In the historic process of class formation and relations the ramifications of the identity consciousness, globalization and revolutionary change in informatics heralded a new discourse which broadly touched the pros and cons of it. Its debut was in the western intellectual circle the reflection of which spread to different parts of the world. Its messages reached here as an ideological discussion since multiple sorts of identities existed here. The identity politics and movements based on such consciousness first of all originated in U.S. in 1970 where it was centred on African-Americans and social minorities. The students movements of France started in 1968 are also to be reckoned with it. The identity politics based on tribe, gender, religion, language, caste and race permeated to all parts of the world. It became a difficult task for class fidelists to counter the ideological and philosophical onslaught that the identity politics unleashed. It’s potential to destabilize the dynamics and dialectics of class politics raised fundamental questions before the world horizon of revolutionary politics based on class struggle. Though an enquiry towards the problem of identity politics and related discourse is not a part of this study, it is unavoidable because the concept of class and consciousness intimately related with other aspects of workers’ life. “Labour history is replete with instances of the class loyalties of workers being overridden by loyalties arising from the so called distinctions of birth\textsuperscript{390}.

\textsuperscript{390} Dipesh Chakrabarthy, op.cit.n.210.p- 220.
Among the protagonists of identity politics the name of Andre Gores who wrote a notable work named ‘Farewell to working class’ is notable because he believed that the working class is inadequate to bring about basic changes in society. The post Marxist apostles like Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe and Andre Negre deserve special mention in this regard. They approached the problems of social oppression and discrimination differently from that of class politics and upheld that the identity politics and struggle are not of class struggle. They are of the opinion that the class struggle will be incomplete and unsuccessful if it will be a mere struggle for social justice. To the exponents of identity politics in Kerala, “the main problem of Kerala is casteism. Class struggle is different from the struggle for the rights of the untouchable castes.” Identity had played creative and negative social mission from the history of Indian freedom struggle onwards. The leftists welcomed the creative intervention of ‘identity’. The leftists always resorted to make the features of ‘identity’ as the potential of the democratic process and to raise it to the class struggle. There are many scholars beginning from Marx who studied in detail the significance of material milieu from which man borne and brought up and the influence of it in moulding man’s life and attitude. The dissolution of man into Jew and citizen, protestant and citizen, religious man and citizen, is not a denial of citizenship or an avoidance of political emancipation: it is political emancipation itself, it is the political way of emancipating oneself from

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391 E.M.S.op.cit.n.223, p-9.
religion\textsuperscript{393}. While studying about the uniqueness in the attitude of jute mill workers of Calcutta, Dipesh Chakraborty speaks of the role of so called primordial loyalties like religion, ethnicity, language etc in determining the identity and politics of them. This was so even at moments of confrontation between labour and capital. Mobilization for class battles (e.g. strikes) was often based on emotional appeals to the ethnic on religious ties of the workers and to their communal sense of honour and shame\textsuperscript{394}. The context of Dipesh Chakrabarty’s analysis is pre-Independent socio-political milieu of Calcutta. But extending it to a wider socio-political realm of Malabar is not unreasonable and irrelevant. In the jute worker’s mind itself, the incipient awareness of belonging to a class remained a prisoner of his pre capitalist culture; the class identity of the worker could never be distilled out of the pre capitalist identities that arose from the relationships he had born into\textsuperscript{395}. In the post independent labour history of Malabar there was many trade unions under the auspices of different political parties albeit some of them were not really secular by attitude, which played a dynamic role in mobilising the working class for enthusiastic agitations and strikes. When taking part in such struggles, if the workers evince class and caste conscious, one form of consciousness being mediated by the other\textsuperscript{396}. While discussing the problems of the identity politics versus class politics, the sorrowful experience of many noted personalities because of their caste and religious

\textsuperscript{393} Karl Marx, On the Jewish Question, in his Early Writings (Harmondsworth, 1975), p – 222.


\textsuperscript{395} Ibid.p-218.

\textsuperscript{396} Ibid.p-220.
status become a pertinent question. Even Kallen Pokkudan, the famous environmentalist of North Malabar had the dark days of oppression and humiliation of the caste ridden society. Pokkudan in his own experience states thus "I do not intend to recall the pain that I had to suffer in the name of caste. Let these unhappy days be forgotten. We did not even get water to drink from the homes of the upper castes. Another favourite pastime for the landlord was that the youths belonging to lower caste were made to fight with each other – something like a cock fight – there was betting for a quarter anna or half anna. Very often there was blood spill too. ‘Policha Pattu’, it was another practice – singing in praise of the landlord or the overseers." Pokkudan’s mind reflects the desire to go beyond the boundaries imposed by the caste system. But Pokkudan speaks of his past life with the memoirs of oppression of the caste oriented society. Even when Pokkudan went to work at Coorg for one full year he led others to believe that he was a ‘Nambiar’. Pokkudan recalls it with pain. Because even for a coolie of the high caste and lower caste, distinction was important. This reveals how the caste oriented society worked against human values. The problem of identity politics did not address the painful plight of the untouchables who lacked identity in the post independent Malabar. The untouchables even after the most celebrated modernisation, whether colonial or nationalistic, could not escape from the bizarre political dilemma they suffered. Independent India what presented them was unusually

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difficult position of surrendering before both ‘Thampurans’ composed of upper class land lords and middle class masters of social hierarchy. The slogan that heard in the midst of the enthusiastic political and trade union activities under the auspices of the communist and other leftist parties amply throw light to this sorrowful condition. The slogan that was heard in many villages of south Malabar during processions and agitations was that “jathayil pokunnathu nokkanda, Kunhikutty Ericham paranjitta” (don’t mind our participation in the procession, it was because Kunhikutty asked us, Kunhikutty was a landlord and Ericham was a sort of salutation of untouchables in respect of upper class land lords) Most of the untouchables had no courage and awareness to speak of such experience even though they had tongue to speak. But Pokkudan’s experience is enough to illustrate this situation. Before and after independence the caste hierarchy proved to have been so powerful to dictate the lot of the entire society. Since the attainment of freedom from colonial rule and the abolition of Janmi system of Kerala the social life and etiquette remained unchanged. In a highly stratified, traditional society of India where people are divided and kept in compartments based on castes, sub-castes and religions, some in almost watertight ones people of which are untouched by the developments of the last six decades, the emergence of identity consciousness and politics is only natural. Therefore a large section of people are naturally with dual or multiple identities. To keep them at bay in the name of lack of unmixed, pure Marxist political identity is to alienate a huge body of people with revolutionary ideas and fighting spirit from the mainstream of egalitarian
politics. Lenin once stated thus: "we inverted the past but we did not overcome it" (Lenin). Similarly feudalism was crushed down but feudal mental aplomb was not.

Like caste identity the gender discrimination also played a key role in legitimising the masculine domination buttressed by the traditional propertied interest. Women, though constituting a substantial section of the labour force, were marginal in the public sphere. Despite the growth of an emancipatory feminist politics all over the country from the early 20th century, Kerala never witnessed the development of similar practices because of the virtual absence of such resources amongst women that would allow them to create an alternative political culture. The cautious entry of a generation of women writers in the 1980s and 1990s spelt the earliest step in such a direction. However, the theorists of this writing were primarily men, as indeed were its critics. I argue that the ‘feminist’ face of the some of the prominent male writers in the Malayali cultural context today are but variants of an older "masculinist" politics of Kerala. The identity politics of masculinity now finds feminism its new terrain. It shows ample evidence for the limitations and inadequacies of the class politics and the idea of class struggle upheld and practised by the leftists and radical groups. While highlighting and organising the working class against the antagonistic class which controlled the instruments of labour it did not address and represent all those who were actual workers. In the discourse of gender discrimination

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and the inability of the labour movement to take up this was a lively topic in the discussion on identity politics against class politics. The tragic picture of women in the era of globalization is explicitly stated thus: Women do two thirds of the world's work, receive ten percent of world's income and own one percent of the means of production\textsuperscript{401}. Women are usually the most exploited and least privileged members of households and as the primary caregivers of their families; they are often overburdened with domestic work for their families. Notwithstanding their second-class status in several societies, women's issues have acquired growing importance in all countries as the impact on gender discrimination in the political, social, economic and employment arenas have come to light\textsuperscript{402}. Lenin once observed that a woman's domestic life is a daily sacrifice. “In olden days there was a belief that to construct a strong bridge a sacrifice is needed. Likewise in order to stabilise our family and its values male domination in each home had sacrificed women\textsuperscript{403}. During the stage of intense agitations against gender discrimination some radical organisations even called on for the so called ‘Adukkala Samaram’ (Kitchen Bandh). Like the exploitation and oppression of the workers they suffered from their masters women had to suffer different sorts of untold oppression from their male counterparts. Therefore such gender issues become significant part of the process of class formation and class relations. A new social phenomenon developed in the third world

\textsuperscript{401} Richard H.Robbins, Global Problems and the culture of Capitalism, Allyn and Bacon, 1999, p.325 (quoting Martha Ward in “A World Full of Women,” p. 221, 1996
\textsuperscript{403} K.E.N. op.cit.n.392, p – 28 – 29.
societies is the deterioration of women’s power of capital accumulation. “The so called ‘feminisation’ of the labour force generally means that more and more women lose access to land or other productive assets and crowd into low-paid casual jobs in order to maintain themselves and their family.\(^{404}\)

Another part of identity politics is the problem of tribals who were marginalised and alienated from the main stream of the society. Adivasis of Kerala did not become a part of social and political agitation happened here and in vice versa their life and identity were spoiled in the process of exploitation and penetration to their land by the upper castes. They were driven out of their own land and they became destitute in their own country. All these sorrowful developments were not adequately addressed in the historic agitations conducted by the organised and unorganised working class movements. The illiteracy and lack of educational consciousness of tribals were being sophisticatedly manipulated by the dynamic middle class who circulated and represented in all established political parties. It exposed the continued economic vulnerability of certain Keralites and prompted a profound re-evaluation of the Kerala model.\(^ {405}\) What propelled such rethinking were, however, not so much the starvation deaths themselves as their politicisation in a jatha (political procession) that crossed the entire state, organised by activists who had mobilised for the rights of Kerala’s adivasi (tribal)


population throughout the 1990s\textsuperscript{406}. In order to address and solve the problems of Adivasi population an organisation exclusively of Adivasis was formed. It was Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha (AGMS), a movement for adivasi rights led by C.K. Janu, aimed at the redistribution of land to landless adivasis. The AGMS was the first state-wide social movement in Kerala explicitly aimed at adivasi rights and it remained active subsequently, most notably in 2003 with the occupation of the Muthanga ‘wildlife sanctuary’ in protest at the lack of implementation of the 2001 agreement\textsuperscript{407}. The Communist Party had refused to organise along community lines, had insisted on issues of ‘class’ and emphasised the well-being of ‘peasants’ and ‘workers’. What used to be seen as a cornerstone of the Kerala model was now perceived as having silenced the voices of marginal communities, particularly the tribals\textsuperscript{408}. In the political and academic debate on the voices of marginalised groups the honesty and commitment of the established left parties to the cause of those who were suppressed was being brought to trial. In the light of the rising Adivasi movement it is pointed out that the exaggerated Kerala Model development failed to address those tribals who were really victims of it. The dominance of political parties under the Kerala model has drowned the voice of tribal communities and resulted in the emergence of new tribal movements in the state which allowed tribal people to speak autonomously. Nevertheless, the left parties especially CPM


\textsuperscript{408} Luisa Steur, op.cit.n.405.
realised the failure or mistake and formed belatedly a separate organisation for Adivasis to pay attention to the various problems they suffered. It might be interpreted as an honest attempt either to correct the strategy of class politics that they pursued or a political expediency to attract the vote bank of Adivasis.

The scholars of the Marxist school, leaders of the communist parties and other class fidelists enthusiastically resisted the advance of identity politics and tried to prove the predominance of class politics. When identity consciousness replaces class consciousness the dialectical approach will be lost. The class approach is an ideological perspective to surpass identity consciousness\textsuperscript{409}. Prof. K.N. Panikkar even attributed an apoliticization process in identity politics when it is not linked with class interests. At the same time he pointed out the inept and inadequate leftist politics as a self criticism by saying that the left politics cannot come forward without addressing the identity problems. Perhaps it could not leap forward greatly in the nationalistic level because it could not solve the problems of identity consciousness existed in the Indian society and radicalise them\textsuperscript{410}. The identity politics as a concept developed in 1980’s when the imperialist globalization boosted by the finance capital and socialist forces suffered a setback. Whenever identity politics emerge it took detrimental position against the politics based on class in all those realms\textsuperscript{411}. They criticised the reductionist tendency of the identity politics and blamed it for finding class as

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{409} K.N. Panikkar, op.cit.n.223. p – 56.
  \item \textsuperscript{410} Ibid, p – 58.
  \item \textsuperscript{411} Prakash Karat, op.cit.n.223 p – 17
\end{itemize}
if one of multiple identities. Prakash Karat is of opinion that the ideological parameter of the identity politics takes up class sections such as man and woman, Dalit or caste identities, linguistic and nationalistic group of people as forces that can be developed against the working class. Instead of recognising the rationale behind the identity politics he sees in it a bourgeois conspiracy and says that it acts as a negative intervention in the process of class based unity of people and an obstacle for organising people’s solidarity. It degenerates to an instrument in the hands of bourgeoisie against the class organisations and politics\textsuperscript{412}. The advocates of class politics believed and propagated that the identity politics developed from the intellectual background created by post modernism which alleged to have rejected the enlightenment values like individual freedom, progress and rationalism. They also saw Samuel Huntington’s famous work “the Clash of Civilization” as an intellectual endeavour to replace the concept of class struggle by the theory of conflict of civilizations. Of course identity politics and programmes further augmented the prospects of the material condition from which emerged working class. It also helped turn attention to the pertinent ideological equipment wanted to be attained by the working class politics either as self defence or resistance. Again the dire necessity of democratic absorption of other aspects of exploitation and oppression and tolerant and favourable treatment of them is also emphasised so far as class politics is concerned. Ideological intervention is inevitable to transform identity consciousness in to class politics. If it is not strong enough, the

\textsuperscript{412} Ibid, 19
middle class will be slipped away to identity concepts and politics. Such a
trend has been developing among the marginalised sections of India\textsuperscript{413}.
The exponents of identity politics and post Marxism as well as post modernism made a propaganda campaign that the working class alone is unable to bring the radical change and class as an exclusive economic category does not exist. Therefore the struggle for social justice and bringing the marginalised sections to the mainstream of society wanted to be linked with the concept of class struggle. Some of the adherents of class politics are tended to notice the danger of identity consciousness based on religion and sectarian logic. They also subjected to severe criticism the post modern conclusion that all Meta narratives ended and Marxism was one such Meta narrative of modern period. The movements of identity politics which appeared in the new form of criticism against the bourgeois state unknowingly became representatives of state capital in disguise. The fact that the Meta narrative of exploitation has been continuing even after the death of all Meta narratives, is not seriously considered\textsuperscript{414}. It is also pointed out that the protagonists of identity politics are criticising capitalist productive system singlehandedly separated from capitalist modernisation. As Eric Hobsbawm stated it is the temptation to isolate history of one part of humanity from its wider context. The basic concept of Marxism is that man is the synthesis of social relations. Therefore the theories of identity upheld by any one particular social group ahistorically and against social norms are not acceptable to Marxism. Identity consciousness is an imagined

\textsuperscript{413} K.N.Panicker, op.cit.n.223, p – 59.
\textsuperscript{414} Sunil P. Ilayidam, op.cit.n.223. p – 74.
sameness of a social group\textsuperscript{415}. The total effect of the discourse around identity politics versus class politics is the extension and elaboration of socio-economic precincts which gave birth to formation of class and its relations. Rather of course the rigid context of class structure of Kerala is remarkably widened as if absorbing new spheres of social life like problems of marginalised, gender, trans gender, religious and linguistic minorities. An enduring feature of working class and peasant movements in India (and elsewhere) is the ever present possibility of fragmentation along lines of religion, language, ethnicity and like\textsuperscript{416}. But at the same time ethnic conflict can develop and expand into class conflict as such, whereas the degeneration of class conflict into ethnic rivalry is a restrictive and centripetal development\textsuperscript{417}. It is proved that the identity politics and its programmes became stronger during post modernism and post Marxism which is interpreted to be new stage of capitalism. Many scholars believed that capitalism would eradicate all distinctions between people, except those of class. However, gender discrimination and differences of treatment based on ascribed racial, religious and ethnic distinctions continue to thrive in most contemporary societies. One reason for this is that capitalist and other managers have found these ascribed differentials useful for dividing the workers, curbing their resistance and controlling them\textsuperscript{418}. While studying about the class consciousness of the jute-mill workers of Calcutta Prof. Sunil P. Ilayidam, op.cit.n.223.p – 87.

\textsuperscript{415} Dipesh Chakrabarthy, op.cit.n.210 p – 220.


\textsuperscript{418} A.K. Bagchi, op.cit.n.404,p – 251.
Dipesh Chakrabarty stated thus: Their sense of identity as ‘workers’ or “poor people” was always enmeshed in other narrower and conflicting identities such as those deriving from religion, language and ethnicity\textsuperscript{419}. Identity is defined on the basis variables such as class position, gender, religion, caste, education, generational status, etc. The formation of identity is a dynamic process in the sense that it is evolving and being constructed according to the interactions and exposures to the changing conditions of the social circumstances. In the contemporary social scenario, the problem of identity depends on how an individual constitutes, perceives, interprets and presents oneself to others and to the self\textsuperscript{420}. Therefore the study of class formation and working class history cannot keep away from the epic struggle called on and conducted by scholars and leaders of the marginalised, minorities and gender issues, which collectively saluted as identity politics and struggles.

As a lasting solution for making a departure from inhibited social unity and action created by so called primordial loyalties or identity consciousness the sublime secular outlook is suggested by the leftist scholars of Marxist school. Since the major ideological influence on the consciousness of the poor in our country still stems from religion\textsuperscript{421} a broader secular perspective has to be developed in the minds of the poor workers who can be easily transformed ideologically, compared to the educated intelligentsia as Antonio Gramsci stated. A militant secular ideology has to be diffused into the people’s consciousness and the defaults of the religion – oriented ideologies.

\textsuperscript{419} Dipesh Chakraborty, op.cit.n.210. p-194.


\textsuperscript{421} A.K. Bagchi, op.cit.n.404.p-287.
which promise paradise to the poor after death but nothing to all on earth, have to be clearly pointed out. The political activities of most of the left oriented parties have studiously avoided such substantive issues of ideology\textsuperscript{422}. Unfortunately the leftist cadres tended to distance from the poor villages and acquire more and more public space by not opposing all religious ceremonies. It is because of this passivity that communal forces by making use of pious religious ideologies grow stronger and ordinary working class becomes easy prey to this trap by forgetting their legitimate class interests. The modern Indian bourgeoisie which saw its rise in the early part of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century has in the past hundred years been unable to shed its caste moorings. The development of capitalism and modern bourgeois practices do not exclude caste. In fact caste has reinvented itself in social and political terms and is very much part of the consciousness of all the classes which exist in India today. As for the working class, which is the dialectical opposite of the other modern class, the bourgeoisie, in Indian conditions, caste consciousness remains embedded within the class consciousness. Unless there is a powerful and effective campaign against the caste system as such and it is integral to the main agenda of the working class movement, it will not be possible to counter the growing caste appeal and divisiveness which will affect the unity of the working class\textsuperscript{423}.

To speak of class formation and class relations without reference to globalisation will be an incomplete and inadequate academic callisthenic. Globalization developed to be a mammoth institution dictating life and

\textsuperscript{422} Ibid.p-289.

\textsuperscript{423} Prakash Karat, Marxist Analysis of Indian Society, At the 20\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary Meeting of Marxbadi Path, 26th August, 2000.
practices of all those below the firmament from the end of the last century onwards. No part of man’s life can be kept away from the reach of this so called ‘cultural logic of late capitalism’ as Frederick Jameson stated. The influence and intervention of this phenomenon either positive or negative reached in every nook and corner of this wide universe. Therefore it is natural if such a bone of contention emerged in the contemporary political and academic circle regarding its interference. The entire gamut of scholars and social scientists started an academic and intellectual battle around the pros and cons of this socio-economic phenomenon. It even developed to be a highly powerful and well equipped institution to control not only the lot of the general public but even the entire state system of the world. It caused to explode a new sphere of political and academic discussion in which leftists and rightists and scholars of different schools took part. As a result an intellectual dichotomy took place in all centres of learning and corridors of administrative decisions to tackle the professed effect of it. It became inevitable for scholars to choose a concrete stand point either affirmatively or negatively as regards globalization, the reflection of which developed in Kerala also. It led to the rise of series of socio-political issues affecting the entire walks of Keralites such as agitation at Plachimada, Endosulphan issue at Kasargod etc. Hence it is no exaggeration to say that the process of class formation and problem of working class of Kerala become points of this hot debate. So any discourse on the material forces of class formation of the post modern scenario has to concentrate on the good and evil effect of it. Neo liberalism, privatisation and neo imperialism are major characteristics of
globalization. It is also interpreted as showing an unusual craze for profit. So Milton Friedman, neo liberal guru, put in his Capitalism and Freedom that profit making is the essence of democracy and any government that pursues anti market policies is anti democratic. Never was it a democracy but market democracy in a neo-liberal order legitimised by regimenting the public mind\textsuperscript{424}. In a country where caste, but not class, relations play the role of social capital, there is no way that Dalit – Bahujans can survive in the competitive capital market. The globalised market is more competitive than the classical capital market that Marx analysed. In this reality the position of Dalit-Bahujans is worse than that of the proletariat in western societies in different phases of capitalism\textsuperscript{425}.

The most tragic victims of globalisation in Malabar are the peasants and workers like other parts of India. The rules and restrictions imposed on them as a part of globalisation made their life more pathetic because they are not only alienated from their land but their crops deteriorated remarkably. Since they are placed with no option and alternative it led them to suicide due to their innocence. It might have been a cruel picture in the history of working class movement. Eric Hobsbawm depicted this scenario in his Age of Extremes thus : The most dramatic change of the second half of this century and the one which cuts us forever, from the world of the past is the death of the peasantry. The process of globalisation has made unprecedented change in the lives of indigenous people across the world,

\textsuperscript{424} see Noam Chomsky, Profit Over People ;Madhyam Books Delhi. 1999)
\textsuperscript{425} Kancha Ilaiah; Buffalo Nationalism, A Critique of Spiritual Fascism. Samya,Kolkata; 2004. p-161.
though the degree of exploitation and marginalisation vary from state to states and tribal group to group. Tribals as a homogeneous group across India has paid the price for the globalisation process led development which was reflected through the large scale so called developmental projects, displacement from the forest, alienation from the land and livelihoods, violation of rights with the forest and its resources and threatening their existence\textsuperscript{426}. The oft quoted and celebrated Kerala Model development which is accepted as parameter measuring the outstanding growth in the basic sectors of life had no role to play in ameliorating gross injustices in society and invoking the marginal communities against their exploiters. The ‘Kerala Model’ of development has had its supporters and detractors. But the issue of agricultural land for Dalits was not on the agenda of any of these discussions. The rights over land and its resources for people belonging to the lower strata do not seem to be important for the Kerala model of development. But in a larger Indian context, the alienation of Dalits from agricultural land seems to be a very serious concern\textsuperscript{427}. In the realm of economic life, globalisation has offered expanded and varied opportunities for the rich and made the poor poorer. In India, where caste occupations remain the source of survival for lower caste communities, globalisation has killed many such trades and displaced traditional labour from the fields, creating nightmarish conditions for the poor. In the cultural realm; globalisation seems to have opened up a new channel of hope for the

\textsuperscript{426} Ajmal khan, Globalisation, Development and Tribals Of Kerala, paper presented in the National Conference “Globalisation and future of Adivasis” in the University of Hyderabad.

\textsuperscript{427} Sanal Mohan, op.cit.n.104, P. 223.
historically suppressed masses. In the organised rhetoric and practice of the hegemonic upper caste discourse a conscious endeavour either to silence or appropriate the louder voice of the marginalised sections has become very obvious. The proof of this brutal silencing and appropriation is reflected in the works of none other than Amartya Sen, who, unaware of its hidden caste conflicts theorised the politics of Kerala praising the ‘Kerala experience’ because its human development indices matched that of developed countries despite its poor per capita income. Even the Communist Party had refused to organise along community lines, had insisted on issues of ‘class’ and emphasised the well-being of ‘peasants’ and ‘workers’. What used to be seen as a cornerstone of the Kerala model was now perceived as having silenced the voices of marginal communities, particularly the tribals. When there was hunger death and starvation in the adivasi colonies of the state especially from Wayanadu and Palakkadu districts the question was raised by the Prof. Kunjaman an eminent economist from the state that whether tribals of the state were not part of the Kerala model of development. A desirable positive gesture that one can see in the working class history of the entire Kerala is tendency to organise and mobilise them independently of the established leftist parties. Since the dominant historiography of Kerala failed to address the problems of untouchables i.e. Dalits they resorted to rewrite dominant history and a radical Dalit movement formed in response to the failure of the Indian Left to

428 Kancha Ilaiah; op.cit.n.425,P159.
429 M.Dasan, op.cit.n.104.General Introduction
430 Ajmal Khan,op.cit.n.426.
take up their issues of caste within the analytical framework of classical Marxism. They formed small radical collectives with an aim to address issues that were left unaddressed by the extreme Left. One could even trace the spirit of the beginning of latter-day Dalit/Tribal struggles in Muthanga or Chengara to these radical breaks with classical/parliamentary Marxism and Maoism. But the main stream historiography and politics avoided these issues for years till the landless tribals and Dalits raised their voices in Muthanga and Chengara, threatening the parliamentary comfort of the ruling elite\textsuperscript{431}. When there were assertion for the land in Muthanga in the district of Wayanadu and demands for the land in Chengara in Patthanamthitta district, in both places Adivasis mobilised themselves and demanded for the right over the land, there after the land question was raised again in the state where there was celebrated land reform, this was a time again the claims of development and the condition of Adivasis with in the state discussed in the main stream\textsuperscript{432}. In agrarian relations, the position of the dalits, the scheduled castes is distinctive as wage labourer and as unfree labour. No other caste category in India faces the type of exploitation which is visited upon those outside the Varna system. The abolition of the caste system and all forms of caste oppression has to be a fundamental goal of the democratic revolution. The communist movement which does not engage in a direct fight against this type of oppression will not be able to rally the truly proletarian masses in the rural areas\textsuperscript{433}.

\textsuperscript{431} M.Dasan, op.cit.n.104.General Introduction
\textsuperscript{432} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{433} Prakash Karat, op.cit.n.423.
The fight for protecting natural resources such as water, soil and air is connected with the broader class struggle since both of these movements aimed to end gross injustices and exploitation in different social structures. Therefore in the processes of class formation and class relations such struggles have to be discussed. The famous Plachimada agitation deserves special significance because the multinational companies especially Cocoa Cola Company tried to alienate people from their natural resources. Despite it happened in the very beginning of the 21st century as a protest against the involvement and unreserved profit motive of the multinational companies in the globalised scenario, the spirit of protest exhibited in the anti Cocoa cola agitation at Plachimada, especially with its heroine, Mayilamma, has to be taken as the continuation of such struggles in the post independent Malabar. Mayilamma’s own words conclusively proved it thus: “Our water, air and soil are ours only. We will fight against those who destroy it”\(^{434}\). Considering all this one has to say that the LPG (Liberalisation,Privatisation and Globalisation) policy made the tribal population as the victims of development which was highlighted with two digits of GDP growth which made financial system fluctuating with unstable economy with a more unequal society all together\(^{435}\). It shows a worsened state of inequality during the era of globalisation which further vitiated the social and economic inequality during pre independent and post independent India. What is evident from the survey that was conducted by KILA is that tribals are the


\(^{435}\) Ajmal Khan,op.cit.n.426.
weakest and excluded people from the general development experience, from this foundation of development there was emergence of middle class in one side and migration of to side state and country which decided the post globalised developmental projects and developmental dreams of the state has again made the deprivation of the tribals of Kerala and the developmental divide has increased between the tribal and non-tribal in the state.\textsuperscript{436} Joseph Stiglitz, who was the senior Vice President and famous economist, greatly thrilled by the professed motto of the World Bank inscribed in its Head quarters of Washington D.C. that ‘Our dream is a world without poverty’. But when he stepped down from his office he might have been highly depressed and stated thus: The stabilization / liberalization / privatisation programme was, of course, not a growth programme. It was intended to set the pre-conditions for growth. Instead, it set the pre-conditions for decline\textsuperscript{437}. It is nothing but a continuation of the inability or inadequacy of the most celebrated agrarian reforms executed in the post independent Kerala which benefitted only the middle class and not the actual tillers of the soil including tribals. A reasonable conclusion that one can make from studying this peculiarity of globalisation which claimed to have been creating world citizens would be that it is not a lasting solution for social inequality and sufferings but further aggravates the situation by making rich more richer and poor more poorer. Therefore globalisation and

\textsuperscript{436} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{437} Joseph Stiglitz, Globalisation and its discontents, Penguin books, Delhi, India, 2003, p –143 – 144)
marginalization go together and is proved to be a philosophy or ideology of the rich, for the rich, by the rich.

Globalization developed as a powerful institution to destabilise the nationalistic state system within a short span of time. By transgressing the boundaries of different nations it resorted to bring together the entire world under one head. It is interpreted as a new capitalist strategy to consolidate and enhance the exploitative interests and motives. Globalisation is also perceived as a process of capital accumulation that is gone on for centuries and intensified and heightened by modern technological innovations. . . . In general, the consequences of globalisation related to denationalisation of nation states, erosion of state sovereignty, increases in the loss of community, centralisation of corporate power and concentration of the global structure of power, increased poverty and dependency among developing countries, transnationalisation of production and standardisation of consumer wants and cultures. The state, even after the CPI and the CPI(M) have become part of the ruling elite, has not withdrawn from liberalization and privatization which are fundamental characteristics of globalization. Since globalisation put forward solutions for the entire problem as an elixir all countries of the world are being persuaded to recognise and execute it as sacrosanct. Despite the concept of world community is upheld and permeated in the globalised campaign it is pointed out that the workers

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439 Kancha Ilaiah, op.cit,n,425. p-160.
of the whole world also can come together and unite themselves and in that sense it is helpful to working class movement. But unfortunately the globalisation did not take up the cause of workers of the whole world but instead the workers had to bear the brunt of the reforms. A growing divide between the haves and have-nots has left increasing numbers in the third world in dire poverty, living on less than a dollar a day\(^{440}\). Despite repeated promises of poverty reduction made over the last decade of the twentieth century, the actual number of people living in poverty has actually increased by almost 100 million in 1990, 2.718 billion people were living on less than $2 a day. In 1998 the number of poor living on less than $2 a day is estimated at 2.801 billion\(^{441}\). Cutting across the euphoria and hype that the adherents of neo-liberalism made, its critics categorically pointed out that it created an unusual social scenario in which inequality grew remarkably and the rich became richer and the poor became poorer. The growing inequality between the rich nations and poor and between the rich and the poor in each nation is a fundamental threat to global harmony. This contradiction needs special attention. This can be illustrated with the economic situation in India\(^{442}\). Hence Neoliberalism is indeed ‘Capitalism with the gloves off’\(^{443}\).

Karl Polanyi who wrote The Great Transformation spoke of the uneven growth explosion of industrial capitalism that culminated in the neoliberalism

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\(^{442}\) Globalisation and liberative solidarity, K.P. Abraham, 2000

\(^{443}\) Robert W. McChesney, in Introduction to Profit over People by Noam Chomsky, 1999, Madhyam Books, Delhi, p–8.
which stood for the market monopoly. He also cautioned the imminent danger of mankind and its habitation if market monopoly is left unfettered. It was natural if workers movement suffered a setback during this worst running for capital accumulation and profit seeking. In India also it weakened political movements as well as working class movements.

In addition to the dangerous effect inflicted by neoliberalism and privatisation on the life and condition of general public and workers of the countries like India, the revolutionary growth of technology had further worsened the material sufferings of common man and debilitated their resistance movements. Remarkable changes able to radicalise the life of man, happened in the end of the twentieth century and much of this change is associated with the development of new technologies. Not surprisingly the technology is one of the most prominent of the many areas used to characterise globalisation, and the new communication technologies in particular are seen by many people has having radically changed the way the world works. The information Technology paradigm is based on flexibility. Not only processes are reversible, but organisations and institutions can be modified, and even fundamentally altered by rearranging their components. Manuel Castells, who is greatly surprised by remarkable developments in space research characterises it as ‘a technological revolution, centred around information technologies’ which ‘is

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reshaping, at an accelerated space, the material basis of society’. Marx himself spoke of a spectre of capitalism that affected the whole of Europe and Jacques Derrida in his Spectres of Marx referred such spectres in Marx analytical discourse. Similarly the exponents of neoliberalism either believed or hoped that the spectre of class conflict can be annihilated by popularisation of the information technology. To a great extent the revolutionary growth of information technology and neoliberalism have been playing a decisive role in weakening and vitiating the prospects of working class in contemporary world.

The application of technology and informatics revolutionised the material life of man in all given societies where it was applied. In Kerala also its direct impact reduced the cumbersome manual labour which became remarkable dynamics in the class formation and relations. In spite of physical and mental relief that it offered the wide spread application of technologies in the day today life of man demanded the service of a class of partially or fully skilled workers instead of mere manual labourers. As a result the forces of class formation and consequent class consciousness negatively affected and a kind of superior mental attitude developed in the minds of those who use and apply the newly designed technological tools. “TV was considered a great symbol of modern development. But in an informal survey conducted by a sociologist it was revealed that the people who benefit most by TV are our industrialists. They have increased the sales of their products such as Maggie Instant Noodles and many kinds of junk

\[\text{Ibid, 2000A1}\]
food which are not essential to the life of ordinary people. While TV and other satellite communication systems ensure the advanced facilities of enjoyment, information and communication the negative impact of it has to be reckoned with because these facilities knowingly or unknowingly develop an unusual passivity and reticence towards the material problems and sufferings such as poverty and starvation around them. There are many scholars who conclusively pointed out State’s vested interest popularizing and protecting through visual media which not only created a particular subordination and subjectivity to it among the viewers but also trapped them to a unique situation of hallucination from which they have no escape and no time to realize the exploitative motives of capitalist institutions. It was because of this realization that Prof. M.N.Vijayan characterised TV as ‘Idiot’s Box’. The horror of television is that the information goes in, but we don’t react to it. It goes right into our memory pool and perhaps we react to it later but we don’t know what we’re reacting to. When you watch television you are training yourself not to react and so later on, you’re doing things without knowing why you’re doing them or where they came from. The application of technology in different walks of the workers life affected and changed their attitude towards social problems and spirit of unity and organisation. In the 1980s agricultural labourers had 175 working days per annum. By the 1990s, the working days were reduced to almost a half; implying that job opportunities was severely reduced. The mass of

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447 K.P.Abraham,op.cit.n.442. 2000
448 Researcher interviewed by JerryMander
workers who tilled and ploughed were replaced by a new class of those who used JCB and tractor. In the case of fishing and rock blasting technological application made their job much easier and the quantum of manual effort decreased considerably. The fishermen were being incorporated to the flourishing market economy through the incursion of different fishing technologies. These transformed the autonomous fishermen to wage workers or contract labourers and driven them to various stages of indebtedness. On the other, the same technology had broken the solidarity of fishermen as an occupational group basing themselves on redistribution of resources and certain traditional social order. They had the option of being assimilated as a class within capitalism and develop a new kind of class solidarity. Therefore whatever be the facilities created by technological revolution its effects on the dynamics of class formation and relations are happened to be reactionary and retrogressive and to some extent it even came to the extent of questioning the relevance of manual workers by eliminating them partially or fully. The traditional manual and skilled workers are being subjected to the terms and conditions effected by the institutions of information technology which made their jobs insecure. The growth of neoliberalism is by activating the market forces. All deeds that industrialisation offered to workers are being regained by the informatics revolution. Instead information technology gave him a world of contract. His life itself is changed to a contract.

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451 N.M. Pearson, Agolavatkanavanum – Marxisavanum, 2007. p- 186
Another aspect of technological revolution is computerisation which changed the entire gamut of the life and lot of the people of whole world. Its arrival to Kerala though bit late, affected all parts of our life within a short span of time. The computer world remarkably radicalised our life by promising and effecting unpredictable facilities in the life condition of whole people. When computers and robots do all works that will be a deathknell of labour and labour history, because it causes to disappear variety of sectors where manual labour is needed. The technological determinism has great significance in the discourse of changes it brought about in the ordinary life of man. Karl Marx stated that what hand mills, promised mankind was feudalism and what steam engine brought was industrial capitalism. Similarly neoliberalism, informatics revolution and globalisation collectively opened up a new world in the history of capital accumulation and sociology of labour. Declining the notion of technological determinism Slavoj Zizek writes: the way computerization affects our lives does not depend directly on technology, it results from the way the impact of new technology is refracted by the social relations which, in their turn, co-determine the very direction of technological development. The invasion of technological advancement of the globalised scenario is not merely against the working class themselves but against other agencies of the social fabric. Paul Virilio locates technological developments as entirely caught up in social relations particularly in a kind of personal neo-colonialism. He suggests that with the end of World War I the possibility of a total war against human beings was

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opened up because of the deployment in that war of weapons of mass destruction\textsuperscript{453}. Shedding light to the issues of genetic engineering such as human cloning, the mapping of the human genome and cryogenics it is pointed out by Virilio that the human body became the next ‘territory’ to be invaded, explored and transformed\textsuperscript{454}. Developments in technology are always the products of historical contexts and forces. The kinds of technology that are developed, the uses to which they are put, and the interests they serve, are all open ended – if heavily influenced and waited - social, cultural and political questions\textsuperscript{455}. In short, the theory of information society highlights that the autonomy of machines dictates the social structure\textsuperscript{456}. The crux of the Autonomist Marxism is based upon Marx’s analysis of capital and labour itself. As a result of informatics revolution world is being changed to a ‘Panoptic society’. It was Jerome Bentham who first presented the concept of Panoptic Society. Panopticon is a prison. Owner of the prison exploits the labouring capability of the prisoners of it\textsuperscript{457}. During the era of globalization occupation shifts and shrinking of working class happened in Great Britain. Manual employment has sometimes been decimated and sometimes trimmed, while white collar employment has held steady or increased. Production workers have been replaced by technology. Meanwhile, new-higher level occupations have been created connected with

\textsuperscript{453} Tony Schirato and Jen Webb, op. cit.n.444, p – 146.


\textsuperscript{455} Tony Schirato and Jen Webb, op.cit.n.444.p – 203.

\textsuperscript{456} Pearson,op.cit.n.451. p – 188.

\textsuperscript{457} Ibid, 207.
the design and management of the new technical systems. Similarly a comparative contempt developed in Kerala also towards manual labour with an apparent penchant for white collar jobs. The tragic result of it is degeneration of labourer as a commodity and his work place a prison. Hence instead of rejecting blindly the prospects of working class in the era of informatics attention might be focussed on new dynamics of working class organisation.

Side by side with the deterioration of class solidarity and fragmentation of working class during the neoliberal scenario an evident enthusiasm for consumerism developed in Kerala under the pretext of market culture. Even during the gulf migration onwards a powerful inclination to purchase and use consumer goods mirrored in Malabar which further worsened with the technological revolution. The process of class polarisation is reflected in consumption levels as well. Not only has there been a difference in the consumption expenditure but there has also been a differentiation in the consumption style, even in rural areas. “Rao’s analysis of consumption expenditure reveals a growing rural market for bicycles, portable radios, table fans, television sets, pressure cookers, mixers etc. The consumption of rural people is increasing in items such as nail polish, lipstick, face cream, shampoo etc. The direct impact of it in the

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458 Ken Roberts, Class in Modern Britain, Palgrave, Hampshire and New York, 2001, p 68
process of class formation and class relations is the weakening of the material force from which such consciousness emanated. “The rise of massive globalising corporations, the rapid spread of so called free trade, the oft cited weakening of States and governments, the penetration of mass media (promoting what I have termed the culture – ideology of consumerism) to all corners of the globe, and the denationalization and privatisation of former State monopolies have all been seen as consequences of capitalist globalization and the powers of a capitalist global system that began to emerge fully in the second half of the twentieth century\textsuperscript{462}. The outcome of these newly introduced liberalization policies and the structural adjustment programmes in the Indian economic sphere was so perceptible that three years after the reform began, the Forbes magazine even pictured India on its cover page (23 May 1994), with the declaration: “India may be the best emerging market of all.” As a result of this globalised market, radically there developed new forms and ways of life in India centred on consumption. This cultural scenario is referred to as consumer culture\textsuperscript{463}. In pursuit of globalisation a sort of consumer culture and ideology permeated strongly in to the working class spaces of Malabar the aftermath of which is negation of the celebrated revolutionary tradition of working class. Of course an esoteric class structure exists realistically in the information technology and multinational corporations and they establish their monopoly capitalist interest through a series of legislations like patency


\textsuperscript{463} Antony Palackal.op.cit.n.420, p-26.
rights, introduction of ‘BT cotton’ and ‘End Seed’ are in reality detrimental to
the interests of agricultural farmers. Likewise the unusual zeal of consumer
culture developed and popularised in the social fabric of Malabar closed the
prospects of continuous working class struggle. Hence, consumer culture
broadly refers to the pervading atmosphere that encompasses the entire
gamut of material as well as symbolic goods and items available to the
public for consumption. This wide spectrum of consumer culture includes all
types of consumable goods and items of various brands and varieties of
expensive non-essential food and nutritional products; all sorts of health care
and medical drugs, devices and techniques; a whole gamut of cosmetics
and ornaments; various kinds of costly home appliances, electrical gadgets
and other paraphernalia; a variety of brands and models of clothing and foot
wear; the galaxy of modern automobiles, vehicles and means of
transportation; the proliferating real estate business, housing projects,
mansions, hotels and related accessories; tourism and travel industry and
business; the unprecedented galaxy of modes of communication and
information, including that of cyber space; the print, audio-visual channels of
entertainment; the spectacles of sports and games, fashion, beauty etc; the
different forms, ways and means of their advertisement and display for their
publicity and promotion; and various forms of signs, images, symbols and
representations available to human body. The pervading atmosphere of the
world view, attitudes, ethos, values and behaviour generated specifically on
account of these consumable goods and items may be viewed as
constituting the domain of consumer culture. Kerala is known for its paradoxical forms of social development in which the priorities are determined by the demand of the market. Often greed, and not need, becomes the controlling factor. In the ambience of consumer culture, popular periodicals, television, film and other products of the culture industries help produce the fabric of everyday life; particularly for the middle class, they provide the material out of which people forge their very identities. Hence there is no wonder if middle class of Kerala has been attracted by the euphoria that consumer culture created and led a life of gross social alienation. But workers and labourers also became victims of it and they did not get time and space to be aware of their grievances and exploitation they suffered in the din and bezel created by the consumer culture. Here consumerism acts as a kind of opium.

Since globalisation is criticised as ‘the cultural logic of late capitalism’ it resorted to establish its domination by ignoring the cultural identity of the people of other countries. The matter of cultural specificities in the process of class formation and relations is rather neglected. Capitalist production – whether resulting in development or under development – has thrived in a variety of cultures, ranging from the hierarchical to the most democratic one. Perhaps we have long over estimated capitalism’s need or capacity to homogenise the cultural conditions necessary for its own reproduction.

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464 Ibid.p-26-7.
465 Abraham, op.cit.n.442.
466 Antony palackkal, op.cit.n.420.p-116.
467 Dipesh Chakrabarthry,op.cit.n.210. introduction
For a working class to emerge, certain cultural contexts are required. In the absence of such cultural specificities, it is impossible for communities without resources to develop into a working class. Even when working class organisation came into existence, caste–based gatherings and events were quite prevalent. Initially, they appeared as ‘upper’ caste collectivities. Some scholars like Dipesh Chakrabarty questioned the orthodox Marxist line of studying working class history which tended to isolate questions of culture and consciousness when looking at a working class that grows in a society where the assumption of a hegemonic bourgeois culture does not apply. Issues relating to working-class consciousness and organisation in India are commonly explained by liberal nationalist or Marxist historians as factors following from the nature of Indian economic and technological development, the structure of the labour market, and mechanisations of the colonial (and the postcolonial) state. The attempt, to ‘isolate questions of culture and consciousness’ from the general existential problem of the working class as a method of enquiry is a reductionist venture. While most of the powerful articulators in the core capitalist countries endorse the overall description of transformation from class to culture, the number of producers relying on the sale of their labour power for their daily reproduction expanded on a global scale; it has doubled since 1975. But social inequality is skyrocketing too. In the problem of class-culture thesis

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468 Sanal Mohan, op.cit.n.104. p-275
469 Desh Chakrabarty, op.cit.n.210. Preface
470 Amiya Kumar Bagchi; op.cit.n.404.p-.176.
Jan Pakulski sees culture as a field of class confrontation and struggle. Here national cultures are split along class lines into separate but coexisting universes or ‘nations within nations’ in Engels’ famous description. The unique coincidence between national interests and bourgeois class interests was being theorised in Gramscian vision of cultural hegemony and the analysis of popular culture by Adorno and Horkheimer who belonged the Frankfurt School. When theorising hegemonic or ruling- class culture and ideology and its instrumental function to secure and perpetuate class privilege and power Fredric Jameson states thus: “an enlarged perspective for any Marxist analysis of culture, which can no longer be content with its demystifying vocation to unmask and to demonstrate the ways in which a cultural artifact fulfils a specific ideological mission, in legitimising a given power structure, in perpetuating and reproducing the latter, and in generating specific forms of false consciousness(or ideology in the narrower sense).

However instances are there in the history of working class of Malabar for inhibited response of workers. It was this contradiction that peasantry of pre-Independent Malabar expressed in the series of struggles as mere ‘class by itself’ and not as ‘class for itself’. Since “Culture is the “unthought” of Indian Marxism” attention has to be focussed on the imbrications of cultural factors especially the material process from which working class consciousness originate especially during the Globalised scenario. This is

472 Jan, Pakulski op.cit.n.31.p-114
474 Frederic Jameson, op.cit.n.417,.p281
indeed a complex phenomenon. The middle class values developed and propagated in the globalised social scenario of Kerala happened to be a very retrogressive element in the socio-political milieu from which working class consciousness and culture generated. A dangerous process of bourgeoisation that is middle class orientation affected social dynamics particularly of Kerala from which middle class aspirations, taste and style began to be recognised and respected. The organic intellectuals of the capitalist class control the institutions of culture (state, education, and church.) and are thereby able to direct the values and standards by which individuals make judgements, as well as symbolic representations, thus confirming a capitalist hegemony. Similarly George Lukacs points out that capitalist society are dominated by a common culture of commodity fetishism that universally pervades and re specifies human preferences. In each of these modifications of Marxism, the class struggle begins with an effort to alter the consciousness of workers, to rekindle their primordial commitments and their natural sense of justice, and to turn them away from false knowledge and the materialistic temptations of consumption. Capitalistic values come to dominate their world-view that is oriented to seeking personal gains, security, status, prestige and respectability by individualistic rather than collective means which in other words may be termed as typically middle class values. The culture of the consumer society is,

476 Jan Pakulsky and Malcolm Waters; op.cit.n.31 p114.
477 George LukacsHistory and Class Consciousness; London: Merlin. 1968

192
therefore, held to be a vast floating complex of fragmentary signs and images, which produces an endless sign-play that destabilises long-held symbolic meanings and cultural order. Hence it is natural if working class forgot their celebrated past of peasant struggles and degenerated to be pawn in the culture of ‘hyper-commodification’. Unlike the organized communist parties of Kerala Janakiya Samskarika Vedi under the auspices of the so-called Naxalite movement took up cultural issues more predominantly than issues of practical politics and thereby upheld and propagated a revolutionary class politics. “Left cultural movements have hitherto played a crucial role in the advancement of radical politics. However, the relationship between the party and its cultural wing has not always tended to be smooth. Central to this conflict has been the debate over the relative primacy of culture or politics, and the question of autonomy of the former from the latter. Despite this alternative movement of revolution was a fiasco its legacy would be a point of discussion in the working class history of Kerala.

In the light of the analysis of the empirical facts of social life of Malabar during globalised scenario it is proved that working class movement and its prospects have been facing an ideological crisis when it comes face to face with the challenges of neoliberalism. It shows either the inability or unimaginativeness of the leadership of working class organisations to resist

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481 Frederic Jameson Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. Verso; New Delhi; 2006.
482 Sreejith, op.c.t.n.363.
the political onslaught of neoliberal forces on the legitimate class interests of workers. Due to growing embourgeoisment of the trade union organisations and its leaders the workers and labourers are being degenerated to be passive instruments in the hands of them. When communist manifesto was written the exploitation of workers had a monolithic character. But when capitalistic exploitation developed to be more complex and disguised the organisational potential of the working class proved ineffective and its leadership ideologically blank in resisting the sophisticated multiple dimensions of exploitation in the era of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation. Historically, this is scarcely surprising, since the transitional nature of the new global economy has not yet allowed its classes to form in any stable way, let alone to acquire genuine class consciousness, so that the very lively social struggles of the current period are largely dispersed and anarchic. This is a challenge all champions of the downtrodden and under privileged has to face effectively.

Fredric Jameson; op.cit.n.481.p348-349.