

Neoliberalism and Individualism

Organizational Stereotypes in Bangladesh

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Neoliberalism and Individualism: Theoretical Points

By Alessandro Andre Leme

Abstract- In this article, we propose to analyze¹ neoliberalism in its relationship with individualism, that is, we intend to show that both processes mark the same dynamics of societies and markets today. On the one hand, neoliberalism would be a structural process coercing actors and institutions, however, it would also mark a social dynamic where individuals themselves assume practices and guidelines for conducting their actions in the sense of valuing their own undertaking in the processes of social integration to markets. With this, we aim to show that in contemporary times, reflecting on and analyzing neoliberalism necessarily involves understanding the individualization processes characteristic of modern societies.

Keywords: neoliberalism, individualism, social theory, sociology of development, sociology of economics.

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Neoliberalism and Individualism: Theoretical Points

Alessandro Andre Leme

Abstract- In this article, we propose to analyze¹ neoliberalism in its relationship with individualism, that is, we intend to show that both processes mark the same dynamics of societies and markets today. On the one hand, neoliberalism would be a structural process coercing actors and institutions, however, it would also mark a social dynamic where individuals themselves assume practices and guidelines for conducting their actions in the sense of valuing their own undertaking in the processes of social integration to markets. With this, we aim to show that in contemporary times, reflecting on and analyzing neoliberalism necessarily involves understanding the individualization processes characteristic of modern societies. Keywords: neoliberalism, individualism, social theory, sociology of development, sociology of economics.

I. Introduction or Notes of Research Problems

uestions about neoliberalism and individualism are general themes nowadays and are related to multiple aspects of social life, such as the idea of modernity, freedom, individualism, among others. But it is also linked to the need for change reforms in favor of a relationship of less State and more market, this relationship being mediated by individual actions in the social, economic, political, and cultural spheres.

Individualism as a process and concept can be traced back to the Renaissance in Europe, where some of the markers are the disintegration of the Medieval world, especially from the 14th century in the a) economic plan with the downfall of the feudal economy, of craft corporations, with the strengthening of market associations and urban organization principles; b) in the rebirth of commerce by the great navigations, mainly from the 16th century onwards; c) on the social plane, with the development of layers of merchants – "bourgeois"; decline of feudal nobility; and, d) political plan with the centralization of Power, the weakening of feudal lords, the decline of the Catholic Church and the Protestant Reforms.

There are still as markers of this process the formation of the first Urban University that present a vision centered on Scholasticism/Humanism and with a collective vision of Man/Individual Vision of Man.

The Renaissance, especially in Italy, already indicated a process of transition from medieval

Author: e-mail: alessandro_leme@id.uff.br

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Theocentric culture to Renaissance anthropocentric culture (which also features in other European countries) with significant changes in trade, culture, and politics.

Some Renaissance characters in the arts, politics and science clearly demonstrate these processes of change, where the birth of individualism as a characteristic of modern man begins to emerge and develop in a very significant way.

From ITALY, we quote DANTE ALIGHIERI – 1265-1321, in the work DIVINA COMÉDIA, GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO – 1313-1375, in the work DECAMERON and LEONARDO DA VINCI – 1452-1519, in the multiple manifestations in painting, music, sculpture, architecture, in addition to acting as a philosopher and scientist and MACHIAVEL – 1469-1527 with the notions of science from the effective truth of things, not in their becoming, in what should be.

From the NETHERLANDS we quote ERASMO DE ROTTERDAM – 1469-1536, with the work ELOGIO A MADURA. From SPAIN we quote MIGUEL DE CERVANTES – 1547-1616, with the work DOM QUIXOTE. From PORTUGAL, we quote LUÍS DE CAMÕES – 1525-1580, with the work OS LUSÍADAS. From ENGLAND we quote THOMAS MORE - 1478-1535 with the work UTOPIA and WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE - 1473-1543, as POET and THEATROLOGIST important in the construction of the notion of free, skeptical, and disillusioned individual, in addition to the condemnation of abuses of Power and oppression at the time.

To complete the quotes, but not to exhaust the authors, we quote NICOLAU COPERNICO – 1473-1543 with the HELIOCENTRIC THEORY: earth is not the center of the universe and GALILEO GALILEI – 1564-1642 with the narrative that the earth revolved around the sun and not its reverse.

What all these authors have in common is the presentation, representation, idealization, or even contradiction from the economic, social, political, and cultural transformations that increasingly marked a rational and individualistic world. These characteristics would be expanded from the seventeenth century revolutions (industrial and political) marking the consolidation of modernity as a regulatory and organizing process of life in its social, economic, political, and cultural aspects.

On the other hand, the theme of neoliberalism somehow derives from the birth of classical political economy and the affirmation of liberalism as a theoretical and practical form that allows for synchrony for the economic transformation of nations, defining the boundaries of political-institutional interconnection with

functions of the State, demarcating a unique historical moment of capitalism (in the intensity of accumulation) that is the basis for a "renaissance" in current times.

Which in turn is marked by Rationalism and the Enlightenment - as an offshoot of philosophical speculations, having (or feeling) the influence of the development of natural sciences and the impact they engendered on human knowledge in general, systematic observation and experimentation for the understanding of nature and the human body. The mechanical and physiological analogies then unfolded to economics. These are just some of the transpositions of the so-called natural sciences to the understanding of social and human phenomena.

Although this analogy currently seems to be a scientific redirection, it must be recognized that the transformation of the human cosmos into an object of systematic investigation was not something restricted to economics, but also a movement that reached political and moral philosophy, prompting only changes in the current membership. In the philosophy of law, for example, such a movement was characterized by natural law.

In this historical period (17th and 18th centuries), it can be said that the express notion of market is not only linked to technical factors, but rather referring to a whole problem of implicit formulation of another social and political regulation, inciting the more accentuated development of the productive forces. The social and economic ascent of the bourgeoisie is also a circumstance for the demand favorable emancipation from economic activity in relation to morality. Thus, it appears that there are attempts to answer and solve problems that have not been solved by political theorists of the social contract.

Classical economics, born at the same time and whose exponent was Adam Smith, would present itself closely linked to the precepts of classical liberalism and natural law philosophy. Smith's propositions in "The Wealth of Nations" intended to seek social and politicaleconomic legitimacy for the defense of economic liberalism and to guarantee an environment of free competition between capitals. Any determinant of national economic policy that impedes free competition must be refuted.

Smith aimed, with this work, to understand what factors would determine the increase in the wealth of nations. In this sense, the author both breaks with an explanation centered on circulation proposed by mercantilists, as well as determined by the production sector (agriculture), as listed by physiocrats to propose an economic theory centered on social aspects of

production, that is, wealth of the nations would be founded on the foundations of men's own work²

From this narrative, we can understand the theme of contemporary neoliberalism through two general conceptions, even though each contains different theories and interpretations. Firstly, would be to link neoliberalism as a return, albeit modified and to the contemporary processes adapted transformations of the ideas of economic liberalism, where the main agent of social and economic regulation would be the market, via individualistic and selfish action of individuals in the economy and in social life in general. This process would go through the construction of economic liberalism, mainly from the influence of Locke and Smith, through Marxian criticism, socialists and anarchists in the nineteenth century, the counteroffensive of marginalists in the late nineteenth century, among them, the Englishman Stanley Jevons and the French Leon Walras who present a new theoretical explanation has to be added to an understanding of the natural sciences to establish general laws in which the "things of the universe" would be subject to "harmony" and/or "balance". In the 20th century, the 1929 crisis, the rise and influence of Keynes (mainly) ended up producing, albeit indirectly, a critique of the idea of the free market. And it is in the context of political economy, as a response and criticism to the Marxists and the Keynesian model that authors from the so-called Vienna circle produce a critique of any model of economic regulation centered on the performance of the State as a planning agent and/or even investor in social and economic spheres, we quote here authors of the so-called Austrian and North American School, we highlight here Ludwig Heinrich Edler von Mises, Friedrich August von Hayek and Milton Friedman. In this first perspective, in general, the space of political economy is valued, that is, it is understood that neoliberalism would be linked to transformations in the State and in the market in order to maximize the performance of the market in favor of a reduction in the performance of the State in economics, this is because it is understood that the market would be a more rational space and a better allocator of resources, thus promoting gains both for individuals and for the whole community.

Secondly is part of the debate about how neoliberalism is less a structural process, as promoted by the first approach, and more a cultural process, of subjectivity of individuals, that is, the manner, behaviors and daily social practices of the individuals reproduce general and specific mechanisms of the characterizing aspects of neoliberalism. In other words, neoliberalism would be a power system that oppresses

² Smith's conception of work is closely associated with the notion of individual freedom, thus focusing on objectively human and social issues of labor marked by a greater or lesser division of labor.

individuals and dominates and at the same time destroys the foundations of the rule of consequently, negatively affecting democracy. Here we quote Pierre Dardot and Christian Laval with their book La nouvelle raison du monde, 2009.

Both approaches end up writing about contemporary capitalism, and even though they position the analysis in apparently opposite perspectives, both produce ideas that link neoliberalism to forms of rationality and control in the global sphere, acting in an oppressive way on individuals and on the State. In this sense, in our view, the approaches would not be in dispute with each other, but would be complementary and integrated into the possibility of critique of neoliberalism, whether from the perspective of changes in the market, in the State or even in individuals. Once again, it seems more interesting to deal with the theme and issue of neoliberalism, valuing both structural and dynamic aspects centered on action, while neoliberalism is perceived as a global and synchronous movement between pressures and changes in the realm of state and of the daily practices of individuals.

NEOLIBERALISM AS A SOCIOLOGICAL H. Inquiry

The radical changes that have taken place in the political, ideological, and economic fields, arising from the re-emergence of neoliberal ideas in the last 20 years, which, in turn, had decisive impacts in the world sphere. To analyze such impacts, we suppose that a historical characterization of the main political-economic proposals that this ideology carries is necessary, as well as an understanding of how it enters Latin America.

Only in this way do we understand that it is possible to verify the extent to which the globalization³ process served as a privileged diffuser (simultaneous and synchronic) of neoliberal ideas across different countries.

It is not the intention and/or focus of this paper to discuss and analyze, with due depth, the links between classical economic liberalism and recent propositions categorically named by neoliberals, but only to point out what both are inspired by the reforms that have taken place in the global sphere. in the last 20 years, particularly in Brazil, a historical contextualization of some theoretical propositions that guided the way of thinking and understanding social relations in the political-institutional field at the end of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st century, in Brazil and elsewhere of the world.

The beginning of classical political economy and the affirmation of liberalism as a theoretical and

way of allowing practical for the transformation of nations, defining the boundaries of political-institutional interconnection with the functions of the State, marks a unique historical moment of the capitalism (in the intensity of accumulation) which is the basis for a "renaissance" in current times.

Classical political economy as a field of knowledge aimed at understanding a new mode of production and organization of economies, markets (commercial life) and incipient exchanges with the emergence of capitalism stems from three favorable historical elements: the philosophical roots in which sits down; current issues of commercial life and political liberalism (Coutinho, 1993).

The first element - marked by Rationalism and the Enlightenment - is an unfolding of philosophical speculations, having (or feeling) the influence of the development of natural sciences and the impact they engendered on human knowledge in general, systematic observation and experimentation for the understanding of nature and the human body. The mechanical and physiological analogies then unfolded to economics. These are just some of the transpositions of the so-called natural sciences to the understanding of social and human phenomena.

Although this analogy currently seems to be a scientific redirection, it must be recognized that the transformation of the human cosmos into an object of systematic investigation was not something restricted to economics, but also a movement that reached political and moral philosophy, prompting only changes in the current membership. In the philosophy of law, for example, such a movement was characterized by natural law.

Natural naturalism could be synthesized as the primacy of reason, that is, "a construction of a rational ethics definitively separated from theology and capable, by itself, precisely because it is finally founded on a rational analysis and critique of the fundamentals, to guarantee the universality of the fundamentals. principles of human conduct" (Coutinho, 1993:24). It is through the debates contained in natural law that the conception of the formation of a political society, the State, and the legitimacy of power in the opposition between civil society and the state of nature are based.

In this historical period (17th and 18th centuries), it can be said that the express notion of market is not only linked to technical factors, but rather referring to a whole problem of implicit formulation of another social and political regulation, inciting the more accentuated development of the productive forces. The social and economic ascent of the bourgeoisie is also a favorable circumstance for the demand for emancipation from economic activity in relation to morality. With this, it appears that there are attempts to answer and solve problems that have not been solved

Globalization, understood here as a historically determined sociological concept. To this end, we will work with several authors within the social sciences who have made and/or are still making efforts to understand this concept.

by political theorists of the social contract (Rosanvallon, 2002).

Classical economics, born at the same time and whose exponent was Adam Smith, would present itself closely linked to the precepts of classical liberalism and iusnaturalist philosophy.

Smith's propositions in "The Wealth of Nations" intended to seek social and political-economic legitimacy for the defense of economic liberalism and to guarantee an environment of free competition between capitals. Any determinant of national economic policy that impedes free competition must be refuted.

Smith aimed with this work, the understanding about which factors would determine the increase of wealth of nations. In this sense, the author both breaks with an explanation centered on circulation proposed by the mercantilists as well as determined by the production sector (agriculture) as listed by the physiocrats to propose an economic theory centered on social aspects of production, that is, the wealth of nations it would rest on the foundations of men's own work (Smith, 1998).

This postulate is presented as an objective science of material wealth, that is, a field of conciliation between the individual search for benefit and the opulence of society and the State.

Thus, when individuals sought the most profitable investment opportunities for themselves, it is because these would also be the most productive for the community. The individual would be led by an "invisible hand" that would aim to promote a result that, although it was not in its intention, would lead the nation towards wealth and prosperity.

Based on the above propositions, there is evidence that when theorizing about this new exchange relationship existing between individuals, whose primacy of the market is evident, leads us to an exposition based on the discourse that it would only be through the "Invisible hand", that is, neutrality par excellence. In the idea of the absence of intentionality aimed at Social Welfare, but rather a result of individualized actions that would generate it consequently, a mode of abstract regulation would be established, however, holder of objective 'laws' in the context of relations between individuals although they did not prescribe any relationship of subordination or command (Rosanvallon, 2002).

Secondly element, characterized by the practical issues of economic life, that is, commerce and day-to-day business, were also closely linked through the links between economic thought and everyday commercial life to philosophy and economic theory. They were businessmen willing to apprehend and use the knowledge acquired in commercial practice as well as in the defense of a broader economic policy (Coutinho, 1993). Some of the representatives are Child, Barbon, Petty and Mun among others.

Finally, the third element was political liberalism associated with classical political economy and liberalism in the economic praxis of commercial agents at the time. It not only adds an ideological "look" to the former, but also presents itself as a founding institutional part for them. One of its basic presuppositions was the constitution of norms that allowed the functioning of this new economic order, that is, it would not be established without the intention of the State.

Economic liberalism extrapolates the reductionist vision of previous mercantile societies by moving to a logic of individual action based on instincts, passions and the calculation of accumulation, differentiating itself from the ethics/rituals prevailing in the Middle Ages (such as workshops, their masters and apprentices constituting masterpieces) and generated the imperative of economic action which in turn was not made "masterpieces", but goods (and the value contained in their production process) and sought to optimize their production.

The notion of private property systems remains if, over art, monetary gain prevailed (illustrative of this, the bourgeois/patron who makes himself portray canvases counting the money saved).

It is on this impulse that classical political economy legitimizes itself as a 'scientific' (adequate) way to reflect on a changing material and economic reality, whose priority purpose is the treatment of private wealth and the consideration of society as an entity with changing and growing needs, aimed at obtaining material comfort and spiritual satisfaction.

This process of "naturalization" of economic relations through the above logics, where "externalities" and "naturalities" appear, which are added by historical, political, and institutional variables whose results are different from Social Welfare, when the market shows its "invisible foot" (Hunt and Sherman, 1978). A new theoretical explanation must be added to an understanding of the natural sciences to establish general laws in which "things in the universe" would be subject to "harmony" and/or "balance". In this sense, neoclassical economics emerges, having, among others, the Englishman Stanley Jevons, and the Frenchman Leon Walras as its main exponents.

Jevons, for defining economics as the "mechanics of utility and individual interest"; Walras, by the connection that the market would be organized and balanced by individuals who would contribute autonomously, is indicated both in the process of formation of offers and global demands, that is, it would result in a system of "pure and perfect competition" whose natural adjustment of the atomistic relationships existing between individuals would corroborate for an adjustment in the market which, in turn, would determine a situation of return to the "general equilibrium" imposed on each and every one (Passet, 2002).

According to such propositions, once "natural" economic laws were lacking, the State should strive to preserve them. When thinking about the existence of natural laws in association with the understanding of a state inseparable from political societies, it can be deduced that the State would circumstantially come to be seen, therefore, as an institutional form that maintains the conditions of freedom and progress; however, it can never legislate against the interests of the market and, therefore, against the individual freedoms of capitalists. In this perspective, both the notion of a representative State and that of the market would be the essential factors for guaranteeing the freedom of individuals and, at the same time, they would also emancipate themselves from personal powers, as they would be settled under two impersonal conditions.

For Jevons and Walras, the State would have the function of finding and proposing a "safety net" that would be oriented towards the return of "balance" until natural laws could operate without such support. The free market, liberty, private property, and life are fundamental factors that the State should guarantee.

The exercise of freedom proposed by neoclassical theorists, in corroboration with classical liberals, presupposes certain conditions (objective and subjective), without which it would take place at a precarious and minimal level, which, in turn, would end up losing its "humanizing effectiveness" (Mance, 1995).

In the guarantee of private property and the freedom of men (especially capitalists), it would be natural rights that should be guaranteed by the State at any cost, even in adverse circumstances. While for classical liberals the role of the State is based on national defense (from which international exchanges permeate) and on the production of currency, the neoclassicals bring to light new conceptions of state "duties", among which, the establishment of subsidy policies in case of loss of circumstantial intersectoral competitiveness, such as, for example, in the extraction of steel, aluminum, among others.

The neoliberal proposals of the II Industrial Revolution aim to respond mainly to the Great Depression of the late 1920s, with Keynes as its main successor. Even though Keynes is in support of the fundamental precepts of capitalism, namely, strategies maintaining private property and accumulation, that is, the pursuit of the status quo of neoliberalism, it is based on the overcoming of economic and social precepts by a proposition on which the Welfare State is based a posteriori.

The historical framework of the emergence of the Welfare State basically emerged from three great facts, namely: firstly, by the Great Depression, a collapse of the strong economies based on the free market; secondly, the Soviet economy was experiencing some success in a centralized and planned model of direct state control over the economy and politics,

engendering a relatively successful industrialization process and, last but not least, the ascension process of fascist and Nazi regimes radically centered against economic liberalism.

The Keynesianism that guided it emerged as an alternative both to the socialist "threat" and to Nazifascism, and at the same time aimed at providing a response to the economic crises of liberalism at the time.

The Welfare State was a historical form of reconciliation between the market economy, that is, with the affirmation of the principles of accumulation and private property, with the Democracy that was lacking in real socialism as well as in the Nazi-fascist, in short. authoritarian regimes and/or totalitarian. The market as a self-regulating agent will tend to provide inequality between individuals. However, democratic institutions will pair all individuals, from a political point of view all individuals are considered citizens and, through citizenship, they are equal, Marcus André (1997).

There are three fundamental principles of the Welfare State, namely: social security (it is a support to the worker in case something unforeseen occurs, and he temporarily or definitively loses his capacity to generate income); the expansion of employment and income opportunities – guaranteeing full employment –, which would generate the so-called Effective Demand and, finally, the expansion of social policies, in short, redistributive and compensatory policies, which aim to minimize social inequalities.

These three principles, together, should institute the so-called "social citizenship" which, for Marshall, would be expressed in acquired rights and would correspond to a minimum social standard that the Modern State should ensure to its citizens. "Social citizenship" would be the ethical principle, so to speak, and organizer of the Welfare State, which, in institutional terms would imply a great integration of interests between collective actors, such as public bureaucracies, workers organized in unions, parties strong politicians and capital holders, thus placing the State, capital and workers in dialogue, which is the main tripod of support and debate of the Welfare State (Claus Offe, 1984).

The Welfare State can be understood from a perspective of the public sphere where, based on universal and agreed-upon rules in different ways, it came to be seen as a fundamental assumption for the financing of capital accumulation on the one hand and, on the other, financing the reproduction of the workforce, reaching the entire population globally through social spending (Oliveira, 1998).

For nearly 50 years, the Welfare State reigned supreme. However, in the mid-1970s, some signs began to appear that showed a certain exhaustion of the same. The new wave of economic recession and growth deceleration was combined with the fiscal crisis experienced by the States. With this, there is ground for

the re-emergence of new theorists rooted in liberal currents who would claim economic liberalism for themselves as the "only" alternative for the State to overcome the crisis that has been introduced practically all over the world.

It is this new (old) liberalizing ideal that appears as the (only) solution to the economic crisis. Hence, the theoretical rise of a monetarism as the new face of the neoclassicals.

This monetarism is directly opposed to the previous trend, prevailing between the end of World War Il and the mid-1970s, of a progressive increase in government intervention in capitalist economies, because of the adoption of Keynesian economic policies and social policies aimed at socialization consumption and full employment, embodied in the socalled Welfare State. Both Hayek and Friedman associated the market with freedom, and the State with coercion, and it is based on these associations that they will reflect and produce their respective theories.

Although they recognize that public investment can generate macroeconomic benefits in cyclical recessions, for both, the long-term trend of growth in regulation and State intervention in economic activity could cause a progressive increase in the tax burden, an increase in the deficit inflation and economic slowdown, all harmful to full accumulation.

The monetarists, current with a strong neoclassical bias, will defend the return of the free market within a system of "natural freedoms", once again resuming many of Smith's conceptions of political economy and Walras' economic orthodoxy. For them, the State would have the role of arbiter and not of player, yet it should guarantee and ensure the rules of the game, since these could not be under the tutelage of individuals in the free market under increasingly multilateral and transnationalized exchanges.

In a stricter proposition, Friedman deals with three basic and essential obligations for the "proper functioning" of the "natural freedoms" and economic efficiency of governments (bureaucratic representatives of the State), namely:

- Protect society from violence or the possibility of invasion by other independent societies.
- Ensure internal cohesion and;
- Carry out and maintain some public works that, being essential to guarantee an improvement in the quality of life of the population, would not attract direct investment.

Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek are just some of the representatives who took on the responsibility and demand of economic liberalism. Faced with such a feat, they again introduce into the intellectual/academic and practical scenario the belief in the existence of an "invisible hand" that would exercise the regulation of men's actions and the constant search for balance in the Market.

When rethinking the free market, Friedman develops a dualistic and at first contradictory conception between political factors (present in the notion of State) and extra-political factors (present in the notion of Market). Friedman develops this theory throughout his intellectual career; however, we can evidence these propositions in 'Freedom to choose' and 'Capitalism and freedom', both classic texts by the author.

Hayek is also an advocate of liberal precepts of how economics and politics work within market mechanisms. Hayek's reverberations are immediately and initially at criticism of the British Labor Party, which would run for general elections in 1945 under the Social Democratic umbrella. For Hayek, Social Democracy, even being the bearer of good intentions, would end up historically engendering the same disaster as German Nazism, that is, it would be a kind of modern servitude (Anderson, 1995).

For both Friedman and Havek, one of the main pillars supporting the neoliberal ideal would be the notion of freedom and the market. The first, for being an inherent and essential characteristic that should be guaranteed to all individuals, and the second, for being the natural space through which individual freedoms would occur and tend to balance. For these two characteristics to be effective, the State should neither influence nor intervene in the market game.

Such ideas did not have a marked influence on the governments of capitalist countries before the chronic crisis manifestations of the Keynesian model of the Welfare State, which began to manifest itself in the mid-1970s, being boosted by the second oil shock. The crisis, from the perspective of multilateral agencies, such as the IMF, would be the result of the excessive power of the unions, which would press for increasing social spending by the State, and increased taxation on private capital, both facts seen as generators of inflation and low economic growth.

This "new" paradigm began to form and establish itself politically in the 1980s, with the "neoconservative" governments of Reagan, in the USA, and, above all, that of Margareth Thatcher, in England. Both tried to expand the implementation of neoliberal proposals with an active policy of combating the power of unions (through reforms in union and labor legislation), generating the so-called "flexibility" of markets and the labor contract, and the renunciation of the ideal of full employment, which was once central to Keynesian thought.

From the first effects – seen as successful – of such governments, they started to be seen as milestones in the implementation of neoliberal policies in other countries, such as, for example, in Latin America,

with relative prominence in the case of Argentina. An incipient experience of such economic policies can be historically dated back to the 1970s with the Pinochet government in Chile, still under an authoritarian regime.

The relative economic success that also began to appear in these South American countries under the auspices of multilateral organizations and in response to the state's fiscal crisis contributed to its propagation, for example, to Brazil in the Collor era (1990/92).

In this government, reforms were started that imposed the deregulation and privatization of sectors, all of which, until then, were strategic for national economic sovereignty (such as steel, telecommunications, steel, among others). Investment channels were opened that allowed for the breaking up or "flexibility" of former state monopolies, the unbundling and decentralization of management, the elimination of subsidies and the liberalization of the tariff policy. These measures, more visible in the era of the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government, resulted in, among others:

- The increase in foreign investment in production linked to capital transfers not only to increase production capacity or improve the quality of services, but to obtain shareholding control in companies, however mixed;
- The increase in tariffs for public services that were privatized;
- Disinvestment in areas of lower profitability, due to lack of private interest and disengagement from the State, that is, a social protection network subordinated to the dictates of the market;
- d) The complex structure, but not integrated, regarding the specific legislation of such sectors, including the suggested regulatory agencies.

The "liberalization of the economy", with the modernization and greater opening of the financial sector and the privatization of productive sectors previously considered strategic, among coincided with the announcement of a new policy to reduce public spending to balance the budget and/ or for the destination of payment of debt services. Throughout this paper, we will see that such aspiration or result was not achieved as intended. On the contrary, the internal and external deficits rose in a way (now understood by specialists) as almost unsustainable, that is, the prelude to a serious economic crisis (Casanova, 1997).

Neoliberalism, in this new form in which it appears, presents the fable of the "only possible way" for economic history to happen (not for nothing, Fukuyama had talked about the "End of History") and, however, it should not be lost sight of that neoliberalism and the globalization process (as conveyed by hegemonic discourses) would be constituent parts of this same "fable".

Finally, the attempt to define what this so-called Neoliberalism would be was not such a simple task, as it is a concept constituted with a prefix "neo" whose intention is to give it a new meaning. At the same time, maintaining similarities with concepts created and verified in the past also brings us some comprehension problems.

In this sense, we prefer, even before defining neoliberalism, to present in a historical way some of the basic and essential presuppositions of political and economic liberalism and, from there, to demonstrate what remained as the logic of action and what was changed. Basically, it was possible to verify that neoliberalism took upon itself the proposition of reformulating the functions of the State, rescuing the idea of a Minimum State and a free market, from which, implicitly, the notion of a tendency to equilibrium is contained. The market as a space for the production and reproduction of capital without the political interference of the State, that is, as a space of neutrality or extra-political par excellence.

Another factor that ended up helping to convey these neoliberal precepts was the globalization process. Not that globalization should be seen as an almost autonomous and independent entity, but rather seen as a historical process of production and reproduction of capital in a combined and unequal way that, while aiming to integrate, also highlights differences, whether they are cultural, social, political, economic, and spiritual between the countries of the North and the South.

Globalization, seen as a historically determined process, should not be seen as definitive and even less as a fully constituted phenomenon. On the other hand, it can be said that through it many evidence was raised so that political leaders in Brazil could agree with the actors and hegemonic groups of Brazilian society, to incorporate the reforms carried out by it, among them, the privatization of infrastructure sectors, for example.

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The Madrid Socialist Federation in the Eighties and Ninety. Stability and Access to Autonomous Government

By David Velázquez Rubio

Abstract- The Madrid Socialist Federation (FSM) has been one of the most important organizations of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), at least in the last decades of the 20th century. Its main hallmark is the lack of internal stability caused by the existence of various sectors within it, a fact that caused internal conflicts in the 1970s. Joaquín Leguina's arrival at the Regional Secretariat marked the beginning of a period of relative calm in the Madrid socialist organisation during the 1980s, during which Leguina became president of the Autonomous Community of Madrid (CAM). Stability lasted a short time at the FSM. The 1990s witnessed, once again, the return to internal conflicts in the Madrid organisation.

Keywords: FSM, joaquín leguina, PSOE.

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The Madrid Socialist Federation in the Eighties and Ninety. Stability and Access to Autonomous Government

La Federación Socialista Madrileña en las Décadas de los Ochenta y Noventa. La Estabilidad y el Acceso al Gobierno Autonómico

David Velázquez Rubio

Resumen- La Federación Socialista Madrileña (FSM) ha sido una de las organizaciones más importantes del Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), al menos en las últimas décadas del siglo XX. Su principal seña de identidad es la falta de estabilidad interna motiva por la existencia en su seno de diversos sectores, hecho que provocó en la década de los setenta conflictos en su interior. Con la llegada a la secretaría regional de Joaquín Leguina se inició un periodo de relativa tranquilidad en la organización socialista madrileña durante la década de los años ochenta, periodo durante el cual Leguina se convirtió en presidente de la Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid (CAM). La estabilidad duró poco tiempo en la FSM. La década de los noventa fue testigo, nuevamente, de la vuelta a los conflictos internos en la organización madrileña.

Palabras Clave: FSM, joaquín leguina, PSOE.

Abstract- The Madrid Socialist Federation (FSM) has been one of the most important organizations of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), at least in the last decades of the 20th century. Its main hallmark is the lack of internal stability caused by the existence of various sectors within it, a fact that caused internal conflicts in the 1970s. Joaquín Leguina's arrival at the Regional Secretariat marked the beginning of a period of relative calm in the Madrid socialist organisation during the 1980s, during which Leguina became president of the Autonomous Community of Madrid (CAM). Stability lasted a short time at the FSM. The 1990s witnessed, once again, the return to internal conflicts in the Madrid organisation.

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Introduction I.

a Federación Socialista Madrileña (FSM) encontró en la década de los ochenta la estabilidad de la que había carecido durante el tardofranquismo y los primeros tiempos de la Transición. Las luchas internas y la existencia de sectores en su interior impidieron que la organización socialista madrileña tuviese una línea política unitaria, algo que si existió en otras federaciones socialistas. Esta carencia, apartó a Madrid de los centros decisorios del Partido, cuando éste emprendió el proceso de renovación en la década de los setenta. Desde su posición marginal, la FSM buscó su lugar dentro del PSOErenovado. Y lo hizo con un talante muy crítico con la dirección socialista, como demostraron los resultados del XXVIII Congreso del PSOE de 1979, donde la FSM asumió el papel de firme defensor de la seña de identidad marxista.

Author: UNED. e-mail:davidvelazquezrubio@gmail.com

La inesperada victoria del sector más afín a la Ejecutiva Federal en el Congreso Regional de diciembre de 1979 inició una etapa de estabilidad en la FSM, que se prolongó a lo largo de la década siguiente. Joaquín Leguina, miembro del reducido grupo de Convergencia Socialista Madrileña, que se incorporó al PSOE antes de las elecciones de 1977, cuando se buscaba la unidad del socialismo a partir de las siglas centenarias, se convirtió en el nuevo Secretario Regional. Su objetivo era hacer de la FSM un lugar habitable para las distintas sensibilidades del socialismo madrileño. Para hacer realizable este objetivo contó con dos instrumentos. El primero, el control orgánico de la Federación, facilitando e impulsando la entrada de representantes de los sectores socialistas madrileños en los órganos de dirección. El segundo, el acceso al poder institucional de la Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid (CAM). Después del peculiar encaje de Madrid en el mapa autonómico, Joaquín Leguina se convirtió, con mayoría absoluta, en el primer presidente de la CAM, cargo que ocupó durante doce años.

En la década de los noventa se terminó el periodo de estabilidad de la FSM, volviendo ala senda de los enfrentamientos, que culminó con la fractura de la organización. Esta situación se produjo en el contexto de la pugna entre los renovadores y los guerristas. El propio Leguina se convirtió en uno de los más firmes defensores de la renovación, a través de sus declaraciones y de sus escritos. El corolario a toda esta situación se produjo el 28 de mayo de 1995 cuando el Partido Popular (PP), encabezado por Alberto Ruiz Gallardón, obtuvo la mayoría absoluta en la Asamblea de Madrid, dando por concluida la etapa de los socialistas madrileños en el gobierno autonómico, y con ella, elfin de la carrera política de Joaquín Leguina.

II. La Estabilidad de los Años Ochenta

La nueva Ejecutiva Regional de la FSM inició su andadura a comienzos de 1980 marcada por importantes retos a los que hacer frente. El más inmediato era ver cómo ibaa reaccionar la organización madrileña socialista, partida en tres sectores, ante la nueva dirección. El escaso margen, menos de doscientos votos, que permitió a Joaquín Leguina

convertirse en Secretario Regional, volvía demostrar, una vez más, la falta de unidad interna de los socialistas madrileños.

Unos días después de terminado el Congreso Regional de la FSM, Carlos López Riaño publicó un texto en el diario *Informaciones*, donde señalaba las causas que posibilitaron el acceso a la dirección madrileña del equipo de Leguina. Riaño comparaba lo sucedido en el XXVIII Congreso del PSOE y el Regional de la FSM:

faltó decisión en quienes pudieron acceder a la dirección del partido desde la izquierda, y no supieron o no quisieron hacerlo, bien por razones financieras, de coyuntura, de temor, de ausencia absoluta de valor, hasta vetos personales que jamás se pueden plantear cuando el poder está ahí. No digamos nada de las bajadas que muy poco honran a quien las hizo.

Además de apuntar las razones de su derrota como líder del sector crítico a la Secretaría General, López Riaño planteaba que el reto más importante que debía afrontar la nueva Ejecutiva Regional era «saber si será posible la convivencia de socialistas y socialdemócratas en la FSM»¹.

El antiguo Secretario General de los socialistas madrileños, Alonso Puerta, también hacía hincapié en el incierto panorama que debía afrontar la Ejecutiva de Leguina. «Hayque tener en cuenta que la dirección de la FSM ha correspondido a la mayor minoría y que será necesario que lo hagan muy bien para que no haya problemas»².

El segundo reto, no menos importante, era apuntalar la estructura organizativa de la federación. Como ponía de manifiesto una nota informativa de la Comisión Ejecutiva Regional de diciembre de 1979, en vísperas del Congreso Regional, la «situación organizativa de la FSM dista mucho de ser la que precisaría el primer partido de la provincia»³. Esta dura afirmación se sustentaba en una serie de hechos evidenciados y demostrables, como eran el «escaso incremento de la afiliación, la infrautilización de las Casas del Pueblo y la dinámica que se está implantando de expulsar afiliados en vez de atraerlos».

El primer hecho era incuestionable a tenor de las cifras de afiliación⁴. Desde el Congreso

Extraordinario de 1978, la FSM iba perdiendo afilados progresivamente. Así, Madrid ciudad alcanzó en el citado Congreso los 6.285 afiliados, mientras que en diciembre de 1979 la cifra de afiliados había descendido hasta los 5.839. La misma situación se reproducía en la zona de pueblos: de los 3.849 afiliados de 1978 a los 3.340 afiliados en 1979.

Sobre esta base, y a modo de hoja de ruta, la Ejecutiva Regional elaboró las Líneas Generales de Actuación de para la FSM, que fueron presentadas al Comité Regional en febrero de 1980⁵. El documento se estructuraba en tres partes: marco de actuación, planos de actuación y organización. En la primera parte consideraba al PSOE un instrumento al servicio de un proyecto histórico, este es, la emancipación de la clase trabajadora y «afines», añadido que estaba en consonancia con la Resolución Política aprobada en el último Congreso del PSOE. Remarcaba el hecho de que nunca pudiera considerarse al Partido como un fin, sino como un instrumento para la consecución de este objetivo. Todos los esfuerzos de la organización madrileña deberían centrarse en la profundización de la democracia interna, antesala de un «proyecto de democracia política para toda la sociedad».

Con respecto a los planos de actuación, el «partido- dice el documento- no es un aparatofuera de la sociedad, sino que está en el seno de ésta y debe estarlo cada vez más». La presencia del partido debe consolidarse y crecer a nivel institucional, dado que «en Madrid y su provincia, la capacidad de atracción del proyecto socialista está muy por encima de la realidad militante de la FSM, incluso a nivel numérico», a nivel sindical, marcándose una finalidad doble, «traer a la FSM las posiciones concretas de UGT y llevar a UGT la política socialista, y a nivel vecinal y de movimientos ciudadanos».

Por último, en cuanto a la organización, expone el escrito, que las «agrupaciones locales deben ser entes vivos en la vida del Partido y focos de atracción para la nueva militancia», además de ser los lugares donde se proceda a la formación del militante y donde éstos desarrollen activamente su participación en el proyecto socialista. Concluye esta parte con una petición a la dirección socialista al pedir que

los órganos de la dirección del Partido, especialmente a la Comisión Ejecutiva Federal, traten a la FSM como a cualquier otra Federación sin que el hecho de pertenecer la capital del Estado a la territorialidad de Madrid deba influir en una menos capacidad política de esta Federación, petición que evidencia la no injerencia en los asuntos internos de la organización socialista madrileña.

¹ El Colectivo Socialista y el Congreso de la FSM. Carlos López Riaño. Informaciones. 14 de diciembre de1979. Archivo de prensa de la FSM. Archivo Histórico Fundación Pablo Iglesias (AHFPI). Fondo Ajalvir. Caja 511, carpeta F-5.

² Informaciones. 11 de diciembre de 1979. Archivo de prensa de la FSM. AHFPI. Fondo Ajalvir Caja 511, carpeta F-5.

³ Nota informativa de la Comisión Ejecutiva Regional. Diciembre de 1979. Archivo Fernando Burgos.

⁴ La nota informativa venía acompañada con datos de afiliación desde el Congreso constitutivo de la FSM de 1977, y hasta el II Congreso Regional de 1979.

⁵ Líneas Generales de actuación para la FSM. Febrero de 1980. Archivo Fernando Burgos.

El documento, más allá de ser el punto de arranque de la nueva Ejecutiva Regional, sólo evidenciaba aquellos retos que venían repitiéndose desde los últimos tiempos de la clandestinidad, sin aportar soluciones a temas importantes como eran los de aumentar la afiliación, potenciar la formación del militante y hacer llegar la información del Partido a las agrupaciones.

Joaquín Lequina tenía que compatibilizar su nuevo cargo como Secretario Regional con la Concejalía de Hacienda del Ayuntamiento de Madrid. El 15 de enero de 1980, envió una carta al Secretario General del PSOE, expresando su pretensión de dedicarse en exclusividad a la FSM y dimitir de sus funciones municipales. Sus intenciones eran conocidas por la nueva dirección madrileña. En nota confidencial, el nuevo presidente de la FSM, Feliciano Páez, solicita la intermediación de Felipe para hacer desistir a Leguina de la renuncia al cargo municipal. Decía en la nota Páez conocer los problemas que hay planteados en el Ayuntamiento, sobre todo en Hacienda. Por eso, señala que es «indispensable que, hoy por hoy, Joaquín Leguina continúe con sus responsabilidades en el mismo», considerando que «una carta tuya dirigida a Joaquín resolvería el problema. Así de nuestras desaparecería una no pocas preocupaciones»⁶. La contestación, días después, del propio Felipe González despejaba todo tipo de dudasante la pretensión de Leguina al señalar que «hoy por hoy, tú no puedes dimitir de tus responsabilidades en el Ayuntamiento. Que los compañeros te ayuden a reforzar tu equipo técnico y te liberen en lo posible de las servidumbres burocráticas»7. De esta forma quedaba demostrado que Leguina y su equipo contaban con la total confianza de la Ejecutiva Federal para enderezar a una federación muy contestataria con postulados del Secretario General. posicionamiento del grupo 59 tesis en vísperas del Congreso Federal de septiembre a favor de González, creó una comunión de intereses entre ambos. La confianza que Felipe González tenía en Leguina arrancó en desde el momento en que éste último participó como asesor del por entonces Primer Secretario en las negociaciones para la firma de los Pactos de La Moncloa⁸.

A pesar de los condicionantes con los que arrancó la Ejecutiva Regional de Leguina, logró durante buena parte de los años ochenta, al menos hasta la huelga del 14 de diciembre de 1988, una cierta estabilidad en la FSM.

⁶ Nota confidencial a la atención del compañero Secretario General. 17 de enero de 1980. AHFPI 511-F-5.

La estabilidad se basó en dos pilares: el control de la federación y el acceso al poder institucional autonómico.

Desde el inicio de la Secretaría de Leguina existió un claro reparto de poderes dentro del sector leguinista, que, si bien no era mayoritario al comienzo de su mandato, poco a poco, Congreso tras Congreso, fue convirtiéndose en mayoritario, entre sus tres figuras más destacadas: José Acosta, Juan Barranco y el propio Leguina.

José Acosta, presidente de la FSM a partir del Congreso Regional de 1981, llevó a cabo el control orgánico de la Federación. Ya desde el comité provincial de 1975 de la antigua ASM, se centró en materias de organización, llevando a cabo una intensa labor en la creación de agrupaciones socialistas en muchos pueblos de la región madrileña. Suoficio como empleado de banca, le permitió entrar en contacto con el convergente Juan Barranco, produciéndose un acercamiento entre ambos que se iba a prolongar en el tiempo. Sobre Acosta, Leguina decía lo siguiente:

Acosta es una persona aparentemente hosca y de escasas palabras, poco dada, además a lapresencia mediática. Es, en ese sentido, un político nada proclive al halago de las cámaras. Suele estar en primera línea de fuego, pero nunca aparece a la hora de la foto. ¿De dónde sale, pues, su liderazgo? En primer lugar, de un fino y agudo olfato político. Vamos, que las ve venir. En segundo lugar, de su tenacidad. También de su conocimiento y habilidad para manejar los hilos orgánicos, lo cual, unido a la lealtad personal que concita y ofrece, hace de él tan buen amigo como difícil adversario9.

Juan Barranco había pertenecido a la Ejecutiva de Alonso Puerta desde la integración de Convergencia Socialista de Madrid en 1977. Tuvo discrepancias sobre la manera de organizar y dirigir el trabajo en la Federación, hechos estos que le llevaron a dimitir de sus cargos, juntos con otros miembros de la dirección socialista madrileña. Elegido Secretario de Política Municipal en 1979, centró su labor desde ese momento en temas municipales, convirtiéndose tras la marcha de Puerta, en el segundo de Tierno Galván, al que sustituyó como alcalde Madrid tras su fallecimiento en 1986.

Joaquín Leguina, liberado de organizativos dentro de Federación, centró sus miras en la futura presidencia de la Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid, de la que fue presidente desde 1983 y hasta 1995.

Este triunvirato o régimen de mesa camilla, como se le tildó en el argot periodístico, controló la vida de la FSM a lo largo de una década. Cuando se

⁷ AHFPI. Fondo Ajalvir. Caja 512, carpeta F-6

⁸ Entrevista a Joaquín Leguina, septiembre de 2015.

⁹ Leguina, Joaquín (2005): Conocer gente. Recuerdos "casi" políticos. Madrid: Ediciones Aguilar. 134-135

resquebrajó, a finales de la década de los ochenta y, sobre todo, a comienzos de los años noventa, volvió a los tiempos de fracturas internas y a las luchas entre sectores por cuotas de poder interno. Para uno de sus integrantes, el reparto de tareas fue esencial para la estabilidad de la FSM en los años ochenta. Según Juan Barranco,

gracias a esta estructura en la Ejecutiva Regional, conseguimos mayorías en el Ayuntamiento de Madrid y en la Comunidad de Madrid. Obteníamos en apoyo de más del 80% de los comités regionales de esa época. Su ruptura causó un daño irreparable a Madrid del que nunca se ha recuperado¹⁰.

Un rasgo destacado de esa estabilidad hay que buscarlo en la coexistencia pacífica, almenos en la década a la que estamos haciendo referencia, de los diversos sectores que habitaban la FSM. El sector leguinista convivió con una serie de sectores durante susdiferentes Ejecutivas, convirtiendo en virtud política el hecho de integrarlos en la vida de la Federación. Leguina incluyó en su primer equipo de gobierno autonómico a dos miembros del sector crítico, Manuel de La Rocha y María Gómez de Mendoza. El propio Joaquín Leguina señala al respecto que «las opiniones o tendencias dentro de la FSM nunca me impidieron tratar por igual a todos. Siempre he odiado el sectarismo»¹¹. El antiguo sector crítico, roto después del Congreso Regional de 1979, se diluyó en Izquierda Socialista¹², corriente de opinión aceptada en

el seno del PSOE tras la Conferencia de Organización de 1983. Convertida en el ala de izquierda del Partido, abogaba por la proporcionalidad y el respeto a las distintas sensibilidades dentro del mismo, y por un acercamiento a los postulados sindicalistas de la UGT¹³. Este sector, dirigido por Manuel de La Rocha, Antonio García Santesmases, Eugenio Morales yJuan Antonio Barrio, entre otros, tuvo su punto culminante en el Congreso Regional de 1981, cuando presentó una candidatura alternativa a la encabezada por Leguina, dirigidapor Luis Gómez Llorente, alcanzando el 20% de representatividad. Cuando la situación interna de la FSM se tornó hostil en la década de los noventa, Izquierda Socialista se alineará con Joaquín Leguina, dado que éste siempre mostró un escrupuloso respeto por el pluralismo político, haciendo posible la habitabilidad dentro de la FSM14.

Otro sector presente en esos años dentro de la Federación madrileña fue un reducido grupo de afines al Vicesecretario General del Partido. Siempre presentes en la FSM desde su reconstrucción¹⁵. Apodados los fontaneros de Guerra, el grupo estaba formado por Alejandro Cercas, Luis Pérez, Teófilo Serrano, Ignacio Varela o Leandro Crespo. Los tres primeros entraron como vocales en la Ejecutiva Regional de Leguina en diciembre de 1979. Alfonso Guerra se apoyó en un grupo de militantes madrileños a los que conocía porque eran sus colaboradores habituales en las campañas electorales, además de formar parte de los comités de estrategia y análisis. Según Varela, la consigna que siempre trasmitía Alfonso Guerra a sus hombres en Madrid era la de «condicionar sin desestabilizar» 16. Con el paso del tiempo, su influencia fue creciendo siempre al amparo de Guerra. En la preparación de las listas electorales para las primeras elecciones autonómicas, presentaron la candidatura de Cercas frente a la de Leguina. El propio Alejandro Cercas definía la esencia del grupo con estas palabras: «no es que nosotros fuésemos guerristas, éramos los históricos del PSOE renovado en Madrid»¹⁷.

Según Teófilo Serrano, que, en 1991, y en plena querra interna en la FSM, se convertirá en Secretario Regional, la labor de los fontaneros trataba de condicionar la acción política de la Ejecutiva Regional,

¹⁰ Entrevista a Juan Barranco, octubre de 2018.

¹¹ Entrevista a Joaquín Leguina, octubre de 2020

¹² En noviembre de 1980, una serie de militantes de la FSM elaboraron un manifiesto que daba origen a la Corriente de Izquierda Socialista de la FSM. Amparándose en la Resolución Política del Congreso Extraordinario de septiembre de 1979 y en razones históricas, "pues en nuestra organización se ha dado siempre un pluralismo de corrientes originado por una combinación de factores políticos, estratégicos, tácticos, que con la dedicación de todos los militantes a las reivindicaciones de los trabajadores, se convirtieron en aportaciones enriquecedoras para la consecución de nuestros fines", reafirmaban la ideología expresada en el Programa Máximo, rechazando "toda confusión de nuestro ideario con inspiraciones que lo desvirtúan desde ópticas liberales o confesionales". El escrupuloso respeto a la democracia interna dentro del partido y el sistema de representación proporcional, que diera voz a las distintas sensibilidades que existían, eran dos de las bases principales de la corriente. "Es insostenible que mientras el Partido defiende el sistema de representación proporcional para estructurar las instituciones democráticas en el país, y mientras consiguió que esto se reflejara así en la Constitución, se niegue a mantener lo mismo respecto a su democracia interna. Ello resta credibilidad a los planteamientos del Partido, y rompe la idea de que nuestra organización debe ser en sí misma modelo de lo que propone para la sociedad". Entre los firmantes se encontraban Fernando Burgos, Pablo Castellano, Luis Gómez Llorente, Alonso Puerta y Manuel Turrión. Manifiesto a los compañeros socialistas. Corriente de Izquierda Socialista de la FSM. Partido Socialista Obrero Español. Archivo Fernando Burgos. Sin catalogar.

¹³ Para un estudio de la génesis de Izquierda Socialista, véase Historia de Izquierda Socialista, 1976-1997. Tesis doctoral, 2018. Guillermo León Cáceres.

¹⁴ Entrevista a Juan Antonio Barrio, septiembre de 2018.

¹⁵ Cuando se celebraron las elecciones en la recién constituida FSM en marzo de 1977 para elegir Secretario Regional, militantes cercanos a Alfonso Guerra, agrupados en el llamado Círculo Pablo, presentaron candidatura, sin demasiado éxito. Dicha candidatura estuvo encabezada por Alejandro Cercas.

¹⁶ Entrevista a Ignacio Varela. Septiembre de 2018.

¹⁷ Entrevista a Alejandro Cercas. Octubre de 2018.

evitando que pudiese adoptar líneas de actuación contrarias a los intereses de la Comisión Federal:

Sí así lo hiciera, nosotros le hubiésemos creado dificultades enarbolando la corriente mayoritaria del partido y atrayendo a numerosos partidarios. De modo que Leguina no tenía más remedio que contar con nosotros. Congreso tras congreso conseguíamos colocar a algunas personas en la dirección madrileña y de este modo influíamos en la toma de decisiones. Todo eso lo obteníamos gracias a nuestro control de aproximadamente el quince por ciento de los votos internos 18.

Muchos de sus miembros acabarán por abandonar el grupo en la década de los noventa, dentro del contexto de enfrentamiento entre renovadores v guerristas.

La integración de miembros de estos sectores indicados en las sucesivas ejecutivas regionales y en su designación para ocupar cargos institucionales, se convirtieron en instrumentos utilizados para lograr estabilidad dentro de la FSM.

III. La Creación de la Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid

Uno de los aspectos más destacados de la Transición fue abordar la organización territorial del Estado español. Antes de que la Constitución se promulgase, se decidió que el Estado no sería centralizado, sino que estaría basado en la autonomía territorial. Para Manuel Aragón Reyes, catedrático de derecho constitucional y magistrado del Tribunal Constitucional, la descentralización territorial era una fórmula de organización estatal más democrática y eficaz que la centralización y, en consecuencia, la autonomía debería generalizarse en todo el territorio español¹⁹.

El PSOE era partidario de la forma descentralizada del Estado. Así, en la Resolución de Nacionalidades aprobada en el XXVII Congreso de 1976 se establecía que el PSOE propugna que se abra un proceso mediante el cual todas las nacionalidades y regiones que lo deseen puedan dotarse de sus propios regímenes de autonomía, sin perjuicio de lo que en definitiva resulte la Constitución y del ejercicio del derecho de autodeterminación.²⁰

Esta Resolución explicaba muy bien la posición del Partido sobre la futura organización del Estado. Para Vega Rodríguez, el PSOE se caracterizó durante la Transición por un nacionalismo español plural, muy condicionado por la tradición de su cultura política y por asimilación de las reivindicaciones

¹⁸ Serrano, Teófilo (2019). Otros tiempos. Independently Publisher.

nacionalismos no estatales en el contexto de la solidaridad surgida en la lucha antifranquista²¹. Según la investigadora, elPSOE avudó a conformar un modelo de Estado donde la unidad y la estabilidad de España, armonizando y racionalizando la construcción del Estado de las Autonomías, seantepuso a la defensa de unas reivindicaciones autonómicas que hasta entonces habían sido muy relevantes en algunos territorios.

La FSM asumía plenamente estas ideas, manifestándose en estos términos a la hora de caracterizar la organización del Estado:

Los socialistas españoles nos hallamos ante el reto histórico de resolver la cuestión de las nacionalidades y regiones mediante la defensa de una idea de España que las englobe, mediante la construcción día a día de un Estado que garantice el autogobierno de éstas, y mediante nuestro compromiso en cada una de ellas de impulsar y realizar su proyecto colectivo diferenciado y solidario. Desde esta perspectiva, el socialismo español combate con el mismo empeño al centralismo y a las ambigüedades y equívocos independentistas, rechazando la concepción según la cual la construcción del proyecto de cada nacionalidad y región tiene que ser hecha exclusivamente por partidos exclusivamente nacionalistas y en tensión más o menos permanente con los partidos del Estado²².

Se pensaba que, de la misma manera que la democracia tenía que generalizarse en todo el ámbito nacional, la autonomía también. Democracia y autonomía irían, pues, de la mano. Para el Equipo de Rendimiento Autonómico (ERA)23, la autonomía contribuiría a resolver o apaciquar el contencioso histórico entre periferia nacionalista y administración centralista, permitiendo avanzar en una forma de gobernar España más eficiente y cercana al ciudadano y, por tanto, más descentralizada.²⁴

Con respecto a la autonomía territorial, la Constitución de 1978 dejó en los Estatutos de Autonomía su posterior concreción. Lo que si

¹⁹ Aragón Reyes, Manuel (2006) :<< La construcción de Estado autonómico>>. Revista general dederecho constitucional, 1. 75-95

²⁰ Resolución de Nacionalidades. Guerra. Alfonso (1977): XXVII Congreso del PSOE. Barcelona: EditorialAvance.

²¹ Rodríguez, Vega (2014):«El Estado federal en el PSOE: de Suresnes a los pactos autonómicos», en Saz, Ismael y Archilés, Ferran (eds.): Naciones y Estado. La cuestión española. Valencia: Publicacions Universitat de València, 254-268.

²² Resoluciones III Congreso Ordinario de la FSM. 18-20 de diciembre de 1981. AHFPI FA 688.

²³ El Equipo de Rendimiento Autonómico (ERA) es un organismo interdisciplinar formado por profesores universitarios, economistas, sociólogos y politólogos. Apareció en 1991 gracias a la financiación de la Comisión Interministerial de Ciencia y Tecnología, con el objetivo de analizar el proceso de construcción autonómico.

²⁴ La relación democracia y autonomía también es destacada por Joaquín Leguina. Para Leguina «la generalización del del proceso autonómico es un dato positivo; un hecho favorecedor de la estabilidad del sistema democrático. El Estado de las Autonomías no es sólo una forma de concebir el funcionamiento del Estado, es, sobre todo, una forma de articular el poder político; es decir, una forma de repartir ese poder». Leguina, Joaquín (1995): Defensa de la política. Barcelona: Ediciones B. 111.

estableció fue un marco estructural yunos principios básicos que habrían de ser seguidos para su logro.

Así, la Constitución determinaba que habrá un solo Estado (art. 1.1). Que la nación española se caracteriza por su «indisoluble unidad» (art.2), y que la soberanía nacional reside en el pueblo español (art. 1.2). Que las «nacionalidades y regiones» tienen reconocido el derecho a la autonomía y garantizada la solidaridad entre ellas (art.2). Que en el ejercicio de este derecho surgirán entidades con una común denominación, Comunidades Autónomas, diversidad no podrá implicar privilegios no originar discriminaciones, garantizándose que todos los españoles tienen los mismos derechos y obligaciones en cualquier parte del territorio del Estado (arts. 137,138 y 139). Que el acceso a la autonomía habrá de seguir unos determinados procedimientos (arts. 143 y 151). Que en ningún caso se permitirá la federación de Comunidades Autónomas (art. 145.1). Que los Estatutos de Autonomía serán la norma institucional básica de las Comunidades Autónomas, organizadora de sus instituciones y de sus competencias (art. 147). Que se aprobarán como leyes orgánicas (art. 81) y que su elaboración habrá de seguir unos cauces específicos (arts. 146 y 151). Que las competencias del Estado estarán fijadas en una lista de materias (art. 149), como también lo estarán las que puedan asumir las Comunidades Autónomas (art. 148). Y que la autonomía comprenderá la existencia de gobiernos y parlamentos propios.

Estas son las previsiones constitucionales más relevantes sobre la organización territorial del Estado que el desarrollo autonómico tendrá necesariamente que respetar. Los Estatutos de Autonomía no pudieron ni desconocerlas ni contradecirlas.

El acceso de Madrid a la autonomía siguió un proceso especial y diferente al de otras regiones. Este hecho vino marcado por una serie de peculiaridades. En primer lugar, Madrid carecía de una tradición regional histórica propia. Esto se debía, en gran medida, a que la historia de Madrid y sus alrededores es la historia de España, no sólo de una región, y donde el peso de la población madrileña ha sido muy importante en esta historia.

En segundo lugar, es la capital del Estado. En Madrid residen las principales poderes e instituciones estatales. Los asuntos nacionales cobran especial relevancia por su importancia frente a asuntos locales. A este respecto, fue necesario incluir en el Estatuto de Autonomía una referencia a la capitalidad. En tercer lugar, la existencia de una gran ciudad, que concentra más de dos tercios de la población total de la región. Este hecho hace que el peso de esta sea desproporcionado y todas las políticas públicas deban tener en cuenta esta realidad. En cuarto lugar, al no tener un proyecto autonómico definido, no se había

creado un ente preautonómico, siendo la Diputación Provincial la institución que iba a suplir esta carencia. Por último, el rechazo de las futuras comunidades castellanas, sobre todo de la castellanomanchega, a la que geográficamente corresponde, a que la provincia de Madrid formase parte de su territorio.

Por todas estas razones apuntadas, Madrid tuvo que acogerse a la vía contemplada en el artículo 144, apartado a)²⁵, de la Constitución, alegando motivos de interés nacional, para acceder a su autonomía, siendo la única comunidad que ha necesitado este requisito.

Fue la nueva Diputación Provincial de Madrid²⁶, formada a partir de los resultados de las elecciones municipales de abril de 1979, la que dio los primeros pasos para el acceso a la autonomía. Así en sesión ordinaria del 21 de junio de 1979, el pleno de la Diputación decide crear una "Comisión Especial de trabajo que estudie y elabore un dictamen de base sobre el proceso de autogobierno de la provincia de Madrid"²⁷. El 30 de junio de 1979 se decide que la Comisión estará presidida por el presidente de la Corporación, Carlos Revilla, actuando como secretaria, Guillermina Angulo González²⁸, y donde estaban representados todos los partidos políticos con presencia en la Diputación.

²⁵ El artículo 144 establece que las Cortes Generales, mediante ley orgánica, podrán, por motivos de interés nacional autorizar la constitución de una comunidad autónoma cuando su ámbito territorial no supere el de una provincia y no reúna las condiciones del apartado 1 del artículo 143. El artículo 143 establece que "en el ejercicio del derecho a la autonomía reconocido en el artículo 2 de la Constitución, las provincias limítrofes con características históricas, culturales y económicas comunes, los territorios insulares y las provincias con entidad regional histórica podrán acceder a su autogobierno y constituirse en Comunidades Autónomas con lo arreglo a lo previsto en este Título y en sus respectivos Estatutos". Constitución Española de 1978.

²⁶ Compuesta por 51 diputados provinciales elegidos de forma proporcional al número de concejales obtenidos en las elecciones municipales de abril de 1979, y agrupados por partido judiciales: Madrid, 17 diputados, Alcalá de Henares, 11 diputados, Navalcarnero, 8 diputados, Colmenar Viejo, 6 diputados, Aranjuez, 5 diputados y El Escorial, 4 diputados. El PSOE obtuvo 18 diputados provinciales (3 en Alcalá, 2 en Aranjuez, 8 en Madrid, 2 en Navalcarnero, 2 en El Escorial y 1 en Colmenar. Con la suma de éstos y los 9 diputados provinciales obtenidos por el PCE, Carlos Revilla se convirtió en presidente de la Diputación. En 1980 fue sustituido por José María Rodríguez Colorado. El último presidente de la Diputación, antes de que esta institución desapareciese tras la aprobación del Estatuto de Autonomía deMadrid, fue César Cimadevilla en 1982.

²⁷ Acta del Pleno de la Diputación de Madrid. 21 de junio de 1979. Archivo Carlos Revilla. Sin catalogar.

²⁸ La composición de la Comisión de Trabajo fue la siguiente: presidente, Carlos Revilla; Secretaria, Guillermina Angulo González; Vocales, Carlos María Bru Purón (PSOE), José Luis rodríguez Peral (PSOE), Enrique Castellanos (UCD), Emilio Ramón Rodríguez (PCE), Esteban Egea Sánchez (PSOE), Joaquín García Javaloya (UCD) y Luis Larroque Allende (PCE). Acta del Pleno de la Diputación de Madrid. 30 de junio de 1979. Archivo Carlos Revilla. Sin catalogar.

El primer dictamen de la Comisión²⁹ planteaba las distintas alternativas para la autonomía que tenía Madrid, y deberían de servir para la fijación de posiciones. Se plasmaba en primer lugar un hecho incuestionable: la ausencia de sentimiento autonómico que existía en la región. «Somos conocedores, pues lo observamos en nosotros mismos, de la dificultad que encierra despertar inquietudes autonómicas, cuando no se tiene conciencia de ellas, y menos reflexión y postura». La realidad, decía el informe, es que Madrid no tiene un hecho geográfico diferencial, no tiene un pasado histórico que la diferencia de las provincias que le son limítrofes y que su población está formada por estratos superpuestos de casi todas las regiones de España, y en especial está compuesta de emigrantes venidos de las provincias con los que limita y de Extremadura³⁰.

A partir de estas evidencias se planteaban tres posibles enfoques. El primero era Madridcapital federal sin territorio. Inviable porque el tema federativo como forma de organización del Estado no estaba contemplado a nivel constitucional. El segundo, Madrid región. Incluyendo la capital y su provincia. Sus defensores sostienen que de esta forma una circunscripción limitada de competencias evitaría que Madrid sigateniendo influencia directa o indirecta sobre las provincias limítrofes. La última opción, era la región de ocho provincias. Sus defensores argumentan que Ávila, Segovia, Cuenca, Ciudad Real, Albacete, Toledo y Guadalajara, más Madrid, están vinculadas económica, política y poblacionalmente. Es la única solución posible para que estas provincias salgan del subdesarrollo, centrando su despegue en el poder económico de Madrid. Ello llevaría a un proceso de descentralización fuerte y decidido, abordable sólodesde planteamientos socialistas de la distribución de la riqueza.

Por iniciativa de la Comisión de Trabajo para la autonomía de Madrid, se celebraron las Jornadas de Estudio sobre la provincia de Madrid. Expertos en diversas materias expusieron sus conclusiones, donde se fue imponiendo la opción de la Comunidad uniprovincial para Madrid. El iurista Carlos María Bru. miembro de la citada Comisión, explicaba en su ponencia las diferencias que supondría seguir las vías marcadas por el texto constitucional, sí se optaba por el artículo 143 o por la vía excepcional contemplada en el

Muy contundente fue la ponencia economista y profesor universitario José Antonio Alonso Rodríguez. Comenzaba su exposición señalando el fracaso que había supuesto la política de polos de desarrollo franquista. Madrid era un claro exponente de este hecho. Para él, Madrid había crecido desertizando a su entorno. Consideraba Madrid como una región particularizada, diferente de las dos Castillas. Concluía su análisis señalando que Madrid era un espacio regional propio, definido por unas características económicas, sociales y culturales y una problemática peculiar, diferentes de las propias de Castilla La Mancha y Castilla León. Por todo ello, estas realidades regionales diferentes precisaban un tratamiento político igualmente diferencial³².

Entre mayo y junio de 1980 tuvieron lugar coloquios-debates en muchos pueblos de la provincia para sensibilizar, dialogar y conocer opiniones sobre el autogobierno futuro. En todos estos encuentros quedó patente la preocupación de muchos alcaldes sobre lo que supondría el acceso a la autonomía regional de Madrid para la realidad de esos municipios.

Todas estas iniciativas sirvieron para clarificar posturas sobre el camino a seguir. La primera incógnita por despejar era de sí acudir en solitario o acompañado al proceso autonómico. La segunda, se centró en elegir la vía de acceso, bien la propuesta en el artículo 143 o la del artículo 144.

Dentro del Comité Regional de la FSM se creó una Comisión de Asuntos Autonómicos. En el verano de 1980 realizó una propuesta de resolución sobre el tema. En la misma se «considera necesario definir e iniciar el proceso autonómico uniprovincial. Sin negar las relaciones estrechas de interdependencia con una zona más amplia que la provincia, pero difícil de determinar, se considera oportuno tomar dicha resolución». La propuesta, en función de los informes jurídicos y «teniendo en cuenta la convivencia de que los madrileños participen en dicho proceso considera que Madrid debería acceder a la Autonomía utilizando la vía prevista en el artículo 143 de la Constitución»³³.

artículo 144. La cuestión sería dotar de iniciativa para el proceso a la Diputación Provincial³¹.

²⁹ Dictamen de la Comisión Especial de la Diputación Provincial de Madrid para la autonomía. 13 de febrero de 1980. Archivo Carlos Revilla. Sin catalogar.

³⁰ Especificaba el informe que el 50,8% de los emigrados proceden de Segovia, el 66,85% de Toledo, el 61,9% de Guadalajara y el 56% de Ávila. Estos datos arrojaban una evidencia: Madrid ha contribuido, en gran medida, a vaciar de población a estas provincias. Además, las ha condenado a la desindustrialización más absoluta al absorber para sí cualquier tipo de iniciativa industrial, pues ha pesado siempre pensar en Madrid que contribuir al desarrollo racional y homogéneo de España.

³¹ Carlos María Bru Purón. Análisis constitucional para el autogobierno de la provincia de Madrid. I Jornadas de Estudios sobre la provincia de Madrid. Abril de 1980. Archivo Carlos Revilla. Sin catalogar.

³² José Antonio Alonso Rodríguez. Revitalización económica regional. I Jornadas de Estudio sobre la provincia de Madrid. Abril de 1980. Archivo Carlos Revilla. Sin catalogar.

³³ Propuesta de Resolución del Comité Regional de la FSM sobre la autonomía de la región de Madrid. Archivo Carlos Revilla. Sin

Aunque la apuesta por la uniprovincialidad era la opción mayoritaria en el Comité Regional, no faltaron voces críticas a esta opción. Así, Joan Garcés, miembro de Izquierda Socialista, presentó un voto particular donde se decía que «la realidad histórica y el equilibrio del futuro Estado Autonómico español sitúan a Madrid dentro de la nacionalidad castellana»34.

Sobre estas bases, comenzó un periodo de negociaciones entre los tres UCD, PSOE y PCE que desembocaron en los Acuerdos de Manzanares el Real de 25 de junio de 1981. En una reunión de parlamentarios, senadores y diputados provinciales de Madrid se adoptó el siguiente acuerdo:

Iniciar el proceso autonómico de la provincia de Madrid en el ejercicio del derecho a la autonomía reconocido en el artículo 2º de la Constitución y regulado en el artículo 143 dela misma, para acceder a su autogobierno y constituirse en Comunidad Autónoma en el ámbito de los actuales límites territoriales de la provincia de Madrid. Invitar a todos los municipios de la provincia a ejercitar el derecho a la autonomía que le confiere la Constitución, a través del procedimiento establecido en el artículo 143. Y solicitar de las Cortes Generales la tramitación urgente de una Ley Orgánica que autorice a la provincia de Madrid para constituirse en Comunidad Autónoma³⁵.

Los Acuerdos Autonómicos³⁶ suscritos entre el Gobierno y el PSOE el 31 de julio de 1981 avalaron lo acordado en Manzanares. En su apartado 13, se estableció lo siguiente:

Madrid, como Comunidad Autónoma uniprovincial, integrada por el territorio de la Provincia.

El procedimiento para constituirla será el siguiente:

- 1º. La Diputación adoptará el Acuerdo de que la provincia de Madrid se constituya en Comunidad Autónoma uniprovincial, según lo previsto en el artículo 144.a) de la Constitución, y los partidos políticos presentes en la Diputación formalizarán a tal efecto, la correspondiente proposición de ley antes las Cortes Generales.
- 2º. Los municipios de la provincia solicitarán la autonomía y la elaboración del Estatuto, todo ello por la vía del artículo 143 CE.
- 3º El Estatuto así elaborado se someterá a la aprobación de las Cortes Generales mediante la correspondiente Ley Orgánica³⁷.

El 26 de junio de 1981 se envió el Acuerdo de la Diputación Provincial de Madrid solicitando que se iniciase el proceso autonómico de su provincia por el artículo 144, apartado a, de la Constitución Española. El 17 de febrero de 1982 se presentó en el Congreso de los Diputados una Proposición de Ley, adoptada por los grupos de UCD, PSOE, PCE y Coalición Democrática por la que se autorizaba la constitución de la Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid. La Mesa del Congreso, por Acuerdo de 23 de febrero de 1982, la remitió a la Comisión Constitucional y acordó su tramitación por el artículo 150 del Reglamento del Congreso.

El Pleno de la Cámara tomó en consideración y aprobó la Proposición de Ley el 12 demayo de 1982 y la remitió al Senado. Mediante el Acuerdo de 24 de mayo de 1982 de su Mesa, la envió a su Comisión Constitucional y ordenó su tramitación por procedimiento ordinario. El 21 de junio de 1982, el Senado aprobó la Proposición de Ley Orgánica sin introducir variaciones en el texto que le fue remitido por el Congreso. De esta forma, se aprobó la Ley Orgánica 6/1982, de 7 de julio³⁸, por la que se autoriza la constitución de la Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid. En el preámbulo se decía:

Madrid, provincia en la que se encuentra la capital de España y sede de las Instituciones democráticas del Estado y del Gobierno de la Nación, cuenta con una población cercana al doce por ciento de, total de la nación española si a esto se añade la importancia de su desarrollo urbano, la circunstancia de contar con un núcleo importantísimo de servicios y actividades de todo tipo y el que por su situación resulta ser un centro de comunicaciones de primerísimo orden se justifica plenamente que esta provincia, utilizando los mediosque la Constitución y disposiciones complementarlas ponen a su alcance, pueda constituirse en Comunidad autónoma.

En su artículo primero se decía que <<se autoriza a la provincia de Madrid, por razones de interés nacional, para constituirse en Comunidad Autónoma>>. En su artículo segundo se establecía el procedimiento:

El proceso autonómico iniciado por la Diputación Provincial al amparo de lo previsto en el artículo ciento cuarenta y tres de la Constitución, se tramitará en la forma establecida por el artículo ciento cuarenta y seis de la misma y disposiciones concordantes.

La elaboración del proyecto de Estatuto se llevó a cabo siguiendo el artículo 146 de la Constitución³⁹.

³⁴ Voto particular presentado por Joan Garcés al Comité Regional de la FSM. Archivo Carlos Revilla. Sin catalogar.

³⁵ Acuerdo de la asamblea de parlamentarios, senadores y diputados provinciales de Madrid. 25 de juniode 1981. Archivo Carlos Revilla. Sin catalogar.

³⁶ Los Acuerdos Autonómicos se realizaron sobre la base de los trabajos de la Comisión de Expertos sobre Autonomías que elaboraron el Informe Enterría, conocido así por el nombre de su presidente, el jurista Eduardo García de Enterría. http://transicion.org/ 90publicaciones/InformeEnterria.pdf.

https://www.mpr.gob.es/servicios2/publicaciones/vol36/pag 02.html.

³⁸ Ley Orgánica 6/1982, de 7 de julio, por la que se autoriza la constitución de la Comunidad autónoma de Madrid. BOE nº 173, de 21 de julio de 1982.

³⁹ El artículo 146 establece que "el proyecto de Estatuto será elaborado por una asamblea compuesta por los miembros de la Diputación u órgano interinsular de las provincias afectadas y por los Diputados y Senadores elegidos en ellas y será elevado a las Cortes Generales para su tramitación como ley". Constitución Española de

Para ello, se creó una Comisión compuesta por cuatro senadores, treinta y dos diputados y cincuenta y un diputados provinciales.

La primera reunión de la Comisión se celebró el 14 de junio de 1982 en el Castillo de Manzanares el Real. En dicha reunión se acordó elegir una Mesa y designar unaponencia que se encargará de redactar un primer borrador del proyecto de Estatuto de Autonomía⁴⁰.

La primera reunión de la Ponencia fue el día 16 de junio de 1982 en el Salón deComisiones de la Casa-Palacio de la Diputación Provincial. Su objetivo fue elaborar un Anteproyecto de Estatuto de Autonomía de Madrid en un plazo de cinco días naturales. La Ponencia presentó un texto compuesto por 64 artículos, 2 Disposiciones Adicionales y 8 Transitorias. El 26 de junio de 1982 la Asamblea de Parlamentarios y Diputados Provinciales aprobó el Anteproyecto y se envió al Congreso de los Diputados⁴¹.

El Proyecto de Estatuto presentado ante las Cortes Generales quedó en suspenso debido a la disolución de las Cortes que llevó a cabo Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo⁴².

Constituidas las nuevas Cortes, por las elecciones del 28 de octubre de 1982, con la intención de agilizar los procesos autonómicos pendientes, remitió con urgencia elProyecto de Estatuto de Madrid a la Comisión Constitucional en diciembre. En enero la Comisión Constitucional elevó al Pleno del Congreso el Dictamen sobre el proyecto de Estatuto de Madrid, siendo aprobado el 25 de enero de 1983.

El texto se envió al Senado, que lo aprobó el 17 de febrero de 1983. De ahí se remitió de nuevo al Congreso y se aprobó definitivamente como Ley Orgánica, de 25 de febrero, de Estatuto de Autonomía de la Comunidad de Madrid⁴³. El Estatuto contenía 64 artículos, 2 Disposiciones adicionales y 7 Disposiciones transitorias. En el artículo 1 se establecía:

- Madrid, en expresión del interés nacional y de sus peculiares características sociales, económicas, históricas y administrativas, en el ejercicio del derecho a la autonomía que la Constitución Española reconoce y garantiza, es una Comunidad Autónoma que organiza su autogobierno de conformidad con la Constitución Española y con el presente Estatuto, que es su norma institucional básica.
- 2. La Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid se denomina Comunidad de Madrid.
- 3. La Comunidad de Madrid, al facilitar la más plena participación de los ciudadanos en la vida política, económica, cultural y social, aspira a hacer realidad los principios de libertad, justicia e igualdad para todos los madrileños, de conformidad con el principio de solidaridad entre todas las nacionalidades y regiones de España.

Terminaba de esta forma un proceso que se había iniciado cuatro años antes. La aprobación del Estatuto de Autonomía de Madrid, penúltimo en aprobarse, permitió cerrar el mapa autonómico. Las peculiaridades que presentaba Madrid necesario un tratamiento especial de acceso a la autonomía. A pesar de que en los primeros momentos se apostó por la vinculación de Madrid con la región manchega⁴⁴, sobre la base de criterios geográficos. pronto quedó patente la singularidad que presentaba Madrid. El entendimiento entre los partidos políticos fue clave en el proceso. Aunque existieron discrepancias con UCD sobre la vía de acceso, el acuerdo se impuso. La FSM apostó siempre por el establecimiento de una Comunidad Autónoma uniprovincial para Madrid. Sólo faltaba un último paso para dar por terminado el proceso, el de la elección del Parlamento y el Gobierno Autonómicos.

⁴⁰ La Mesa estaba compuesta por José Prat (presidente), Joaquín Satrústegui Fernández (vicepresidente primero), César Cimadevilla (vicepresidente segundo), Lorenzo Hernández (vicepresidente tercero), Alfonso Osorio García (vicepresidente cuarto), Emiliano Rodríguez Rodríguez (secretario primero), Elena Vázquez Menéndez (secretaria segunda). La Ponencia redactora estaba constituida por parte del PSOE por José María Rodríguez Colorado, Juan Barranco Gallardo y José Acosta. Por parte de UCD, José Luis Ruíz Navarro, Armando Benito Calleja y José Manuel Santos. Por el PCE, Simón Sánchez Montero y Emilio ramón Rodríguez Sánchez y por Coalición Democrática, Alfonso Osorio García. Acta de la Comisión para elaborar el Estatuto de Autonomía de Madrid. 14 de junio de 1982. Archivo Elena Vázquez. Sin catalogar. ⁴¹ Al texto presentado se le formularon 49 enmiendas y 18 votos particulares. La mayor parte de estas fueron destinadas. Para un estudio en profundidad de este proceso véase W. AA (2008) «Comentarios al Estatuto de Autonomía», Revista Parlamentaria de la Asamblea de Madrid.

 $^{^{42}}$ Real Decreto 2057/1982, de 27 de agosto, de disolución de las Cortes Generales y fijación de la fecha de las elecciones. BOE nº 207, de 30 de agosto de 1982.

⁴³ Ley Orgánica 3/1983, de 25 de febrero, de Estatuto de Autonomía de la Comunidad de Madrid. BOE nº51, de 1 de marzo de 1983.

⁴⁴ La práctica totalidad de los representantes políticos madrileños abogaban inicialmente por la integración en Castilla- La Mancha. Los parlamentarios de Madrid antes del verano de 1978 señalaron como argumentos que Madrid nunca figuró sala en las divisiones regionales de España, que la Mancha sin Madrid sería una región sin peso demográfico y económico, que su inclusión en la Mancha podría afectar positivamente a toda la región con una planificación correcta. Desde La Mancha se barajó esta posibilidad. Así, la Disposición Adicional del Real Decreto 32/1978, de 31 de agosto, sobre el régimen preautonómico de la región castellanomanchega estableció que "la provincia de Madrid, previo acuerdo de la mayoría de sus parlamentarios con la Junta de Comunidades podrá ulteriormente incorporarse a la región castellanomanchega en condiciones de absoluta igualdad con las demás provincias". Pero la negativa de los representantes castellanomanchegos de integrar Madrid en Castilla-La Mancha se desechó de forma definitiva.

En la década de los noventa, la FSM volvió a

la senda de los enfrentamientos internos que habían caracterizado etapas anteriores. La estabilidad de los ochenta desapareció y con ella la habitabilidad conseguida desde que Leguina llegó a la secretaría regional. La fractura interna se hacía visible en cada asamblea o Congreso que tuvo que afrontar la

organización socialista madrileña. Dos sectores mayoritarios pugnaban por el control de la FSM: el sector guerrista o acostista, liderado por el presidente de la Federación, José Acosta y el sector renovador o leguinista, encabezado por el presidente de la CAM y Secretario Regional, Joaquín Leguina. Otros sectores minoritarios, caso de IS o el grupo autodenominado Renovadores por la Base, contemplaban la pugna interna de los dos sectores y tomaban partido por uno u otro, dando lugar a un complicado juego de alianzas con el único objetivo de controlar la FSM. Como consecuencia de la fractura interna que vivía por esos tiempos la organización socialista madrileña, Leguina dejó de ser Secretario Regional en 1991, siendo sustituido por el entonces guerrista Teófilo Serrano, aunque mantuvo la condición de candidato a la presidencia autonómica, gracias a un pacto entre los sectores mayoritarios. Serrano sólo estuvo tres años al frente de la FSM, cargo que dejó en manos de Jaime Lissavetzky en Congreso Regional de 1994. Todos estos cambios venían a mostrar la situación de inestabilidad en la que se encontraba la FSM. Y todo ello, en un contexto de galopante pérdida de apoyo electoral que culminó en la derrota de mayo de 1995, y que supuso el fin del gobierno socialista en Madrid, y el fin de la carrera política de Joaquín Leguina.



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Human Being as a Mistery

By Monika Bukowska

Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University

Abstract- This paper undertakes an issue of human being presented by different views of outstanding scientists. They confirm that our knowledge of man is limited. Thus, in this article there is an attempt to answer to the question "What is a man?". Man as a being, an individual, a subject has always been at the center of interest of philosophical, anthropological, psychological and sociological sciences. Human being is considered in three essential and complementary dimensions: bodily, cognitive and ethical.

Among the most common views in the literature on what is unique in man, the most common is the belief that representatives of the human species have specific anthropological features that make them adapted to life in society. It's worth to outline that humans are the only ones who are capable of socialization.

Keywords: human being, man, person, nature, substance.

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Human Being as a Mistery

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Introduction

good part of science is deeply involved in analyses concerning of human being. This path is very complex but reflections on human being are never-ending story. Each person is unique. It brings something new, individual to the world. For this reason, the human being remains something inscrutable for us, it is a kind of mystery. We are constantly looking for an answer to the question "What is a man?". This confirms the view of Karl Jaspers that our knowledge of man is limited. Jaspers constantly emphasizes that "man is always more than what he knows about himself. [...] We can never take stock and say that we know what a man in general or an individual is1." He claims that man cannot be reduced to his objectivity.

I will begin my considerations with uniqueness, i.e. an explanation of what are the characteristics of a human being as such, an individual belonging to the species "homo sapiens"², which distinguishes him from other living beings? It is also remembering that human beings distinguished in a very significant way by a deep need to realize who they are? That is identity. A peculiarly human characteristic is also the desire to develop.

Among the most common views in the literature on what is unique in man, the most common is the belief that representatives of the human species have specific anthropological features that make them adapted to life

Author: Institute of Sociological Sciences, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Poland. e-mail: mbukowska@onet.eu

in society. Among the animal kingdom, humans are the only ones who are capable of socialization, which is due, among other things, to their unique biological features in the natural world. Certainly, this includes the social need for contact, a longer period of dependence on parents in childhood, and the ability to use language³. Promotion to the level of a creative personality, as we read earlier, is a psychobiological development and consists in the transformation of primitive impulses into a state coupled with moral values. It fulfills the needs of sublimation of existing instinctive forces, and consists in building higher levels of behavior and conduct, but also in weakening and breaking basic impulsive forces. We often encounter the view, already familiar to us, that thanks to the reflexivity unique in the world of animals, people are not passive beings to whom "everything happens", but active subjects deciding about their fate, making life choices. With this wealth of predispositions, they differ from plants, which only passively adapt to the environment, and animals, which are characterized by instinctive behavior.

We are still dealing here with an issue fundamental for the humanities in general. As an example, it is worth recalling the timeless question of Immanuel Kant: What is man? Man (as a being, an individual, a subject) has always been at the center of interest of philosophical, anthropological, psychological and sociological sciences4. The answers revolved around the issue of the interaction of material factors and those of an ideal nature in man, as well as the immanent and transcendent dimensions of the relationship between social activity and the fate of man. Scholars have been intrigued by the tensions between the existential concerns we experience as humans and the accompanying socio-historical contexts. Among the views on man and humanity, there were those that treated the human being as the basic criterion of everything that exists in the world. Protagoras of Abdera, initially a sensualist, claimed that "man is the measure of all things, existing that they exist, and non-existent that they do not exist"5. These words were most often interpreted as an expression of extreme relativism. But they are also understood as a radically subjectivist

¹ K. Jaspers, Philosophical Faith, trans. A. Buchner et al., Comer, Toruń, 1995, p. 38.

² The term "man" can refer to the human species (Homo - man) as well as to the human species (Homo sapiens - thinking man).

³ JM Henslin, E. Nelson, Sociology: A Down-to-Earth Approach, Canadian Edition, Allyn and Bacon, Scarborough, Ontario 1995.

⁴ I. Kant, Logic. Lecture Handbook, trans. A. Banaszkiewicz, Gdańsk 2005, p. 37.

⁵ Protagoras: Περίθεχαν, cf. D. Laertios: Lives and Views of Famous Philosophers, trans. I. Krońska and others. Warsaw September, 1.

position. Many commentators tend to regard them as the basis of anthropocentrism.

In Aristotle's theory, the substantial approach to man is emphasized. In his views, man is composed of changeable matter, which is the body, and forms - the soul, which actualizes being. Aristotle believed that man is an individual substance composed of a material, passive body and an immaterial, rational soul that shapes this body. He defined substance as "a being that exists by itself as in itself, one and separate¹¹⁶. Substance means a being having its existence in itself and not in another subject or object. It is characterized by self-existence, autonomy (so-called subsistencia). Thus, one can see in his views the context of the dualistic theory of man. However, Aristotle, unlike his teacher Plato, did not regard the body as a prison for the soul. He considered man in three essential and complementary dimensions: bodily, cognitive and ethical.

Boethius, in the sixth century after Christ, was the first to define a "person" as a complete, independently existing substance of a rational nature, which distinguished it from other beings.

We can see the continuation of the thread of being as a substance of rational nature in the views of Saint Thomas Aguinas. He treated man as a substantial, psychosomatic unity. Aquinas understood man as a substance composed of a rational soul as a form and of matter (bodily substance)⁷.

The thread of Platonic dualism returned in the views of Descartes which assumed the duality of man, consisting in the fact that he consists of two substances: corporeal and spiritual. Descartes' views were strictly rationalistic. The Cartesian man is a thinking being, which is emphasized by the famous saying of the philosopher: "I think, therefore I am" (Latin cogito ergo sum). If there is a thought, there must also be someone who thinks8. The theme of reason as the key feature of man was also taken up by Pascal, who claimed that "Man is only a reed, the weakest in nature, but a thinking reed".

We can see the rejection of the concept of man in the substantial approach in empiricist theories. One of his leading critics was John Locke. In the first place, his argument against the concept of a human being as a substance was the difficulty of defining this concept. He believed that we cannot know what a substance is because we do not have a clear idea of it. Locke defined the human person as a thinking being, possessing reason, aware of himself, that is, as a subject of his own intellectual activities 9.

George Berkeley argued that there is no corporeal substance, only spiritual. Thus he found error in both the rationalist conception of Cartesianism and Lockean empiricism. Like Locke, he questioned the existence of innate knowledge and treated experience only in the dimension of the senses. He believed that man uses sensations and ideas in cognition. Hume strongly questioned the substantiality of the person.

Immanuel Kant presented man as an autonomous, free being with the ability to know the world and give it value. From his writings emerges a vision of the human being as a self-conscious being, detached and free from other individuals, society and nature¹⁰. There is therefore also a pragmatic perspective, thanks to which man could be called by Kant an "earthly rational being". Thanks to his inborn predispositions¹¹, especially intellectual ones, he can develop his nature, striving for perfection. He presented man as a being whose all possibilities are focused on the realization of specific life goals. The uniqueness of man is demonstrated by the use of reason. Kant wrote: "For the fact that he has reason does not elevate it in value above mere animality, if this reason is to serve him only for what instinct fulfills in animals 12.11 According to Kant, man, being a sensual and empirical being, belongs to the natural world, and his possession of reason and free will allows him to make choices and make decisions.

Kant's anthropological theory also assumes the transcendental aspect of humanity, which is related to its dignity. The human being, precisely because of his dignity, appears to us as a value in itself, which must not be used as a means to achieve any end. As noted by Janusz Mariański, Kant's views had a huge impact on the contemporary understanding of dignity as an absolute value, as the goal of all conduct. A Polish scholar wrote: "Act in such a way that you use humanity, both in your person and in the person of everyone else, always at the same time as an end, never only as a means" 13. Dignity, then, this sublime value, is an end in itself and is presented as the foundation of humanity. Man has a bodily nature, but also a noumenal one, namely thanks to free will. Therefore, it is worth

⁶ Aristotle, On Origin and Perishing, trans. L. Regner, Warsaw 1981, p. VII (Introduction).

⁷ St. Tomasz, A Selection of Writings, Rosłan A. – transl. WAM, Kraków 2009, p. 85.

⁸ Descartes, Discourse on Method, trans. Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński, Modern Poland Foundation, p. 4. http://wolnelektury.pl/katalog/lektura/ rozprawa-o-metodzie.

⁹ Ibidem, p. 471.

¹⁰ I. Kant, Pragmatic Anthropology, trans. E. Drzazgowska, P. Sosnowska, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warsaw 2005.

Kant distinguishes the following predispositions: technical predisposition leading to the mechanical handling of things, pragmatic predisposition enabling the shaping of culture and civilized relations with people, and moral predisposition. See: A. Bobko, Introduction. Man in the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, [in:] I. Kant, Anthropology in practical terms..., op. cit, p. XXVIII.

¹² I. Kant, Critique of Practical Reason, trans. J. Gałecki, PWN, Warszawa1984, p.103.

¹³ J. Mariański, Human dignity as a socio-moral value: myth or reality? Interdisciplinary study, Toruń 2016, pp. 59-60.

assuming that Kant understood man as a being living on the border of two worlds: nature and values.

In Heael's theory, man comes from the world of material nature, in relation to which he transcends. Thus, he negated the essence of anthropological dualism. He presented an anti-substantial image of the human being, while questioning the treatment of the soul as an independent substance. He placed emphasis on active human activity, carried out through deeds. In Hegel's conception, at the beginning man is a substance, although he is not aware of it. Only then will it become a subject, realizing itself. Man, in Hegel's view, as a substance, is "a being for itself". It is consciousness that is the decisive factor that makes a person a subject. As a result, as Fr. S. Kowalczyk: "His dynamic-idealistic pantheism reduced the individual human person to the role of a moment in the continuous process of selfcreation of an absolute spirit."14

Schopenhauer believed that man only knows phenomena. The human mind does not copy things, but makes sense of them using categories such as causality, space, and time. He also believed that although we do not have the possibility of knowing ourselves as an object of knowledge so as to reach ourselves from the outside, we do have the opportunity to discover our subjectivity from the inside. Knowing ourselves from the inside, from the side of our self, we can see ourselves as self-knowledge.

In Dilthey's theory, the historical aspect of humanity is emphasized. Man is a historical being because he is distinguished by a way of thinking and acting common to people of a given era. The same applies to culture and axiological issues that are reflected in the historical process¹⁵. It can be said that our life is a creative foundation for the social world and culture. Everything depends on the potential of man and the conditions in which he lives and creates.

George Simmel was a representative of Enlightenment individualism. As he wrote, "when man is freed from all that is not himself, when he finds himself, the proper substance of his existence will remain man as such, humanity that lives in him as in everyone else, always the same fundamental being, disguised, diminished and distorted by empirical-historical conditions 16.

This is clearly visible in the beliefs of Émil Durkheim regarding the duality of human nature, presenting the human being as composed of the biological and social spheres. Jacques Maritain repeated after St. Thomas that a person is a substance of an intellectual nature, autonomous and free, directing

his actions and setting goals for himself¹⁷. Maritain emphasized one more essential feature of being a person, namely the desire to contact other people and to live in a community. He distinguished a person from an individual. According to the author, a person is a complete, individual substance of a rational nature, responsible for his actions and maintaining his autonomy.

The recognition of the human being as a substance has been negated within phenomenological theory. One of the main opponents of treating the human person as a substance was Max Scheler. The philosopher wrote about himself: "The questions: What is man and what is his position in being, from the first awakening of my philosophical consciousness, occupied me much more than all other philosophical questions"18. He claimed that man cannot be understood either on naturalistic or materialistic grounds. He proposed a personalistic position - he defined the person as "a center of acts: sensations, experiences, decisions, observations"19. As far as phenomenological sources are concerned, the views of the Cracow philosopher, Roman Ingarden, would be important for understanding the concept of the human being, according to whom man is a being with a psychophysical structure, he is a subject, a person, constituted of soul and body, guided in life by responsibility and values ²⁰.

The existentialists abandoned the concept of substance and replaced it with the concept of existence. It is impossible not to mention in this context the philosophy of the representative of Christian existentialism, Søren Kierkegaard, who (although he did not use the term itself) agreed with the later assertion, even the slogan of the existentialists, that the existence of man precedes his essence. He was convinced that the essence and meaning of human life is to know and experience oneself. Man is a material and spiritual being. Because of the soul, man is a subject, not a thing-object. Human life is dynamic through and through. In this experience of one's own existence, Kierkegaard accorded the primacy of faith, not reason 21.

In contrast, it is worth recalling the view of Jean-Paul Sartre, who believed that man is "a being for himself" (étrepour soi), which proves that he has the potential to be a conscious, free, and at the same time

¹⁴ S. Kowalczyk, Outline of human philosophy, Diocesan Publishing House, Sandomierz 2002, p. 120.

¹⁵ See Z. Kuderowicz, Dilthey, Wiadomości Powszechna, 1987.

¹⁶ G. Simmel, Sociology, trans. M. Łukasiewicz, Warsaw 1975, p. 87.

¹⁷ J. Maritain, Humanisme Integral, Fernand Aubier, Paris 1936.

¹⁸ M. Scheler, The position of man in the cosmos, in: Writings on philosophical anthropology and the theory of knowledge, transl. A. Węgrzecki, S. Czerniak, Warsaw 1987, p. 43.

Znaniecki F., The concept of a person in M. Scheler, "Roczniki Filozoficzne" 6 (1958), pp. 23-38.

²⁰ R. Ingarden, Book about man, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Krakow

²¹ See: S. Kierkegaard, Fear and Trembling. Sickness unto death, Iwaszkiewicz J. - transl., PWN, Warsaw, p. 62.

creative subject, shaping his own identity²². These features of man make him willing to participate in relations with other beings. Sartre presented a theory according to which man in his being must constantly choose his own path, thus shaping himself. To exist is to be free and in this freedom to realize one's own existential project, because man, being aware of his existence, creates his own fate. Sartre reduced human existence to freedom. His anthropology referred to Descartes' idea of *Cogito* and Kant's voluntarism.

Maurice Merleau-Ponty, unlike Sartre, saw man in the context of the external world, which he treated as a reference horizon. Firstly, he criticized the materialistic, and in fact objective, view of the human being as one of many things in the universe. He shared the views of Descartes, recognizing that man, among other beings, is distinguished by consciousness. At the same time, he referred to Hegel, treating man as a self-sufficient being seeking self-understanding. In an interesting way, Merleau-Ponty referred to the transcendence of man, which he defined above all as his development and constantly exceeding his capabilities²³.

Martin Heidegger used the term Dasein, understood as "Being in the world", "being"24. He presented a theory in which, firstly, he places man in the context of utility (besorgen), and secondly, in relation to people, which is an attitude of care (fursorgen). It is worth noting that Heidegger's ontology involves the proposition "I am, therefore I think", as opposed to the Cartesian "I think, therefore I am" 25. The being that we are, whose "being" we ask, was called by Heidegger "being" ("Dasein"). The existence of man makes him know the world and other people. In this way, it shapes the awareness of one's own existence and the understanding of the existence of other people. Unlike the world of things, it is an unconscious being, it is a "being-in-itself"; the human world is a "being for itself", and therefore conscious. The fact that man exists in the world is therefore at the same time a threat to him. The world of things, this "being-in-itself", can destroy at any moment. The human world can destroy it as well. Man's existence is therefore "fragile", and therefore he must constantly "care" for it. Care is an attribute of human existence, as Heidegger used to say.

Karol Wojtyła's concept combines the thomistic and phenomenological traditions. He accepted the way of understanding man proposed by Boethius. It is therefore a real substance. Personalism of St. Thomas, Wojtyla explains, was derived from his theory of the person, which is mainly theological in nature, which primarily concerns God. that it phenomenological perspective was adopted by Wojtyła, not without some reserve. He wrote: "The phenomenalist position seems to exclude such a unity of many experiences, and in an individual experience it sees only a set of impressions or emotions, which the mind, in turn, organizes. Certainly, experience is something individual and each time unique and unrepeatable, and yet there is something that can be called human experience on the basis of the entire continuity of empirical moments. The object of experience is not only the moment, but also the man who emerges from all the moments..." ²⁶. His concept of the human person is quite complicated. It takes into account both corporeality and spirituality. The key category is the notion of an act. In it, a man expresses himself, transcends himself, constitutes, communicates with others and the world of culture. As he wrote: "The full picture of the integration of a person in action must always take into account the fact of complementarity: integration completes transcendence, which is realized through self-determination and agency. In this dimension, human action is a conscious response to values through a decision or choice. However, this response always somehow benefits from the dynamism of somatics and psyche. The integration of the person in the act means a strictly concrete and each time unique introduction of somatic reactivity and psychological emotiveness into the unity of the act: to the unity with the transcendence of the person, expressed in causative self-determination, which is also a conscious response to values ²⁷.

As we have already stated, from the earliest times, and especially from Aristotle or Boethius, the theme of man as a thinking substance has been important. In many of the philosophical views cited here, the distinctive feature of humanity is reason. In this sense, it should be understood as "what is authentically human in man", and the power of reason as the possibility of humanizing life "by controlling irrational forces". In Enlightenment thought, especially in the tradition initiated by Descartes, we can often see a process of reification, linking the awareness of the existence of certain phenomena with themselves. This became the subject of protest phenomenologists. There were also reservations that giving the primacy of reason over other attributes of a complex human being is a manifestation of reductionism, often reducing a complex human being to only a better or worse functioning organism, or - to summarize this idea in great simplification - a cluster of cells. In some varieties of phenomenology, but also

²² J.P. Sartre, Being and nothingness. An Outline of Phenomenological Ontology, trans. J. Kiełbasa, P. Mróz, R. Abramciów, R. Ryziński, P. Małochleb, Krakow 2007, p. 757.

²³ M. Merleau-Ponty, Phenomenology of perception, M. Kowalska, J. Migasiński - trans., Aletheia Foundation, Warsaw 2001.

²⁴ M. Heidegger, Being and Time, B. Baran - transl., PWN, Warsaw 1994, p. 125.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 605.

²⁶ K. Wojtyła, Person and act, Polish Theological Society, Krakow 1969 , p. 6. ²⁷ Ibidem, p. 243.

postmodernism or other similar intellectual orientations, man dissolves completely or partially, along with his subjectivity in cognitive acts, imaginations, creations of self-awareness or deconstruction practices.

Continuing my considerations, it is worth noting that the uniqueness of man as a person is quite clearly emphasized in the theory of critical realism, widely developed by Margaret Archer. It is worth emphasizing that the British sociologist is particularly opposed to reductionism, which is often present in philosophical theories, i.e. distortion of a human being to aspects of reason, will, feelings, body or social, mental or other functions. Archer does not agree that man should be recognized only in the context of his mental powers, and deprive him of many other human properties, such as emotionality, normativity, intentionality or transcendence. Instead, it emphasizes the relational properties of man.

According to Archer, man is not a reducible being, thus he is not something passive like homo oeconomicus or homo sociologicus - beings that are not morally responsible for their lives. Archer writes, "The rational man, the bargain hunter, seems more active than he really is because he pursues his interests without scruple. However, he is programmed by a fixed pattern of his preferences, he is incapable of moral reflection on his set of preferences 28. The British sociologist negates the anthropocentric ideas of man, a being who dominates the world. In the Archerian vision, man is also not a logocentric, rational being. But neither is it annihilated in social discourse. It is not a substance, a monad, a matter.

I have tried to outline the main ideas of understanding the phenomenon of man and humanity, as well as the doubts they raise and the difficulties associated with such an ambitious task. In summary, much of Western philosophy places man above all other beings that inhabit the earth. We can distinguish the two most common views regarding the analysis of man and humanity. In the first place, it is the consideration of man in the substantial approach, and the second in the relational approach. In the first case, characteristic of e.g. for Aristotle. Boethius and St. Thomas, man is a spiritual and bodily being who maintains his independence and even immutability in the world around him. Humanity in this case refers primarily to reason and free will of man. Other thinkers considered man in relation to his relations with other beings and with the surrounding world. Thus, on the one hand, man is treated in nature as a biological species, but on the other hand he has many features that distinguish him so significantly that he cannot be compared with any other creature. It is this particular set of characteristics that is referred to as humanity. Its essence has been described in various ways. In the humanities, many questions have been raised about the nature and essence of humanity.

One of the main questions arising in this context is the question of the meaning of his life, the purpose of wandering around the Earth, in the context of his own development, but also of learning and the ability to make changes in the world.

It is worth noting that in each epoch the idea of man was understood differently. In antiquity, views recognizing the human being as a unity of matter and form prevailed. In the current of eighteenth-century materialism, humanity was limited only to bodily reactions. And in the twentieth century, man was treated not only in relation to his potential, when his cognitive aspects were emphasized, but also a broader context was often taken into account; social, historical and cultural.

From centuries of philosophical considerations, an image emerges of a man who has vegetative and sensual properties, but above all he is characterized by intellect, manifested in the rational nature of his cognitive processes and in rational and free action. Such human qualities as rationality and wisdom give him the ability to distinguish between good and evil, truth and untruth. Man is the only creature in the world of nature that is curious about its existence. Hence, he constantly formulates existential questions about the meaning of his own life. Our mind, apart from learning about the world, learns first of all about itself. The concept of man as an independent, independent substance appears in centuries-old philosophical theories.

²⁸ MS Archer, Humanity..., op. cit., p. 80.

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Gender Analysis of Organizational Stereotypes in Bangladesh By Kuntala Chowdhury

Begum Rokeya University

Introduction- As women are becoming eng aged more in economic sector gender analysis of this sector is very necessary. They are doing their work in different organization and every organization has their own work culture. An organization is composed of two or more people and they work to attain certain set of goals (Robbins, 1998). Every organization has specific nature to increase their profit and to attain their goals. In most of the cases it has also been noticed that gender discrimination exist in the culture of organization (Sobering, 2016) following some stereotypes. The problem is that the mainstream values of any office is associated with hegemonic masculinities and expect these kinds of behavior from everybody. In my report I will try to show how mainstream patriarchal stereotypes of gender marginalize women and what could be possible way out for gender mainstreaming in organization.

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Gender Analysis of Organizational Stereotypes in Bangladesh

Kuntala Chowdhury

Introduction I.

s women are becoming engaged more in economic sector gender analysis of this sector is very necessary. They are doing their work in different organization and every organization has their own work culture. An organization is composed of two or more people and they work to attain certain set of goals (Robbins, 1998). Every organization has specific nature to increase their profit and to attain their goals. In most of the cases it has also been noticed that gender discrimination exist in the culture of organization (Sobering, 2016) following some stereotypes. The problem is that the mainstream values of any office is associated with hegemonic masculinities and expect these kinds of behavior from everybody. In my report I will try to show how mainstream patriarchal stereotypes of gender marginalize women and what could be possible way out for gender mainstreaming in organization.

BACKGROUND H.

Gendered natures of organizational occupational culture marginalize women in a new way or expect women to adopt these attributes which is associated with maleness. Every organization has their own historical background. This background creates impact to make the organizational culture. How the gender stereotypes of any particular organization create the gender division of labour and how gender differences are celebrated in an organization are the critical areas of discussion. Wood (1994) mentioned that there are few gender stereotypes which are actually expected among men and women in organization. Men are expected to be competitive and sturdy oaks whereas women are expected to be caring and iron maiden. So, the combination of the typical femininity and competitiveness is also expected among women. If they are more competitive they are tilted as iron maiden also in a negative way (Wood, 1994). There is a tendency of the organization that women are not capable to maintain their official responsibilities because of double burden (Friedan, 1963) of work so organization marginalize women regarding some work whereas they assign women in some kinds of stereotypical feminine job like secretary, receptionist following the stereotypes of organization (Wood, 1994). They cannot include themselves in any decision making process doing this job.

III. Organization of the Report

In first part of the report I have tried to describe stereotypes associated with the organizational culture and problems of those stereotypes. In second part of the report I will focus on different gender frameworks and try to connect my work experience with these frameworks. In last part of the report I will try to connect one of my field studies with Goetz's Organizational analysis. So, this report is a combination of theories as well as observational experience and field experience.

DIFFERENT FRAMEWORKS OF IV. Organization

There are existing four frames of gender in workplace. For example: fix the women, celebrate differences, create equal opportunities and revise work culture. Based on these four frameworks we analyzed the case studies in our class. Now, I want to assess my previous working organization in Bangladesh identifying my marginalized or appreciated position and status using these frameworks.

Table 1: Observational Experience Table

Organization	Position	Existing Culture	Reason
Dhaka FM (Radio Station)	Radio Jockey	Fix The Women	 Andocentric culture, usage of abusive language was considered as smartness, drinking alcohol and smoking was the existing culture, staying for a long time without any work was appreciated, -They identified women as problem as they were not able to provide much time maintaining their household responsibilities. Women were expected to deliver their program with sweetness (promoting stereotypes).

BARCIK (Local NGO)	Gender Trainer	Celebrate differences	 Women were expected to do desk job though they were interested to go to field. Women were expected to maintain traditional dress code in office. Going for tea break like men were not considered in a good way. Why women don't get married at early age was the matter of discussion and cause of marginalization. Women were prone to take leave usually showing family excuses though they did not face problems sometimes.
Icddr, b	Administrative Assistant (HR, Gender) Research Assistant	Create Equal Opportunities	 This organization created a great impact to create equal opportunity though the numbers of women were very low in the management level. However, the overall staff ratio was 50:50. They recruited more women as daily wagers or in contractual services. They were positive in providing advertisement and mentioned females are encouraged to apply. Though the work culture believed that women should maintain family. If they cannot, this is women's problem.
Brac	Gender Trainer	Revise Work Culture	 When I joined in Brac , I have found that organization as one of the gender friendly organization in my country with the large number of women employees in managerial and decision making level. They were against any kinds of sexual harassment. There was a mandatory orientation of SHE(Sexual Harassment Elimination)Policy to new employees as well as fixed employees were supposed to get maternity leaves. The existing gender focal point strengthen the voice of women. However, the scenario is not that much gender friendly in field office so they are trying to revise their work culture and transform the organization.

Using my observation I tried to connect my previous workplaces with four types of gender frameworks which provide me insight to reduce the stereotypes of men and women in any organization to ensure productivity of all employees.

Organizational Culture

The culture of any organization is largely dependent on the norms and system of particular organization. The organization culture consists of the vision of organization as well as historical custom. Any organizations keep their culture alive during the selection process, identifying performance management development strategies (PMDS) and socialization. There are some major elements of organization. For example: values, symbolic elements, role elements, interactive elements and context elements (Driskill and Brenton, 2011).

Organizational Values are mainly associated with meaning interpretation, organizational rewards and verbal communication. Symbolic elements of organizational culture mainly consist of stories, language and non-verbal gestures etc. Role elements of any organization mean providing respect to individual or particular group of people. They are considered as different but included and respected in the organization because of their certain roles. Interactive elements are mainly associated with rituals like informal office gatherings and meetings of the organization (Driskill and Brenton, 2011). There are some informal rules regarding organization and based on these informal rules organization decides who will get the next promotion and who will not. Organizational communication style can be oral, formal documentation and electronic (Driskill and Brenton, 2011). In government office the employees follow more formal documentation style (Kyoko, 2020).

However, these elements are gendered as most of the organization head are man and possessing the hegemonic masculine attributes. If women cannot adapt her with these attributes, she will be marginalized in any organization.

VI. Gender Analysis of Organization

Gender analysis of organization helps us to understand the position of women in comparison with men in that particular organization. Using Gender Analysis Framework we can give a deeper look into the staff ratio, sexual harassment case and promotion ratio. presence of gender focal point, presence of safeguard policy and the presence of women in decision making level and analyze the culture of that particular organization. There are four types of Gender Analysis of Organization. For example: Goetz's Organizational analysis, Groverman and Gurung Organizational analysis, Aruna Rao and David Kelleher Organizational Analysis and Acker Analysis (Kyoko, 2020).

Last year I worked as a Safeguard Consultant of Muslim AID (One of the Leading NGOs of my Country) where my main responsibilities were to investigate a sexual harassment case, modify their safeguard policy as well as assess their organizational culture. Understanding the Goetz's organizational analysis I am trying to connect my field data with this analysis.

a) Staff Ratio

Staff ratio regarding male and female is literally gender imbalanced in Dhaka office of Muslim Aid. I have only found four female employees among all male colleagues whereas only one female was in decision making level who was looking after the accounts section. Considering this situation, I asked several concern people about female staff ratio. They also told me that number of projects had been merged or deducted so that the overall employee ratio was also decreasing. However, I have got to know about one ex-female employee who was working in Human Resource Department did not get enough scope to do work with her Manager as she was not provided the same task which has been mentioned in her job responsibilities. Somehow, her manager felt that Muslim Aid is going to deduct old employees so that he was not happy with the presence of female HR officer who was very talented (got to know from other colleagues) as he felt that HR officer is going to be replaced in HR manager position. The women HR officer was not satisfied about her remuneration as well as did not get enough scope of work so she left the job (Muslim Aid, 2019).

At the same time, she felt very low as she had been suggested to do very simple work like submitting payroll reports in person, exit staff shifting roles etc. She felt that her work scope had been decreased so she left job, got good opportunity and working as Human Resource Head in an organization now. So, this organization lost a good employee just because of their gendered organizational culture (Muslim Aid, 2019).

b) Maternity leave and getting job back

One of the managers told that one of the previous employees who had been suggested to take without pay leaves during her maternity time whereas our government provides 4 months maternity leave with pay and two months without pay leaves. Moreover, that staff was in her probation period and she had been suggested to take leave without pay (Muslim Aid, 2019).

c) Culture of Backbiting

I have also found that culture of backbiting exists in the culture of Muslim Aid Country office as they like to talk about other colleagues' weaknesses whereas they are not focusing on their own problems so that productivity can be decreased. Maintaining coordination and co-operation these problems can be solved easily. When I was conducting interview, I have also found informal behavior talking with a few staffs. They have also lack of understanding regarding formal behavior and as a women consultant they did not take me seriously (Muslim Aid, 2019).

d) Field Culture

The cultures at rural offices or field were worse than the culture of Dhaka office. I went there to investigate a sexual harassment case and found the proof of this case after talking with female and male students of their vocational program. There was a continuous history of exploitation of women students. Because of lack of proper complaining system they cannot launch any complaint. Most of the employees did not have any idea about safeguarding policy so that they suffered a lot (Muslim Aid, 2019). Even though they were mentioned to maintain their clothes properly so this organization culture was following Fix the Women culture framework.

e) Connection with Goetz's Analysis

Understanding the culture of Muslim Aid it is easy to say that they have a good historical background though it has been changes over time due to the recruitment of new teacher and lack of connection between centre and rural offices. However, they did not provide proper orientation to their staff so that the new staff are not well aware about their existing policies and power playing factor is also noticeable among the staff (Muslim Aid, 2019; Goetz, 1997). Though the senior management is trying to revise their work culture, the coordination between centre office and rural office need to be done. Otherwise, it would be tough to get the transformation.

VII. RECOMMENDATION FOR GENDER Transformation

If we want to transform the gender biased organization a few recommendation need to be done. These are given below:

Ensuring the equal number of staff ratio both in managerial and entry level, establishing gender unit and letting new people know about gender policy,

- providing gender training on regular basis, indicating severe punishment for perpetrators, investigating harassment case in a confidential way.
- Making women's voiced heard, appointing gender focal point in every organization, addressing the strategic need of every women employees, focusing on gender equality agenda (Kyoko, 2020).
- Providing an action and strategic planning listing all trainings of the year specially gender training, conduction of training among trainers etc (Kyoko, 2020).

Conclusion VIII.

According my understanding to organization is gendered whereas some organization have some specific characteristic of fix the women or other have the characteristics like celebrate differences. Moreover, some are trying to create equal opportunity or revise work culture for every employee. However, it is noticeable that women can be marginalized in organization because of andocentric behavior or they could be victim of sexual harassment so that it is necessary to develop a proper monitoring system establishing gender unit and appointing gender focal point or adopting gender policy. Thus the ways we can encourage more women in employment and contribute to the goal of SDG 5 (achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls).

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Analysis of the Creation of A. M. Smirnov's Diptych "Storm on the Sea"

By Rakova Olga & Rakov Mikhail

Annotation- This article is devoted to the work of the honorary member of the Russian Academy of Arts Alexander Smirnov. The purpose of this study is to identify the evolution of the artistic method and language of the specified author based on a comparative analysis of the works written by him on the gospel stories. In particular, the article draws attention to such works of his as "Storm on the Sea" and "Walking on the Waters", as well as some sketches written on the specified topic or close to it, in different years and in different styles. During the study, the directions of the artist's creative search are traced, and the means of expression used by A. M. Smirnov are identified. By comparing several works of fine art, the author shows the features of compositional, color, semantic solutions and approaches that contributed to the change in the aesthetic views of the artist in question. The article also touches upon the question of the relationship of these creative searches with the tradition of the Russian art school.

Keywords: gospel motifs, gospel images, gospel text in works of fine art, artistic creation, creative method, a. m. smirnov, "storm on the sea", "walking on the waters".

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Analysis of the Creation of A. M. Smirnov's Diptych "Storm on the Sea"

АНАЛИЗ СОЗДАНИЯ ДИПТИХА А. М. СМИРНОВА «БУРЯ НА МОРЕ»

Rakova Olga ^a & Rakov Mikhail ^a

Аннотация-Данная статья посвящена творчеству почетного члена Российской академии художеств Александра Смирнова. Целью настоящего исследования оказывается выявление эволюции художественного метода и языка указанного автора на сравнительного анализа произведений, написанных им на евангельские сюжеты. В частности, в статье обращается внимание на такие его работы, как «Буря на море» и «Хождение по водам», а также на некоторые эскизы, написанные на указанную тему или близкую к ней, в разные годы и в разной стилистике. В ходе исследования прослеживаются направления творческого художника и выявляются средства выражения, которые использовал А. М. Смирнов. Путем сопоставления нескольких произведений изобразительного искусства особенности показаны цветовых, смысловых решений и подходов, которые способствовали изменению эстетических рассматриваемого художника. Также статье затрагивается вопрос о соотношении этих творческих поисков с традицией русской художественной школы.

Ключевые слова: евангельские мотивы, евангельские образы, евангельский текст произведениях изобразительного искусства, художественное творчество, творческий метод, а. м. смирнов, «буря на море», «хождение по водам».

Annotation- This article is devoted to the work of the honorary member of the Russian Academy of Arts Alexander Smirnov. The purpose of this study is to identify the evolution of the artistic method and language of the specified author based on a comparative analysis of the works written by him on the gospel stories. In particular, the article draws attention to such works of his as "Storm on the Sea" and "Walking on the Waters", as well as some sketches written on the specified topic or close to it, in different years and in different styles. During the study, the directions of the artist's creative search are traced, and the means of expression used by A. M. Smirnov are identified. By comparing several works of fine art, the author shows the features of compositional, color. semantic solutions and approaches that contributed to the change in the aesthetic views of the artist in question. The article also touches upon the question of the relationship of these creative searches with the tradition of the Russian art school.

Keywords: gospel motifs, gospel images, gospel text in works of fine art, artistic creation, creative method, a. m. smirnov, "storm on the sea", "walking on the waters".

вангельское повествование для художников разных эпох всегда было поводом выразить самые острые вопросы бытия. Евангельская тема универсальностью давала возможность художникам посредством образов писать «о самом главном» актуальным для них художественным языком. Именно поэтому современное искусствоведение и история искусства накопили большое количество работ исследователей о евангельском и религиозном тексте образцах изобразительного художественного творчества. Следует обозначить работы А. Флорковской [9], рассматривающей проблему взаимоотношений христианских мотивов и современности, В. В. Байдина [1], акцентирующего внимание на древнерусские символы в искусстве; С. Ш. Евтых [3], О. Ивачниковой [4], поднимающих вопросы о роли цвета в живописи на религиозную тематику. Так же актуальными для настоящего исследования оказываются труды по теории авангардного течения в искусстве [2], а также символизма [5]. Отметим, что трудов, описывающих вопросы творческого пути и метода А. М. Смирнова, обнаруживается крайне мало. Проблемы рецепции евангельских текстов обозначенного автора становились предметом специального изучения, что указывает на актуальность настоящей работы.

Introduction

Анализируемые нами полотна А. М. Смирнова («Буря на море» (илл. 1) и «Хождение по водам» (илл.2), а также некоторые эскизы, написанные по мотивам евангельского текста) отличаются соединением классической цельности видения динамикой современного мира. Этим особенно интересен процесс изучения и анализа творчества художника.

В работе над диптихом «Буря на море» художник обращается к тому месту из Евангелия от Матфея, где говорится о переправлявшихся в лодке на другой берег озера учениках, которых застала в пути стихия. («И вот, сделалось великое волнение на море, так что лодка покрывалась волнами; а Он (Христос – Р.О., Р.М) спал. Тогда ученики Его, подойдя к Нему, разбудили Его и сказали: Господи! спаси нас, погибаем. И говорит им: что вы так боязливы, маловерные? [Мф. 8: 24-26]); а также к месту из 14 главы Евангелия от Матфея, повествующему о том, как Христос

пришел по воде к ученикам, переправлявшимся на другой берег («В четвертую же стражу ночи пошел к ним Иисус, идя по морю. И ученики, увидев Его идущего по морю, встревожились и говорили: это призрак; и от страха вскричали. Но Иисус тотчас заговорил с ними и сказал: ободритесь; это Я, не бойтесь. Петр сказал Ему в ответ: Господи! если это Ты, повели мне прийти к Тебе по воде. Он же сказал: иди. И, выйдя из лодки, Петр пошел по воде, чтобы подойти к Иисусу, но, видя сильный ветер, испугался и, начав утопать, закричал: Господи! спаси меня. Иисус тотчас простер руку, поддержал его и говорит ему: маловерный! зачем ты усомнился?» [Мф. 14:24-31]).

В конечном варианте автор создает диптих и разворачивает повествование таким образом, что эти два сюжета становятся объединенными в одно целое, образовывая некое единое смысловое составляющее.

Если предпринять попытку проследить процесс поиска, обнаруживается, что обращался к данной теме на протяжении долгого периода. Можно увидеть, как в натурных полотнах разрабатывается и ищется сам дух евангельских притч, передается их историческая атмосфера.

этом настроении написана реалистических полотен: «Галилея», «Христос на Геннисаретском озере» (1995), «Камни» (илл. 3-6). Художник много путешествовал по Израилю, в течение 10 лет снова и снова возвращаясь в Старый город, в Галилею, пытаясь проникнуться пространством исторического этого места. Картины, написанные там на воздухе, носят неизгладимый, тонкий аромат этих территорий. Они овеяны романтическим ощущением вечности. Именно поиск этого ощущения придает такое особое настроение названным полотнам. Тонко переданное золотое марево точно отражает воздух Иерусалима и придает произведениям особое романтическое звучание. Необходимо отметить, что этот дух романтизма оказывается присущ и некоторым другим образцам творчества художника.

Изучая этот момент творчестве В художника, обратимся к статье Л. С. Сафроновой «Романтический исследователь герой», где объясняет, как В творчестве происходит подчинение не конкретным правилам, но фантазии и воображению [5, с. 196].

Одновременно А. М. Смирнов работает с живой моделью, пишет рыбаков с натурщиков, пространственные световые, задачи. Отображает живое тело, освещенное солнцем среди золотисто-розовых камней. Прозрачные тени поражают своей интенсивностью. Художник неотступно изучает свою тему с различных сторон. не торопясь, из года в год возвращается к излюбленным им сюжетам. Углубляясь, убирает по

своему усмотрению второстепенное, чтобы придти к ясному законченному образу. Это соответствует его личной позиции, заключающейся в том, что упорная работа над картиной и стремление к законченности всегда приводит к созданию символа [8].

Частью этих поисков послужило полотно исполненное на море», импрессионистической манере, близкой по своей подаче к реалистической фигуративной живописи (илл. 7).

Если обратиться к традициям русской школы живописи, то похожее решение подобной композиции мы находим у Айвазовского в работе «Хождение по водам» (илл. 8). У художника есть несколько вариантов. Айвазовский помещает лодку край нижний холста, используя два композиционных решения: одном лодка расположена в правом, а во втором - в левом углу картины. Фигуры Петра и Христа несколько удалены от зрителя. Произведение проникнуто состоянием ночного моря, шторма, что создает особое настроение происходящего.

Отметим, что Александр Смирнов ищет прежде всего пластическое смысловое начало в ритмах фигуративной живописи, пытаясь через пластический образ передать христианскую суть изображаемых событий. Композиционно художник к зрителю фигуру приближает Христа утопающего Петра. В правом нижнем углу в обрез дана лодка с учениками. Почти не видно голов фигур, зато выразительно даны руки (илл. 7). На них художник сделал особый акцент как на смысловой завязке происходящего. Так же внизу слева, реципиент видит, как одна рука Петра протянута к Спасителю, а другая обращена к ученикам, как бы приглашая следовать их за собой. С одной стороны, Петр проваливается в бездну, но он ближе к Спасителю, чем ученики, находящиеся в лодке, дальше от угрожающей волны, обрушивающейся на Петра и ограждаемого от нее Христом. Христос также раскинутым жестом рук соединяет Петра с лучом небесного света за его спиной.

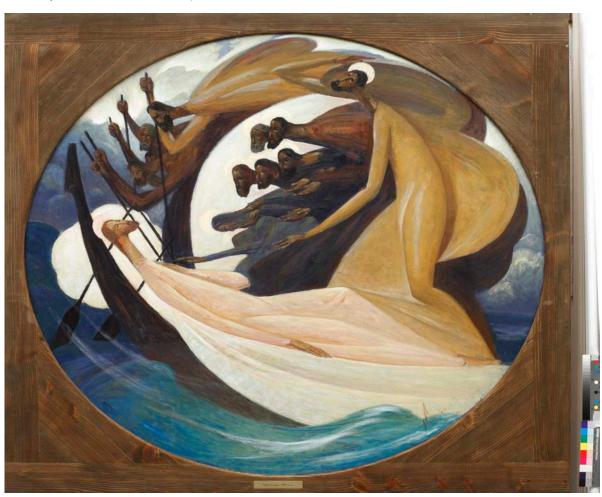
Обратимся теперь к полотнам, в которых автор использует видим, как МЫ художественный подход. Он продолжает работать в рамках этой же темы, но в фигурах мы уже видим утонченную стилизацию образа, одухотворенность, удлиненность пластических форм. обнаруживается отсылка к образам Эль Греко, но все же этот художественный поиск носит отпечаток традиционной византийской строгости и плавности линий, ритмов без резких разрывов; по выражению Третьякова. «рваных ритмов» свойственных духу 20 столетия [8]. Привнесение же некоторых элементов плави создает ассоциацию с древнерусской живописью.

Диптих, который был создан путем долгих творческих поисков, состоит из двух частей (илл. 1-2). Левая часть «Буря на море» имеет несколько вариантов. В раннем варианте художник вводит некоторые декоративные элементы: узор по краю ладьи или декоративное решение облаков и волн. Прозрачно-голубая серебристая гамма отличает колорит работы. При декоративном решении достигается известная мера глубины. В более варианте динамика усиливается, позднем декоративности отводится меньше внимания, колорит становится более напряженным, передается острота происходящего момента. В последнем варианте автор заключает картину в круг, как в форму, позволяющую наиболее выразить динамику происходящего. На смену декоративности приходит пространственная воздушность. Стилизация и острота движений доходит до предела. При этом мы ощущаем, как работа наполняется пространственной средой, не теряя своей стилистической основы.

Если обратиться к самой композиции, то мы видим, что художник, идя от образа, создает движение, которое имеет определенное символическое значение. Это движение может создаваться как отдельной группой фигур, так и жестом раскинутых рук, всегда несущих в себе сакральное значение происходящего выражающих внутреннюю энергию и динамику сюжета.

Общее движение выстраивается в некий символ величавого покоя, или, напротив, смятения. На левой части диптиха мы видим сплетение воедино группы фигур учеников, стремительно гребущих от тьмы, надвигающейся на них. Их головы попадают в луч света, создающего им нимбы.

Картина решена таким образом, что полоска света, в которой находится фигура Спасителя, держит на себе всю массу мятущихся фигур учеников (илл. 1). В таком художественнопластическом приеме художник находит образ Христа как основу спасения. Это новаторское решение, достигнутое за счет стилистического и цветового единства, является совершенно новым подходом в живописи.



Чуть остро намечен край лодки: он, словно колыбель поддерживает фигуру Спасителя. Образ Петра передан профильно, что создает ощущение уравновешенность основания придает композиции. Возникает ассоциация со словами из Евангелия: «Ты камень, на котором Я созижду Церковь Мою и врата ада не одолеют ее» [Мф. 16:18]. Белый парус высится среди другой группы vчеников, олицетворяя символ надежды. И мы видим, что в то время, когда первая группа учеников усиленно гребет, уповая на свое усердие, ученики, чьи головы символично отмечены белым парусом, возложили всю свою надежду на Спасителя. Их руки, без весел, молитвенно

сложены и обращены к Христу. В данной работе и те и другие находятся в одной лодке, и над ними реет парус спасения. Верхний край белоснежного паруса соприкасается с головой Петра, даруя ему нимб. В картине обнаруживается, как автор через выражение своего художественного видения евангельской трагедии приходит к философскому обобщению. В этой очень музыкальной работе художник образными средствами искусства сумел выразить евангельскую мысль о том, что мучительные человеческие усилия без доверия воли Божьей могут оказаться тщетны. Эту мысль автор развивает в парной к проанализированной нами работе «Хождение по водам» (илл. 2).



Монументальный стиль, в котором решена картина так же, как и левая часть, является результатом долгих поисков необходимого пластического решения.

При рассмотрении правой части реципиент видит, что художник обращается к тому моменту из предания, где сказано: «Маловерный, зачем ты усомнился?» [Мф. 14:31]. В картине эмоциональная настолько составляющая усиливается, приобретает органное звучание. Это происходит и за счет энергичного мазка самого автора, и за счет точно найденного знака – образа каждой фигуры – ее места в пространстве холста –

взаимоотношении с другими фигурами, гармонией.

Важнейшее значение имеет цветовая гамма. Художнику удалось при использовании чистых цветов достигнуть эту стройную гармонию. Фигура Христа – главное теплое тональное пятно картины – изображена диагонально на фоне холодного фона. Он решен использование образа разыгравшейся бури и лодки с учениками среди волн. От волн и лодки с учениками веет смятением. этому отношению К духу смятения диагональный жест Спасителя уже выглядит статично и останавливает хаос холодного тона. Композиционная уравновешенность достигается за счет белого паруса за спиной Спасителя. Парус выходит за край формата, тем самым обозначая непрерывность движения. Замыкает движение фигура Петра, образуя диагональ. Раскинутые руки символизируют раскрытие всей сущности апостола перед Спасителем. Жест Христа вторит жесту Петра. В созвучии этих жестов видна философская составляющая происходящего. В христианском понимании этого сюжета, выражена идея о том, что насколько сильно доверие Христу, настолько велика и помощь.

Это понимание приобретает не сюжетный, а общечеловеческий масштаб. В то время как Петр в желании спастись пытается приблизиться к Христу, другие ученики продолжают уповать на свои силы. В трактовке художника это даже не конкретные ученики, а различный подход человека к пониманию своего жизненного пути и своего выбора. Потрясающая ирония заключается в том, работают гребцы веслами направлениях, сидя в одной лодке. Одна лишь фигура в лодке, задумчиво приподняв инструмент для гребли, обратилась в сторону Петра. За головой этой фигуры намечается облачко, словно намёк на нимб. Вся работа, с ее сложной философской составляющей пластическою точностью форм приведена к зрительному образу, что, как отмечает Н. Н. Третьяков, является характерной особенностью русского искусства [8]. Примечательно, что обе части диптиха заключены в круг, что усиливает композиционную динамику.

Если обратиться К стилистическим особенностям диптиха, мы видим ярко выраженную оригинальность решения. В статье «Религиозная живопись Александра Смирнова в русле традиций славянской культуры» Раковой О.А. подробно прослеживается нить, связующая этот подход художника с дохристианскими символистскими традициями продолжение. И, как ИΧ древнеславянскими на примере двух других работ художника - «Чудесный лов рыбы» и «Благословение хлебов» [6]. Также в этой статье рассматривается особый язык автора, органичное развитие традиций и в то же время соединение с динамикой XX столетия. Это следует из внутреннего импульса художника, который толкает автора на подвижную выразительность композиции. Причем, строгая цельность создает впечатление монументальности. Нет ощущения «ритмических разрывов» [8]. Происходит согласованное слияние смыслового составляющего пластического И произведения - эта целостность создает усиленное воздействие на зрителя.

Позже художник возвращается к теме «Хождение ПО водам» В своей фризовой

композиции «Житие Христа» (илл. 9). Здесь мы видим, как вновь меняется манера художника и его видение евангельского сюжета.

Формат работы приобретает вытянутогоризонтальную поверхность. Композиционная острота накалена до предела. На переднем плане Спаситель с утопающим Петром. Фигура Христа, расположенная на самом краю формата, пытается удержать Петра, часть тела которого взята в обрез холста. Сам характер фигуры начинает приобретать реалистические черты, но в самой пластике и ритме, по сути, остается символическое начало. Появляется некая рельефная глубина, в пределах которой с ужасающей скоростью несется лодка с учениками. Ощущение этой скорости необычайно сильно. Загадкой картины является то, что теперь судно несется мимо, не замечая Спасителя, и, по мере огромных усилий гребцов, луч света, сопровождающий лодку, тускнеет. Взгляд зрителя обращается к носу ладьи и замечает на самом краю выразительный силуэт сатаны. Князь мира сего держит перед носом гребущих золотую рыбку - символ всевозможных желаний. И первые, находящиеся в ладье, уже не гребут, а вожделенно взирают на исполнение своей мечты и поклоняются ей. Их весла отброшены и падают в сторону. Это решение той же темы, только в другой плоскости. Здесь художник приводит мысль, что «много званных, а мало избранных» [Мф. 22:14], и дело спасения – вопрос доверия к Богу. И стремление человека бороться со страстями своими силами, по сути, невозможное дело. В данном контексте в учениках художник видит все человечество, увлекаемое различными страстями и, прежде всего, гордыней. Человек стремится к утверждению своего «Я» и бес это стремление к утверждению извращает, ставя определенную шкалу ценностей, - и, не жалея сил, человечество гребет, а бес выуживает из темных вод житейских бурь и страстей одну за другой золотые рыбки. Такая трагедия мира показана в последнем поиске – размышлении художника. Каждый автор передает дух своего времени, и эта картина в своем воздействии средствами высокой образности создает динамику современной нам жизни.

Таким образом, в настоящей статье предпринята попытка проследить, как развивалась и происходила работа художника над евангельской темой, как изменялись художественные подходы и видение евангельской истории в отношении к современному миру. Мы рассмотрели различные ипостаси, которых формировалась творческая художественная мысль. Л. Сафронова в своей статье «Романтический герой» указывает, что особенностью романтизма «является пребывание в разных ипостасях, единственно, что объединяет

эти ипостаси является то, что романтический герой всегда остается поэтом» [5, с. 196].

Если провести аналогию с исследуемым нами материалом, то можно отметить некие общие черты. Действительно, в ряде работ А. Смирнова мы видим качество романтизма, а затем его художественный метод творческий начинает проявляться в разных ипостасях, обнаруживаем романтический дух работ с Геннисаретским озером и, если сопоставить их с картинами, созданными в новой для художника стилистике, то выявим, что какими бы разными ни казались они на первый взгляд, по своей сути они решают художественную задачу - поиск максимально законченного выразительного художественного образа. Художник ни на йоту не отступает от этого принципа, и, в результате, приходит к своему индивидуальному художественному особому почерку. Несомненно, представляется возможным проследить истоки этой стилистики, но подобное ей найти в истории живописи затруднительно.

Библиография

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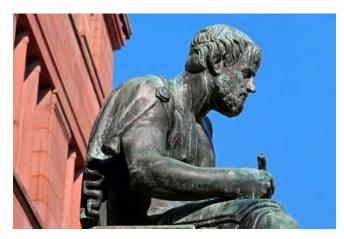
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- 11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.
- 12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.
- **13.** Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

- **14.** Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.
- **15. Never start at the last minute:** Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.
- **16. Multitasking in research is not good:** Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.
- 17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.
- 18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources. Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.
- 19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.



- **20.** Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.
- 21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.
- **22. Upon conclusion:** Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- o Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.



The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- o Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- o Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- o Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- o To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- o Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- o Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- o Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- o Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- o In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- o Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- o Do not present similar data more than once.
- o A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- o You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- o Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- o Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- o Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals

Topics	Grades				
	А-В	C-D	E-F		
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words		
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format		
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning		
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures		
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend		
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring		



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