the USSR

In the Soviet Union, gerontocracy became increasingly entrenched starting in the 1970s, at least until March 1985, when a more dynamic and younger, ambitious leadership headed by Mikhail Gorbachev took power.[4] Leonid Brezhnev, its foremost representative,[5] died in 1982 aged 75, but had suffered a heart attack in 1975, after which generalized arteriosclerosis set in, so that he was progressively infirm and had trouble speaking. During his last two years he was essentially a figurehead.[6] In 1980, the average Politburo member was 70 years old (as opposed to 55 in 1952 and 61 in 1964), and by 1982, Brezhnev's Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Gromyko, his Minister of Defense Dmitriy Ustinov and his Premier Nikolai Tikhonov were all in their mid-to-late seventies.[7] Yuri Andropov, Brezhnev's 68-year-old successor, was seriously ill with kidney disease when he took over,[8] and after his death fifteen months later, he was succeeded by Konstantin Chernenko, then 72, who lasted thirteen months before his death and replacement with Gorbachev. Chernenko became the third Soviet leader to die in less than three years, and, upon being informed in the middle of the night of his death, U.S. President Ronald Reagan, who was seven months older than Chernenko and just over three years older than his predecessor Andropov, is reported to have remarked "How am I supposed to get anyplace with the Russians if they keep dying on me?"[9]

Elsewhere in the Eastern Bloc

Other Communist countries with leaders in their 70s or 80s have included Albania (First Secretary Enver Hoxha was 76 at death), Czechoslovakia (President Gustáv Husák was 76 at his resignation), East Germany (General Secretary and head of state Erich Honecker was 77 when forced out), Hungary (General Secretary János Kádár was 75 when forced out), Laos (President Nouhak Phoumsavanh was 83 at retirement), North Korea (President Kim Il-sung was 82 at death), Romania (General Secretary and President Nicolae Ceauşescu was 71 when he was killed), Vietnam (President Tr ng Chinh was 80 at retirement), Yugoslavia (President Josip Broz Tito was 87 at death). On the sub-national level, Georgia's Party head Vasil Mzhavanadze was 70 when forced out, and his Lithuanian counterpart Antanas Sniečkus was 71 at death. Nowadays, Cuba has been characterized as a gerontocracy: "Although the population is now mainly black or mulatto and young, its rulers form a mainly white gerontocracy."[10]Theocracy

Gerontocracy is also common in religious theocratic states and organizations such as Iran, the Vatican and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in which leadership is concentrated in the hands of religious elders. Despite the age of the senior religious leaders, however, parliamentary candidates in Iran must be under 75.

Absolute monarchies

Saudi Arabia can be considered to have a gerontocratic system reminiscent of various late communist countries. Power is held by the Saud family; the King and his most powerful relatives are in their eighties.[11]

Stateless societies

In Kenya, Samburu society is said to be a gerontocracy. The power of elders is linked to the belief in their curse, underpinning their monopoly over arranging marriages and taking on further wives. This is at the expense of unmarried younger men, whose development up to the age of thirty is in a state of social suspension, prolonging their adolescent status. The paradox of Samburu gerontocracy is that popular attention focuses on the glamour and deviant activities of these footloose bachelors, which extend to a form of gang warfare, widespread suspicions of adultery with the wives of older men, and theft of their stock.[12]

Other countries

The Roman Republic was originally an example; the word senate is related to the Latin word senex, meaning "old man". Cicero wrote:

They wouldn't make use of running or jumping or spears from afar or swords up close, but rather wisdom, reasoning, and thought, which, if they weren't in old men, our ancestors wouldn't have called the highest council the senate.[13]Some U.S. senators are very old, and positions of power within the legislatures - such as chairmanships of various committees - are usually bestowed upon the more experienced, that is, older, members of the legislature. Strom Thurmond, a U.S. senator from South Carolina, left office at age 100 after almost half a century in the body, while Robert Byrd of West Virginia was born in 1917 and served in the Senate from 1959 to his death in 2010. Senators under the age of 40 are virtually

unknown.

In the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, the government headed by M. Karunanidhi the state's chief minister who is 87 years old, is another real-world example of gerontocracy. In another Indian state, West Bengal, Shri Jyoti Basu, was 86 years old when he stepped down from the office of chief minister of the state. But he continued to remain a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) until a few months before his death in January 2010 and was consulted on all matters related to governance by the Chief Minister and his Cabinet as well as his other party colleagues.

Present-day Italy is often considered a gerontocracy,[14] even in the internal Italian debate.[15][16] The Monti government had the highest average age in the western world (64 years), with its youngest members being 57. Former Italian prime minister Mario Monti was 70 when he left office, his immediate predecessor Silvio Berlusconi was 75 at the time of resignation (2011), the previous head of the government Romano Prodi was 70 when he stepped down (2008). The Italian president Sergio Mattarella is 75, while his predecessors Giorgio Napolitano and Carlo Azeglio Ciampi were 89 and 86 respectively. In 2013, the youngest among the candidates for prime minister (Pier Luigi Bersani) was 62, the others being 70 and 78. The current average age of Italian university professors is 63, of bank directors and CEOs 67, of members of parliament 56, of labor union representatives 59.[14][15][16][17]

Organizational examples

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(March 2011) (Learn how and when to remove this template message)

Outside the political sphere, gerontocracy may be observed in other institutional hierarchies of various kinds. Generally the mark of a gerontocracy is the presence of a substantial number of septuagenarian or octogenarian leaders—those younger than this are too young for the label to be appropriate, while those older than this have generally been too few to dominate the leadership in numbers. The rare centenarian who has retained a position of power is generally by far the oldest in the hierarchy.

Gerontocracy generally occurs as a phase in the development of an entity, rather than being part of it throughout its existence. Opposition to gerontocracy may cause weakening or elimination of this characteristic by instituting things like term limits or mandatory retirement ages.

Judges of the United States courts, for example, serve for life, but a system of incentives to retire at full pay after a given age and disqualification from leadership for those who fail to do so has been instituted. The International Olympic Committee instituted a mandatory retirement age in 1965, and Pope Paul VI removed the right of Roman Catholic Cardinals to vote for a new Pope once they reached the age of 80 (which was to limit the number of Cardinals that would vote for the new Pope, due to the proliferation of Cardinals that was occurring at the
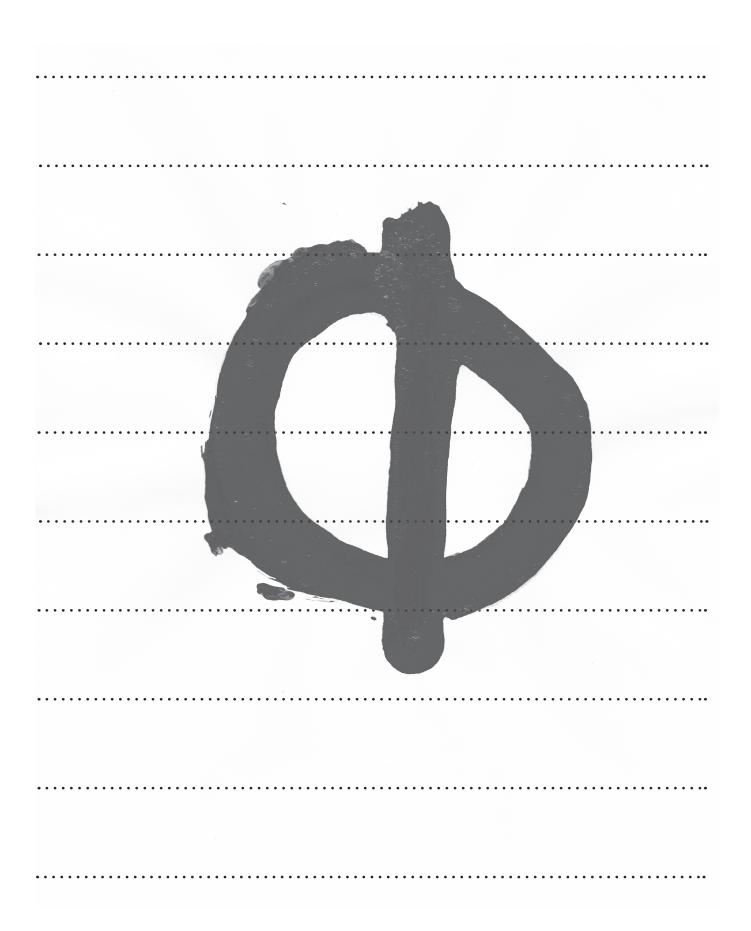
time and is continuing to occur.).

On the other hand, gerontocracy may emerge in an institution not initially known for it. The Latter Day Saint movement founded by Joseph Smith, a 24-year-old man, who in 1835 constituted the first Quorum of the Twelve Apostles with members ranging in age from 23 to 35. After the death of Smith, it was established in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church) that succession to the church presidency derived from longest tenure in an office held for life, the hierarchy aged markedly, and with the growth of the church the age at which officials were named to the highest bodies continued to rise. Six church presidents have held office past the age of 90.

See also

Ageism
Gerontophobia
Gerousia
Cronyism

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Ideocracy

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Ideocracy is government or social management based on a monistic ideology.[1][2] Every government has ideological bases from which assumptions and policies are made, but ideocracies are governments where one dominant ideology has become deeply ingrained into politics, and where, generally, politics have become deeply ingrained into most or all aspects of society. The ideology of an ideocracy presents itself as an absolute, universal, and supreme system for understanding social life, similar to the position of a god in monotheism.

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Inverted totalitarianism

Inverted totalitarianism is a term coined by political philosopher Sheldon Wolin in 2003 to describe the emerging form of government of the United States. Wolin believed that the United States is increasingly turning into an illiberal democracy, and uses the term "inverted totalitarianism" to illustrate similarities and differences between the United States governmental system and totalitarian regimes such as Nazi Germany and the Stalinist Soviet Union.[1][2][3][4] In Days of Destruction, Days of Revolt by Chris Hedges and Joe Sacco, inverted totalitarianism is described as a system where corporations have corrupted and subverted democracy and where economics trumps politics.[5] In inverted totalitarianism, every natural resource and every living being is commodified and exploited to collapse as the citizenry is lulled and manipulated into surrendering their liberties and their participation in government through excess consumerism and sensationalism.[6][7]

Inverted totalitarianism and managed democracy

Wolin holds that the United States has increasingly adopted totalitarian tendencies as a result of transformations undergone during the military mobilization required to fight the Axis powers in the 1940s, and the subsequent campaign to contain the Soviet Union during the Cold War.[2] In the quotation below, Wolin refers to the United States as "Superpower", to emphasize its current position as the only global superpower.

While the versions of totalitarianism represented by Nazism and Fascism consolidated power by suppressing liberal political practices that had sunk only shallow cultural roots, Superpower represents a drive towards totality that draws from the setting where liberalism and democracy have been established for more than two centuries. It is Nazism turned upside-down, "inverted totalitarianism." While it is a system that aspires to totality, it is driven by an ideology of the cost-effective rather than of a "master race" (Herrenvolk), by the material rather than the "ideal."[8] According to Wolin, there are three main ways in which inverted totalitarianism is the inverted form of classical totalitarianism.

• Whereas in Nazi Germany the state dominated economic actors, in inverted totalitarianism, corporations through political contributions and lobbying, dominate the United States, with the government acting as the servant of large corporations. This is considered "normal" rather than corrupt.[9] While the Nazi regime aimed at the constant political mobilization of the populace, with its Nuremberg rallies, Hitler Youth, and so on, inverted totalitarianism aims for the mass of the populace to be in a persistent state of political apathy. The only type of political activity expected or desired from the citizenry is voting. Low electoral turnouts are favorably received as an indication that the bulk of the populace has given up hope that the government will ever help them.[10] While the Nazis openly mocked democracy, the United States maintains the conceit that it is the model of democracy for the whole world.[11] Wolin writes:

Inverted totalitarianism reverses things. It is all politics all of the time but a politics largely untempered by the political. Party squabbles are occasionally on public

display, and there is a frantic and continuous politics among factions of the party, interest groups, competing corporate powers, and rival media concerns. And there is, of course, the culminating moment of national elections when the attention of the nation is required to make a choice of personalities rather than a choice between alternatives. What is absent is the political, the commitment to finding where the common good lies amidst the welter of well-financed, highly organized, single-minded interests rabidly seeking governmental favors and overwhelming the practices of representative government and public administration by a sea of cash. [12]

Managed democracy

Wolin believes the democracy of the United States is sanitized of political participation, and describes it as managed democracy: "a political form in which governments are legitimated by elections that they have learned to control". [13] Under managed democracy, the electorate is prevented from having a significant impact on policies adopted by the state through the continuous employment of public relations techniques. [14] Wolin believes the United States resembles Nazi Germany in one major way without an inversion: the essential role propaganda plays in the system. According to Wolin, whereas the production of propaganda was crudely centralized in Nazi Germany, in the United States it is left to highly concentrated media corporations, thus maintaining the illusion of a "free press". [15] According to this model, dissent is allowed, though the corporate media serve as a filter, allowing most people, with limited time available to keep themselves apprised of current events, to hear only points of view that the corporate media deem "serious". [16][4][17] According to Wolin, the United States has two main totalizing dynamics:

The first, directed outward, finds its expression in the Global War on Terror and in the Bush Doctrine that the United States has the right to launch preemptive wars. This amounts to the United States seeing as illegitimate the attempt by any state to resist its domination. [18][4][17] The second dynamic, directed inward, involves the subjection of the mass of the populace to economic "rationalization", with continual "downsizing" and "outsourcing" of jobs abroad and dismantling of what remains of the welfare state created by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal and President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society. Thus neoliberalism is an integral component of inverted totalitarianism. The state of insecurity in which this places the public serves the useful function of making people feel helpless, thus making it less likely they will become politically active, and thus helping maintain the first dynamic. [19][20][4][17]

Reception

Sheldon Wolin's book Democracy Incorporated: Managed Democracy and the Specter of Inverted Totalitarianism received a Lannan Literary Award for an Especially Notable Book in 2008. [21] Political scientist and author Chalmers Johnson, in a review of Wolin's Democracy Incorporated in Truthdig, wrote that the book is a "devastating critique" of the contemporary government of the United States —

including the way it has changed in recent years and the actions that "must" be undertaken "if it is not to disappear into history along with its classic totalitarian predecessors: Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia."[6] In Johnson's view, Wolin's is one of the best analyses of why presidential elections are unlikely to be effective in mitigating the detrimental effects of inverted totalitarianism. Johnson writes that Wolin's work is "fully accessible" and that understanding Wolin's argument "does not depend on possessing any specialized knowledge."[6] Johnson believes Wolin's analysis is more of an explanation of the problems of the United States than a description of how to solve these problems, "particularly since Wolin believes that the U.S. political system is corrupt[6] and heavily influenced by financial contributions primarily from wealthy and corporate donors, but that nonetheless Wolin's analysis is still one of the best discourses on where the U.S. went wrong."[6] Kevin Zeese and Margaret Flowers expressed the view that:[7] We are living in a time of Inverted Totalitarianism, in which the tools used to maintain the status quo are much more subtle and technologically advanced ... These include propaganda and major media outlets that hide the real news about conditions at home and our activities around the world behind distractions ... Another tool is to create insecurity in the population so that people are unwilling to speak out and take risks for fear of losing their jobs ... Changes in college education also silence dissent ... Adjunct professors ... are less willing to teach topics that are viewed as controversial. This, combined with massive student debt, are tools to silence the student population, once the center of transformative action.[7]

See also

- Americanism (ideology)
- Class conflict
- Corporatocracy
- Criticisms of neoliberalism
- Income inequality in the United States
- Prison–industrial complex, a phrase that is sometimes used to describe the United States criminal justice system
- Totalitarian democracy
- Voter suppression in the United States
- Nazism in the United States

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Isocracy

An isocracy is a form of government where all citizens have equal political power. The term derives from Greek ἴσος meaning "equal" and κρατεῖν meaning "to have power", or "to rule".

An Isocracy expands from the legal right of isonomia to political and economic systems, from equality of law, to equality in governance. To achieve this, an isocracy both combines and expands features of liberal rights and those in democratic rule. According to the nascent political movement of the same name [1] an Isocracy embodies individual autonomy by extension informed consent and natural resources as the source of public income.

Further, an isocracy claims to avoid the common criticisms of democracy (e.g., Tyranny of the Majority and Demagogy) by limiting public governance to the public sphere and private governance to the private sphere. With protections embodied through constitutions, thus not being subject to the vagaries of popular opinion, an isocracy is secular, republican, and does not discriminate on the basis of race, sex, etc.

In terms of organization, an isocracy argues for a federal network, argues towards mutualist economic organisation.[citation needed] Claiming that the army and police are an arm of class-rule, an isocracy also argues in that public peace, defense and emergency services can be managed through inclusive militia.[citation needed]

The combination of these features has led Isocracy advocates to claim that they represent "the best elements of the modern traditions of liberal, socialist and anarchist thought."

The first recorded use of the term was by the Reverend Sydney Smith in 1845, where opposition was expressed to the idea of equal rule for "all units of society"; Smith noted that the young should not have the same authority as the old and challenged isocrats to support voting and political rights for women, which was considered an extremist position at the time.[2] An early recorded use of the word by a political organisation was by Grant Allen in the formation of the Independent Labour Party, arguing for equal rights for citizens. The history of the ILP incorporates liberalism, market socialism and co-operative societies:

"We believe in the strength and the rule of the people; in government of the People, by the People and for the People. Equality is the literal meaning of the word Isocracy" [3]As an incorporated association in Australia, the Isocracy Network Inc., has continued this tradition of libertarian and co-operative socialism as a member of the Alliance of the Libertarian Left.[4] For a short period there was also a proposed Isocratic Party of Canada (former domain http://isocraticcanada.com), but that initiative appears to be defunct.

Finally, the Greek Cypriot Chris Neophytou offers a more conservative perspective through isokratia which argues for an extension of liberal democracy with mass electronic voting.[5]

Notes_[edit]

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See also

- Democracy
- Isonomy
- Demarchy
- Anarchy

Kakistocracy

Kakistocracy (kækɪsˈtɑkɹəsi) is a term meaning a state or country run by the worst, least qualified, or most unscrupulous citizens.[1][2] The word was first coined by English author Thomas Love Peacock in 1829, but was rarely used until the 21st century.

Etymology

The word comes from the Greek words kakistos (κάκιστος; worst) and kratos (κράτος; rule), with a literal meaning of government by the worst people.[3] Despite its Greek roots, the word was first used in English, but has been adapted into other languages. Its Greek equivalent is kakistokratia (error: {{lang}}: unrecognized language code: gr (help)), Spanish kakistocracia, French kakistocracie, and Russian kakistokratiya (какистократия).[4][5][6][7]

History

English author Thomas Love Peacock first coined the term in his 1829 novel The Misfortunes of Elphin, with kakistocracy meaning the opposite of aristocracy (aristos in Greek (ἄριστος) means "excellent").[8] In his 1838 Memoir on Slavery, U.S. Senator and slavery proponent William Harper compared kakistocracy to anarchy, and said it had seldom occurred due to the "honor" of human nature:[9]Anarchy is not so much the absence of government as the government of the worst—not aristocracy but kakistocracy—a state of things, which to the honor of our nature, has seldom obtained amongst men, and which perhaps was only fully exemplified during the worst times of the French revolution, when that horrid hell burnt with its most horrid flame. In such a state of things, to be accused is to be condemned—to protect the innocent is to be guilty; and what perhaps is the worst effect, even men of better nature, to whom their own deeds are abhorrent, are goaded by terror to be forward and emulous in deeds of guilt and violence.
American poet James Russell Lowell used the term in 1876, in a letter to Joel Benton, writing, "What fills me with doubt and dismay is the degradation of the moral tone. Is it or is it not a result of Democracy? Is ours a 'government of the people by the people for the people,' or a Kakistocracy rather, for the benefit of knaves at the cost of fools?"[2]

Usage

Usage of the word was rare in the early part of the 20th century, but regained popularity in 1981 with criticism of the Reagan administration. Since then it has

been employed to negatively describe various governments around the world. [10] It was frequently used by conservative commentator Glenn Beck to describe the Obama administration.[11]The word returned to usage during the 2016 U.S. presidential election. In February 2016, writer David Clay Johnston wrote that the United States was in danger of becoming a kakistocracy, "America is moving away from the high ideals of President Kennedy's inaugural address — 'Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.' Instead we see politicians who say they love America, but hate the American government."[12]In May 2016, academic and blogger Amro Ali argued that kakistocracy was a word that needed to be revived, as the word had long fallen out of circulation and there was a pressing case to rehabilitate it as "stupidity in governance needs to be treated as a political problem, and kakistocracy can best capture this problem." After an analysis of the word, the author concluded that "either kakistocracy gets used and thoroughly examined or a Trump presidency will force us to do so."[13] Salon would later credit Ali's blog post with initiating a wider conversation on the term.[14]In August 2016, Dan Leger of Canadian newspaper The Chronicle Herald predicted that a Trump victory in the U.S. presidential election would require renewed usage of the term "kakistocracy," writing: "The kind of government he offers are so off the wall that words fail, or at least modern words do. So one from the Greek past has been revived to describe what the Trump presidency would mean, in the unlikely event he should be elected." Leger compared the 2016 election with that of 1968, which featured two unpopular candidates. He wrote that after Richard Nixon won, he "established a kakistocracy of corruption, misuse of power and scandal lasting until he was driven from office in 1974."[15]In November 2016, the word became commonly used by critics after Trump, a man who had never held any public office, was elected president of the United States, and began to announce his appointees.[16][17][18][19][20] Stephen Wolf of the progressive website Daily Kos said the Trump presidency appears to be headed toward a kakistocracy: "Trump has only been the president-elect a mere two weeks, but he has already sparked outcry over promising key appointments to white nationalists, unqualified sycophants, and those with troubling ties to Vladimir Putin's Russia."[21] Economist Paul Krugman wrote in The New York Times, "[Trump is] surrounding himself with people who share his contempt for everything that is best in America. What we're looking at, all too obviously, is an American kakistocracy — rule by the worst."[22]

See also

- Khakistocracy
- Kleptocracy
- Corporatocracy
- Idiocracy

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Kleptocracy

This article is about the term for systematic corruption and thievery by the state or state-sanctioned corruption. For a state with ties or aid from organized crime syndicates, see Mafia state.

Kleptocracy (from Ancient Greek κλέπτης (kléptēs, "thief"), κλέπτω (kléptō, "steal"), from Proto-Indo-European *klep- ("to steal"); and from the Ancient Greek suffix -κρατία (-kratía), from κράτος (krátos, "power, rule"; klépto- thieves + -kratos rule, literally "rule by thieves").[1][2] is a government with corrupt rulers (kleptocrats) that use their power to exploit the people and natural resources of their own territory in order to extend their personal wealth and political power. Typically this system involves the embezzlement of state funds at the expense of the wider population, sometimes without even the pretense of honest service.[3][4]

Characteristics

Kleptocracies are generally associated with dictatorships, oligarchies, military juntas, or other forms of autocratic and nepotist governments in which external oversight is impossible or does not exist. This lack of oversight can be caused or exacerbated by the ability of the kleptocratic officials to control both the supply of public funds and the means of disbursal for those funds. Kleptocratic rulers often treat their country's treasury as a source of personal wealth, spending funds on luxury goods and extravagances as they see fit. Many kleptocratic rulers secretly transfer public funds into hidden personal numbered bank accounts in foreign countries to provide for themselves if removed from power.
Kleptocracy is most common in developing countries whose economies are based on the export of natural resources. Such export incomes constitute a form of economic rent and are easier to siphon off without causing the income to decrease. A specific case of kleptocracy is Raubwirtschaft, German for "plunder economy" or "rapine economy", where the whole economy of the state is based on robbery, looting and plundering the conquered territories. Such states are either in continuous warfare with their neighbours or they simply milk up their subjects as long as they have any taxable assets. Such rapine-based economies were commonplace in the past before the rise of Capitalism. Arnold Toynbee has claimed the Roman Empire was basically a Raubwirtschaft.

Effects

The effects of a kleptocratic regime or government on a nation are typically adverse in regards to the welfare of the state's economy, political affairs and civil rights. Kleptocratic governance typically ruins prospects of foreign investment and drastically weakens the domestic market and cross-border trade. As kleptocracies often embezzle money from their citizens by misusing funds derived from tax

payments, or engage heavily in money laundering schemes, they tend to heavily degrade quality of life for citizens.[citation needed]

In addition, the money that kleptocrats steal is diverted from funds earmarked for public amenities such as the building of hospitals, schools, roads, parks – having further adverse effects on the quality of life of citizens.[5] The informal oligarchy that results from a kleptocratic elite subverts democracy (or any other political format).[6]

Examples

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the first use in English occurs in the publication Indicator of 1819: "Titular ornaments, common to Spanish kleptocracy."[7]In early 2004, the German anti-corruption NGO Transparency International released a list of what it believes to be the ten most self-enriching leaders in the past two decades.[8] In order of amount allegedly stolen USD, they were:

1 Former Indonesian President Suharto ($15 billion – $35 billion)
2 Former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos (at least $10 billion by 1986,[9][10][11][12] equivalent to about $21.6 billion in 2014 dollars[13])
3 Former Congolese President Mobutu Sese Seko ($5 billion)
4 Former Nigerian Head of State Sani Abacha ($2 billion – $5 billion)
5 Former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milošević ($1 billion)
6 Former Haitian President Jean-Claude Duvalier ("Baby Doc") ($300 million – $800 million)
7 Former Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori ($600 million)
8 Former Ukrainian Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko ($114 million – $200 million)
9 Former Nicaraguan President Arnoldo Alemán ($100 million)
10   Former Philippine President Joseph Estrada ($78 million – $80 million)

The Russian president Vladimir Putin is alleged to be the "head of the clan",[14] whose assets are estimated at $200 billion.[15][16] A list of Russian and Ukrainian politicians associated with "kleptocractic style" has been published by the Kleptocracy Archives project.[17]

See also: Corruption in Russia and Corruption in Ukraine

Sources have also alleged that former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak stole up to $70 billion.[18]In addition, other sources have listed former PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat as having stolen $1 billion to $10 billion; and Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari to have received kickbacks on contracts and misappropriating public funds, siphoning over $2 billion to his Swiss accounts.[19][20][21][22][23] Moreover, the International Consortium of Investigative Journalist have outlined that current Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawas Sharif has created offshore companies through the Panamanian law firm Mosssak Fonseca to hide vast amount of money illegally transfered from Pakistan in the name of children.

Nursultan Nazarbayev is a head of the Kazakhstan ruling clan with $7 billion assets.[24]The partially recognized state of Kosovo is also run by a kleptocratic regime, mainly formed of members from one of the country's largest political parties,

Democratic Party of Kosovo. A report on the wealth of Kosovan politicians showed that despite their relatively low incomes as civil servants, a significant number had amassed personal wealth sometimes amounting to sums exceeding several million euros.[25] More recently, EULEX reported on a specific case where illegal payments of 1.4 million euros had been made between the Kosovan Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Austrian State Printing Company which had previously won a tender to print Kosovan passports,[26] and a former transport minister and current deputy-president of the ruling Democratic Party of Kosovo Fatmir Limaj was also arrested by EULEX together with six other suspects on charges of organised crime and embezzling at least two million euros.[27]China's former prime minister, Wen Jiabao, left office in 2013 with his close relatives controlling assets worth at least $2.7 billion.[28] These revelations were censored in print and censored online in China.[29]The term kleptocracy was also used to refer to the Russian economy soon after the Soviet collapse in 1991. The "democrats," led by Yegor Gaidar and Anatoly Chubais, freed prices in 1992 and unleashed hyperinflation before they privatized Russia's assets. Most Russian citizens lost their savings in only a few weeks. A few billionaire "oligarchs" amassed fortunes not by creating new enterprises, but by arbitraging the huge difference between old domestic prices for Russian commodities and the prices prevailing on the world market. Instead of investing in the Russian economy, they stashed billions of dollars in Swiss bank accounts. Experts estimate that as much as $15 billion left Russia each year as either capital flight or laundered money from illegal transactions.[30] Referring to Russia, Daniel Kimmage also used the terms: "kerdocracy" ("rule based on the desire for material gain") or "khrematisamenocracy" ("rule by those who transact business for their own profit").[31]South Sudan obtained independence in July 2011 as a kleptocracy – a militarized, corrupt neo-patrimonial system of governance. By the time of independence, the South Sudanese "political marketplace" was so expensive that the country's comparatively copious revenue was consumed by the military-political patronage system, with almost nothing left for public services, development or institution building. The efforts of national technocrats and foreign donors produced bubbles of institutional integrity but the system as a whole was entirely resistant to reform. The January 2012 shutdown of oil production bankrupted the system. Even an experienced and talented political business manager would have struggled, and President Salva Kiir did not display the required skills. No sooner had shots been fired than the compact holding the SPLA together fell apart and civil war ensued. Drawing upon long-term observation of elite politics in South Sudan, this article explains both the roots of kleptocratic government and its dire consequences.[32]In 2016, the FBI announced it was trying to retrieve around $1 billion in funds associated with 1Malaysia Development Berhad, an investment fund owned by the government of Malaysia. This was the largest single action ever brought under the Kleptocracy Asset Recovery Initiative.[33]

Other terms

A narcokleptocracy is a society in which criminals involved in the trade of narcotics have undue influence in the governance of a state. For instance, the term was used to describe the regime of Manuel Noriega in Panama in a report prepared

by a subcommittee of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Committee chaired by Massachusetts Senator John Kerry.[34] The term narcostate has the same meaning.[citation needed]

See also

- Kakistocracy
- Elite capture
- Failed state
- Kleptocracy Tour
- Lumpenbourgeoisie
- Mafia state
- Political corruption
- Rentier state

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Kritarchy

Kritarchy is a system of rule by judges (Hebrew: שופטים, shoftim) in the tribal confederacy of ancient Israel during the period of time described in the Book of Judges, following Joshua's conquest of Canaan and prior to the united monarchy under Saul.[1] Because it is a compound of the Greek words κριτής, krites ("judge") and ἄρχω, árkhō ("to rule"), its use has expanded to cover rule by judges in the modern sense as well, as in the case of Somalia, ruled by judges with the polycentric legal tradition of xeer,[2] and arguably the Islamic Courts Union.[citation needed]

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Liberal democracy

"Liberal democrat" redirects here. For similarly-named political parties, see Liberal Democratic Party.

Liberal democracy is a liberal political ideology and a form of government in which representative democracy operates under the principles of classical liberalism. It is also called western democracy. It is characterised by fair, free, and competitive elections between multiple distinct political parties, a separation of powers into different branches of government, the rule of law in everyday life as part of an open society, and the equal protection of human rights, civil rights, civil liberties, and political freedoms for all people. To define the system in practice, liberal democracies often draw upon a constitution, either formally written or uncodified, to delineate the powers of government and enshrine the social contract. After a period of sustained expansion throughout the 20th century, liberal democracy became the predominant political system in the world.

A liberal democracy may take various constitutional forms: it may be a constitutional monarchy (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Japan, Norway, the United Kingdom) or a republic (France, India, Ireland, the United States). It may have a parliamentary system (Australia, India, Italy, the United Kingdom), a presidential system (Indonesia, the United States), or a semi-presidential system (France, Ireland, Taiwan).

Liberal democracies usually have universal suffrage, granting all adult citizens the right to vote regardless of race, gender or property ownership. Historically, however, some countries regarded as liberal democracies have had a more limited franchise, and some do not have secret ballots. There may also be qualifications such as voters being required to register before being allowed to vote. The decisions made through elections are made not by all of the citizens, but rather by those who choose to participate by voting.

The liberal democratic constitution defines the democratic character of the state. The purpose of a constitution is often seen as a limit on the authority of the government. Liberal democracy emphasises the separation of powers, an independent judiciary, and a system of checks and balances between branches of government. Liberal democracies are likely to emphasise the importance of the state being a Rechtsstaat, i.e., a state that follows the principle of rule of law. Governmental authority is legitimately exercised only in accordance with written, publicly disclosed laws adopted and enforced in accordance with established procedure. Many democracies use federalism—also known as vertical separation of powers—in order to prevent abuse and increase public input by dividing governing powers between municipal, provincial and national governments (e.g., Germany where the federal government assumes the main legislative responsibilities and the federated Länder assume many executive tasks).[citation needed]

Rights and freedoms

In practice, democracies do have limits on certain freedoms. There are various legal limitations such as copyright and laws against defamation. There may be limits on anti-democratic speech, on attempts to undermine human rights, and on the promotion or justification of terrorism. In the United States more than in Europe, during the Cold War, such restrictions applied to Communists. Now they are more commonly applied to organisations perceived as promoting actual terrorism or the incitement of group hatred. Examples include anti-terrorism legislation, the shutting down of Hezbollah satellite broadcasts, and some laws against hate speech. Critics claim that these limitations may go too far and that there may be no due and fair judicial process.

The common justification for these limits is that they are necessary to guarantee the existence of democracy, or the existence of the freedoms themselves. For example, allowing free speech for those advocating mass murder undermines the right to life and security. Opinion is divided on how far democracy can extend to include the enemies of democracy in the democratic process. If relatively small numbers of people are excluded from such freedoms for these reasons, a country may still be seen as a liberal democracy. Some argue that this is only quantitatively (not qualitatively) different from autocracies that persecute opponents, since only a small number of people are affected and the restrictions are less severe. Others emphasise that democracies are different. At least in theory, opponents of democracy are also allowed due process under the rule of law.

However, many governments considered to be democratic have restrictions upon expressions considered anti-democratic, such as Holocaust denial[citation needed] and hate speech, including prison sentences, ofttimes seen as anomalous for the concept of free speech. Members of political organisations with connections to prior totalitarianism (typically formerly predominant Communist, fascist or National Socialists) may be deprived of the vote and the privilege of holding certain jobs. Discriminatory behaviour may be prohibited, such as refusal by owners of public accommodations to serve persons on grounds of race, religion, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation. For example, in Canada, a printer who refused to print materials for the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives was fined $5,000, incurred $100,000 in legal fees, and was ordered to pay a further $40,000 of his opponents' legal fees by the Human Rights Tribunal.[1] Other rights considered fundamental in one country may be foreign to other governments. For instance, the constitutions of Canada, India, Israel, Mexico and the United States guarantee freedom from double jeopardy, a right not provided in other legal systems. Also, legal systems that use politically elected court jurors, such as Sweden, view a (partly) politicised court system as a main component of accountable government, distinctly alien to democracies employing trial by jury designed to shield against the influence of politicians over trials. Similarly, many Americans consider the right to keep and bear arms to be an essential feature to safeguard the right to revolution against a potentially abusive government, while other countries do not recognise this as fundamental (the United Kingdom, for example, having very strict limitations on the gun ownership by individuals).

Preconditions

Although they are not part of the system of government as such, a modicum of individual and economic freedoms, which result in the formation of a significant middle class and a broad and flourishing civil society, are often seen as pre-conditions for liberal democracy (Lipset 1959).[citation needed]
For countries without a strong tradition of democratic majority rule, the introduction of free elections alone has rarely been sufficient to achieve a transition from dictatorship to democracy; a wider shift in the political culture and gradual formation of the institutions of democratic government are needed. There are various examples—for instance, in Latin America—of countries that were able to sustain democracy only temporarily or in a limited fashion until wider cultural changes established the conditions under which democracy could flourish.[citation needed]

One of the key aspects of democratic culture is the concept of a "loyal opposition", where political competitors may disagree, but they must tolerate one another and acknowledge the legitimate and important roles that each play. This is an especially difficult cultural shift to achieve in nations where transitions of power have historically taken place through violence. The term means, in essence, that all sides in a democracy share a common commitment to its basic values. The ground rules of the society must encourage tolerance and civility in public debate. In such a society, the losers accept the judgment of the voters when the election is over, and allow for the peaceful transfer of power. The losers are safe in the knowledge that they will neither lose their lives nor their liberty, and will continue to participate in public life. They are loyal not to the specific policies of the government, but to the fundamental legitimacy of the state and to the democratic process itself.

Origins

Liberal democracy traces its origins—and its name—to the European 18th-century, also known as the Age of Enlightenment. At the time, the vast majority of European states were monarchies, with political power held either by the monarch or the aristocracy. The possibility of democracy had not been a seriously considered political theory since classical antiquity, and the widely held belief was that democracies would be inherently unstable and chaotic in their policies due to the changing whims of the people. It was further believed that democracy was contrary to human nature, as human beings were seen to be inherently evil, violent and in need of a strong leader to restrain their destructive impulses. Many European monarchs held that their power had been ordained by God, and that questioning their right to rule was tantamount to blasphemy.[2]These conventional views were challenged at first by a relatively small group of Enlightenment intellectuals, who believed that human affairs should be guided by reason and principles of liberty and equality. They argued that all people are created equal, and therefore political authority cannot be justified on the basis of "noble blood", a supposed privileged connection to God, or any other characteristic that is alleged to make one person superior to others. They further argued that governments exist to serve the people, not vice versa, and that laws should apply to those who govern as well as to the

governed (a concept known as rule of law).

Some of these ideas began to be expressed in England in the 17th century.[3] Passage of the Petition of Right in 1628 and Habeas Corpus Act in 1679 established certain liberties for subjects. The idea of a political party took form with groups debating rights to political representation during the Putney Debates of 1647. After the English Civil Wars (1642–1651) and the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the Bill of Rights was enacted in 1689, which codified certain rights and liberties. The Bill set out the requirement for regular elections, rules for freedom of speech in Parliament and limited the power of the monarch, ensuring that, unlike much of Europe at the time, royal absolutism would not prevail.[4][5] This led to significant social change in Britain in terms of the position of individuals in society and the growing power of Parliament in relation to the monarch.[6][7]By the late 18th century, leading philosophers of the day had published works that spread around the European continent and beyond. These ideas and beliefs inspired the American Revolution and the French Revolution, which gave birth to the ideology of liberalism and instituted forms of government that attempted to apply the principles of the Enlightenment philosophers into practice. Neither of these forms of government was precisely what we would call a liberal democracy we know today (the most significant differences being that voting rights were still restricted to a minority of the population and slavery remained a legal institution), and the French attempt turned out to be short-lived, but they were the prototypes from which liberal democracy later grew. Since the supporters of these forms of government were known as liberals, the governments themselves came to be known as liberal democracies.[citation needed]

When the first prototypical liberal democracies were founded, the liberals themselves were viewed as an extreme and rather dangerous fringe group that threatened international peace and stability. The conservative monarchists who opposed liberalism and democracy saw themselves as defenders of traditional values and the natural order of things, and their criticism of democracy seemed vindicated when Napoleon Bonaparte took control of the young French Republic, reorganised it into the first French Empire and proceeded to conquer most of Europe. Napoleon was eventually defeated and the Holy Alliance was formed in Europe to prevent any further spread of liberalism or democracy. However, liberal democratic ideals soon became widespread among the general population, and, over the 19th century, traditional monarchy was forced on a continuous defensive and withdrawal.

The dominions of the British Empire became laboratories for liberal democracy from the mid 19th century onward. In Canada, responsible government began in the 1840s and in Australia and New Zealand, parliamentary government elected by male suffrage and secret ballot was established from the 1850s and female suffrage achieved from the 1890s.[8]Reforms and revolutions helped move most European countries towards liberal democracy. Liberalism ceased being a fringe opinion and joined the political mainstream. At the same time, a number of non-liberal ideologies developed that took the concept of liberal democracy and made it their own. The political spectrum changed; traditional monarchy became more and more a fringe view and liberal democracy became more and more mainstream. By the end of the 19th century, liberal democracy was no longer only a "liberal" idea, but an idea supported by many different ideologies. After World War I and especially after World War II, liberal democracy achieved a dominant position among theories

of government and is now endorsed by the vast majority of the political spectrum.
[citation needed]

Although liberal democracy was originally put forward by Enlightenment liberals, the relationship between democracy and liberalism has been controversial since the beginning, and was problematized in the 20th century.[9] The ideology of liberalism—particularly in its classical form—is highly individualistic and concerns itself with limiting the power of the state over the individual. In contrast, democracy is seen by some[who?] as a collectivist ideal, concerned with empowering the masses. Thus, liberal democracy may be seen as a compromise between liberal individualism and democratic collectivism. Those[who?] who hold this view sometimes point to the existence of illiberal democracy and liberal autocracy as evidence that constitutional liberalism and democratic government are not necessarily interconnected.[citation needed] On the other hand, there is the view that constitutional liberalism and democratic government are not only compatible but necessary for the true existence of each other,[who?][citation needed] both arising from the underlying concept of political equality. It has also been defended that freedom and equality are necessary for a liberal democracy.[10] The research institute Freedom House today simply defines liberal democracy as an electoral democracy also protecting civil liberties.

Liberal democracies around the world

Several organisations and political scientists maintain lists of free and unfree states, both in the present and going back a couple centuries. Of these, the best known may be the Polity Data Set[14] and that produced by Freedom House. There is agreement amongst several intellectuals and organisations such as Freedom House that the states of the European Union, Norway, Iceland, Switzerland, Japan, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, South Korea, Taiwan, the United States, India, Canada,[15][16][17][18][19] Mexico, Israel, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand[20] are liberal democracies, with Canada having the largest land area and India currently having the largest population among the democracies in the world.[21] Freedom House considers many of the officially democratic governments in Africa and the former Soviet Union to be undemocratic in practice, usually because the sitting government has a strong influence over election outcomes. Many of these countries are in a state of considerable flux.
Officially non-democratic forms of government, such as single-party states and dictatorships are more common in East Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa.

Types

Proportional vs. plurality representation

Plurality voting system award seats according to regional majorities. The political party or individual candidate who receives the most votes, wins the seat which represents that locality. There are other democratic electoral systems, such as the various forms of proportional representation, which award seats according to the proportion of individual votes that a party receives nationwide or in a particular region.

One of the main points of contention between these two systems, is whether to have representatives who are able to effectively represent specific regions in a country, or to have all citizens' vote count the same, regardless of where in the country they happen to live.

Some countries such as Germany and New Zealand, address the conflict between these two forms of representation, by having two categories of seats in the lower house of their national legislative bodies. The first category of seats is appointed according to regional popularity, and the remainder are awarded to give the parties a proportion of seats that is equal—or as equal as practicable—to their proportion of nationwide votes. This system is commonly called mixed member proportional representation.

Australia incorporates both systems in having the preferential voting system applicable to the lower house and proportional representation by state in the upper house. This system is argued to result in a more stable government, while having a better diversity of parties to review its actions.

Presidential vs. parliamentary systems

A presidential system is a system of government of a republic in which the executive branch is elected separately from the legislative. A parliamentary system is distinguished by the executive branch of government being dependent on the direct or indirect support of the parliament, often expressed through a vote of confidence.

The presidential system of democratic government has become popular in Latin America, Africa, and parts of the former Soviet Union, largely by the example of the United States. Constitutional monarchies (dominated by elected parliaments) are popular in Northern Europe and some former colonies which peacefully separated, such as Australia and Canada. Others have also arisen in Spain, East Asia, and a variety of small nations around the world. Former British territories such as South Africa, India, Ireland, and the United States opted for different forms at the time of independence. The parliamentary system is popular in the European Union and neighboring countries.

Issues and criticism

Lacking direct democracy

As liberal democracy is a variant of representative democracy, it does not directly respect the will of average citizens except when citizens elect representatives. Given this that a small number of elected representatives make decisions and policies about how a nation is governed, the laws that govern the lives of its citizens, elite theorists such as Robert Michels argue that representative democracy and thereby liberal democracy is merely a decoration over an oligarchy;[22] political theorist Robert A. Dahl has described liberal democracies as polyarchies. For these reasons and others, opponents support other, more direct forms of governance such as direct democracy.[citation needed]

It has generally been argued by those who support liberal democracy or representative democracy that minority interests and individual liberties must be protected from the majority; for instance in Federalist No. 10 James Madison states, "the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society." In order to prevent a minority, in this case, land owners, from being marginalised by a majority, in this case non-land owners, it prescribes what it calls a republic. Unmoderated majority rule could, in this view, lead to an oppression of minorities (see Majoritarianism below). Another argument is that the elected leaders may be more interested and able than the average voter. A third is that it takes much effort and time if everyone should gather information, discuss, and vote on most issues. Direct democracy proponents in turn have counter-arguments, see the Direct democracy. Switzerland is a functioning example of direct democracy.[citation needed]

Today, Many liberal democracies have elements of direct democracy such as referendums, plebiscites, initiatives, recall elections, and models of "Deliberative democracy". For example, former Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez recently allowed referendums on important aspects of the government. Also, several states in the United States have functional aspects that are directly democratic. Uruguay is another example. Many other countries have referendums to a lesser degree in their political system.

Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie

Some Marxists, communists, socialists and anarchists argue that liberal democracy, under capitalist ideology, is constitutively class-based and therefore can never be democratic or participatory. It is referred to as bourgeois democracy because ultimately politicians fight only for the rights of the bourgeoisie. According to Marx, representation of the interests of different classes is proportional to the influence which a particular class can purchase (through bribes, transmission of propaganda through mass media, economic blackmail, donations for political parties and their campaigns, etc.). Thus, the public interest, in so-called liberal democracies, is

systematically corrupted by the wealth of those classes rich enough to gain (the appearance of) representation. Because of this, multi-party democracies under capitalist ideology are always distorted and anti-democratic, their operation merely furthering the class interests of the owners of the means of production.

According to Marx, the bourgeois class becomes wealthy through a drive to appropriate the surplus-value of the creative labours of the working class. This drive obliges the bourgeois class to amass ever-larger fortunes by increasing the proportion of surplus-value by exploiting the working class through capping workers' terms and conditions as close to poverty levels as possible. (Incidentally, this obligation demonstrates the clear limit to bourgeois freedom, even for the bourgeoisie itself.)

Thus, according to Marx, parliamentary elections are no more than a cynical, systemic attempt to deceive the people by permitting them, every now and again, to endorse one or other of the bourgeoisie's predetermined choices of which political party can best advocate the interests of capital. Once elected, this parliament, as a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, enacts regulations that actively support the interests of its true constituency, the bourgeoisie (such as bailing out Wall St investment banks; direct socialisation/subsidisation of business – GMH, US/European agricultural subsidies; and even wars to guarantee trade in commodities such as oil).

Vladimir Lenin once argued that liberal democracy had simply been used to give an illusion of democracy while maintaining the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

In short, popular elections are nothing but the appearance of having the power of decision of who among the ruling classes will misrepresent the people in parliament.[23]The cost of political campaigning in representative democracies favors the rich, a form of plutocracy where only a very small number of individuals can actually affect government policy.[citation needed] In Athenian democracy, some public offices were randomly allocated to citizens, in order to inhibit the effects of plutocracy. Aristotle described the law courts in Athens which were selected by lot as democratic[24] and described elections as oligarchic.[25]Liberal democracy has also been attacked by some socialists[who?] as a dishonest farce used to keep the masses from realizing that their will is irrelevant in the political process, while at the same time a conspiracy for making them restless for some political agenda. Some contend that it encourages candidates to make deals with wealthy supporters, offering favorable legislation if the candidate is elected—perpetuating conspiracies for monopolisation of key areas. Campaign finance reform is an attempt to correct this perceived problem.

In response to these claims, United States economist Steven Levitt argues in his book Freakonomics that campaign spending is no guarantee of electoral success. He compared electoral success of the same pair of candidates running against one another repeatedly for the same job, as often happens in United States Congressional elections, where spending levels varied. He concludes:

"A winning candidate can cut his spending in half and lose only 1 percent of the vote. Meanwhile, a losing candidate who doubles his spending can expect to shift the vote in his favor by only that same 1 percent."[26]It might be said that Levitt's response misses the Socialist point, which is that citizens who have little to no money at all are blocked from political office entirely. This argument is not refuted merely by noting that either doubling or halving of electoral spending will only shift a given candidate's chances of winning by 1 percent.

Media

Critics of the role of the media in liberal democracies allege that concentration of media ownership leads to major distortions of democratic processes. In Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media, Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky argue, via their Propaganda Model[27] that the corporate media limits the availability of contesting views, and assert this creates a narrow spectrum of elite opinion. This is a natural consequence, they say, of the close ties between powerful corporations and the media and thus limited and restricted to the explicit views of those who can afford it.[28]Media commentators also point out that the influential early champions of the media industry held fundamentally anti-democratic views, opposing the general population's involvement in creating policy.[29] Walter Lippmann writing in The Phantom Public (1925), sought to "put the public in its place" so that those in power would be "free of the trampling and roar of a bewildered herd,"[30] while Edward Bernays, originator of public relations, sought to "regiment the public mind every bit as much as an army regiments their bodies."[31]Defenders responding to such arguments assert that constitutionally protected freedom of speech makes it possible for both for-profit and non-profit organisations to debate the issues. They argue that media coverage in democracies simply reflects public preferences, and does not entail censorship. Especially with new forms of media such as the Internet, it is not expensive to reach a wide audience, if there is an interest for the ideas presented.

Limited voter turnout

For more details on this topic, see Voter turnout.

Low voter turnout, whether the cause is disenchantment, indifference or contentment with the status quo, may be seen as a problem, especially if disproportionate in particular segments of the population. Although turnout levels vary greatly among modern democratic countries, and in various types and levels of elections within countries, at some point low turnout may prompt questions as to whether the results reflect the will of the people, whether the causes may be indicative of concerns to the society in question, or in extreme cases the legitimacy of the electoral system.

Get out the vote campaigns, either by governments or private groups, may increase voter turnout, but distinctions must be made[why?] between general campaigns to raise the turnout rate and partisan efforts to aid a particular candidate, party or cause.

Several nations have forms of compulsory voting, with various degrees of enforcement. Proponents argue that this increases the legitimacy, and thus also popular acceptance, of the elections and ensures political participation by all those affected by the political process, and reduces the costs associated with encouraging voting. Arguments against include restriction of freedom, economic costs of enforcement, increased number of invalid and blank votes, and random voting.[32]Other alternatives include increased use of absentee ballots, or other measures to ease or improve the ability to vote, including Electronic voting.

Ethnic and religious conflicts

For historical reasons, many states are not culturally and ethnically homogeneous. There may be sharp ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural divisions. In fact, some

groups may be actively hostile to each other. A democracy, which by definition allows mass participation in decision-making theoretically also allows the use of the political process against 'enemy' groups.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the partial democratisation of Soviet bloc states was followed by wars in the former Yugoslavia, in the Caucasus, and in Moldova. Nevertheless, some people believe that the fall of Communism and the increase in the number of democratic states were accompanied by a sudden and dramatic decline in total warfare, interstate wars, ethnic wars, revolutionary wars, and the number of refugees and displaced people (worldwide, not in the countries of the former sovietic bloc).[citation needed] This trend, however, can be attributed to the end of cold war and the natural exhaustion of said conflicts, many of which were fueled by the USA and the USSR[33] See also the section below on Majoritarianism and Democratic peace theory.

In her book World on Fire, Yale Law School professor Amy Chua posits that "when free market democracy is pursued in the presence of a market-dominant minority, the almost invariable result is backlash. This backlash typically takes one of three forms. The first is a backlash against markets, targeting the market-dominant minority's wealth. The second is a backlash against democracy by forces favorable to the market-dominant minority. The third is violence, sometimes genocidal, directed against the market-dominant minority itself.".[34]

Bureaucracy

A persistent libertarian and monarchist critique of democracy is the claim that it encourages the elected representatives to change the law without necessity, and in particular to pour forth a flood of new laws (as described in Herbert Spencer's The Man Versus The State). This is seen as pernicious in several ways. New laws constrict the scope of what were previously private liberties. Rapidly changing laws make it difficult for a willing non-specialist to remain law-abiding. This may be an invitation for law-enforcement agencies to misuse power. The claimed continual complication of the law may be contrary to a claimed simple and eternal natural law—although there is no consensus on what this natural law is, even among advocates. Supporters of democracy point to the complex bureaucracy and regulations that has occurred in dictatorships, like many of the former Communist states.

The bureaucracy in Liberal democracies is often criticised for a claimed slowness and complexity of their decision-making. The term "Red tape" is a synonym of slow bureaucratic functioning that hinders quick results in a liberal democracy.

Short-term focus

Modern liberal democracies, by definition, allow for regular changes of government. That has led to a common criticism of their short-term focus. In four or five years the government will face a new election, and it must think of how it will win that election. That would encourage a preference for policies that will bring short term benefits to the electorate (or to self-interested politicians) before the next election, rather than unpopular policy with longer term benefits. This criticism assumes that it is possible to make long term predictions for a society, something Karl Popper has criticised as historicism.

Besides the regular review of governing entities, short-term focus in a democracy

could also be the result of collective short-term thinking. For example, consider a campaign for policies aimed at reducing environmental damage while causing temporary increase in unemployment. However, this risk applies also to other political systems.

Anarcho-capitalist Hans-Herman Hoppe explained short-termism of the democratic governments by the rational choice of currently ruling group to over exploit temporarily accessible resources, thus deriving maximal economic advantage to the members of this group. (He contrasted this with hereditary monarchy, in which a monarch has an interest in preserving the long-term capital value of his property (i.e. the country he owns) counterbalancing his desire to extract immediate revenue. He argues that the historical record of levels of taxation in certain monarchies (20–25%)[35] and certain liberal democracies (30–60%) seems to confirm this contention.[36]

Public choice theory

Public choice theory is a branch of economics that studies the decision-making behaviour of voters, politicians and government officials from the perspective of economic theory. One studied problem is that each voter has little influence and may therefore have a rational ignorance regarding political issues.[citation needed] This may allow special interest groups to gain subsidies and regulations beneficial to them but harmful to society.[citation needed] However, special interest groups may be equally or more influential in nondemocracies.[citation needed]

Majoritarianism

Main articles: Majority rule and Tyranny of the majority

The tyranny of the majority is the fear that a direct democratic government, reflecting the majority view, can take action that oppresses a particular minority; for instance a minority holding wealth, property ownership, or power (see Federalist No. 10) or a minority of a certain racial and ethnic origin, class or nationality. Theoretically, the majority is a majority of all citizens. If citizens are not compelled by law to vote it is usually a majority of those who choose to vote. If such of group constitutes a minority then it is possible that a minority could, in theory, oppress another minority in the name of the majority. However, such an argument could apply to both direct democracy or representative democracy. In comparison to a direct democracy where every citizen is forced to vote, under liberal democracies the wealth and power is usually concentrated in the hands of a small privileged class who have significant power over the political process (See inverted totalitarianism). It is argued by some[who?] that in representative democracies this minority makes the majority of the policies and potentially oppresses the minority or even the majority in the name of the majority (see Silent majority). Several de facto dictatorships also have compulsory, but not "free and fair", voting in order to try to increase the legitimacy of the regime, such as North Korea.[37][38]Possible examples of a minority being oppressed by or in the name of the majority:

- Those potentially subject to conscription are a minority possibly because of socioeconomic reasons.
- The minority who are wealthy often use their money and influence to manipulate the political process against the interests of the rest of the population, who are the minority in terms of income and access.
- Several European countries have introduced bans on personal religious symbols

in state schools. Opponents see this as a violation of rights to freedom of religion. Supporters see it as following from the separation of state and religious activities.
- Prohibition of pornography is typically determined by what the majority is prepared to accept.
- The private possession of various weapons (i.e. batons, nunchakus, brass knuckles, pepper spray, firearms etc...) is arbitrarily criminalized in several democracies (i.e. the United Kingdom, Belgium, etc...), with such arbitrary criminalization can be motivated by attempts to increase safety in the society, to reduce general violence, instances of homicide, or perhaps by moralism, classism and/or paternalism.
- Recreational drug, caffeine, tobacco and alcohol use is too often criminalised or otherwise suppressed by majorities, originally for racist, classist, religious or paternalistic motives.[39][40][41][42]Society's treatment of homosexuals is also cited in this context. Homosexual acts were widely criminalised in democracies until several decades ago; in some democracies they still are, reflecting the religious or sexual mores of the majority.
- The Athenian democracy and the early United States had slavery.
- The majority often taxes the minority who are wealthy at progressively higher rates, with the intention that the wealthy will incur a larger tax burden for social purposes.
- In prosperous western representative democracies, the poor form a minority of the population, and may not have the power to use the state to initiate redistribution when a majority of the electorate opposes such designs. When the poor form a distinct underclass, the majority may use the democratic process to, in effect, withdraw the protection of the state.
- An often quoted example of the 'tyranny of the majority' is that Adolf Hitler came to power by legitimate democratic procedures. The Nazi party gained the largest share of votes in the democratic Weimar republic in 1933. Some might consider this an example of "tyranny of a minority" since he never gained a majority vote, but it is common for a plurality to exercise power in democracies, so the rise of Hitler cannot be considered irrelevant. However, his regime's large-scale human rights violations took place after the democratic system had been abolished. Also, the Weimar constitution in an "emergency" allowed dictatorial powers and suspension of the essentials of the constitution itself without any vote or election.

Proponents of democracy make a number of defenses concerning 'tyranny of the majority'. One is to argue that the presence of a constitution protecting the rights of all citizens in many democratic countries acts as a safeguard. Generally, changes in these constitutions require the agreement of a supermajority of the elected representatives, or require a judge and jury to agree that evidentiary and procedural standards have been fulfilled by the state, or two different votes by the representatives separated by an election, or, sometimes, a referendum. These requirements are often combined. The separation of powers into legislative branch, executive branch, judicial branch also makes it more difficult for a small majority to impose their will. This means a majority can still legitimately coerce a minority (which is still ethically questionable), but such a minority would be very small and, as a practical matter, it is harder to get a larger proportion of the people to agree to such actions.

Another argument is that majorities and minorities can take a markedly different shape on different issues. People often agree with the majority view on some issues and agree with a minority view on other issues. One's view may also change. Thus, the members of a majority may limit oppression of a minority since they may well in the future themselves be in a minority.

A third common argument is that, despite the risks, majority rule is preferable to other systems, and the tyranny of the majority is in any case an improvement on a tyranny of a minority. All the possible problems mentioned above can also occur in nondemocracies with the added problem that a minority can oppress the majority. Proponents of democracy argue that empirical statistical evidence strongly shows that more democracy leads to less internal violence and mass murder by the government. This is sometimes formulated as Rummel's Law, which states that the less democratic freedom a people have, the more likely their rulers are to murder them.

Political stability

One argument for democracy is that by creating a system where the public can remove administrations, without changing the legal basis for government, democracy aims at reducing political uncertainty and instability, and assuring citizens that however much they may disagree with present policies, they will be given a regular chance to change those who are in power, or change policies with which they disagree. This is preferable to a system where political change takes place through violence.

Some think that political stability may be considered as excessive when the group in power remains the same for an extended period of time. On the other hand, this is more common in nondemocracies.

One notable feature of liberal democracies is that their opponents (those groups who wish to abolish liberal democracy) rarely win elections. Advocates use this as an argument to support their view that liberal democracy is inherently stable and can usually only be overthrown by external force, while opponents argue that the system is inherently stacked against them despite its claims to impartiality. In the past, it was feared that democracy could be easily exploited by leaders with dictatorial aspirations, who could get themselves elected into power. However, the actual number of liberal democracies that have elected dictators into power is low. When it has occurred, it is usually after a major crisis has caused many people to doubt the system or in young/poorly functioning democracies. Some possible examples include Adolf Hitler during the Great Depression and Napoleon III, who became first President of the Second French Republic and later Emperor.

Effective response in wartime

A liberal democracy, by definition, implies that power is not concentrated. One criticism is that this could be a disadvantage for a state in wartime, when a fast and unified response is necessary. The legislature usually must give consent before the start of an offensive military operation, although sometimes the executive can do this on its own while keeping the legislature informed. If the democracy is attacked, then no consent is usually required for defensive operations. The people may vote against a conscription army.

However, actual research shows that democracies are more likely to win wars than

non-democracies. One explanation attributes this primarily to "the transparency of the polities, and the stability of their preferences, once determined, democracies are better able to cooperate with their partners in the conduct of wars". Other research attributes this to superior mobilisation of resources or selection of wars that the democratic states have a high chance of winning.[43]Stam and Reiter also note that the emphasis on individuality within democratic societies means that their soldiers fight with greater initiative and superior leadership.[44] Officers in dictatorships are often selected for political loyalty rather than military ability. They may be exclusively selected from a small class or religious/ethnic group that support the regime. The leaders in nondemocracies may respond violently to any perceived criticisms or disobedience. This may make the soldiers and officers afraid to raise any objections or do anything without explicit authorisation. The lack of initiative may be particularly detrimental in modern warfare. Enemy soldiers may more easily surrender to democracies since they can expect comparatively good treatment. In contrast, Nazi Germany killed almost 2/3 of the captured Soviet soldiers, and 38% of the American soldiers captured by North Korea in the Korean War were killed.

Better information on and corrections of problems

A democratic system may provide better information for policy decisions. Undesirable information may more easily be ignored in dictatorships, even if this undesirable or contrarian information provides early warning of problems. The democratic system also provides a way to replace inefficient leaders and policies. Thus, problems may continue longer and crises of all kinds may be more common in autocracies.[45]

Corruption

Research by the World Bank suggests that political institutions are extremely important in determining the prevalence of corruption: (long term) democracy, parliamentary systems, political stability, and freedom of the press are all associated with lower corruption.[46] Freedom of information legislation is important for accountability and transparency. The Indian Right to Information Act "has already engendered mass movements in the country that is bringing the lethargic, often corrupt bureaucracy to its knees and changing power equations completely."[47]

Terrorism

The examples and perspective in this article may not represent a worldwide view of the subject. You may improve this article, discuss the issue on the talk page, or create a new article, as appropriate.
(January 2014) (Learn how and when to remove this template message)

Several studies[citation needed] have concluded that terrorism is most common in nations with intermediate political freedom; meaning countries transitioning from autocratic governance to democracy. Nations with strong autocratic governments and governments that allow for more political freedom experience less terrorism.[48]

Economic growth and financial crises

Statistically, more democracy correlates with a higher gross domestic product (GDP) per capita.

However, there is disagreement regarding how much credit the democratic system can take for this. One observation is that democracy became widespread only after the industrial revolution and the introduction of capitalism. On the other hand, the industrial revolution started in England which was one of the most democratic nations for its time within its own borders. (But this democracy was very limited and did not apply to the colonies which contributed significantly to the wealth.) Several statistical studies support the theory that more capitalism, measured for example with one the several Indices of Economic Freedom which has been used in hundreds of studies by independent researchers,[49] increases economic growth and that this in turn increases general prosperity, reduces poverty, and causes democratisation. This is a statistical tendency, and there are individual exceptions like Mali, which is ranked as "Free" by Freedom House but is a Least Developed Country, or Qatar, which has arguably the highest GDP per capita in the world but has never been democratic. There are also other studies suggesting that more democracy increases economic freedom although a few find no or even a small negative effect.[50][51][52][53][54][55] One objection might be that nations like Sweden and Canada today score just below nations like Chile and Estonia on economic freedom but that Sweden and Canada today have a higher GDP per capita. However, this is a misunderstanding, the studies indicate effect on economic growth and thus that future GDP per capita will be higher with higher economic freedom. Also, according to the index, Sweden and Canada are among the world's most capitalist nations, due to factors such as strong rule of law, strong property rights, and few restrictions against free trade. Critics might argue that the Index of Economic Freedom and other methods used does not measure the degree of capitalism, preferring some other definition.

Some argue that economic growth due to its empowerment of citizens, will ensure a transition to democracy in countries such as Cuba. However, other dispute this. Even if economic growth has caused democratisation in the past, it may not do so in the future. Dictators may now have learned how to have economic growth without this causing more political freedom.[56]A high degree of oil or mineral exports is strongly associated with nondemocratic rule. This effect applies worldwide and not only to the Middle East. Dictators who have this form of wealth can spend more on their security apparatus and provide benefits which lessen public unrest. Also, such wealth is not followed by the social and cultural changes that may transform societies with ordinary economic growth.[57] A recent meta-analysis finds that democracy has no direct effect on economic growth. However, it has a strong and significant indirect effects which contribute to growth. Democracy is associated with higher human capital accumulation, lower inflation, lower political instability, and higher economic freedom. There is also some evidence that it is associated with larger governments and more restrictions on international trade.[58]If leaving out East Asia, then during the last forty-five years poor democracies have grown their economies 50% more rapidly than nondemocracies. Poor democracies such as the Baltic countries, Botswana, Costa Rica, Ghana, and Senegal have grown more rapidly than nondemocracies such as Angola, Syria, Uzbekistan, and Zimbabwe.[45]Of the eighty worst financial catastrophes during the last four decades, only five were in democracies. Similarly,

poor democracies are half likely as nondemocracies to experience a 10 percent decline in GDP per capita over the course of a single year.[45]

Famines and refugees

A prominent economist, Amartya Sen, has noted that no functioning democracy has ever suffered a large scale famine.[59] Refugee crises almost always occur in nondemocracies. Looking at the volume of refugee flows for the last twenty years, the first eighty-seven cases occurred in autocracies.[45]Human development Democracy correlates with a higher score on the human development index and a lower score on the human poverty index.

Democracies have the potential to put in place better education, longer life expectancy, lower infant mortality, access to drinking water, and better health care than dictatorships. This is not due to higher levels of foreign assistance or spending a larger percentage of GDP on health and education. Instead, the available resources are managed better.[45]Several health indicators (life expectancy and infant and maternal mortality) have a stronger and more significant association with democracy than they have with GDP per capita, rise of the public sector, or income inequality.[60]In the post-Communist nations, after an initial decline, those that are the most democratic have achieved the greatest gains in life expectancy.[61]

Democratic peace theory

Main article: Democratic peace theory

Numerous studies using many different kinds of data, definitions, and statistical analyses have found support for the democratic peace theory.[citation needed] The original finding was that liberal democracies have never made war with one another. More recent research has extended the theory and finds that democracies have few Militarized Interstate Disputes causing less than 1000 battle deaths with one another, that those MIDs that have occurred between democracies have caused few deaths, and that democracies have few civil wars.[62] There are various criticisms of the theory, including at least as many refutations as alleged proofs of the theory, some 200 deviant cases, failure to treat "democracy" as a multidimensional concept, and that correlation is not causation (Haas 2014).

Mass murder by government

Research shows that the more democratic nations have much less democide or murder by government.[63] Similarly, they have less genocide and politicide.[64]

See also

Classical liberalism
Constitutional liberalism
Democratic ideals
Economic liberalism
Elective rights
History of democracy
Illiberal democracy
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Jeffersonian democracy
Libertarianism
Neoliberalism
Republicanism
Social democracy
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Logocracy

Logocracy is the rule of, or government by, words. It is derived from the Greek λόγος (logos)—"word" and from κράτος (kratos)—to "govern". The term can be used either positively, ironically, or negatively.
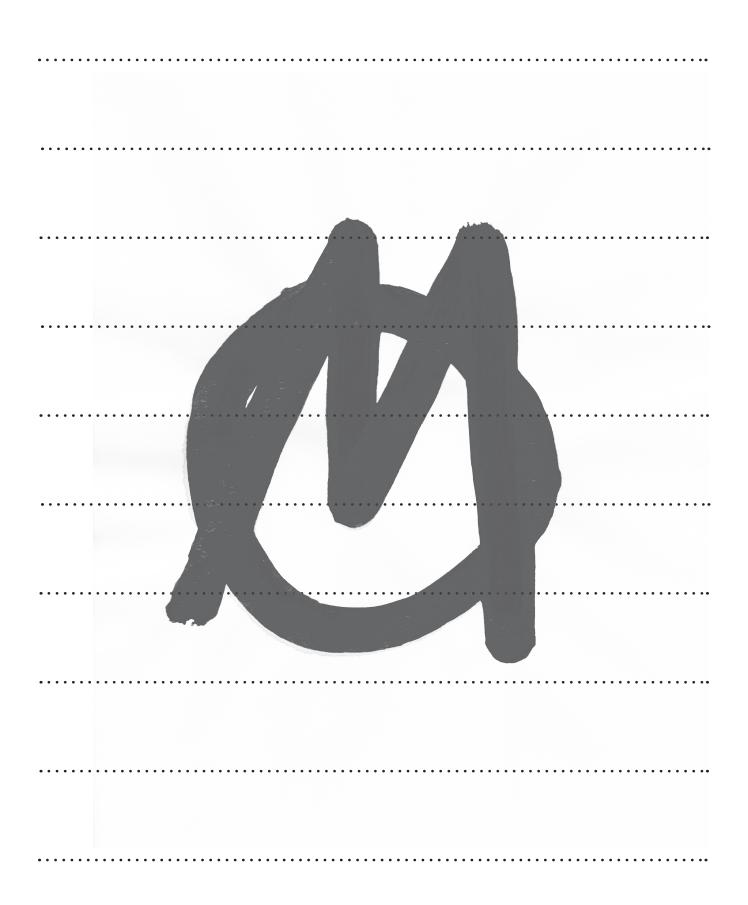
Historical examples

- The United States is described as a logocracy in Washington Irving's 1807 work, Salmagundi. A visiting foreigner, "Mustapha Rub-a-dub Keli Khan", describes it as such, by which he means that via the tricky use of words, one can have power over others. Those most adept at this are termed "slang-whangers", while Congress is a "blustering, windy assembly".[1] Mustapha describes how: "unknown to these people themselves, their government is a pure unadulterated LOGOCRACY or government of words. The whole nation does every thing viva voce, or, by word of mouth, and in this manner is one of the most military nations in existence [...] In a logocracy thou well knowest there is little or no occasion for fire arms, or any such destructive weapons. Every offensive or defensive measure is enforced by wordy battle, and paper war; he who has the longest tongue or readiest quill, is sure to gain the victory—will carry horrour [sic], abuse, and ink shed into the very trenches of the enemy, and without mercy or remorse, put men, women, and children to the point of the—pen!"[2]
- The Soviet Union was described by Nobel Prize winner Czesław Miłosz,[3] as a logocracy.[4] It was for example, according to Christine D. Tomei, a "pseudo-reality created by mere words".[5] Moreover, after the revolution Luciano Pellicani describes how a "language reform plan" was introduced by Kisselev. In it he "stressed that the old mentality would never be overthrown, if the structure of the Russian language was not also transformed and purged." This process led to a Soviet language that George Orwell would later dub "neo-language", and was a precursor to his Nineteen Eighty-Four Newspeak.[6] The new Soviet 'language' was less a real language than an 'orthogloxy', a "stereotyped jargon consisting of formulas and empty slogans, whose purpose was to prevent people from thinking outside the boundaries of collective thought"—i.e. it was speech which destroyed individuality.[6] Janina Frentzel-Zagórska, however, queries the importance of political language in the USSR, saying that "the old ideological 'Newspeak' had completely disappeared in the Soviet Union long before" the fall of Communism.[7]
- Totalitarianism, according to political theorist Hannah Arendt, can be considered a logocracy, since in it ideas are no longer important, just how they are expressed.[8]
- Academic Yahya Michot has referred to Sunni Islam as a "popular" or "laic logocracy", in that it is government by the word of the Koran.[9]

See also

Videocracy
Political correctness

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Matriarchy

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

"Gynecocracy" and "Matriarch" redirect here. For the novel, see Gynecocracy (novel). For other uses, see Matriarch (disambiguation).

Matriarchy is a social system in which females hold primary power, predominate in roles of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege and control of property at the specific exclusion of men, at least to a large degree. While those definitions apply in general English, definitions specific to the disciplines of anthropology and feminism differ in some respects.

Most anthropologists hold that there are no known societies that are unambiguously matriarchal, but some authors believe exceptions may exist or may have. Matriarchies may also be confused with matrilineal, matrilocal, and matrifocal societies. A few people consider any non-patriarchal system to be matriarchal, thus including genderally equalitarian systems (Peggy Reeves Sanday favors redefining and reintroducing the word matriarchy, especially in reference to contemporary matrilineal societies such as the Minangkabau[1]), but most academics exclude them from matriarchies strictly defined.

In 19th century Western scholarship, the hypothesis of matriarchy representing an early, mainly prehistoric, stage of human development gained popularity. Possibilities of so-called primitive societies were cited and the hypothesis survived into the 20th century, including in the context of second-wave feminism. This hypothesis was criticized by some authors such as Cynthia Eller in The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory and remains as a largely unsolved question to this day. Some older myths describe matriarchies. Several modern feminists have advocated for matriarchy now or in the future and it has appeared in feminist literature. In several theologies, matriarchy has been portrayed as negative.

Definitions, connotations, and etymology

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), matriarchy is a "form of social organization in which the mother or oldest female is the head of the family, and descent and relationship are reckoned through the female line; government or rule by a woman or women."[2] A popular definition, according to James Peoples and Garrick Bailey, is "female dominance".[3] Within the academic discipline of cultural anthropology, according to the OED, matriarchy is a "culture or community in which such a system prevails"[2] or a "family, society, organization, etc., dominated by a woman or women."[2] In general anthropology, according to William A. Haviland, matriarchy is "rule by women".[4] A matriarchy is a society in which females, especially mothers, have the central roles of political leadership, moral authority, and control of property, but does not include a society that occasionally is led by a female for nonmatriarchal reasons or an occupation in which females generally predominate without reference to matriarchy, such as prostitution or women's auxiliaries of organizations run by men.[citation needed] According to Lawrence A. Kuzner in 1997, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown argued in 1924 that the definitions of matriarchy

and patriarchy had "logical and empirical failings .... [and] were too vague to be scientifically useful".[5]Most academics exclude egalitarian nonpatriarchal systems from matriarchies more strictly defined. According to Heide Göttner-Abendroth, a reluctance to accept the existence of matriarchies might be based on a specific culturally biased notion of how to define matriarchy: because in a patriarchy men rule over women, a matriarchy has frequently been conceptualized as women ruling over men,[6] while she believed that matriarchies are egalitarian.[6][7]

The word matriarchy, for a society politically led by females, especially mothers, who also control property, is often interpreted to mean the genderal opposite of patriarchy, but it is not an opposite (linguistically, it is not a parallel term).[8] [9][10] According to Peoples and Bailey, the view of anthropologist Peggy Reeves Sanday is that matriarchies are not a mirror form of patriarchies but rather that a matriarchy "emphasizes maternal meanings where 'maternal symbols are linked to social practices influencing the lives of both sexes and where women play a central role in these practices'".[11] Journalist Margot Adler wrote, "literally, ... ["matriarchy"] means government by mothers, or more broadly, government and power in the hands of women."[12] Barbara Love and Elizabeth Shanklin wrote, "by 'matriarchy,' we mean a non-alienated society: a society in which women, those who produce the next generation, define motherhood, determine the conditions of motherhood, and determine the environment in which the next generation is reared."[13] According to Cynthia Eller, "'matriarchy' can be thought of ... as a shorthand description for any society in which women's power is equal or superior to men's and in which the culture centers around values and life events described as 'feminine.'"[14] Eller wrote that the idea of matriarchy mainly rests on two pillars, romanticism and modern social criticism.[15] The notion of matriarchy was meant to describe something like a utopia placed in the past in order to legitimate contemporary social criticism. [citation needed] With respect to a prehistoric matriarchal Golden Age, according to Barbara Epstein, "matriarchy ... means a social system organized around matriliny and goddess worship in which women have positions of power."[16] According to Adler, in the Marxist tradition, it usually refers to a pre-class society "where women and men share equally in production and power."[17]According to Adler, "a number of feminists note that few definitions of the word [matriarchy], despite its literal meaning, include any concept of power, and they suggest that centuries of oppression have made it impossible for women to conceive of themselves with such power."[17]Matriarchy has often been presented as negative, in contrast to patriarchy as natural and inevitable for society, thus that matriarchy is hopeless. Love and Shanklin wrote:

When we hear the word "matriarchy", we are conditioned to a number of responses: that matriarchy refers to the past and that matriarchies have never existed; that matriarchy is a hopeless fantasy of female domination, of mothers dominating children, of women being cruel to men. Conditioning us negatively to matriarchy is, of course, in the interests of patriarchs. We are made to feel that patriarchy is natural; we are less likely to question it, and less likely to direct our energies to ending it.[18]The Matriarchal Studies school led by Göttner-Abendroth calls for an even more inclusive redefinition of the term: Göttner-Abendroth defines Modern Matriarchal Studies as the "investigation and presentation of non-patriarchal societies", effectively defining matriarchy as non-patriarchy.[19] She has also defined matriarchy as characterized by the sharing of power equally between the two genders.[20] According to Diane LeBow, "matriarchal societies are often

described as ... egalitarian ...",[21] although anthropologist Ruby Rohrlich has written of "the centrality of women in an egalitarian society."[22][a]Matriarchy is also the public formation in which the woman occupies the ruling position in a family.[2] For this usage, some scholars now prefer the term matrifocal to matriarchal.[citation needed] Some, including Daniel Moynihan, claimed that there is a matriarchy among Black families in the United States,[23][b] because a quarter of them were headed by single women;[24] thus, families composing a substantial minority of a substantial minority could be enough for the latter to constitute a matriarchy within a larger non-matriarchal society.

Etymologically, it is from Latin māter (genitive mātris), "mother" and Greek ἄρχειν arkhein, "to rule".[25] The notion of matriarchy was defined by Joseph-François Lafitau (1681–1746), who first named it ginécocratie.[26] According to the OED, the earliest known attestation of the word matriarchy is in 1885.[2] By contrast, gynæcocracy, meaning 'rule of women', has been in use since the 17th century, building on the Greek word γυναικοκρατία found in Aristotle and Plutarch.[27] [28]Terms with similar etymology are also used in various social sciences and humanities to describe matriarchal or matriological aspects of social, cultural and political processes. Adjective matriological is derived from the noun matriology that comes from Latin word māter (mother) and Greek word λογος (logos, teaching about). The term matriology was used in theology and history of religion as a designation for the study of particular motherly aspects of various female deities. The term was subsequently borrowed by other social sciences and humanities and its meaning was widened in order to describe and define particular female-dominated and female-centered aspects of cultural and social life. The male alternative for matriology is patriology.[citation needed]

Related concepts

In their works, Johann Jakob Bachofen and Lewis Morgan used such terms and expressions as mother-right, female rule, gyneocracy, and female authority. All these terms meant the same: the rule by females (mother or wife).[citation needed] Although Bachofen and Lewis Morgan confined the "mother right" inside households, it was the basis of female influence upon the whole society.[citation needed] The authors of the classics did not think that gyneocracy meant 'female government' in politics.[citation needed] They were aware of the fact that the sexual structure of government had no relation to domestic rule and to roles of both sexes.[citation needed]

Words beginning with gyn-
A matriarchy is also sometimes called a gynarchy, a gynocracy, a gynecocracy, or a gynocentric society, although these terms do not definitionally emphasize motherhood. Cultural anthropologist Jules de Leeuwe argued that some societies were "mainly gynecocratic"[29] (others being "mainly androcratic").[29][c]Gynecocracy, gynaecocracy, gynocracy, gyneocracy, and gynarchy generally mean 'government by women over women and men'.[30][31][32][33] All of these words are synonyms in their most important definitions. While these words all share that principal meaning,

they differ a little in their additional meanings, so that gynecocracy also means 'women's social supremacy',[34] gynaecocracy also means 'government by one woman', 'female dominance', and, derogatorily, 'petticoat government',[35] and gynocracy also means 'women as the ruling class'.[36] Gyneocracy is rarely used in modern times.[37] None of these definitions are limited to mothers.

Some question whether a queen ruling without a king is sufficient to constitute female government, given the amount of participation of other men in most such governments. One view is that it is sufficient. "By the end of [Queen] Elizabeth's reign, gynecocracy was a fait accompli", according to historian Paula Louise Scalingi.[38][d] Gynecocracy is defined by Scalingi as "government by women",[39] similar to dictionary definitions[31][32][33] (one dictionary adding 'women's social supremacy' to the governing role).[34] Scalingi reported arguments for and against the validity of gynocracy[40] and said, "the humanists treated the question of female rule as part of the larger controversy over sexual equality."[41] Possibly, queenship, because of the power wielded by men in leadership and assisting a queen, leads to queen bee syndrome, contributing to the difficulty of other women in becoming heads of the government.[citation needed]

Some matriarchies have been described by historian Helen Diner as "a strong gynocracy"[42] and "women monopolizing government"[43] and she described matriarchal Amazons as "an extreme, feminist wing"[44][e] of humanity and that North African women "ruled the country politically,"[42] and, according to Adler, Diner "envision[ed] a dominance matriarchy".[45] Gynocentrism is the 'dominant or exclusive focus on women', is opposed to androcentrism, and "invert[s] ... the privilege of the ... [male/female] binary ...[,] [some feminists] arguing for 'the superiority of values embodied in traditionally female experience'".[46]

Intergenerational relationships

Some people who sought evidence for the existence of a matriarchy often mixed matriarchy with anthropological terms and concepts describing specific arrangements in the field of family relationships and the organization of family life, such as matrilineality and matrilocality. These terms refer to intergenerational relationships (as matriarchy may), but do not distinguish between males and females insofar as they apply to specific arrangements for sons as well as daughters from the perspective of their relatives on their mother's side. Accordingly, these concepts do not represent matriarchy as 'power of women over men'.[47]

Words beginning with matri–

Further information: list of matrilineal or matrilocal societies

Anthropologists have begun to use the term matrifocality.[citation needed] There is some debate concerning the terminological delineation between matrifocality and matriarchy.[citation needed] Matrifocal societies are those in which women, especially mothers, occupy a central position.[citation needed] Anthropologist R. T. Smith refers to matrifocality as the kinship structure of a social system whereby the mothers assume structural prominence.[48] The term does not necessarily imply domination by women or mothers.[48] In addition, some authors depart from the premise of a mother-child dyad as the core of a human group where the grandmother was the central ancestor with her children and grandchildren clustered around her in an

extended family.[49]The term matricentric means 'having a mother as head of the family or household'.[citation needed]

Matristic: Feminist scholars and archeologists such as Marija Gimbutas, Gerda Lerner, and Riane Eisler[50] label their notion of a "woman-centered" society surrounding Mother Goddess worship during prehistory (in Paleolithic and Neolithic Europe) and in ancient civilizations by using the term matristic rather than matriarchal.[citation needed]

Matrilineality, in which descent is traced through the female line, is sometimes conflated with historical matriarchy.[51] Sanday favors redefining and reintroducing the word matriarchy, especially in reference to contemporary matrilineal societies such as the Minangkabau.[52] The 19th-century belief that matriarchal societies existed was due to the transmission of "economic and social power ... through kinship lines"[53] so that "in a matrilineal society all power would be channeled through women. Women may not have retained all power and authority in such societies ..., but they would have been in a position to control and dispense power."[53]A matrilocal society is one in which a couple resides close to the bride's family rather than the bridegroom's family; the term is by anthropologists.[citation needed]

History and distribution

Most anthropologists hold that there are no known societies that are unambiguously matriarchal.[54][55][56] According to J. M. Adovasio, Olga Soffer, and Jake Page, no true matriarchy is known actually to have existed.[51] Anthropologist Joan Bamberger argued that the historical record contains no primary sources on any society in which women dominated.[57] Anthropologist Donald Brown's list of human cultural universals (viz., features shared by nearly all current human societies) includes men being the "dominant element" in public political affairs,[58] which he asserts is the contemporary opinion of mainstream anthropology.[citation needed] There are some disagreements and possible exceptions. A belief that women's rule preceded men's rule was, according to Haviland, "held by many nineteenth-century intellectuals".[4] The hypothesis survived into the 20th century and was notably advanced in the context of feminism and especially second-wave feminism, but the hypothesis is mostly discredited today, most experts saying that it was never true.[59]Matriarchs, according to Peoples and Bailey, do exist; there are "individual matriarchs of families and kin groups."[3]

By region and culture

African nations
The royal lineage of Ethiopia, including for the Kandake, was passed through the woman only.[citation needed]

Ancient Near East
The Cambridge Ancient History (1975)[60] stated that "the predominance of a supreme goddess is probably a reflection from the practice of matriarchy which at

all times characterized Elamite civilization to a greater or lesser degree".[f]

<u>Europe</u>
Tacitus noted in his Germania that in "the nations of the Sitones a woman is the ruling sex."[61][g]Legends of Amazon women originated not from South America, but rather Scythia (present day Russia.) Historians note that the Sarmatians (present day Ukraine) are also descendants of the Amazonian women tribe.

<u>Asia</u>
Burma
Possible matriarchies in Burma are, according to Jorgen Bisch, the Padaungs[62] and, according to Andrew Marshall, the Kayaw.[63]
China
The Mosuo culture, which is in China near Tibet, is frequently described as matriarchal.[64] The Mosuo themselves often use this description and they believe it increases interest in their culture and thus attracts tourism. The term matrilineal is sometimes used, and, while more accurate, still doesn't reflect the full complexity of their social organization. In fact, it is not easy to categorize Mosuo culture within traditional Western definitions. They have aspects of a matriarchal culture: Women are often the head of the house, inheritance is through the female line, and women make business decisions. However, unlike in a true matriarchy, political power tends to be in the hands of males.[65]
India
In India, of communities recognized in the national Constitution as Scheduled Tribes, "some ... [are] matriarchal and matrilineal"[66] "and thus have been known to be more egalitarian".[67] According to interviewer Anuj Kumar, Manipur, India, "has a matriarchal society",[68] but this may not be a scholarly assessment.
Manipur, in north-east India, is not at all a matriarchy. Though mothers there are in forefront of most of the social activism, the society has always been a patriarchal. Their women power is visible because of historical reason. Manipur was ruled by strong dynasties. The need for expansions of borders, crushing any outsider threats etc. engaged the men. And so women had to take charge of home-front. [citation needed]

In the Dakshina Kannada district of Karnataka, many societies are matrilineal.[citation needed]

In Kerala, the Nair communities are matrilineal. Descent and relationship are determined through the female line.[citation needed]
Indonesia
Anthropologist Peggy Reeves Sanday said the Minangkabau society may be a matriarchy.[69]
Vietnam
According to William S. Turley, "the role of women in traditional Vietnamese culture was determined [partly] by ... indigenous customs bearing traces of matriarchy",[70] affecting "different social classes"[70] to "varying degrees".[70] According to Peter C. Phan, that "the first three persons leading insurrections against China were women ... suggest[s] ... that ancient Vietnam was a matriarchal society"[71] and "the ancient Vietnamese family system was most likely matriarchal, with women ruling over the clan or tribe"[72] until the Vietnamese "adopt[ed] ... the patriarchal system introduced by the Chinese",[72] although "this patriarchal system ... was not

able to dislodge the Vietnamese women from their relatively high position in the family and society, especially among the peasants and the lower classes",[72] with modern "culture and legal codes ... [promoting more] rights and privileges" for women than in Chinese culture.[73] According to Chiricosta, the legend of Âu C is said to be evidence of "the presence of an original 'matriarchy' in North Vietnam and [it] led to the double kinship system, which developed there .... [and which] combined matrilineal and patrilineal patterns of family structure and assigned equal importance to both lines."[74][h][i] Chiricosta said that other scholars relied on "this 'matriarchal' aspect of the myth to differentiate Vietnamese society from the pervasive spread of Chinese Confucian patriarchy"[75][j] and that "resistance to China's colonization of Vietnam ... [combined with] the view that Vietnam was originally a matriarchy ... [led to viewing] women's struggles for liberation from (Chinese) patriarchy as a metaphor for the entire nation's struggle for Vietnamese independence."[76] According to Keith Weller Taylor, "the matriarchal flavor of the time is ... attested by the fact that Trung Trac's mother's tomb and spirit temple have survived, although nothing remains of her father",[77] and the "society of the Trung sisters" was "strongly matrilineal".[78] According to Donald M. Seekins, an indication of "the strength of matriarchal values"[79] was that a woman, Tr ng Tr c, with her younger sister Tr ng Nh , raised an army of "over 80,000 soldiers .... [in which] many of her officers were women",[79] with which they defeated the Chinese.[79] According to Seekins, "in [the year] 40, Trung Trac was proclaimed queen, and a capital was built for her"[79] and modern Vietnam considers the Trung sisters to be heroines.[79] According to Karen G. Turner, in the 3rd century A.D., Lady Tri u "seem[ed] ... to personify the matriarchal culture that mitigated Confucianized patriarchal norms .... [although] she is also painted as something of a freak ... with her ... savage, violent streak."[80]

Native Americans
Main article: Native Americans in the United States (the Gender Roles subsection)
The Hopi (in what is now the Hopi Reservation in northeastern Arizona), according to Alice Schlegel, had as its "gender ideology ... one of female superiority, and it operated within a social actuality of sexual equality."[81] According to LeBow (based on Schlegel's work), in the Hopi, "gender roles ... are egalitarian .... [and] [n]either sex is inferior."[82][k] LeBow concluded that Hopi women "participate fully in ... political decision-making."[83][l] According to Schlegel, "the Hopi no longer live as they are described here"[84] and "the attitude of female superiority is fading".[84] Schlegel said the Hopi "were and still are matrilinial"[85] and "the household ... was matrilocal".[85] Schlegel explains why there was female superiority as that the Hopi believed in "life as the highest good ... [with] the female principle ... activated in women and in Mother Earth ... as its source"[86] and that the Hopi "were not in a state of continual war with equally matched neighbors"[87] and "had no standing army"[87] so that "the Hopi lacked the spur to masculine superiority"[87] and, within that, as that women were central to institutions of clan and household and predominated "within the economic and social systems (in contrast to male predominance within the political and ceremonial systems)",[87] the Clan Mother, for example, being empowered to overturn land distribution by men if she felt it was unfair,[86] since there was no "countervailing ... strongly centralized, male-centered political structure".[86]The Iroquois Confederacy or League, combining 5–6 Native American Haudenosaunee nations or tribes before the U.S. became a nation,

operated by The Great Binding Law of Peace, a constitution by which women participated in the League's political decision-making, including deciding whether to proceed to war,[88] through what may have been a matriarchy[89] or gyneocracy.[90] According to Doug George-Kanentiio, in this society, mothers exercise central moral and political roles.[91] The dates of this constitution's operation are unknown; the League was formed in approximately 1000–1450, but the constitution was oral until written in about 1880.[92] The League still exists.

George-Kanentiio explains:

In our society, women are the center of all things. Nature, we believe, has given women the ability to create; therefore it is only natural that women be in positions of power to protect this function....We traced our clans through women; a child born into the world assumed the clan membership of its mother. Our young women were expected to be physically strong....The young women received formal instruction in traditional planting....Since the Iroquois were absolutely dependent upon the crops they grew, whoever controlled this vital activity wielded great power within our communities. It was our belief that since women were the givers of life they naturally regulated the feeding of our people....In all countries, real wealth stems from the control of land and its resources. Our Iroquois philosophers knew this as well as we knew natural law. To us it made sense for women to control the land since they were far more sensitive to the rhythms of the Mother Earth. We did not own the land but were custodians of it. Our women decided any and all issues involving territory, including where a community was to be built and how land was to be used....In our political system, we mandated full equality. Our leaders were selected by a caucus of women before the appointments were subject to popular review....Our traditional governments are composed of an equal number of men and women. The men are chiefs and the women clan-mothers....As leaders, the women closely monitor the actions of the men and retain the right to veto any law they deem inappropriate....Our women not only hold the reigns of political and economic power, they also have the right to determine all issues involving the taking of human life. Declarations of war had to be approved by the women, while treaties of peace were subject to their deliberations.[91]

By chronology

Earliest prehistory and undated

The controversy surrounding prehistoric or "primal" matriarchy began in reaction to the book by Bachofen, Mother Right: An Investigation of the Religious and Juridical Character of Matriarchy in the Ancient World, in 1861. Several generations of ethnologists were inspired by his pseudo-evolutionary theory of archaic matriarchy. Following him and Jane Ellen Harrison, several generations of scholars, usually arguing from known myths or oral traditions and examination of Neolithic female cult-figures, suggested that many ancient societies might have been matriarchal, or even that there existed a wide-ranging matriarchal society prior to the ancient cultures of which we are aware. According to Uwe Wesel, Bachofen's myth interpretations have proved to be untenable.[93] The concept was further investigated by Lewis Morgan.[94] Many researchers studied the phenomenon of matriarchy afterward, but the basis was laid by the classics of sociology. The notion of a "woman-centered" society was developed by Bachofen, whose three-

volume Myth, Religion, and Mother Right (1861) impacted the way classicists such as Harrison, Arthur Evans, Walter Burkert, and James Mellaart[95] looked at the evidence of matriarchal religion in pre-Hellenic societies.[96] According to historian Susan Mann, as of 2000, "few scholars these days find ... [a "notion of a stage of primal matriarchy"] persuasive."[97]The following excerpts from Lewis Morgan's Ancient Society will explain the use of the terms: "In a work of vast research, Bachofen has collected and discussed the evidence of female authority, mother-right, and of female rule, gynecocracy."[page needed] "Common lands and joint tillage would lead to joint-tenant houses and communism in living; so that gyneocracy seems to require for its creation, descent in the female line. Women thus entrenched in large households, supplied from common stores, in which their own gens so largely predominated in numbers, would produce the phenomena of mother right and gyneocracy, which Bachofen has detected and traced with the aid of fragments of history and of tradition."[page needed]

Kurt Derungs is a non-academic author advocating an "anthropology of landscape" based on allegedly matriarchal traces in toponymy and folklore.[citation needed]

Paleolithic and Neolithic Ages

Friedrich Engels, in 1884, claimed that, in the earliest stages of human social development, there was group marriage and that therefore paternity was disputable, whereas maternity was not, so that a family could be traced only through the female line, and claimed that this was connected with the dominance of women over men or a Mutterrecht, which notion Engels took from Bachofen, who claimed, based on his interpretations of myths, that myths reflected a memory of a time when women dominated over men.[98][99] Engels speculated that the domestication of animals increased wealth claimed by men.[citation needed] Engels said that men wanted control over women for use as laborers and because they wanted to pass on their wealth to their children, requiring monogamy.[citation needed] Engels did not explain how this could happen in a matriarchal society, but said that women's status declined until they became mere objects in the exchange trade between men and patriarchy was established,[citation needed] causing the global defeat of the female sex[100] and the rise of individualism,[101] competition, and dedication to achievement.[citation needed] According to Eller, Engels may have been influenced with respect to women's status by August Bebel,[102] according to whom this matriarchy resulted in communism while patriarchy did not.[103]Austrian writer Bertha Diener, also known as Helen Diner, wrote Mothers and Amazons (1930), which was the first work to focus on women's cultural history. Hers is regarded as a classic of feminist matriarchal study.[104] Her view is that in the past all human societies were matriarchal; then, at some point, most shifted to patriarchal and degenerated. The controversy was reinforced further by the publication of The White Goddess by Robert Graves (1948) and his later analysis of classical Greek mythology and the vestiges of earlier myths that had been rewritten after a profound change in the religion of Greek civilization that occurred within its very early historical times. From the 1950s, Marija Gimbutas developed a theory of an Old European culture in Neolithic Europe which had matriarchal traits, replaced by the patriarchal system of the Proto-Indo-Europeans with the spread of Indo-European languages beginning in the Bronze Age. According to Epstein, anthropologists in the 20th century said that "the goddess worship or matrilocality that evidently existed in many paleolithic societies was not necessarily associated with matriarchy in the sense of women's power over men. Many societies can be found that exhibit those qualities

along with female subordination."[105] From the 1970s, these ideas were taken up by popular writers of second-wave feminism and expanded with the speculations of Margaret Murray on witchcraft, by the Goddess movement, and in feminist Wicca, as well as in works by Eisler, Elizabeth Gould Davis, and Merlin Stone.

"A Golden Age of matriarchy" was, according to Epstein, prominently presented by Charlene Spretnak and "encouraged" by Stone and Eisler,[106] but, at least for the Neolithic Age, has been denounced as feminist wishful thinking in The Inevitability of Patriarchy, Why Men Rule, Goddess Unmasked,[107] and The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory and is not emphasized in third-wave feminism. According to Eller, Gimbutas had a large part in constructing a myth of historical matriarchy by examining Eastern European cultures that she asserts, by and large, never really bore any resemblance in character to the alleged universal matriarchy suggested by Gimbutas and Graves. She asserts that in "actually documented primitive societies" of recent (historical) times, paternity is never ignored and that the sacred status of goddesses does not automatically increase female social status, and believes that this affirms that utopian matriarchy is simply an inversion of antifeminism.[citation needed]

The original evidence recognized by Gimbutas, however, of Neolithic societies being more egalitarian than the Bronze Age Indo-European and Semitic patriarchies remains valid.[citation needed] Gimbutas herself has not described these societies as matriarchal, preferring the term woman-centered or matristic.[citation needed] J.F. del Giorgio insists on a matrifocal, matrilocal, matrilineal Paleolithic society.[108]

Bronze Age

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According to Rohrlich, "many scholars are convinced that Crete was a matriarchy, ruled by a queen-priestess"[109] and the "Cretan civilization" was "matriarchal" before "1500 B.C.," when it was overrun and colonized.[110]Also according to Rohrlich, "in the early Sumerian city-states 'matriarchy seems to have left something more than a trace.'"[111]One common misconception among historians of the Bronze Age such as Stone and Eisler is the notion that the Semites were matriarchal while the Indo-Europeans practiced a patriarchal system. An example of this view is found in Stone's When God Was a Woman,[page needed] wherein she attempts to make out a case that the worship of Yahweh was an Indo-European invention superimposed on an ancient matriarchal Semitic nation. Evidence from the Amorites and pre-Islamic Arabs, however, indicates that the primitive Semitic family was in fact patriarchal and patrilineal. Meanwhile, the Indo-Europeans were known to have practiced multiple succession systems, and there is much better evidence of matrilineal customs among the Indo-European Celts and Germans than among any ancient Semitic peoples.

Women were running Sparta while the men were often away fighting. Gorgo, Queen of Sparta, responded to a question from a woman in Attica along the lines of, "why Spartan women were the only women in the world who could rule men?" Gorgo replied, "because we are the only women who are mothers of men".

<u>Iron Age to Middle Ages</u>
Arising in the period ranging from the Iron Age to the Middle Ages, several early northwestern European mythologies from the Irish (e.g., Macha and Scáthach), the Brittonic (e.g., Rhiannon), and the Germanic (e.g., Grendel's mother and Nerthus) contain ambiguous episodes of primal female power which have been interpreted as folk evidence of a real potential for matriarchal attitudes in pre-Christian European Iron Age societies. Often transcribed from a retrospective, patriarchal, Romanised, and Catholic perspective, they hint at an earlier, culturally disturbing, era when female power could have predominated. The first-century–attested historic British figure of Boudicca indicates that Brittonnic society permitted explicit female autocracy or a form of gender equality in a form which contrasted strongly with the patriarchal structure of Mediterranean civilisation.[citation needed]

<u>20th–21st centuries</u>
In 1995, in Kenya, according to Emily Wax, Umoja, a village only for women from one tribe with about 36 residents, was established under a matriarch.[112] Men of the same tribe established a village nearby from which to observe the women's village,[112] the men's leader objecting to the matriarch's questioning the culture[113] and men suing to close the women's village.[113] The village was still operational in 2005 when Wax reported on it.[112] Spokespersons for various indigenous peoples at the United Nations and elsewhere have highlighted the central role of women in their societies, referring to them as matriarchies, or as matriarchal in character.[114][115]

Mythology

Amazons
A legendary matriarchy related by several writers was Amazon society. According to Phyllis Chesler, "in Amazon societies, women were ... mothers and their society's only political and religious leaders",[116] as well as the only warriors and hunters;[117] "queens were elected"[118] and apparently "any woman could aspire to and achieve full human expression."[119] Herodotus reported that the Sarmatians were descendants of Amazons and Scythians, and that their females observed their ancient maternal customs, "frequently hunting on horseback with their husbands; in war taking the field; and wearing the very same dress as the men".[citation needed] Moreover, said Herodotus, "no girl shall wed till she has killed a man in battle".[citation needed] Amazons came to play a role in Roman historiography. Julius Caesar spoke of the conquest of large parts of Asia by Semiramis and the Amazons.[citation needed] Although Strabo was sceptical about their historicity, the Amazons were taken as historical throughout late Antiquity.[120] Several Church Fathers spoke of the Amazons as a real people.[citation needed] Medieval authors continued a tradition of locating the Amazons in the North, Adam of Bremen placing them at the Baltic Sea and Paulus Diaconus in the heart of Germania.[121] *Greece*
Robert Graves suggested that a myth displaced earlier myths that had to change when a major cultural change brought patriarchy to replace a matriarchy.[citation needed] According to this myth, in Greek mythology, Zeus is said to have swallowed his

pregnant lover, the titan goddess Metis, who was carrying their daughter, Athena. The mother and child created havoc inside Zeus. Either Hermes or Hephaestus split Zeus's head, allowing Athena, in full battle armor, to burst forth from his forehead. Athena was thus described as being "born" from Zeus. The outcome pleased Zeus as it didn't fulfill the prophecy of Themis which (according to Aeschylus) predicted that Zeus will one day bear a son that would overthrow him.[citation needed]

Celtic myth and society
Main article: *Ancient Celtic women § Matriarchy*
According to Adler, "there is plenty of evidence of ancient societies where women held greater power than in many societies today. For example, Jean Markale's studies of Celtic societies show that the power of women was reflected not only in myth and legend but in legal codes pertaining to marriage, divorce, property ownership, and the right to rule."[122]

South America
Bamberger (1974) examines several matriarchal myths from South American cultures and concludes that portraying the women from this matriarchal period as evil often serves to restrain contemporary women.[clarification needed][citation needed]

In feminist thought

For groups and communities without men, see separatist feminism.
While matriarchy has mostly fallen out of use for the anthropological description of existing societies, it remains current as a concept in feminism.[123][124]
In first-wave feminist discourse, either Elizabeth Cady Stanton or Margaret Fuller (it is unclear who was first) introduced the concept of matriarchy[125] and the discourse was joined in by Matilda Joslyn Gage.[126] Victoria Woodhull, in 1871, called for men to open the U.S. government to women or a new constitution and government would be formed in a year;[127] and, on a basis of equality, she ran to be elected President in 1872.[128][129] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, in 1911 and 1914,[130] argued for "a woman-centered, or better mother-centered, world"[131] and described "'government by women'".[132] She argued that a government led by either sex must be assisted by the other,[133] both genders being "useful ... and should in our governments be alike used",[134] because men and women have different qualities.[135]Cultural feminism includes "matriarchal worship", according to Prof. James Penner.[136]In feminist literature, matriarchy and patriarchy are not conceived as simple mirrors of each other.[137] While matriarchy sometimes means "the political rule of women",[138] that meaning is often rejected, on the ground that matriarchy is not a mirroring of patriarchy.[139] Patriarchy is held to be about power over others while matriarchy is held to be about power from within,[137] Starhawk having written on that distinction[137][140] and Adler having argued that matriarchal power is not possessive and not controlling, but is harmonious with nature.[m]For radical feminists, the importance of matriarchy is that "veneration for the female principle ... somewhat lightens an oppressive system."[142]Feminist utopias are a form of advocacy. According to Tineke Willemsen, "a feminist utopia would ... be

the description of a place where at least women would like to live."[143] Willemsen continues, among "type[s] of feminist utopias[,] ... [one] stem[s] from feminists who emphasize the differences between women and men. They tend to formulate their ideal world in terms of a society where women's positions are better than men's. There are various forms of matriarchy, or even a utopia that resembles the Greek myth of the Amazons.... [V]ery few modern utopias have been developed in which women are absolute autocrats."[144]A minority of feminists, generally radical,[123][124] have argued that women should govern societies of women and men. In all of these advocacies, the governing women are not limited to mothers:

In her book Scapegoat: The Jews, Israel, and Women's Liberation, Andrea Dworkin stated that she wanted women to have their own country, "Womenland,"[145] which, comparable to Israel, would serve as a "place of potential refuge".[145][146] In the Palestine Solidarity Review, Veronica A. Ouma reviewed the book and argued her view that while Dworkin "pays lip service to the egalitarian nature of ... [stateless] societies [without hierarchies], she envisions a state whereby women either impose gender equality or a state where females rule supreme above males."[147] Starhawk, in The Fifth Sacred Thing (1993), fiction, wrote of "a utopia where women are leading societies but are doing so with the consent of men."[148]Phyllis Chesler wrote in Women and Madness (2005 and 1972) that feminist women must "dominate public and social institutions".[149] She also wrote that women fare better when controlling the means of production[150] and that equality with men should not be supported,[151] even if female domination is no more "just"[151] than male domination. [151] On the other hand, in 1985, she was "probably more of a feminist-anarchist ... more mistrustful of the organisation of power into large bureaucratic states [than she was in 1972]".[152][n] Between Chesler's 1972 and 2005 editions, Dale Spender wrote that Chesler "takes [as] a ... stand [that] .... [e]quality is a spurious goal, and of no use to women: the only way women can protect themselves is if they dominate particular institutions and can use them to serve women's interests. Reproduction is a case in point."[153] Spender wrote Chesler "remarks ... women will be superior".[154]Monique Wittig authored, as fiction (not as fact), Les Guérillères,[155] with her description of an asserted "female State".[156] The work was described by Rohrlich as a "fictional counterpart" to "so-called Amazon societies".[157] Scholarly interpretations of the fictional work include that women win a war against men,[158] [159] "reconcil[e]"[160] with "those men of good will who come to join them",[160] exercise feminist autonomy[160] through polyandry,[161] decide how to govern,[160] and rule the men.[162] The women confronting men[163] are, according to Tucker Farley, diverse and thus stronger and more united[164] and, continued Farley, permit a "few ... men, who are willing to accept a feminist society of primitive communism, ... to live."[165] Another interpretation is that the author created an "'open structure' of freedom". [166]Mary Daly wrote of hag-ocracy, "the place we ["women traveling into feminist time/space"] govern",[167][o] and of reversing phallocratic rule[168] in the 1990s (i.e., when published).[169] She considered equal rights as tokenism that works against sisterhood, even as she supported abortion being legal and other reforms.[170] She considered her book female and anti-male.[171]Some such advocacies are informed by work on past matriarchy:

According to Prof. Linda M. G. Zerilli, "an ancient matriarchy ... [was "in early second-wave feminism"] the lost object of women's freedom."[172] Prof. Cynthia Eller found widespread acceptance of matriarchal myth during feminism's second wave. [173] According to Kathryn Rountree, the belief in a prepatriarchal "Golden Age" of

matriarchy may have been more specifically about a matrifocal society,[174] although this was believed more in the 1970s than in the 1990s–2000s and was criticized within feminism and within archaeology, anthropology, and theological study as lacking a scholarly basis,[175] and Prof. Harvey C. Mansfield wrote that "the evidence [is] ... of males ruling over all societies at almost all times".[176] Eller said that, other than a few separatist radical lesbian feminists, spiritual feminists would include "a place for men ... in which they can be happy and productive, if not necessarily powerful and in control"[177] and might have social power as well.[178] Jill Johnston envisioned a "return to the former glory and wise equanimity of the matriarchies"[179] in the future[179] and "imagined lesbians as constituting an imaginary radical state, and invoked 'the return to the harmony of statehood and biology....'"[180] Her work inspired efforts at implementation by the Lesbian Organization of Toronto (LOOT) in 1976–1980[181] and in Los Angeles.[182] Elizabeth Gould Davis believed that a "matriarchal counterrevolution [replacing "a[n old] patriarchal revolution"] ... is the only hope for the survival of the human race."[183] She believed that "spiritual force",[184] "mental and spiritual gifts",[184] and "extrasensory perception"[184][p] will be more important and therefore that "woman will ... predominate",[184] and that it is "about ... ["woman" that] the next civilization will ... revolve",[184] as in the kind of past that she believed existed.[184] According to critic Prof. Ginette Castro, Elizabeth Gould Davis used the words matriarchy and gynocracy "interchangeably"[185] and proposed a discourse "rooted in the purest female chauvinism"[186][q] and seemed to support "a feminist counterattack stigmatizing the patriarchal present",[185] "giv[ing] ... in to a revenge-seeking form of feminism",[185] "build[ing] ... her case on the humiliation of men",[185] and "asserti[ng] ... a specifically feminine nature ... [as] morally superior."[185] Castro criticized Elizabeth Gould Davis' essentialism and assertion of superiority as "sexist"[185] and "treason".[185] One organization that was named The Feminists was interested in matriarchy[187] and was one of the largest of the radical feminist women's liberation groups of the 1960s.[188] Two members wanted "the restoration of female rule",[189] but the organization's founder, Ti-Grace Atkinson, would have objected had she remained in the organization, because, according to a historian, "[she] had always doubted that women would wield power differently from men."[190] Robin Morgan

Robin Morgan wrote of women fighting for and creating a "gynocratic world".[191] Adler reported, "if feminists have diverse views on the matriarchies of the past, they also are of several minds on the goals for the future. A woman in the coven of Ursa Maior told me, 'right now I am pushing for women's power in any way I can, but I don't know whether my ultimate aim is a society where all human beings are equal, regardless of the bodies they were born into, or whether I would rather see a society where women had institutional authority.'"[192] Some fiction caricatured the current gender hierarchy by describing a matriarchal alternative without advocating for it. According to Karin Schönpflug, "Gerd Brantenberg's Egalia's Daughters is a caricature of powered gender relations which have been completely reversed, with the female sex on the top and the male sex a degraded, oppressed group";[193] "gender inequality is expressed through power inversion"[194] and "all gender roles are reversed and women rule over a class of intimidated, effeminate men".[195] "Egalia is not a typical example of gender inequality in the sense that a vision of a desirable matriarchy is created; Egalia is more a caricature of male hegemony by twisting gender hierarchy but not really offering a 'better world.'"[195] [196] On egalitarian matriarchy,[197] Heide Göttner-Abendroth's International Academy

for Modern Matriarchal Studies and Matriarchal Spirituality (HAGIA) organized conferences in Luxembourg in 2003[198] and Texas in 2005,[199][200] with papers published.[201] Göttner-Abendroth argued that "matriarchies are all egalitarian at least in terms of gender—they have no gender hierarchy .... [, that, f]or many matriarchal societies, the social order is completely egalitarian at both local and regional levels",[202] that, "for our own path toward new egalitarian societies, we can gain ... insight from ... ["tested"] matriarchal patterns",[203] and that "matriarchies are not abstract utopias, constructed according to philosophical concepts that could never be implemented."[204]According to Eller, "a deep distrust of men's ability to adhere to"[205] future matriarchal requirements may invoke a need "to retain at least some degree of female hegemony to insure against a return to patriarchal control",[205] "feminists ... [having] the understanding that female dominance is better for society—and better for men—than the present world order",[206] as is equalitarianism. On the other hand, Eller continued, if men can be trusted to accept equality, probably most feminists seeking future matriarchy would accept an equalitarian model.[206]"Demographic[ally]",[207] "feminist matriarchalists run the gamut"[207] but primarily are "in white, well-educated, middle-class circles";[207] many of the adherents are "religiously inclined"[207] while others are "quite secular". [207]Biology as a ground for holding either males or females superior over the other has been criticized as invalid, such as by Andrea Dworkin[208] and by Robin Morgan.[209] A claim that women have unique characteristics that prevent women's assimilation with men has been apparently rejected by Ti-Grace Atkinson.[210] On the other hand, not all advocates based their arguments on biology or essentialism. A criticism by Mansfield of choosing who governs according to gender or sex is that the best qualified people should be chosen, regardless of gender or sex.[211] On the other hand, Mansfield considered merit insufficient for office, because a legal right granted by a sovereign (e.g., a king), was more important than merit. [212]Diversity within a proposed community can, according to Becki L. Ross, make it especially challenging to complete forming the community.[213] However, some advocacy includes diversity, in the views of Dworkin[145] and Farley.[214]Prof. Christine Stansell, a feminist, wrote that, for feminists to achieve state power, women must democratically cooperate with men. "Women must take their place with a new generation of brothers in a struggle for the world's fortunes. Herland, whether of virtuous matrons or daring sisters, is not an option.... [T]he well-being and liberty of women cannot be separated from democracy's survival."[215] (Herland was feminist utopian fiction by Charlotte Perkins Gilman in 1911, featuring a community entirely of women except for three men who seek it out,[216] strong women in a matriarchal utopia[217] expected to last for generations,[218] although Charlotte Perkins Gilman was herself a feminist advocate of society being gender-integrated and of women's freedom.)[219]Other criticisms of superiority are that it is reverse sexism or discriminatory against men, it is opposed by most people including most feminists, women do not want such a position,[r] governing takes women away from family responsibilities, women are too likely to be unable to serve politically because of menstruation and pregnancy,[225] public affairs are too sordid for women[226] and would cost women their respect[227] and femininity (apparently including fertility),[228] superiority is not traditional,[229][s] women lack the political capacity and authority men have,[t] it is impractical because of a shortage of women with the ability to govern at that level of difficulty[227] as well as the desire and ability to wage war,[u][v][w] women are less aggressive, or less

often so, than are men[236] and politics is aggressive,[237] women legislating would not serve men's interests[227][238][239] or would serve only petty interests,[227] it is contradicted by current science on genderal differences,[240] it is unnatural,[241][242][x][244] and, in the views of a playwright and a novelist, "women cannot govern on their own."[245] On the other hand, another view is that "women have 'empire' over men"[246] because of nature and "men ... are actually obeying" women.[246]Pursuing a future matriarchy would tend to risk sacrificing feminists' position in present social arrangements, and many feminists are not willing to take that chance, according to Eller.[205] "Political feminists tend to regard discussions of what utopia would look like as a good way of setting themselves up for disappointment", according to Eller,[247] and argue that immediate political issues must get the highest priority.[247]"Matriarchists", as typified by comic character Wonder Woman were criticized by Kathie Sarachild, Carol Hanisch, and some others.[248]

In religious thought

Exclusionary

Some theologies and theocracies limit or forbid women from being in civil government or public leadership or forbid them from voting,[249] effectively criticizing and forbidding matriarchy. Within none of the following religions is the respective view necessarily universally held:

In Islam, some Muslim scholars hold that female political leadership is prohibited, according to Anne Sofie Roald.[250] The prohibition has been attributed to a hadith of Muhammad,[251][y] the founder and last prophet of Islam. The hadith says, according to Roald, "a people which has a woman as leader will never prosper."[251][z] The hadith's transmission, context, and meaning have been questioned, wrote Roald.[255] According to Roald, the prohibition has also been attributed as an extension of a ban on women leading prayers "in mixed gatherings" (which has been challenged)[253] and to a restriction on women traveling (an attribution also challenged).[256] Possibly, Roald noted, the hadith applies only against being head of state and not other high office.[256] One source, wrote Roald, would allow a woman to "occupy every position except that of khalīfa (the leader of all Muslims)."[257] One exception to the head-of-state prohibition was accepted without a general acceptance of women in political leadership, Roald reported.[258] Political activism at lower levels may be more acceptable to Islamist women than top leadership positions, said Roald.[259] The Muslim Brotherhood has stated that women may not be president or head of state but may hold other public offices but, "as for judiciary office, ... [t]he majority of jurispudents ... have forbidden it completely."[260] In a study of 82 Islamists in Europe, according to Roald, 80% said women could not be state leaders but 75% said women could hold other high positions.[261] In 1994, the Muslim Brotherhood said that "social circumstances and traditions" may justify gradualism in the exercise of women's right to hold office (below head of state).[262] Whether the Muslim Brothers still support that statement is unclear.[263] As reported in 1953, Roald reported later, "Islamic organizations held a conference in the office of the Muslim Brothers .... [and] claim[ed] ... that it had been proven that political rights for women were contrary to religion".[264] Some nations have specific bans. In Iran at times, according to Elaheh Rostami Povey, women have been forbidden to fill

some political offices because of law or because of judgments made under the Islamic religion.[265] As to Saudi Arabia, according to Asmaa Al-Mohamed, "Saudi women … are … not allowed to enter parliament as anything more than advisors; they cannot vote, much less serve as representatives".[266] According to Steven Pinker, in a 2001–2007 Gallup poll of 35 nations having 90% of the world's Muslims, "substantial majorities of both sexes in all the major Muslim countries say that women should be allowed to vote without influence from men … and to serve in the highest levels of government."[267]In Judaism, among orthodox leaders, a position, beginning before Israel became a modern state, has been that for women to hold public office in Israel would threaten the state's existence, according to educator Tova Hartman,[268] who reports the view has "wide consensus".[269] When Israel ratified the international women's equality agreement known as CEDAW, according to Marsha Freeman, it reserved nonenforcement for any religious communities that forbid women from sitting on religious courts.[270] According to Freeman, "the tribunals that adjudicate marital issues are by religious law and by custom entirely male."[271] "'Men's superiority' is a fundamental tenet in Judaism", according to Irit Umanit.[272] According to Freeman, Likud party-led "governments have been less than hospitable to women's high-level participation."[273]In Buddhism, according to Karma Lekshe Tsomo, some hold that "the Buddha allegedly hesitated to admit women to the Saṅgha …."[274] "In certain Buddhist countries—Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Sri Lanka, and Thailand—women are categorically denied admission to the Saṅgha, Buddhism's most fundamental institution", according to Tsomo.[275] Tsomo wrote, "throughout history, the support of the Saṅgha has been actively sought as a means of legitimation by those wishing to gain and maintain positions of political power in Buddhist countries."[275]Among Hindus in India, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, "India's most extensive all-male Hindu nationalist organization,"[276][aa] has debated whether women can ever be Hindu nationalist political leaders[277] but without coming to a conclusion, according to Paola Bacchetta.[277] The Rashtriya Sevika Samiti, a counterpart organization composed of women,[277] believes that women can be Hindu nationalist political leaders[277] and has trained two in Parliament,[278] but considers women only as exceptions,[279] the norm for such leadership being men.[277]John Knox

- In Protestant Christianity, considered only historically, in 1558, John Knox (Maria Stuart's subject) wrote The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.[280] According to Scalingi, the work is "perhaps the best known analysis of gynecocracy"[41] and Knox was "the most notorious"[41] writer on the subject.[41] According to an 1878 edition, Knox's objection to any women reigning and having "empire"[ab] over men was theological[282] and it was against nature for women to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire above any realm, nation, or city.[ac] Susan M. Felch said that Knox's argument was partly grounded on a statement of the apostle Paul against women teaching or usurping authority over men.[283] According to Maria Zina Gonçalves de Abreu, Knox argued that a woman being a national ruler was unnatural[284] and that women were unfit and ineligible for the post.[284] Kathryn M. Brammall said Knox "considered the rule of female monarchs to be anathema to good government"[285] and that Knox "also attacked those who obeyed or supported female leaders",[286] including men.[286] Robert M. Healey said that Knox objected to women's rule even if men accepted it.[287] On whether Knox personally endorsed what he wrote,

according to Felch, Jasper Ridley, in 1968, argued that even Knox may not have personally believed his stated position but may have merely pandered to popular sentiment,[288] itself a point disputed by W. Stanford Reid.[289] On the popularity of Knox's views, Patricia-Ann Lee said Knox's "fierce attack on the legitimacy of female rule ... [was one in which] he said ... little that was unacceptable ... to most of his contemporaries",[290] although Judith M. Richards disagreed on whether the acceptance was quite so widespread.[291] According to David Laing's Preface to Knox's work, Knox's views were agreed with by some people at the time, the Preface saying, "[Knox's] views were in harmony with those of his colleagues ... [Goodman, Whittingham, and Gilby]".[292] Writing in agreement with Knox was Christopher Goodman, who, according to Lee, "considered the woman ruler to be a monster in nature, and used ... scriptural argument to prove that females were barred ... from any political power",[293] even if, according to Richards, the woman was "virtuous".[294] Some views included conditionality; while John Calvin said, according to Healey, "that government by a woman was a deviation from the original and proper order of nature, and therefore among the punishments humanity incurred for original sin",[295][ad] nonetheless Calvin would not always question a woman's right to inherit rule of a realm or principality.[296] Heinrich Bullinger, according to Healey, "held that rule by a woman was contrary to God's law but cautioned against [always] using that reason to oppose such rule".[297] According to Richards, Bullinger said women were normally not to rule.[298] Around 1560, Calvin, in disagreeing with Knox, argued that the existence of the few women who were exceptions showed that theological ground existed for their exceptionalism.[299] Knox's view was much debated in Europe at the time,[300] the issue considered complicated by laws such as on inheritance[291] and since several women were already in office, including as Queens, according to de Abreu.[301] Knox's view is not said to be widely held in modern Protestantism among leadership or laity.

Inclusionary
Main articles: theology and Goddess movement
Feminist thealogy, according to Eller, conceptualized humanity as beginning with "female-ruled or equalitarian societies",[302] until displaced by patriarchies,[303] and that in the millennial future "'gynocentric,' life-loving values"[303] will return to prominence.[303] This, according to Eller, produces "a virtually infinite number of years of female equality or superiority coming both at the beginning and end of historical time."[304]Among criticisms is that a future matriarchy, according to Eller, as a reflection of spirituality, is conceived as ahistorical,[206] and thus may be unrealistic, unreachable, or even meaningless as a goal to secular feminists.

In popular culture

Ancient theatre
Apparently as criticism, about 2,400 years ago, in 390 BC, Aristophanes wrote a play, Ecclesiazusae, about women gaining legislative power and governing

Athens, Greece, on a limited principle of equality. In the play, according to Mansfield, Praxagora, a character, argues that women should rule because they are superior to men, not equal, and yet she declines to assert publicly her right to rule, although elected and although acting in office.[305] The play, Mansfield wrote, also suggests that women would rule by not allowing politics, in order to prevent disappointment, and that affirmative action would be applied to heterosexual relationships.[305] In the play, as Mansfield described it, written when Athens was a male-only democracy where women could not vote or rule, women were presented as unassertive and unrealistic, and thus not qualified to govern.[305] The play, according to Sarah Ruden, was a fable on the theme that women should stay home.[306]

Literature
- Elizabeth Burgoyne Corbett's New Amazonia: A Foretaste of the Future is an early feminist utopian novel (published 1889), which is matriarchal in that all political leadership roles in New Amazonia are required to be held by women, according to Duangrudi Suksang.[307]Roquia Sakhawat Hussain's Sultana's Dream is an early feminist utopia (published 1905) based on advanced science and technology developed by women, set in a society, Ladyland, run by women, where "the power of males is taken away and given to females," and men are secluded and primarily attend to domestic duties, according to Seemin Hasan.[308]In Robert Merle's 1974 novel Les hommes protégés (Published in US as The Virility Factor in 1977) an infectious disease affects only men with active spermatogenesis and wipes almost all of them out; only a minority survives in carefully guarded sites. Women gain all kind of control, primarily political, and consecutively build two types of matriarchy. At first, they establish a segregationist heterophobic society. By the end of the novel, heterosexual women conduct a revolution and establish a more balanced but still highly matriarchal society.
- Marion Zimmer Bradley's book, The Ruins of Isis (1978), is, according to Batya Weinbaum, set within a "female supremacist world."[309]In Marion Zimmer Bradley's book, The Mists of Avalon (1983), Avalon is an island with a matriarchal culture, according to Ruben Valdes-Miyares.[310]In Speaker for the Dead (1986) and its sequels, the alien pequenino species in every forest are matriarchal.[311]In Sheri S. Tepper's book, The Gate to Women's Country (1988), the only men who live in Women's Country are the "servitors," who are servants to the women, according to Peter Fitting.[312]Short novel by Russian writer Alexander Bushkov "Anastasia" (Анастасия) (1989) describes a postapocalyptic world where a mutation made women in Siberia physically much stronger then men. Their country, Happy Empire, is a feudal society with reversed gender roles.
- First novel in The Dark Elf Trilogy by R. A. Salvatore, Homeland (1990), is set in fictional underground city inhabited by dark elves (Drow) living in matriarchal society.
- In L. E. Modesitt, Jr.'s Saga of Recluce series (1991–), Westwind is a matriarchal society.[citation needed]
- Élisabeth Vonarburg's book, Chroniques du Pays des Mères (1992) (translated into English as In the Mothers' Land) is set in a matriarchal society where, due

to a genetic mutation, women outnumber men by 70 to 1.[313] Melanie Rawn's Exiles Trilogy (1994–) is set in a matriarchal society.[citation needed]

- In L. E. Modesitt, Jr.'s Corean Chronicles series (2002–), Madrien is a matriarchal society.[citation needed]

N. Lee Wood's book Master of None (2004) is set in a "closed matriarchal world where men have no legal rights", according to Publishers Weekly.[314] Wen Spencer's book A Brother's Price (2005) is set in a world where, according to Page Traynor, "women are in charge," "boys are rare and valued but not free," and "boys are kept at home to do the cooking and child caring until the time they marry".[315] Elizabeth Bear's Carnival (2006) introduces New Amazonia, a colony planet with a matriarchal and largely lesbian population who eschew the strict and ruthless population control and environmentalism instituted on Earth. The Amazonians are aggressive, warlike and subjugate the few men they tolerate for reproduction and service, but they are also pragmatic and defensive of their freedom from the male-dominated Coalition that seeks to conquer them.[316]

Film
- In the film Ghosts of Mars, human society on Mars has a "ruling matriarchy", according to O'Brien Stanley, Nicki L. Michalski, and Ruth J. H. Stanley.[317] In the 2015 space opera film Jupiter Ascending, all the Universes (particularly The Earth) were ruled by the "Matriarch of the House of Abrasax".

Fine Arts
Verbotenes Land ("Forbidden Land"), 1936
- In 20th Century Modernism matriarchal archeology and psychology found only few defenders. One of the major exponents was the Austrian Surrealist Wolfgang Paalen who, in his painting "Pays interdit" ("Forbidden Land") draws an apocalyptic landscape dominated by a female goddess and, as symbols of the male gods, fallen, meteorite-like planets.

Television
- Gene Roddenberry's Planet Earth (TV pilot) (1974) features a matriarchal society called the Sisters of Ruth, where the men are drugged through their food, according to Jeff Bond.[318] In the British/German television series, Star Maidens (1976), the planet Medusa has a "matriarchal structure" where "all of the women perform fulfilling, non-menial work, all are educated, childcare is a non-issue as children are cared for (offscreen) by men, and women possess technology that keeps male aggression in check", according to Sharon Sharp.[319] In the Space: 1999 episode Devil's Planet (1977), Entra is a prison planet where the rulers and wardens are all women, and the prisoners are all men, who are "political dissidents who spoke against female rule."[320] In the Star Trek: The Next Generation episode Angel One (1988), the planet Angel One "has a matriarchal society because biologically women are the stronger sex (they are taller and physically stronger) and men are treated as second class citizens", according to Laura Nadine Coussement.[321] The Red Dwarf episode Parallel Universe depicts a society where male and female gender roles are swapped with women taking powerful positions and men fighting for

equality.[citation needed]
- The American television series "Xena: Warrior Princess" featured a recurring group of "Amazons" who practiced a matriarchal culture, with female spiritual and political leaders governing a group of militaristic women who lived separately from men and expelled male children from the group soon after birth.
- In the Raising Gazorpazorp episode of "Rick and Morty", a planet named Gazorpazorp is dominated by females.
- In the South Park episode "The End of Serialization as We Know It", Eric Cartman has visions of a future society on Mars that is dominated by females, with the men kept only for reproductive purposes and for writing jokes.

Video Games
- In the Science Fiction PC game "Operation Matriarchy" the year is 2350 and a virus breaks out on a human colonized planet known as Velia targeting only females in the population and transforming them into killing-machines while males are enslaved for use as sustenance or as subjects for genetic experiments. Having evolved into an aggressive hive mind, the Velians turn on the Federation of Earth instigating a brutal war.

See also

- Alain DaniélouBonoboÇatalhöyük (denials of matriarchy)
- Female cosmetic coalitions
- The Hebrew Goddess
- History of feminismIsis
- Kyriarchy
- Marianismo
- Menstrual synchrony
- Patriarchs (Bible) (the Matriarchs section)
- Mosuo
- Minangkabau peopleQ
- ueer nationalism
- Sex strike
- Trobriand Islands
- Venus figurines
- Heide Göttner-Abendroth

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- Peggy Reeves Sanday, Women at the Center: Life in a Modern Matriarchy (Cornell University Press, 2002)

Notes

a Jump up ˆ Feminist anthropology, an approach to anthropology that tries to reduces male bias in the field
b Jump up ˆ Black matriarchy, the cultural phenomenon of many Black families being headed by mothers with fathers absent
c Jump up ˆ Androcracy, form of government ruled by males, especially fathers
d Jump up ˆ Queen Elizabeth I, queen regnant of England and Ireland in 1533–1603
e Jump up ˆ Amazon feminism, feminism that emphasizes female physical prowess toward the goal of gender equality
f Jump up ˆ Elamite civilization, an ancient civilization in part of what is now Iran
g Jump up ˆ Sitones, a Germanic or Finnic people who lived in Northern Europe in the 1st century AD
h Jump up ˆ North Vietnam, sovereign state until merged with South Vietnam in 1976
i Jump up ˆ Patrilineal, belonging to the father's lineage, generally for inheritance
j Jump up ˆ Confucianism, ethics and philosophy derived from Confucius
k Jump up ˆ Gender role, set of norms for a gender in social relationships
l Jump up ˆ Clan Mothers, elder matriarchs of certain Native American clans, who were typically in charge of appointing tribal chiefs
m Jump up ˆ Adler wrote a matriarchy is "a realm where female things are valued and where power is exerted in non-possessive, non-controlling, and organic ways that are harmonious with nature."[141]Jump up ˆ Anarcha-feminism, a philosophy combining anarchism and feminism
n Jump up ˆ For another definition of hag by Mary Daly, see Daly, Mary, with Jane Caputi, Websters' First New Intergalactic Wickedary of the English Language (London, Great Britain: Women's Press, 1988 (ISBN 0-7043-4114-X)), p. 137.
o Jump up ˆ Extrasensory perception (ESP), perception sensed by the mind but not originating through recognized physical senses

p   Jump up ^ Chauvinism, partisanship that is extreme and unreasoning and in favor of a group

q   Jump up ^ "Women do not run for office as readily as men do, nor do most women, it seems, call on them to run. It seems that they do not have the same desire to 'run' things as men, to use the word in another political sense that like the first includes standing out in front.... Women are partisan, like men; hence they are political, like men. But not to the same degree. They will readily sail into partisan conflict, but they are not so ready to take the lead and make themselves targets of partisan hostility (though they do write provocative books)."[220] [A] "study .... traces the gender gap ... to 'participatory factors,' such as education and income, that give men greater advantages in civic skills, enabling them to participate politically"[221] "[I]n politics and in other public situations, he ["the manly man"] willingly takes responsibility when others hang back.... His wife and children ... are weaker",[222] "manliness ... is aggression that develops an assertion, a cause it espouses"...[223] "a woman .... may have less ambition or a different ambition, but being a political animal like a man, she too likes to rule, if in her way".[224] See also Schaub (2006).

r   Jump up ^ "Athenians were extreme, but almost no Greeks or Romans thought women should participate in government. There was no approved public forum for any kind of women's self-expression, not even in the arts and religion [perhaps except "priestesses"]."[230][231]Jump up ^ "[according to] Aristotle ....[,] [a] s women do not have the authority, the political capacity, of men, they are, as it were, elbowed out of politics and ushered into the household.... Meanwhile the male rules because of his greater authority".[232] Jump up ^ "ability to fight .... is an important claim to rule ..., and it is the culmination of the aggressive manly stereotype we are considering", "who can reasonably deny that women are not as accomplished as men in battle either in spirit or in physique? .... Conservatives say that this proves that women are not the same as men", & "manliness is best shown in war, the defense of one's country at its most difficult and dangerous"[233] "there might come a point when ... stronger persons would have to be fought [by women] rather than merely told off.... The very great majority of women would take a pass on the opportunity to be GI Jane. In the NATO countries where women are allowed in combat units they form only 1 percent of the complement.... Whatever their belief about equality, women might reasonably decide they are needed more elsewhere than in combat"[234]Jump up ^ GI Jane is 'a female member of a military'.[235]Jump up ^ NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which provides collective military defense for member nations

s   Jump up ^ "Mrs. Woodhull offers herself in apparent good faith as a candidate, and perhaps she has a remote impression, or rather hope, that she may be elected, but it seems that she is rather in advance of her time. The public mind is not yet educated to the pitch of universal woman's rights" ... "At present man, in his affection for and kindness toward the weaker sex, is disposed to accord her any reasonable number of privileges. Beyond that stage he pauses, because there seems to him to be something which is unnatural in permitting her to share the turmoil, the excitement, the risks of competition for the glory of governing."[243]Jump up ^ "Koranic verse 4: 34 ... has been used to denounce female leadership"[252] ("4: 34" spaced so in original), but the verse may apply to family life rather than to politics.[253] Roald (2001), pp. 189–190 cites, respectively, Badawi, Jamal, Gender Equity in Islam: Basic Principles (Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1995), p. 38 & perhaps passim, and Roald, Anne Sofie, & Pernilla Ouis, Lyssna på männen: att leva i en patriarkalisk muslimsk kontext, in Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift, pp. 91–108 (1997).

t   Jump up ^ Another translation is, "a people which has a woman as a leader will not succeed."[254] The 2001 author's paraphrase of the hadith, "the people who have a female leader will not succeed", is at Roald (2001), p. 185.

u   Jump up ^ Although India is majority Hindu, it is officially secular, per Bacchetta (2002), p. 157.

v   Jump up ^ "I am assured that God hath reueled to some in this our age, that it is more then a monstre in nature, that a woman shall reigne and haue empire aboue man."[281]Jump up ^ "To promote a woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion or empire aboue any realme, nation, or citie, is repugnant to nature, contumelie to God, a thing most contrarious to his reueled will and approued ordinance, and finallie it is the subuersion of good order, of all equitie and iustice[.]"[282]Jump up ^ Original sin, in Christianity, a state of sin, or violation of God's will, due to Adam's rebellion in the Garden of Eden

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2   ^ Jump up to: a b c d e Oxford English Dictionary (online), entry matriarchy, as accessed November 3, 2013 (subscription may be required or content may be available in libraries).

3   ^ Jump up to: a b Peoples & Bailey (2012), p. 259

4   ^ Jump up to: a b Haviland, William A., Anthropology (Ft. Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 8th ed. 1997 (ISBN 0-15-503578-9)), p. 579.

5   Jump up ^ Kuznar, Lawrence A., Reclaiming a Scientific Anthropology (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press (div. of Sage Publications), pbk. 1997 (ISBN 0-7619-9114-X)).

6   ^ Jump up to: a b Goettner-Abendroth, Heide, Matriarchal Society: Definition and Theory, as accessed January 10, 2013. See also Sanday, Peggy Reeves, Women at the Center: Life in a Modern Matriarchy (Cornell University Press, 2002) ("matriarchies are not a mirror form of patriarchies but rather ... a matriarchy

"emphasizes maternal meanings where 'maternal symbols are linked to social practices influencing the lives of both sexes and where women play a central role in these practices'"). [page needed]

7   Jump up ^ Lepowsky, M. A., Fruit of the Motherland: Gender in an Egalitarian Society (U.S.: Columbia University Press, 1993).

8   Jump up ^ Compare, in Oxford English Dictionary (online), entry patriarchy to entry matriarchy, both as accessed November 3, 2013. (Subscription may be required or content may be available in libraries.)

9   Jump up ^ Eller (1995), pp. 161–162 & 184 & n. 84 (p. 184 n. 84 probably citing Spretnak, Charlene, ed., Politics of Women's Spirituality: Essays on the Rise of Spiritual Power Within the Feminist Movement (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1982), p. xiii (Spretnak, Charlene, Introduction)).

10 Jump up ^ Goettner-Abendroth (2009a), pp. 1–2

11 Jump up ^ Peoples & Bailey (2012), pp. 258-259

12 Jump up ^ Adler (2006), p. 193 (italics so in original)

13 Jump up ^ Love & Shanklin (1983), p. 275

14 Jump up ^ Eller (2000), pp. 12–13

15 Jump up ^ Eller (2011)[page needed]

16 Jump up ^ Epstein (1991), p. 173 and see p. 172

17 ^ Jump up to: a b Adler (2006), p. 194

18 Jump up ^ Love & Shanklin (1983)Jump up ^ Introduction, in Second World Congress on Matriarchal Studies.

19 Jump up ^ DeMott, Tom, The Investigator (review of Bennholdt-Thomsen, Veronika, Cornelia Giebeler, Brigitte Holzer, & Marina Meneses, Juchitán, City of Women (Mexico: Consejo Editorial, 1994)), as accessed Feb. 6, 2011.

20 Jump up ^ LeBow (1984)Jump up ^ Rohrlich (1977), p. 37

21 Jump up ^ Office of Policy Planning and Review (Daniel Patrick Moynihan, principal author), The Negro Family: The Case For National Action (U.S. Department of Labor, 1965), esp. Chapter IV. The Tangle of Pathology, authorship per History at the Department of Labor: In-Depth Research, all as accessed November 2, 2013.

22 Jump up ^ Donovan (2000), p. 171, citing Moynihan, Daniel, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (1965) ("In this analysis Moynihan asserted that since a fourth of black families were headed by single women, black society was a matriarchy .... [and t]his situation undermined the confidence and 'manhood' of black men, and therefore prevented their competing successfully in the white work world.") and citing hooks, bell, either Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism (Boston: South End, 1981) or Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center (Boston: South End, 1984) (probably former), pp. 181–187 ("freedom came to be seen by some black militants as a liberation from the oppression caused by black women"), hooks, bell, pp. 180–181 ("many black men 'absorbed' the Moynihan ideology, and this misogyny itself became absorbed into the black freedom movement" and included this, "Moynihan's view", as a case of "American neo-Freudian revisionism where women who evidenced the slightest degree of independence were perceived as 'castrating' threats to the male identity"), and see hooks, bell, p. 79.

23 Jump up ^ "matriarchy". Online Etymology Dictionary.

24 Jump up ^ Edvard Westermarck (1921), The History of Human Marriage, Vol. 3, London: Macmillan, p. 108.

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33 Jump up ^ OED (1993), gynaecocracy

34 Jump up ^ OED (1993), gynocracy

35 Jump up ^ OED (1993), gyneocracy

36 Jump up ^ Scalingi (1978), p. 72

37 Jump up ^ Scalingi (1978), p. 59

38 Jump up ^ Scalingi (1978), p. 60 & passim

39 ^ Jump up to: a b c d Scalingi (1978), p. 60

40 ^ Jump up to: a b Diner (1965), p. 173

41 Jump up ^ Diner (1965), p. 136

42 Jump up ^ Diner (1965), p. 123 and see p. 122

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226   Jump up ˆ Richards (1997), p. 120, but see pp. 120–121.
227   Jump up ˆ Mansfield (2006), p. 72 ("the evidence [is] ... of males ruling over all societies at almost all times" & "males ... have dominated all politics we know of") & 58 ("every previous society, including our democracy up to now, has been some kind of patriarchy, permeated by stubborn, self-insistent manliness" (italics omitted)) and see p. 66 (patriarchy as "based on manliness, not merely those governments staffed by males", applicability depending on the antecedent for "here").
228   Jump up ˆ Ruden (2010), p. 80 (emphasis in original)
229   Jump up ˆ Athenians discussed in the context of play by Aristophanes, Ruden (2010), pp. 78–80
230   Jump up ˆ Mansfield (2006), p. 210
231   Jump up ˆ Mansfield (2006), p. 75
232   Jump up ˆ Mansfield (2006), p. 76
233   Jump up ˆ Random House Historical Dictionary of American Slang (N.Y.: Random House, 1st ed. 1994 (ISBN 0-394-54427-7)), vol. 1, p. 892, col. 2 (earliest example dated 1944).
234   Jump up ˆ Mansfield (2006), pp. 63–64
235   Jump up ˆ Mansfield (2006), p. 62
236   Jump up ˆ Roald (2001), p. 269
237   Jump up ˆ Not absolutely but relatively so: Mansfield (2006), p. 80 n. 51 ("successful ambition in women [i.e., "women holding office"] makes them more womanish in the sense of representing women's views").
238   Jump up ˆ Mansfield (2006), p. 50 ("our science rather clumsily confirms the stereotype about manliness, the stereotype that stands stubbornly in the way of the gender-neutral society") and see pp. 43–49.
239   Jump up ˆ Mansfield (2006), pp. 205–206
240   Jump up ˆ Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth, The Praxis of Coequal Discipleship, in Horsley, Richard A., ed., Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press Intntl., 1997 (ISBN 1-56338-217-2)), pp. 238–239 (probably from Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth, In Memory of Her (Crossroad Publishing, 1983) & edited), quoting Aristotle (Politics I.1254b) ("the male is by nature superior and the female inferior, the male ruler and the female subject").
241   Jump up ˆ Editorial, New York Herald, May 27, 1870, p. 6, as quoted in Gabriel (1998), pp. 56–57
242   Jump up ˆ Herzog (1998), p. 440
243   Jump up ˆ Mansfield (2006), p. 131, citing Oscar Wilde (playwright, per p. 126), and Henry James (novelist,

per p. 127).

244   ^ Jump up to: ^{a b} Mansfield (2006), p. 195, citing Jean-Jacques Rousseau, per pp. 194–195.

245   ^ Jump up to: ^{a b} Eller (1995), p. 207

246   Jump up ^ Siegel, Deborah, Sisterhood, Interrupted: From Radical Women to Grrls Gone Wild (N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007 (ISBN 978-1-4039-8204-9)), p. 65.

247   Jump up ^ "Holy Scripture inculcates for women a sphere higher than and apart from that of public life; because as women they find a full measure of duties, cares and responsibilities and are unwilling to bear additional burdens unsuited to their physical organization.", a "signed ... petition against female suffrage" (January, 1871), in Gabriel (1998), p. 83, citing The Press—Philadelphia, January 14, 1871, p. 8.

248   Jump up ^ Roald (2001), p. 185

249   ^ Jump up to: ^{a b} Roald (2001), pp. 186–187

250   Jump up ^ Roald (2001), pp. 189–190

251   ^ Jump up to: ^{a b} Roald (2001), p. 190

252   Jump up ^ Roald (2001), p. 188

253   Jump up ^ Roald (2001), pp. 186–189

254   ^ Jump up to: ^{a b} Roald (2001), p. 196

255   Jump up ^ Roald (2001), pp. 196–197

256   Jump up ^ Roald (2001), pp. 185–186

257   Jump up ^ Roald (2001), p. 186 & ch. 8, passim

258   Jump up ^ Ikhwan web, Muslim Brotherhood on Muslim women in Islamic Society (October 29, 2005) (trans.), as accessed March 5, 2011, [§] The Woman's Right to Vote, Be Elected and Occupy Public and Governmental Posts., [sub§] Thirdly, Women's Holding of Public Office.

259   Jump up ^ Roald (2001), p. 198 (for study details, see Roald (2001), ch. 3, e.g., quantity of 82 per p. 64).

260   Jump up ^ Roald (2001), p. 197, quoting The Muslim Brotherhood, The Role of Women in Islamic Society According to the Muslim Brotherhood (London: International Islamic Forum, 1994), 14.

261   Jump up ^ The document stating it was not available at its official English-language website advanced search page, as accessed March 5, 2011 (search for "Role of Women in Islamic Society" without quotation marks yielding no results), but a document with similar relevant effect is Ikhwan web, Muslim Brotherhood on Muslim women in Islamic Society (October 29, 2005) (trans.), as accessed March 5, 2011 ("social circumstances and traditions" as justifying gradualism, per [§] A General Remark).

262   Jump up ^ Roald (2001), p. 34, citing Shafiq, Duriyya, al-Kitab al-abiyad lil-huquq al-mar'a al-misriyya (The White Paper on the Rights of the Egyptian Woman) (Cairo: n.p., 1953) (bibliographic information partly per Roald (2001), p. 25 n. 27)

263   Jump up ^ Rostami Povey, Elaheh, Feminist Contestations of Institutional Domains in Iran, in Feminist Review, no. 69, pp. 49 & 53 (Winter, 2001).

264   Jump up ^ Al-Mohamed, Asmaa, Saudi Women's Rights: Stuck at a Red Light (Arab Insight (World Security Institute), January 8, 2008), p. 46, as accessed December 28, 2010.

265   Jump up ^ Pinker, Steven, The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined (N.Y.: Viking, hardback 2011 (ISBN 978-0-670-02295-3)), pp. 366–367 and see pp. 414–415.

266   Jump up ^ Hartman (2007), p. 105, attributing the argument to Rav Kook, or Rabbi Abraham Isaac Hacohen Kook; "a significant spiritual leader of the ["early twentieth century"]", Hartman (2007), p. 101, citing, at Hartman (2007), pp. 101–102, Kook, Rav, Open Letter to the Honorable Committee of the "Mizrahi" Association (1919) ("In the Torah, in the Prophets and in the Writings, in the Halacha and in the Aggadah, we hear ... that the duty of fixed public service falls upon men.").

267   Jump up ^ Hartman (2007), p. 106

268   Jump up ^ Freeman (2003), pp. 59 & 65

269   Jump up ^ Freeman (2003), p. 65 (the tribunals are discussed in the context of "the marital law regime in each religion", including Judaism)

270   Jump up ^ Umanit (2003), p. 133

271   Jump up ^ Freeman (2003), p. 60

272   Jump up ^ Tsomo (1999), pp. 6–7

273   ^ Jump up to: ^{a b} Tsomo (1999), p. 5

274   Jump up ^ Bacchetta (2002), p. 157

275   ^ Jump up to: ^{a b c d e} Bacchetta (2002), p. 168

276   Jump up ^ Bacchetta (2002), p. 168 (the 2 being Uma Bharati and Sadhvi Rithambara, both associated with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)), all according to Bacchetta.

277   Jump up ^ Bacchetta (2002), p. 168 & n. 76, citing Kelkar, Kakshmibai, Stri-Ek Urja Kendra: Strivishayak Vicharon Ka Sankalan (Nagpur: Sevika Prakashan, n.d.), ch. 2.

278   Jump up ^ de Abreu (2003), p. 167

279   Jump up ^ Knox (1878)(italicization and boldface, if any, removed).

280   ^ Jump up to: ^{a b} Knox (1878)Jump up ^ Felch (1995), p. 806

281   ^ Jump up to: ^{a b} de Abreu (2003), p. 169

282   Jump up ^ Brammall (1996), p. 19

283   ^ Jump up to: ^{a b} Brammall (1996), p. 20

284   Jump up ^ Healey (1994), p. 376

285   Jump up ^ Ridley, Jasper, John Knox (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 267, as cited in Felch (1995), p. 805

286   Jump up ^ Reid, W. Stanford, Trumpeter of God: A Biography of John Knox (N.Y.: Scribner, 1974), p. 145, as cited in Felch (1995), p. 805

287   Jump up ^ Lee (1990), p. 242

288   ^ Jump up to: a b Richards (1997), p. 116

289   Jump up ^ Laing, David, Preface (from extract), in Knox (1878)Jump up ^ Lee (1990), pp. 250, 249, citing Goodman, Christopher, How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyd (N.Y.: reprint, 1931, originally 1558) (chap. on gynecocracy).

290   Jump up ^ Richards (1997), p. 117

291   Jump up ^ Healey (1994), pp. 372, 373

292   Jump up ^ Healey (1994), pp. 372–373

293   Jump up ^ Healey (1994), p. 373

294   Jump up ^ Richards (1997), p. 115

295   Jump up ^ "There were occasionally women so endowed, that the singular good qualities which shone forth in them made it evident that they were raised up by Divine authority". Calvin, letter to William Cecil (on or after January 29, 1559 (probably 1560)), in Knox (1878) (citing, at Preface, n. 1, for letter, Zurich Letters (2d ser.), p. 35) (Calvin reviser, Commentaries on Isaiah (sometime in 1551–1559) (approximate title)).

296   Jump up ^ de Abreu (2003), pp. 168, 170–171, e.g., citing Aylmer (AElmer), John, An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subiects agaynst the late blowne Blast, concerninge the Gouernment of Wemen wherin be confuted all such reasons as a straunger of late made in that behalfe, with a briefe exhortation to obedience (1559).

297   Jump up ^ de Abreu (2003), p. 170

298   Jump up ^ Eller (1991), p. 281 and see pp. 282 & 287

299   ^ Jump up to: a b c Eller (1991), p. 281

300   Jump up ^ Eller (1991), p. 282

301   ^ Jump up to: a b c Mansfield (2006), pp. 73–74 & n. 37, citing Strauss, Leo, Socrates and Aristophanes (N.Y.: Basic Books, 1966), ch. 9, and Saxonhouse, Arlene W., Fear of Diversity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), ch. 1.

302   Jump up ^ Ruden (2010), p. 79

303   Jump up ^ Suksang, Duangrudi, Overtaking Patriarchy: Corbett's and Dixie's Visions of Women, in Utopian Studies, vol. 4, no. 2 (1993), pp. 74–93 (available via JStor).

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305   Jump up ^ Weinbaum, Batya, Sex-Role Reversal in the Thirties: Leslie F. Stone's 'The Conquest of Gola,' in Science Fiction Studies, vol. 24, no. 3 (November, 1997), pp. 471–482 (available via JStor) (www.depauw.edu/sfs/backissues/73/weinbaum73.htm alternative availability).

306   Jump up ^ Valdes-Miyares, Ruben, Morgan's Queendom: The Other Arthurian Myth, in Alvarez Faedo, Maria Jose, ed., Avalon Revisited: Reworkings of the Arthurian Myth (Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 2007).

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309   Jump up ^ Vonarburg (1992)

310   Jump up ^ Publishers Weekly (book review (reviewed September 27, 2004)).

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313   Jump up ^ Stanley, O'Brien, Nicki L. Michalski, & Ruth J. H. Stanley, Are There Tea Parties on Mars? Business and Politics in Science Fiction Films, in Journal of Literature and Art Studies, vol. 2, no. 3 (March, 2012), pp. 382–396.

314   Jump up ^ Bond, Jeff, Reviews: Gene Roddenberry's 'Genesis II' & 'Planet Earth' (TrekMovie.com).

315   Jump up ^ Sharp, Sharon, Star Maidens: Gender and Science Fiction in the 1970s, in Science Fiction Film and Television, vol. 1, no. 2 (2008), pp. 275–287.

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Meritocracy

Meritocracy (merit, from Latin mereō "I earn" and -cracy, from Ancient Greek κράτος kratos "strength, power") is a political philosophy holding that power should be vested in individuals almost exclusively based on ability and talent. [1] Advancement in such a system is based on performance measured through examination and/or demonstrated achievement in the field where it is implemented.

Definitions

Early definitions

The "most common definition of meritocracy conceptualizes merit in terms of tested competency and ability, and most likely, as measured by IQ or standardized achievement tests."[2] In government or other administration systems, meritocracy, in an administrative sense, is a system of government or other administration (such as business administration) wherein appointments and responsibilities are assigned to individuals based upon their "merits", namely intelligence, credentials, and education, determined through evaluations or examinations.[3]In a more general sense, meritocracy can refer to any form of government based on achievement. Like "utilitarian" and "pragmatic", the word "meritocratic" has also developed a broader definition, and may be used to refer to any government run by "a ruling or influential class of educated or able people."[4]This is in contrast to the original, condemnatory use of the term in 1958 by Michael Young, who defined it as a system where "merit is equated with intelligence-plus-effort, its possessors are identified at an early age and selected for appropriate intensive education, and there is an obsession with quantification, test-scoring, and qualifications."[5] Meritocracy in its wider sense, may be any general act of judgment upon the basis of various demonstrated merits; such acts frequently are described in sociology and psychology. Supporters of meritocracies do not necessarily agree on the nature of "merit"; however, they do tend to agree that "merit" itself should be a primary consideration during evaluation. Thus, the merits may extend beyond intelligence and education to any mental or physical talent or to work ethic. In rhetoric, the demonstration of one's merit regarding mastery of a particular subject is an essential task most directly related to the Aristotelian term Ethos. The equivalent Aristotelian conception of meritocracy is based upon aristocratic or oligarchical structures, rather than in the context of the modern state.[6][7]

More recent definitions

Although meritocracy as a term is a relatively recently coined word (1958), the concept of a government based on standardized examinations originates from the works of Confucius, along with other Legalist and Confucian philosophers. The first meritocracy was implemented in the second century BC/BCE, by the Han Dynasty, which introduced the world's first civil service exams evaluating the "merit" of

officials.[8] Meritocracy as a concept spread from China to British India during the seventeenth century, and then into continental Europe and the United States.[9] With the translation of Confucian texts during the Enlightenment, the concept of a meritocracy reached intellectuals in the West, who saw it as an alternative to the traditional ancient regime of Europe.[10] In the United States, the assassination of President James A. Garfield in 1881 prompted the replacement of the American Spoils System with a meritocracy. In 1883, The Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act was passed, stipulating government jobs should be awarded on the basis of merit through competitive exams, rather than ties to politicians or political affiliation.[11]The most common form of meritocratic screening found today is the college degree. Higher education is an imperfect meritocratic screening system for various reasons, such as lack of uniform standards worldwide,[12][13] lack of scope (not all occupations and processes are included), and lack of access (some talented people never have an opportunity to participate because of the expense, most especially in developing countries).[14] Nonetheless, academic degrees serve some amount of meritocratic screening purpose in the absence of a more refined methodology. Education alone, however, does not constitute a complete system, as meritocracy must automatically confer power and authority, which a degree does not accomplish independently.

Etymology

Although the concept has existed for centuries, the term "meritocracy" is relatively new. It was used by British politician and sociologist Michael Young in his 1958 satirical essay[3][15][16][17][18] The Rise of the Meritocracy, which pictured the United Kingdom under the rule of a government favouring intelligence and aptitude (merit) above all else, being the combination of the root of Latin origin "merit" (from "mereō" meaning "earn") and the Ancient Greek suffix "-cracy" (meaning "power", "rule").[19] In this book the term had distinctly negative connotations as Young questioned both the legitimacy of the selection process used to become a member of this elite and the outcomes of being ruled by such a narrowly defined group. The essay, written in the first person by a fictional historical narrator in 2034, interweaves history from the politics of pre- and post-war Britain with those of fictional future events in the short (1960 onward) and long term (2020 onward).[20]The essay was based upon the tendency of the then-current governments, in their striving toward intelligence, to ignore shortcomings and upon the failure of education systems to utilize correctly the gifted and talented members within their societies.[21]Young's fictional narrator explains that, on the one hand, the greatest contributor to society is not the "stolid mass" or majority, but the "creative minority" or members of the "restless elite".[22] On the other hand, he claims that there are casualties of progress whose influence is underestimated and that, from such stolid adherence to natural science and intelligence, arises arrogance and complacency.[22] This problem is encapsulated in the phrase "Every selection of one is a rejection of many".[22]It was also used by Hannah Arendt in her essay "Crisis in Education",[23] which was written in 1958 and refers to the use of meritocracy in the English educational system.

History

Ancient times: China
Further information: Chinese Legalism

According to scholarly consensus, the earliest example of an administrative meritocracy, based on civil service examinations, dates back to Ancient China. [24][25][26][27]a[>] The concept originates, at least by the sixth century BC, when it was advocated by the Chinese philosopher Confucius, who "invented the notion that those who govern should do so because of merit, not of inherited status. This sets in motion the creation of the imperial examinations and bureaucracies open only to those who passed tests."[28] As the Qin and Han dynasties developed a meritocratic system in order to maintain power over a large, sprawling empire, it became necessary for the government to maintain a complex network of officials. [29] Prospective officials could come from a rural background and government positions were not restricted to the nobility. Rank was determined by merit, through the civil service examinations, and education became the key for social mobility.[29] After the fall of the Han Dynasty, the nine-rank system was established during the Three Kingdoms period.

According to the Princeton Encyclopedia on American History:[9] One of the oldest examples of a merit-based civil service system existed in the imperial bureaucracy of China. Tracing back to 200 B.C., the Han Dynasty adopted Confucianism as the basis of its political philosophy and structure, which included the revolutionary idea of replacing nobility of blood with one of virtue and honesty, and thereby calling for administrative appointments to be based solely on merit. This system allowed anyone who passed an examination to become a government officer, a position that would bring wealth and honor to the whole family. In part due to Chinese influence, the first European civil service did not originate in Europe, but rather in India by the British-run East India Company... company managers hired and promoted employees based on competitive examinations in order to prevent corruption and favoritism.

Both Plato and Aristotle advocated meritocracy, Plato in his The Republic, arguing that the most wise should rule, and hence the rulers should be philosopher kings. See Estlund (2003) for a summary and discussion.

Middle Ages: Middle East

After Muhammad's death in 632 CE, the Medinan Ansar debated which of them should succeed him in running the affairs of the Muslims while Muhammad's household was busy with his burial. Umar and Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah pledged their loyalty to Abu Bakr, with the Ansar and the Quraysh soon following suit. Abu Bakr thus became the first Khalīfatu Rasūli l-Lāh "successor of the Messenger of God", or caliph, and embarked on campaigns to propagate Islam. First he would have to subdue the Arabian tribes which had claimed that although they pledged allegiance to Muhammad and accepted Islam, they owed nothing to Abu Bakr. As a caliph, Abu Bakr was not a monarch and never claimed such a title; nor did any of his three successors. Rather, their election and leadership were based upon merit. [30][31][32][33]

17th century: spread to Europe

The concept of meritocracy spread from China to British India during the seventeenth century, and then into continental Europe and the United States. [9] With the translation of Confucian texts during the Enlightenment, the concept of a meritocracy reached intellectuals in the West, who saw it as an alternative to the traditional ancient regime of Europe.[10] Voltaire and François Quesnay wrote favourably of the idea, with Voltaire claiming that the Chinese had "perfected moral science" and Quesnay advocating an economic and political system modeled after that of the Chinese.[10]The first European power to implement a successful meritocratic civil service was the British Empire, in their administration of India: "company managers hired and promoted employees based on competitive examinations in order to prevent corruption and favoritism."[9] British colonial administrators advocated the spread of the system to the rest of the commonwealth, the most "persistent" of which was Thomas Taylor Meadows, Britain's consul in Guangzhou, China. Meadows successfully argued in his Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China, published in 1847, that "the long duration of the Chinese empire is solely and altogether owing to the good government which consists in the advancement of men of talent and merit only," and that the British must reform their civil service by making the institution meritocratic.[34] "This practice later was adopted in the late nineteenth century by the British mainland, inspired by "Chinese mandarin system."[35]The British philosopher and polymath John Stuart Mill advocated meritocracy in his book, Considerations on Representative Government. His model was to give more votes to the more educated voter. His views are explained in Estlund (2003:57–8):

Mill's proposal of plural voting has two motives. One is to prevent one group or class of people from being able to control the political process even without having to give reasons in order to gain sufficient support. He calls this the problem of class legislation. Since the most numerous class is also at a lower level of education and social rank, this could be partly remedied by giving those at the higher ranks plural votes. A second, and equally prominent motive for plural voting is to avoid giving equal influence to each person without regard to their merit, intelligence, etc. He thinks that it is fundamentally important that political institutions embody, in their spirit, the recognition that some opinions are worth more than others. He does not say that this is a route to producing better political decisions, but it is hard to understand his argument, based on this second motive, in any other way.

So, if Aristotle is right that the deliberation is best if participants are numerous (and assuming for simplicity that the voters are the deliberators) then this is a reason for giving all or many citizens a vote, but this does not yet show that the wiser subset should not have, say, two or three; in that way something would be given both to the value of the diverse perspectives, and to the value of the greater wisdom of the few. This combination of the Platonic and Aristotelian points is part of what I think is so formidable about Mill's proposal of plural voting. It is also an advantage of his view that he proposes to privilege not the wise, but the educated. Even if we agreed that the wise should rule, there is a serious problem about how to identify them. This becomes especially important if a successful political justification must be generally acceptable to the ruled. In that case, privileging the wise would require not only their being so wise as to be better rulers, but also, and more demandingly, that their wisdom be something that can be agreed to by all reasonable citizens. I turn to this conception of justification below.

Mill's position has great plausibility: good education promotes the ability of citizens to rule more wisely. So, how can we deny that the educated subset would rule more wisely than others. But then why shouldn't they have more votes?
Estlund goes on to criticize Mill's education-based meritocracy on various grounds.

19th century: United States

In the United States, the federal bureaucracy used the Spoils System from 1828 until the assassination of United States President James A. Garfield by a disappointed office seeker in 1881 proved its dangers. Two years later in 1883, the system of appointments to the United States Federal Bureaucracy was revamped by the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act, partially based on the British meritocratic civil service that had been established years earlier. The act stipulated that government jobs should be awarded on the basis of merit, through competitive exams, rather than ties to politicians or political affiliation. It also made it illegal to fire or demote government employees for political reasons.[11]To enforce the merit system and the judicial system, the law also created the United States Civil Service Commission.[11] In the modern American meritocracy, the president may hand out only a certain number of jobs, which must be approved by the Senate.

Australia

Australia began establishing public universities in the 1850s with the goal of promoting meritocracy by providing advanced training and credentials. The educational system was set up to service urban males of middle-class background, but of diverse social and religious origins. It was increasingly extended to all graduates of the public school system, those of rural and regional background, and then to women and finally to ethnic minorities.[36] Both the middle classes and the working classes have promoted the ideal of meritocracy within a strong commitment to "mateship" and political equality.[37]

Social Darwinism

Further information: Social Darwinism
In his book Meritocratic Education and Social Worthlessness (Palgrave, 2012), the philosopher Khen Lampert argued that educational meritocracy is nothing but a post-modern version of social Darwinism. Its proponents argue that the theory justifies social inequality as being meritocratic. This social theory holds that Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection is a model, not only for the development of biological traits in a population, but also as an application for human social institutions — the existing social institutions being implicitly declared as normative. Social Darwinism shares its roots with early progressivism, and was most popular from the late nineteenth century to the end of World War II. Darwin only ventured to propound his theories in a biological sense, and it is other thinkers and theorists who have applied Darwin's model to unequal endowments of human ambitions.

Modern meritocracy in practice

Singapore

Singapore describes meritocracy as one of its official guiding principles for domestic public policy formulation, placing emphasis on academic credentials as objective measures of merit.[38]There is criticism that, under this system, Singaporean society is being increasingly stratified and that an elite class is being created from a narrow segment of the population.[39] Singapore has a growing level of tutoring for children,[40] and top tutors are often paid better than school teachers.[40][41][42] Defendants recall the ancient Chinese proverb "Wealth does not pass three generations" (Chinese: ¸»²»¹ýÈý´ú), suggesting that the nepotism or cronyism of elitists eventually will be, and often are, replaced by those lower down the hierarchy.

Singaporean academics are continuously re-examining the application of meritocracy as an ideological tool and how it's stretched to encompass the ruling party's objectives. Professor Kenneth Paul Tan at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy asserts that "Meritocracy, in trying to 'isolate' merit by treating people with fundamentally unequal backgrounds as superficially the same, can be a practice that ignores and even conceals the real advantages and disadvantages that are unevenly distributed to different segments of an inherently unequal society, a practice that in fact perpetuates this fundamental inequality. In this way, those who are picked by meritocracy as having merit may already have enjoyed unfair advantages from the very beginning, ignored according to the principle of nondiscrimination."[43]Meritocracy in the Singapore context relates to the application of pragmatism as an ideological device which combines strict adherence to market principles without any aversion to social engineering and little propensity for classical social welfarism, is further illustrated by Kenneth Paul Tan in subsequent articles:

"There is a strong ideological quality in Singapore's pragmatism, and a strongly pragmatic quality in ideological negotiations within the dynamics of hegemony. In this complex relationship, the combination of ideological and pragmatic maneuvering over the decades has resulted in the historical dominance of government by the PAP in partnership with global capital whose interests have been advanced without much reservation."[44]

Ecuador

Within the Ecuadoran Ministry of Labor, the Ecuadorian Meritocracy Institute[45] was created under the technical advice of Singapore government.

Modern meritocratic movements

Osho

According to Osho, only persons with appropriate qualifications should be allowed to vote. Moreover, all politicians should have appropriate college or university degrees. Only the geniuses of the world should govern. Osho suggested that, first

the various nations should become meritocracies, after which they could all be joined to form a global meritocracy.[46]

The Meritocracy Party
In 2007 an anonymous British group called The Meritocracy Party published its first manifesto, to which they have now added more than two million words on the subject (discussing Hegel, Rousseau, Charles Fourier, Henri de Saint-Simon, and various other philosophers, scientists, reformers, and revolutionaries). In summary, The Meritocracy Party wants to achieve the following:
1. A world in which every child gets an equal chance to succeed in life.
2. The abolishment of party politics.
3. Only those with a relevant education and work experience should be allowed to vote, rather than just anyone who has reached the age of 18 or 21.
4. The introduction of 100% Inheritance Tax, so that the super-rich elite can no longer pass on their wealth to a select few (their privileged children) rather than the Commonwealth, would mean the end of the elite dynasties and hereditary monarchy.
5. A radically reformed educational system, based on the MBTI personality types, and insights from radical innovators such as Rudolf Steiner and Maria Montessori.
6. To replace free market capitalism with social capitalism and to replace democracy with a fully transparent meritocratic republic, under a meritocratic constitution.
7. The end of nepotism, cronyism, discrimination, privilege and unequal chances.
On their website the Meritocracy Party lists five meritocratic principles and thirteen primary aims. The Meritocracy International is the host of all meritocratic political parties in the world and the place where these may be found by country of origin.[46]

In Computing

Due to the nature of online interaction, where identity and anonymity are more readily managed than in direct interaction, the effects of offline social inequity often may be discounted in online communities. Intelligence, effort, education, and personality may be readily conveyed in an online interaction, but a person's gender, race, religion, and social standing can be obfuscated easily, or left entirely unaddressed.

Free / open source software projects
The GNOME Foundation, Apache Software Foundation, Mozilla Foundation, and The Document Foundation are examples of (open source) organizations that officially claim to be meritocracies.[47][48][49][50]

Criticism

The term "meritocracy" was originally intended as a negative concept.[51] One of the primary concerns with meritocracy is the unclear definition of "merit".[52] What is considered as meritorious can differ with opinions as on which qualities are considered the most worthy, raising the question of which "merit" is the highest — or, in other words, which standard is the "best" standard. As the supposed effectiveness of a meritocracy is based on the supposed competence of its officials, this standard of merit cannot be arbitrary and has to also reflect the competencies required for their roles.

The reliability of the authority and system that assesses each individual's merit is another point of concern. As a meritocratic system relies on a standard of merit to measure and compare people against, the system by which this is done has to be reliable to ensure that their assessed merit accurately reflects their potential capabilities. Standardized testing, which reflects the meritocratic sorting process, has come under criticism for being rigid and unable to accurately assess many valuable qualities nor the potential of students. Education theorist Bill Ayers, commenting on the limitations of standardized testing, writes that "Standardized tests can't measure initiative, creativity, imagination, conceptual thinking, curiosity, effort, irony, judgment, commitment, nuance, good will, ethical reflection, or a host of other valuable dispositions and attributes. What they can measure and count are isolated skills, specific facts and function, content knowledge, the least interesting and least significant aspects of learning."[53] Merit determined through the opinionated evaluations of teachers, while being able to assess the valuable qualities that cannot be assessed by standardized testing, are unreliable as the opinions, insights, biases, and standards of the teachers vary greatly. If the system of evaluation is corrupt, non-transparent, opinionated or misguided, decisions regarding who has the highest merit can be highly fallible.

The level of education required in order to become competitive in a meritocracy may also be costly, effectively limiting candidacy for a position of power to those with the means necessary to become educated. An example of this was Chinese student self-declared messiah, Hong Xiuquan, who despite ranking first in a preliminary, nationwide imperial examination, was unable to afford further education. As such, although he did try to study in private, Hong was ultimately noncompetitive in later examinations and unable to become a bureaucrat. This economic aspect of meritocracies has been said to continue nowadays in countries without free educations, with the Supreme Court of the United States, for example, consisting only of justices who attended Harvard or Yale and generally only considering clerkship candidates who attended a top-five university, while in the 1950s the two universities only accounted for around one fifth of the justices.[54] Even if free education were provided, the resources that the parents of a student are able to provide outside of the curriculum, such as tutoring, exam preparation, and financial support for living costs during higher education will influence the education the student attains and the student's social position in a meritocratic society. This limits the fairness and justness of any meritocratic system.

Another concern regards the principle of incompetence, or the "Peter Principle". As people rise in a meritocratic society through the social hierarchy through

their demonstrated merit, they eventually reach, and become stuck, at a level too difficult for them to perform effectively; they are promoted to incompetence. This reduces the effectiveness of a meritocratic system, the supposed main practical benefit of which is the competence of those who run the society.

Meritocracy also has been criticized by egalitarians as a mere myth, which serves only to justify the status quo, with its proponents only giving lip service to equality. [55]Khen Lampert has argued that the principle of meritocracy stems from neo-capitalist ideas of aggression and competition.[56]Chris Hayes, a writer on the left, has attributed what he calls the "Fail Decade"—which includes 9/11, the Enron scandal, the invasion of Iraq, Hurricane Katrina, the subprime crisis, and the Great Recession—to the deterioration of America's meritocratic system into one of plutocracy.[57][58]

See also

- Differential Education
- Achievement
- Elitism
- Equality of opportunity vs Equality of outcome
- Meritocracy in China
- Merit (Buddhism)
- Ownership society
- Social mobility
- Technocracy
- Merit (Catholicism)

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Monarchy

For other uses, see Monarchy (disambiguation).

A monarchy is a form of government in which a group, usually a family called the dynasty, embodies the country's national identity and one of its members, called the monarch, exercises a role of sovereignty. The actual power of the monarch may vary from purely symbolic (crowned republic), to partial and restricted (constitutional monarchy), to completely autocratic (absolute monarchy). Traditionally and in most cases, the monarch's post is inherited and lasts until death or abdication, but there are also elective monarchies where the monarch is elected.[1] Each of these has variations: in some elected monarchies only those of certain pedigrees are, whereas many hereditary monarchies impose requirements regarding the religion, age, gender, mental capacity, and other factors. Occasionally this might create a situation of rival claimants whose legitimacy is subject to effective election. Finally, there have been cases where the term of a monarch's reign is either fixed in years or continues until certain goals are achieved: an invasion being repulsed, for instance. Thus there are widely divergent structures and traditions defining monarchy.

Monarchy was the most common form of government until the 19th century, but it is no longer prevalent. Where it exists, it is now usually a constitutional monarchy, in which the monarch retains a unique legal and ceremonial role, but exercises limited or no official political power: under the written or unwritten constitution, others have governing authority. Currently, 47 sovereign nations in the world have monarchs acting as heads of state, 19 of which are Commonwealth realms that recognise Queen Elizabeth II as their head of state. All European monarchies are constitutional ones, with the exception of the Vatican City which is an elective monarchy, but sovereigns in the smaller states exercise greater political influence than in the larger. The monarchs of Cambodia, Japan, and Malaysia "reign, but do not rule" although there is considerable variation in the degree of authority they wield. Although they reign under constitutions, the monarchs of Brunei, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Swaziland appear to continue to exercise more political influence than any other single source of authority in their nations, either by constitutional mandate or by tradition.

Etymology

Further information: King (title), Rex (title), and Realm

The word "monarch" (Latin: monarcha) comes from the Greek language word μονάρχης, monárkhēs (from μόνος monos, "one, singular", and ἄρχω árkhō, "to rule" (compare ἄρχων arkhon, "leader, ruler, chief")) which referred to a single, at least nominally absolute ruler. In current usage the word monarchy usually refers to a traditional system of hereditary rule, as elective monarchies are rare nowadays. Depending on the title held by the monarch, a monarchy may be known as a kingdom, principality, duchy, grand duchy, empire, tsardom, emirate, sultanate, khaganate, etc.

History

The forms of societal hierarchy known as chiefdom or tribal kingship is prehistoric. The Greek term monarchia is classical, used by Herodotus (3.82). The monarch in classical antiquity is often identified as "king" (translating archon, basileus, rex, tyrannos etc.). From earliest historical times, with the Egyptian and Mesopotamian monarchs, as well as in reconstructed Proto-Indo-European religion, the king holds sacral function directly connected to sacrifice, or is considered of divine ancestry. The role of the Roman emperor as the protector of Christianity was conflated with the sacral aspects held by the Germanic kings to create the notion of "Divine right of kings" in the Christian Middle Ages. The Chinese, Japanese and Nepalese monarchs continued to be considered living Gods into the modern period.

Since antiquity, monarchy has contrasted with forms of democracy, where executive power is wielded by assemblies of free citizens. In antiquity, monarchies were abolished in favour of such assemblies in Rome (Roman Republic, 509 BC), and Athens (Athenian democracy, 500 BC).

In Germanic antiquity, kingship was primarily a sacral function, and the king was either directly hereditary for some tribes, while for others he was elected from among eligible members of royal families by the thing.

Such ancient "parliamentarism" declined during the European Middle Ages, but it survived in forms of regional assemblies, such as the Icelandic Commonwealth, the Swiss Landsgemeinde and later Tagsatzung, and the High Medieval communal movement linked to the rise of medieval town privileges.

The modern resurgence of parliamentarism and anti-monarchism began with the temporary overthrow of the English monarchy by the Parliament of England in 1649, followed by the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1792. One of many opponents of that trend was Elizabeth Dawbarn, whose anonymous Dialogue between Clara Neville and Louisa Mills, on Loyalty (1794) features "silly Louisa, who admires liberty, Tom Paine and the USA, [who is] lectured by Clara on God's approval of monarchy" and on the influence women can exert on men.[2] Much of 19th century politics was characterised by the division between anti-monarchist Radicalism and monarchist Conservativism.

Many countries abolished the monarchy in the 20th century and became republics, especially in the wake of either World War I or World War II. Advocacy of republics is called republicanism, while advocacy of monarchies is called monarchism.

Characteristics and role

Monarchies are associated with political or sociocultural hereditary rule, in which monarchs rule for life (although some monarchs do not hold lifetime positions: for example, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong of Malaysia serves a five-year term) and pass the responsibilities and power of the position to their child or another member of their family when they die. Most monarchs, both historically and in the modern day, have been born and brought up within a royal family, the centre of the royal household and court. Growing up in a royal family (called a dynasty when it continues for several generations), future monarchs are often trained for the responsibilities of expected future rule.

Different systems of succession have been used, such as proximity of blood, primogeniture, and agnatic seniority (Salic law). While most monarchs have been male, many female monarchs also have reigned in history; the term queen regnant refers to a ruling monarch, while a queen consort refers to the wife of a reigning king. Rule may be hereditary in practice without being considered a monarchy, such as that of family dictatorships[3] or political families in many democracies. [4]The principal advantage of hereditary monarchy is the immediate continuity of leadership (as seen in the classic phrase "The King is dead. Long live the King!"). Some monarchies are non-hereditary. In an elective monarchy, monarchs are elected, or appointed by some body (an electoral college) for life or a defined period, but otherwise serve as any other monarch. Three elective monarchies exist today: Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates are 20th-century creations, while one (the papacy) is ancient.

A self-proclaimed monarchy is established when a person claims the monarchy without any historical ties to a previous dynasty. Napoleon I of France declared himself Emperor of the French and ruled the First French Empire after previously calling himself First Consul following his seizure of power in the coup of 18 Brumaire. Jean-Bédel Bokassa of the Central African Republic declared himself "Emperor" of the Central African Empire. Yuan Shikai crowned himself Emperor of the short-lived "Empire of China" a few years after the Republic of China was founded.

Powers of the monarch

Today, the extent of the monarch's powers varies:

- In an absolute monarchy, the monarch rules as an autocrat, with absolute power over the state and government — for example, the right to rule by decree, promulgate laws, and impose punishments. Absolute monarchies are not necessarily authoritarian; the enlightened absolutists of the Age of Enlightenment were monarchs who allowed various freedoms.
- In a constitutional monarchy, the monarch is subject to a constitution. The monarch serves as a ceremonial figurehead symbol of national unity and state continuity. The monarch is nominally sovereign but the electorate, through their legislature, exercise (usually limited) political sovereignty. Constitutional monarchs have limited political power, except in Japan and Sweden, where the constitutions grant no power to their monarchs. [citation needed] Typical monarchical powers include granting pardons, granting honours, and reserve powers, e.g. to dismiss the prime minister, refuse to dissolve parliament, or veto legislation ("withhold Royal Assent"). They often also have privileges of inviolability, sovereign immunity, and an official residence. A monarch's powers and influence may depend on tradition, precedent, popular opinion, and law.
- In other cases the monarch's power is limited, not due to constitutional restraints, but to effective military rule. In the late Roman Empire, the Praetorian Guard several times deposed Roman Emperors and installed new emperors. The Hellenistic kings of Macedon and of Epirus were elected by the army, which was similar in composition to the ecclesia of democracies, the council of all free citizens; military service was often linked with citizenship among the male members of the royal house. Military domination

of the monarch has occurred in modern Thailand and in medieval Japan (where a hereditary military chief, the shogun, was the de facto ruler, although the Japanese emperor nominally ruled). In Fascist Italy the Savoy monarchy under King Victor Emmanuel III coexisted with the Fascist single-party rule of Benito Mussolini; Romania under the Iron Guard and Greece during the first months of the Colonels' regime were much the same way. Spain under Francisco Franco was officially a monarchy, although there was no monarch on the throne. Upon his death, Franco was succeeded as head of state by the Bourbon heir, Juan Carlos I, who proceeded to make Spain a democracy with himself as a figurehead constitutional monarch.[citation needed]

Person of monarch

Most states only have a single person acting as monarch at any given time, although two monarchs have ruled simultaneously in some countries, a situation known as diarchy. Historically this was the case in the ancient Greek city-state of Sparta or 17th-century Russia, and there are examples of joint sovereignty of spouses or relatives (such as William and Mary in the Kingdoms of England and Scotland). Other examples of joint sovereignty include Tsars Peter I and Ivan V of Russia, and Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and Joanna of Castile of the Crown of Castile.

Andorra currently is the world's sole constitutional diarchy or co-principality. Located in the Pyrenees between Spain and France, it has two co-princes: the Bishop of Urgell (a prince-bishop) in Spain and the President of France (inherited ex officio from the French kings, who themselves inherited the title from the counts of Foix). It is the only situation in which an independent country's (co-) monarch is democratically elected by the citizens of another country.

In a personal union, separate independent states share the same person as monarch, but each realm retains its separate laws and government. The sixteen separate Commonwealth realms are sometimes described as being in a personal union with Queen Elizabeth II as monarch, however, they can also be described as being in a shared monarchy.

A regent may rule when the monarch is a minor, absent, or debilitated.

A pretender is a claimant to an abolished throne or to a throne already occupied by somebody else.

Abdication is the act of formally giving up one's monarchical power and status. Monarchs may mark the ceremonial beginning of their reigns with a coronation or enthronement.

Role of monarch

Monarchy, especially absolute monarchy, sometimes is linked to religious aspects; many monarchs once claimed the right to rule by the will of a deity (Divine Right of Kings, Mandate of Heaven), a special connection to a deity (sacred king) or even purported to be divine kings, or incarnations of deities themselves (imperial cult). Many European monarchs have been styled Fidei defensor (Defender of the Faith); some hold official positions relating to the state religion or established church.

In the Western political tradition, a morally-based, balanced monarchy is stressed as the ideal form of government, and little reverence is paid to modern-day ideals of egalitarian democracy: e.g. Saint Thomas Aquinas unapologetically declares:

"Tyranny is wont to occur not less but more frequently on the basis of polyarchy [rule by many, i.e. oligarchy or democracy] than on the basis of monarchy." (On Kingship). However, Thomas Aquinas also stated that the ideal monarchical system would also have at lower levels of government both an aristocracy and elements of democracy in order to create a balance of power. The monarch would also be subject to both natural and divine law, as well, and also be subject to the Church in matters of religion.

In Dante Alighieri's De Monarchia, a spiritualised, imperial Catholic monarchy is strongly promoted according to a Ghibelline world-view in which the "royal religion of Melchizedek" is emphasised against the sacerdotal claims of the rival papal ideology.

In Saudi Arabia, the king is a head of state who is both the absolute monarch of the country and the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques of Islam (خادم الحرمين الشريفين). ––

Titles of monarchs

Monarchs can have various titles. Common European titles of monarchs are emperor or empress (from Latin: imperator or imperatrix), king or queen, grand duke or grand duchess, prince or princess, duke or duchess (in that hierarchical order of nobility).[5] Some early modern European titles (especially in German states) included elector (German: Kurfürst, literally "prince-elector"), margrave (German: Markgraf, equivalent to the French title marquis), and burgrave (German: Burggraf, literally "count of the castle"). Lesser titles include count, princely count, or imam (Use in Oman). Slavic titles include knyaz and tsar (цръ) or tsaritsa (царица), a word derived from the Roman imperial title Caesar.

In non-Europe, monarchs can have various titles too. Muslim worlds titles of monarchs include caliph (successor to the Islamic prophet Muhammad and a leader of the entire Muslim community), padishah (emperor), sultan or sultana, shâhanshâh (emperor), shah, malik (king) or malikah (queen), emir (commander, prince) or emira (princess), sheikh or sheikha. East Asian titles of monarchs include huángdì (emperor or empress regnant), tiānz (son of heaven), tennō (emperor) or josei tennō (empress regnant), wang (king) or yeowang (queen regnant), hwangje (emperor) or yeohwang (empress regnant). South Asian and South East Asian titles included mahārāja (emperor) or maharani (empress), raja (king) and rana (king) or rani (queen) and ratu (South East Asian queen). Historically, Mongolic or Turkic monarchs have used the title khan and khagan (emperor) or khatun and khanum and Ancient Egypt monarchs have used the title pharaoh for men and women. In Ethiopian Empire, monarchs used title nəgusä nägäst (king of kings) or nəgəstä nägäst (queen of kings).

Many monarchs are addressed with particular styles or manners of address, such as "Majesty", "Royal Highness", "By the Grace of God", Amīr al-Mu'minīn ("Leader of the Faithful"), Hünkar-i Khanedan-i Âl-i Osman, "Sovereign of the Sublime House of Osman"), Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda ("Majesty"), Jeonha ("Majesty"), Tennō Heika (literally "His Majesty the heavenly sovereign"), Bìxià ("Bottom of the Steps").

Sometimes titles are used to express claims to territories that are not held in fact (for example, English claims to the French throne), or titles not recognised (antipopes). Also, after a monarchy is deposed, often former monarchs and their

descendants are given titles (the King of Portugal was given the hereditary title Duke of Braganza).

Dependent monarchies

In some cases monarchs are dependent on other powers (see vassals, suzerainty, puppet state, hegemony). In the British colonial era indirect rule under a paramount power existed, such as the princely states under the British Raj.

In Botswana, South Africa, Ghana and Uganda, the ancient kingdoms and chiefdoms that were met by the colonialists when they first arrived on the continent are now constitutionally protected as regional and/or sectional entities. Furthermore, in Nigeria, though the dozens of sub-regional polities that exist there are not provided for in the current constitution, they are nevertheless legally recognised aspects of the structure of governance that operates in the nation. In addition to these five countries, peculiar monarchies of varied sizes and complexities exist in various other parts of Africa.[specify]

Succession

The rules for selection of monarchs varies from country to country. In constitutional monarchies the rule of succession is generally embodied in a law passed by a representative body, such as a parliament.

Hereditary monarchies

In a hereditary monarchy, the position of monarch is inherited according to a statutory or customary order of succession, usually within one royal family tracing its origin through a historical dynasty or bloodline. This usually means that the heir to the throne is known well in advance of becoming monarch to ensure a smooth succession.

Primogeniture, in which the eldest child of the monarch is first in line to become monarch, is the most common system in hereditary monarchy. The order of succession is usually affected by rules on gender. Historically "agnatic primogeniture" or "patrilineal primogeniture" was favoured, that is inheritance according to seniority of birth among the sons of a monarch or head of family, with sons and their male issue inheriting before brothers and their issue, and male-line males inheriting before females of the male line.[6] This is the same as semi-Salic primogeniture. Complete exclusion of females from dynastic succession is commonly referred to as application of the Salic law (see Terra salica).

Before primogeniture was enshrined in European law and tradition, kings would often secure the succession by having their successor (usually their eldest son) crowned during their own lifetime, so for a time there would be two kings in coregency – a senior king and a junior king. Examples include Henry the Young King of England and the early Direct Capetians in France.

Sometimes, however, primogeniture can operate through the female line. In some systems a female may rule as monarch only when the male line dating back to a common ancestor is exhausted.

In 1980, Sweden became the first European monarchy to declare equal (full

cognatic) primogeniture, meaning that the eldest child of the monarch, whether female or male, ascends to the throne.[7] Other kingdoms (such as the Netherlands in 1983, Norway in 1990, Belgium in 1991, Denmark and Luxembourg[8]) have since followed suit. The United Kingdom adopted absolute (equal) primogeniture on April 25, 2013, following agreement by the prime ministers of the sixteen Commonwealth Realms at the 22nd Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting.

Sometimes religion is affected; for example the British monarch, as head of the Church of England, is required to be in communion with the Church, although all other former rules forbidding marriage to non-Protestants were abolished when equal primogeniture was adopted in 2013.

In the case of the absence of children, the next most senior member of the collateral line (for example, a younger sibling of the previous monarch) becomes monarch. In complex cases, this can mean that there are closer blood relatives to the deceased monarch than the next in line according to primogeniture. This has often led, especially in Europe in the Middle Ages, to conflict between the principle of primogeniture and the principle of proximity of blood.

Other hereditary systems of succession included tanistry, which is semi-elective and gives weight to merit and Agnatic seniority. In some monarchies, such as Saudi Arabia, succession to the throne usually first passes to the monarch's next eldest brother, and only after that to the monarch's children (agnatic seniority).

Elective monarchies

In an elective monarchy, monarchs are elected, or appointed by some body (an electoral college) for life or a defined period, but otherwise serve as any other monarch. There is no popular vote involved in elective monarchies, as the elective body usually consists of a small number of eligible people. Historical examples of elective monarchy include the Holy Roman Emperors (chosen by prince-electors, but often coming from the same dynasty), and the free election of kings of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. For example, Pepin the Short (father of Charlemagne) was elected King of the Franks by an assembly of Frankish leading men; Stanisław August Poniatowski of Poland was an elected king, as was Frederick I of Denmark. Germanic peoples had elective monarchies.

Four forms of elective monarchies exist today. The pope of the Roman Catholic Church (who rules as Sovereign of the Vatican City State) is elected to a life term by the College of Cardinals. In Malaysia, the federal king, called the Yang di-Pertuan Agong or Paramount Ruler is elected for a five-year term from among and by the hereditary rulers (mostly sultans) of nine of the federation's constitutive states, all on the Malay peninsula. The United Arab Emirates also has a procedure for electing its monarch. Furthermore, Andorra has a unique constitutional arrangement as one of its heads of state is the President of the French Republic in the form of a Co-Prince. This is the only instance in the world where the monarch of a state is elected by the citizens of a different country.

Appointment by the current monarch is another system, used in Jordan. It also was used in Imperial Russia; however, it was changed to semi-Salic soon, because the unreliable realisation of the appointment system resulted in an age of palace revolutions. In this system, the monarch chooses the successor, who is always his relative.

See also: jure uxoris

Current monarchies

Currently there are 43 nations in the world with a monarch as head of state. They fall roughly into the following categories:

- Commonwealth realms. Queen Elizabeth II is the monarch of sixteen Commonwealth realms (Antigua and Barbuda, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Canada, Grenada, Jamaica, New Zealand, the Independent State of Papua New Guinea, the Federation of Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland). They have evolved out of the British Empire into fully independent states within the Commonwealth of Nations that retain the Queen as head of state, unlike other Commonwealth countries that are either dependencies, republics or have a different royal house. All sixteen realms are constitutional monarchies and full democracies where the Queen has limited powers or a largely ceremonial role. The Queen is head of the established Protestant Christian Church of England in the United Kingdom, while the other 15 realms do not have an established church.
- Other European constitutional monarchies.The Principality of Andorra, the Kingdom of Belgium, the Kingdom of Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Islands, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Kingdom of Norway, the Kingdom of Spain, and the Kingdom of Sweden are fully democratic states in which the monarch has a limited or largely ceremonial role.There is generally a Christian religion established as the official church in each of these countries. This is the Lutheran form of Protestantism in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, while Belgium and Andorra are Roman Catholic countries. Spain and the Netherlands have no official State religion. Luxembourg, which is very predominantly Roman Catholic, has five so-called officially recognised cults of national importance (Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Greek Orthodoxy, Judaism and Islam), a status which gives to those religions some privileges like the payment of a state salary to their priests. Andorra is unique among all existing monarchies, as it is, by definition, a diarchy, with the Co-Princeship being shared by the President of France and the Bishop of Urgell. This situation, based on historic precedence, has created a peculiar situation among monarchies, as a) both Co-Princes are not of Andorran descent, b) one is elected by common citizens of a foreign country (France), but not by Andorrans as they cannot vote in the French Presidential Elections, c) the other, the bishop of Urgel, is appointed by a foreign head of state, the Pope.
- European constitutional/absolute monarchies. Liechtenstein and Monaco are constitutional monarchies in which the Prince theoretically retains many powers of an absolute monarch. In reality, he is a figurehead who is expected not to use that power. For example, the 2003 Constitution referendum which gives the Prince of Liechtenstein the power to veto any law that the Landtag (parliament) proposes and the Landtag can veto any law that the Prince tries to pass. The Prince can hire or dismiss any elective member or government employee from his or her post. However, what makes him not an absolute monarch is that the people can call for a referendum to end the monarchy's

reign. When Crown Prince Alois threatened to veto a referendum to legalize abortion in 2011 (which didn't actually happen), voters were surprised because the Prince hasn't vetoed any law for over 3 decades. The Prince of Monaco has simpler powers but cannot hire or dismiss any elective member or government employee from his or her post, but he can elect the minister of state, government council and judges. Both Albert II and Hans-Adam II are theoretically very powerful, but in practice even they have very limited power compared to the Islamic monarchs (see below). They also own huge tracts of land and are shareholders in many companies.

- Islamic monarchies. These Islamic monarchs of the Kingdom of Bahrain, the Nation of Brunei, the Abode of Peace, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the State of Kuwait, Malaysia, the Kingdom of Morocco, the Sultanate of Oman, the State of Qatar, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates generally retain far more powers than their European or Commonwealth counterparts. The Nation of Brunei, the Abode of Peace, the Sultanate of Oman, the State of Qatar, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia remain absolute monarchies; the Kingdom of Bahrain, the State of Kuwait and United Arab Emirates are classified as mixed, meaning there are representative bodies of some kind, but the monarch retains most of his powers. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Malaysia and the Kingdom of Morocco are constitutional monarchies, but their monarchs still retain more substantial powers than European equivalents.

- East Asian constitutional monarchies. The Kingdom of Bhutan, the Kingdom of Cambodia, Japan, the Kingdom of Thailand have constitutional monarchies where the monarch has a limited or ceremonial role. The Kingdom of Bhutan, Japan and the Kingdom of Thailand are countries that were never colonised by European powers, but Japan and the Kingdom of Thailand have changed from traditional absolute monarchies into constitutional ones during the twentieth century, while the Kingdom of Bhutan changed in 2008. The Kingdom of Cambodia had its own monarchy after independence from the French Colonial Empire, which was deposed after the Khmer Rouge came into power and the subsequent invasion by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The monarchy was subsequently restored in the peace agreement of 1993.

- Other monarchies. Five monarchies do not fit into one of the above groups by virtue of geography or class of monarchy: the Kingdom of Tonga in Polynesia; the Kingdom of Swaziland and the Kingdom of Lesotho in Africa; the Vatican City State; the Sovereign Military Order of Malta in Europe. Of these, the Kingdom of Lesotho and the Kingdom of Tonga are constitutional monarchies, while the Kingdom of Swaziland and the Vatican City State are absolute monarchies. The Kingdom of Swaziland is also unique among these monarchies, often being considered a diarchy. The King, or Ngwenyama, rules alongside his mother, the Ndlovukati, as dual heads of state originally designed to be checks on political power. The Ngwenyama, however, is considered the administrative head of state, while the Ndlovukati is considered the spiritual and national head of state, a position which more or less has become symbolic in recent years.The Pope is the absolute monarch of the Vatican City State (different entity from the Holy See) by virtue of his position as head of the Roman Catholic Church and Bishop of Rome; he is an elected rather than hereditary ruler and has not to be a citizen of the
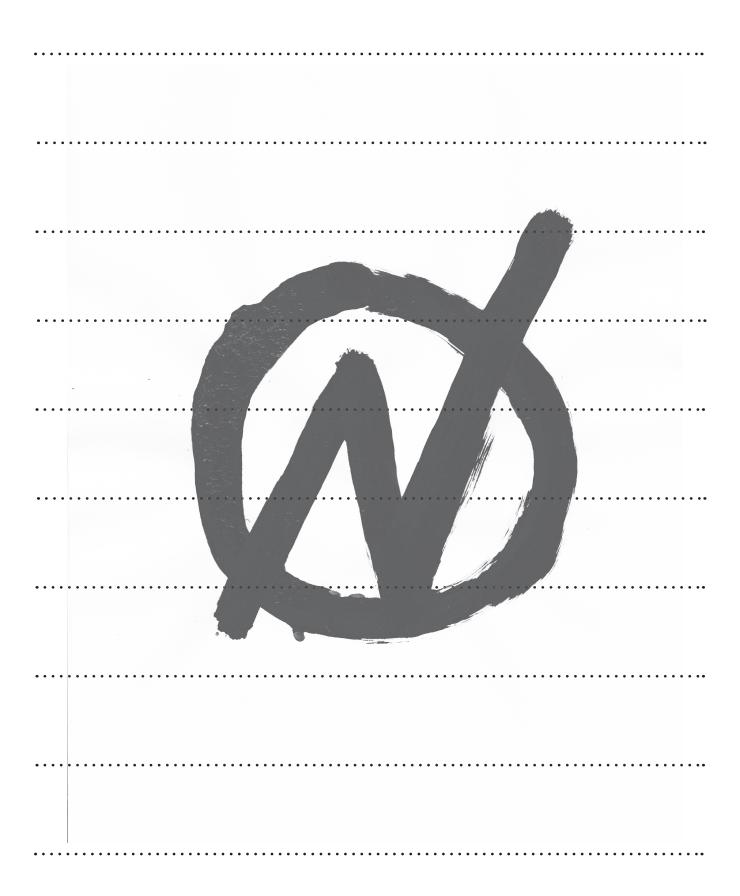
territory prior to his election by the cardinals.

Current reigning monarchies

Main article: [List of current reigning monarchies](#)

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2 Jump up ^ The Feminist Companion to Literature in English, ed. Virginia Blain, Patricia Clements and Isobel Grundy, (London: Batsford, 1990), p. 272.
3 Jump up ^ Examples include Oliver Cromwell and Richard Cromwell in the Commonwealth of England, Kim il-Sung and Kim Jong-il in North Korea, the Somoza family in Nicaragua, François Duvalier and Jean-Claude Duvalier in Haiti, and Hafez al-Assad and Bashar al-Assad in Syria.
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Netocracy

Netocracy was a term invented by the editorial board of the American technology magazine Wired in the early 1990s. A portmanteau of Internet and aristocracy, netocracy refers to a perceived global upper-class that bases its power on a technological advantage and networking skills, in comparison to what is portrayed as a bourgeoisie of a gradually diminishing importance.

The concept was later picked up and redefined by the Swedish philosophers Alexander Bard and Jan Söderqvist for their book Netocracy — The New Power Elite and Life After Capitalism (originally published in Swedish in 2000 as Nätokraterna - boken om det elektroniska klassamhället, published in English by Reuters/Pearsall UK in 2002).

The netocracy concept has been compared with Richard Florida's concept of the creative class. Bard and Söderqvist have also defined an under-class in opposition to the netocracy, which they refer to as the consumtariat.

Other usage

Netocracy can also refer to "Internet-enabled democracy" where issue-based politics will supersede party-based politics.

The word netocracy is also used as a portmanteau of Internet and democracy, not of Internet and aristocracy:

"In Seattle, organized labor ran interference for the ragtag groups assembled behind it, marshaling several thousand union members who feared that free trade might send their jobs abroad. In Washington, labor focused on lobbying Congress over the China-trade issue, leaving the IMF and the World Bank to the ad hoc Netocracy."[1]"From his bungalow in Berkeley, he's spreading the word of grassroots netocracy to the Beltway. He formed an Internet political consulting firm with Jerome ..." [2]

See also

*   Digerati
*   1% rule (Internet culture)
*   Digital divide
*   Noocracy
*   Information society
*   Knowledge divide
*   Digital citizen
*   Wikipedia
*   Social media
*   Online participation
*   Uberisation

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1   Jump up ^ The New Radicals; Time (magazine); April 24, 2000
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Noocracy

Noocracy (/noʊˈɒkrəsi/ or /ˈnoʊ.əkrəsi/), or "aristocracy of the wise", as defined by Plato, is a social and political system that is "based on the priority of human mind", according to Vladimir Vernadsky.[citation needed] It was also further developed in the writings of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.[citation needed]

Etymology

The word itself is derived from Greek nous, Gen. noos (νοῦς) meaning "mind" or "intellect", and "kratos" (κράτος), "authority" or "power".

Development

One of the first attempts to implement such a political system was perhaps Pythagoras' "city of the wise" that he planned to build in Italy together with his followers, the order of "mathematikoi."[citation needed] In modern history, similar concepts were introduced by Vladimir Vernadsky, who did not use this term however, but the term "Noosphere."[citation needed]
As defined by Plato, Noocracy is considered to be the future political system for the entire human race, replacing Democracy ("the authority of the crowd") and other forms of government.[citation needed]
Mikhail Epstein defined Noocracy as "the thinking matter increases its mass in nature and geo- and biosphere grow into noosphere, the future of the humanity can be envisioned as noocracy—that is the power of the collective brain rather than separate individuals representing certain social groups or society as whole."[citation needed]

Publications

In the European Commission Community Research publication, Art & Scientific Research are Free: Towards a Culture of Life, it states several commentaries by Hans Jonas and especially Ladislav Kovác about Noocracy.[1]"If Plato called his conception of governments a "sophocracy," then a political system characterized by social experimentation with a scientific institutionalized base could be called a "noocracy." Noocracy would not be the reign of the philosopher-king as seen in Plato. Nor would it be governed by science or the scientists. Power, a power acquired and maintained according to the laws of competition, would remain in the hands of the political elites but with these elites being professionally trained, making the most of the analysis, the forecasts and the propositions emanating from a vast array of advisory groups made up of experts from all areas of science, and setting up fieldwork experiments."

Take for example the current controversy about genetically modified food or GMO, a textbook case about setting up such a policy.

"Within a noocracy in its own right, GMO would be tested in one or several areas or nations and scientifically monitored by all, under the aegis of a main administration body. With, at the end of the day, the costs and profits equitably shared by all. The principle of precaution, highly controversial at the present time, would then be applied, without slowing-down nor impeding the implementation of scientific inventions."
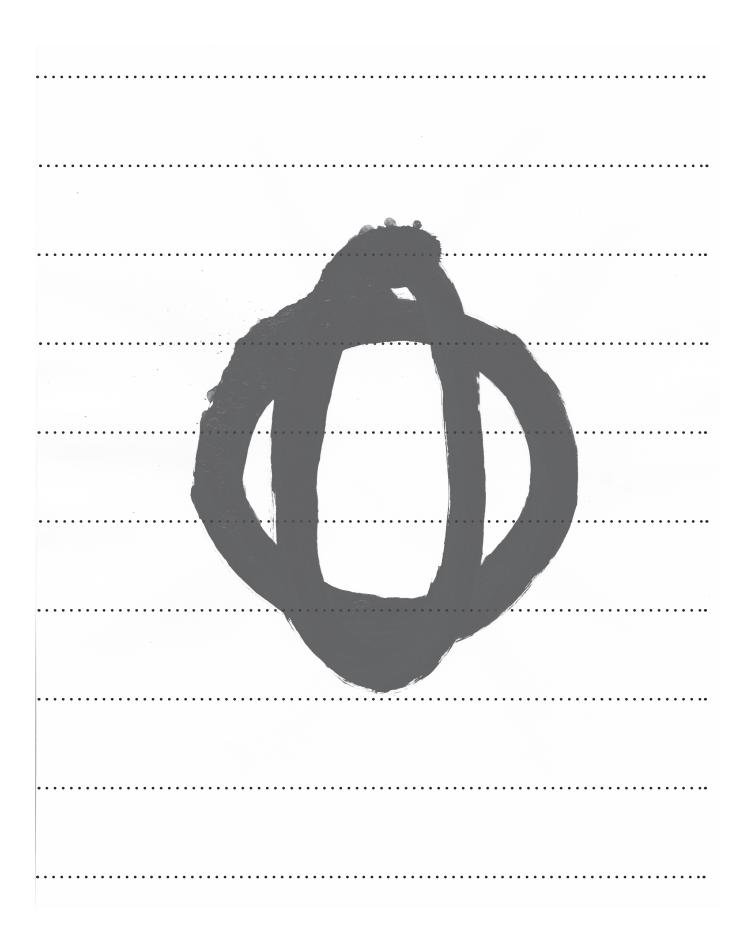
Criticisms

Noocracies, like technocracies, have been criticized for meritocratic failings, such as upholding of a non-egalitarian aristocratic ruling class. Others have upheld more democratic ideals as better epistemic models of law and policy.

See also

- Geniocracy
- Technocracy
- Noogenesis

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1 Jump up ^ Art & Scientific Research Are Free, European Commission, European Commission Community research, Semar Publishers Srl, 2005, ISBN 88-7778-102-5, ISBN 978-88-7778-102-4

Oligarchy

Oligarchy (from Greek ὀλιγαρχία (oligarkhía); from ὀλίγος (olígos), meaning "few", and ἄρχω (arkho), meaning "to rule or to command")[1][2][3] is a form of power structure in which power actually rests with a small number of people. These people might be distinguished by nobility, wealth, family ties, education or corporate, religious or military control. Such states are often controlled by a few prominent families who typically pass their influence from one generation to the next, but inheritance is not a necessary condition for the application of this term. Throughout history, oligarchies have often been tyrannical, relying on public obedience or oppression to exist. Aristotle pioneered the use of the term as a synonym for rule by the rich,[4] for which another term commonly used today is plutocracy.

Especially during the fourth century BC, after the restoration of democracy from oligarchical coups, the Athenians used the drawing of lots for selecting government officers in order to counteract what the Athenians saw as a tendency toward oligarchy in government if a professional governing class were allowed to use their skills for their own benefit.[5][page needed] They drew lots from large groups of adult volunteers that pick selection technique for civil servants performing judicial, executive, and administrative functions (archai, boulē, and hēliastai).[6] They even used lots for posts, such as judges and jurors in the political courts (nomothetai), which had the power to overrule the Assembly.[7]

Examples

United States

Further information: Income inequality in the United States § Impact on democracy and society

Some contemporary authors have characterized current conditions in the United States as oligarchic in nature.[8][9] Simon Johnson wrote that "the reemergence of an American financial oligarchy is quite recent", a structure which he delineated as being the "most advanced" in the world.[10] Jeffrey A. Winters wrote that "oligarchy and democracy operate within a single system, and American politics is a daily display of their interplay."[11] The top 1% of the US population by wealth in 2007 had a larger share of total income than at any time since 1928.[12] In 2011, according to PolitiFact and others, the top 400 wealthiest Americans "have more wealth than half of all Americans combined."[13][14][15][16]In 1998, Bob Herbert of The New York Times referred to modern American plutocrats as "The Donor Class"[17][18] (list of top donors)[19] and defined the class, for the first time,[20] as "a tiny group – just one-quarter of 1 percent of the population – and it is not representative of the rest of the nation. But its money buys plenty of access."[17]French economist Thomas Piketty states in his 2013 book, Capital in the Twenty-First Century, that "the risk of a drift towards oligarchy is real and gives little reason for optimism about where the United States is headed."[21]A study conducted by political scientists Martin Gilens of Princeton University and Benjamin Page of Northwestern University

was released in April 2014,[22] which stated that their "analyses suggest that majorities of the American public actually have little influence over the policies our government adopts." The study analyzed nearly 1,800 policies enacted by the US government between 1981 and 2002 and compared them to the expressed preferences of the American public as opposed to wealthy Americans and large special interest groups.[23] It found that wealthy individuals and organizations representing business interests have substantial political influence, while average citizens and mass-based interest groups have little to none. The study did concede that "Americans do enjoy many features central to democratic governance, such as regular elections, freedom of speech and association, and a widespread (if still contested) franchise." Gilens and Page do not characterize the US as an "oligarchy" per se; however, they do apply the concept of "civil oligarchy" as used by Jeffrey Winters with respect to the US. Winters has posited a comparative theory of "oligarchy" in which the wealthiest citizens – even in a "civil oligarchy" like the United States – dominate policy concerning crucial issues of wealth- and income-protection.[24]Gilens says that average citizens only get what they want if wealthy Americans and business-oriented interest groups also want it; and that when a policy favored by the majority of the American public is implemented, it is usually because the economic elites did not oppose it.[25] Other studies have questioned the Page and Gilens study.[26][27][28]In a 2015 interview, former President Jimmy Carter stated that the United States is now "an oligarchy with unlimited political bribery", due to the Citizens United ruling, which effectively removed limits on donations to political candidates.[29]

Russian Federation
Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991, privately owned Russia-based multinational corporations, including producers of petroleum, natural gas, and metal have, in the view of some analysts, led to the rise of Russian oligarchs.
[citation needed]

Minority governments
The exclusive consolidation of power by a dominant religious or ethnic minority has also been described as a form of oligarchy.[30] Examples of this system include South Africa under apartheid, Liberia under Americo-Liberians, the Sultanate of Zanzibar, and Rhodesia, where the installation of oligarchic rule by the descendants of foreign settlers were primarily regarded as a legacy of various forms of colonialism.[30]

In fiction
A well-known fictional oligarchy is represented by the Inner Party in George Orwell's novel Nineteen Eighty-Four. The socialists in the Jack London novel The Iron Heel fight a rebellion against the oligarchy ruling in the United States. In the Ender's Quartet, by Orson Scott Card - specifically Speaker for the Dead, Xenocide, and Children of The Mind - there is an oligarchy of the Starways Congress which rules by controlling communication by the Ansible. The nation Panem, controlled by its capitol, in The Hunger Games trilogy is also a form of oligarchy, as is the nation of Tear (ruled by a group of high lords, until the appointment of High Lord Darlin as

King of Tear) in Robert Jordan's The Wheel of Time.[citation needed]

See also

Aristocracy
Dictatorship
Inverted totalitarianism
Iron law of oligarchy
Kleptocracy
Meritocracy
Military dictatorship
Nepotism
Netocracy
Oligopoly
Plutocracy
Political family
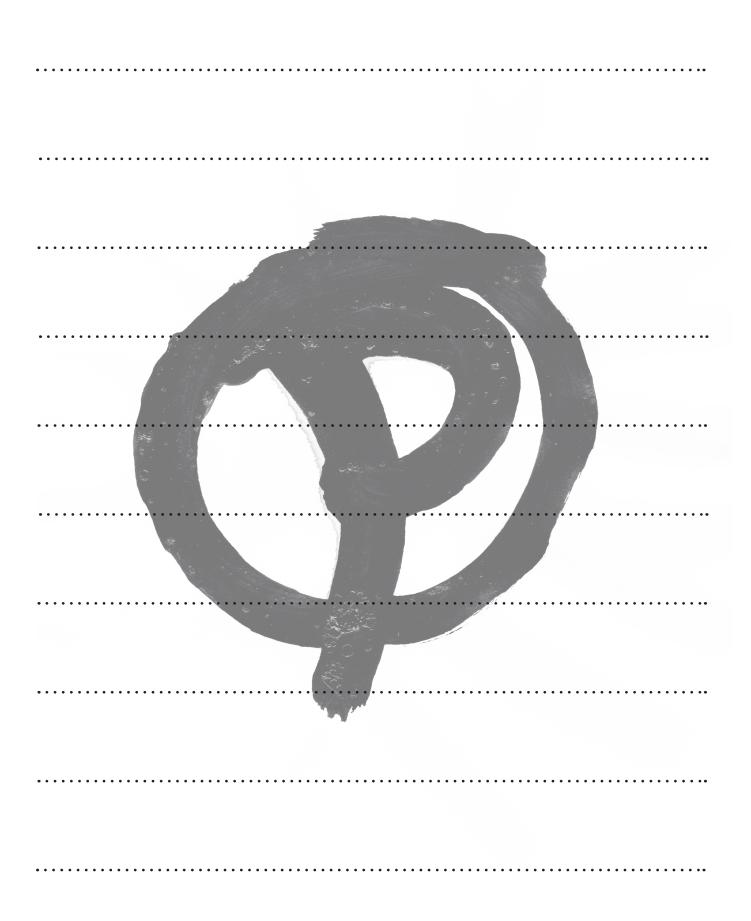Power behind the throne
Stratocracy
Synarchism
Theocracy
Timocracy

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Particracy

Particracy (also 'partitocracy', 'partocracy', or 'partitocrazia') is a de facto form of government where one or more political parties dominate the political process, rather than citizens and/or individual politicians.[citation needed] As argued by Italian political scientist Mauro Calise in 1994, the term is often derogatory, implying that parties have too much power—in a similar vein, in premodern times it was often argued that democracy was merely rule by the demos, or a poorly educated and easily misled mob. Efforts to turn "particracy" into a more precise scholarly concept so far merely appear partly successful.[1]

Rationale and types

Particracy tends to install itself as the cost of campaigning and the impact of the media increase so that it can be prevalent at the national level with large electoral districts but absent at a local level; a few prominent politicians of renown may hold enough influence on public opinion to resist their party or dominate it.
The ultimate particracy is the one-party state while in a sense that is not a true party, for it does not perform the essential function to rival other parties. There it is often installed by law, while in multi-party states particracy cannot be imposed or effectively prevented by law.
In multi-party regimes, the degree of individual autonomy within each can vary according to the party rules and traditions, and depending on whether a party is in power, and if so alone (mostly in a de facto two party-system) or in a coalition. The mathematical need to form a coalition on the one hand prevents a single party from getting a potentially total grip, on the other hand provides the perfect excuse not to be accountable to the voter for not delivering the party program promises.

Examples

The party system which developed in the Federal Republic of Germany after World War II provides examples of particracies. More explicitly than in most European parliamentary systems, parties play a dominant role in the German Federal Republic's politics, far outstripping the role of individuals.[citation needed] Article 21 of the Basic Law states that "the political parties shall participate in the forming of the political will of the people. They may be freely established. Their internal organization must conform to democratic principles. They must publicly account for the sources of their funds." The 1967 "Law on Parties" further solidified the role of parties in the political process and addressed party organization, membership rights, and specific procedures, such as the nomination of candidates for office. The educational function noted in Article 21 (participation in the "forming of the political will") suggests that parties should help define public opinion rather than simply carry out the wishes of the electorate.[2]On the other side of the Iron Curtain,

the former German Democratic Republic (or East Germany, 1949-1990) was hardly democratic, but at least in theory more democratic than the USSR in as far as the dominant Socialist Unity Party allowed the existence of eternally minority small interest-group parties in the National Front.

In the West, the United States, in which the Democratic and the Republican parties have been in power continuously since before the American Civil War, could be viewed as a particracy. Both the Democratic and Republican parties conspire with the media to reduce the coverage of third parties by excluding them from debates. The Netherlands is viewed by some[quantify] as a particracy.[3] Particracy is one of the reasons for the 2010–2011 Greek protests.[citation needed]

Some scholars[which?] have characterized the Mexican PRI party as a "state party" or as a "perfect dictatorship" for ruling Mexico for over 70 years (1929-2000), later losing power for 12 years and regaining it in 2012.

The Republic of Ireland can also be seen[by whom?] as a particracy. Since the foundation of the state, one of two parties - Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael - has always led the government, either on its own or in coalition. Fianna Fáil is one of the most successful political parties in history.[citation needed] From the formation of the first Fianna Fáil government on 9 March 1932 until the election of 2011, the party was in power for 61 of 79 years. Fine Gael held power during the remaining years.

Brazil could also be considered a particracy, and some consider the country a plutocracy.

The Italian 'Partitocrazia'

It has been alleged that Italian parties have retained too much power in the First Republic, screening the choices citizens had in elections; this electoral law would reinstate fixed electoral lists, where voters can express a preference for a list but not for a specific candidate. This can be used by parties to guarantee virtual re-election to unpopular but powerful figures, who would be weaker in a first-past-the-post electoral system.

The nearly pure proportional representation system of the First Republic had resulted not only in party fragmentation and therefore governmental instability, but also insulation of the parties from the electorate and civil society. This was known in Italian as partitocrazia, in contrast to democracy, and resulted in corruption and pork-barrel politics. The Italian constitution allows, with substantial hurdles, abrogative referendums, enabling citizens to delete laws or parts of laws past by Parliament (with exceptions).

A reform movement known as COREL (Committee to Promote Referendums on Elections), led by maverick Christian Democracy member Mario Segni, proposed three referendums, one of which was allowed by the Constitutional Court of Italy (at that time packed with members of the Italian Socialist Party and hostile to the movement). The June 1991 referendum therefore asked voters if they wanted to reduce the number of preferences, from three or four to one in the Chamber of Deputies to reduce the abuse of the open-list system by party elites and ensure accurate delegation of parliamentary seats to candidates popular with voters. With 62.5% of the Italian electorate voting, the referendum passed with 95% of those voting in favor. This was seen as a vote against the partitocrazia, which had

campaigned against the referendum.

Emboldened by their victory in 1991 and encouraged by the unfolding Mani pulite scandals and the substantial loss of votes for the traditional parties in the 1992 general elections, the reformers pushed forward with another referendum, abrogating the proportional representation system of the Italian Senate and implicitly supporting a plurality system that would theoretically force parties to coalesce around two ideological poles, thereby providing governmental stability. This referendum was held in April 1993 and passed with the support of 80% of those voting. This caused the Giuliano Amato government to collapse three days later.

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Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a social system in which males hold primary power and predominate in roles of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege and control of property. In the domain of the family, fathers or father-figures hold authority over women and children. Some patriarchal societies are also patrilineal, meaning that property and title are inherited by the male lineage.

Historically, patriarchy has manifested itself in the social, legal, political, religious and economic organization of a range of different cultures.[1] Even if not explicitly defined to be by their own constitutions and laws, most contemporary societies are, in practice, patriarchal.[2]

Etymology and usage

Patriarchy literally means "the rule of the father"[3][4] and comes from the Greek πατριάρχης (patriarkhēs), "father of a race" or "chief of a race, patriarch",[5][6] which is a compound of πατριά (patria), "lineage, descent"[7] (from πατήρ patēr, "father") and ἄρχω (arkhō), "I rule".[8]Historically, the term patriarchy was used to refer to autocratic rule by the male head of a family. However, in modern times, it more generally refers to social systems in which power is primarily held by adult men.[9][10][11] One example definition of patriarchy by Sylvia Walby is "a system of interrelated social structures which allow men to exploit women."[12] According to April A. Gordon,[12] Walby's definition allows for the variability and changes in women's roles and in the order of their priority under different patriarchal systems. It also recognizes that it is the institutionalized subordination and exploitation of women by men that is the crux of patriarchy; this can take many forms. It is even theoretically possible that patriarchy could express itself through a deemphasis on motherhood in favor of women as wage earners or some other role.

Terms with similar etymology are also used in various social sciences and humanities to describe patriarchal or patriological aspects of social, cultural and political processes. Adjective patriological is derived from the noun patriology that comes from two Greek words: πατέρας (pateras, father) and λογος (logos, teaching about). The term patriology originated in theological studies as a designation for particular theological discipline that studies the person and works of God the Father (see: Patriology (Christianity)). In modern times, the term was borrowed by social sciences and humanities and its meaning was widened in order to describe and define particular male-dominated and male-centered aspects of cultural and social life.

The female alternative for patriology is matriology.

History and origin of the modern patriarchy

Anthropological evidence suggests that most prehistoric hunter-gatherer

societies were relatively egalitarian, and that patriarchal social structures did not develop until many years after the end of the Pleistocene era, following social and technological developments such as agriculture and domestication.[13][14][15] According to Robert M. Strozier, historical research has not yet found a specific "initiating event".[16] Some scholars point to about six thousand years ago (4000 BCE), when the concept of fatherhood took root, as the beginning of the spread of patriarchy.[17][18] The archaeologist Marija Gimbutas found that the early agricultural cultures of Old Europe in the Aegean, Balkans and southern Italy gender relations were remarkably egalitarian. She suggests that it was the result of waves of kurgan building invaders from the Ukrainian steppes that changed these gender relationships and instituted male hierarchies that led to the rise of patriarchy.[19] Steven Taylor demonstrates that the rise of patriarchal domination was associated with the appearance of socially stratified hierarchical polities, institutionalised violence and the separated individuated ego associated with a period of climatic stress.[20] Domination by men of women is found in the Ancient Near East as far back as 3100 BCE, as are restrictions on a woman's reproductive capacity and exclusion from "the process of representing or the construction of history".[16] According to some researchers, with the appearance of the Hebrews, there is also "the exclusion of woman from the God-humanity covenant".[16][21] A prominent Greek general Meno, in the Platonic dialogue of the same name, sums up the prevailing sentiment in Classical Greece about the respective virtues of men and women. He says:

First of all, if you take the virtue of a man, it is easily stated that a man's virtue is this—that he be competent to manage the affairs of his city, and to manage them so as to benefit his friends and harm his enemies, and to take care to avoid suffering harm himself. Or take a woman's virtue: there is no difficulty in describing it as the duty of ordering the house well, looking after the property indoors, and obeying her husband.[22] The works of Aristotle portrayed women as morally, intellectually, and physically inferior to men; saw women as the property of men; claimed that women's role in society was to reproduce and serve men in the household; and saw male domination of women as natural and virtuous.[23][24] [25] In The Creation of Patriarchy by Gerda Lerner, the author states that Aristotle believed that women had colder blood than men, which made women not evolve into men, the sex that Aristotle believed to be perfect and superior. Maryanne Cline Horowitz stated that Aristotle believed that "soul contributes the form and model of creation." This implies that any imperfection that is caused in the world must be caused by a woman because one cannot acquire an imperfection from perfection (which he perceived as male). Aristotle had a hierarchical ruling structure in his theories. Lerner claims that through this patriarchal belief system, passed down generation to generation, people have been conditioned to believe that men are superior to women. These symbols are benchmarks which children learn about when they grow up, and the cycle of patriarchy continues much past the Greeks. [26] Egypt left no philosophical record, but Herodotus left a record of his shock at the contrast between the roles of Egyptian women and the women of Athens. He observed that Egyptian women attended market and were employed in trade. In ancient Egypt a middle-class woman might sit on a local tribunal, engage in real estate transactions, and inherit or bequeath property. Women also secured loans, and witnessed legal documents.[27] Greek influence spread, however, with the conquests of Alexander the Great, who was educated by Aristotle.[28] In medieval

Europe, patriarchy was not absolute, as female Empresses (such as Theodora) and Matriarchs (such as Helena, the mother of Constantine) enjoyed privilege, political rule, and societal honor.[29][unreliable source?] In the religious sphere, the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches restricted the priesthood to males, yet viewed the church itself as a mother.[30]From the time of Martin Luther, Protestantism regularly used the commandment in Exodus 20:12 to justify the duties owed to all superiors. The commandment honour thy father, was taken to apply not only to fathers, but elders, and the king.[citation needed]Although many 16th and 17th Century theorists agreed with Aristotle's views concerning the place of women in society, none of them tried to prove political obligation on the basis of the patriarchal family until sometime after 1680. The patriarchal political theory is closely associated with Sir Robert Filmer. Sometime before 1653, Filmer completed a work entitled Patriarcha. However, it was not published until after his death. In it, he defended the divine right of kings as having title inherited from Adam, the first man of the human species, according to Judeo-Christian tradition.[31] However, in the latter half of the 18th century, clerical sentiments of patriarchy were meeting challenges from intellectual authorities – Diderot's Encyclopedia denies inheritance of paternal authority stating, "...reason shows us that mothers have rights and authority equal to those of fathers; for the obligations imposed on children originate equally from the mother and the father, as both are equally responsible for bringing them into the world. Thus the positive laws of God that relate to the obedience of children join the father and the mother without any differentiation; both possess a kind of ascendancy and jurisdiction over their children..."[32]In the 19th Century, various women began to question the commonly accepted patriarchal interpretation of Christian scripture. One of the foremost of these was Sarah Grimké, who voiced skepticism about the ability of men to translate and interpret passages relating to the roles of the sexes without bias. She proposed alternative translations and interpretations of passages relating to women, and she applied historical and cultural criticism to a number of verses, arguing that their admonitions applied to specific historical situations, and were not to be viewed as universal commands. [33] Elizabeth Cady Stanton used Grimké's criticism of biblical sources to establish a basis for feminist thought. She published The Woman's Bible, which proposed a feminist reading of the Old and New Testament. This tendency was enlarged by feminist theory, which denounced the patriarchal Judeo-Christian tradition.[34]

Feminist theory

Feminist theory defines patriarchy as an unjust social system that enforces gender roles and is oppressive to both men and women.[35] It often includes any social, political, or economic mechanism that evokes male dominance over women. Feminist theory typically characterizes patriarchy as a social construction, which can be overcome by revealing and critically analyzing its manifestations.[36]Many feminists (especially scholars and activists) have called for culture repositioning as a method for deconstructing patriarchy. Culture repositioning relates to culture change. It involves the reconstruction of the cultural concept of a society.[37] Prior to the widespread use of "patriarchy", feminists used the terms "male chauvinism" and "sexism" to refer roughly to the same phenomenon.[38] Author bell hooks argues

that the new term identifies the ideological system itself (that men are inherently dominant or superior to women) that can be believed and acted upon by either men or women, whereas the earlier terms imply only men act as oppressors of women.[38]

Use of symbols

In Chapter 10 of The Creation of Patriarchy, Gerda Lerner states that Man (male) found a way of dealing with the existential dilemma by assigning symbol-making power to himself and life-death-nature finiteness to woman. Lerner argues that class society began with the dominance of men over women and developed into the dominance of some men over other men and over all women. Thus the very process of class formation incorporated an already pre-existing condition of male dominance over women and particularly marginalized women in the formation of symbol systems. The symbol system established the ruling elite of men in power. [39]

Biological versus social theories

Main articles: Sex differences in humans and Social construction of gender difference

As a common standard of differentiation between sexes, advocates for a patriarchal society like to focus on the influences that hormones have over biological systems. Hormones have been declared as the "key to the sexual universe" because they are present in all animals and are the driving force in two critical developmental stages: sex-determinism in the fetus, and puberty in the teenage individual.[40] Playing a critical role in the development of the brain and behavior, testosterone and estrogen have been labeled the "male-hormone" and "female-hormone" respectively as a result of the impact they have when masculinizing or feminizing an individual.

Most sociologists reject predominantly biological explanations of patriarchy and contend that social and cultural conditioning are primarily responsible for establishing male and female gender roles.[41][42] According to standard sociological theory, patriarchy is the result of sociological constructions that are passed down from generation to generation.[41] These constructions are most pronounced in societies with traditional cultures and less economic development.[43] Even in modern, developed societies, however, gender messages conveyed by family, mass media, and other institutions largely favor males having a dominant status.
[42]Biologist Richard Lewontin asserts that patriarchy persists through social and political reasons, rather than purely scientific reasons. In The Determined Patriarchy, Lewontin reflects feminist concerns for the future of patriarchy and how to rid society of it by uprooting the source. Some[who?] opponents of feminism have argued that patriarchy has its origin in biological factors. This is called biological determinism, which looks at humanity from a strictly biological point of view. Thus, the evolution of science in a patriarchal society's focus begins with man and woman. The male testosterone hormone is, for instance, known to greatly enhance risk taking behaviour; which can generate increased status

in groups if successful (balanced with an equal increase in number of failures, with potential losses of status or death as result). The potential magnitude, frequency and longevity of the increased status from a hormonally driven risk-taking success depends on opportunities, which increases rapidly with societal complexity. A hypothetical patriarchal culture based primarily on a hormonally-driven increased rate of male successes, thus require a certain critical level of societal evolution[clarification needed] before it could evolve. Other proponents of this theory posit that because of a woman's biology, she is more fit to perform roles such as anonymous child-rearing at home, rather than high-profile decision-making roles, such as leaders in battles. Through this simple basis, "the existence of a sexual division of labor in primitive societies is a starting point as much for purely social accounts of the origins of patriarchy as for biological".[40]:157 Hence, the rise of patriarchy is recognized through this apparent "sexual division."[40] Although patriarchy exists within the scientific atmosphere, "the period over which women would have been at a physiological disadvantage in participation in hunting through being at a late stage pregnancy or early stage of child-rearing would have been small",[40]:157 during the time of the nomads, patriarchy still grew with power. Lewontin and others argue that such biological determinism unjustly limits women. In his study, he states women behave a certain way not because they are biologically inclined to, but rather because they are judged by "how well they conform to the stereotypical local image of femininity".[40]:137 Feminists believe that people have gendered biases, which are perpetuated and enforced across generations by those who benefit from them.[40] For instance, it has historically been claimed that women cannot make rational decisions during their menstrual periods. This claim cloaks the fact that men also have periods of time where they can be aggressive and irrational; furthermore, unrelated effects of aging and similar medical problems are often blamed on menopause, amplifying its reputation.[44] These biological traits and others specific to women, such as their ability to get pregnant, are often used against them as an attribute of weakness. [40][44]A growing body of research has found key points of the biological argument to be groundless. For example, it was asserted for over a century that women were not as intellectually competent as men because they have slightly smaller brains on average.[45] However, no substantiated significant difference in average intelligence has been found between the sexes. However men have a greater variability in intelligence and except in tests of reading comprehension, perceptual speed, and associative memory, males typically outnumber females substantially among high-scoring individuals.[46] Furthermore, no discrepancy in intelligence is assumed between men of different heights, even though on average taller men have been found to have slightly larger brains.[45] Feminists assert that although women may excel in certain areas and men in others, women are just as competent as men. [47] Therefore, through the growing power of the patriarchal system, a gender bias is created in the work force, leading to a situation in which "men are more likely to be cabinet ministers or parliamentarians, business executives or tycoons, Nobel Prize-winning scientists or fellows of academies, doctors or airline pilots. [As for] [w]omen [they] are more likely to be secretaries, laboratory technicians, office cleaners, nurses, airline stewardesses, primary school teachers, or social workers". [40]:132 Within the structure of a patriarchal society, patriarchal biases and values are more likely to be promoted in the educational system. Particularly in mathematical and scientific fields, boys are presumed to have more keen spatial abilities

than girls, whereas girls are supposed to assume better linguistic skills. These stereotypical manifestations within educational institutions contract with the notions of differently gendered brains and a "relationship between intelligence and brain size".[40]:143 However, there is "no correlation between skull capacity and hence brain weight and 'intellectual power'",[40]:143 yet there is still a constant struggle of gender bias in science.

Sociologist Sylvia Walby has composed six overlapping structures that define patriarchy and that take different forms in different cultures and different times:[48]

1 The state: women are unlikely to have formal power and representation
2 The household: women are more likely to do the housework and raise the children.
3 Violence: women are more prone to being abused
4 Paid work: women are likely to be paid less
5 Sexuality: women's sexuality is more likely to be treated negatively
6 Culture: women are more misrepresented in media and popular culture

Some sociobiologists, such as Steven Goldberg, argue that social behavior is primarily determined by genetics, and thus that patriarchy arises more as a result of inherent biology than social conditioning. Goldberg also contends that patriarchy is a universal feature of human culture. In 1973, Goldberg wrote, "The ethnographic studies of every society that has ever been observed explicitly state that these feelings were present, there is literally no variation at all."[49] Goldberg has critics among anthropologists. Concerning Goldberg's claims about the "feelings of both men and women", Eleanor Leacock countered in 1974 that the data on women's attitudes are "sparse and contradictory", and that the data on male attitudes about male-female relations are "ambiguous". Also, the effects of colonialism on the cultures represented in the studies were not considered.[50]

An early theory in evolutionary psychology offered an explanation for the origin of patriarchy which starts with the view that females almost always invest more energy into producing offspring than males, and therefore in most species females are a limiting factor over which males will compete. This is sometimes referred to as Bateman's principle. It suggests females place the most important preference on males who control more resources that can help her and her offspring, which in turn causes an evolutionary pressure on males to be competitive with each other in order to succeed in gaining resources and power.[51] While this account continues to be popular with the laymen and the media, an alternative evolutionary theory has superseded it in scholarly circles.[52] Attachment Fertility Theory,[53] [54] based on attachment theory, observes that human infants are born with a level of helplessness unknown elsewhere in the animal kingdom and that father involvement is critical to human infant survival. Because the investment in offspring required by human males and females is nearly equal, they are proposed to have evolved sex-similar mating preferences (Mutual Mate Choice[55]), that is, both men and women prefer caring, attractive, and successful partners.

The idea that patriarchy is natural has, however, come under attack from many sociologists, explaining that patriarchy evolved due to historical, rather than biological, conditions. In technologically simple societies, men's greater physical strength and women's common experience of pregnancy combined together to sustain patriarchy.[40] Gradually, technological advances, especially industrial machinery, diminished the primacy of physical strength in everyday life. Similarly, contraception has given women control over their reproductive cycle.[citation needed]

There is considerable variation in the role that gender plays in human societies. Although there are no known examples of strictly matriarchal cultures,[56] there exist societies which have been shown to be matrilinear or matrilocal, primarily among indigenous tribal groups.[57] Some hunter-gatherer groups have been characterized as largely egalitarian.[15] Others have argued that patriarchy is a cultural universal.[58]

Psychoanalytic theories

The term patriarchy is often misused loosely to stand for "male domination", while the more rigorous definition lies with the literal interpretation: "the rule of the father".[59] So some people believe patriarchy does not refer to a simple binary pattern of male power over women, but power exerted more complexly by age as well as gender, and by older men over women, children, and younger men. Some of these younger men may inherit and therefore have a stake in continuing these conventions. Others may rebel.[60][61]This psychoanalytic model is based upon revisions of Freud's description of the normally neurotic family using the analogy of the story of Oedipus.[62][63] Those who fall outside the Oedipal triad of mother/father/child are less subject to male authority.[64] This has been taken as a position of symbolic power for queer identities.

The operations of power in such cases are usually enacted unconsciously. All are subject, even fathers are bound by its strictures.[65] It is represented in unspoken traditions and conventions performed in everyday behaviors, customs, and habits.[66] The triangular relationship of a father, a mother and an inheriting eldest son frequently form the dynamic and emotional narratives of popular culture and are enacted performatively in rituals of courtship and marriage.[67] They provide conceptual models for organising power relations in spheres that have nothing to do with the family, for example, politics and business.[68]Arguing from this standpoint, radical feminist Shulamith Firestone wrote in her 1970 The Dialectic of Sex:

Marx was on to something more profound than he knew when he observed that the family contained within itself in embryo all the antagonisms that later develop on a wide scale within the society and the state. For unless revolution uproots the basic social organisation, the biological family – the vinculum through which the psychology of power can always be smuggled – the tapeworm of exploitation will never be annihilated.[69]From the perspective of Jungian psychology, patriarchy may be seen as an expression of a stunted, immature form of masculinity and thus as an attack on masculinity in its fullness as well as on femininity in its fullness.[70]

See also

Patriarchal models
Biblical patriarchy

Chinese patriarchy

Paterfamilias

Patriarch

Women in Islam

Related notions
Correspondence principle (sociology)

Family economics

Feminism

Gender role

Hegemonic masculinity

Heteropatriarchy

Homemaker

Masculinity

Nature versus nurture

Patriarchate

Patrilineality

Sociology of fatherhood

The family as a model for the state

The personal is political

Tree of patriarchy

Comparable social models
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Male privilege

Matriarchy

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Shared earning/shared parenting marriage

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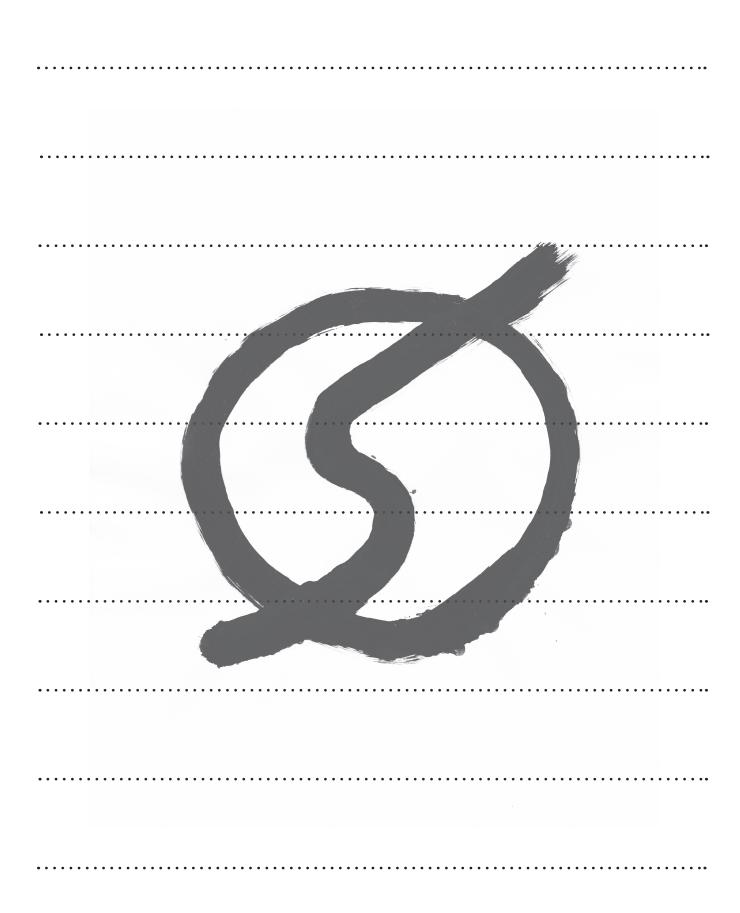53 Jump up ˆ Miller, L.C.; Fishkin, S. A. (1997). On the dynamics of human bonding and reproductive success: Seeking windows on the adapted-for human–environmental interface. In J. A. Simpson & D. T. Kenrick (Eds.), Evolutionary social psychology. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. p. 197. ISBN 1317779479.

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Semi-democracy

The term semi-democracy is used to refer to a state that shares both democratic and authoritarian features.[1]The term "semi-democratic" is reserved for stable regimes that combine democratic and authoritarian elements.[2][3] Most of them are dominant-party systems—that is, states where opposition parties are allowed and free elections are held. Sometimes the dominant party maintains power through election fraud, while other times the elections themselves are fair, but the electoral campaigns preceding them are not. A young and unstable democracy struggling toward improvement and consolidation is usually not classified as a semi-democratic country.[citation needed]

The late 1980s and early 1990s have seen the demise of many different kinds of authoritarian governments: right-wing military dictatorships in Latin America, and various others in Africa. Often, the governments that replaced them declared their allegiance to democracy and implemented genuine democratic reforms in the beginning, but eventually turned into semi-democratic regimes.[citation needed]

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Social democracy

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"Social democrats" redirects here. For a list of parties named as such, see Social Democratic Party.
Not to be confused with democratic socialism.

Social democracy is a political, social and economic ideology that supports economic and social interventions to promote social justice within the framework of a capitalist economy, and a policy regime involving a commitment to representative democracy, measures for income redistribution, and regulation of the economy in the general interest and welfare state provisions.[1][2][3] Social democracy thus aims to create the conditions for capitalism to lead to greater democratic, egalitarian and solidaristic outcomes; and is often associated with the set of socioeconomic policies that became prominent in Northern and Western Europe—particularly the Nordic model in the Nordic countries—during the latter half of the 20th century.[4][5]Social democracy originated as a political ideology that advocated an evolutionary and peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism using established political processes in contrast to the revolutionary approach to transition associated with orthodox Marxism.[6] In the early post-war era in Western Europe, social democratic parties rejected the Stalinist political and economic model then current in the Soviet Union, committing themselves either to an alternate path to socialism or to a compromise between capitalism and socialism.[7] In this period, social democrats embraced a mixed economy based on the predominance of private property, with only a minority of essential utilities and public services under public ownership. As a result, social democracy became associated with Keynesian economics, state interventionism, and the welfare state, while abandoning the prior goal of replacing the capitalist system (factor markets, private property and wage labor)[4] with a qualitatively different socialist economic system.[8][9][10]Modern social democracy is characterized by a commitment to policies aimed at curbing inequality, oppression of underprivileged groups, and poverty;[11] including support for universally accessible public services like care for the elderly, child care, education, health care, and workers' compensation.[12] The social democratic movement also has strong connections with the labour movement and trade unions, and is supportive of collective bargaining rights for workers as well as measures to extend democratic decision-making beyond politics into the economic sphere in the form of co-determination for employees and other economic stakeholders.[13]The Third Way, which ostensibly aims to fuse right-wing economics with social democratic welfare policies, is an ideology that developed in the 1990s and is sometimes associated with social democratic parties, but some analysts have instead characterized the Third Way as an effectively neoliberal movement.[14]

Development of social democracy

During late 19th and early 20th centuries, social democracy was a movement that aimed to replace private ownership with social ownership of the means of production, taking influences from both Marxism and the supporters of Ferdinand Lassalle. By 1868–1869, Marxism had become the official theoretical basis of the first social democratic party established in Europe, the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Germany.[15] In the early 20th century, the German Social democratic politician Eduard Bernstein rejected the revolutionary and materialist foundations of classical and orthodox Marxism and advanced the position that socialism should be grounded in ethical and moral arguments and was to be achieved through gradual legislative reform. Influenced by Bernstein, following the split between reformists and revolutionary socialists in the Second International, social democratic parties rejected revolutionary politics in favor of parliamentary reform while remaining committed to socialization.[16] In this period, social democracy became associated with reformist socialism. Under the influence of politicians like Carlo Rosselli in Italy, social democrats began disassociating themselves from Marxism altogether and embraced liberal socialism,[17] appealing to morality instead of any consistent systematic, scientific, or materialist worldview.[18][19] Social democracy made appeals to communitarian, corporatist, and sometimes nationalist sentiments while rejecting the economic and technological determinism generally characteristic of both Marxism and economic liberalism.[20] By the post-World War II period, most social democrats in Europe had abandoned their ideological connection to Marxism and shifted their emphasis toward social policy reform in place of transition from capitalism to socialism.[21]

First International era, 1863–1889

The origins of social democracy have been traced to the 1860s, with the rise of the first major working-class party in Europe, the General German Workers' Association (ADAV) founded by Ferdinand Lassalle.[22] At the same time the International Workingmen's Association also known as the First International was founded in 1864 brought together socialists of various stances, and initially brought forth a conflict between Karl Marx and the anarchists led by Mikhail Bakunin over the role of the state in socialism, with Bakunin rejecting any role for the state.[23] Another issue at the First International was the role of reformism.[24]

Ferdinand Lassalle Although Lassalle was not a Marxist, he was influenced by the theories of Marx and Engels, and he accepted the existence and importance of class struggle. However unlike Marx's and Engels's The Communist Manifesto, Lassalle promoted class struggle in a more moderate form.[25] While Marx viewed the state negatively as an instrument of class rule that should only exist temporarily upon the rise to power of the proletariat and then dismantled, Lassalle accepted the state. Lassalle viewed the state as a means through which workers could enhance their interests and even transform the society to create an economy based on worker-run cooperatives. Lassalle's strategy was primarily electoral and reformist, with Lassalleans contending that the working class needed a political party that fought above all for universal adult male suffrage.[22] The ADAV's party newspaper was called Der Sozialdemokrat ("The Social Democrat"). Marx and Engels

responded to the title "Sozialdemocrat" with distaste, Engels once writing, "But what a title: Sozialdemokrat!...Why don't they simply call it The Proletarian." Marx agreed with Engels that "Sozialdemokrat" was a bad title.[25] Although the origins of the name "Sozialdemokrat" actually traced back to Marx's German translation in 1848 of the French political party known as "Partie Democrat-Socialist" into "Partei der Sozialdemokratie," Marx did not like this French party because he viewed it as dominated by the middle class; he associated the word "Sozialdemokrat" with that party.[26] There was a Marxist faction within the ADAV represented by Wilhelm Liebknecht who became one of the editors of the Die Sozialdemokrat.[25] Faced with opposition from liberal capitalists to his socialist policies, Lassalle controversially attempted to forge a tactical alliance with the conservative aristocratic Junkers due to their anti-bourgeois attitudes, as well as with Prussian Chancellor Otto von Bismarck.[22] Friction in the ADAV arose over Lassalle's policy of a friendly approach to Bismarck that had assumed incorrectly that Bismarck in turn would be friendly towards them. This approach was opposed by the party's Marxists, including Liebknecht.[26] Opposition in the ADAV to Lassalle's friendly approach to Bismarck's government resulted in Liebknecht resigning from his position as editor of Die Sozialdemokrat and leaving the ADAV in 1865. In 1869, Liebknecht, along with Marxist August Bebel, founded the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (SDAP), which was founded as a merger of three groups: petit-bourgeois Saxon People's Party (SVP), a faction of the ADAV, and members of the League of German Workers Associations (VDA).[26] Though the SDAP was not officially Marxist, it was the first major working-class organization to be led by Marxists and Marx and Engels had direct association with the party. The party adopted stances similar to those adopted by Marx at the First International. There was intense rivalry and antagonism between the SDAP and the ADAV, with the SDAP being highly hostile to the Prussian government while the ADAV pursued a reformist and more cooperative approach.[27] This rivalry reached its height involving the two parties' stances on the Franco-Prussian War, with the SDAP refusing to support Prussia's war effort by claiming it rejected it as an imperialist war by Bismarck, while the ADAV supported the war.[27]

In the aftermath of the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War, revolution broke out in France, with revolutionary army members along with working-class revolutionaries founding the Paris Commune.[28] The Paris Commune appealed both to the citizens of Paris regardless of class, as well as to the working class who were a major base of support for the government by appealing to them via militant rhetoric. In spite of such militant rhetoric to appeal to the working class, the Commune also received substantial support from the middle-class bourgeoisie of Paris, including shopkeepers and merchants. The Commune, in part due to its sizable number neo-Proudhonians and neo-Jacobins in the Central Committee, declared that the Commune was not opposed to private property, but rather hoped to create the widest distribution of it.[29] The political composition of the Commune included twenty-five neo-Jacobins, fifteen to twenty neo-Proudhonians and protosyndicalists, nine or ten Blanquists, a variety of radical republicans, and a few Internationalists influenced by Marx.[30] In the aftermath of the collapse of the Paris Commune in 1871, Marx praised the Paris Commune in his work The Civil War in France (1871) for its achievements, in spite of its pro-bourgeois influences, and called it an excellent model of the dictatorship of the proletariat in practice, as it had dismantled the apparatus of the bourgeois state,

including its huge bureaucracy; military; and its executive, judicial, and legislative institutions; with a working-class state with broad popular support.[31] However the collapse of the Commune and the persecution of its anarchist supporters had the effect of weakening the influence of the Bakuninist anarchists in the First International, this would result in Marx expelling the weakened rival Bakuninists from the International a year later.[31]In Britain, the achievement of legalization of trade unions under the Trade Union Act 1871 drew British trade unionists to believe that working conditions could be improved through parliamentary means. [32]At the Hague Congress of 1872, Marx made a remark, admitting that while there are countries "where the workers can attain their goal by peaceful means" in most countries on the Continent "the lever of our revolution must be force".[33]You know that the institutions, mores, and traditions of various countries must be taken into consideration, and we do not deny that there are countries—such as America, England, and if I were more familiar with your institutions, I would perhaps also add Holland—where the workers can attain their goal by peaceful means. This being the case, we must also recognize the fact that in most countries on the Continent the lever of our revolution must be force; it is force to which we must someday appeal in order to erect the rule of labor.[34]In 1875 Marx attacked the Gotha Program that became the program of Social Democratic Party of Germany in the same year in his Critique of the Gotha Program.

Marx was not optimistic that Germany at the time was not open to a peaceful means to achieve socialism, especially after German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck had enacted Anti-Socialist Laws in 1878.[35] At the time of the Anti-Socialist Laws beginning to be drafted, but not yet published, in 1878, Marx spoke of the possibilities of legislative reforms by an elected government composed of working-class legislative members, but also of the willingness to use force should force be used against the working class:

If in England, for instance, or the United States, the working class were to gain a majority in Parliament or Congress, they could, by lawful means, rid themselves of such laws and institutions as impeded their development, though they could only do insofar as society had reached a sufficiently mature development. However, the "peaceful" movement might be transformed into a "forcible" one by resistance on the part of those interested in restoring the former state of affairs; if (as in the American Civil War and French Revolution) they are put down by force, it is as rebels against "lawful" force.[35]Engels in his study England in 1845 and in 1885 (1885) wrote a study that analyzed the changes in the British class system from 1845 to 1885, in which he commended the Chartist movement for being responsible for the achievement of major breakthroughs for the working class.[36] Engels stated that during this time Britain's industrial bourgeoisie had learned "that the middle class can never obtain full social and political power over the nation except by the help of the working class".[35] In addition he noticed "a gradual change over the relations between the two classes".[37] This change he described was manifested in the change of laws in Britain, that granted political changes in favour of the working class that the Chartist movement had demanded for years:

The 'Abolition of the Property Qualification' and 'Vote by Ballot' are now the law of the land. The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 make a near approach to 'universal suffrage,' at least such as it now exists in Germany.[37]

A major non-Marxian influence on social democracy came from the British Fabian Society founded in 1884 by Frank Podmore that emphasized the need for a

gradualist evolutionary and reformist approach to the achievement of socialism.
[38] The Fabian Society was founded as a splinter group from the Fellowship of the New Life due to opposition within that group to socialism.[39] Unlike Marxism, Fabianism did not promote itself as a working-class-led movement, and it largely had middle-class members.[40] The Fabian Society published the Fabian Essays on Socialism (1889) that was substantially written by George Bernard Shaw.[41] Shaw referred to Fabians as "all Social Democrats, with a common confiction [sic] of the necessity of vesting the organization of industry and the material of production in a State identified with the whole people by complete Democracy".[41]Other important early Fabians, included Sidney Webb, who from 1887 to 1891 wrote the bulk of the Society's official policies.[42] Fabianism would become a major influence on the British labour movement.[40]

Second International era, "reform or revolution" dispute, 1889–1914

The modern social democratic movement came into being through a division within the socialist movement, this division can be described as a parting of ways between those who insisted upon political revolution as a precondition for the achievement of socialist goals and those who maintained that a gradual or evolutionary path to socialism was both possible and desirable.[43]
The influence of the Fabian Society in Britain grew in the British socialist movement in the 1890s, especially within the Independent Labour Party (ILP) founded in 1893.[44] Important ILP members were affiliated with the Fabian Society, including Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald—the future British Prime Minister.
[44] Fabian influence in British government affairs also emerged, such as Fabian member Sidney Webb being chosen to take part in writing what became the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Labour.[45] While Hardie was nominally a member of the Fabian Society, as leader of the ILP held close relations with certain Fabians, such as Shaw, while he was antagonistic to others such as the Webbs.[46] As ILP leader, Hardie rejected revolutionary politics while declaring that he believed the party's tactics should be "as constitutional as the Fabians".
[46]Another important Fabian figure who joined the ILP was Robert Blatchford who wrote the work Merrie England (1894) that endorsed municipal socialism.[47] Merrie England was a major publication that sold 750,000 copies within one year.
[48] In Merrie England Blatchford distinguished two types of socialism: an "ideal socialism" and a "practical socialism".[49] Blatchford's practical socialism was a state socialism that identified existing state enterprise such as the Post Office run by the municipalities as a demonstration of practical socialism in action, he claimed that practical socialism should involve the extension of state enterprise to the means of production as common property of the people.[49] While endorsing state socialism, Blatchford's Merrie England and his other writings were influenced by anarchist communist William Morris, as Blatchford himself attested to, and Morris' anarchist communist themes are present in Merrie England.[49]Shaw published the Report on Fabian Policy (1896) that declared: "The Fabian Society does not suggest that the State should monopolize industry as against private enterprise or individual initiative."[50]Major developments in social democracy as a whole emerged with the ascendance of Eduard Bernstein as a proponent of reformist socialism and an adherent of Marxism.[51] Bernstein had resided in Britain in the 1880s at the time when Fabianism was arising, and is believed to have been strongly

influenced by Fabianism.[52] However he publicly denied having strong Fabian influences on his thought.[53] Bernstein did acknowledge that he was influenced by Kantian epistemological skepticism while he rejected Hegelianism. He and his supporters urged the Social Democratic Party of Germany to merge Kantian ethics with Marxian political economy.[54] On the role of Kantian criticism within socialism, Bernstein said:

The method of this great philosopher [Kant] can serve as a pointer to the satisfying solution to our problem. Of course we don't have to slavishly adhere to Kant's form, but we must match his method to the nature of our own subject [socialism], displaying the same critical spirit. Our critique must be direct against both a scepticism that undermines all theoretical thought, and a dogmatism that relies on ready-made formulas.[54]

The term "revisionist" was applied to Bernstein by his critics who referred to themselves as "orthodox" Marxists, even though Bernstein claimed that his principles were consistent with Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engels' stances, especially in their later years when Marx and Engels advocated that socialism should be achieved through parliamentary democratic means wherever possible. [51] Bernstein and his faction of revisionists criticized orthodox Marxism and particularly its founder Karl Kautsky, for having disregarded Marx's view of the necessity of evolution of capitalism to achieve socialism by replacing it with an "either/or" polarization between capitalism and socialism; claiming that Kautsky disregarded Marx's emphasis on the role of parliamentary democracy in achieving socialism; as well as criticizing Kautsky for his idealism of state socialism. [55] However Kautsky did not deny a role for democracy in the achievement of socialism, as he claimed that Marx's dictatorship of the proletariat was not a form of government that rejected democracy as critics had claimed it was, but a state of affairs that Marx expected would arise should the proletariat gain power and be faced with fighting a violent reactionary opposition.[23]Bernstein had held close association to Marx and Engels, but he saw flaws in Marxian thinking and began such criticism when he investigated and challenged the Marxian materialist theory of history.[56] He rejected significant parts of Marxian theory that were based upon Hegelian metaphysics, he rejected the Hegelian dialectical perspective.[57] Bernstein distinguished between early Marxism as being its immature form: as exemplified by The Communist Manifesto written by Marx and Engels in their youth, that he opposed for what he regarded as its violent Blanquist tendencies; and later Marxism as being its mature form that he supported.[58]Bernstein declared that the massive and homogeneous working class claimed in the Communist Manifesto did not exist, and that contrary to claims of a proletarian majority emerging, the middle class was growing under capitalism and not disappearing as Marx had claimed. Bernstein noted that the working class was not homogeneous but heterogeneous, with divisions and factions within it, including socialist and non-socialist trade unions. Marx himself later in his life acknowledged that the middle class was not disappearing, in his work Theories of Surplus Value. However, due to the popularity of the Communist Manifesto and the obscurity of Theories of Surplus Value, Marx's acknowledgement of this error is not well known.[59]

Bernstein criticized Marxism's concept of "irreconcilable class conflicts" and Marxism's hostility to liberalism.[60] He challenged Marx's position on liberalism by claiming that liberal democrats and social democrats held common grounds that he claimed could be utilized to create a "socialist republic".[60] He believed

that economic class disparities between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat would gradually be eliminated through legal reforms and economic redistribution programs.[60] Bernstein rejected the Marxian principle of dictatorship of the proletariat, claiming that gradualist democratic reforms will improve the rights of the working class.[61] According to Bernstein, unlike orthodox Marxism, social democracy did not seek to create a socialism separate from bourgeois society but instead sought to create a common development based on Western humanism. [62] The development of socialism under social democracy does not seek to rupture existing society and its cultural traditions but to act as an enterprise of extension and growth.[63] Furthermore, he believed that class cooperation was a preferable course to achieve socialism, rather than class conflict.[64]Bernstein responded to critics that he was not destroying Marxism, but claimed that he was "modernizing Marxism" that was required "to separate the vital parts of [Marx's] theory from its outdated accessories". He asserted his support for the Marxian conception of a "scientifically based" socialist movement, and said that such a movement's goals must be determined in accordance with "knowledge capable of objective proof, that is, knowledge which refers to, and conforms with, nothing but empirical knowledge and logic". As such, Bernstein was strongly opposed to dogmatism within the Marxist movement.[65] Despite embracing a mixed economy, Bernstein was skeptical and critical of welfare state policies, believing them to be helpful but ultimately secondary to the main social democratic goal of replacing capitalism with socialism, fearing that state aid to the unemployed might lead to the sanctioning of a new form of pauperism.[66]

Rosa Luxemburg representing revolutionary socialism, staunchly condemned Bernstein's revisionism and reformism for being based on "opportunism in social democracy". She likened Bernstein's policies to that of the dispute between Marxists and the opportunistic Praktiker (Pragmatists). She denounced Bernstein's evolutionary socialism for being a "petty-bourgeois vulgarization of Marxism". She claimed that Bernstein's years of exile in Britain had made him lose familiarity with the situation in Germany where he was promoting evolutionary socialism.[67] Luxemburg sought to maintain social democracy as a revolutionary Marxist creed, saying:

[T]here could be no socialism—at least in Germany—outside of Marxist socialism, and there could be no socialist class struggle outside of social democracy. From then on [the emergence of Marx's theory], socialism and Marxism, the proletarian struggle for emancipation, and social democracy were identical.[68]Both Kautsky and Luxemburg condemned Bernstein for his "flawed" philosophy of science for having abandoned Hegelian dialectics for Kantian philosophical dualism. Russian Marxist George Plekhanov joined Kautsky and Luxemburg in condemning Bernstein for having a neo-Kantian philosophy.[65] Kautsky and Luxemburg contended that Bernstein's empiricist viewpoints depersonalized and dehistoricized the social observer and reducing objects down to "facts". Luxemburg associated Bernstein with "ethical socialists" who she identified as being associated with the bourgeoisie and Kantian liberalism.[69]In his introduction to the 1895 Marx's Class Struggles in France, Engels attempted to resolve the division between gradualist reformists and revolutionaries in the Marxist movement, by declaring that he was in favour of short-term tactics of electoral politics that included gradualist and evolutionary socialist measures while maintaining his belief that revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat should remain a goal. In spite of this attempt by

Engels to merge gradualism and revolution, his effort only diluted the distinction of gradualism and revolution and had the effect of strengthening the position Praktikers.[70] Engels' statements in the French newspaper Le Figaro increased the public perception that Engels was becoming in favour of evolutionary socialism, in which he stated that "revolution" and the "so-called socialist society" was not a fixed concept, but was a constantly changing social phenomenon and said that this made "us [socialists] all evolutionists".[71] Engels also said that it would be "suicidal" to talk about a revolutionary seizure of power at a time when the historical circumstances favoured a parliamentarian road to power, that he predicted could bring "social democracy into power as early as 1898".[71] Engels stance of openly accepting gradualist, evolutionary, and parliamentary tactics while claiming that the historical circumstances did not favour revolution, caused confusion.[71] Bernstein interpreted this as indicating that Engels was moving towards accepting parliamentary reformist and gradualist stances, however Bernstein ignored that Engels' stances were tactical as a response to the particular circumstances, and that Engels was still committed to revolutionary socialism.[71] In 1897, after Bernstein delivered a lecture in Britain to the Fabian Society titled "On What Marx Really Taught", Bernstein wrote a letter to orthodox Marxist Bebel in which he revealed to Bebel that he felt conflicted with what he had said at the lecture as well as revealing his intentions regarding revision of Marxism:

as I was reading the lecture, the thought shot through my head that I was doing Marx an injustice, that it was not Marx I was presenting...I told myself secretly that this could not go on. It is idle to reconcile the irreconcilable. The vital thing is to be clear as to where Marx is still right and where he is not.[72] What Bernstein was meaning was that he believed that Marx was wrong in assuming that the capitalist economy would collapse as a result of its internal contradictions, as by the mid-1890s there was little evidence of such internal contradictions causing this to capitalism.[72]

The dispute over policies in favour of reform or revolution dominated discussions at the 1899 Hannover Party Conference of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (SAPD). This issue had become especially prominent with the Millerand Affair in France in which Alexandre Millerand of the French Independent Socialist Party joined the non-socialist government of France's liberal Prime Minister Waldeck-Rousseau without seeking support from his party's leadership.[67] Millerand's actions provoked outrage amongst revolutionary socialists within the Second International, including the anarchist left and Jules Guesde's revolutionary Marxists.[67] In response to these disputes over reform or revolution, the 1900 Paris Congress of the Second International declared a resolution to the dispute, in which Guesde's demands were partially accepted in a resolution drafted by Kautsky that declared that overall socialists should not take part in a non-socialist government, but provided exceptions to this rule where necessary to provide the "protection of the achievements of the working class".[67] Another prominent figure who influenced social democracy, was French revisionist Marxist and reformist socialist Jean Jaurès. During the 1904 Congress of the Second International, Jaurès challenged orthodox Marxist August Bebel, the mentor of Kautsky, over his promotion of monolithic socialist tactics. Jaurès claimed that no coherent socialist platform could be equally applicable to different countries and regions due to different political systems in them; noting that Bebel's homeland of Germany at the time was very authoritarian and had limited parliamentary democracy. He

compared the limited political influence of socialism in government in Germany to the substantial influence that socialism had gained in France due to its stronger parliamentary democracy. He claimed that the example of the political differences between Germany and France demonstrated that monolithic socialist tactics were impossible, given the political differences of various countries.[73]

World Wars, revolutions and counterrevolutions, Great Depression 1914–1945

As tensions between Europe's Great Powers escalated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Bernstein feared that Germany's arms race with other powers was threatening the possibility of a major war.[74] Bernstein's fears were realized with the outbreak of World War I.[74]

Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, 1924, 1929–1935

Immediately after the outbreak of World War I, Bernstein traveled from Germany to Britain to meet with British Labour Party leader Ramsay MacDonald. Bernstein regarded the outbreak of the war with great dismay, but even though the two countries were at war with one another, MacDonald honoured Bernstein at the meeting.[75] In spite of Bernstein's and other social democrats' attempts to secure the unity of the Second International, with national tensions increasing between the countries at war, the Second International collapsed in 1914.[74] Anti-war members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) refused to support finances being given to the German government to support the war.[74] However a nationalist-revisionist faction of SPD members led by Friedrich Ebert, Gustav Noske, and Philipp Scheidemann, supported the war, arguing that Germany had the "right to its territorial defense" from the "destruction of Tsarist despotism".[76] The SPD's decision to support the war, including Bernstein's decision to support it, was heavily influenced by the fact that the German government lied to the German people, as it claimed that the only reason Germany had declared war on Russia was because Russia was preparing to invade East Prussia, when in fact this was not the case.[77] Jaurès opposed France's intervention in the war and took a pacifist stance, but was soon assassinated in 1914.[76] Bernstein soon resented the war and by October 1914 was convinced of the German government's war guilt; and contacted the orthodox Marxists of the SPD, to unite to push the SPD to take an anti-war stance.[76] Kautsky attempted to put aside his differences with Bernstein and join forces in opposing the war, and Kautsky praised him for becoming a firm anti-war proponent, saying that although Bernstein had previously supported "civic" and "liberal" forms of nationalism, his committed anti-war position made him the "standard-bearer of the internationalist idea of social democracy".[78] The nationalist position by the SPD leadership under Ebert refused to rescind. [78]In Britain, the British Labour Party became divided on the war. Labour Party leader Ramsay MacDonald was one of a handful of British MPs who had denounced Britain's declaration of war on Germany. MacDonald was denounced by the pro-war press on accusations that he was "pro-German" and a pacifist, both charges that he denied.[79] In response to pro-war sentiments in the Labour Party, MacDonald resigned from being its leader and associated himself with the Independent Labour Party. Arthur Henderson became the new leader of the Labour Party, and served as a cabinet minister in Prime Minister Asquith's war government. After the February Revolution of 1917 in Russia (not to be confused with the October

Revolution) in which the Tsarist regime in Russia was overthrown by the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, a democratic socialist movement led by Alexander Kerensky, MacDonald visited the Russian Provisional Government in June 1917, seeking to persuade Russia to oppose the war and seek peace. His efforts to unite the Russian Provisional Government against the war failed after Russia fell back into political violence resulting in the October Revolution in which the Bolsheviks led Vladimir Lenin's rise to power.[80] Though MacDonald critically responded to the Bolsheviks' political violence and rise to power by warning of "the danger of anarchy in Russia", he gave political support to the Bolshevik regime until the end of the war because he then thought that a democratic internationalism could be revived.[81] The British Labour Party's trade union affiliated membership soared during World War I. Henderson with the assistance of Sidney Webb designed a new constitution for the British Labour Party, in which it adopted a strongly left-wing platform in 1918 to ensure that it would not lose support to the new Communist Party, exemplified by Clause IV of the new constitution of the Labour Party.[82]

The overthrow of the Tsarist regime in Russia by Kerensky's Socialist-Revolutionaries in February 1917 impacted politics in Germany, as it ended the legitimation used by Ebert and other pro-war SPD members that Germany was in the war against a reactionary Russian government. With the overthrow of the Tsar and revolutionary socialist agitation increased in Russia, such events influenced socialists in Germany. With rising bread shortages in Germany amid war rationing, mass strikes occurred beginning in April 1917 with 300,000 strikers taking part in a strike in Berlin. The strikers demanded bread, freedom, peace, and the formation of workers' councils as was being done in Russia. Amidst the German public's uproar, the SPD alongside the Progressives and the Catholic labour movement in the Reichstag put forward the "Peace Resolution" on 19 July 1917 that called for a compromise peace to end the war, that was passed by a majority of members of the Reichstag. The German High Command opposed the Peace Resolution, however it did seek to end the war with Russia, and presented the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk to the Bolshevik regime in 1918 that agreed to the terms and the Reichstag passed the treaty, that included the support of the SPD, the Progressives, and the Catholic political movement.[83]By late 1918 the war situation for Germany had become hopeless, and Kaiser Wilhelm II was pressured to make peace. Wilhelm II appointed a new cabinet that included SPD members in it. At the same time the Imperial Naval Command was determined to make a heroic last stand against the British Royal Navy, and on 24 October 1918 it issued orders for the German Navy to depart to confront while the sailors refused, resulting in the Kiel Mutiny. The Kiel Mutiny resulted in the German Revolution of 1918–1919. Faced with military failure and revolution the Chancellor, Prince Maximilian of Baden resigned, giving SPD leader Ebert the position of Chancellor, Wihelm II abdicated the German throne immediately afterwards, and the German High Command officials Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff resigned whilst refusing to end the war to save face, leaving the Ebert government and the SPD-majority Reichstag to be forced to make the inevitable peace with the Allies and take the blame for having lost the war. With the abdication of Wilhelm II, Ebert declared Germany to be a republic and signed the armistice that ended World War I on 11 November 1918.

The new social democratic government in Germany faced political violence in Berlin by a movement of communist revolutionaries known as the Spartacist League who sought to repeat the feat of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in Russia,

by overthrowing the German government.[84] Tensions between the governing "Majority" Social Democrats (led by Ebert) versus the strongly left-wing elements of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD) and communists over Ebert's refusal to immediately reform the German Army, resulted in the "January rising" by the newly formed Communist Party of Germany (KPD) and the USPD, resulting in communists mobilizing a large workers' demonstration. The SPD responded by holding a counterdemonstration that was effective in demonstrating support for the government, and the USPD soon withdrew its support for the rising.[85] However the communists continued to revolt, and between 12 to 28 January 1919, communist forces had seized control of several government buildings in Berlin. Ebert responded by requesting that Defense Minister Gustav Noske take charge of loyal soldiers to fight the communists and secure the government.[84] Ebert was furious with the communists' intransigence and said that he wished "to teach the radicals a lesson they would never forget". Noske was able to rally groups of mostly reactionary ex-soldiers, known as the Freikorps who were eager to fight the communists. The situation soon went completely out of control when the recruited Freikorps went on a violent rampage against workers and murdered the communist leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The atrocities by the government-recruited Freikorps against the communist revolutionaries badly tarnished the reputation of the SPD and strengthened the confidence of reactionary forces. In spite of this, the SPD was able to win the largest number of seats in the parliamentary election held on 19 January 1919 and Ebert was elected President of Germany, but the USPD in response to the atrocities committed by the government-recruited Freikorps, refused to support the SPD government. [85]Due to the unrest in Berlin, the construction of the constitution of the new German republic was created in the city of Weimar, and is referred to as the Weimar Republic. Upon founding the new government, President Ebert cooperated with liberal members of his coalition government to create the constitution, Ebert sought to begin a program of nationalizations of some parts of the economy. Political unrest and violence continued and the government's continued reliance on the help of the Freikorps counterrevolutionaries to fight the communist revolutionaries continued to alienate potential left-wing support for the SPD. The SPD coalition government's acceptance of the harsh peace conditions of the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919, infuriated the right, including the Freikorps that had previously been willing to cooperate with the government to fight the communists. In the German parliamentary election of June 1919, the SPD share of the vote declined significantly. In March 1920, a group of right-wing militarists led by Wolfgang Kapp and former German military chief-of-staff Erich Ludendorff initiated a briefly successful putsch against the German government, in what became known as the Kapp Putsch, however the putsch failed and the government was restored.[86]

At a global level, after World War I several attempts were made to re-found the Second International that collapsed amidst national divisions in the war. The Vienna International formed in 1921 attempted to end the rift between reformist socialists, including social democrats; and revolutionary socialists, including communists, particularly the Mensheviks.[87] However a crisis soon erupted that involved the new country of Georgia led by a social democratic government led by President Noe Zhordania, that had declared itself independent from Russia in 1918 whose government had been endorsed by multiple social democratic parties. At

founding meeting of the Vienna International, the discussions were interrupted by the arrival of a telegram from Zhordania who said that Georgia was under invasion by Bolshevik Russia. Delegates attending the International's founding meeting were stunned, particularly the Bolshevik representative from Russia, Mecheslav Bronsky, who refused to believe this and left the meeting to seek confirmation of this, but upon confirmation Bronsky did not return to the meeting.[88] The overall response from the Vienna International was divided, the Mensheviks demanded that the International immediately condemn Russia's aggression against Georgia, but the majority as represented by German delegate Alfred Henke sought to exercise caution and said that the delegates should wait for confirmation.[87] Russia's invasion of Georgia completely violated the non-aggression treaty signed between Lenin and Zhordania, as well as violating Georgia's sovereignty by annexing Georgia directly into the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. Tensions between Bolsheviks and social democrats worsened with the Kronstadt rebellion.[88] Unrest by leftists against the Bolshevik government in Russia resulted in the Kronstadt rebellion, Russian social democrats distributed leaflets calling for a general strike against the Bolshevik regime, the Bolsheviks responded by forcefully repressing the rebels.[89] Relations between the social democratic movement and Bolshevik Russia descended into complete antagonism in response to the Russian famine of 1921 and the Bolsheviks' violent repression of opposition to their government. Multiple social democratic parties were disgusted with Russia's Bolshevik regime, particularly Germany's SPD and the Netherlands' Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAP) that denounced the Bolsheviks for defiling socialism and declared that the Bolsheviks had "driven out the best of our comrades, thrown them into prison and put them to death".[90] In May 1923, social democrats united to found their own international, the Labour and Socialist International (LSI), founded in Hamburg, Germany. The LSI declared that all its affiliated political parties would retain autonomy to make their own decisions regarding internal affairs of their countries; but that international affairs would be addressed by the LSI.[87] The LSI addressed the issue of the rise of fascism, by declaring the LSI to be anti-fascist.[91] In response to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 between the democratically elected Republican government versus the authoritarian right-wing Nationalists led by Francisco Franco with the support of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, the Executive Committee of the LSI declared not only its support for the Spanish Republic but also that it supported the Spanish government having the right to purchase arms to fight Franco's Nationalist forces. LSI-affiliated parties, including the British Labour Party declared their support for the Spanish Republic. [92] However the LSI was criticized on the left for failing to put action into its anti-fascist rhetoric.[91]

Hjalmar Branting, Prime Minister of Sweden, 1920, 1921–1923, 1924–1925

The stock market crash of 1929 that began an economic crisis in the United States that globally spread and became the Great Depression profoundly affected economic policymaking.[93] The collapse of the gold standard and the emergence of mass unemployment resulted in multiple governments recognizing the need for state macroeconomic intervention to reduce unemployment as well as economic intervention to stabilize prices, a proto-Keynesianism that John Maynard Keynes himself would soon publicly endorse.[94] Multiple social democratic parties declared the need for substantial investment in economic infrastructure projects to respond to unemployment, and creating social control over money flow. Furthermore, social

democratic parties declared that the Great Depression demonstrated the need for substantial macroeconomic planning while their pro-property rights opponents staunchly opposed this.[95] However attempts by social democratic governments to achieve this were unsuccessful due to the ensuing political instability in their countries from the depression, the British Labour Party became internally split over the policies while Germany's SPD government did not have the time to implement such policies as Germany's politics turned to violent civil unrest in which the Nazis rose to power in 1933 and dismantled parliamentary democracy.[93]A major development for social democracy was the victories of several social democratic parties in Scandinavia, particularly the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP) in the 1920 Swedish election.[96] The SAP was elected to a minority government. It created a Socialization Committee that declared support for a mixed economy that combined the best of private initiative with social ownership or control, it supported substantial socialization "of all necessary natural resources, industrial enterprises, credit institutions, transportation and communication routes" that would be gradually transferred to the state.[97] It permitted private ownership outside of these areas.[97]

Mohandas Gandhi meeting with women textile workers in Britain. Gandhi was a leadership figure of India's anti-colonial and social democratic Indian National Congress.

In 1922 Ramsay MacDonald returned to the leadership of the Labour Party from the Independent Labour Party. in the 1924 British election the Labour Party won a plurality of seats and was elected as a minority government but required assistance from the Liberal Party to have a majority of the parliament. Opponents of the Labour Party accused the party of communist sympathies. Prime Minister MacDonald responded to these allegations by stressing the party's commitment to reformist gradualism and openly opposing the radical wing in the party.[98] MacDonald emphasized that the Labour minority government's first and foremost commitment was to uphold democratic responsible government over all other policies. MacDonald emphasized this because he knew that any attempt to pass major socialist legislation in a minority government status would endanger the new government because it would be opposed and blocked by the Conservatives and the Liberals who together held a majority of seats. The Labour Party had risen to power in the aftermath of Britain's severe recession of 1921–1922, with the economy beginning to recover, British trade unions demanded that their wages be restored from the cuts they took in the recession. The trade unions soon became deeply dissatisfied with the MacDonald government and labour unrest and threat of strikes arose in transportation sector, including docks and railways. MacDonald viewed the situation as a crisis, consulting the unions in advance to warn them that his government would have to use strikebreakers if the situation continued. The anticipated clash between the government and the unions was averted, however the situation alienated the unions from the MacDonald government. MacDonald's most controversial action was having Britain recognize the government of the Soviet Union in February 1924. The British Conservative press, including the Daily Mail used this to promote a red scare, claiming that the Labour government's recognition of the Soviet Union proved that Labour held pro-Bolshevik sympathies. [99]The British Labour Party lost the 1924 election and a Conservative government was elected. Though MacDonald faced multiple challenges to his leadership of the party, the party stabilized by 1927 as a capable opposition party to the Conservative government. MacDonald released a new political programme for the party titled

Labour and the Nation (1928). The Labour Party returned to government in 1929, but soon faced the economic catastrophe of the stock market crash of 1929.[99]

SPD policymaker Rudolf Hilferding, a major figure in the Sopade

In the 1920s, SPD policymaker and Marxist Rudolf Hilferding proposed substantial policy changes in the SPD as well as influencing social democratic and socialist theory. Hilferding was an influential Marxian socialist both in social democracy and outside it, such as his pamphlet titled Imperialism influencing Lenin's own conception of imperialism in the 1910s. Prior to the 1920s Hilferding declared that capitalism had evolved beyond what had been laissez-faire capitalism into what he called "organized capitalism". Organized capitalism was based upon trusts and cartels controlled by financial institutions that could no longer make money within their countries' national boundaries and thus needed to export to survive, resulting in support for imperialism.[100] Hilferding described that while early capitalism promoted itself as peaceful and based on free trade, the era of organized capitalism was aggressive and said that "in the place of humanity there came the idea of the strength and power of the state". He said that this had the consequence of creating effective collectivization within capitalism and had prepared the way for socialism.[101]Originally Hilferding's vision of a socialism replacing organized capitalism was highly Kautskyan in assuming an either/or perspective, expecting a catastrophic clash between organized capitalism versus socialism. However, by the 1920s, Hilferding became an adherent to promoting a gradualist evolution of capitalism into socialism. He then praised organized capitalism for being a step towards socialism, saying at the SPD congress in 1927 that "organized capitalism" is nothing less than "the replacement of the capitalist principle of free competition by the socialist principle of planned production". He went on to say that "the problem is posed to our generation: with the help of the state, with the help of conscious social direction, to transform the economy organized and led by capitalists into an economy directed by the democratic state."[101]

Alva Myrdal, a prominent figure in the Swedish Social Democratic Party in the 1930s and a pioneer in the development of the social welfare state in Sweden

In the 1930s, the SPD began to transition away from revisionist Marxism towards liberal socialism beginning in the 1930s. After the party was banned by the Nazis in 1933, the SPD acted in exile through the Sopade.[102] In 1934 the Sopade began to publish material that indicated that the SPD was turning towards liberal socialism. Curt Geyer, who was a prominent proponent of liberal socialism within the Sopade, declared that Sopade represented the tradition of Weimar Republic social democracy, liberal democratic socialism, and stated that the Sopade had held true to its mandate of traditional liberal principles combined with the political realism of socialism.[103]The only social democratic governments in Europe that remained by the early 1930s were in Scandinavia.[93] In the 1930s several Swedish social democratic leadership figures, including former Swedish Prime Minister Rickard Sandler—he secretary and chairman of the Socialization Committee—and Nils Karleby, rejected earlier SAP socialization policies pursued in the 1920s for being too extreme.[97] Karleby and Sandler developed a new conception of social democratic socialism, the Nordic model, which called for gradual socialization and redistribution of purchasing power, provision of educational opportunity, and support of property rights. The Nordic model would permit private enterprise on the condition that it adheres to the principle that the resources it disposes are in reality public means, and would create of a broad category of social welfare rights.[104] The new SAP government of 1932, replaced the previous government's universal

commitment to a balanced budget with a Keynesian-like commitment, which in turn was replaced with a balanced budget within a business cycle. Whereas the 1921–1923 SAP governments had run large deficits, the new SAP government, after a strong increase in state expenditure in 1933, reduced Sweden's budget deficit. The government had scheduled Sweden to have its budget deficit eliminated in seven years, but it took only three years to eliminate the deficit and Sweden held a budget surplus from 1936 to 1938. This policy was criticized, however, because although the budget deficit had been eliminated, major unemployment still remained a problem in Sweden.[105]

Lázaro Cárdenas, President of Mexico, 1934–1940

In the Americas from the 1920s to 1930s, social democracy was rising as a major political force. In Mexico, several social democratic governments and presidents were elected from the 1920s to the 1930s. The most important Mexican social democratic government of this time was that led by President Lázaro Cárdenas and the Party of the Mexican Revolution whose government initiated agrarian reform that broke up vast aristocratic estates and redistributing property to peasants. Cárdenas was deeply committed to social democracy, but was criticized by his left-wing opponents for being pro-capitalist due to his personal association with a wealthy family and for being corrupt due to his government's exemption from agrarian reform of the estate held by former Mexican President Alvaro Obregón. Political violence in Mexico had become serious in the 1920s with the Cristero War in which right-wing reactionary clericals fought against the left-wing government that was attempting to institute secularization of Mexico. Furthermore, Cardenas' government openly supported Spain's Republican government while opposing Francisco Franco's Nationalists during the Spanish Civil War. During the Spanish Civil War, Cárdenas staunchly asserted that Mexico was progressive and socialist, working with socialists of various types—including communists—and accepting refugees from Spain, as well as accepting communist renegade Leon Trotsky as a refugee after Joseph Stalin removed Trotsky and sought to have him killed. Cárdenas strengthened the rights of Mexico's labour movement, nationalized foreign oil companies, and controversially supported peasants in their struggle against landlords by allowing them to form militias to fight the private armies of landlords in the country. Cárdenas' actions deeply aggravated right-wing reactionaries and there was fear that Mexico would succumb to civil war. Cardenas stepped down as Mexican President and supported a compromise presidential candidate who held support from business interests, in order to avoid further antagonizing the right-wing that could have caused a civil war.[106]

Cold War era and Keynesianism, 1945–1979
See also: *History of socialism*

Michael Joseph Savage, Prime Minister of New Zealand (1935–1940) and architect of New Zealand's Social Security Act 1938

Obafemi Awolowo, the first Premier of the Western Region of Nigeria (1954–1960) and the founder of the Unity Party of Nigeria

After World War II, a new international organization to represent social democracy and democratic socialism, the Socialist International in 1951. In the founding Frankfurt Declaration, the Socialist International denounced both capitalism and

Bolshevik communism. As for Bolshevik communism, the Declaration denounced it in articles 7, 8, 9, and 10, saying:

7 Meanwhile, as Socialism advances throughout the world, new forces have arisen to threaten the movement towards freedom and social justice. Since the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, Communism has split the International Labour Movement and has set back the realisation of Socialism in many countries for decades.

8 Communism falsely claims a share in the Socialist tradition. In fact it has distorted that tradition beyond recognition. It has built up a rigid theology which is incompatible with the critical spirit of Marxism.

9 Where Socialists aim to achieve freedom and justice by removing the exploitation which divides men under capitalism, Communists seek to sharpen those class divisions only in order to establish the dictatorship of a single party.

International Communism is the instrument of a new imperialism. Wherever it has achieved power it has destroyed freedom or the chance of gaining freedom. It is based on a militarist bureaucracy and a terrorist police. By producing glaring contrasts of wealth and privilege it has created a new class society. Forced labour plays an important part in its economic organisation.[107]The rise of Keynesianism in the Western world during the Cold War influenced the development of social democracy.[108] The attitude by social democracy towards capitalism changed as a result of the rise of Keynesianism.[109] Capitalism was acceptable to social democracy only if capitalism's typical crises could be prevented and if mass unemployment could be averted, Keynesianism was believed to be able to provide this.[109] Social democrats came to accept the market for efficiency reasons, and endorsed Keynesianism that was expected to reconcile democracy and capitalism.[109]

Lord Attlee, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1945–1951)

After the 1945 British election, a Labour government was formed by Clement Attlee (later known as Earl Attlee). Attlee immediately began a program of major nationalizations of the economy.[110] From 1945 to 1951 the Labour government nationalized the Bank of England, civil aviation, cable and wireless, coal, transport, electricity, gas, and iron and steel.[110] This policy of major nationalizations gained clamour from the left faction within the Labour Party that saw the nationalizations as achieving the transformation of Britain from a capitalist to socialist economy.[110] However the Labour government's nationalizations were staunchly condemned by the opposition Conservative Party.[110] The Conservatives defended private enterprise and accused the Labour government of intending to create a Soviet-style centrally planned socialist state.[110] However accusation by the Conservatives of the nationalizations being inspired by Soviet-style central planning this was not the case, as the Labour government's three Chancellors of the Exchequer: Hugh Dalton, Stafford Cripps, and Hugh Gaitskell, all opposed Soviet-style central planning.[110] Initially there were strong direct controls by the state in the economy that had already been implemented by the British government during World War II, however after the war these controls gradually loosened under the Labour government and were eventually phased out and replaced by Keynesian demand management.[110] In spite of opposition by the Conservatives to the nationalizations, all of the nationalizations except for the nationalization of coal and iron soon became accepted in a national consensus on the economy that lasted until the Thatcher era when the national consensus turned towards support of de-

nationalization and privatization.[110] The Labour Party lost the 1951 election and a Conservative government was formed.

There were early major critics of the nationalization policy within the Labour Party in the 1950s. British social democratic theorist Anthony Crosland in The Future of Socialism (1956), argued that socialism should be about the reforming of capitalism from within.[111] Crosland claimed that the traditional socialist program of abolishing capitalism on the basis of capitalism inherently causing immiseration, had been rendered obsolete by the fact that the post-war Keynesian capitalism had led to the expansion of affluence for all, including full employment and a welfare state.[112] Crosland claimed that the rise of such an affluent society had resulted in class identity fading, and as a consequence socialism in its traditional conception as then supported by the British Labour Party was no longer attracting support.[112] He claimed that the Labour Party was associated in the public's mind as having "a sectional, traditional, class appeal" that was reinforced by bickering over nationalization.[112] Crosland argued that in order for the Labour Party to become electable again, it had to drop its commitment to nationalization, and to stop equating nationalization with socialism.[112] Instead of this, he claimed that a socialist programme should be about support of social welfare, redistribution of wealth, and "the proper dividing line between the public and private spheres of responsibility".[112]The SPD in West Germany in 1945 endorsed a similar policy on nationalizations to that of the British Labour government. SPD leader Kurt Schumacher declared that the SPD was in favour of nationalizations of key industrial sectors of the economy, such as: banking and credit, insurance, mining, coal, iron, steel, metal-working, and all other sectors that were identified as monopolistic or cartelized.[113]

David Ben-Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel (1948–1954, 1955–1963)

Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India (1947–1964)

India upon becoming a sovereign state in 1947, elected the social democratic Indian National Congress to government with its leader Jawaharlal Nehru becoming Indian Prime Minister. Nehru declared "In Europe, we see many countries have advanced very far on the road to socialism. I am not referring to the communist countries but to those which may be called parliamentary, social democratic countries."[114] In power, Nehru's government emphasized state-guided national development of India, he took inspiration from social democracy, though India's newly formed Planning Commission also took inspiration from post-1949 China's agricultural policies.[115]The new sovereign state of Israel elected the socialist Mapai party that sought the creation of a socialist economy based on cooperative ownership of the means of production via the kibbutz system while it rejected nationalization of the means of production.[116] The kibbutz are producer cooperatives that with government assistance have flourished in Israel.[117]In 1959 the SPD instituted a major policy review with the Godesberg Program in 1959.[118] The Godesberg Program eliminated the party's remaining Marxist-aligned policies and the SPD became based upon freiheitlicher Sozialismus (liberal socialism).[118] With the adoption of the Godsberg Program, the SPD renounced Marxist determinism and classism and replaced it with an ethical socialism based on humanism, and emphasized that the party was democratic, pragmatic, and reformist.[119] The most controversial decision of the Godesberg Program was its declaration saying "Private ownership of the means of production can claim protection by society as long as it does not

hinder the establishment of social justice".[120] This policy meant the endorsement of Keynesian economic management, social welfare, and a degree of economic planning, and an abandonment of the classical conception of socialism as involving the replacement of capitalist economic system.[120] It declared that the SPD "no longer considered nationalization the major principle of a socialist economy but only one of several (and then only the last) means of controlling economic concentration of power of key industries"; while also committing the SPD to an economic stance to promote "as much competition as possible, as much planning as necessary".[121] This decision to abandon this traditional policy angered many in the SPD who had supported it.[119]

Willy Brandt, Chancellor of West Germany, 1969–1974

With these changes, the SPD enacted the two major pillars of what would become the modern social democratic program: making the party a people's party rather than a party solely representing the working class, and abandoning remaining Marxist policies aimed at destroying capitalism and replacing them with policies aimed at reforming capitalism.[121] The Godesberg Program divorced its conception of socialism from Marxism, declaring that democratic socialism in Europe was "rooted in Christian ethics, humanism, and classical philosophy".[121] The Godesberg Program has been seen as involving the final prevailing of the reformist agenda of Bernstein over the orthodox Marxist agenda of Kautsky.[121]The Godesberg Program was a major revision of the SPD's policies and gained attention from beyond Germany.[119] At the time of its adoption, in neighbouring France the stance of the French Section of the Workers' International (SFIO) was divided on the Godesberg Program while the French Independent Socialist Party (PSA) denounced the Godesberg Program as "a renunciation of Socialism", and opportunistic reaction to the SPD's electoral defeats.[119]

Response to neoliberalism, contemporary era, 1979 to present

The economic crisis in the Western world during the mid to late 1970s resulted in the rise of neoliberalism and politicians elected on neoliberal platforms such as British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and US President Ronald Reagan. The rise in support for neoliberalism raised questions over the political viability of social democracy, such as sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf predicting the "end of the social democratic century".[122]

Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, 1966–1977, 1980–1984

In 1985, an agreement was made between several social democratic parties in the Western bloc countries of Belgium, Denmark, and the Netherlands; with the communist parties of the Eastern Bloc countries of Bulgaria, East Germany, and Hungary; to have multilateral discussions on trade, nuclear disarmament and other issues.[123]In 1989, the Socialist International adopted its present Declaration of Principles. The Declaration of Principles addressed issues concerning the "internationalization of the economy". The Declaration of Principles defined its interpretation of the nature of socialism. It stated that socialist values and vision include "a peaceful and democratic world society combining freedom, justice and solidarity". It defined the rights and freedoms it supported, stating: "Socialists protect the inalienable right to life and to physical safety, to freedom of belief and free expression of opinion, to freedom of association and to protection from torture and degradation. Socialists are committed to achieve freedom from hunger and want, genuine social security, and the right to work." However it also

clarified that it did not promote any fixed and permanent definition for socialism, stating: "Socialists do not claim to possess the blueprint for some final and fixed society which cannot be changed, reformed or further developed. In a movement committed to democratic self-determination there will always be room for creativity since each people and every generation must set its own goals."[124]The 1989 Socialist International congress was politically significant in that members of Communist Party of the Soviet Union during the reformist leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev, attended the congress. The SI's new Declaration of Principles abandoned previous statements made in the Frankfurt Declaration of 1951 against Soviet-style communism. After the congress, the Soviet state newspaper Pravda noted that thanks to dialogue between the Soviet Communist Party and the SI since 1979 that "the positions of the CPSU and the Socialist International on nuclear disarmament issues today virtually coincide".[123]

Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister of Israel and Leader of the Israeli Labor Party, shaking hands with Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and founder of Fatah, in front of US President Bill Clinton after having signed the Oslo Accords in 1993

The collapse of the Marxist–Leninist regimes in Eastern Europe after the end of the Cold War, and the creation of multiparty democracy in many many of those countries, resulted in the creation of multiple social democratic parties. Though many of these parties did not achieve initial electoral success, they became a significant part of the political landscape of Eastern Europe. In Western Europe, the prominent Italian Communist Party transformed itself into the post-communist Democratic Party of the Left in 1991.[125]A highly controversial development in social democracy occurred in the 1990s, with the development of Third Way politics and social democratic adherents of it. The social democratic variant of the Third Way has been advocated by its proponents as an alternative to both capitalism and what it regards as the traditional forms of socialism—including Marxist socialism and state socialism—which Third Way social democrats reject. It officially advocates ethical socialism, reformism, and gradualism, which includes advocating a humanized version of capitalism, a mixed economy, political pluralism, and liberal democracy.[126] Left-wing opponents of Third Way social democracy claim that it is not a form of socialism, and claim that it represents social democrats who responded to the New Right by accepting capitalism.[127] The Third Way has been strongly criticized within the social democratic movement.[128] Supporters of Third Way ideals argue that they merely represent a necessary or pragmatic adaptation of social democracy to the realities of the modern world, noting that traditional social democracy thrived during the prevailing international climate of the post-war Bretton Woods consensus, which collapsed in the 1970s.

When he was a British Labour Party MP, Third Way supporter and former British Prime Minister Tony Blair wrote in a Fabian pamphlet in 1994 about the existence of two prominent variants of socialism: one is based on a Marxist economic determinist and collectivist tradition that he rejected, and the other is an "ethical socialism" that he supported, that was based on values of "social justice, the equal worth of each citizen, equality of opportunity, community".[129]

Lord Giddens, a prominent proponent of Third Way politics

Prominent Third Way proponent Anthony Giddens, Baron Giddens, views conventional socialism as essentially having become obsolete; however, Giddens claims that a viable form of socialism was advocated by Anthony Crosland in his major work The Future of Socialism (1956).[130] He has complimented Crosland as well as Thomas Humphrey Marshall for promoting a viable socialism.[131] Giddens

views what he considers the conventional form of socialism that defines socialism as a theory of economic management—state socialism—as no longer viable.[132] He rejects what he considers top-down socialism as well as rejecting neoliberalism,[126] and criticizes conventional socialism for its common advocacy that socialization of production, as achieved by central planning, can overcome the irrationalities of capitalism. Giddens claims that this claim "can no longer be defended". He says that with the collapse of legitimacy of centrally planned socialization of production, "[w]ith its dissolution, the radical hopes for by socialism are as dead as the Old Conservatism that opposed them". Giddens says that although there have been proponents of market socialism who have rejected such central planned socialism as well as being resistant to capitalism, "[t]here are good reasons, in my view, to argue that market socialism isn't a realistic possibility". Giddens makes clear that Third Way, as he envisions it, is not market socialist, arguing that "[t]here is no Third Way of this sort, and with this realization the history of socialism as the avant-garde of political theory comes to a close".[130] Giddens contends that Third Way is connected to the legacy of reformist revisionist socialism, saying: "Third way politics stands in the traditions of social democratic revisionism that stretch back to Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky."[133]

Romano Prodi, two-time Prime Minister of Italy, former President of the European Commission and founding father of the Democratic Party

Giddens commends Crosland's A Future of Socialism for recognizing that socialism cannot be defined merely in terms of a rejection of capitalism, because if capitalism did end and was replaced with socialism, then socialism would have no purpose with the absence of capitalism.[134] From Crosland's analysis, Giddens proposes a description of socialism:

The only common characteristic of socialist doctrines is their ethical content. Socialism is the pursuit of ideas of social cooperation, universal welfare, and equality—ideas brought together by a condemnation of the evils and injustices of capitalism. It is based on the critique of individualism and depends on a 'belief in group action and "participation", and collective responsibility for social welfare'.

[134]Paul Cammack has condemned the Third Way as conceived by Lord Giddens as being a complete attack upon the foundations of social democracy and socialism, in which Giddens has sought to replace them with capitalism. Cammack claims that Giddens devotes a lot of energy into criticizing conventional social democracy and conventional socialism—such as Giddens' claim that conventional socialism has "died" because Marx's vision of a new economy with wealth spread in an equitable way is not possible—while at the same time making no criticism of capitalism. As such, Cammack condemns Giddens and his Third Way for being anti-social-democratic, anti-socialist, and pro-capitalist that Giddens disguises in rhetoric to make appealing within social democracy.[128]British political theorist Robert Corfe who was in the past a social democratic proponent of a new socialism free of class-based prejudices, criticized both Marxist classists and Third Way proponents within the Labour Party.[135] Corfe has denounced the Third Way as developed by Giddens for "intellectual emptiness and ideological poverty".[136] Corfe has despondently noted and agreed with former long-term British Labour Party MP Alice Mahon's statement in which she said "Labour is the party of bankers, not workers. The party has lost its soul, and what has replace it is harsh, American style politics." Corfe claims that the failure to develop a new socialism has resulted in what he considers the "death of socialism" that left social capitalism as only feasible alternative.[137]

Oskar Lafontaine, co-founder of Germany's political party The Left. Lafontaine had been chairman of the SPD, but

resigned and quit the party out of opposition to the SPD's adoption of Third Way positions.

Former SPD chairman Oskar Lafontaine condemned then-SPD leader and German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder for his Third Way policies, saying that the SPD under Schröder had adopted "a radical change of direction towards a policy of neoliberalism".[138] After resigning from the SPD, Lafontaine co-founded The Left in 2007.[139] The Left was founded out of a merger of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) and Labour and Social Justice – The Electoral Alternative (WASG), a breakaway faction from the SPD. The Left has been controversial because as a direct successor to the PDS, it is also a direct successor of former East Germany's ruling Marxist–Leninist Socialist Unity Party (SED) that transformed into the PDS after the end of the Cold War. However the PDS did not continue the SED's policies, as the PDS adopted policies to appeal to democratic socialists, greens, feminists, and pacifists.[140] Lafontaine said in an interview that he supports the type of social democracy pursued by Willy Brandt but claims that the creation of The Left was necessary because "formerly socialist and social democratic parties" had effectively accepted neoliberalism.[139] The Left grew in strength and in the 2009 German parliamentary election gained 11 percent of the vote while the SPD gained 23 percent of the vote.[140]Lafontaine has noted that the founding of The Left in Germany has resulted in emulation in other countries, with several Left parties being founded in Greece, Portugal, Netherlands, and Syria.[141] Lafontaine claims that a de facto British Left movement exists, identifying British Green Party MEP Caroline Lucas as holding similar values.[142]

Jack Layton, former leader of the New Democratic Party in Canada from 2003–2011, led the party to become the second largest Canadian political party for the first time in its history.

Others have claimed that social democracy needs to move past the Third Way, such as Olaf Cramme and Patrick Diamond in their book After the Third Way: The Future of Social Democracy in Europe (2012).[143] Cramme and Diamond recognize that the Third Way arose as an attempt to break down the traditional dichotomy within social democracy between state intervention and markets in the economy, however they contend that the global financial crisis of the late 2000s requires that social democracy must rethink its political economy. Cramme and Diamond note that optimism in economic planning amongst socialists was strong in the early to mid-twentieth century, but declined with the rise of the neoliberal right that both attacked economic planning and associated the left with economic planning. They claim that this formed the foundation of the "Right's moral trap" in which the neoliberal right attacks on economic planning policies by the left, that provokes a defense of such planning by the left as being morally necessary, and ends with the right then rebuking such policies as being inherently economically incompetent while presenting itself as the champion of economic competence.[144] Cramme and Diamond state that social democracy has five different strategies both to address the economic crisis in global markets at present that it could adopt in response: market conforming, market complimenting, market resisting, market substituting, and market transforming.[145]Cramme and Diamond identify market conforming as being equivalent to historic social democratic policymaker Philip Snowden's desire for a very moderate socialist agenda based above all upon fiscal prudence, as Snowden insisted that socialism had to build upon fiscal prudence or else it would not be achieved.[146]

Criticism

From a purely socialist point of view, social democratic reform is a failure since it serves to devise new means to strengthen the capitalist system, which conflicts with the socialist goal of replacing capitalism with a socialist system. [147]Socialist critics often criticize social democracy on the grounds that it fails to address the systemic issues inherent to capitalism, arguing that ameliorative social programs and interventionism generate issues and contradictions of their own, thus limiting the efficiency of the capitalist system. The American democratic socialist philosopher David Schweickart contrasts social democracy with democratic socialism by defining the former as an attempt to strengthen the welfare state and the latter as an alternative economic system to capitalism. According to Schweickart, the democratic socialist critique of social democracy is that capitalism can never be sufficiently "humanized", and that any attempt to suppress its economic contradictions will only cause them to emerge elsewhere. For example, attempts to reduce unemployment too much would result in inflation, and too much job security would erode labour discipline.[148] In contrast to social democracy, democratic socialists advocate a post-capitalist economic system based on either market socialism combined with workers self-management, or on some form of participatory-economic planning.[149]Marxian socialists argue that social democratic welfare policies cannot resolve the fundamental structural issues of capitalism, such as cyclical fluctuations, exploitation and alienation. Accordingly, social democratic programs intended to ameliorate living conditions in capitalism—such as unemployment benefits and taxation on profits—creates further contradictions by further limiting the efficiency of the capitalist system via reducing incentives for capitalists to invest in further production.[150] The welfare state only serves to legitimize and prolong the exploitative and contradiction-laden system of capitalism to society's detriment. Critics of contemporary social democracy, such as Jonas Hinnfors, argue that when social democracy abandoned Marxism it also abandoned socialism and has become a liberal capitalist movement,[151] effectively making social democrats similar to non-socialist parties like the U.S. Democratic Party.

Market socialism is also critical of social democratic welfare states. While one common goal of both concepts is to achieve greater social and economic equality, market socialism does so by changes in enterprise ownership and management, whereas social democracy attempts to do so by subsidies and taxes on privately owned enterprises to finance welfare programs. Frank Roosevelt and David Belkin criticize social democracy for maintaining a property-owning capitalist class which has an active interest in reversing social democratic welfare policies and a disproportionate amount of power as a class to influence government policy. [152] The economists John Roemer and Pranab Bardhan point out that social democracy requires a strong labour movement to sustain its heavy redistribution through taxes, and that it is idealistic to think such redistribution can be accomplished in other countries with weaker labour movements. They note that even in Scandinavian countries social democracy has been in decline as the labour movement weakened.[153]Joseph Stalin was a vocal critic of reformist social democracy, later coining the term "social fascism" to describe social democracy in the 1930s, because in this period social democracy embraced a similar corporatist

economic model to the model supported by fascism. This view was adopted by the Communist International.

There are critics[attribution needed] that claim that social democracy abandoned socialism in the 1930s by endorsing Keynesian welfare capitalism.[154] The democratic socialist political theorist Michael Harrington argues that social democracy historically supported Keynesianism as part of a "social democratic compromise" between capitalism and socialism. This compromise created welfare states; thus, Harrington contends that, although this compromise did not allow for the immediate creation of socialism, it "recognized noncapitalist, and even anticapitalist, principles of human need over and above the imperatives of profit".[155] More recently, social democrats in favour of the Third Way have been accused of having endorsed capitalism, including by anti-Third Way social democrats who have accused Third Way proponents such as Lord Giddens of being anti-social democratic and anti-socialist in practice.[128]

Notable social democrats

- Clement Attlee[156]
- Obafemi Awolowo
- José Batlle y Ordóñez[157]
- Otto Bauer
- David Ben-Gurion
- Victor L. Berger
- Eduard Bernstein[158]
- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
- Léon Blum
- Willy Brandt[159]
- Hjalmar Branting[160]
- Ed Broadbent
- Gro Harlem Brundtland
- Helen Clark
- Job Cohen
- Brendan Corish
- Anthony Crosland[161]
- Tommy Douglas
- Willem Drees
- Friedrich Ebert
- Tage Erlander
- Peter Fraser
- Einar Gerhardsen
- Felipe González
- Tarja Halonen
- Bob Hawke
- Morris Hillquit
- Daniel Hoan
- Roy Jenkins
- Charles Kennedy

- Norman Kirk
- Wim Kok
- Jack Layton
- David Lewis
- Wilhelm Liebknecht[162]
- Paavo Lipponen
- Vassos Lyssarides
- Sicco Mansholt[163]
- Dom Mintoff
- François Mitterrand[164]
- Alva Myrdal
- Gunnar Myrdal
- Walter Nash
- Jawaharlal Nehru
- Olof Palme
- Sandro Pertini
- René Lévesque
- Poul Nyrup Rasmussen
- Bernie Sanders
- Michael Joseph Savage
- Wim Schermerhorn
- Helmut Schmidt[164]
- Luis Guillermo Solís
- Paul-Henri Spaak[165]
- Thorvald Stauning
- Joop den Uyl
- José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero
- Frank P. Zeidler

See also

- Conscious business
- Constitutional economics
- Flexicurity
- List of social democratic parties
- Democratic socialism

Notes

1 Jump up ^ Heywood 2012, p. 128: "Social democracy is an ideological stance that supports a broad balance between market capitalism, on the one hand, and state intervention, on the other hand. Being based on a compromise between the market and the state, social democracy lacks a systematic underlying theory and is, arguably, inherently vague. It is nevertheless associated with the following views: (1) capitalism is the only reliable means of generating wealth, but it is a morally defective means of distributing wealth because of its tendency towards poverty and inequality; (2) the defects of the capitalist system can be rectified through economic and social intervention, the state being the custodian of the public interest […]"
2 Jump up ^ Miller 1998, p. 827: "The idea of social democracy is now used to describe a society the economy

of which is predominantly capitalist, but where the state acts to regulate the economy in the general interest, provides welfare services outside of it and attempts to alter the distribution of income and wealth in the name of social justice."

3 Jump up ˆ Badie, Berg-Schlosser & Morlino 2011, p. 2423: "Social democracy refers to a political tendency resting on three fundamental features: (1) democracy (e.g., equal rights to vote and form parties), (2) an economy partly regulated by the state (e.g., through Keynesianism), and (3) a welfare state offering social support to those in need (e.g., equal rights to education, health service, employment and pensions)."

4 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Weisskopf 1992, p. 10: "Thus social democrats do not try to do away with either the market or private property ownership; instead, they attempt to create conditions in which the operation of a capitalist market economy will lead to more egalitarian outcomes and encourage more democratic and more solidaristic practices than would a more conventional capitalist system."

5 Jump up ˆ Gombert et al. 2009, p. 8; Sejersted 2011.

6 Jump up ˆ Social democracy. Encyclopædia Britannica. Retrieved: 10 August 2015.

7 Jump up ˆ Adams 1993, pp. 102-103: "The emergence of social democracy was partly a result of the Cold War. People argued that if the Stalinist Soviet empire, where the state controlled everything, showed socialism in action, then socialism was not worth having. [...] The consensus policies of a mixed and managed economy and the welfare state, developed by the post-war Labour government, seemed in themselves to provide a basis for a viable socialism that would combine prosperity and freedom with social justice and the possibility of a full life for everyone. They could be seen as a compromise between socialism and capitalism."

8 Jump up ˆ Miller 1998, p. 827: "In the second, mainly post-war, phase, social democrats came to believe that their ideals and values could be achieved by reforming capitalism rather than abolishing it. They favored a mixed economy in which most industries would be privately owned, with only a small number of utilities and other essential services in public ownership."

9 Jump up ˆ Jones 2001, p. 1410: "In addition, particularly since World War II, distinctions have sometimes been made between social democrats and socialists on the basis that the former have accepted the permanence of the mixed economy and have abandoned the idea of replacing the capitalist system with a qualitatively different socialist society."

10 Jump up ˆ Heywood 2012, pp. 125–128: "As an ideological stance, social democracy took shape around the mid-twentieth century, resulting from the tendency among western socialist parties not only to adopt parliamentary strategies, but also to revise their socialist goals. In particular, they abandoned the goal of abolishing capitalism and sought instead to reform or 'humanize' it. Social democracy therefore came to stand for a broad balance between the market economy, on the one hand, and state intervention, on the other."

11 Jump up ˆ Hoefer 2013, p. 29.

12 Jump up ˆ Meyer & Hinchman 2007, p. 137.

13 Jump up ˆ Meyer & Hinchman 2007, p. 91; Upchurch, Taylor & Mathers 2009, p. 51.

14 Jump up ˆ Romano 2006, p. 11.

15 Jump up ˆ Schorske 1993, p. 2.

16 Jump up ˆ Miller 1998, p. 827: "In this (first) phase, therefore, the final aim of social democracy was to replace private ownership of industry with state or social ownership, but the means were to be those of parliamentary democracy."

17 Jump up ˆ Bronner 1999, p. 103.

18 Jump up ˆ Wright 1999, p. 86: "This was an ideology which, at bottom, was grounded not in materialism but in morals. Thus Bernstein summoned up Kant to point the way towards a politics of ethical choices."

19 Jump up ˆ Heywood 2012, p. 128: "The theoretical basis for social democracy has been provided more by moral or religious beliefs, rather than by scientific analysis. Social democrats have not accepted the materialist and highly systematic ideas of Marx and Engels, but rather advanced an essentially moral critique of capitalism."

20 Jump up ˆ Berman 2008, pp. 12–13: "Regardless of the specific policies they advocated, one thing that joined all budding interwar social democrats was a rejection of the passivity and economic determinism of orthodox Marxism [...] so they often embraced communitarian, corporatist, and even nationalist appeals and urged their parties to make the transition from workers' to 'people's' parties."

21 Jump up ˆ Adams 1993, p. 146.

22 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Bookchin 1998, p. 284.

23 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Ishay 2008, p. 148.

24 Jump up ˆ Ishay 2008, p. 149–150.

25 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Aspalter 2001, p. 52.

26 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Aspalter 2001, p. 53.

27 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Bookchin 1998, pp. 285–286.

28 Jump up ˆ Bookchin 1998, p. 219.

29 Jump up ˆ Bookchin 1998, p. 225.

30 Jump up ˆ Bookchin 1998, p. 229.

31 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Bookchin 1998, p. 256.

32 Jump up ˆ Ishay 2008, p. 149.

33 Jump up ˆ Johnson, Walker & Gray 2014, pp. 119–120.

34 Jump up ˆ Johnson, Walker & Gray 2014, pp. 119–120; Marx 1972, p. 64.

35 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Hollander 2011, p. 201.
36 Jump up ˆ Hollander 2011, p. 208.
37 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Engels, Friedrich (1885). England in 1845 and in 1885. Cited in Hollander 2011, p. 208.
38 Jump up ˆ Busky 2000, pp. 87–90.
39 Jump up ˆ Britain 2005, p. 29.
40 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Clapson 2009, p. 328.
41 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Britain 2005, p. 14.
42 Jump up ˆ Britain 2005, pp. 14, 29.
43 Jump up ˆ Berman 2008.
44 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ McBriar 1962, pp. 290–291.
45 Jump up ˆ McBriar 1962, p. 291.
46 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ McBriar 1962, p. 295.
47 Jump up ˆ McBriar 1962, p. 296.
48 Jump up ˆ Ward 1998, p. 27.
49 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Thompson 2006, p. 21.
50 Jump up ˆ Blaazer 2002, pp. 59–60.
51 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Harrington 2011, p. 42.
52 Jump up ˆ McBriar 1962, p. 71.
53 Jump up ˆ Steger 1997, p. 67.
54 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Steger 1997, p. 116.
55 Jump up ˆ Harrington 2011, pp. 43–59.
56 Jump up ˆ Berman 2006, pp. 38–39.
57 Jump up ˆ Harrington 2011, p. 251.
58 Jump up ˆ Steger 1997, pp. 236–237.
59 Jump up ˆ Harrington 2011, pp. 249–250.
60 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Steger 1997, p. 133.
61 Jump up ˆ Steger 1997, p. 141.
62 Jump up ˆ Wright 1999, p. 86.
63 Jump up ˆ Wright 1999, p. 88.
64 Jump up ˆ Berman 2006, p. 2.
65 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Steger 1997, p. 96.
66 Jump up ˆ Jackson 2008: "Bernstein was also cautious about the use of social spending to ameliorate capitalism; he ranked what would later be called the 'welfare state' as a helpful intervention, but ultimately secondary to more decisive policies intended to attack the source of poverty and inequality. He expressed skepticism about state aid to the unemployed, for example, which he feared might merely sanction a new form of 'pauperism'."
67 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ ᵈ Steger 1997, p. 154.
68 Jump up ˆ Luxemburg, Rosa. Reform or Revolution. p. 60. Cited in Steger 1997, p. 96.
69 Jump up ˆ Steger 1997, p. 115.
70 Jump up ˆ Steger 1999, p. 182.
71 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ ᵈ Steger 1999, p. 186.
72 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Bernstein 2004, p. xix.
73 Jump up ˆ Harrington 2011, p. 47.
74 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ ᵈ Steger 1997, pp. 217–218.
75 Jump up ˆ Steger 1997, p. 167.
76 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Steger 1997, pp. 218–219.
77 Jump up ˆ Steger 1997, p. 219.
78 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Steger 1997.
79 Jump up ˆ Tucker & Roberts, p. 1158.
80 Jump up ˆ Morgan 1987, pp. 69–70.
81 Jump up ˆ Morgan 1987, p. 71.
82 Jump up ˆ Rubinstein 2006, pp. 46–47.
83 Jump up ˆ Chickering, p. 155.
84 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Childs 2000, p. 2.
85 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Berman 1998, p. 145.
86 Jump up ˆ Berman 1998, p. 146.
87 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Naarden 2002, p. 509.
88 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Naarden 2002, p. 425.
89 Jump up ˆ Naarden 2002, p. 434.
90 Jump up ˆ Naarden 2002, p. 441.
91 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Ceplair 1987, p. 78.
92 Jump up ˆ Alpert, p. 67.
93 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Notermans 2000, p. 102.
94 Jump up ˆ Notermans 2000, pp. 102, 110.
95 Jump up ˆ Notermans 2000, p. 111.
96 Jump up ˆ Sejersted 2011, p. 180.
97 ˆ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Macfarlane 1996, p. 44.

98 Jump up ^ Morgan 2006, pp. 43–44.
99 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Jeffreys 1999, p. 29.
100 Jump up ^ Harrington 2011, p. 56.
101 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Harrington 2011, p. 57.
102 Jump up ^ Edinger 1956, p. 215.
103 Jump up ^ Edinger 1956, pp. 219–220.
104 Jump up ^ Macfarlane 1996, pp. 44–45.
105 Jump up ^ Notermans 2000, p. 121.
106 Jump up ^ Hart 1986, p. 13.
107 Jump up ^ Socialist International. "Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism: Declaration of the Socialist International", Socialist International, First Congress, Frankfurt-am-Main, Federal Republic of Germany, 1951.
108 Jump up ^ Adams 1993, p. 108.
109 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Merkel et al. 2008, p. 10.
110 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ ᵈ ᵉ ᶠ ᵍ ʰ Matthijs 2011, pp. 65–67.
111 Jump up ^ Lamb & Docherty 2006, p. 14.
112 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ ᵈ ᵉ Ellis 2004, p. 76.
113 Jump up ^ Notermans 2000, p. 155.
114 Jump up ^ Agrawal & Aggarwal 1989, p. 85.
115 Jump up ^ Berger 2004, p. 73.
116 Jump up ^ Janowsky 1959, p. 94.
117 Jump up ^ Busky 2000, p. 11.
118 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Orlow 2000, p. 108.
119 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ ᵈ Orlow 2000, p. 190.
120 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Adams 2001, p. 108.
121 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ ᵈ Berman 2006, p. 190.
122 Jump up ^ Diamond 2012, p. 4.
123 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Van Oudenaren 1991, p. 144.
124 Jump up ^ Declaration of Principles. Socialist International, 1989. http://www.socialistinternational.org/viewArticle.cfm?ArticleID=31
125 Jump up ^ Lamb & Docherty 2006, p. 82.
126 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ N.D. Arora. Political Science for Civil Services Main Examination. Tata McGraw-Hill Education, 2010. 9.22.
127 Jump up ^ Romano 2006, p. 5.
128 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Cammack 2004, p. 155.
129 Jump up ^ Tansey & Jackson 2008, p. 97.
130 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Giddens 1998, p. 67.
131 Jump up ^ Giddens 1998, p. 73.
132 Jump up ^ Cammack 2004, p. 152.
133 Jump up ^ Giddens 2003, p. 2.
134 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Giddens 1998, p. 71.
135 Jump up ^ Corfe 2010, p. 178.
136 Jump up ^ Corfe 2010, p. 33.
137 Jump up ^ Corfe 2010, pp. 33, 178.
138 Jump up ^ Barrientos & Powell 2004, p. 18.
139 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Lafontaine 2009, p. 7.
140 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Hudson 2012, pp. 1–2.
141 Jump up ^ Lafontaine 2009, p. 3.
142 Jump up ^ Lafontaine 2009, p. 4.
143 Jump up ^ Gamble 2012, p. 47.
144 Jump up ^ Gamble 2012, p. 50.
145 Jump up ^ Gamble 2012, p. 54.
146 Jump up ^ Gamble 2012, pp. 54–55.
147 Jump up ^ Clarke 1981, p. 2.
148 Jump up ^ Schweickart 2007: "Social democrats supported and tried to strengthen the basic institutions of the welfare state—pensions for all, public health care, public education, unemployment insurance. They supported and tried to strengthen the labor movement. The latter, as socialists, argued that capitalism could never be sufficiently humanized and that trying to suppress the economic contradictions in one area would only see them emerge in a different guise elsewhere (e.g., if you push unemployment too low, you'll get inflation; if job security is too strong, labor discipline breaks down.)"
149 Jump up ^ Schweickart 2007: "Virtually all [democratic] socialists have distanced themselves from the economic model long synonymous with socialism (i.e., the Soviet model of a nonmarket, centrally planned economy) […] Some have endorsed the concept of market socialism, a postcapitalist economy that retains market competition but socializes the means of production and, in some versions, extends democracy to the workplace. Some hold out for a nonmarket, participatory economy. All democratic socialists agree on the need for a democratic alternative to capitalism."
150 Jump up ^ Ticktin 1998, pp. 60–61: "The Marxist answers that...it involves limiting the incentive system of

the market through providing minimum wages, high levels of unemployment insurance, reducing the size of the reserve army of labour, taxing profits, and taxing the wealthy. As a result, capitalists will have little incentive to invest and the workers will have little incentive to work. Capitalism works because, as Marx remarked, it is a system of economic force (coercion)."

151 Jump up ^ Hinnfors 2006, pp. 117, 137–139.
152 Jump up ^ Weisskopf 1994, pp. 314–315: "Social democracy achieves greater egalitarianism via ex post government taxes and subsidies, where market socialism does so via ex ante changes in patterns of enterprise ownership [...] the maintenance of property-owning capitalists under social democracy assures the presence of a disproportionately powerful class with a continuing interest in challenging social democratic government policies."
153 Jump up ^ Bardhan & Roemer 1992, p. 104: "Since it [social democracy] permits a powerful capitalist class to exist (90 percent of productive assets are privately owned in Sweden), only a strong and unified labor movement can win the redistribution through taxes that is characteristic of social democracy. It is idealistic to believe that tax concessions of this magnitude can be effected simply through electoral democracy without an organized labor movement, when capitalists organize and finance influential political parties. Even in the Scandinavian countries, strong apex labor organizations have been difficult to sustain and social democracy is somewhat on the decline now."
154 Jump up ^ Fitzpatrick 2003, pp. 2–3; Wright 1999, p. 91.
155 Jump up ^ Harrington 2011, p. 93.
156 Jump up ^ Commission for Racial Equality: Clement Attlee Lecture: Trevor Phillips's speech, 21 April 2005
157 Jump up ^ Nuevo impulso conservador – La República
158 Jump up ^ Eduard Bernstein Reference Archive
159 Jump up ^ Encyclopædia Britannica: Willy Brandt
160 Jump up ^ Hjalmar Branting: The Nobel Peace Prize 1921
161 Jump up ^ Bogdanor 1985, p. 49.
162 Jump up ^ Encyclopædia Britannica: Wilhelm Liebknecht
163 Jump up ^ Kreisky 2000, pp. 378ff; Wolinetz 2008, pp. 182ff.
164 ^ Jump up to: [a] [b] Slomp 2011, pp. 145ff.
165 Jump up ^ Rodríguez García 2010, pp. 254ff.

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Socialism

This article is about the economic system and political philosophy. For other uses, see Socialism (disambiguation).

Socialism is a range of economic and social systems characterised by social ownership and democratic control of the means of production;[10] as well as the political ideologies, theories, and movements that aim to establish them.[11] Social ownership may refer to forms of public, collective, or cooperative ownership; to citizen ownership of equity; or to any combination of these.[12] Although there are many varieties of socialism and there is no single definition encapsulating all of them,[13] social ownership is the common element shared by its various forms.[5][14][15] Socialist economic systems can be divided into both non-market and market forms. [16] Non-market socialism involves the substitution of factor markets and money with engineering and technical criteria based on calculation performed in-kind, thereby producing an economic mechanism that functions according to different economic laws from those of capitalism. Non-market socialism aims to circumvent the inefficiencies and crises traditionally associated with capital accumulation and the profit system.[25] By contrast, market socialism retains the use of monetary prices, factor markets, and, in some cases, the profit motive with respect to the operation of socially owned enterprises and the allocation of capital goods between them. Profits generated by these firms would be controlled directly by the workforce of each firm or accrue to society at large in the form of a social dividend. [26][27][28] The feasibility and exact methods of resource allocation and calculation for a socialist system are the subjects of the socialist calculation debate. The socialist political movement includes a diverse array of political philosophies that originated amid the revolutionary movements of the mid-to-late 1700s and of a general concern for the social problems that were associated with capitalism. [13] In addition to the debate over markets and planning, the varieties of socialism differ in their form of social ownership, how management is to be organized within productive institutions, and the role of the state in constructing socialism. [2][13] Core dichotomies associated with these concerns include reformism versus revolutionary socialism, and state socialism versus libertarian socialism. Socialist politics has been both centralist and decentralized; internationalist and nationalist in orientation; organized through political parties and opposed to party politics; at times overlapping with trade unions and at other times independent of, and critical of, unions; and present in both industrialized and developing countries. [29] While all tendencies of socialism consider themselves democratic, the term "democratic socialism" is often used to highlight its advocates' high value for democratic processes in the economy and democratic political systems,[30] usually to draw contrast to tendencies they may perceive to be undemocratic in their approach. The term is frequently used to draw contrast to the political system of the Soviet Union, which critics argue operated in an authoritarian fashion.[31][32][33] By the late 19th century, and after further articulation and advancement by Karl Marx and his collaborator Friedrich Engels as the culmination of technological development outstripping the economic dynamics of capitalism,[34] "socialism" had come to signify opposition to capitalism and advocacy for a post-capitalist

system based on some form of social ownership of the means of production.[35][36] By the 1920s, social democracy and communism became the two dominant political tendencies within the international socialist movement.[37] Socialism proceeded to emerge as the most influential secular political-economic worldview of the twentieth century,[38] and while the emergence of the Soviet Union as the world's first nominally socialist state led to socialism's widespread association with the Soviet economic model, many economists and intellectuals have argued that in practice the model functioned as a form of state capitalism,[39][40][41] or a non-planned administrative or command economy.[42][43] Socialist parties and ideas remain a political force with varying degrees of power and influence in all continents, heading national governments in many countries around the world. Today, some socialists have also adopted the causes of other social movements, such as environmentalism, feminism and liberalism.[44]

Etymology

The origin of the term socialism may be traced back and attributed to a number of originators, in addition to significant historical shifts in the usage and scope of the word.

For Andrew Vincent, "The word 'socialism' finds its root in the Latin sociare, which means to combine or to share. The related, more technical term in Roman and then medieval law was societas. This latter word could mean companionship and fellowship as well as the more legalistic idea of a consensual contract between freemen."[45]The term "socialism" was created by Henri de Saint-Simon, one of the founders of what would later be labelled "utopian socialism". Simon coined "socialism" as a contrast to the liberal doctrine of "individualism", which stressed that people act or should act as if they are in isolation from one another.[46]

The original "utopian" socialists condemned liberal individualism for failing to address social concerns during the industrial revolution, including poverty, social oppression, and gross inequalities in wealth; viewing liberal individualism as degenerating society into supporting selfish egoism that harmed community life through promoting a society based on competition.[46] They presented socialism as an alternative to liberal individualism based on the shared ownership of resources, although their proposals for socialism differed significantly. Saint-Simon proposed economic planning, scientific administration, and the application of modern scientific advancements to the organization of society; by contrast, Robert Owen proposed the organization of production and ownership in cooperatives.[46][47]The term socialism is attributed to Pierre Leroux,[48] and to Marie Roch Louis Reybaud in France; and in Britain to Robert Owen in 1827, father of the cooperative movement.[49][50]The modern definition and usage of "socialism" settled by the 1860s, becoming the predominant term among the group of words "co-operative", "mutualist" and "associationist", which had previously been used as synonyms. The term "communism" also fell out of use during this period, despite earlier distinctions between socialism and communism from the 1840s.[51] An early distinction between "socialism" and "communism" was that the former aimed to only socialise production while the latter aimed to socialise both production and consumption (in the form of free access to final goods).[52] However, by 1888 Marxists employed the term "socialism" in place of "communism", which had come to be considered

an old-fashion synonym for "socialism". It wasn't until 1917 after the Bolshevik revolution that "socialism" came to refer to a distinct stage between capitalism and communism, introduced by Vladimir Lenin as a means to defend the Bolshevik seizure of power against traditional Marxist criticisms that Russia's productive forces were not sufficiently developed for socialist revolution.[53] A distinction between "communist" and "socialist" as descriptors of political ideologies arose in 1918 after the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party renamed itself to the All-Russian Communist Party, where "Communist" came to specifically mean socialists who supported the politics and theories of Leninism, Bolshevism and later Marxism-Leninism;[54] although Communist parties continued to describe themselves as socialists dedicated to socialism.[55] Linguistically, the contemporary connotation of the words socialism and communism accorded with the adherents' and opponents' cultural attitude towards religion. In Christian Europe, of the two, communism was believed the atheist way of life. In Protestant England, the word communism was too culturally and aurally close to the Roman Catholic communion rite, hence English atheists denoted themselves socialists.[56] Friedrich Engels argued that in 1848, at the time when the Communist Manifesto was published, "socialism was respectable on the continent, while communism was not." The Owenites in England and the Fourierists in France were considered "respectable" socialists, while working-class movements that "proclaimed the necessity of total social change" denoted themselves communists. This latter branch of socialism produced the communist work of Étienne Cabet in France and Wilhelm Weitling in Germany.[57] The British moral philosopher John Stuart Mill also came to advocate a form of economic socialism within a liberal context. In later editions of his Principles of Political Economy (1848), Mill would argue that "as far as economic theory was concerned, there is nothing in principle in economic theory that precludes an economic order based on socialist policies."[58][59] While democrats looked to the Revolutions of 1848 as a democratic revolution, which in the long run ensured liberty, equality, and fraternity, Marxists denounced 1848 as a betrayal of working-class ideals by a bourgeoisie indifferent to the legitimate demands of the proletariat.[60]

History
Main article: History of socialism

Early socialism
Main articles: Utopian socialism, Revolutions of 1848, Paris Commune, and History of anarchism § Early history

Socialist models and ideas espousing common or public ownership have existed since antiquity. It has been claimed, though controversially, that there were elements of socialist thought in the politics of classical Greek philosophers Plato[61] and Aristotle.[62] Mazdak, a Persian communal proto-socialist,[63] instituted communal possessions and advocated the public good. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, a Companion of Prophet Muhammad, is credited by many as a principal antecedent of Islamic socialism.[64][65][66][67][68] In the period right after the French Revolution, activists and theorists like François-Noël Babeuf, Étienne-Gabriel Morelly, Philippe Buonarroti, and Auguste Blanqui influenced the early French labour

and socialist movements.[69] In Britain, Thomas Paine proposed a detailed plan to tax property owners to pay for the needs of the poor in Agrarian Justice[70] while Charles Hall wrote The Effects of Civilization on the People in European States, denouncing capitalism's effects on the poor of his time[71] which influenced the utopian schemes of Thomas Spence.[72]The first "self-conscious socialist movements developed in the 1820s and 1830s. The Owenites, Saint-Simonians and Fourierists provided a series of coherent analyses and interpretations of society. They also, especially in the case of the Owenites, overlapped with a number of other working-class movements like the Chartists in the United Kingdom."[73] The Chartists gathered significant numbers around the People's Charter of 1838, which demanded the extension of suffrage to all male adults. Leaders in the movement also called for a more equitable distribution of income and better living conditions for the working classes. "The very first trade unions and consumers' cooperative societies also emerged in the hinterland of the Chartist movement, as a way of bolstering the fight for these demands."[74] A later important socialist thinker in France was Pierre-Joseph Proudhon who proposed his philosophy of mutualism in which "everyone had an equal claim, either alone or as part of a small cooperative, to possess and use land and other resources as needed to make a living".[75] There were also currents inspired by dissident Christianity of Christian socialism "often in Britain and then usually coming out of left liberal politics and a romantic anti-industrialism"[69] which produced theorists such as Edward Bellamy, Frederick Denison Maurice, and Charles Kingsley.[76]The first advocates of socialism favoured social levelling in order to create a meritocratic or technocratic society based on individual talent. Count Henri de Saint-Simon is regarded as the first individual to coin the term socialism.[77] Saint-Simon was fascinated by the enormous potential of science and technology and advocated a socialist society that would eliminate the disorderly aspects of capitalism and would be based on equal opportunities.[78][unreliable source?] He advocated the creation of a society in which each person was ranked according to his or her capacities and rewarded according to his or her work.[77] The key focus of Saint-Simon's socialism was on administrative efficiency and industrialism, and a belief that science was the key to progress.[79] This was accompanied by a desire to implement a rationally organised economy based on planning and geared towards large-scale scientific and material progress,[77] and thus embodied a desire for a more directed or planned economy. Other early socialist thinkers, such as Thomas Hodgkin and Charles Hall, based their ideas on David Ricardo's economic theories. They reasoned that the equilibrium value of commodities approximated prices charged by the producer when those commodities were in elastic supply, and that these producer prices corresponded to the embodied labour – the cost of the labour (essentially the wages paid) that was required to produce the commodities. The Ricardian socialists viewed profit, interest and rent as deductions from this exchange-value.[citation needed]
West European social critics, including Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Louis Blanc, Charles Hall, and Saint-Simon, were the first modern socialists who criticised the excessive poverty and inequality of the Industrial Revolution. They advocated reform, with some such as Robert Owen advocating the transformation of society to small communities without private property. Robert Owen's contribution to modern socialism was his understanding that actions and characteristics of individuals were largely determined by the social environment they were raised in and exposed to.[79] On the other hand, Charles Fourier advocated

phalansteres which were communities that respected individual desires (including sexual preferences), affinities and creativity and saw that work has to be made enjoyable for people.[80] The ideas of Owen and Fourier were tried in practice in numerous intentional communities around Europe and the American continent in the mid-19th century.

Paris Commune

The Paris Commune was a government that briefly ruled Paris from 18 March (more formally, from 28 March) to 28 May 1871. The Commune was the result of an uprising in Paris after France was defeated in the Franco-Prussian War. The Commune elections held on 26 March elected a Commune council of 92 members, one member for each 20,000 residents.[81] Despite internal differences, the Council began to organise the public services essential for a city of two million residents. It also reached a consensus on certain policies that tended towards a progressive, secular, and highly-democratic social democracy.

Because the Commune was only able to meet on fewer than 60 days in all, only a few decrees were actually implemented. These included the separation of church and state, the remission of rents owed for the entire period of the siege (during which, payment had been suspended), the abolition of night work in the hundreds of Paris bakeries, the granting of pensions to the unmarried companions and children of National Guards killed on active service; the free return, by the city pawnshops, of all workmen's tools and household items valued up to 20 francs, pledged during the siege.[82] The Commune was concerned that skilled workers had been forced to pawn their tools during the war; the postponement of commercial debt obligations, and the abolition of interest on the debts; and the right of employees to take over and run an enterprise if it were deserted by its owner; the Commune, nonetheless, recognised the previous owner's right to compensation.[82]

First International

The International Workingmen's Association (IWA), also known as the First International, was founded in London in 1864. The International Workingmen's Association united diverse revolutionary currents including French followers of Proudhon,[83] Blanquists, Philadelphes, English trade unionists, socialists and social democrats. The IWA held a preliminary conference in 1865 and had its first congress at Geneva in 1866. Due to the wide variety of philosophies present in the First International, there was conflict from the start. The first objections to Marx came from the Mutualists who opposed communism and statism. However, shortly after Mikhail Bakunin and his followers (called Collectivists while in the International) joined in 1868, the First International became polarised into two camps headed by Marx and Bakunin respectively.[84] The clearest differences between the groups emerged over their proposed strategies for achieving their visions of socialism. The First International became the first major international forum for the promulgation of socialist ideas.

The followers of Bakunin were called collectivist anarchists and sought to collectivise ownership of the means of production while retaining payment proportional to the amount and kind of labor of each individual. Like Proudhonists, they asserted the right of each individual to the product of his labor and to be remunerated for their particular contribution to production. By contrast, anarcho-communists sought collective ownership of both the means and the products of

labor. Errico Malatesta put it: "...instead of running the risk of making a confusion in trying to distinguish what you and I each do, let us all work and put everything in common. In this way each will give to society all that his strength permits until enough is produced for every one; and each will take all that he needs, limiting his needs only in those things of which there is not yet plenty for every one."[85] Anarchist communism as a coherent, modern economic-political philosophy was first formulated in the Italian section of the First International by Carlo Cafiero, Emilio Covelli, Errico Malatesta, Andrea Costa and other ex-Mazzinian Republicans.[86] Out of respect for Mikhail Bakunin, they did not make their differences with collectivist anarchism explicit until after Bakunin's death.[87]Syndicalism emerged in France inspired in part by the ideas of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and later by Fernand Pelloutier and Georges Sorel.[88] It developed at the end of the 19th century "out of the French trade-union movement – syndicat is the French word for trade union. It was a significant force in Italy and Spain in the early 20th century until it was crushed by the fascist regimes in those countries. In the United States, syndicalism appeared in the guise of the Industrial Workers of the World, or "Wobblies," founded in 1905."[88] Syndicalism is an economic system where industries are organised into confederations (syndicates);[89] the economy is managed by negotiation between specialists and worker representatives of each field, comprising multiple non-competitive categorised units.[90] Thus, syndicalism is a form of communism and economic corporatism, and also refers to the political movement and tactics used to bring about this type of system. An influential anarchist movement based on syndicalist ideas is anarcho-syndicalism.[91] The International Workers Association is an international anarcho-syndicalist federation of various labour unions from different countries.

The Fabian Society' is a British socialist organisation which was established with the purpose of advancing the principles of socialism via gradualist and reformist means.[92] The society laid many of the foundations of the Labour Party and subsequently affected the policies of states emerging from the decolonisation of the British Empire, most notably India and Singapore. Originally, the Fabian Society was committed to the establishment of a socialist economy, alongside a commitment to British imperialism as a progressive and modernising force.[93] Today, the society functions primarily as a think tank and is one of 15 socialist societies affiliated with the Labour Party. Similar societies exist in Australia (the Australian Fabian Society), Canada (the Douglas-Coldwell Foundation and the now disbanded League for Social Reconstruction) and in New Zealand.

Guild socialism is a political movement advocating workers' control of industry through the medium of trade-related guilds "in an implied contractual relationship with the public".[94] It originated in the United Kingdom and was at its most influential in the first quarter of the 20th century. Inspired by the medieval guild, theorists such as Samuel G. Hobson and G.D.H. Cole advocated the public ownership of industries and their organisation into guilds, each of which would be under the democratic control of its trade union. Guild socialists were less inclined than Fabians to invest power in a state.[88] At some point "like the American Knights of Labor, guild socialism wanted to abolish the wage system".

Second International

As the ideas of Marx and Engels took on flesh, particularly in central Europe, socialists sought to unite in an international organisation. In 1889, on the

centennial of the French Revolution of 1789, the Second International was founded, with 384 delegates from 20 countries representing about 300 labour and socialist organisations.[95] It was termed the "Socialist International" and Engels was elected honorary president at the third congress in 1893. Anarchists were ejected and not allowed in, mainly due to pressure from Marxists.[96] It has been argued that, at some point, the Second International turned "into a battleground over the issue of libertarian versus authoritarian socialism. Not only did they effectively present themselves as champions of minority rights; they also provoked the German Marxists into demonstrating a dictatorial intolerance which was a factor in preventing the British labor movement from following the Marxist direction indicated by such leaders as H. M. Hyndman".[97]Reformism arose as an alternative to revolution. Eduard Bernstein was a leading social democrat in Germany who proposed the concept of evolutionary socialism. Revolutionary socialists quickly targeted reformism: Rosa Luxemburg condemned Bernstein's Evolutionary Socialism in her 1900 essay Reform or Revolution?. Revolutionary socialism encompasses multiple social and political movements that may define "revolution" differently from one another. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) in Germany became the largest and most powerful socialist party in Europe, despite working illegally until the anti-socialist laws were dropped in 1890. In the 1893 elections, it gained 1,787,000 votes, a quarter of the total votes cast, according to Engels. In 1895, the year of his death, Engels emphasised the Communist Manifesto's emphasis on winning, as a first step, the "battle of democracy".[98]

Early 20th century

Main articles: History of anarchism § 20th century, Russian Revolution, German Revolution, Biennio Rosso, and Spanish Revolution

In 1904, Australians elected the first Australian Labor Party prime minister: Chris Watson, who became the first democratically elected social democrat. In 1909 the first Kibbutz was established in Palestine[99] by Russian Jewish Immigrants. The Kibbutz Movement will then expand through the 20th century following a doctrine of zionist socialism.[100] The British Labour Party first won seats in the House of Commons in 1902. The International Socialist Commission (ISC, also known as Berne International) was formed in February 1919 at a meeting in Bern by parties that wanted to resurrect the Second International.[101]By 1917, the patriotism of World War I changed into political radicalism in most of Europe, the United States, and Australia. Other socialist parties from around the world who were beginning to gain importance in their national politics in the early 20th century included the Italian Socialist Party, the French Section of the Workers' International, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, the Swedish Social Democratic Party, the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, the Socialist Party of America in the United States, the Argentinian Socialist Party and the Chilean Partido Obrero Socialista.

Russian revolution

In February 1917, revolution exploded in Russia. Workers, soldiers and peasants established soviets (councils), the monarchy fell, and a provisional government convoked pending the election of a constituent assembly. In April of that year, Vladimir Lenin, leader of the Majority (or in Russian: "Bolshevik") faction of socialists in Russia and known for his profound and controversial expansions

of Marxism, was allowed to cross Germany to return to his country from exile in Switzerland.

Lenin had published essays on his analysis of imperialism, the monopoly and globalisation phase of capitalism as predicted by Marx, as well as analyses on the social conditions of his contemporary time. He observed that as capitalism had further developed in Europe and America, the workers remained unable to gain class consciousness so long as they were too busy working and concerning with how to make ends meet. He therefore proposed that the social revolution would require the leadership of a vanguard party of class-conscious revolutionaries from the educated and politically active part of the population.[102]Upon arriving in Petrograd, he declared that the revolution in Russia was not over but had only begun, and that the next step was for the workers' soviets to take full state authority. He issued a thesis outlining the Bolshevik's party programme, including rejection of any legitimacy in the provisional government and advocacy for state power to be given to the peasant and working class through the soviets. The Bolsheviks became the most influential force in the soviets, and on 7 November, the capitol of the provisional government was stormed by Bolshevik Red Guards in what afterwards known as the "Great October Socialist Revolution". The rule of the provisional government was ended and the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic – the world's first constitutionally socialist state – was established. On 25 January 1918, at the Petrograd Soviet, Lenin declared "Long live the world socialist revolution!"[103] He proposed an immediate armistice on all fronts, and transferred the land of the landed proprietors, the crown and the monasteries to the peasant committees without compensation.[104]On 26 January 1918, the day after assuming executive power, Lenin wrote Draft Regulations on Workers' Control, which granted workers control of businesses with more than five workers and office employees, and access to all books, documents and stocks, and whose decisions were to be "binding upon the owners of the enterprises".[105] Governing through the elected soviets, and in alliance with the peasant-based Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Bolshevik government began nationalising banks, industry, and disavowed the national debts of the deposed Romanov royal régime. It sued for peace, withdrawing from World War I, and convoked a Constituent Assembly in which the peasant Socialist-Revolutionary Party (SR) won a majority.[106]The Constituent Assembly elected Socialist-Revolutionary leader Victor Chernov President of a Russian republic, but rejected the Bolshevik proposal that it endorse the Soviet decrees on land, peace and workers' control, and acknowledge the power of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. The next day, the Bolsheviks declared that the assembly was elected on outdated party lists,[107] and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets dissolved it.[108][109] In March 1919 world communist parties formed Comintern (also known as the Third International) at a meeting in Moscow.[110]

IWUSP

Parties which did not want to be a part of the resurrected Second International (ISC) or Comintern formed the International Working Union of Socialist Parties (IWUSP, also known as Vienna International/Vienna Union/Two-and-a-Half International) on 27 February 1921 at a conference in Vienna.[111] The ISC and the IWUSP joined to form the Labour and Socialist International (LSI) in May 1923 at a meeting in Hamburg[112] Left wing groups which did not agree to the centralisation

and abandonment of the soviets by the Bolshevik Party led Left-wing uprisings against the Bolsheviks; such groups included Socialist Revolutionaries,[113] Left Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, and anarchists.[114]Within this left wing discontent the most large scale events were the worker's Kronstadt rebellion[115][116][117] and the anarchist led Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine uprising which controlled an area known as the Free Territory.[118][119][120]Third International The Bolshevik Russian Revolution of January 1918 engendered Communist parties worldwide, and their concomitant revolutions of 1917–23. Few Communists doubted that the Russian success of socialism depended on successful, working-class socialist revolutions in developed capitalist countries.[121][122] In 1919, Lenin and Trotsky organised the world's Communist parties into a new international association of workers – the Communist International, (Comintern), also called the Third International.

The Russian Revolution also influenced uprisings in other countries around this time. The German Revolution of 1918–1919 resulted in the replacing Germany's imperial government with a republic. The revolutionary period lasted from November 1918 until the formal establishment of the Weimar Republic in August 1919, and included an episode known as the Bavarian Soviet Republic[123][124][125][126] and the Spartacist uprising. In Italy, the events known as the Biennio Rosso[127][128] was characterised by mass strikes, worker manifestations and self-management experiments through land and factories occupations. In Turin and Milan, workers councils were formed and many factory occupations took place led by anarcho-syndicalists organised around the Unione Sindacale Italiana.[129]By 1920, the Red Army, under its commander Trotsky, had largely defeated the royalist White Armies. In 1921, War Communism was ended and, under the New Economic Policy (NEP), private ownership was allowed for small and medium peasant enterprises. While industry remained largely state-controlled, Lenin acknowledged that the NEP was a necessary capitalist measure for a country unripe for socialism. Profiteering returned in the form of "NEP men" and rich peasants (Kulaks) gained power in the countryside.[130] Nevertheless, the role of Trotsky in this episode has been questioned by other socialists, including ex-Trotskyists. In the United States, Dwight Macdonald broke with Trotsky and left the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, by raising the question of the Kronstadt rebellion, which Trotsky as leader of the Soviet Red Army and the other Bolsheviks had brutally repressed. He then moved towards democratic socialism[131] and anarchism.[132]A similar critique of Trotsky's role on the events around the Kronstadt rebellion was raised by the American anarchist Emma Goldman. In her essay "Trotsky Protests Too Much" she says "I admit, the dictatorship under Stalin's rule has become monstrous. That does not, however, lessen the guilt of Leon Trotsky as one of the actors in the revolutionary drama of which Kronstadt was one of the bloodiest scenes."[133]

Fourth congress
In 1922, the fourth congress of the Communist International took up the policy of the United Front, urging Communists to work with rank and file Social Democrats while remaining critical of their leaders, whom they criticised for betraying the working class by supporting the war efforts of their respective capitalist classes. For their part, the social democrats pointed to the dislocation caused by revolution, and later, the growing authoritarianism of the Communist Parties. When the Communist Party of Great Britain applied to affiliate to the Labour Party in 1920, it

was turned down.

In 1923, on seeing the Soviet State's growing coercive power, a dying Lenin said Russia had reverted to "a bourgeois tsarist machine... barely varnished with socialism."[134] After Lenin's death in January 1924, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – then increasingly under the control of Joseph Stalin – rejected the theory that socialism could not be built solely in the Soviet Union, in favour of the concept of Socialism in One Country. Despite the marginalised Left Opposition's demand for the restoration of Soviet democracy, Stalin developed a bureaucratic, authoritarian government, that was condemned by democratic socialists, anarchists and Trotskyists for undermining the initial socialist ideals of the Bolshevik Russian Revolution.[135][136][self-published source?][unreliable source?]

In 1924, the Mongolian People's Republic was established and was ruled by the Mongolian People's Party. The Russian Revolution and the appearance of the Soviet State motivated a worldwide current of national Communist parties which ended having varying levels of political and social influence. Among these there appeared the Communist Party of France, the Communist Party USA, the Italian Communist Party, the Chinese Communist Party, the Mexican Communist Party, the Brazilian Communist Party, the Chilean Communist Party and the Communist Party of Indonesia.

Spain

In Spain in 1936, the national anarcho-syndicalist trade union Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) initially refused to join a popular front electoral alliance, and abstention by CNT supporters led to a right-wing election victory. But in 1936, the CNT changed its policy and anarchist votes helped bring the popular front back to power. Months later, the former ruling class responded with an attempted coup, sparking the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939).[137]In response to the army rebellion, an anarchist-inspired movement of peasants and workers, supported by armed militias, took control of Barcelona and of large areas of rural Spain where they collectivised the land.[138][139] The events known as the Spanish Revolution was a workers' social revolution that began during the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and resulted in the widespread implementation of anarchist and more broadly libertarian socialist organisational principles throughout various portions of the country for two to three years, primarily Catalonia, Aragon, Andalusia, and parts of the Levante.

Much of Spain's economy was put under worker control; in anarchist strongholds like Catalonia, the figure was as high as 75%, but lower in areas with heavy Communist Party of Spain influence, as the Soviet-allied party actively resisted attempts at collectivisation enactment. Factories were run through worker committees, agrarian areas became collectivised and run as libertarian communes. Anarchist historian Sam Dolgoff estimated that about eight million people participated directly or indirectly in the Spanish Revolution.[140]

Mid-20th century

Post World War II

Trotsky's Fourth International was established in France in 1938 when Trotskyists argued that the Comintern or Third International had become irretrievably "lost to Stalinism" and thus incapable of leading the international working class to political power.[141] The rise of Nazism and the start of World War II led to the dissolution of the LSI in 1940. After the War, the Socialist International was formed in Frankfurt in July 1951 as a successor to the LSI.[142]After World War II, social democratic governments introduced social reform and wealth redistribution via state welfare and taxation. Social Democratic parties dominated post-war politics in countries such as France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Norway. At one point, France claimed to be the world's most state-controlled capitalist country. The nationalised public utilities included Charbonnages de France (CDF), Electricité de France (EDF), Gaz de France (GDF), Air France, Banque de France, and Régie Nationale des Usines Renault.[143]In 1945, the British Labour Party, led by Clement Attlee, was elected to office based on a radical socialist programme. The UK Labour Government nationalised major public utilities such as mines, gas, coal, electricity, rail, iron, steel, and the Bank of England. British Petroleum was officially nationalised in 1951.[144] Anthony Crosland said that in 1956, 25% of British industry was nationalised, and that public employees, including those in nationalised industries, constituted a similar proportion of the country's total employed population.[145] The Labour Governments of 1964–1970 and 1974–1979 intervened further.[146] It re-nationalised steel (1967, British Steel) after the Conservatives had denationalised it, and nationalised car production (1976, British Leyland).[147] The National Health Service provided taxpayer-funded health care to everyone, free at the point of service.[148] Working-class housing was provided in council housing estates, and university education became available via a school grant system.[149]

Nordic model

Main article: Nordic model

The Nordic model is the economic and social models of the Nordic countries (Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland). During most of the post-war era, Sweden was governed by the Swedish Social Democratic Party largely in cooperation with trade unions and industry.[150] In Sweden, the Social Democratic Party held power from 1936 to 1976, 1982 to 1991, 1994 to 2006, and 2014 to present.

From 1945 to 1962, the Norwegian Labour Party held an absolute majority in the parliament led by Einar Gerhardsen who was Prime Minister with 17 years in office. This particular adaptation of the mixed market economy is characterised by more generous welfare states (relative to other developed countries), which are aimed specifically at enhancing individual autonomy, ensuring the universal provision of basic human rights and stabilising the economy. It is distinguished from other welfare states with similar goals by its emphasis on maximising labour force participation, promoting gender equality, egalitarian and extensive benefit levels, large magnitude of redistribution, and expansionary fiscal policy.[151]

USSR and Eastern Europe
Main article: History of the Soviet Union
The USSR played a decisive role in the Allied victory in World War II.[152][153] After the War, the USSR became a recognised superpower.[154] The Soviet era saw some of the most significant technological achievements of the 20th century, including the world's first spacecraft, and the first astronaut. The Soviet economy was the modern world's first centrally planned economy. It was based on a system of state ownership of industry managed through Gosplan (the State Planning Commission), Gosbank (the State Bank) and the Gossnab (State Commission for Materials and Equipment Supply).

Economic planning was conducted through a series of Five-Year Plans. The emphasis was on fast development of heavy industry and the nation became one of the world's top manufacturers of a large number of basic and heavy industrial products, but it lagged in light industrial production and consumer durables.[citation needed]

The Eastern Bloc was the former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe, generally the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Pact[155][156][157] which included the People's Republic of Poland, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Hungary, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was a spontaneous nationwide revolt against the government of the People's Republic of Hungary and its Soviet-imposed policies, lasting from 23 October until 10 November 1956. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's denunciation of the excesses of Stalin's regime during the Twentieth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on 1956,[158] as well as the revolt in Hungary,[159][160][161][162] produced ideological fractures and disagreements within the communist and socialist parties of Western Europe.

Third world
In the postwar years, socialism became increasingly influential throughout the so-called Third World. Embracing a new Third World Socialism, countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America often nationalised industries held by foreign owners. The Chinese Kuomintang Party, the current ruling party in Taiwan, was referred to as having a socialist ideology since Kuomintang's revolutionary ideology in the 1920s incorporated unique Chinese Socialism as part of its ideology.[163][164] The Soviet Union trained Kuomintang revolutionaries in the Moscow Sun Yat-sen University. Movie theatres in the Soviet Union showed newsreels and clips of Chiang, at Moscow Sun Yat-sen University Portraits of Chiang were hung on the walls, and in the Soviet May Day Parades that year, Chiang's portrait was to be carried along with the portraits of Karl Marx, Lenin, Stalin and other socialist leaders.[165]The Chinese Revolution was the second stage in the Chinese Civil War which ended in the establishment of the People's Republic of China led by the Chinese Communist Party. The term "Third World" was coined by French demographer Alfred Sauvy in 1952, on the model of the Third Estate, which, according to the Abbé Sieyès, represented everything, but was nothing: "...because at the end this ignored, exploited, scorned Third World like the Third Estate, wants to become something too" (Sauvy).
The emergence of this new political entity, in the frame of the Cold War, was

complex and painful. Several tentatives were made to organise newly independent states in order to oppose a common front towards both the US's and the USSR's influence on them, with the consequences of the Sino-Soviet split already at works. Thus, the Non-Aligned Movement constituted itself, around the main figures of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, President Sukarno of Indonesia, leader Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt who successfully opposed the French and British imperial powers during the 1956 Suez crisis. After the 1954 Geneva Conference which ended the French war against Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, the 1955 Bandung Conference gathered Nasser, Nehru, Tito, Sukarno, and Zhou Enlai, Premier of the People's Republic of China.

As many African countries gained independence during the 1960s, some of them rejected capitalism in favour of a more afrocentric economic model. The main architects of African Socialism were Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Léopold Senghor of Senegal, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Sékou Touré of Guinea.[166]The Cuban Revolution (1953–1959) was an armed revolt conducted by Fidel Castro's 26th of July Movement and its allies against the government of Cuban President Fulgencio Batista. The revolution began in July 1953, and finally ousted Batista on 1 January 1959, replacing his government with Castro's revolutionary state. Castro's government later reformed along communist lines, becoming the Communist Party of Cuba in October 1965.[167]

New Left
Main article: New Left
The New Left was a term used mainly in the United Kingdom and United States in reference to activists, educators, agitators and others in the 1960s and 1970s who sought to implement a broad range of reforms on issues such as gay rights, abortion, gender roles and drugs[168] in contrast to earlier leftist or Marxist movements that had taken a more vanguardist approach to social justice and focused mostly on labour unionisation and questions of social class.[169][170][171] They rejected involvement with the labour movement and Marxism's historical theory of class struggle.[172]In the U.S., the "New Left" was associated with the Hippie movement and anti-war college campus protest movements, as well as the black liberation movements such as the Black Panther Party.[173] While initially formed in opposition to the "Old Left" Democratic party, groups composing the New Left gradually became central players in the Democratic coalition.[168]Protests of 1968
Main article: Protests of 1968
The protests of 1968 represented a worldwide escalation of social conflicts, predominantly characterised by popular rebellions against military, capitalist, and bureaucratic elites, who responded with an escalation of political repression. These protests marked a turning point for the Civil Rights movement in the United States, which produced revolutionary movements like the Black Panther Party; the prominent civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. organised the "Poor People's Campaign" to address issues of economic justice,[174] while personally showing sympathy with democratic socialism.[175] In reaction to the Tet Offensive, protests also sparked a broad movement in opposition to the Vietnam War all over the United States and even into London, Paris, Berlin and Rome. In 1968 in Carrara, Italy the International of Anarchist Federations was founded during an international anarchist conference held there by the three existing European federations of France, the Italian and the Iberian Anarchist Federation as well as the Bulgarian

federation in French exile.

Mass socialist or communist movements grew not only in the United States but also in most European countries. The most spectacular manifestation of this were the May 1968 protests in France, in which students linked up with wildcat strikes of up to ten million workers, and for a few days the movement seemed capable of overthrowing the government.[citation needed]

In many other capitalist countries, struggles against dictatorships, state repression, and colonisation were also marked by protests in 1968, such as the beginning of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, the Tlatelolco massacre in Mexico City, and the escalation of guerrilla warfare against the military dictatorship in Brazil. Countries governed by communist parties had protests against bureaucratic and military elites. In Eastern Europe there were widespread protests that escalated particularly in the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia. In response, USSR occupied Czechoslovakia. The occupation was denounced by the Italian and French[176] Communist parties, and the Communist Party of Finland. Few western European political leaders defended the occupation, among them the Portuguese communist secretary-general Álvaro Cunhal.[177] along with the Luxembourg party[176] and conservative factions of the Greek party.[176]In the Chinese Cultural Revolution, a social-political youth movement mobilised against "bourgeois" elements which were seen to be infiltrating the government and society at large, aiming to restore capitalism. This movement motivated Maoism-inspired movements around the world in the context of the Sino-Soviet split.[citation needed]

In Indonesia, a right wing military regime led by Suharto killed between 500,000 and one million people, mainly to crush the growing influence of the Communist Party of Indonesia and other leftist sectors, with support from the United States government, which provided kill lists containing thousands of names of suspected high-ranking Communists.[178][179][180][181][182]

Salvador Allende, president of Chile and member of the Socialist Party of Chile. His presidency was ended by a CIA-backed military coup.[183]In Latin America in the 1960s, a socialist tendency within the catholic church appeared which was called Liberation theology[184][185] which motivated even the Colombian priest Camilo Torres to enter the ELN guerrilla.

In Chile, Salvador Allende, a physician and candidate for the Socialist Party of Chile, was elected president through democratic elections in 1970. In 1973, his government was ousted by the U.S.-backed military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, which lasted until the late 1980s.[186]In Italy, Autonomia Operaia was a leftist movement particularly active from 1976 to 1978. It took an important role in the autonomist movement in the 1970s, aside earlier organisations such as Potere Operaio, created after May 1968, and Lotta Continua.[187] This experience prompted the contemporary socialist radical movement autonomism.[188]

Late 20th century

Main articles: Eurocommunism, Nicaraguan revolution, Dissolution of the Soviet Union, History of the People's Republic of China (1976–89), Third Way (centrism), and History of anarchism § Late 20th century

The Nicaraguan Revolution encompassed the rising opposition to the Somoza dictatorship in the 1960s and 1970s, the campaign led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to violently oust the dictatorship in 1978–79, the subsequent efforts of the FSLN to govern Nicaragua from 1979 until 1990[189] and the socialist measures which included widescale agrarian reform[190][191] and

educational programs.[192] The People's Revolutionary Government was proclaimed on 13 March 1979 in Grenada which was overthrown by armed forces of the United States in 1983. The Salvadoran Civil War (1979–1992) was a conflict between the military-led government of El Salvador and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), a coalition or 'umbrella organisation' of five socialist guerrilla groups. A coup on 15 October 1979 led to the killings of anti-coup protesters by the government as well as anti-disorder protesters by the guerillas, and is widely seen as the tipping point towards the civil war.[193] In 1982, the newly elected French socialist government of François Mitterrand made nationalisations in a few key industries, including banks and insurance companies.[194] Eurocommunism was a trend in the 1970s and 1980s in various Western European communist parties to develop a theory and practice of social transformation that was more relevant for a Western European country and less aligned to the influence or control of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Outside Western Europe, it is sometimes called Neocommunism.[195] Some Communist parties with strong popular support, notably the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and the Communist Party of Spain (PCE) adopted Eurocommunism most enthusiastically, and the Communist Party of Finland was dominated by Eurocommunists. The French Communist Party (PCF) and many smaller parties strongly opposed Eurocommunism and stayed aligned with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union until the end of the USSR.

In the late 1970s and in the 1980s, the Socialist International had extensive contacts and discussion with the two powers of the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union, about East-West relations and arms control. Since then, the SI has admitted as member parties the Nicaraguan FSLN, the left-wing Puerto Rican Independence Party, as well as former Communist parties such as the Democratic Party of the Left of Italy and the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). The Socialist International aided social democratic parties in re-establishing themselves when dictatorship gave way to democracy in Portugal (1974) and Spain (1975). Until its 1976 Geneva Congress, the SI had few members outside Europe and no formal involvement with Latin America.[196]

Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1985 until 1991

After Mao's death in 1976 and the arrest of the faction known as the Gang of Four, who were blamed for the excesses of the Cultural Revolution, Deng Xiaoping took power and led the People's Republic of China to significant economic reforms. The Communist Party of China loosened governmental control over citizens' personal lives and the communes were disbanded in favour of private land leases. Thus, China's transition from a planned economy to a mixed economy named as "socialism with Chinese characteristics"[197] which maintained state ownership rights over land, state or cooperative ownership of much of the heavy industrial and manufacturing sectors and state influence in the banking and financial sectors. China adopted its current constitution on 4 December 1982. President Jiang Zemin and Premier Zhu Rongji led the nation in the 1990s. Under their administration, China's economic performance pulled an estimated 150 million peasants out of poverty and sustained an average annual gross domestic product growth rate of 11.2%.[198][199] At the Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam in December 1986, reformist politicians replaced the "old guard" government with new leadership.[200][201] The reformers were led by 71-year-old Nguyen Van Linh, who became the party's new general secretary.[200][201] Linh and the reformers implemented a series of free-market reforms – known as Đ i M i

("Renovation") – which carefully managed the transition from a planned economy to a "socialist-oriented market economy".[202][203] Mikhail Gorbachev wished to move the USSR towards of Nordic-style social democracy, calling it "a socialist beacon for all mankind."[204][205] Prior to its dissolution in 1991, the USSR had the second largest economy in the world after the United States.[206] With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the economic integration of the Soviet republics was dissolved, and overall industrial activity declined substantially.[207] A lasting legacy remains in the physical infrastructure created during decades of combined industrial production practices, and widespread environmental destruction.[208]Many social democratic parties, particularly after the Cold War, adopted neoliberal market policies including privatisation, deregulation and financialisation. They abandoned their pursuit of moderate socialism in favour of market liberalism. By the 1980s, with the rise of conservative neoliberal politicians such as Ronald Reagan in the United States, Margaret Thatcher in Britain, Brian Mulroney in Canada and Augusto Pinochet in Chile, the Western welfare state was attacked from within, but state support for the corporate sector was maintained.[209] Monetarists and neoliberals attacked social welfare systems as impediments to private entrepreneurship. In the UK, Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock made a public attack against the entryist group Militant at the 1985 Labour Party conference. The Labour Party ruled that Militant was ineligible for affiliation with the Labour Party, and the party gradually expelled Militant supporters. The Kinnock leadership had refused to support the 1984–1985 miner's strike over pit closures, a decision that the party's left wing and the National Union of Mineworkers blamed for the strike's eventual defeat. In 1989, at Stockholm, the 18th Congress of the Socialist International adopted a new Declaration of Principles, saying:

Democratic socialism is an international movement for freedom, social justice, and solidarity. Its goal is to achieve a peaceful world where these basic values can be enhanced and where each individual can live a meaningful life with the full development of his or her personality and talents, and with the guarantee of human and civil rights in a democratic framework of society.[210]In the 1990s, the British Labour Party, under Tony Blair, enacted policies based on the free market economy to deliver public services via the Private finance initiative. Influential in these policies was the idea of a "third Way" which called for a re-evalutation of welfare state policies.[211] In 1995, the Labour Party re-defined its stance on socialism by re-wording Clause IV of its constitution, effectively rejecting socialism by removing all references to public, direct worker or municipal ownership of the means of production. The Labour Party stated: "The Labour Party is a democratic socialist party. It believes that, by the strength of our common endeavour we achieve more than we achieve alone, so as to create, for each of us, the means to realise our true potential, and, for all of us, a community in which power, wealth, and opportunity are in the hands of the many, not the few."[212]

Contemporary socialist politics

Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana and theorist of African socialism, on a Soviet Union commemorative postage stamp

African

African socialism has been and continues to be a major ideology around the continent. Julius Nyerere was inspired by Fabian socialist ideals.[213] He was a firm believer in rural Africans and their traditions and ujamaa, a system of collectivisation that according to Nyerere was present before European imperialism. Essentially he believed Africans were already socialists. Other African socialists include Jomo Kenyatta, Kenneth Kaunda, Nelson Mandela and Kwame Nkrumah. Fela Kuti was inspired by socialism and called for a democratic African republic. In South Africa the African National Congress (ANC) abandoned its partial socialist allegiances after taking power, and followed a standard neoliberal route. From 2005 through to 2007, the country was wracked by many thousands of protests from poor communities. One of these gave rise to a mass movement of shack dwellers, Abahlali baseMjondolo that, despite major police suppression, continues to work for popular people's planning and against the creation of a market economy in land and housing.

Asian

In Asia, states with socialist economies – such as the People's Republic of China, North Korea, Laos, and Vietnam – have largely moved away from centralised economic planning in the 21st century, placing a greater emphasis on markets. Forms include the Chinese socialist market economy and the Vietnamese socialist-oriented market economy. They utilise state-owned corporate management models as opposed to modelling socialist enterprise on traditional management styles employed by government agencies. In China living standards continued to improve rapidly despite the late-2000s recession, but centralised political control remained tight.[214] Brian Reynolds Myers in his book The Cleanest Race, and later supported by other academics,[215][216] dismisses the idea that Juche is North Korea's leading ideology, regarding its public exaltation as designed to deceive foreigners and that it exists to be praised and not actually read[217] pointing out that North Korea's latest constitution, of 2009, omits all mention of communism.[218]Though the authority of the state remained unchallenged under Đ i M i, the government of Vietnam encourages private ownership of farms and factories, economic deregulation and foreign investment, while maintaining control over strategic industries.[203] The Vietnamese economy subsequently achieved strong growth in agricultural and industrial production, construction, exports and foreign investment. However, these reforms have also caused a rise in income inequality and gender disparities.[219][220]Elsewhere in Asia, some elected socialist parties and communist parties remain prominent, particularly in India and Nepal. The Communist Party of Nepal[which?] in particular calls for multi-party democracy, social equality, and economic prosperity.[221] In Singapore, a majority of the GDP is still generated from the state sector comprising government-linked companies.[222] In Japan, there has been a resurgent interest in the Japanese Communist Party among workers and youth.[223][224] In Malaysia, the Socialist Party of Malaysia got its first Member of Parliament, Dr. Jeyakumar Devaraj, after the 2008 general election. In 2010,

there were 270 kibbutzim in Israel. Their factories and farms account for 9% of Israel's industrial output, worth US$8 billion, and 40% of its agricultural output, worth over $1.7 billion.[225] Some Kibbutzim had also developed substantial high-tech and military industries. For example, in 2010, Kibbutz Sasa, containing some 200 members, generated $850 million in annual revenue from its military-plastics industry.[226]

European
Main article: Eurosocialism

The United Nations World Happiness Report 2013 shows that the happiest nations are concentrated in northern Europe, where the Nordic model of social democracy is employed, with Denmark topping the list. This is at times attributed to the success of the Nordic model in the region. The Nordic countries ranked highest on the metrics of real GDP per capita, healthy life expectancy, having someone to count on, perceived freedom to make life choices, generosity and freedom from corruption.[227] The objectives of the Party of European Socialists, the European Parliament's socialist and social-democratic bloc, are now "to pursue international aims in respect of the principles on which the European Union is based, namely principles of freedom, equality, solidarity, democracy, respect of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and respect for the Rule of Law." As a result, today, the rallying cry of the French Revolution – "Egalité, Liberté, Fraternité" – which overthrew absolutism and ushered industrialisation into French society, is promoted as essential socialist values.[228] To the left of the PES at the European level is the Party of the European Left, (PEL; also commonly abbreviated "European Left") which is a political party at the European level and an association of democratic socialist, socialist[229] and communist[229] political parties in the European Union and other European countries. It was formed in January 2004 for the purposes of running in the 2004 European Parliament elections. PEL was founded on 8–9 May 2004 in Rome.[230] Elected MEPs from member parties of the European Left sit in the European United Left–Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL) group in the European parliament.

Alexis Tsipras, socialist Prime Minister of Greece who led the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA) through a victory in the Greek legislative election, January 2015

The socialist Left Party in Germany grew in popularity[231] due to dissatisfaction with the increasingly neoliberal policies of the SPD, becoming the fourth biggest party in parliament in the general election on 27 September 2009.[232] Communist candidate Dimitris Christofias won a crucial presidential runoff in Cyprus, defeating his conservative rival with a majority of 53%.[233] In Ireland, in the 2009 European election, Joe Higgins of the Socialist Party took one of three seats in the capital Dublin European constituency.

In Denmark, the Socialist People's Party (SF or Socialist Party for short) more than doubled its parliamentary representation to 23 seats from 11, making it the fourth largest party.[234] In 2011, the socialist parties of Social Democrats, Socialist People's Party and the Danish Social Liberal Party formed government, after a slight victory over the liberal parties. They were led by Helle Thorning-Schmidt, and had the Red-Green Alliance as a supporting party.

In Norway, the Red-Green Coalition consists of the Labour Party (Ap), the Socialist Left Party (SV), and the Centre Party (Sp), and governed the country as a majority

government from the 2005 general election until 2013.

In the Greek legislative election of January 2015, the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA), led by Alexis Tsipras, won a legislative election for the first time while the Communist Party of Greece won 15 seats in parliament. SYRIZA has been characterised as an anti-establishment party,[235] whose success has sent "shock-waves across the EU".[236]In the UK, the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers put forward a slate of candidates in the 2009 European Parliament elections under the banner of No to EU – Yes to Democracy, a broad left-wing alter-globalisation coalition involving socialist groups such as the Socialist Party, aiming to offer an alternative to the "anti-foreigner" and pro-business policies of the UK Independence Party.[237][238][239] In the following May 2010 UK general election, the Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition, launched in January 2010[240] and backed by Bob Crow, the leader of the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers union (RMT), other union leaders and the Socialist Party among other socialist groups, stood against Labour in 40 constituencies.[241][242] The Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition plans to contest the 2011 elections, having gained the endorsement of the RMT June 2010 conference.[243] Left Unity was also founded in 2013 after the film director Ken Loach appealed for a new party of the left to replace the Labour Party, which he claimed had failed to oppose austerity and had shifted towards neoliberalism.[244][245][246][247] In 2015, following a defeat at the 2015 UK general election, Jeremy Corbyn, a self-described socialist[248] took over from Ed Miliband as leader of the Labour Party.

In France, the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) candidate in the 2007 presidential election, Olivier Besancenot, received 1,498,581 votes, 4.08%, double that of the Communist candidate.[249] The LCR abolished itself in 2009 to initiate a broad anti-capitalist party, the New Anticapitalist Party, whose stated aim is to "build a new socialist, democratic perspective for the twenty-first century".[250]On 25 May 2014 in Spain the left wing party Podemos entered candidates for the 2014 European parliamentary elections, some of which were unemployed. In a surprise result, it polled 7.98% of the vote and thus was awarded five seats out of 54.[251] [252] while the older United Left was the third largest overall force obtaining 10.03 % and 5 seats, 4 more than the previous elections.[253]All around Europe and in some places of Latin America there exists a social center and squatting movement mainly inspired by autonomist and anarchist ideas.[254][255]

North American

Members of the Democratic Socialists of America march at the Occupy Wall Street protest in New York

According to a 2013 article in The Guardian, "Contrary to popular belief, Americans don't have an innate allergy to socialism. Milwaukee has had several socialist mayors (Frank Zeidler, Emil Seidel and Daniel Hoan), and there is currently an independent socialist in the US Senate, Bernie Sanders of Vermont."[256] Sanders, once mayor of Vermont's largest city, Burlington, has described himself as a democratic socialist[257][258] and has praised Scandinavian-style social democracy. [259][260]Anti-capitalism, anarchism and the anti-globalisation movement rose to prominence through events such as protests against the World Trade Organization Ministerial Conference of 1999 in Seattle. Socialist-inspired groups played an important role in these movements, which nevertheless embraced much broader layers of the population and were championed by figures such as Noam Chomsky. In Canada, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the precursor

to the social democratic New Democratic Party (NDP), had significant success in provincial politics. In 1944, the Saskatchewan CCF formed the first socialist government in North America. At the federal level, the NDP was the Official Opposition, from 2011 through 2015.[261]South American and Caribbean
For the Encyclopedia Britannica "the attempt by Salvador Allende to unite Marxists and other reformers in a socialist reconstruction of Chile is most representative of the direction that Latin American socialists have taken since the late 20th century. ... Several socialist (or socialist-leaning) leaders have followed Allende's example in winning election to office in Latin American countries."[75] Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, Bolivian President Evo Morales, and Ecuadorian president Rafael Correa refer to their political programmes as socialist. Chávez has adopted the term socialism of the 21st century. After winning re-election in December 2006, Chávez said, "Now more than ever, I am obliged to move Venezuela's path towards socialism."[262] Hugo Chávez was also reelected in October 2012 for his third six-year term as President, but he died in March 2013 from cancer. After Chávez's death on 5 March 2013, vice-president from Chavez's party Nicolás Maduro assumed the powers and responsibilities of the President. A special election was held on 14 April of the same year to elect a new President, which Maduro won by a tight margin as the candidate of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela; he was formally inaugurated on 19 April.[263] "Pink tide" is a term being used in contemporary 21st-century political analysis in the media and elsewhere to describe the perception that Leftist ideology in general, and Left-wing politics in particular, are increasingly influential in Latin America.[264][265][266]
Presidents Fernando Lugo of Paraguay, Evo Morales of Bolivia, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva of Brazil, Rafael Correa of Ecuador, and Hugo Chávez of Venezuela, in Fórum Social Mundial for Latin America

Foro de São Paulo is a conference of leftist political parties and other organisations from Latin America and the Caribbean. It was launched by the Workers' Party (Portuguese: Partido dos Trabalhadores – PT) of Brazil in 1990 in the city of São Paulo. The Forum of São Paulo was constituted in 1990 when the Brazilian Workers' Party approached other parties and social movements of Latin America and the Caribbean with the objective of debating the new international scenario after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the consequences of the implementation of what were taken as neoliberal policies adopted at the time by contemporary right-leaning governments in the region, the stated main objective of the conference being to argue for alternatives to neoliberalism.[267] Among its member include current socialist and social-democratic parties currently in government in the region such as Bolivia's Movement for Socialism, Brazil's Workers Party, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Ecuadorian PAIS Alliance, the Venezuelan United Socialist Party of Venezuela, the Socialist Party of Chile, the Uruguayan Broad Front, the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front and the salvadorean Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

International
The Progressive Alliance is a political international founded on 22 May 2013 by political parties, the majority of whom are current or former members of the Socialist International. The organisation states the aim of becoming the global network of "the progressive", democratic, social-democratic, socialist and labour movement".[268][269]

Social and political theory

Early socialist thought took influences from a diverse range of philosophies such as civic republicanism, Enlightenment rationalism, romanticism, forms of materialism, Christianity (both Catholic and Protestant), natural law and natural rights theory, utilitarianism and liberal political economy.[270] Another philosophical basis for a lot of early socialism was the emergence of positivism during the European Enlightenment. Positivism held that both the natural and social worlds could be understood through scientific knowledge and be analyzed using scientific methods. This core outlook influenced early social scientists and different types of socialists ranging from anarchists like Peter Kropotkin to technocrats like Saint Simon.[271]

Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de Saint-Simon, early French socialist

The fundamental objective of socialism is to attain an advanced level of material production and therefore greater productivity, efficiency and rationality as compared to capitalism and all previous systems, under the view that an expansion of human productive capability is the basis for the extension of freedom and equality in society.[272] Many forms of socialist theory hold that human behaviour is largely shaped by the social environment. In particular, socialism holds that social mores, values, cultural traits and economic practices are social creations and not the result of an immutable natural law.[273][274] The object of their critique is thus not human avarice or human consciousness, but the material conditions and man-made social systems (i.e.: the economic structure of society) that gives rise to observed social problems and inefficiencies. Bertrand Russell, often considered to be the father of analytic philosophy, identified as a socialist. Bertrand Russell opposed the class struggle aspects of Marxism, viewing socialism solely as an adjustment of economic relations to accommodate modern machine production to benefit all of humanity through the progressive reduction of necessary work time.[275]Socialists view creativity as an essential aspect of human nature, and define freedom as a state of being where individuals are able to express their creativity unhindered by constraints of both material scarcity and coercive social institutions.[276] The socialist concept of individuality is thus intertwined with the concept of individual creative expression. Karl Marx believed that expansion of the productive forces and technology was the basis for the expansion of human freedom, and that socialism, being a system that is consistent with modern developments in technology, would enable the flourishing of "free individualities" through the progressive reduction of necessary labour time. The reduction of necessary labour time to a minimum would grant individuals the opportunity to pursue the development of their true individuality and creativity.[277]

Criticism of capitalism

Socialists argue that the accumulation of capital generates waste through externalities that require costly corrective regulatory measures. They also point out that this process generates wasteful industries and practices that exist only to generate sufficient demand for products to be sold at a profit (such as high-pressure advertisement); thereby creating rather than satisfying economic demand.[278][279]Socialists argue that capitalism consists of irrational activity, such as the purchasing of commodities only to sell at a later time when their price

appreciates, rather than for consumption, even if the commodity cannot be sold at a profit to individuals in need; therefore, a crucial criticism often made by socialists is that making money, or accumulation of capital, does not correspond to the satisfaction of demand (the production of use-values).[280] The fundamental criterion for economic activity in capitalism is the accumulation of capital for reinvestment in production; this spurs the development of new, non-productive industries that don't produce use-value and only exist to keep the accumulation process afloat (otherwise the system goes into crisis), such as the spread of the financial industry, contributing to the formation of economic bubbles.[281] Socialists view private property relations as limiting the potential of productive forces in the economy. According to socialists, private property becomes obsolete when it concentrates into centralized, socialized institutions based on private appropriation of revenue (but based on cooperative work and internal planning in allocation of inputs) until the role of the capitalist becomes redundant.[282] With no need for capital accumulation and a class of owners, private property in the means of production is perceived as being an outdated form of economic organization that should be replaced by a free association of individuals based on public or common ownership of these socialized assets.[283][284] Private ownership imposes constraints on planning, leading to uncoordinated economic decisions that result in business fluctuations, unemployment and a tremendous waste of material resources during crisis of overproduction.[285] Excessive disparities in income distribution lead to social instability and require costly corrective measures in the form of redistributive taxation, which incurs heavy administrative costs while weakening the incentive to work, inviting dishonesty and increasing the likelihood of tax evasion while (the corrective measures) reduce the overall efficiency of the market economy.[286] These corrective policies limit the incentive system of the market by providing things such as minimum wages, unemployment insurance, taxing profits and reducing the reserve army of labor, resulting in reduced incentives for capitalists to invest in more production. In essence, social welfare policies cripple the capitalism and its incentive system and are thus unsustainable in the long-run.[287] Marxists argue that the establishment of a socialist mode of production is the only way to overcome these deficiencies. Socialists and specifically Marxian socialists, argue that the inherent conflict of interests between the working class and capital prevent optimal use of available human resources and leads to contradictory interest groups (labor and business) striving to influence the state to intervene in the economy in their favor at the expense of overall economic efficiency.

Early socialists (Utopian socialists and Ricardian socialists) criticized capitalism for concentrating power and wealth within a small segment of society.[288] In addition, they complained that capitalism does not utilise available technology and resources to their maximum potential in the interests of the public.[284]

Marxism
Main article: Marxism

At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or – this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms – with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure.

– Karl Marx, Critique of the Gotha Program[289]

The writings of Karl Marx provided the basis for the development of Marxist political theory and Marxian economics. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argued that socialism would emerge from historical necessity as capitalism rendered itself obsolete and unsustainable from increasing internal contradictions emerging from the development of the productive forces and technology. It was these advances in the productive forces combined with the old social relations of production of capitalism that would generate contradictions, leading to working-class consciousness.[290]Marx and Engels held the view that the consciousness of those who earn a wage or salary (the working class in the broadest Marxist sense) would be moulded by their conditions of wage slavery, leading to a tendency to seek their freedom or emancipation by overthrowing ownership of the means of production by capitalists, and consequently, overthrowing the state that upheld this economic order. For Marx and Engels, conditions determine consciousness and ending the role of the capitalist class leads eventually to a classless society in which the state would wither away. The Marxist conception of socialism is that of a specific historical phase that will displace capitalism and precede communism. The major characteristics of socialism (particularly as conceived by Marx and Engels after the Paris Commune of 1871) are that the proletariat will control the means of production through a workers' state erected by the workers in their interests. Economic activity would still be organised through the use of incentive systems and social classes would still exist, but to a lesser and diminishing extent than under capitalism. For orthodox Marxists, socialism is the lower stage of communism based on the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his contribution" while upper stage communism is based on the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need"; the upper stage becoming possible only after the socialist stage further develops economic efficiency and the automation of production has led to a superabundance of goods and services. [291][292] Marx argued that the material productive forces (in industry and commerce) brought into existence by capitalism predicated a cooperative society since production had become a mass social, collective activity of the working class to create commodities but with private ownership (the relations of production or property relations). This conflict between collective effort in large factories and private ownership would bring about a conscious desire in the working class to establish collective ownership commensurate with the collective efforts their daily experience.[289]

Role of the state

Socialists have taken different perspectives on the state and the role it should play in revolutionary struggles, in constructing socialism, and within an established socialist economy.

In the 19th century the philosophy of state socialism was first explicitly expounded by the German political philosopher Ferdinand Lassalle. In contrast to Karl Marx's perspective of the state, Lassalle rejected the concept of the state as a class-based power structure whose main function was to preserve existing class structures. Thus Lassalle also rejected the Marxist view that the state was destined to "wither away". Lassalle considered the state to be an entity independent of class allegiances and an instrument of justice that would therefore be essential for achieving socialism.[293]Preceding the Bolshevik-led revolution in Russia,

many socialists including reformists, orthodox Marxist currents such as council communism, anarchists and libertarian socialists criticised the idea of using the state to conduct central planning and own the means of production as a way to establish socialism. Following the victory of Leninism in Russia, the idea of "state socialism" spread rapidly throughout the socialist movement, and eventually "state socialism" came to be identified with the Soviet economic model.[294]Joseph Schumpeter rejected the association of socialism (and social ownership) with state ownership over the means of production, because the state as it exists in its current form is a product of capitalist society and cannot be transplanted to a different institutional framework. Schumpeter argued that there would be different institutions within socialism than those that exist within modern capitalism, just as feudalism had its own distinct and unique institutional forms. The state, along with concepts like property and taxation, were concepts exclusive to commercial society (capitalism) and attempting to place them within the context of a future socialist society would amount to a distortion of these concepts by using them out of context.[295]

Utopian versus scientific
Main articles: Utopian socialism and Scientific socialism
Utopian socialism is a term used to define the first currents of modern socialist thought as exemplified by the work of Henri de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen, which inspired Karl Marx and other early socialists.[296] However, visions of imaginary ideal societies, which competed with revolutionary social-democratic movements, were viewed as not being grounded in the material conditions of society and as reactionary.[297] Although it is technically possible for any set of ideas or any person living at any time in history to be a utopian socialist, the term is most often applied to those socialists who lived in the first quarter of the 19th century who were ascribed the label "utopian" by later socialists as a negative term, in order to imply naivete and dismiss their ideas as fanciful or unrealistic.[79]Religious sects whose members live communally, such as the Hutterites, for example, are not usually called "utopian socialists", although their way of living is a prime example. They have been categorized as religious socialists by some. Likewise, modern intentional communities based on socialist ideas could also be categorized as "utopian socialist".
For Marxists, the development of capitalism in western Europe provided a material basis for the possibility of bringing about socialism because, according to the Communist Manifesto, "What the bourgeoisie produces above all is its own grave diggers",[298] namely the working class, which must become conscious of the historical objectives set it by society.

Reform versus revolution
Main articles: Revolutionary socialism and Reformism
Revolutionary socialists believe that a social revolution is necessary to effect structural changes to the socioeconomic structure of society. Among revolutionary socialists there are differences in strategy, theory, and the definition of "revolution". Orthodox Marxists and Left Communists take an impossibilist stance, believing that revolution should be spontaneous as a result of contradictions in society due to technological changes in the productive forces. Lenin theorized

that under capitalism the workers cannot achieve class consciousness beyond organising into unions and making demands of the capitalists. Therefore, Leninists advocate that it is historically necessary for a vanguard of class-conscious revolutionaries to take a central role in coordinating the social revolution to overthrow the capitalist state and, eventually, the institution of the state altogether.[299] "Revolution" is not necessarily defined by revolutionary socialists as violent insurrection,[300] but as a complete dismantling and rapid transformation of all areas of class society led by the majority of the masses: the working class. Reformism is generally associated with social democracy and gradualist democratic socialism. Reformism is the belief that socialists should stand in parliamentary elections within capitalist society and, if elected, utilize the machinery of government to pass political and social reforms for the purposes of ameliorating the instabilities and inequities of capitalism.

Economics

Main article: Socialist economics
See also: Production for use
Socialist economics starts from the premise that "individuals do not live or work in isolation but live in cooperation with one another. Furthermore, everything that people produce is in some sense a social product, and everyone who contributes to the production of a good is entitled to a share in it. Society as a whole, therefore, should own or at least control property for the benefit of all its members."[88]The original conception of socialism was an economic system whereby production was organised in a way to directly produce goods and services for their utility (or use-value in classical and Marxian economics): the direct allocation of resources in terms of physical units as opposed to financial calculation and the economic laws of capitalism (see: Law of value), often entailing the end of capitalistic economic categories such as rent, interest, profit and money.[301] In a fully developed socialist economy, production and balancing factor inputs with outputs becomes a technical process to be undertaken by engineers.[302]Market socialism refers to an array of different economic theories and systems that utilise the market mechanism to organise production and to allocate factor inputs among socially owned enterprises, with the economic surplus (profits) accruing to society in a social dividend as opposed to private capital owners.[303] Variations of market socialism include Libertarian proposals such as mutualism, based on classical economics, and neoclassical economic models such as the Lange Model. However, some economists such as Joseph Stiglitz, Mancur Olson and others not specifically advancing anti-socialists positions have shown that prevailing economic models upon which such democratic or market socialism models might be based have logical flaws or unworkable presuppositions.[304][305]The ownership of the means of production can be based on direct ownership by the users of the productive property through worker cooperative; or commonly owned by all of society with management and control delegated to those who operate/use the means of production; or public ownership by a state apparatus. Public ownership may refer to the creation of state-owned enterprises, nationalisation, municipalisation or autonomous collective institutions. Some socialists feel that in a socialist economy, at least the 'commanding heights' of the economy must be publicly owned.

[306] However, economic liberals and right libertarians view private ownership of the means of production and the market exchange as natural entities or moral rights which are central to their conceptions of freedom and liberty, and view the economic dynamics of capitalism as immutable and absolute. Therefore, they perceive public ownership of the means of production, cooperatives and economic planning as infringements upon liberty.[307][308]Management and control over the activities of enterprises are based on self-management and self-governance, with equal power-relations in the workplace to maximise occupational autonomy. A socialist form of organisation would eliminate controlling hierarchies so that only a hierarchy based on technical knowledge in the workplace remains. Every member would have decision-making power in the firm and would be able to participate in establishing its overall policy objectives. The policies/goals would be carried out by the technical specialists that form the coordinating hierarchy of the firm, who would establish plans or directives for the work community to accomplish these goals.[309]The role and use of money in a hypothetical socialist economy is a contested issue. According to the Austrian school economist Ludwig von Mises, an economic system that does not use money, financial calculation and market pricing will be unable to effectively value capital goods and coordinate production, and therefore these types of socialism are impossible because they lack the necessary information to perform economic calculation in the first place.[310][311] Socialists including Karl Marx, Robert Owen, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and John Stuart Mill advocated various forms of labour vouchers or labour-credits, which like money would be used to acquire articles of consumption, but unlike money, they are unable to become capital and would not be used to allocate resources within the production process. Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky argued that money could not be arbitrarily abolished following a socialist revolution. Money had to exhaust its "historic mission", meaning it would have to be used until its function became redundant, eventually being transformed into bookkeeping receipts for statisticians, and only in the more distant future would money not be required for even that role.[312]The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion, the real source of the evil... I am convinced there is only one way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals. In such an economy, the means of production are owned by society itself and are utilised in a planned fashion. A planned economy, which adjusts production to the needs of the community, would distribute the work to be done among all those able to work and would guarantee a livelihood to every man, woman, and child. The education of the individual, in addition to promoting his own innate abilities, would attempt to develop in him a sense of responsibility for his fellow men in place of the glorification of power and success in our present society. — Albert Einstein, Why Socialism?, 1949[313]

Planned economy
Main article: Planned economy
A planned economy is a type of economy consisting of a mixture of public ownership of the means of production and the coordination of production and distribution through economic planning. There are two major types of planning: decentralised-planning and centralised-planning. Enrico Barone provided a

comprehensive theoretical framework for a planned socialist economy. In his model, assuming perfect computation techniques, simultaneous equations relating inputs and outputs to ratios of equivalence would provide appropriate valuations in order to balance supply and demand.[314]The most prominent example of a planned economy was the economic system of the Soviet Union, and as such, the centralised-planned economic model is usually associated with the Communist states of the 20th century, where it was combined with a single-party political system. In a centrally planned economy, decisions regarding the quantity of goods and services to be produced are planned in advance by a planning agency. (See also: Analysis of Soviet-type economic planning). The economic systems of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc are further classified as command economies, which are defined as systems where economic coordination is undertaken by commands, directives and production targets.[315] Studies by economists of various political persuasions on the actual functioning of the Soviet economy indicate that it was not actually a planned economy. Instead of conscious planning, the Soviet economy was based on a process whereby the plan was modified by localised agents and the original plans went largely unfulfilled. Planning agencies, ministries and enterprises all adapted and bargained with each other during the formulation of the plan as opposed to following a plan passed down from a higher authority, leading some economists to suggest that planning did not actually take place within the Soviet economy and that a better description would be an "administered" or "managed" economy.[316]Although central planning was largely supported by Marxist–Leninists, some factions within the Soviet Union before the rise of Stalinism held positions contrary to central planning. Leon Trotsky rejected central planning in favour of decentralised planning. He argued that central planners, regardless of their intellectual capacity, would be unable to coordinate effectively all economic activity within an economy because they operated without the input and tacit knowledge embodied by the participation of the millions of people in the economy. As a result, central planners would be unable to respond to local economic conditions.[317] State socialism is unfeasible in this view because information cannot be aggregated by a central body and effectively used to formulate a plan for an entire economy, because doing so would result in distorted or absent price signals.[318] It has also been argued that a lack of budget constraints in enterprises operating in a planned economy reduces incentives for enterprises to act on information efficiently, thereby reducing overall welfare for society.[319]

Self-managed economy
See also: Decentralised planning, Economic democracy, and Workers' self-management

A self-managed, decentralised economy is based on autonomous self-regulating economic units and a decentralised mechanism of resource allocation and decision-making. This model has found support in notable classical and neoclassical economists including Alfred Marshall, John Stuart Mill and Jaroslav Vanek. There are numerous variations of self-management, including labour-managed firms and worker-managed firms. The goals of self-management are to eliminate exploitation and reduce alienation.[320] Guild socialism is a political movement advocating workers' control of industry through the medium of trade-related guilds "in an implied contractual relationship with the public".[321] It

originated in the United Kingdom and was at its most influential in the first quarter of the 20th century.[321] It was strongly associated with G. D. H. Cole and influenced by the ideas of William Morris.

One such system is the cooperative economy, a largely free market economy in which workers manage the firms and democratically determine remuneration levels and labour divisions. Productive resources would be legally owned by the cooperative and rented to the workers, who would enjoy usufruct rights.
[322] Another form of decentralised planning is the use of cybernetics, or the use of computers to manage the allocation of economic inputs. The socialist-run government of Salvador Allende in Chile experimented with Project Cybersyn, a real-time information bridge between the government, state enterprises and consumers.[323] Another, more recent, variant is participatory economics, wherein the economy is planned by decentralised councils of workers and consumers. Workers would be remunerated solely according to effort and sacrifice, so that those engaged in dangerous, uncomfortable, and strenuous work would receive the highest incomes and could thereby work less.[324] A contemporary model for a self-managed, non-market socialism is Pat Devine's model of negotiated coordination. Negotiated coordination is based upon social ownership by those affected by the use of the assets involved, with decisions made by those at the most localised level of production.[325]Michel Bauwens identifies the emergence of the open software movement and peer-to-peer production as a new, alternative mode of production to the capitalist economy and centrally planned economy that is based on collaborative self-management, common ownership of resources, and the production of use-values through the free cooperation of producers who have access to distributed capital.[326]Anarchist communism is a theory of anarchism which advocates the abolition of the state, private property, and capitalism in favour of common ownership of the means of production.[327][328] Anarcho-syndicalism was practiced in Catalonia and other places in the Spanish Revolution during the Spanish Civil War. Sam Dolgoff estimated that about eight million people participated directly or at least indirectly in the Spanish Revolution.[329]The economy of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia established a system based on market-based allocation, social ownership of the means of production and self-management within firms. This system substituted Yugoslavia's Soviet-type central planning with a decentralised, self-managed system after reforms in 1953.[330]The Marxian economist Richard D. Wolff argues that "re-organising production so that workers become collectively self-directed at their work-sites" not only moves society beyond both capitalism and state socialism of the last century, but would also mark another milestone in human history, similar to earlier transitions out of slavery and feudalism.[331] As an example, Wolff claims that Mondragon is "a stunningly successful alternative to the capitalist organisation of production."[332]

State-directed economy
See also: State socialism

State socialism can be used to classify any variety of socialist philosophies that advocates the ownership of the means of production by the state apparatus, either as a transitional stage between capitalism and socialism, or as an end-goal in itself. Typically it refers to a form of technocratic management, whereby technical

specialists administer or manage economic enterprises on behalf of society (and the public interest) instead of workers' councils or workplace democracy. A state-directed economy may refer to a type of mixed economy consisting of public ownership over large industries, as promoted by various Social democratic political parties during the 20th century. This ideology influenced the policies of the British Labour Party during Clement Attlee's administration. In the biography of the 1945 UK Labour Party Prime Minister Clement Attlee, Francis Beckett states: "the government... wanted what would become known as a mixed economy". [333]Nationalisation in the UK was achieved through compulsory purchase of the industry (i.e. with compensation). British Aerospace was a combination of major aircraft companies British Aircraft Corporation, Hawker Siddeley and others. British Shipbuilders was a combination of the major shipbuilding companies including Cammell Laird, Govan Shipbuilders, Swan Hunter, and Yarrow Shipbuilders; the nationalisation of the coal mines in 1947 created a coal board charged with running the coal industry commercially so as to be able to meet the interest payable on the bonds which the former mine owners' shares had been converted into.[334][335]

Market socialism

Main article: Market socialism

Market socialism consists of publicly owned or cooperatively owned enterprises operating in a market economy. It is a system that utilises the market and monetary prices for the allocation and accounting of the means of production, thereby retaining the process of capital accumulation. The profit generated would be used to directly remunerate employees, collectively sustain the enterprise or finance public institutions.[336] In state-oriented forms of market socialism, in which state enterprises attempt to maximise profit, the profits can be used to fund government programs and services through a social dividend, eliminating or greatly diminishing the need for various forms of taxation that exist in capitalist systems. The neoclassical economist Léon Walras believed that a socialist economy based on state ownership of land and natural resources would provide a means of public finance to make income taxes unnecessary.[337] Yugoslavia implemented a market socialist economy based on cooperatives and worker self-management.

Proudhon and his children, by Gustave Courbet, 1865. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, main theorist of mutualism and influential French socialist thinker.

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 labour in the free market.[338] 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.[339] Mutualism is based on a labour theory of value that holds that when labour or its product is sold, in exchange, it ought to receive goods or services embodying "the amount of labour necessary to produce an article of exactly similar and equal utility".[340]The current economic system in China is formally referred to as a socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics. It combines a large state sector that comprises the 'commanding heights' of the economy, which are guaranteed their public ownership status by law,[341] with a private sector mainly engaged in commodity production and light industry responsible from anywhere between 33%[342] (People's Daily Online 2005) to over

70% of GDP generated in 2005.[343] Although there has been a rapid expansion of private-sector activity since the 1980s, privatisation of state assets was virtually halted and were partially reversed in 2005.[344] The current Chinese economy consists of 150 corporatised state-owned enterprises that report directly to China's central government.[345] By 2008, these state-owned corporations had become increasingly dynamic and generated large increases in revenue for the state,[346][347] resulting in a state-sector led recovery during the 2009 financial crises while accounting for most of China's economic growth.[348] However, the Chinese economic model is widely cited as a contemporary form of state capitalism, the major difference between Western capitalism and the Chinese model being the degree of state-ownership of shares in publicly listed corporations.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam has adopted a similar model after the Doi Moi economic renovation, but slightly differs from the Chinese model in that the Vietnamese government retains firm control over the state sector and strategic industries, but allows for private-sector activity in commodity production.[349]

Politics

Socialists in Union Square, New York City on May Day 1912

The major socialist political movements are described below. Independent socialist theorists, utopian socialist authors, and academic supporters of socialism may not be represented in these movements. Some political groups have called themselves socialist while holding views that some consider antithetical to socialism. The term socialist has also been used by some politicians on the political right as an epithet against certain individuals who do not consider themselves to be socialists, and against policies that are not considered socialist by their proponents.

There are many variations of socialism and as such there is no single definition encapsulating all of socialism. However, there have been common elements identified by scholars.[350] Angelo S. Rappoport in his Dictionary of Socialism (1924) analysed forty definitions of socialism to conclude that common elements of socialism include: general criticisms of the social effects of private ownership and control of capital – as being the cause of poverty, low wages, unemployment, economic and social inequality, and a lack of economic security; a general view that the solution to these problems is a form of collective control over the means of production, distribution and exchange (the degree and means of control vary amongst socialist movements); agreement that the outcome of this collective control should be a society based upon social justice, including social equality, economic protection of people, and should provide a more satisfying life for most people.[351] Bhikhu Parekh in The Concepts of Socialism (1975) identifies four core principles of socialism and particularly socialist society: sociality, social responsibility, cooperation, and planning.[352] Michael Freeden in his study Ideologies and Political Theory (1996) states that all socialists share five themes: the first is that socialism posits that society is more than a mere collection of individuals; second, that it considers human welfare a desirable objective; third, that it considers humans by nature to be active and productive; fourth, it holds the belief of human equality; and fifth, that history is progressive and will create positive change on the condition that humans work to achieve such change.[352]

Anarchism
Main article: Anarchism

Anarchism is a political philosophy that advocates stateless societies often defined as self-governed voluntary institutions,[353][354][355][356] but that several authors have defined as more specific institutions based on non-hierarchical free associations. [357][358][359][360] Anarchism holds the state to be undesirable, unnecessary, or harmful. [361][362] While anti-statism is central, some argue[363] that anarchism entails opposing authority or hierarchical organisation in the conduct of human relations, including, but not limited to, the state system.[357][364][365][366][367][368][369] Mutualists advocate market socialism, collectivist anarchists workers cooperatives and salaries based on the amount of time contributed to production, anarcho-communists advocate a direct transition from capitalism to libertarian communism and a gift economy and anarcho-syndicalists worker's direct action and the general strike.

Democratic socialism
Main article: Democratic socialism

Modern democratic socialism is a broad political movement that seeks to promote the ideals of socialism within the context of a democratic system. Some Democratic socialists support social democracy as a temporary measure to reform the current system, while others reject reformism in favour of more revolutionary methods. Modern social democracy emphasises a program of gradual legislative modification of capitalism in order to make it more equitable and humane, while the theoretical end goal of building a socialist society is either completely forgotten or redefined in a pro-capitalist way. The two movements are widely similar both in terminology and in ideology, although there are a few key differences.

The major difference between social democracy and democratic socialism is the object of their politics: contemporary social democrats support a welfare state and unemployment insurance as a means to "humanise" capitalism, whereas democratic socialists seek to replace capitalism with a socialist economic system, arguing that any attempt to "humanise" capitalism through regulations and welfare policies would distort the market and create economic contradictions. [370]Democratic socialism generally refers to any political movement that seeks to establish an economy based on economic democracy by and for the working class. Democratic socialism is difficult to define, and groups of scholars have radically different definitions for the term. Some definitions simply refer to all forms of socialism that follow an electoral, reformist or evolutionary path to socialism, rather than a revolutionary one.[371]You can't talk about ending the slums without first saying profit must be taken out of slums. You're really tampering and getting on dangerous ground because you are messing with folk then. You are messing with captains of industry. Now this means that we are treading in difficult water, because it really means that we are saying that something is wrong with capitalism. There must be a better distribution of wealth, and maybe America must move toward a democratic socialism.

— Martin Luther King, Jr., 1966.[372][373][374]

Leninism and precedents
Main articles: Blanquism and Marxism–Leninism
Blanquism refers to a conception of revolution generally attributed to Louis Auguste Blanqui which holds that socialist revolution should be carried out by a relatively small group of highly organised and secretive conspirators.[375] Having seized power, the revolutionaries would then use the power of the state to introduce socialism. It is considered a particular sort of 'putschism' – that is, the view that political revolution should take the form of a putsch or coup d'état.[376] Rosa Luxemburg and Eduard Bernstein[377] have criticised Lenin that his conception of revolution was elitist and essentially 'Blanquist'.[378] Marxism–Leninism is a political ideology combining Marxism (the scientific socialist concepts theorised by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels) and Leninism (Vladimir Lenin's theoretical expansions of Marxism which include anti-imperialism, democratic centralism, and party-building principles).[379] Marxism–Leninism was the official ideology of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist International (1919–43) and later it became the main guiding ideology for Trotskyists, Maoists, and Stalinists.

Libertarian socialism
Main article: Libertarian socialism
The first anarchist journal to use the term "libertarian" was Le Libertaire, Journal du Mouvement Social and it was published in New York City between 1858 and 1861 by French anarcho-communist Joseph Déjacque.[380]

Joseph Déjacque was the first recorded person to describe himself as "libertarian".[381]Libertarian socialism (sometimes called social anarchism,[382][383] left-libertarianism[384][385] and socialist libertarianism[386]) is a group of anti-authoritarian[387] political philosophies inside the socialist movement that rejects socialism as centralized state ownership and control of the economy[388] including criticism of wage labour relationships within the workplace,[389] as well as the state itself.[390] It emphasizes workers' self-management of the workplace[390] and decentralized structures of political organization,[391] asserting that a society based on freedom and equality can be achieved through abolishing authoritarian institutions that control certain means of production and subordinate the majority to an owning class or political and economic elite.[392] Libertarian socialists generally place their hopes in decentralized means of direct democracy and federal or confederal associations "We therefore foresee a Society in which all activities will be coordinated, a structure that has, at the same time, sufficient flexibility to permit the greatest possible autonomy for social life, or for the life of each enterprise, and enough cohesiveness to prevent all disorder...In a well-organized society, all of these things must be systematically accomplished by means of parallel federations, vertically united at the highest levels, constituting one vast organism in which all economic functions will be performed in solidarity with all others and that will permanently preserve the necessary cohesion." Gaston Leval. such as libertarian municipalism, citizens' assemblies, trade unions, and workers' councils.[393][394] All of this is generally done within a general call for libertarian[395] and voluntary human relationships[396] through the identification, criticism, and practical dismantling of illegitimate authority in all aspects of human life.[357][364][365][366][397][398][399][400] As such libertarian socialism, within the larger socialist movement, seeks to distinguish itself both from Leninism/Bolshevism and from social democracy.[401] Past and present political philosophies and movements commonly described as

libertarian socialist include anarchism (especially anarchist communism, anarchist collectivism, anarcho-syndicalism,[402] and mutualism[403]) as well as autonomism, communalism, participism, revolutionary syndicalism, and libertarian Marxist philosophies such as council communism and Luxemburgism,;[404] as well as some versions of "utopian socialism"[405] and individualist anarchism.[406][407][408]

Religious socialism
Main article: Religious socialism
Christian socialism is a broad concept involving an intertwining of the Christian religion with the politics and economic theories of socialism.
Islamic socialism is a term coined by various Muslim leaders to describe a more spiritual form of socialism. Muslim socialists believe that the teachings of the Qur'an and Muhammad are compatible with principles of equality and public ownership drawing inspiration from the early Medina welfare state established by Muhammad. Muslim Socialists are more conservative than their western contemporaries and find their roots in Anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and Arab nationalism. Islamic Socialist leaders believe in Democracy and deriving legitimacy from public mandate as opposed to religious texts.

Social democracy and liberal socialism
Main articles: Social democracy and Liberal socialism
Social democracy is a political ideology which "is derived from a socialist tradition of political thought. Many social democrats refer to themselves as socialists or democratic socialists, and some use these terms interchangeably. Others have opined that there are clear differences between the three terms, and preferred to describe their own political beliefs by using the term 'social democracy' only."[409] There are two main directions, either to establish democratic socialism, or to build a welfare state within the framework of the capitalist system. The first variant has officially its goal by establishing democratic socialism through reformist and gradualist methods.[410] In the second variant Social democracy becomes a policy regime involving a welfare state, collective bargaining schemes, support for publicly financed public services, and a Capitalist-based economy like a mixed economy. It is often used in this manner to refer to the social models and economic policies prominent in Western and Northern Europe during the later half of the 20th century.[411][412] It has been described by Jerry Mander as "hybrid" economics, an active collaboration of capitalist and socialist visions, and, while such systems aren't perfect, they tend to provide high standards of living.[413] Numerous studies and surveys indicate that people tend to live happier lives in social democratic societies rather than neoliberal ones.[414][415][416][417]

Eduard BernsteinSocial democrats supporting the first variant, advocate for a peaceful, evolutionary transition of the economy to socialism through progressive social reform of capitalism.[418][419] It asserts that the only acceptable constitutional form of government is representative democracy under the rule of law.[420] It promotes extending democratic decision-making beyond political democracy to include economic democracy to guarantee employees and other economic stakeholders sufficient rights of co-determination.[420] It supports a mixed economy that opposes the excesses of capitalism such as inequality, poverty, and oppression of various groups, while rejecting both a totally free market or a fully planned

economy.[421] Common social democratic policies include advocacy of universal social rights to attain universally accessible public services such as education, health care, workers' compensation, and other services, including child care and care for the elderly.[422] Social democracy is connected with the trade union labour movement and supports collective bargaining rights for workers.[423] Most social democratic parties are affiliated with the Socialist International.[410]Liberal socialism is a socialist political philosophy that includes liberal principles within it.[424] Liberal socialism does not have the goal of abolishing capitalism with a socialist economy;[425] instead, it supports a mixed economy that includes both public and private property in capital goods.[426][427] Although liberal socialism unequivocally favors a mixed market economy, it identifies legalistic and artificial monopolies to be the fault of capitalism[428] and opposes an entirely unregulated economy.[429] It considers both liberty and equality to be compatible and mutually dependent on each other.[424] Principles that can be described as "liberal socialist" have been based upon or developed by the following philosophers: John Stuart Mill, Eduard Bernstein, John Dewey, Carlo Rosselli, Norberto Bobbio, and Chantal Mouffe.[430] Other important liberal socialist figures include Guido Calogero, Piero Gobetti, Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, John Maynard Keynes, and R. H. Tawney.[429] Liberal socialism has been particularly prominent in British and Italian politics.[429]

Socialism and modern progressive social movements
Further information: Socialist feminism, Socialism and LGBT rights, Eco-socialism, Anarcha-feminism, Green anarchism, and Queer anarchism

Socialist feminist Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg, 1910

Socialist feminism is a branch of feminism that focuses upon both the public and private spheres of a woman's life and argues that liberation can only be achieved by working to end both the economic and cultural sources of women's oppression.[431] Marxist feminism's foundation is laid by Friedrich Engels in his analysis of gender oppression in The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State (1884). August Bebel's Woman under Socialism (1879), the "single work dealing with sexuality most widely read by rank-and-file members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)",.[432] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, both Clara Zetkin and Eleanor Marx were against the demonisation of men and supported a proletariat revolution that would overcome as many male–female inequalities as possible.[433] As their movement already had the most radical demands in women's equality, most Marxist leaders, including Clara Zetkin[434][435] and Alexandra Kollontai,[436][437] counterposed Marxism against liberal feminism, rather than trying to combine them. Anarcha-feminism began with late 19th and early 20th century authors and theorists such as anarchist feminists Emma Goldman and Voltairine de Cleyre[438] In the Spanish Civil War, an anarcha-feminist group, Mujeres Libres ("Free Women") linked to the Federación Anarquista Ibérica, organised to defend both anarchist and feminist ideas.[439] In 1972, the Chicago Women's Liberation Union published "Socialist Feminism: A Strategy for the Women's Movement," which is believed to be the first to use the term "socialist feminism," in publication.[440]

Edward Carpenter, philosopher and activist who was instrumental in the foundation of the Fabian Society and the Labour Party as well as in the early LGBTI western movements

Many socialists were early advocates for LGBT rights. For early socialist Charles

Fourier, true freedom could only occur without suppressing passions; the suppression of passions is not only destructive to the individual, but to society as a whole. Writing before the advent of the term 'homosexuality', Fourier recognised that both men and women have a wide range of sexual needs and preferences which may change throughout their lives, including same-sex sexuality and androgénité. He argued that all sexual expressions should be enjoyed as long as people are not abused, and that "affirming one's difference" can actually enhance social integration.[441] In Oscar Wilde's The Soul of Man Under Socialism, he passionately advocates for an egalitarian society where wealth is shared by all, while warning of the dangers of social systems that crush individuality. Wilde's libertarian socialist politics were shared by other figures who actively campaigned for homosexual emancipation in the late 19th century such as Edward Carpenter. [442] The Intermediate Sex: A Study of Some Transitional Types of Men and Women was a book from 1908 and an early work arguing for gay liberation written by Edward Carpenter[443] who was also an influential personality in the foundation of the Fabian Society and the Labour Party. After the Russian Revolution under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky, the Soviet Union abolished previous laws against homosexuality.[444] Harry Hay was an early leader in the American LGBT rights movement as well as a member of the Communist Party USA. He is known for his roles in helping to found several gay organisations, including the Mattachine Society, the first sustained gay rights group in the United States which in its early days had a strong marxist influence. The Encyclopedia of Homosexuality reports that "As Marxists the founders of the group believed that the injustice and oppression which they suffered stemmed from relationships deeply embedded in the structure of American society".[445] Also emerging from a number of events, such as the May 1968 insurrection in France, the anti-Vietnam war movement in the US and the Stonewall riots of 1969, militant Gay Liberation organisations began to spring up around the world. Many saw their roots in left radicalism more than in the established homophile groups of the time,[446] The Gay Liberation Front took an anti-capitalist stance and attacked the nuclear family and traditional gender roles.[447]Eco-socialism, green socialism or socialist ecology is an political position merging aspects of Marxism, socialism, and/or libertarian socialism with that of green politics, ecology and alter-globalisation. Eco-socialists generally believe that the expansion of the capitalist system is the cause of social exclusion, poverty, war and environmental degradation through globalisation and imperialism, under the supervision of repressive states and transnational structures.[448] Contrary to the depiction of Karl Marx by some environmentalists,[449] social ecologists[450] and fellow socialists[451] as a productivist who favoured the domination of nature, eco-socialists have revisited Marx's writings and believe that he "was a main originator of the ecological world-view".[452] Eco-socialist authors, like John Bellamy Foster[453] and Paul Burkett,[454] point to Marx's discussion of a "metabolic rift" between man and nature, his statement that "private ownership of the globe by single individuals will appear quite absurd as private ownership of one man by another" and his observation that a society must "hand it [the planet] down to succeeding generations in an improved condition".[455] The English socialist William Morris is largely credited with developing key principles of what was later called eco-socialism.[456] During the 1880s and 1890s, Morris promoted his eco-socialist ideas within the Social Democratic Federation and Socialist League. [457] Green anarchism, or ecoanarchism, is a school of thought within anarchism

which puts a particular emphasis on environmental issues. An important early influence was the thought of the American anarchist Henry David Thoreau and his book Walden[458] and Élisée Reclus.[459][460]In the late 19th century there emerged anarcho-naturism as the fusion of anarchism and naturist philosophies within individualist anarchist circles in France, Spain, Cuba[461] and Portugal.[462] Social ecology is closely related to the work and ideas of Murray Bookchin and influenced by anarchist Peter Kropotkin. Bookchin's first book, Our Synthetic Environment, was published under the pseudonym Lewis Herber in 1962, a few months before Rachel Carson's Silent Spring.[463] His groundbreaking essay "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought" introduced ecology as a concept in radical politics.[464] In the 1970s, Barry Commoner, suggesting a left-wing response to the Limits to Growth model that predicted catastrophic resource depletion and spurred environmentalism, postulated that capitalist technologies were chiefly responsible for environmental degradation, as opposed to population pressures.[465] The 1990s saw the socialist feminists Mary Mellor[466] and Ariel Salleh[467] address environmental issues within an eco-socialist paradigm. With the rising profile of the anti-globalisation movement in the Global South, an "environmentalism of the poor", combining ecological awareness and social justice, has also become prominent.[468] David Pepper also released his important work, Ecosocialism: From Deep Ecology to Social Justice, in 1994, which critiques the current approach of many within Green politics, particularly deep ecologists.[469] Currently, many Green Parties around the world, such as the Dutch Green Left Party (GroenLinks), contain strong eco-socialist elements. Radical Red-green alliances have been formed in many countries by eco-socialists, radical Greens and other radical left groups. In Denmark, the Red-Green Alliance was formed as a coalition of numerous radical parties. Within the European Parliament, a number of far-left parties from Northern Europe have organised themselves into the Nordic Green Left Alliance.

Syndicalism
Main article: Syndicalism

Syndicalism is a social movement that operates through industrial trade unions and rejects state socialism and the use of establishment politics to establish or promote socialism. They reject using state power to construct a socialist society, favouring strategies such as the general strike. Syndicalists advocate a socialist economy based on federated unions or syndicates of workers who own and manage the means of production. Some Marxist currents advocate Syndicalism, such as DeLeonism. Anarcho-syndicalism is a theory of anarchism which views syndicalism as a method for workers in capitalist society to gain control of an economy and, with that control, influence broader society. The Spanish Revolution, largely orchestrated by the anarcho-syndicalist trade union CNT during the Spanish Civil War offers an historical example.[470] The International Workers' Association is an international federation of anarcho-syndicalist labor unions and initiatives.

See also

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Book: Socialism

- Right-wing socialism
- List of anti-capitalist and communist parties with national parliamentary representation
- List of communist ideologies
- List of socialist countries
- List of socialist economists
- List of socialist songs
- Socialism by country

Notes

1 Jump up ^ Sinclair, Upton (1918-01-01). Upton Sinclair's: A Monthly Magazine: for Social Justice, by Peaceful Means If Possible. "Socialism, you see, is a bird with two wings. The definition is 'social ownership and democratic control of the instruments and means of production.'"

2 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Nove, Alec. "Socialism". New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics, Second Edition (2008). "A society may be defined as socialist if the major part of the means of production of goods and services is in some sense socially owned and operated, by state, socialized or cooperative enterprises. The practical issues of socialism comprise the relationships between management and workforce within the enterprise, the interrelationships between production units (plan versus markets), and, if the state owns and operates any part of the economy, who controls it and how."

3 Jump up ^ Rosser, Mariana V. and J Barkley Jr. (July 23, 2003). Comparative Economics in a Transforming World Economy. MIT Press. p. 53. ISBN 978-0262182348. "Socialism is an economic system characterized by state or collective ownership of the means of production, land, and capital."

4 Jump up ^ "What else does a socialist economic system involve? Those who favor socialism generally speak of social ownership, social control, or socialization of the means of production as the distinctive positive feature of a socialist economic system" N. Scott Arnold. The Philosophy and Economics of Market Socialism : A Critical Study. Oxford University Press. 1998. p. 8

5 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ Busky, Donald F. (20 July 2000). Democratic Socialism: A Global Survey. Praeger. p. 2. ISBN 978-0275968861. "Socialism may be defined as movements for social ownership and control of the economy. It is this idea that is the common element found in the many forms of socialism."

6 Jump up ^ Bertrand Badie; Dirk Berg-Schlosser; Leonardo Morlino (2011). International Encyclopedia of Political Science. SAGE Publications, Inc. p. 2456. ISBN 978-1412959636. "Socialist systems are those regimes based on the economic and political theory of socialism, which advocates public ownership and cooperative management of the means of production and allocation of resources."

7 Jump up ^ Zimbalist, Sherman and Brown, Andrew, Howard J. and Stuart (October 1988). Comparing Economic Systems: A Political-Economic Approach. Harcourt College Pub. p. 7. ISBN 978-0155124035. "Pure socialism is defined as a system wherein all of the means of production are owned and run by the government and/or cooperative, nonprofit groups."

8 Jump up ^ Brus, Wlodzimierz (5 November 2015). The Economics and Politics of Socialism. Routledge. p. 87. ISBN 978-0415866477. "This alteration in the relationship between economy and politics is evident in the very definition of a socialist economic system. The basic characteristic of such a system is generally reckoned to be the predominance of the social ownership of the means of production."

9 Jump up ^ Michie, Jonathan (1 January 2001). Readers Guide to the Social Sciences. Routledge. p. 1516. ISBN 978-1579580919. "Just as private ownership defines capitalism, social ownership defines socialism. The essential characteristic of socialism in theory is that it destroys social hierarchies, and therefore leads to a politically and economically egalitarian society. Two closely related consequences follow. First, every individual is entitled to an equal ownership share that earns an aliquot part of the total social dividend…Second, in order to eliminate social hierarchy in the workplace, enterprises are run by those employed, and not by the representatives of private or state capital. Thus, the well-known historical tendency of the divorce between ownership and management is brought to an end. The society – i.e. every individual equally – owns capital and those who work are entitled to manage their own economic affairs."

10 Jump up ^ [1][2][3][4][5][6][7][8][9] Jump up ^ "2. (Government, Politics & Diplomacy) any of various social or political theories or movements in which the common welfare is to be achieved through the establishment of a socialist economic system" "Socialism" at The Free dictionary

11 Jump up ^ O'Hara, Phillip (September 2003). Encyclopedia of Political Economy, Volume 2. Routledge. p. 71.

ISBN 0-415-24187-1. "In order of increasing decentralisation (at least) three forms of socialised ownership can be distinguished: state-owned firms, employee-owned (or socially) owned firms, and citizen ownership of equity."

12 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Peter Lamb, J. C. Docherty. Historical dictionary of socialism. Lanham, Maryland, UK; Oxford, England, UK: Scarecrow Press, Inc, 2006. p. 1.

13 Jump up ^ Arnold, Scott (1994). The Philosophy and Economics of Market Socialism: A Critical Study. Oxford University Press. pp. 7–8. ISBN 978-0195088274. "This term is harder to define, since socialists disagree among themselves about what socialism 'really is.' It would seem that everyone (socialists and nonsocialists alike) could at least agree that it is not a system in which there is widespread private ownership of the means of production…To be a socialist is not just to believe in certain ends, goals, values, or ideals. It also requires a belief in a certain institutional means to achieve those ends; whatever that may mean in positive terms, it certainly presupposes, at a minimum, the belief that these ends and values cannot be achieved in an economic system in which there is widespread private ownership of the means of production…Those who favor socialism generally speak of social ownership, social control, or socialization of the means of production as the distinctive positive feature of a socialist economic system."

14 Jump up ^ Hastings, Mason and Pyper, Adrian, Alistair and Hugh (December 21, 2000). The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought. Oxford University Press. p. 677. ISBN 978-0198600244. "Socialists have always recognized that there are many possible forms of social ownership of which co-operative ownership is one…Nevertheless, socialism has throughout its history been inseparable from some form of common ownership. By its very nature it involves the abolition of private ownership of capital; bringing the means of production, distribution, and exchange into public ownership and control is central to its philosophy. It is difficult to see how it can survive, in theory or practice, without this central idea."

15 Jump up ^ Kolb, Robert (19 October 2007). Encyclopedia of Business Ethics and Society, First Edition. SAGE Publications, Inc. p. 1345. ISBN 978-1412916523. "There are many forms of socialism, all of which eliminate private ownership of capital and replace it with collective ownership. These many forms, all focused on advancing distributive justice for long-term social welfare, can be divided into two broad types of socialism: nonmarket and market."

16 Jump up ^ Bockman, Johanna (2011). Markets in the name of Socialism: The Left-Wing origins of Neoliberalism. Stanford University Press. p. 20. ISBN 978-0-8047-7566-3. "socialism would function without capitalist economic categories – such as money, prices, interest, profits and rent – and thus would function according to laws other than those described by current economic science. While some socialists recognised the need for money and prices at least during the transition from capitalism to socialism, socialists more commonly believed that the socialist economy would soon administratively mobilise the economy in physical units without the use of prices or money."

17 Jump up ^ Steele, David Ramsay (September 1999). From Marx to Mises: Post Capitalist Society and the Challenge of Economic Calculation. Open Court. pp. 175–77. ISBN 978-0875484495. "Especially before the 1930s, many socialists and anti-socialists implicitly accepted some form of the following for the incompatibility of state-owned industry and factor markets. A market transaction is an exchange of property titles between two independent transactors. Thus internal market exchanges cease when all of industry is brought into the ownership of a single entity, whether the state or some other organization… the discussion applies equally to any form of social or community ownership, where the owning entity is conceived as a single organization or administration."

18 Jump up ^ Is Socialism Dead? A Comment on Market Socialism and Basic Income Capitalism, by Arneson, Richard J. 1992. Ethics, vol. 102, no. 3, pp. 485–511. April 1992: "Marxian socialism is often identified with the call to organize economic activity on a nonmarket basis."

19 Jump up ^ Market Socialism: The Debate Among Socialists, by Schweickart, David; Lawler, James; Ticktin, Hillel; Ollman, Bertell. 1998. From "The Difference Between Marxism and Market Socialism" (pp. 61–63): "More fundamentally, a socialist society must be one in which the economy is run on the principle of the direct satisfaction of human needs…Exchange-value, prices and so money are goals in themselves in a capitalist society or in any market. There is no necessary connection between the accumulation of capital or sums of money and human welfare. Under conditions of backwardness, the spur of money and the accumulation of wealth has led to a massive growth in industry and technology … It seems an odd argument to say that a capitalist will only be efficient in producing use-value of a good quality when trying to make more money than the next capitalist. It would seem easier to rely on the planning of use-values in a rational way, which because there is no duplication, would be produced more cheaply and be of a higher quality."

20 Jump up ^ The Economics of Feasible Socialism Revisited, by Nove, Alexander. 1991. p. 13: "Under socialism, by definition, it (private property and factor markets) would be eliminated. There would then be something like 'scientific management', 'the science of socially organized production', but it would not be economics."

21 Jump up ^ Kotz, David M. "Socialism and Capitalism: Are They Qualitatively Different Socioeconomic Systems?" (PDF). University of Massachusetts. Retrieved 19 February 2011. "This understanding of socialism was held not just by revolutionary Marxist socialists but also by evolutionary socialists, Christian socialists, and even anarchists. At that time, there was also wide agreement about the basic institutions of the future socialist system: public ownership instead of private ownership of the means of production, economic planning instead of market forces, production for use instead of for profit."

22 Jump up ^ Toward a Socialism for the Future, in the Wake of the Demise of the Socialism of the Past, by

Weisskopf, Thomas E. 1992. Review of Radical Political Economics, Vol. 24, No. 3-4, p. 2: "Socialism has historically been committed to the improvement of people's material standards of living. Indeed, in earlier days many socialists saw the promotion of improving material living standards as the primary basis for socialism's claim to superiority over capitalism, for socialism was to overcome the irrationality and inefficiency seen as endemic to a capitalist system of economic organization."

23 Jump up ^ Prychito, David L. (July 31, 2002). Markets, Planning, and Democracy: Essays After the Collapse of Communism. Edward Elgar Publishing. p. 12. ISBN 978-1840645194. "Socialism is a system based upon de facto public or social ownership of the means of production, the abolition of a hierarchical division of labor in the enterprise, a consciously organized social division of labor. Under socialism, money, competitive pricing, and profit-loss accounting would be destroyed."

24 Jump up ^ [17][18][19][20][21][22][23][24] Jump up ^ Social Dividend versus Basic Income Guarantee in Market Socialism, by Marangos, John. 2004. International Journal of Political Economy, vol. 34, no. 3, Fall 2004.

25 Jump up ^ O'Hara, Phillip (September 2000). Encyclopedia of Political Economy, Volume 2. Routledge. p. 71. ISBN 978-0415241878. "Market socialism is the general designation for a number of models of economic systems. On the one hand, the market mechanism is utilized to distribute economic output, to organize production and to allocate factor inputs. On the other hand, the economic surplus accrues to society at large rather than to a class of private (capitalist) owners, through some form of collective, public or social ownership of capital."

26 Jump up ^ Pierson, Christopher (August 1995). Socialism After Communism: The New Market Socialism. Pennsylvania State Univ Press. p. 96. ISBN 978-0271014784. "At the heart of the market socialist model is the abolition of the large-scale private ownership of capital and its replacement by some form of 'social ownership'. Even the most conservative accounts of market socialism insist that this abolition of large-scale holdings of private capital is essential. This requirement is fully consistent with the market socialists' general claim that the vices of market capitalism lie not with the institutions of the market but with (the consequences of) the private ownership of capital…"

27 Jump up ^ "In fact, socialism has been both centralist and local; organized from above and built from below; visionary and pragmatic; revolutionary and reformist; anti-state and statist; internationalist and nationalist; harnessed to political parties and shunning them; an outgrowth of trade unionism and independent of it; a feature of rich industrialized countries and poor peasant-based communities" Michael Newman. Socialism: A very Short introduction. Oxford University Press. 2005. p. 2.

28 Jump up ^ Often, this definition is invoked to distinguish democratic socialism from authoritarian socialism as in Malcolm Hamilton Democratic Socialism in Britain and Sweden (St Martin's Press 1989), in Donald F. Busky, Democratic Socialism: A Global Survey Greenwood Publishing, 2000, See pp. 7–8., Jim Tomlinson's Democratic Socialism and Economic Policy: The Attlee Years, 1945–1951, Norman Thomas Democratic Socialism: a new appraisal or Roy Hattersley's Choose Freedom: The Future of Democratic Socialism

29 Jump up ^ Nicholas Guilhot, The democracy makers: human rights and international order, 2005, p. 33 "The opposition between the West and Soviet totalitarianism was often presented as an opposition both moral and epistemological between truth and falsehood. The democratic, social, and economic credentials of the Soviet Union were typically seen as "lies" and as the product of a deliberate and multiform propaganda…In this context, the concept of totalitarianism was itself an asset. As it made possible the conversion of prewar anti-fascism into postwar anti-communism

30 Jump up ^ David Caute, Politics and the novel during the Cold War, 2009, pp. 95–99

31 Jump up ^ George A Reisch, How the Cold War transformed philosophy of science: to the icy slopes of logic, 2005, pp. 153–54

32 Jump up ^ Bertrand Badie; Dirk Berg-Schlosser; Leonardo Morlino (2011). International Encyclopedia of Political Science. SAGE Publications, Inc. p. 1497. ISBN 978-1412959636. "By continually modernizing the forces of production and promoting the division of labor, capitalism prepared the material conditions necessary for social cooperation and planned management in economic life…The search for private profit imposed fetters on the further development of production. The capitalist relations of production came finally into conflict with its forces of production."

33 Jump up ^ Gasper, Phillip (October 2005). The Communist Manifesto: a road map to history's most important political document. Haymarket Books. p. 24. ISBN 1-931859-25-6. "As the nineteenth century progressed, "socialist" came to signify not only concern with the social question, but opposition to capitalism and support for some form of social ownership."

34 Jump up ^ Anthony Giddens. Beyond Left and Right: The Future of Radical Politics. 1998 edition. Cambridge, England, UK: Polity Press, 1994, 1998. p. 71.

35 Jump up ^ "Chapter 1 looks at the foundations of the doctrine by examining the contribution made by various traditions of socialism in the period between the early 19th century and the aftermath of the First World War. The two forms that emerged as dominant by the early 1920s were social democracy and communism." Michael Newman. Socialism: A Very Short Introduction. Oxford University Press. 2005. p. 5

36 Jump up ^ "Socialism was the most influential secular movement of the twentieth century, worldwide. It was a political ideology (or world view), a wide and divided political movement…" George Thomas Kurian (ed). The Encyclopedia of Political Science CQ Press. Washington D.c. 2011. p.. 1554

37 Jump up ^ 'State Capitalism' in the Soviet Union, M.C. Howard and J.E. King

38 Jump up ^ Richard D. Wolff (27 June 2015). Socialism Means Abolishing the Distinction Between Bosses and Employees. Truthout. Retrieved 9 July 2015.

39 Jump up ^ Noam Chomsky (1986). The Soviet Union Versus Socialism. chomsky.info.

40 Jump up ^ Wilhelm, John Howard (1985). "The Soviet Union Has an Administered, Not a Planned, Economy". *Soviet Studies*. 37 (1): 118–30. doi:10.1080/09668138508411571.

41 Jump up ^ Ellman, Michael (2007). "The Rise and Fall of Socialist Planning". In Estrin, Saul; Kołodko, Grzegorz W.; Uvalić, Milica. Transition and Beyond: Essays in Honour of Mario Nuti. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 22. ISBN 0-230-54697-8. "In the USSR in the late 1980s the system was normally referred to as the 'administrative-command' economy. What was fundamental to this system was not the plan but the role of administrative hierarchies at all levels of decision making; the absence of control over decision making by the population..."

42 Jump up ^ Garrett Ward Sheldon. Encyclopedia of Political Thought. Fact on File. Inc. 2001. p. 280.

43 Jump up ^ Andrew Vincent. Modern political ideologies. Wiley-Blackwell publishing. 2010. p. 83

44 ^ Jump up to: ᵃ ᵇ ᶜ Marvin Perry, Myrna Chase, Margaret Jacob, James R. Jacob. Western Civilization: Ideas, Politics, and Society – From 1600, Volume 2. Ninth Edition. Boston, Massachusetts, USA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 2009. p. 540.

45 Jump up ^ Gregory and Stuart, Paul and Robert (February 28, 2013). The Global Economy and its Economic Systems. South-Western College Pub. p. 159. ISBN 978-1285055350. "Socialist writers of the nineteenth century proposed socialist arrangements for sharing as a response to the inequality and poverty of the industrial revolution. English socialist Robert Owen proposed that ownership and production take place in cooperatives, where all members shared equally. French socialist Henri Saint-Simon proposed to the contrary: socialism meant solving economic problems by means of state administration and planning, and taking advantage of new advances in science."

46 Jump up ^ Leroux: socialism is "the doctrine which would not give up any of the principles of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" of the French Revolution of 1789. "Individualism and socialism" (1834)

47 Jump up ^ Oxford English Dictionary, etymology of socialism

48 Jump up ^ Russell, Bertrand (1972). A History of Western Philosophy. Touchstone. p. 781

49 Jump up ^ Williams, Raymond (1983). "Socialism". Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society, revised edition. Oxford University Press. p. 288. ISBN 0-19-520469-7. "Modern usage began to settle from the 1860s, and in spite of the earlier variations and distinctions it was socialist and socialism which came through as the predominant words...Communist, in spite of the distinction that had been made in the 1840s, was very much less used, and parties in the Marxist tradition took some variant of social and socialist as titles."

50 Jump up ^ Steele, David (1992). From Marx to Mises: Post-Capitalist Society and the Challenge of Economic Calculation. Open Court Publishing Company. p. 43. ISBN 978-0875484495. "One widespread distinction was that socialism socialised production only while communism socialised production and consumption."

51 Jump up ^ Steele, David (1992). From Marx to Mises: Post-Capitalist Society and the Challenge of Economic Calculation. Open Court Publishing Company. pp. 44–45. ISBN 978-0875484495. "By 1888, the term 'socialism' was in general use among Marxists, who had dropped 'communism', now considered an old fashioned term meaning the same as 'socialism'...At the turn of the century, Marxists called themselves socialists...The definition of socialism and communism as successive stages was introduced into Marxist theory by Lenin in 1917...the new distinction was helpful to Lenin in defending his party against the traditional Marxist criticism that Russia was too backward for a socialist revolution"

52 Jump up ^ Busky, Donald F. (July 20, 2000). Democratic Socialism: A Global Survey. Praeger. p. 9. ISBN 978-0275968861. "In a modern sense of the word, communism refers to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism."

53 Jump up ^ Williams, Raymond (1983). "Socialism". Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society, revised edition. Oxford University Press. p. 289. ISBN 0-19-520469-7. "The decisive distinction between socialist and communist, as in one sense these terms are now ordinarily used, came with the renaming, in 1918, of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks) as the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). From that time on, a distinction of socialist from communist, often with supporting definitions such as social democrat or democratic socialist, became widely current, although it is significant that all communist parties, in line with earlier usage, continued to describe themselves as socialist and dedicated to socialism."

54 Jump up ^ Williams, Raymond (1976). Keywords: a vocabulary of culture and society. Fontana. ISBN 0-00-633479-2.

55 Jump up ^ Engels, Frederick, Preface to the 1888 English Edition of the Communist Manifesto, p. 202. Penguin (2002)

56 Jump up ^ Wilson, Fred. "John Stuart Mill." Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 10 July 2007. Retrieved 2 August 2016.

57 Jump up ^ "Mill, in contrast, advances a form of liberal democratic socialism for the enlargement of freedom as well as to realise social and distributive justice. He offers a powerful account of economic injustice and justice that is centered on his understanding of freedom and its conditions." Bruce Baum, "[J. S. Mill and Liberal Socialism]," Nadia Urbanati and Alex Zacharas, eds., J. S. Mill's Political Thought: A Bicentennial Reassessment (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

58 Jump up ^ Robert Gildea, "1848 in European Collective Memory," in Evans and Strandmann, eds. The Revolutions in Europe, 1848–1849 pp. 207–35

59 Jump up ^ pp. 276–77, A.E. Taylor, Plato: The Man and His Work, Dover 2001.

60 Jump up ^ p. 257, W. D. Ross, Aristotle, 6th ed.

61 Jump up ^ A Short History of the World. Progress Publishers. Moscow, 1974

62 Jump up ^ Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. p. 19. ISBN 0-19-506613-8. OCLC 94030758.

63 Jump up ^ "Abu Dharr al-Ghifari". Oxford Islamic Studies Online. Retrieved 23 January 2010.

64 Jump up ^ And Once Again Abu Dharr. Retrieved 15 August 2011.

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365   Jump up ˆ "Authority is defined in terms of the right to exercise social control (as explored in the "sociology of power") and the correlative duty to obey (as explored in the "philosophy of practical reason"). Anarchism is distinguished, philosophically, by its scepticism towards such moral relations – by its questioning of the claims made for such normative power – and, practically, by its challenge to those "authoritative" powers which cannot justify their claims and which are therefore deemed illegitimate or without moral foundation."Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism by Paul McLaughlin. AshGate. 2007. p. 1

366   Jump up ˆ Individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker defined anarchism as opposition to authority as follows "They found that they must turn either to the right or to the left, – follow either the path of Authority or the path of Liberty. Marx went one way; Warren and Proudhon the other. Thus were born State Socialism and Anarchism ... Authority, takes many shapes, but, broadly speaking, her enemies divide themselves into three classes: first, those who abhor her both as a means and as an end of progress, opposing her openly, avowedly, sincerely, consistently, universally; second, those who profess to believe in her as a means of progress, but who accept her only so far as they think she will subserve their own selfish interests, denying her and her blessings to the rest of the world; third, those who distrust her as a means of progress, believing in her only as an end to be obtained by first trampling upon, violating, and outraging her. These three phases of opposition to Liberty are met in almost every sphere of thought and human activity. Good representatives of the first are seen in the Catholic Church and the Russian autocracy; of the second, in the Protestant Church and the Manchester school of politics and political economy; of the third, in the atheism of Gambetta and the socialism of Karl Marx." Benjamin Tucker. Individual Liberty.

367   Jump up ˆ Anarchist historian George Woodcock report of Mikhail Bakunin's anti-authoritarianism and shows opposition to both state and non-state forms of authority as follows: "All anarchists deny authority; many of them fight against it." (p. 9) ... Bakunin did not convert the League's central committee

to his full program, but he did persuade them to accept a remarkably radical recommendation to the Bern Congress of September 1868, demanding economic equality and implicitly attacking authority in both Church and State."

368 Jump up ^ Schweickart, David (2006). "Democratic Socialism". Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice. "Social democrats supported and tried to strengthen the basic institutions of the welfare state – pensions for all, public health care, public education, unemployment insurance. They supported and tried to strengthen the labour movement. The latter, as socialists, argued that capitalism could never be sufficiently humanised, and that trying to suppress the economic contradictions in one area would only see them emerge in a different guise elsewhere. (E.g., if you push unemployment too low, you'll get inflation; if job security is too strong, labour discipline breaks down; etc.)"

369 Jump up ^ This definition is captured in this statement: Anthony Crosland "argued that the socialisms of the pre-war world (not just that of the Marxists, but of the democratic socialists too) were now increasingly irrelevant." Pierson, Chris (June 2005). "Lost property: What the Third Way lacks". Journal of Political Ideologies. 10 (2): 145–63. doi:10.1080/13569310500097265. Other texts which use the terms "democratic socialism" in this way include Malcolm Hamilton Democratic Socialism in Britain and Sweden (St Martin's Press 1989).

370 Jump up ^ Franklin, Robert Michael (1990). Liberating Visions: Human Fulfillment and Social Justice in African-American Thought. Fortress Press. p. 125. ISBN 0-8006-2392-4.

371 Jump up ^ Peter Dreier (20 January 2014). Martin Luther King Was a Radical, Not a Saint. Truthout. Retrieved 20 January 2014.

372 Jump up ^ Osagyefo Uhuru Sekou (20 January 2014). The radical gospel of Martin Luther King. Al Jazeera America. Retrieved 20 January 2014.

373 Jump up ^ WisdomSupreme.com definition of Blanquism, last retrieved 25 April 2007

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376 Jump up ^ Rosa Luxemburg as part of a longer section on Blanquism in her "Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy" (later published as "Leninism or Marxism?"), writes: "For Lenin, the difference between the Social Democracy and Blanquism is reduced to the observation that in place of a handful of conspirators we have a class-conscious proletariat. He forgets that this difference implies a complete revision of our ideas on organisation and, therefore, an entirely different conception of centralism and the relations existing between the party and the struggle itself. Blanquism did not count on the direct action of the working class. It, therefore, did not need to organise the people for the revolution. The people were expected to play their part only at the moment of revolution. Preparation for the revolution concerned only the little group of revolutionists armed for the coup. Indeed, to assure the success of the revolutionary conspiracy, it was considered wiser to keep the mass at some distance from the conspirators.Rosa Luxemburg, Leninism or Marxism?, Marx.org, last retrieved 25 April 2007

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384 Jump up ^ Miller, Wilbur R. (2012). The social history of crime and punishment in America. An encyclopedia. 5 vols. London: Sage Publications. p. 1007. ISBN 1412988764. "There exist three major camps in libertarian thought: right-libertarianism, socialist libertarianism, and ..."

385 Jump up ^ "It implies a classless and anti-authoritarian (i.e. libertarian) society in which people manage their own affairs" I.1 Isn't libertarian socialism an oxymoron? at An Anarchist FAQ

386 Jump up ^ "unlike other socialists, they tend to see (to various different degrees, depending on the thinker) to be skeptical of centralized state intervention as the solution to capitalist exploitation..." Roderick T. Long. "Toward a libertarian theory of class." Social Philosophy and Policy. Volume 15. Issue 02. Summer 1998. Pg. 305

387 Jump up ^ "Therefore, rather than being an oxymoron, "libertarian socialism" indicates that true socialism must be libertarian and that a libertarian who is not a socialist is a phoney. As true socialists oppose wage labour, they must also oppose the state for the same reasons. Similarly, libertarians must oppose wage labour for the same reasons they must oppose the state." [http://www.infoshop.org/AnarchistFAQSectionI1 "I1. Isn´t libertarian socialism an oxymoron" in An Anarchist FAQ

388 ^ Jump up to: a b "So, libertarian socialism rejects the idea of state ownership and control of the economy, along with the state as such. Through workers' self-management it proposes to bring an end to authority, exploitation, and hierarchy in production." "I1. Isn´t libertarian socialism an oxymoron" in An Anarchist FAQ

389 Jump up ^ " ...preferringa system of popular self governance via networks of decentralized, local voluntary, participatory, cooperative associations. Roderick T. Long. "Toward a libertarian theory of class."

Social Philosophy and Policy. Volume 15. Issue 02. Summer 1998. Pg. 305

390   Jump up ˆ Mendes, Silva. Socialismo Libertário ou Anarchismo Vol. 1 (1896): "Society should be free through mankind's spontaneous federative affiliation to life, based on the community of land and tools of the trade; meaning: Anarchy will be equality by abolition of private property (while retaining respect for personal property) and liberty by abolition of authority".

391   Jump up ˆ "...preferring a system of popular self governance via networks of decentralized, local, voluntary, participatory, cooperative associations-sometimes as a complement to and check on state power..."

392   Jump up ˆ Rocker, Rudolf (2004). Anarcho-Syndicalism: Theory and Practice. AK Press. p. 65. ISBN 978-1-902593-92-0.

393   Jump up ˆ "LibSoc share with LibCap an aversion to any interference to freedom of thought, expression or choicce of lifestyle." Roderick T. Long. "Toward a libertarian theory of class." Social Philosophy and Policy. Volume 15. Issue 02. Summer 1998. pp 305

394   Jump up ˆ "What is implied by the term 'libertarian socialism'?: The idea that socialism is first and foremost about freedom and therefore about overcoming the domination, repression, and alienation that block the free flow of human creativity, thought, and action...An approach to socialism that incorporates cultural revolution, women's and children's liberation, and the critique and transformation of daily life, as well as the more traditional concerns of socialist politics. A politics that is completely revolutionary because it seeks to transform all of reality. We do not think that capturing the economy and the state lead automatically to the transformation of the rest of social being, nor do we equate liberation with changing our life-styles and our heads. Capitalism is a total system that invades all areas of life: socialism must be the overcoming of capitalist reality in its entirety, or it is nothing." "What is Libertarian Socialism?" by Ulli Diemer. Volume 2, Number 1 (Summer 1997 issue) of The Red Menace.

395   Jump up ˆ "The Soviet Union Versus Socialism". chomsky.info. Retrieved 2015-11-22. "Libertarian socialism, furthermore, does not limit its aims to democratic control by producers over production, but seeks to abolish all forms of domination and hierarchy in every aspect of social and personal life, an unending struggle, since progress in achieving a more just society will lead to new insight and understanding of forms of oppression that may be concealed in traditional practice and consciousness."

396   Jump up ˆ "Authority is defined in terms of the right to exercise social control (as explored in the "sociology of power") and the correlative duty to obey (as explred in the "philosophy of practical reason"). Anarchism is distinguished, philosophically, by its scepticism towards such moral relations – by its questioning of the claims made for such normative power – and, practically, by its challenge to those "authoritative" powers which cannot justify their claims and which are therefore deemed illegitimate or without moral foundation."Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism by Paul McLaughlin. AshGate. 2007. p. 1

397   Jump up ˆ Individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker defined anarchism as opposition to authority as follows "They found that they must turn either to the right or to the left, – follow either the path of Authority or the path of Liberty. Marx went one way; Warren and Proudhon the other. Thus were born State Socialism and Anarchism...Authority, takes many shapes, but, broadly speaking, her enemies divide themselves into three classes: first, those who abhor her both as a means and as an end of progress, opposing her openly, avowedly, sincerely, consistently, universally; second, those who profess to believe in her as a means of progress, but who accept her only so far as they think she will subserve their own selfish interests, denying her and her blessings to the rest of the world; third, those who distrust her as a means of progress, believing in her only as an end to be obtained by first trampling upon, violating, and outraging her. These three phases of opposition to Liberty are met in almost every sphere of thought and human activity. Good representatives of the first are seen in the Catholic Church and the Russian autocracy; of the second, in the Protestant Church and the Manchester school of politics and political economy; of the third, in the atheism of Gambetta and the socialism of Karl Marx." Benjamin Tucker. Individual Liberty.

398   Jump up ˆ Anarchist historian George Woodcock report of Mikhail Bakunin's anti-authoritarianism and shows opposition to both state and non-state forms of authority as follows: "All anarchists deny authority; many of them fight against it." (p. 9)...Bakunin did not convert the League's central committee to his full program, but he did persuade them to accept a remarkably radical recommendation to the Bern Congress of September 1868, demanding economic equality and implicitly attacking authority in both Church and State."

399   Jump up ˆ "It is forgotten that the early defenders of commercial society like (Adam) Smith were as much concerned with criticising the associational blocks to mobile labour represented by guilds as they were to the activities of the state. The history of socialist thought includes a long associational and anti-statist tradition prior to the political victory of the Bolshevism in the east and varieties of Fabianism in the west. John O´Neil." The Market: Ethics, knowledge and politics. Routledge. 1998. Pg. 3

400   Jump up ˆ Sims, Franwa (2006). The Anacostia Diaries As It Is. Lulu Press. p. 160.

401   Jump up ˆ "A.4. ARE MUTUALISTS SOCIALISTS?". mutualist.org.

402   Jump up ˆ Murray Bookchin, Ghost of Anarcho-Syndicalism; Robert Graham, The General Idea of Proudhon's Revolution

403   Jump up ˆ Kent Bromley, in his preface to Peter Kropotkin's book The Conquest of Bread, considered early French utopian socialist Charles Fourier to be the founder of the libertarian branch of socialist thought, as opposed to the authoritarian socialist ideas of Babeuf and Buonarroti." Kropotkin, Peter. The Conquest of

Bread, preface by Kent Bromley, New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906.

404   Jump up ^ "(Benjamin) Tucker referred to himself many times as a socialist and considered his philosophy to be "Anarchistic socialism." An Anarchist FAQ by Various Authors

405   Jump up ^ French individualist anarchist Émile Armand shows clearly opposition to capitalism and centralised 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 are equally repugnant to him.)""Anarchist Individualism as a Life and Activity" by Emile Armand

406   Jump up ^ Anarchist Peter Sabatini reports that In the United States "of early to mid-19th century, there appeared an array of communal and "utopian" counterculture groups (including the so-called free love movement). William Godwin's anarchism exerted an ideological influence on some of this, but more so the socialism of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. After success of his British venture, Owen himself established a cooperative community within the United States at New Harmony, Indiana during 1825. One member of this commune was Josiah Warren (1798–1874), considered to be the first individualist anarchist"Peter Sabatini. "Libertarianism: Bogus Anarchy"

407   Jump up ^ Nik Brandal, Øivind Bratberg, Dag Einar Thorsen. The Nordic Model of Social Democracy (2013). Pallgrave MacMillan. Pg 7. ISBN 1137013265

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Sociocracy

Sociocracy is a system of governance using consent decision making and an organizational structure based on cybernetic principles (a system with closed feedback mechanisms).[1] Modern sociocracy was developed by Gerard Endenburg as a method for use in governing an electrical engineering company,[2] and is applicable to any organization. Sociocracy has been advocated as a management system that distributes leadership and power throughout the organization.[3] It is currently used by public, private, non-profit, and community organizations and associations. Sociocratic governance and management is taught in college and university courses in business, political science, history, and sociology.

Origins

The word sociocracy is derived from the Latin and Greek words socius (companion) and kratein (to govern). It is English for the word sociocratie, coined in 1851 by Auguste Comte,[4] a French positivist philosopher (who also derived the word sociology from social physics) and later used by the U.S. sociologist Lester Frank Ward in a paper he wrote for the Penn Monthly in 1881 and later still by Dutch educator and peace activist Kees Boeke, who applied the concept to education. In a wider sense, sociocracy means the rule by the "socios," people who have a social relationship with each other – as opposed to democracy: rule by the "demos," the general mass of people.

Ward later expanded this concept in his books Dynamic Sociology (1883) and The Psychic Factors of Civilization (1892). Ward was very influential in his time and had a worldwide reputation as a groundbreaking sociologist. He believed that a highly educated public was essential if a country was to be governed effectively, and he foresaw a time when the emotional and partisan nature of contemporary politics would yield to a much more effective, dispassionate and scientifically-based discussion of issues and problems. Democracy would thus eventually evolve into a more advanced form of government, sociocracy.[5]

Sociocracy during the twentieth century

The Dutch pacifist, educator, and peace worker Kees Boeke and his wife, English peace activist Betty Cadbury, updated and greatly expanded Ward's ideas in the mid-20th century by implementing the first sociocratic organizational structure in a school in Bilthoven, Netherlands. The school still exists: the Children's Community Workshop (Werkplaats Kindergemeenschap). Boeke saw sociocracy (in Dutch: Sociocratie) as a form of governance or management that presumes equality of individuals and is based on consensus. This equality is not expressed with the 'one man, one vote' law of democracy but rather by a group of individuals reasoning together until a decision is reached that is satisfactory to each one of them.

To make sociocratic ideals operational, Boeke used consensus decision-making

based on the practices of the Quakers, which he described as one of the first sociocratic organizations. The other being his school of approximately 400 students and teachers in which decisions were made by everyone working together in weekly "talkovers" to find a mutually acceptable solution. The individuals in each group would then agree to abide by the decision. "Only when common agreement is reached can any action be taken, quite a different atmosphere is created from that arising from majority rule." Boeke defined three "fundamental rules": (1) That the interests of all members must be considered and the individual must respect the interests of the whole. (2) No action could be taken without a solution that everyone could accept, and (3) all members must accept these decisions when unanimously made. If a group could not make a decision, the decision would be made by a "higher level" of representatives chosen by each group. The size of a decision-making group should be limited to 40 with smaller committees of 5-6 making "detailed decisions." For larger groups a structure of representatives is chosen by these groups to make decisions.[6]Boeke's model was heavily based on the Quaker model and, like other traditional consensus-based methods, placed a high importance on the role of trust. For the process to be effective, members of each group must trust each other, and it is claimed that this trust will be built over time as long as this method of decision-making is used. When applied to civic governance, people "would be forced to take an interest in those who live close by." Only when people had learned to apply this method in their neighborhoods could the next higher level of sociocratic governance be established. Eventually representatives would be elected from the highest local levels to establish a "World Meeting to govern and order the world." [6]"Everything depends on a new spirit breaking through among men. May it be that, after the many centuries of fear, suspicion and hate, more and more a spirit of reconciliation and mutual trust will spread abroad. The constant practice of the art of sociocracy and of the education necessary for it seem to be the best way in which to further this spirit, upon which the real solution of all world problems depends."[6]

In contemporary practice

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Gerard Endenburg, an electrical engineer and former student of Boeke's, further developed and applied Boeke's principles in the electrical engineering company he first managed for his parents and then owned. Endenburg wanted to replicate the atmosphere of cooperation and harmony he had experienced in Boeke's school in a business environment. He also recognized that in industrial production with a diverse and changing workforce, he couldn't wait for workers to trust each other before they could make decisions. To solve this problem, Endenburg worked by analogy to integrate his understanding of physics, cybernetics, and systems thinking to further develop the social, political, and educational theories of Comte, Ward, and Boeke. Since he understood how mechanical and electrical systems worked, he applied these principles to human systems.
After years of experimentation and application, Endenburg developed a formal organizational method named the "Sociocratische Kringorganisatie Methode" (Sociocratic Circle Organizing Method). Endenburg's method was based on the

circular feedback process then called the "circular causal feedback process," now referred to commonly as the circular process and feedback loops. The Sociocratic Circle Organization Method uses a hierarchy of circles corresponding to units or departments of an organization, but it is a circular hierarchy—the links between each circle combine to form feedback loops up and down the organization. Because representatives overlap the circle with a linked circle and each circle makes policy decisions by consent this forms a strong and integrated structure of communications and control. Feedback moves up and down the organization and can't be ignored.

All policy decisions, those that pertain to the allocation of resources and constrain operational decisions, require the consent of all members of a circle. Day-to-day operational decisions are made by the operations leader within the policies established in circle meetings. Policy decisions affecting more than one circle's domain are made by a higher circle formed by representatives from each circle. This structure of linked circles that make decisions by consent maintains the efficiency of a hierarchy while preserving the equivalence of the circles and their members.

Endenburg began testing and modifying his application of Boeke's principles in the mid-sixties. By the mid-seventies, Endenburg began consulting with other businesses to apply his methods and eventually began working with all kinds organizations.

In the nineteen eighties, Endenburg and his colleague Annewiek Reijmer founded the Sociocratisch Centrum (Sociocratic Center) in Rotterdam, and began helping other organizations in the Netherlands to adopt the approach.[7] Following the certification of non-Dutch consultants in the nineties, Endenburg's version of Sociocracy was disseminated throughout Europe, North America, and parts of South America. Since 2000, sociocratic centers have been founded in several countries, consultants are available worldwide, and study groups have developed in many cities. Many practitioners and organizations have adopted sociocratic practice without using the name "sociocracy" (e.g. POCA[8]); others have founded new branches that incorporate some of Endenburg's principles of sociocracy (e.g. Holacracy).

Essential principles

Endenburg's policy decision-making method was originally published as based on four essential principles in order to emphasize that the process of selecting people for roles and responsibilities was also subject to the consent process. As explained below, it is now taught as Endenburg originally developed the method as three principles:[9]Consent governs policy decision making (principle 1)

Decisions are made when there are no remaining "paramount objections", that is, when there is informed consent from all participants. Objections must be reasoned and argued and based on the ability of the objector to work productively toward the goals of the organization. All policy decisions are made by consent although the group may consent to use another decision-making method. Within these policies, day-to-day operational decisions are normally made in the traditional manner. Generally, objections are highly valued to hear every stakeholder's concern. Many call this process "objection harvesting".[10] It is emphasized that focusing on objections first leads to more efficient decision making.[11]Organizing in circles

(principle 2)

The sociocratic organization is composed of a hierarchy of semi-autonomous circles. This hierarchy, however, does not constitute a power structure as autocratic hierarchies do. Each circle has the responsibility to execute, measure, and control its own processes in achieving its goals. It governs a specific domain of responsibility within the policies of the larger organization. Circles are also responsible for their own development and for each member's development. Often called "integral education," the circle and its members are expected to determine what they need to know to remain competitive in their field and to reach the goals of their circle.

Double-linking (principle 3)

Individuals acting as links function as full members in the decision-making of both their own circles and the next higher circle. A circle's operational leader is by definition a member of the next higher circle and represents the larger organization in the decision-making of the circle they lead. Each circle also elects a representative to represent the circles' interests in the next higher circle. These links form a feedback loop between circles.

At the highest level of the organization, there is a "top circle", similar to a board of directors, except that it works within the policies of the circle structure rather than ruling over it. The members of the top circle include external experts that connect the organization to its environment. Typically these members have expertise in law, government, finance, community, and the organization's mission. In a corporation, it might also include a representative selected by the shareholders. The top circle also includes the CEO and at least one representative of the general management circle. Each of these circle members participates fully in decision-making in the top circle.

Elections by consent (principle 4)

This fourth principle extends principle 1. Individuals are elected to roles and responsibilities in open discussion using the same consent criteria used for other policy decisions. Members of the circle nominate themselves or other members of the circle and present reasons for their choice. After discussion, people can (and often do) change their nominations, and the discussion leader will suggest the election of the person for whom there are the strongest arguments. Circle members may object and there is further discussion. For a role that many people might fill, this discussion may continue for a several rounds. When fewer people are qualified for the task, this process will quickly converge. The circle may also decide to choose someone who is not a current member of the circle.

The "three principles"

In the first formulations of the Sociocratic Circle-Organizing Method, Endenburg had three principles and regarded the fourth, elections by consent, not as a separate principle but as a method for making decisions by consent when there are several choices. He considered it part of the first principle, consent governs policy decisions, but many people misunderstood that elections of people to roles and responsibilities are allocations of resources and thus policy decisions. To emphasize the importance of making these decisions by consent in the circle meetings, Endenburg separated it into a fourth principle.

With Endenburg's approval, the principles are now being taught in the United States as "the three principles."[12]Consent vs. consensus

Sociocracy makes a distinction between "consent" and "consensus" in order to

emphasize that circle decisions are not expected to produce "a consensus". It doesn't mean agreement or solidarity. In sociocracy consent is defined as "no objections," and objections are based on one's ability to work toward the aims of the organization. Members discussing an idea in consent based governance commonly ask themselves if it is "good enough for now, safe enough to try". [13] If not, then there is an objection, which leads to a search for an acceptable adaptation of the original proposal to gain consent.

In contrast the consensus process as practiced by many groups is a full group process that uses a definition of consensus close to that of the Boekes. While consensus trainers and facilitators use the same definition that sociocracy uses, it is often misunderstood. Traditionally consensus has often been confused with both unanimous agreement and the exercise of personal values, while most often being practiced as a full-group decision-making method and not adapted to distributed decision-making. In sociocracy, consent is defined and practiced as a decision-making method within a sophisticated governance method that can support a complex organizational structure.[14]Expressed in simple terms, Sociocratisch Centrum co-founder Reijmer has summarized the difference as follows:[15] "By consensus, I must convince you that I am in the right; by consent, you ask whether you can live with the decision."

Interdependence and transparency

The principles are interdependent and the application of all of them is required for an organization to function sociocratically. Each one supports the successful application of the others. The principles also require transparency in the organization. Since decision-making is distributed throughout the organization, all members of the organization must have access to information. The only exception to this is proprietary knowledge and any information that would jeopardize the security of the organization or its clients. All financial transactions and policy decisions are transparent to members of the organization and to the organization's clients.

In addition to the principles, sociocratic organizations apply the circular feedback process of directing-doing-measuring to the design of work processes, and in business organizations, compensation is based on a market rate salary plus long-term and short-term payments based on the success of the circle. The operational practices of sociocratic organizations are compatible with the best practices of contemporary management theory.

Organizations Promoting Sociocracy

- The Sociocracy Group., Endenburg founded The Sociocracy Group, [1] an international nonprofit foundation headquartered in Rotterdam, The Netherlands to promote the growth of sociocracy. The Sociocracy Group provides international training and consulting through offices in Europe, North America, and Australia. An independent arm of The Sociocracy Group provides certification to sociocratic practitioners.

Other. Many other organizations, networked with The Sociocracy Group, are active in promoting sociocracy. For example:

- The Sociocracy Consulting Group, LLC [2] has practitioners in Australia, Canada, the UK and the USA and delivers online training.

- Sociogest [3] offers French language consultation in Canada, Belgium, France, and Switzerland.
- The Sociocracy Center Austria [4] and the Sociocracy Center Germany [5] offer training and consulting in German.
- Circle Forward [6] in Asheville, North Carolina, USA specializes in implementing sociocracy in nonprofits and collective networks of nonprofits.
- Genius Engine [7] does angel investing for business startups that organize sociocratically.
- SociocracyUK Sociocracy.co.uk is a nonprofit organization located in Great Britain that offers active discussion groups, in-person study groups, and introductions to training events, conferences and other information about sociocracy. It offers a Ning-based online cafe where people with an interest in sociocracy can gather.
- The Yahoo-based discussion group Sociocracy [8] has been an active forum since 2000.

Advantages

Consent as defined and practiced in sociocratic organizations is claimed to be a more efficient and effective decision-making method than autocratic decision-making because it protects the ability of each member and unit of an organization to work toward the aim effectively. In the end this decision-making method builds trust and understanding, even though its objective is reducing friction and effective action. The consent process educates the participants about the needs of the other members in doing their work effectively.

The well-defined, information-based, and highly disciplined decision-making process helps organizations stay focused and move swiftly through examining an issue and making decisions. The feedback structure between circles and the involvement of all members of the organization in the policy making process ensures a united organization.

The main advantages of adopting the sociocratic approach have been extensively studied, especially in collaboration with professor Georges Romme (at Maastricht University respectively Eindhoven University of Technology); see for example: Romme & Endenburg (2006).[16]Sociocratic principles are now applied[16] around the world. These include corporations, small businesses, nursing homes, colleges, ecovillages and cohousing communities, religious organizations, private schools, and international professional and educational membership organizations. Examples of this variety are organizations such as the Boeddhistische Omroep Stichting, the Buddhist Broadcasting Foundation, (BOS) in the Netherlands; Living Well – an award-winning long-term health care center in Vermont; The Eco-Village of Loudoun County in Virginia – a cohousing community; Creative Urethanes – a manufacturer of skateboard wheels and urethane parts in Winchester, Virginia. Sociocratic principles have also been applied in higher education, for example, the School of Media, Culture, and Design of Woodbury University, Burbank, California; Institute Francais, University of Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada, and others.[citation needed]

See also

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External links

- Sociocracy: Transparent Inclusive AccountableWSJ: Can a Company Be Run as a Democracy?
- Sociocracy Publications and Newsletter at GovernanceAlive.com
- Website for the Global Sociocratic Center

Stratocracy

A stratocracy (from στρατός, stratos, "army" and κράτος, kratos, "dominion", "power") is a form of government headed by military chiefs.[1] It is not the same as a military dictatorship or military junta where the military's political power is not enforced or even supported by other laws. Rather, stratocracy is a form of military government in which the state and the military are traditionally or constitutionally the same entity, and government positions are always occupied by commissioned officers and military leaders. Citizens with mandatory or voluntary military service, or who have been honorably discharged, have the right to elect or govern. The military's political power is supported by law, the constitution, and the society. A stratocracy therefore is more often a meritocracy and does not have to be autocratic by nature in order to preserve its right to rule.

Notable examples of stratocracies

Modern Stratocracies

The closest modern equivalent to a stratocracy is the State Peace and Development Council of Myanmar (Burma), which is arguably different from most other military dictatorships in that it completely abolished the civilian constitution and legislature. A new constitution that came into effect in 2010 cemented the military's hold on power through mechanisms such as reserving 25% of the seats in the legislature for military personnel.[2]

Historical Stratocracies

Cossacks were predominantly East Slavic people who became known as members of democratic, semi-military and semi-naval communities,[3] predominantly located in Ukraine and in Southern Russia. They inhabited sparsely populated areas and islands in the lower Dnieper,[4] Don, Terek, and Ural river basins, and played an important role in the historical and cultural development of both Russia and Ukraine.[5]From a young age, male Spartans were trained for battle and put through grueling challenges intended to craft them into fearless warriors. In battle, they had the reputation of being the best soldiers in Greece, and the strength of Sparta's hoplite forces let the city become the dominant state in Greece throughout much of the Classical period. No other city-state would dare to attack Sparta even though it could only muster a force of about 8,000 during the zenith of its dominance.[6]Fictional

Stratocracies

The Cardassian Union of the Star Trek universe can be described as a stratocracy, with a constitutionally and socially sanctioned, as well as politically dominant, military that nonetheless has strong meritocratic characteristics.
In Robert A. Heinlein's Starship Troopers, the Terran Federation was set up by a group of military veterans in Aberdeen, Scotland when governments collapsed

following a global war. The Federation allows only those who complete a period of Federal Service to vote. While this is not only military service, that appears to be the dominant form. It is believed that only those willing to sacrifice their life on the state's behalf are fit to govern. While the government is a representative democracy, it appears to be dominated by active and former members of the military due to this law.

Amestris, the setting of the Fullmetal Alchemist Anime Series is a stratocracy. Amestris is a Unitary State with a Parliamentary Republic type of government

See also

Military rule (disambiguation)

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4 Jump up ˆ R.P. Magocsi, A History of Ukraine, pp. 179–181
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Sultanism

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

In political science, sultanism is a form of authoritarian government characterized by the extreme personal presence of the ruler in all elements of governance. The ruler may or may not be present in economic or social life, and thus there may be pluralism in these areas, but this is never true of political power.

The term sultanism is derived from sultan, a title used in Muslim societies for a secular sovereign or monarch, often in contrast with the religious title of caliph. In modern scholarly usage, sultanism is not limited to Muslim or Middle Eastern societies. In 1996, Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan listed the clearest examples of sultanism as: "Haiti under the Duvaliers, the Dominican Republic under Trujillo, the Central African Republic under Bokassa, the Philippines under Marcos, Romania under Ceauşescu, and North Korea under Kim Il Sung."[1]According to Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan:

[T]he essential reality in a sultanistic regime is that all individuals, groups and institutions are permanently subject to the unpredictable and despotic intervention of the sultan, and thus all pluralism is precarious[1]In sultanism, the sultan may or may not adopt a ruling ideology but is never bound by any rules or given ideology, even his own. The sultan may also use whatever forces he can to exercise his personal will, such as para-militaries or gangs.

...in the extreme case, Sultanism tend[s] to arise whenever traditional domination develops an administration and a military force which are purely instruments of the master... Where domination... operates primarily on the basis of discretion, it will be called sultanism... The non-traditional element is not, however, rationalized in impersonal terms, but consists only in the extreme development of the ruler's discretion. It is this which distinguishes it from every form of rational authority.
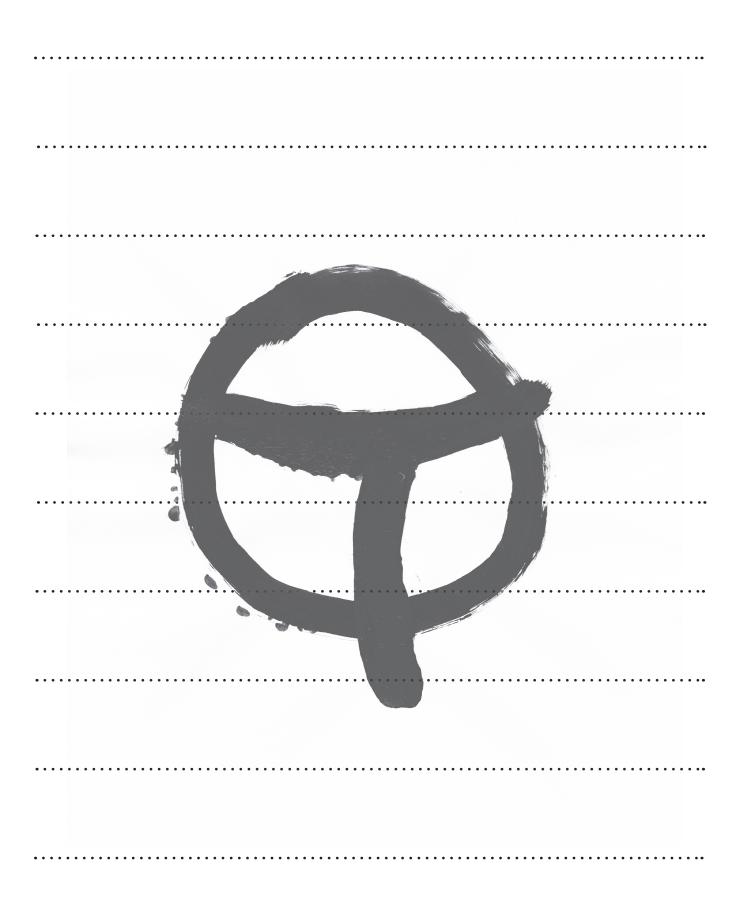— Max Weber, Economy & Society, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1978

See also

Monarchy
Sultanate
Despotism
Tyranny
Absolute monarchy
Dictatorship
Authoritarianism
Caliphate
Cult of personality

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Technocracy

This article is about a meritocratic form of government. For other uses, see Technocracy (disambiguation).

Technocracy is a system of governance where decision-makers are selected on the basis of technological knowledge. Scientists, engineers, technologists, or experts in any field, would compose the governing body, instead of elected representatives. [1] Leadership skills would be selected on the basis of specialized knowledge and performance, rather than parliamentary skills.[2] The concept is mostly hypothetical. Technocrat can refer to someone exercising governmental authority because of their knowledge,[3]or "a member of a powerful technical elite", or "someone who advocates the supremacy of technical experts".[4][5][6]The term technocracy was originally used to advocate the application of the scientific method to solving social problems. In such a system, the role of money, economic values, and morals could be eliminated altogether. Concern would be given to sustainability within the resource base, instead of monetary profitability, so as to ensure continued operation of all social-industrial functions.

Some uses of the word refer to a form of meritocracy, where the ablest are in charge, ostensibly without the influence of special interest groups.[7] The word technocratic has been used to describe governments that include non-elected professionals at a ministerial level.[5][6]McDonnell and Valbruzzi define a prime minister or minister as a technocrat if "at the time of his/her appointment to government, he/she: has never held public office under the banner of a political party; is not a formal member of any party; and is said to possess recognized non-party political expertise which is directly relevant to the role occupied in government".[8]

History of the term

The term technocracy is derived from the Greek words τέχνη, tekhne meaning skill and κράτος, kratos meaning power, as in governance, or rule. William Henry Smyth, a Californian engineer, is usually credited with inventing the word "technocracy" in 1919 to describe "the rule of the people made effective through the agency of their servants, the scientists and engineers", although the word had been used before on several occasions.[7][9][10][11] Smyth used the term "Technocracy" in his 1919 article "'Technocracy'—Ways and Means to Gain Industrial Democracy," in the journal Industrial Management (57).[12] Smyth's usage referred to Industrial democracy: a movement to integrate workers into decision making through existing firms or revolution.[12]In the 1930s, through the influence of Howard Scott and the Technocracy movement he founded, the term technocracy came to mean, 'government by technical decision making', using an energy metric of value. Scott proposed that money be replaced by energy certificates denominated in units such as ergs or joules, equivalent in total amount to an appropriate national net energy budget, and then distributed equally among the North American population,

according to resource availability.[13][14]

Precursors

Before the term technocracy was coined, technocratic or quasi-technocratic ideas involving governance by technical experts were promoted by various individuals, most notably early socialist theorists such as Henri de Saint-Simon. This was expressed by the belief in state ownership over the economy, with the function of the state being transformed from one of pure philosophical rule over men into a scientific administration of things and a direction of processes of production under scientific management.[15] According to Daniel Bell:
"St. Simon's vision of industrial society, a vision of pure technocracy, was a system of planning and rational order in which society would specify its needs and organize the factors of production to achieve them."[16] Citing the ideas of St. Simon, Bell comes to the conclusion that the "administration of things" by rational judgement is the hallmark of technocracy.[16] Alexander Bogdanov, a Russian scientist and social theorist, also anticipated a conception of technocratic process. Both Bogdanov's fiction and his political writings, which were highly influential, suggest that he expected a coming revolution against capitalism to lead to a technocratic society.[17] From 1913 until 1922, Bogdanov immersed himself in the writing of a lengthy philosophical treatise of original ideas, Tectology: Universal Organization Science. Tectology anticipated many basic ideas of Systems Analysis, later explored by Cybernetics. In Tectology, Bogdanov proposed to unify all social, biological, and physical sciences by considering them as systems of relationships and by seeking the organizational principles that underlie all systems.

Characteristics

Technocrats are individuals with technical training and occupations who perceive many important societal problems as being solvable, often while proposing technology-focused solutions. The administrative scientist Gunnar K. A. Njalsson theorizes that technocrats are primarily driven by their cognitive "problem-solution mindsets" and only in part by particular occupational group interests. Their activities and the increasing success of their ideas are thought to be a crucial factor behind the modern spread of technology and the largely ideological concept of the "information society". Technocrats may be distinguished from "econocrats" and "bureaucrats" whose problem-solution mindsets differ from those of the technocrats.[18] The former government of the Soviet Union has been referred to as a technocracy.[19] Soviet leaders like Leonid Brezhnev often had a technical background in education; in 1986, 89% of Politburo members were engineers.[20] Several governments in European parliamentary democracies have been labeled 'technocratic' based on the participation of unelected experts ('technocrats') in prominent positions.[5] Since the 1990s, Italy has had several such governments (in Italian, governo tecnico) in times of economic or political crisis,[21][22] including the formation in which economist Mario Monti presided over a cabinet of unelected

professionals.[23][24] The term 'technocratic' has been applied to governments where a cabinet of elected professional politicians is led by an unelected prime minister, such as in the cases of the 2011-2012 Greek government led by economist Lucas Papademos, and the Czech Republic's 2009–2010 caretaker government presided over by the state's chief statistician, Jan Fischer.[6][25] In December 2013, in the framework of the national dialogue facilitated by Tunisian National Dialogue Quartet, political parties in Tunisia agreed to install a technocratic government led by Mehdi Jomaa.[26]In the article "Technocrats: Minds Like Machines",[6] it is stated that Singapore is perhaps the best advertisement for technocracy: the political and expert components of the governing system there seem to have merged completely. This was underlined in a 1993 article in "Wired" by Sandy Sandfort,[27] where he describes the information technology system of the island even at that early date making it effectively intelligent.

Engineering

Following Samuel Haber,[28] Donald Stabile argues that engineers were faced with a conflict between physical efficiency and cost efficiency in the new corporate capitalist enterprises of the late nineteenth century United States. The profit-conscious, non-technical managers of firms where the engineers work, because of their perceptions of market demand, often impose limits on the projects that engineers desire to undertake.

The prices of all inputs vary with market forces thereby upsetting the engineer's careful calculations. As a result, the engineer loses control over projects and must continually revise plans. To keep control over projects the engineer must attempt to exert control over these outside variables and transform them into constant factors.[29]Leaders of the Communist Party of China are mostly professional engineers. The Five-year plans of the People's Republic of China have enabled them to plan ahead in a technocratic fashion to build projects such as the National Trunk Highway System, the China high-speed rail system, and the Three Gorges Dam.[30]

Technocracy movement

Main article: Technocracy movement

The American economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen was an early advocate of Technocracy, and was involved in the Technical Alliance as was Howard Scott and M. King Hubbert (who later developed the theory of peak oil). Veblen believed that technological developments would eventually lead toward a socialistic organization of economic affairs. Veblen saw socialism as one intermediate phase in an ongoing evolutionary process in society that would be brought about by the natural decay of the business enterprise system and by the inventiveness of engineers.[31] Daniel Bell sees an affinity between Veblen and the Technocracy movement.[32]In 1932, Howard Scott and Marion King Hubbert founded Technocracy Incorporated, and proposed that money be replaced by energy certificates. The group argued that apolitical, rational engineers should be vested with authority to guide an economy into a thermodynamically balanced load of production and consumption, thereby doing away with unemployment and debt.[33]The Technocracy movement was

highly popular in the USA for a brief period in the early 1930s, during the Great Depression. By the mid-1930s, interest in the movement was declining. Some historians have attributed the decline of the technocracy movement to the rise of Roosevelt's New Deal.[34][35]Historian William E. Akin rejects the conclusion that Technocracy ideas declined because of the attractiveness of Roosevelt and the New Deal. Instead Akin argues that the movement declined in the mid-1930s as a result of the technocrats' failure to devise a 'viable political theory for achieving change' (p. 111 Technocracy and the American Dream: The Technocrat Movement, 1900–1941 by William E. Akin). Akin postulates that many technocrats remained vocal and dissatisfied and often sympathetic to anti-New Deal third party efforts. [36][dead link]

Many books have discussed the Technocracy movement.[37] One of these is Technocracy and the American Dream: The Technocrat Movement, 1900–1941 by William E. Akin.[38]

See also

- Calculation in kind, a type of resource management proposed for a socialist moneyless society
- ContinentalismEnergy accountingGroupe X-Crise, formed by French former students of the Ecole Polytechnique engineer school in the 1930s
- Imperial examination was an examination system in Imperial China designed to select the best administrative officials for the state's bureaucracy
- MeritocracyPositivismPost scarcityPrice SystemRedressement Français, a French technocratic movement founded by Ernest Mercier in 1925
- ScientismScientocracy, the practice of basing public policies on science
- TektologyThermoeconomicsPlayer Piano, Kurt Vonnegut's speculative fiction novel describing a technocratic society
- The Revolt of the Masses a book by José Ortega y Gasset containing a critique of technocracy
- Wealth, Virtual Wealth and Debt, a book by Nobel prize-winning chemist Frederick Soddy on monetary policy and society and the role of energy in economic systems

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Theocracy

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Theocracy is a form of government in which a deity is the source from which all authority derives. The Oxford English Dictionary has this definition:
A form of government in which God (or a deity) is recognized as the king or immediate ruler, and his laws are taken as the statute-book of the kingdom, these laws being usually administered by a priestly order as his ministers and agents; hence (loosely) a system of government by a sacerdotal order, claiming a divine commission; also, a state so governed.[1][2]An ecclesiocracy is a situation where the religious leaders assume a leading role in the state, but do not claim that they are instruments of divine revelation. For example, the prince-bishops of the European Middle Ages, where the bishop was also the temporal ruler. Such a state may use the administrative hierarchy of the religion for its own administration, or it may have two 'arms' — administrators and clergy — but with the state administrative hierarchy subordinate to the religious hierarchy.
The papacy in the Papal States occupied a middle ground between theocracy and ecclesiocracy, since the pope did not claim he was a prophet who received revelation from God and translated it into civil law.
Religiously endorsed monarchies fall between theocracy and ecclesiocracy, according to the relative strengths of the religious and political organs.
Most forms of theocracy are oligarchic in nature, involving rule of the many by the few, some of whom so anointed under claim of divine commission.

Synopsis

In some religions, the ruler, usually a king, was regarded as the chosen favorite of God (or gods) who could not be questioned, sometimes even being the descendant of, or a God in their own right. Today, there is also a form of government where clerics have the power and the supreme leader could not be questioned in action. From the perspective of the theocratic government, "God himself is recognized as the head" of the state,[3] hence the term theocracy, from the Koine Greek θεοκρατία "rule of God", a term used by Josephus for the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.[4] Taken literally or strictly, theocracy means rule by God or Gods and refers primarily to an internal "rule of the heart", especially in its biblical application. The common, generic use of the term, as defined above in terms of rule by a church or analogous religious leadership, would be more accurately described as an ecclesiocracy. [5]In a pure theocracy, the civil leader is believed to have a personal connection with the civilization's religion or belief. For example, Moses led the Israelites, and Muhammad led the early Muslims. There is a fine line between the tendency of appointing religious characters to run the state and having a religious-based government. According to the Holy Books, Prophet Joseph was offered an essential governmental role just because he was trustworthy, wise and knowledgeable (Quran 12: 54-55). As a result of the Prophet Joseph's knowledge and also due to his ethical and genuine efforts during a critical economic situation, the whole nation was rescued from a seven-year drought(Quran 12: 47-48). When religions

have a "holy book," it is used as a direct message from God. Law proclaimed by the ruler is also considered a divine revelation, and hence the law of God. As to the Prophet Muhammad ruling, "The first thirteen of the Prophet's twenty-three year career went on totally apolitical and non-violent. This attitude partly changed only after he had to flee from Mecca to Medina.This hijra, or migration, would be a turning point in the Prophet's mission and would mark the very beginning of the Muslim calendar. Yet, interestingly, the Prophet did not establish a theocracy in Medina. Instead of a polity defined solely by Islam, he founded a territorial polity based on religious pluralism. This is evident in a document called the 'Charter of Medina', which the Prophet signed with the leaders of the other community in the city."[6] According to the Quran, Prophets were not after power or material resources. For example in surah 26 verses (109, 127, 145, 164, 180), the Koran repeatedly quotes from Prophets, Noah, Hud, Salih, Lut, and Shu'aib that: " I do not ask you for it any payment; my payment is only from the Lord of the worlds." While, in theocracy many aspects of the holy book are overshadowed by material powers. Due to be considered divine, the regime entitles itself to interpret verses to its own benefit and abuse them out of the context for its political aims. An ecclesiocracy, on the other hand, is a situation where the religious leaders assume a leading role in the state, but do not claim that they are instruments of divine revelation. For example, the prince-bishops of the European Middle Ages, where the bishop was also the temporal ruler. Such a state may use the administrative hierarchy of the religion for its own administration, or it may have two 'arms' — administrators and clergy — but with the state administrative hierarchy subordinate to the religious hierarchy. The papacy in the Papal States occupied a middle ground between theocracy and ecclesiocracy, since the pope did not claim he was a prophet who received revelation from God and translated it into civil law.

Religiously endorsed monarchies fall between these two poles, according to the relative strengths of the religious and political organs.

Theocracy is distinguished from other, secular forms of government that have a state religion, or are influenced by theological or moral concepts, and monarchies held "By the Grace of God". In the most common usage of the term, some civil rulers are leaders of the dominant religion (e.g., the Byzantine emperor as patron and defender of the official Church); the government proclaims it rules on behalf of God or a higher power, as specified by the local religion, and divine approval of government institutions and laws. These characteristics apply also to a caesaropapist regime. The Byzantine Empire however was not theocratic since the patriarch answered to the emperor, not vice versa; similarly in Tudor England the crown forced the church to break away from Rome so the royal (and, especially later, parliamentary) power could assume full control of the now Anglican hierarchy and confiscate most church property and income.

Secular governments can also co-exist with a state religion or delegate some aspects of civil law to religious communities. For example, in Israel marriage is governed by officially recognized religious bodies who each provide marriage services for their respected adherents, yet no form of civil marriage (free of religion, for atheists, for example) exists nor marriage by non-recognized minority religions.

Etymology

The word theocracy originates from the Greek θεοκρατία meaning "the rule of God". This in turn derives from θεός (theos), meaning "god", and κρατέω (krateo), meaning "to rule." Thus the meaning of the word in Greek was "rule by god(s)" or human incarnation(s) of god(s).

The term was initially coined by Flavius Josephus in the first century A.D. to describe the characteristic government of the Jews. Josephus argued that while mankind had developed many forms of rule, most could be subsumed under the following three types: monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy. The government of the Jews, however, was unique. Josephus offered the term "theocracy" to describe this polity, ordained by Moses, in which God is sovereign and his word is law.[7]Josephus' definition was widely accepted until the Enlightenment era, when the term started to collect more universalistic[clarification needed] and negative connotations, especially in Hegel's hands. The first recorded English use was in 1622, with the meaning "sacerdotal government under divine inspiration" (as in Biblical Israel before the rise of kings); the meaning "priestly or religious body wielding political and civil power" is recorded from 1825.

Current theocracies

Christian theocracies
Holy See (Vatican City)
Main article: Politics of Vatican City

Following the Capture of Rome on 20 September 1870, the Papal States including Rome with the Vatican were annexed by the Kingdom of Italy. In 1929, with the Lateran Treaty signed with the Italian Government, the new state of Vatican City (population 842) – with no connection with the former Papal States[8] – was formally created and recognized as an independent state.[9] The head of state of the Vatican is the pope, elected by the College of Cardinals, an assembly of Senatorial-princes of the Church, who are usually clerics, appointed as Ordinaries, but in the past have also included men who were not bishops nor clerics.[9] A pope is elected for life, and either dies or may resign.

Voting is limited to cardinals under 80 years of age.[9] A Secretary for Relations with States, directly responsible for international relations, is appointed by the pope. The Vatican legal system is rooted in canon law but ultimately is decided by the pope; the Bishop of Rome as the Supreme Pontiff, "has the fullness of legislative, executive and judicial powers."[10] Although the laws of Vatican City come from the secular laws of Italy, under article 3 of the Law of the Sources of the Law, provision is made for the supplementary application of the "laws promulgated by the Kingdom of Italy."[11] The government of the Vatican can also be considered an ecclesiocracy (ruled by the Church).

Islamic states or Islamic theocracies
Main articles: Islamic state and Sharia

An Islamic state is a state that has adopted Islam, specifically Sharia, as its foundations for political institutions, or laws, exclusively, and has implemented the Islamic ruling system khilafah (Arabic: خلافة), and is therefore a theocracy. Although there is much debate as to which states or groups operate strictly according to Islamic Law, Sharia is the official basis for state laws in the following countries: Afghanistan, Iran, Mauritania, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Yemen. In Nigeria, the constitution provides that states may elect to use Shari'a laws and courts, though non-Muslims are not required in any state to submit to Shari'a jurisdiction and adherence varies by state.[12]Saudi Arabia maintains religious courts for all aspects of law and has religious police to maintain social compliance. Pakistan has Islam as its only official religion and its Federal Shariat Court has the duty of striking down any law not complying with the Sharia code of Islamic law; however, ruling falls upon legal scholars who, while required to be Muslim, are not religious clerics, and their judgements can be overruled by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, which can be and has been on occasion headed by a non-Muslim.

Iran
Iran has been described as a "theocratic republic" (by the US Central Intelligence Agency),[13] and its constitution a "hybrid" of "theocratic and democratic elements" by Francis Fukuyama.[14] Like other Islamic states, it maintains religious laws and has religious courts to interpret all aspects of law. According to Iran's constitution, "all civil, penal, financial, economic, administrative, cultural, military, political, and other laws and regulations must be based on Islamic criteria."[15]In addition, Iran has a religious ruler and many religious officials in powerful government posts. The head of state, or "Supreme Leader", is a faqih[16] (scholar of Islamic law), and possesses more power than Iran's president. The Leader appoints the heads of many powerful posts: the commanders of the armed forces, the director of the national radio and television network, the heads of the powerful major religious foundations, the chief justice, the attorney general (indirectly through the chief justice), special tribunals, and members of national security councils dealing with defence and foreign affairs. He also co-appoints the 12 jurists of the Guardian Council.[17]The Leader is elected by the Assembly of Experts[13][18] which is made up of mujtahids,[19] who are Islamic scholars competent in interpreting Sharia. Another body, the Council of Guardians, has the power to veto bills from majlis (parliament), approve or disapprove candidates who wish to run for high office (president, majlis, the Assembly of Experts). The council supervises elections, and can greenlight or ban investigations into the election process.[13] Six of the Guardians (half the council) are faqih empowered to approve or veto all bills from the majlis (parliament) according to whether the faqih believe them to be in accordance with Islamic law and customs (Sharia). The other six members are lawyers appointed by the head of the judiciary (who is also a cleric and also appointed by the Leader).[20]

Central Tibetan Administration
The Central Tibetan Administration, colloquially known as the Tibetan government in exile, is a Tibetan exile organisation with a state-like internal structure. According to its charter, the position of head of state of the Central Tibetan

Administration belongs ex officio to the current Dalai Lama, a religious hierarch. In this respect, it continues the traditions of the former government of Tibet, which was ruled by the Dalai Lamas and their ministers, with a specific role reserved for a class of monk officials.

On March 14, 2011, at the 14th Dalai Lama's suggestion, the parliament of the Central Tibetan Administration began considering a proposal to remove the Dalai Lama's role as head of state in favor of an elected leader.

The first directly elected Kalön Tripa was Samdhong Rinpoche, who was elected August 20, 2001.[21]Before 2011, the Kalön Tripa position was subordinate to the 14th Dalai Lama[22] who presided over the government in exile from its founding. [23] In August of that year, Lobsang Sangay polled 55 per cent votes out of 49,189, defeating his nearest rival Tethong Tenzin Namgyal by 8,646 votes,[24] becoming the second popularly elected Kalon Tripa. The Dalai Lama announced that his political authority would be transferred to Sangay.[25]Change to Sikyong

On September 20, 2012, the 15th Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile unanimously voted to change the title of Kalön Tripa to Sikyong in Article 19 of the Charter of the Tibetans in exile and relevant articles.[26] The Dalai Lama had previously referred to the Kalon Tripa as Sikyong, and this usage was cited as the primary justification for the name change. According to Tibetan Review, "Sikyong" translates to "political leader", as distinct from "spiritual leader".[27] Foreign affairs Kalon Dicki Chhoyang stated that the term "Sikyong" has had a precedent dating back to the 7th Dalai Lama, and that the name change "ensures historical continuity and legitimacy of the traditional leadership from the fifth Dalai Lama".[28] The online Dharma Dictionary translates sikyong (srid skyong) as "secular ruler; regime, regent."[29] The title sikyong had previously been used by regents who ruled Tibet during the Dalai Lama's minority.

States with official state religion
Main article: State religion

Having a state religion is not sufficient to be a theocracy in the narrow sense. Many countries have a state religion without the government directly deriving its powers from a divine authority or a religious authority directly exercising governmental powers. Since the narrow sense has few instances in the modern world, the more common usage is the wider sense of an enforced state religion.

Historic states with theocratic aspects

Tibet

Unified religious rule in Tibet began in 1642, when the Fifth Dalai Lama allied with the military power of the Mongol Gushri Khan to consolidate the political power and center control around his office as head of the Gelug school.[30] This form of government is known as the dual system of government. Prior to 1642, particular monasteries and monks had held considerable power throughout Tibet, but had not achieved anything approaching complete control, though power continued to be held in a diffuse, feudal system after the ascension of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Power in Tibet was held by a number of traditional elites, including members of the nobility, the heads of the major Buddhist sects (including their various tulkus),

and various large and influential monastic communities.[31]Political power was sometimes used by monastic leaders to suppress rival religious schools through the confiscation of property and direct violence.[30][32] Social mobility was somewhat possible through the attainment of a monastic education, or recognition as a reincarnated teacher, but such institutions were dominated by the traditional elites and governed by political intrigue.[31] Non-Buddhists in Tibet were members of an outcast underclass.[31]The Bogd Khaanate period of Mongolia (1911-1919) is also cited as a former Buddhist theocracy.

China
Further information: Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors and Chinese emperor
Similar to the Roman Emperor, the Chinese sovereign was historically held to be the Son of Heaven. However, from the first historical Emperor on, this was largely ceremonial and tradition quickly established it as a posthumous dignity, like the Roman institution. The situation before Qin Shi Huang Di is less clear.
The Shang dynasty essentially functioned as a theocracy, declaring the ruling family the sons of heaven and calling the chief sky god Shangdi after a word for their deceased ancestors.[33] After their overthrow by the Zhou, the royal clan of Shang were not eliminated but instead moved to a ceremonial capital where they were charged to continue the performance of their rituals.
The titles combined by Shi Huangdi to form his new title of emperor were originally applied to god-like beings who ordered the heavens and earth and to culture heroes credited with the invention of agriculture, clothing, music, astrology, &c. Even after the fall of Qin, an emperor's words were considered sacred edicts (Â}Ö¼) and his written proclamations "directives from above" (上諭).
As a result, some Sinologists translate the title huangdi (usually rendered "emperor") as thearch. The term properly refers to the head of a thearchy (a kingdom of gods), but the more accurate "theocrat" carries associations of a strong priesthood that would be generally inaccurate in describing imperial China. Others reserve the use of "thearch" to describe the legendary figures of Chinese prehistory while continuing to use "emperor" to describe historical rulers.[33]The Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace in 1860s Qing China was a heterodox Christian theocracy led by a person who said that he was the younger brother of Jesus Christ, Hong Xiuquan. This theocratic state fought one of the most destructive wars in history, the Taiping Rebellion, against the Qing Dynasty for fifteen years before being crushed following the fall of the rebel capital Nanjing.

Caliphate
Main article: Caliphate
The Sunni branch of Islam stipulates that, as a head of state, a Caliph should be elected by Muslims or their representatives. Followers of Shia Islam, however, believe a Caliph should be an Imam chosen by God from the Ahl al-Bayt (the "Family of the House", Muhammad's direct descendants).

Byzantine Empire
Main article: Byzantine Empire § Religion
The Byzantine Empire (a.d. 324–1453) operated under caesaropapism, meaning

that the emperor was both the head of civil society and the ultimate authority over the ecclesiastical authorities, or patriarchates. The emperor was considered to be God's omnipotent representative on earth and he ruled as an absolute autocrat. [34]Jennifer Fretland VanVoorst argues, "the Byzantine Empire became a theocracy in the sense that Christian values and ideals were the foundation of the empire's political ideals and heavily entwined with its political goals".[35] Steven Runciman says in his book on The Byzantine Theocracy (2004):

The constitution of the Byzantine Empire was based on the conviction that it was the earthly copy of the Kingdom of Heaven. Just as God ruled in Heaven, so the Emperor, made in His image, should rule on earth and carry out his commandments....It saw itself as a universal empire. Ideally, it should embrace all the peoples of the Earth who, ideally, should all be members of the one true Christian Church, its own Orthodox Church. Just as man was made in God's image, so man's kingdom on Earth was made in the image of the Kingdom of Heaven.[36]

Geneva and Zurich

Historians debate the extent to which Geneva, Switzerland, in the days of John Calvin (1509–64) was a theocracy. On the one hand, Calvin's theology clearly called for separation between church and state. Other historians have stressed the enormous political power wielded on a daily basis by the clerics.[37][38]In nearby Zurich, Switzerland, Protestant reformer Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531) built a political system that many scholars have called a theocracy, while others have denied it.[39]

Deseret

Main articles: State of Deseret and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
See also: Theodemocracy
The question of theocracy has been debated at extensively by historians regarding the Mormon communities in Illinois, and especially in Utah.[40][41][42]Joseph Smith, mayor of Nauvoo, Illinois, and founder of the Mormon movement, ran as an independent for president in 1844. He proposed the redemption of slaves by selling public lands; reducing the size and salary of Congress; the closure of prisons; the annexation of Texas, Oregon, and parts of Canada; the securing of international rights on high seas; free trade; and the re-establishment of a national bank.[43] His top aide Brigham Young campaigned for Smith saying, "He it is that God of Heaven designs to save this nation from destruction and preserve the Constitution."[44] The campaign ended when Smith was killed by a mob while in the Carthage, Illinois, jail on June 27, 1844.[45]After severe persecution, the Mormons left the United States and resettled in a remote part of Utah, which was then part of Mexico. However the United States took control in 1848 and would not accept polygamy. The Mormon State of Deseret was short-lived.[46] Its original borders stretched from western Colorado to the southern California coast. When the Mormons arrived in the valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1847, the Great Basin was still a part of Mexico and had no secular government. As a result, Brigham Young administered the region both spiritually and temporally through the highly organized and centralized Melchizedek Priesthood. This original organization was based upon a concept called theodemocracy, a governmental system combining Biblical theocracy with mid-19th-century American political ideals.[47][48]In 1849, the Saints organized a

secular government in Utah, although many ecclesiastical leaders maintained their positions of secular power. The Mormons also petitioned Congress to have Deseret admitted into the Union as a state. However, under the Compromise of 1850, Utah Territory was created and Brigham Young was appointed governor. In this situation, Young still stood as head of the LDS Church as well as Utah's secular government. After the abortive Utah War of 1857–1858, the replacement of Young by an outside Federal Territorial Governor, intense federal prosecution of LDS Church leaders, and the eventual resolution of controversies regarding plural marriage, and accession by Utah to statehood, the apparent temporal aspects of LDS theodemocracy receded markedly.[49]

Western Antiquity
Further information: Imperial cult, State church of the Roman Empire, and Israelites
The imperial cults in Ancient Egypt and the Roman Empire, as well as numerous other monarchies, deified the ruling monarch. The state religion was often dedicated to the worship of the ruler as a deity, or the incarnation thereof.
Early Israel was ruled by Judges before instituting a monarchy. The Judges were believed to be representatives of YHVH Yahweh (also translated as, Jehovah).
In ancient and medieval Christianity, Caesaropapism is the doctrine where a head of state is at the same time the head of the church.

Persia
During the Achaemenid Empire, Zoroastrianism was the state religion and included formalized worship. The Persian kings were known to be pious Zoroastrians and also ruled with a Zoroastrian form of law called asha. However, Cyrus the Great, who founded the empire, avoided imposing the Zoroastrian faith on the inhabitants of conquered territory. Cyrus's kindness towards Jews has been cited[citation needed] as sparking Zoroastrian influence on Judaism.
Under the Seleucids, Zoroastrianism became autonomous. During the Sassanid period, the Zoroastrian calendar was reformed, image-use was banned, Fire Temples were increasingly built and intolerance towards other faiths prevailed.[50]

Others
The short reign (1494–1498) of Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican priest, over the city of Florence had features of a theocracy. During his rule, "un-Christian" books, statues, poetry, and other items were burned (in the Bonfire of the Vanities), sodomy was made a capital offense, and other Christian practices became law.

See also

General:
- Divine lawDivine command theory
- Philosopher king
- Religious law

Christian:
- Christian Reconstructionism
- Divine Right of Kings
- Dominionism
- National Catholicism
- Temporal power (papal)
- Theonomy

Islamic:
- Iranian Revolution
- Islamic banking
- Islamic republic
- Islamic state
- Islamism
- Political aspects of Islam
- Religious police
- Qutbism
- Taliban
- Wahhabi

Other:
- Khalistan
- State Shinto (Japan)
- State religion

Fictional:
- List of fictional theocracies
- Religion in science fiction

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5 Jump up ^ Stephen Palmquist, Biblical Theocracy: A vision of the biblical foundations for a Christian political philosophy (Hong Kong: Philopsychy Press, 1993), introduced these more precise uses of the terms in arguing that theocracy (in this pure sense) is the only political system defended in the Bible. While

Palmquist defends theocracy in this pure form as a viable (though "non-political") political system, he warns that what normally goes by this name is actually ecclesiocracy, the most dangerous of all political systems.

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Timocracy

A timocracy (timē, "price, worth" and -κρατία -kratia, "rule")[1] is a state where only property owners may participate in government. The more extreme forms of timocracy, where power derives entirely from wealth with no regard for social or civic responsibility, may shift in their form and become a plutocracy where the wealthy and powerful use their power to entrench their wealth.

Timocracy and property

Solon introduced the ideas of timokratia as a graded oligarchy in his Solonian Constitution for Athens in the early 6th century BCE. His was the first known deliberately implemented form of timocracy, allocating political rights and economic responsibility depending on membership of one of four tiers of the population. Solon defined these tiers by measuring how many bushels of produce each man could produce in a year, namely:

- Pentacosiomedimni – "Men of the 500 bushel", those who produced 500 bushels of produce per year, could serve as generals in the army
- Hippeis – Knights, those who could equip themselves and one cavalry horse for war, valued at 300 bushels per year
- Zeugitae – Tillers, owners of at least one pair of beasts of burden, valued at 200 bushels per year, could serve as Hoplites
- Thetes – Manual laborers

N. G. L. Hammond supposes that Solon instituted a graduated tax upon the upper classes, levied in a ratio of 6:3:1, with the lowest class of thetes paying nothing in taxes but remaining ineligible for elected office.

Aristotle later wrote in his Nicomachean Ethics (Book 8, Chapter 10) about three "true political forms" for a state, each of which could appear in corrupt form, becoming one of three negative forms. Aristotle describes timocracy in the sense of rule by property-owners: it comprised one of his true political forms. Aristotelian timocracy approximated to the constitution of Athens, although Athens exemplified the corrupted version of this form, described as democracy.

Timocracy, comparable values, and Plato's five regimes
Main article: Plato's five regimes

In The Republic, Plato describes five regimes (of which four are unjust). Timocracy is listed as the first "unjust" regime. Aristocracy degenerates into timocracy when, due to miscalculation on the part of its governed class, the next generation of guardians and auxiliaries includes persons of an inferior nature (the persons with souls made of iron or bronze, as opposed to the ideal guardians and auxiliaries, who have souls made of gold and silver). A timocracy, in choosing its leaders, is "inclining rather to the more high-spirited and simple-minded type, who are better suited for war".[2] The city-state of Sparta provided Plato with a real-world model for

this form of government. Modern observers might describe Sparta as a totalitarian or one-party state, although the details we know of its society come almost exclusively from Sparta's enemies. The idea of militarism-stratocracy accurately reflects the fundamental values of Spartan society.

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Totalitarianism

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Totalitarianism is a political system in which the state recognizes no limits to its authority and strives to regulate every aspect of public and private life wherever feasible, without any respect for human rights.[1] Totalitarian regimes stay in political power through such techniques as propaganda, state control of the mass media and educational system, control over the economy, political repression, capital punishment, restriction of speech, mass surveillance, and the establishment of internment or forced labour camps. A distinctive feature of totalitarian governments is an "elaborate ideology, a set of ideas that gives meaning and direction to the whole society",[2] often involving a one-party state, a dictator and a personality cult.

The concept of totalitarianism was first developed in the 1920s by the Weimar German jurist, and later Nazi academic, Carl Schmitt, and Italian fascists. Schmitt used the term, Totalstaat, in his influential work on the legal basis of an all-powerful state, The Concept of the Political (1927).[3] The concept became prominent in Western political discourse as a concept that highlights similarities between Fascist states and the Soviet Union.[4][5][6][7][8]Other movements and governments have also been described as totalitarian, particularly that of present-day North Korea.

Etymology

The notion of totalitarianism as a "total" political power by state was formulated in 1923 by Giovanni Amendola, who described Italian Fascism as a system fundamentally different from conventional dictatorships.[9] The term was later assigned a positive meaning in the writings of Giovanni Gentile, Italy's most prominent philosopher and leading theorist of fascism. He used the term "totalitario" to refer to the structure and goals of the new state, which were to provide the "total representation of the nation and total guidance of national goals."[10] He described totalitarianism as a society in which the ideology of the state had influence, if not power, over most of its citizens.[11] According to Benito Mussolini, this system politicizes everything spiritual and human: "Everything within the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state."[9]

Early concepts and use

One of the first to use the term "totalitarianism" in the English language was the Austrian writer Franz Borkenau in his 1938 book The Communist International, in which he commented that it united the Soviet and German dictatorships more than it divided them.[12] The label "totalitarian" was twice affixed to the Hitler regime during Winston Churchill's speech of October 5, 1938[13] before the House of Commons in opposition to the Munich Agreement, by which France and Great Britain consented to Nazi Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland. Churchill was then a backbencher MP representing the Epping constituency. In a radio address two weeks later Churchill again employed the term, this time applying the

concept to "a Communist or a Nazi tyranny."[14]The leader of the historic Spanish reactionary[citation needed] conservative party called the Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right declared his intention to "give Spain a true unity, a new spirit, a totalitarian polity…" and went on to say "Democracy is not an end but a means to the conquest of the new state. When the time comes, either parliament submits or we will eliminate it."[15]The British author George Orwell made frequent use of word totalitarian and its cognates in multiple essays published in 1940, 1941 and 1942, seeing fit to insert the expression into essays whose principal subject was Charles Dickens, Rudyard Kipling, H.G. Wells, Henry Miller or twopenny color postcards. It should come as no surprise that by the time he published the famous essay Why I Write in mid-1946, opposition to totalitarian thought and government had come to play such a prominent role in Orwell's political identity that he was able to say: The Spanish war and other events in 1936-37 turned the scale and thereafter I knew where I stood. Every line of serious work that I have written since 1936 has been written, directly or indirectly, against totalitarianism and for democratic socialism, as I understand it.[16]

Adolf HitlerDuring a 1945 lecture series entitled The Soviet Impact on the Western World (published as a book in 1946), the pro-Soviet British historian E. H. Carr claimed that "The trend away from individualism and towards totalitarianism is everywhere unmistakable", and that Marxism–Leninism was by far the most successful type of totalitarianism, as proved by Soviet industrial growth and the Red Army's role in defeating Germany. Only the "blind and incurable" could ignore the trend towards totalitarianism, said Carr.[17]Karl Popper, in The Open Society and Its Enemies (1945) and The Poverty of Historicism (1961), articulated an influential critique of totalitarianism: in both works, he contrasted the "open society" of liberal democracy with totalitarianism, and argued that the latter is grounded in the belief that history moves toward an immutable future in accordance with knowable laws. Syngman Rhee who would later become the first President of South Korea, used the term "totalitarianism" in his book Japan Inside Out (1941) to categorize the Japanese rule over many Asian nations against the democratic world, where individuals are of greater importance than the society itself. Isabel Paterson, in The God of the Machine (1943), used the term in connection with the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany.[citation needed]

In The Origins of Totalitarianism, Hannah Arendt argued that Nazi and State communist regimes were new forms of government, and not merely updated versions of the old tyrannies. According to Arendt, the source of the mass appeal of totalitarian regimes is their ideology, which provides a comforting, single answer to the mysteries of the past, present, and future. For Nazism, all history is the history of race struggle; and, for Marxism, all history is the history of class struggle. Once that premise is accepted, all actions of the state can be justified by appeal to Nature or the Law of History, justifying their establishment of authoritarian state apparatus.[18]In addition to Arendt, many scholars from a variety of academic backgrounds and ideological positions have closely examined totalitarianism. Among the most noted commentators on totalitarianism are Raymond Aron, Lawrence Aronsen, Franz Borkenau, Karl Dietrich Bracher, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Robert Conquest, Carl Joachim Friedrich, Eckhard Jesse, Leopold Labedz, Walter Laqueur, Claude Lefort, Juan Linz, Richard Löwenthal, Karl Popper, Richard Pipes, Leonard Schapiro, and Adam Ulam. Each one of these describes totalitarianism in slightly different ways. They all agree, however, that totalitarianism seeks to

mobilize entire populations in support of an official state ideology, and is intolerant of activities which are not directed towards the goals of the state, entailing repression or state control of business, labour unions, churches or political parties.

Differences between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes

The term "authoritarian regime" denotes a state in which the single power holder – an individual "dictator", a committee or a junta or an otherwise small group of political elite – monopolizes political power. "[T]he authoritarian state ... is only concerned with political power and as long as that is not contested it gives society a certain degree of liberty."[19] The authoritarianism "does not attempt to change the world and human nature."[19]In contrast, a totalitarian regime attempts to control virtually all aspects of the social life, including the economy, education, art, science, private life, and morals of citizens. "The officially proclaimed ideology penetrates into the deepest reaches of societal structure and the totalitarian government seeks to completely control the thoughts and actions of its citizens."[9] It also mobilizes the whole population in pursuit of its goals. Carl Joachim Friedrich writes that "a totalist ideology, a party reinforced by a secret police, and monopoly control of [...] industrial mass society" are the three features of totalitarian regimes that distinguish them from other autocracies.[19]

Cold War-era research

The political scientists Carl Friedrich and American geostrategist Zbigniew Brzezinski were primarily responsible for expanding the usage of the term in university social science and professional research, reformulating it as a paradigm for the Soviet Union as well as fascist regimes. Friedrich and Brzezinski argue that a totalitarian system has the following six, mutually supportive, defining characteristics:
1 Elaborate guiding ideology.
2 Single mass party, typically led by a dictator.
3 System of terror, using such instruments as violence and secret police.
4 Monopoly on weapons.
5 Monopoly on the means of communication.
6 Central direction and control of the economy through state planning.
Totalitarian regimes in Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union had initial origins in the chaos that followed in the wake of World War I and allowed totalitarian movements to seize control of the government, while the sophistication of modern weapons and communications enabled them to effectively establish what Friedrich and Brzezinski called a totalitarian dictatorship.
The German historian Karl Dietrich Bracher, whose work is primarily concerned with Nazi Germany, argues that the "totalitarian typology" as developed by Friedrich and Brzezinski is an excessively inflexible model, and failed to consider the "revolutionary dynamic" that Bracher asserts is at the heart of totalitarianism.[20] Bracher maintains that the essence of totalitarianism is the total claim to control

and remake all aspects of society combined with an all-embracing ideology, the value on authoritarian leadership, and the pretence of the common identity of state and society, which distinguished the totalitarian "closed" understanding of politics from the "open" democratic understanding.[20] Unlike the Friedrich-Brzezinski definition Bracher argued that totalitarian regimes did not require a single leader and could function with a collective leadership, which led the American historian Walter Laqueur to argue that Bracher's definition seemed to fit reality better than the Friedrich-Brzezinski definition.[21]In his book The True Believer, Eric Hoffer argues that mass movements like Stalinism, fascism, and Nazism had a common trait in picturing Western democracies and their values as decadent, with people "too soft, too pleasure-loving and too selfish" to sacrifice for a higher cause, which for them implies an inner moral and biological decay. He further claims that those movements offered the prospect of a glorious future to frustrated people, enabling them to find a refuge from the lack of personal accomplishments in their individual existence. The individual is then assimilated into a compact collective body and "fact-proof screens from reality" are established.[22]

Criticism and recent work with the concept

Further information: Collective leadership and History of the Soviet Union (1964–1982)

Some social scientists have criticized the approach of Carl Joachim Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, arguing that the Soviet system, both as a political and as a social entity, was in fact better understood in terms of interest groups, competing elites, or even in class terms (using the concept of the nomenklatura as a vehicle for a new ruling class).[23] These critics pointed to evidence of popular support for the regime and widespread dispersion of power, at least in the implementation of policy, among sectoral and regional authorities. For some followers of this 'pluralist' approach, this was evidence of the ability of the regime to adapt to include new demands. However, proponents of the totalitarian model claimed that the failure of the system to survive showed not only its inability to adapt but the mere formality of supposed popular participation.

Historians of the Nazi period who are inclined towards a functionalist interpretation of the Third Reich, such as Martin Broszat, Hans Mommsen and Ian Kershaw, have been hostile or lukewarm towards the totalitarianism concept, arguing that the Nazi regime was too disorganized to be considered totalitarian.[24]In the field of Soviet history, the totalitarian concept has been disparaged by the "revisionist" school, some of whose more prominent members are Sheila Fitzpatrick, Jerry F. Hough, William McCagg, Robert W. Thurston, and J. Arch Getty.[25] Though their individual interpretations differ, the revisionists have argued that the Soviet state under Joseph Stalin was institutionally weak, that the level of terror was much exaggerated, and that — to the extent it occurred — it reflected the weaknesses rather than the strengths of the Soviet state.[25] Fitzpatrick argued that since to the extent that there was terror in the Soviet Union, it provided for increased social mobility, and therefore most people in the Soviet Union supported Stalin's purges as a chance for a better life rather than feeling that they were trapped in a terrorized society.[26][27]Writing in 1987, Walter Laqueur said that the revisionists in the field of Soviet history were guilty of confusing popularity with morality,

and of making highly embarrassing and not very convincing arguments against the concept of the Soviet Union as a totalitarian state.[28] Laqueur argued that the revisionists' arguments with regard to Soviet history were highly similar to the arguments made by Ernst Nolte regarding German history.[28] Laqueur asserted that concepts such as modernization were inadequate tools for explaining Soviet history while totalitarianism was not.[29]François Furet used the term "totalitarian twins"[30] in an attempt to link Stalinism[31] and Nazism.[32]

Totalitarianism in architecture

Non-political aspects of the culture and motifs of totalitarian countries have themselves often been labeled innately "totalitarian". For example, Theodore Dalrymple, a British author, physician, and political commentator, has written for City Journal that brutalist structures are an expression of totalitarianism given that their grand, concrete-based design involves destroying gentler, more-human places such as gardens.[33] In 1949, author George Orwell described the Ministry of Truth in Nineteen Eighty-Four as an "enormous, pyramidal structure of white concrete, soaring up terrace after terrace, three hundred metres into the air". Columnist Ben Macintyre of The Times wrote that it was "a prescient description of the sort of totalitarian architecture that would soon dominate the Communist bloc". [34]Another example of totalitarianism in architecture is the Panopticon, a type of institutional building designed by English philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham in the late eighteenth century. The concept of the design is to allow a watchman to observe (-opticon) all (pan-) inmates of an institution without their being able to tell whether or not they are being watched. It was invoked by Michel Foucault, in Discipline and Punish, as metaphor for "disciplinary" societies and their pervasive inclination to observe and normalise.[citation needed]

See also

Absolute monarchy
Authoritarianism
Autocracy
Carceral state
Dictatorship
Inverted totalitarianism
One-party state
Police state
Total institution
Totalitarian democracy

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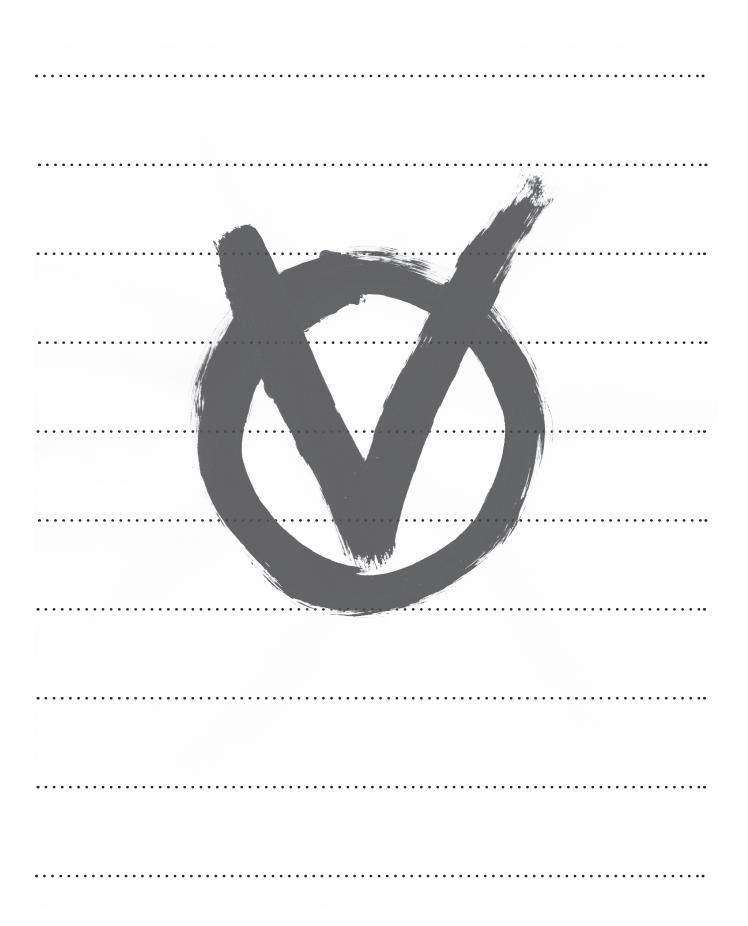
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Vetocracy

A vetocracy refers to a dysfunctional system of governance whereby no single entity can acquire enough power to make decisions and take effective charge. [1] The term points to an excessive ability or willingness to use the veto power within a government or institution (without an adequate means of any override). Such limitations may point to a lack of trust among members or hesitance to cede sovereignty.

Some institutions which have been hampered by perceptions of vetocratic limitations (and even responsible for their downfall) include the Articles of Confederation, the Confederate States of America, and the League of Nations. The present-day United Nations Security Council is criticized for its inability to take decisive action due to the exclusive rights of veto power of permanent members. Thomas Friedman and Moisés Naím[2] also used the term to describe the argument of Francis Fukuyama that the United States was facing such a crisis.

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1 Jump up ˆ http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/22/opinion/sunday/friedman-down-with-everything.html?_r=0
2 Jump up ˆ http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/world/jan-june13/power_04-11.html

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is
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