

human rights: Minority groups persecuted. At the referendum on the 'Islamic state' those who voted had their I.D. papers marked. Freedom of press did not include 'matters detrimental to the fundamentals of Islam'? Use of torture against opponents of the Gov. Attempts to form political parties (as allowed by constitution) not encouraged. The Effects of the Iranian Revolution: The creation of a fundamentalist Islamic state caused a shift in the balance of power in a region of strategic importance. Provided a model for a successful Islamic revolution. Gov. in many Moslem states placed in difficulties b/c of the Ayatollah's calls to Moslems to rise up against non-Islamic Gov. Gov. of Moslem states w/ pro-western foreign policies had to moderate their policies Led to a marked rise in international terrorism. The violently anti-US policies of the Iranians led to a break in diplomatic relations. Promotion of the concept of 'Jihad'. Islamic Unity Koran says all Moslems are one nation and therefore present day boundaries between states are artificial. But attempts at Islamic Unity have been directed against the 'enemies of Islam' rather than to bring about unity in itself. Major political differences between Moslem states (i.e.: S.A. is a conservative monarchy while Libya is ruled by a revolutionary who overthrew the king) Religious differences: most Moslems are Sunni but Iran is largely Shia / differences between fundamentalists and modernists. Few Moslem states are truly Islamic states. Nationalism is a strong force, esp. in states which have recently obtained independence. Divisions within Moslem society: gaps between the wealthy and the mass of the people. Divisions between rich and poor states (oil producing vs. Poor states, although rich states like S.A. have use part of their wealth to promote Islamic causes) There remains a great deal of western influence which undermines traditional Islamic values ? very difficult to benefit from advanced western technology w/out accepting some elements of western culture. The Position of Women in Islamic Society Issues: Marriage: man may have 4 wives but a woman only 1 husband. Divorce: easier for man to divorce than a woman. Dress Code: women must wear a dress which covers the whole of her body (except for face and hands) ? wearing of veil. Child Marriages: in many countries arranged marriages for v. young girls are common. Employment: in practice all employment is forbidden in some countries (under argument that work brings women into contact w/ men in an unacceptable way.) Education: there must be segregation ? the reality is there are much fewer women in full time education. Restrictions on: (in some countries) going out unsupervised wearing cosmetics driving cars Visiting public baths etc. Factors to be considered: The extent to which the inferior status is built into the faith (i.e.: divorce laws) The extent to which women's status varies from country to country according to interpretations of the Koran. Different sects of Islam The Koran was revolutionary in comparison to the way women were treated then (as goods) No separation of Church and State in Islam (elements of religious belief will be found in law) In western-Christian society changes in women's right only took place recently. There still exists inequality in the west and forms of exploitation. Christian marriage ceremony includes promise of wife to 'obey' husband. Other notes on Women in Islam see notes. The Political Christ Politicization: internal transformation of the faith itself, so that it comes to be defined in terms of political values ? it becomes essentially concerned with social morality rather than with the ethereal qualities of immortality. Why? Belief that Christians have in the past been too concerned with spirituality. Religious engagement with the world seen as an affair of charitable palliatives (i.e.: giving help to the poor ? doesn't solve their problem) "politics moved into its own sphere" i.e.: Gov. education,? What does politicization mean? Contemporary Christians seek a reaction to what are regarded increasingly as collective sins: racism, economic or cultural exploitation, class division, denial of human rights? Therefore the attitudes of Christians are those of society in general. Some of the clergy have 'defined their religious values according to the categories and references provided by the compulsive moralism of contemporary intellectual culture.' "Between a Christian knowledge of politics acquired in order to serve the interests of the Church as an institution, and the identification of the content of the faith with human attempts at social improvement, there is a fundamental difference.

Consequences: Church is not looked to for social teaching. "Even fears of impending global chaos or annihilation do not elicit religious responses" as they once would have. Religion is no longer regarded as a guarantor of stability. Christianity (Religion and Politics) Key Points: Most widespread of the three great monotheistic faiths / major faith in the countries which have dominated international relations. Very divided faith. Has been associated with imperialism and accused of being the 'white man's faith'. Not a 'literal minded' faith in comparison w/ Islam. Includes the notion of the 'separation of Church and State'. Remains serious doctrinal differences btw Catholics + Protestants. Europe General Background: During the 19th century the influence of the Christian Churches in Europe began to decline seriously. The Main Reasons are: Scientific advances providing rational explanations for phenomena previously explained in religious terms. Darwin and his 'Origin of the Species' cast doubt upon the creation of mankind by God. Failure to come to terms with changes in society (i.e.: few churches in new industrial cities) Failed to anticipate the growth of democracy (i.e.: continued to side with aristocracy) Expansion of the role of the state (i.e.: w/ growth of socialism meant the creation of Gov. insurance, pension schemes, and education. Increased living standards in Europe meant a more materialistic outlook on life. Discredited (i.e.: horrors of WWI and the role of the Protestant Churches in encouraging nationalistic and warlike attitudes) Spread of Marxist beliefs (religion as 'opiate of the masses?) The reaction of the Roman Catholic Church: Christian Democracy: An attempt by the Catholic Church to develop appropriate social doctrines. Its aims were: Encourage class reconciliation (i.e.: combat the Marxist doctrine of class warfare) Supportive of the extension of the right to vote to the working class (in hope of a decrease in the appeal of Marxism) Promotion of the establishment of moderate political parties. Placing greater emphasis on the social and economic rights of the working class (as being as important as political ones) Much work was a result of Pope Leo XIII who in 1891 issued a papal encyclical entitled 'Rerum Novarum' Industrial Revolution had placed wealth in the hands of 'a small number of opulent and wealthy men and put upon the innumerable multitude of proletarians a yoke that differed little from slavery". Support for worker organizations without which workers were 'alone and defenseless' against the inhumanity of their masters". Other measures of Pope Leo XIII: (1878-1903) Opened the archives of the Vatican to scholars after centuries of secrecy. Restated social doctrines to make them relevant. Encouraged the formation of Catholic trade unions. Sought to come to terms with the secular states with which the Church had been in conflict (i.e.: Italy, France) The Catholic Church and Fascism: Rise of Fascism represented a major setback for

Christian Democracy: Totalitarian nature of fascism: i.e.: in Germany Churches were brought under tight Gov. control, curriculum of Catholic schools was supervised. In the early years of fascism the Church seemed willing to support the dictators (seen as a means of preventing the spread of atheistic communism) i.e.: in Italy agreements w/ Mussolini, in Germany it only criticized the Nazi regime in 1937! (Encyclical ?With Burning Faith?) The development of Christian Democracy after 1945: After WWII, CD developed rapidly and became a major political force. The reasons for this are: Added the ?appeal of the absolute? to the traditional appeal of a moderate political party. Atheistic regimes had been totally discredited (i.e.: Germany) Seemed to offer the possibility of real change w/out recourse to either the extremes of left or right. No longer seen as purely Catholic. Provided an element of cohesion for the groups of the center of the political spectrum. Benefited from active support of the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church (of influence in areas where the majority of the pop. was Catholic: Italy, southern Germany, Belgium, ?) In the former Axis states the CD benefited from the support of the occupying powers (i.e.: in Germany) The Christian Democratic Union in the Federal Republic of Germany: Reasons for the Success of the C.D.U.: Discrediting of the two extremes. Support from the Allies. Skillful leadership (Adenauer in 1950s and Kohl in 1980-90s) Part of a wider trend towards conservatism. Rapid economic recovery of Federal Republic in 1950s. C.D.U. played down the Catholic origins to allow for a wider appeal. Successful programmes of ?social equalization? (gave workers many rights?) Electoral law prevented fragmentation and favored the larger political parties of the center b/c party w/ under 5% of nationwide votes is not entitled to any seats in the parliament. Christian Democracy in Italy: CD held power from 1948 until a series of scandals in early 1990s. The main reasons for their success were: Very wide political base (appealed to all levels of society) Received considerable support from the Vatican and C.C. Enjoyed overwhelming support in rural south with its religious and conservative population. Fear of communism (which seemed as the only real alternative to the CDs). Supported by allies in the first elections (i.e.: victory for the left in 1948 might have meant being excluded from the Marshall Aid programme) Truman would not tolerate a communist Gov. in Italy and the communist were precisely the only alternative to the CDs. From 1953 onwards the CDs are obliged to seek coalition partners to remain in power. They were able to survive until 1990s with the following consequences: Lack of stability in Gov. (i.e.: 1948-1988 on change of Gov. per year on average) Real issues not dealt with b/c attempts to do so would threaten the coalition Gov. Apathy toward the political process and contempt for politicians. Economic drift: part of Italy?s economy became ?unofficial? b/c of the lack of firm Gov. Rise of the communist party but its failure to achieve power nationally. The Collapse of Christian Democracy in Italy: (Main reasons for ? 1990s) Failed to deliver real changes. Widespread corruption (i.e.: involvement w/ Mafia) Stagnation of the economy: Italy lags behind its European partners / growing divide between North and South. Belief that only a total reorganization of the system would enable progress to be made (b/c of corruption and killings by Mafia) Constitutional problems (i.e.: proportional representation system ? coalition governments / fragmentation) How Christian are Christian Democrats? Christian faith doesn?t have the same close relationship between Church and state as in Islam, therefore a high degree of intermixing of religion and law or constitution was not expected. However, there were some areas of involvement which were: Moral issues: esp. related to marriage, divorce and abortion (i.e.: in Ireland) Control of education: still issue in France where the solution was government funding for ?private? Catholic schools. Funding of Churches: i.e.: in Germany recognized Churches receive Gov. funding. Social programmes: i.e.: Church speaking out against Gov. plans to cut benefits or programmes for low-income earners. Direct constitutional links (sometimes) i.e.: in Britain, King or Queen is the head of the Church of England and must be Protestant. The Catholic Church in Latin America Background: More than 95% Catholic ? Church has great influence in region. Until recently the Church sided with the ruling classes ? led to problems that must now be faced: Social injustice: few states in Latin America which could be described as democratic / very uneven distribution of wealth. Marxist influence: above problems meant there was a considerable interest shown by the oppressed in Marxism ? many Marxist revolutions took place in Latin America Role of Clergy: to what extent should the Church become politically involved? ? conflict between: Catholic leadership in Rome / local leaders in LA More conservative bishops/cardinals in LA / local leaders in Latin America Conservative priests / activist priests ? led to the support by the more radical priest of ?liberation theology? Other Important Problems: Rapidly expanding population in LA which has outstripped the ability of the economies of the states ? in some countries 50% pop. are under age of 20 / small ratio of priests to Catholic pop. / many priests are foreigners who stay for temporary periods / drift of rural workers to the cities. Difficult to respond given: Problems associated w/ ?machismo? (lots of children means masculinity) Vatican ruling on certain forms of birth control. Response of the Catholic Church Leadership: Development of Social doctrines: Rerum Novarum (1891) see notes above. Quadragesimo Anno (1931): placed the Church on the side of land-less laborers and in support of agrarian reform. Both were critical of the prevailing ?western? capitalist values (i.e.: labor-market determination of wages.) 1968: Pope Paul VI at ?International Eucharist Congress? in LA " We will continue to denounce unjust economic inequalities?" "We take this opportunity to exhort all the Governments of Latin America?to persevere in?the reforms necessary for a more just and efficient social arrangement?" "Allow us?to exhort you not to place your trust in violence and revolution ? that is contrary to the Christian spirit" 1980: "Pope John Paul reaffirmed the Roman Catholic Church?s commitment to seek non-violent social change?" "?he warned that the liberation of the poor and oppressed must be in accordance with Christian, and not Marxist, concepts." Conflict between the South American Church and Rome: Clergyman in Sao Paulo: "This business of Roma locuta, causa finita [When Rome has spoken, the matter is ended] is a thing of the past" Brazilian theologian: "The Pope wants the Church united on everything from holy water to the Eucharist. I wonder if there is any longer a place for pluralism?" 1984 radical thinker Boff was censored by Rome which accused him of "a disastrous confusion between the poor of the scriptures and the proletariat of Marx" ?Theology of Liberation? (since early 1970s) ? activist priests. ? politicization of the faith (see notes above) Main Features of the Theology of Liberation: The influence is "to a large extent due to Marx"; Advocating class struggle (Church ought to be active where people/social classes struggle?) Advocating Marx?s idea of violent revolution: (revolutionary violence can be justified to bring change in the face of the

institutionalized violence of the state.) Marxist view of 'good life on earth': advocates salvation is not only some 'other worldly' condition but the construction of social justice in the existing world. Believes that Christ was a political liberator (message of revolution in the Bible) Advocates class consciousness: importance of education in generating social consciousness. Theology of Liberation in action: Brazil: Progressive elements of the episcopate: Worked for a radical transformation of inherited socio-economic and political structures. Helped create an ecclesiastical climate which facilitated the emergence of liberation theology. The Church emerged in Brazil as a major source of opposition to authoritarian rule, it: Helped produce leaders for mass opposition movements. Established Ecclesiastical Base Communities to help neighborhoods cope with the rigors of life. Return to civilian rule in 1985 ? less Church engagement in the political arena. Post Military Period: Yet, Church is still critical of the Gov.'s policies concerning the poor. Attacked Gov. on corruption and failure to address continuing economic and social problems (1988) Drew attention to the destruction of Amazonian forests. Refusal of some to participate in this emphasize still existing divisions btw progressives and conservatives. Nicaragua: (1979 Revolution) Radical clergy assisted the revolutionary effort. The Position of the Catholic Church in the 1990s: Clear stance against social/economic injustice (criticisms of aspects of capitalism) Demands for land and tax reform to increase support for the poorest and most oppressed members of society. Pressured Gov. thought to be slow at reform. Priests, at a local level, have increasingly identified w/ the struggles of the very poor. However, Rome and some of the hierarchy have stated: Change must be non-violent and gradual. Marxism and Christianity cannot be linked together. Liberation theology is not acceptable. Priest that go beyond limits will be disciplined. Note: recent popes have adopted conservative stances on matters of faith, refusing to accept changes in the areas of birth control, divorce, ? The Christian Churches in South Africa Christian Churches face the problem of their attitude to apartheid. The Dutch Reformed Church has accepted it, and claimed there is divine support for it. The various English speaking Churches have opposed apartheid and become involved in the struggle against it. Apartheid and the Dutch Reformed Church: Note: The Church has been very much involved in the history of the Afrikaner's attempts to preserve the independence of their people. There has been a close relationship between the DRC and the aspirations of the Afrikaners: Christian Nationalism: love of nation and love of Christ go together (i.e.: success of Great Trek meant support of God.) DRC has been one of the chief means of preserving the culture of Afrikaners. Afrikaners felt a sense of superiority over non-European races ? supported by the 'God-willed diversity of peoples'. Note: the history of the Afrikaners has been a history of struggle to preserve an identity ? led to 'laager mentality' (need to survive) Apartheid and the English Speaking Churches: The ESC have played an increasingly active role in opposition to it. ESC took the position that: Discrimination btw men on the basis of race was inconsistent w/ principles of Christianity. All should have the right to vote (irrespective of race) All should have equal opportunities in education and work. ESC have protested against Gov. regulations in implementing Apartheid (i.e.: Group Areas Act, Mixed Marriage Act, Immorality Act) ESC and DRC (although this statement was rejected by its own hierarchy) made a statement which included: That mixed marriages were valid. A condemnation of migratory labor laws. A demand that all citizens of South Africa receive equal shares in the rewards and privileges of citizenship. Setting up of the Christian Institute (banned in 1977) to establish common ground btw different races and different Churches. Council of South African Churches (1968) formed to fight against racism ? criticized the 'false gospel' of apartheid. Helped organize community dev. projects. Provided scholarships for black students. Gave help to families of political prisoners. Publicly criticized apartheid policies 1978: Black bishop Desmond Tutu as general-secretary of Council of South African Churches (more credibility w/ black pop.) CSAC urged people to refuse to do military service. Evaluation of the success of the Council in its struggle: Despite some minor success, no great impact b/c: Blacks tended to adopt a cynical attitude towards the council. Many blacks identified Christianity with imperialism. The Council had very little political influence b/c it had no political party. Overtaken by the actions of the World Council of Churches: WCC provided grants to groups who fought apartheid. Promoted non-violence (blacks saw little alternatives to non-violence and took as example the resistance movements in Europe in WWII who were and still are praised despite their violence. Gov. showed little evidence of weakness b/c: Possessed most powerful military force in Africa Western powers could do little against it (needed gold, diamonds and uranium productions) Effective barrier to communism (???) The Black Renaissance: 1970s: growth in black consciousness, caused by: Success of civil rights movements in the US. Success of guerilla groups in Mozambique, Angola ? Detribalisation amongst urban blacks who then identified w/ being black instead of w/ a tribe. This new pride was a problem to Churches b/c: How to respond w/ the increasing violence w/out alienating itself further from the blacks. How to deal with the rejection of 'the white man's church'. How to respond to development of 'black theology' (Africanized and politicized faith in order to fit black peoples struggle in South Africa) The Position of The Orthodox Church in the USSR Two factors to bear in mind: The Orthodox Church was one of the greatest supporters of the Czarist system of autocracy. According to Marxist doctrine (incorporated into the official state ideology of the USSR) religion is 'the opiate of the masses'. The Situation 1917-1940: 1918: Decree concerning 'the separation of Church and State and the separation of the Schools from the Church' with the aim of: To bring to an end close identification btw Church and State that had existed w/ the czars. Exclude the Church from any role in education. This was done by: Forbidding all Church participation in the life of state. - Church could not control hospitals, etc. and was cut off from its 'charity' role. Taking away control of schools. Churches could only remain open upon Gov. approval. Freedom of conscience was declared, but in practice people who attended church services were persecuted. Result: Many anti-orthodox outbursts. Church property confiscated. Number of priests fell. Number of churches, monasteries, etc. fell Church schools and institutions closed. Patriarch imprisoned. Note: the existence of compulsory lessons in atheism in all schools and factories. Reaction of the Church: Ordered faithful to obey the orders of the new Gov. as long as not opposed to the faith. Took no active part in politics / avoided siding with the 'whites' in Civil war. Patriarchs professed loyalty to new state (even though imprisoned at times) The partial recovery of the Church 1941-1959: W/ the threat of Nazi Germany Stalin saw the value of a national church in uniting the people behind the authorities in the coming struggle. The attention of the Soviet leaders was directed away from the Church after the war: expansion of power in E.E., post-war reconstruction, death of Stalin ? power struggle? Results: Increase in number of priests

Greater Israel / associated w/ the belief that Arabs would never be reconciled to the loss of land to Israel. The Occupied Territories: Growing international criticism of living conditions for Palestinians. Settlement policy in West Bank was of international concern. Uprisings amongst the Palestinian population: ?Intifadeh? (1987) Very repressive Israeli action (destruction of homes, closing of schools and universities, deporting of Palestinian leaders) Increasing Brutality by Israeli forces Negotiations with the PLO: support for Israel has reduced w/ even the US opening contacts w/ the PLO ? opinion in the West that Israel doesn't wish to negotiate w/ Palestinians. Internal Israeli politics: in order to be able to rule it has become necessary to have the support of the small political parties (very right wing and orthodox) ? support bought at price of a ?hard-line? stance against PLO negotiations, support for settlements in West Bank and attempts to enforce orthodoxy. Socialism in Europe 1870-1914 Definition : ?Any of various theories of the ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution by society rather than by private individuals, with all members of society sharing in the work and the products.? Origins: Doctrines of Rousseau, early ideals of the French Revolution (fraternity) / effects of the industrial revolution (development of huge cities, slums and terrible working conditions.) Early ?Utopian? socialism: (1st half of 19th century) Idealist, humanitarian form of socialism. Attempts to establish ideal communities in America b/c of despairing conditions in Europe. Leaders considered as eccentrics or harmless by most Gov. Scientific socialism: (from mid-19th century) Result of the works of Louis Blanc, Karl Marx. Didn't lead to revolution anywhere in Europe until 1917. Problems faced by Socialism from 1870 to 1914: ?Accommodating nature of capitalism? ? development of free, compulsory mass education, bonus schemes/ promotion through merit. ? led to reducing the high degree of class ossification of the past. Nationalism: Marx assumed individuals would be loyal to their own class but the masses were more influenced by loyalty to their own nation-state. Revolutionary socialism undermined by reforms, i.e.: in Western Europe demands for social/political/economic reform were met by: Development of parliamentary Gov. Moves towards universal male suffrage. Regulation of working conditions. Social security provisions. Improvement in living standards: (contradicted Marxist view that conditions of the workers would deteriorate) Life expectancy increased. Decline in food prices. Incomes increased. Split between Marxists and Anarchists: destroyed First International (international workers? union) Growth of Syndicalism: true freedom could only be won by ?direct action? (strikes, paralyzing the economy, etc.) Growth of trade unions: didn't always support political socialist movements. In France CGT stated its independence from political parties / Britain: TUC gave birth to the Labor Party / in Italy the Federation of Labour was split btw syndicalist and Catholic unions / ? In times of depression the credibility of socialists was high and in periods of prosperity their support declined rapidly. Unions more concerned with short term gains for their members vs. Socialists more concerned with long term benefits for society. Conflict btw ?revolutionary socialism? and ?revisionism?: Marxists argued all compromise was wrong but there were many socialists willing to work for change within the system. Nationalizing of socialism: Leaders began to think in terms of general rather than narrow class terms as the right to vote spread. Development of political parties ? those socialists elected sat in national parliaments and tended to adopt a more national view. Workers benefited from laws passed by national parliaments ? they had ?more to lose than their chains?. The position of the socialists in the main European states at the turn of the century: Gt. Britain: Fabian Society: believed in gradual, evolutionary change / society of intellectuals. Trade unions: (1871 ? attain legal status) sought to obtain better pay and working conditions through industrial action, eventually, many united to form the Trades Union Congress. Independent Labor Party (formed in 1893) aim of ensuring that socialist candidates were elected to parliament to pressure for reform. Before WWI, the many branches of socialism had united behind the Labor Party and had abandoned almost all of the Marxist elements. France: After Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 there was an attempt to seize power by the Communards (revolutionary socialist elements) ? failed, crush violently in ?La Semaine Sanglante?. Moderate socialist remained weak for much of post-1870 b/c trade unions adopted a ?direct? approach to bringing about desired social reforms. Existed a parliamentary group called the Independents (middle class intellectuals with little appeal to the working class) Following the Dreyfus Affair the socialists did unite under the leadership of Juarez in 1905. ? weakened by refusal of the main trade union (CGT) to support them and assassination of Juarez (1914). <

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