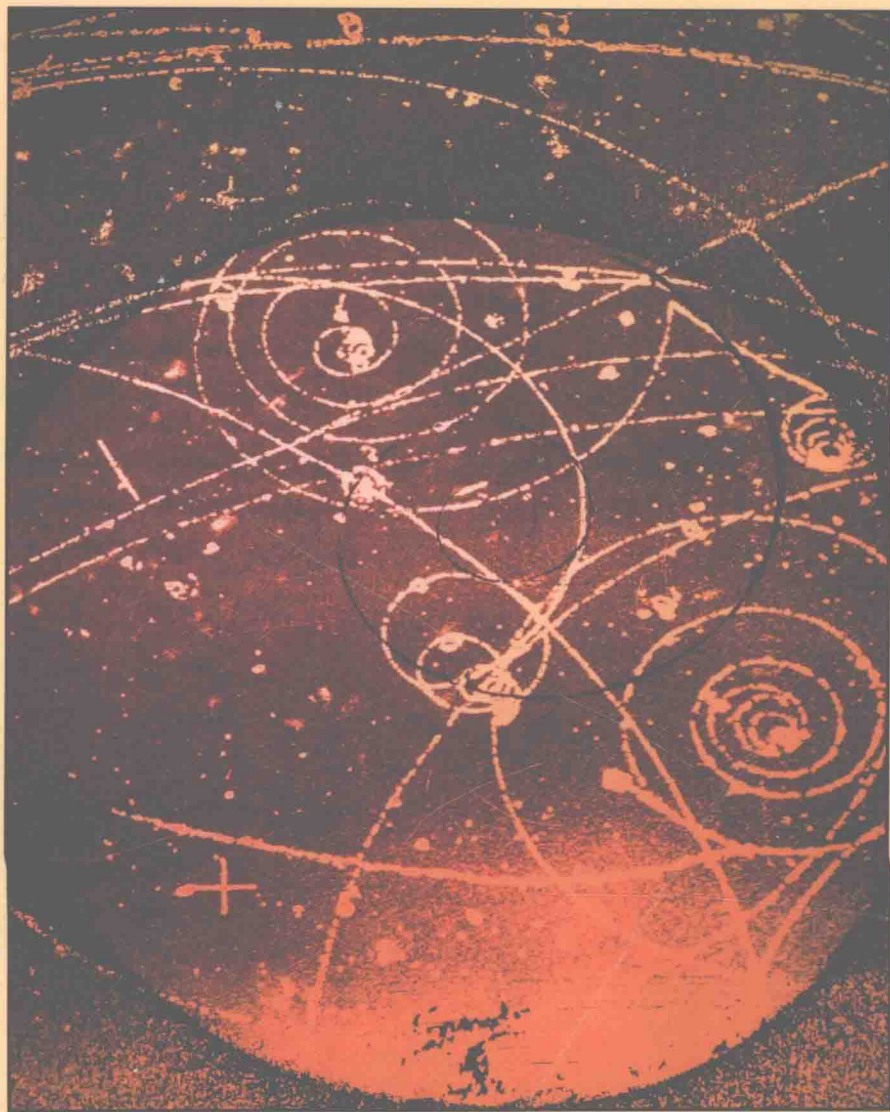


POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

Their Origins and Impact

Seventh Edition



LEON P. BARADAT

**seventh
edition**

Political Ideologies

Their Origins and Impact

Leon P. Baradat

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To Elaine
wife, partner, friend

To the memory of
Ellen Côté, Elaine's mother

And to the memory of
Pete, my dad



Preface



Since the first edition of this book, we have witnessed many changes in the tides of world political turmoil. The Cold War ended and much of the communist world collapsed. People were hopeful momentarily that the political climate would grow more temperate and tensions relax. However, although the frightening possibility of a nuclear confrontation between the superpowers has diminished, we still find ourselves confronted with a threatening environment. The Middle East continues to fester; religious fundamentalism engenders violence; political terrorism continues to threaten disruption; racism divides peoples against themselves; nationalism and neo-fascism emerge again, creating havoc and motivating paranoid Americans to join militant citizen militias in efforts to protect themselves from imagined adversity; famine emaciates millions in the developing world; air pollution is almost inescapable; water everywhere is increasingly adulterated; the earth's protective layer of ozone is rapidly disintegrating; the globe is warming in response to the chemicals released into the atmosphere; and the press of the world's population on available food supplies and other resources is now dangerously acute.

These problems, and many others demanding solutions, confront us and our political leaders. To resolve our difficulties, we realize that we must work together with other people in the world, since many of our problems traverse national boundaries and exceed the capacity of single states to successfully address them. In order to cooperate in the salvation of humankind, we must learn to deal with people who have values, biases, views, and ideas

that are different from our own. Hence, we must confront a number of basic questions if we hope to successfully meet the challenges of the first few years of the twenty-first century. What, for example, are the fundamental concepts in modern politics? What ideas serve as the foundation of our political system? How does our system differ from others? What is socialism, and how does it relate to democracy and to communism? Is fascism moribund, or does it survive, awaiting another chance to take hold in a society confused and disoriented by the complexities of modern life? Why don't people of the world see things *our* way? How do they view the world, and why do they value the things they do? What are their assumptions and objectives? And, perhaps most important, What do *I* believe and how do my views relate to the politics of my time? These and hundreds of other questions must be addressed if we are to face intelligently the political controversies that loom before us.

Traditionally, the American people have been impatient with theoretical concepts. Finding such notions abstract and uninteresting, they prefer more tangible, practical approaches to politics. Moreover, the American political tack has usually been unilateral. We have either tried to ignore the rest of the world—as in much of the early part of this century—or we have expected the world to conform to our attitudes and policies—as has been the case since World War II. But such a narrow view is no longer viable—if indeed it ever was. The United States must face the fact that it is only one player, albeit an important one, in global politics, and we must learn to cooperate with the rest of the world in the resolution of common problems. To do so, we must understand the other peoples of the world. We must comprehend their needs, their ideals, their values, their views. In this endeavor, there can be no better place to start than by coming to appreciate their political ideologies. A clear understanding of the current ideologies in the world is essential if one is to grasp the political realities of our time.

A NOTE TO THE STUDENT

I think of myself as a teacher, not an author. This book, therefore, is written as a vehicle for teaching some of the world's great ideas, and as such it reaches students whom the author will probably never meet and thus influences the lives of strangers, if only slightly. With pedagogy in mind, several features have been incorporated in this book that will help the reader learn its contents more easily.

Each chapter is preceded by a preview of the material to be covered in that chapter. The preview is designed to alert students to the principal ideas developed in the text that follows. Thus you will find that, equipped with this overview, the details in the chapter become more meaningful. It may be wise to reread the previews after you finish each chapter. That way you can

check your comprehension of the material. At the end of each chapter, questions are provided that are designed to stimulate thought and discussion about the major themes in the chapter.

I have also included at the end of the chapters a brief bibliography of books that can be used in further pursuit of the subject. These lists are certainly not exhaustive of the subjects they address, but they can be used as jumping-off places for more detailed inquiry into the subject.

The text also includes *italicized* words and phrases. When encountering these words, take special note of them; it is my way of saying that material is particularly important. The glossary and the index at the end of the book should also be especially useful. In addition, the names and concepts appearing in **boldface** in the text can be found among the items in the glossary, and you should pay close attention to them as well.

As a final note to the reader, I would like to say just a few words about general education requirements. Responding to economic and social pressures, students today are understandably anxious to complete their studies so that they can begin to make a living. Courses that do not immediately translate into dollars are often viewed by students as superfluous impositions on their time. The course for which you are reading this text may be one of those offerings. Yet, there is more to life than materialism, and we must learn to appreciate and enjoy what we are and who we are while we make a living. In fact, it is likely that we will make a better living, or at least live better, if we appreciate and understand the world in which we live.

Education is the custodian of civilization. Its function is to transmit the knowledge of our civilization to each succeeding generation. General education courses are the principal vehicle by which this function is executed at the college level. They offer you the priceless treasure of society's wisdom. Immerse yourself in them, savor them, absorb them, enjoy them. Let general education courses expose you to the wonders of our world, expanding your vision and deepening your appreciation of life so that, as Stephen Bailey wrote, "Later in life when you knock on yourself, someone answers."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

While any inaccuracies in this book are completely my own responsibility, several people have made such substantial contributions to this work that I take pleasure in mentioning them here. My deepest gratitude belongs to my wife, Elaine. Her unselfish help and her unfailing support over the years have been instrumental to the book's success. I am also indebted to our sons Leon and René who, in the early editions of the book, sacrificed time we might have spent together, so that the book could be written.

For the lucidity the first edition enjoyed, all credit and many thanks go to Professor Julie Hatoff. Spending untold hours reviewing the manuscript,

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Leon P. Baradat



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1

Ideology

PREVIEW

Ideologies were made necessary by the Age of Enlightenment belief that people could improve their conditions by taking positive action instead of passively accepting life as it came. This new belief was accompanied by the great economic and social upheaval caused by the mechanization of production (the earliest stage of the Industrial Revolution). Indeed, one of the major themes of this book is that ideologies are the result of attempts to develop political accommodations to the economic and social conditions created by the Industrial Revolution.

Political scientists do not agree on the exact definition of the term "ideology," but their opinions have enough in common to allow us to develop a five-part definition for our purposes:

- 1. The term ideology can be used in many contexts, but unless otherwise specified, it is proper to give it a political meaning.*
- 2. All ideologies provide an interpretation of the present and a view of a desired future. The anticipated future is usually portrayed as materially better than the present and it is thought to be attainable within a single generation.*
- 3. Each ideology includes a list of specific steps that can be taken to accomplish its goals.*
- 4. Ideologies are oriented toward the masses.*
- 5. Ideologies are simply stated and presented in motivational terms.*

Ideology and political philosophy are each theoretical conceptualizations of politics, but philosophy is more profound and introspective.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF IDEOLOGY

Prior to the modern era, people were discouraged from seeking solutions to their problems. They were expected to do what they were told by their spiritual and temporal superiors. Politics had not yet become democratized. Ordinary people were not allowed to participate in the political system. Politics was reserved for kings heading a small ruling class. Indeed, the Prussian king and military genius Frederick the Great (1712–1786) once said, “A war is something which should not concern my people.” Rather than enjoy a voice in government, the masses were expected to work, producing material goods to sustain the state; they were not mobilized for political activity.

This attitude would be viewed as arrogant by contemporary observers, but only because every modern society is democratic in at least one sense of the word. *Every modern political system is motivational*; that is, the leaders attempt to mobilize their citizens to accomplish the political, economic, and social goals of the society. The United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, Japan, the People’s Republic of China, and every other modern national political entity, regardless of the differences among them, share at least one major feature: They are all intensely interested in involving their citizens in efforts to accomplish the objectives of the state; and ideologies are among the major tools used by modern governments to mobilize the masses. Consequently, modern ideologies call upon people to join in collective efforts. The goals of each ideology and the precise methods used to reach these goals are different, but they each call for mass mobilization and collective efforts to accomplish desired ends.

The Source of Ideology

Knowledge, as it was commonly understood before the Enlightenment, was to be revealed by a superior wisdom; ordinary people were to understand and conform to such knowledge as best they could. Consequently, little questioning or challenging took place, and, naturally, change came very slowly.

Gradually, however, people began to challenge this intellectual straightjacket. Some, such as Galileo, were punished for doing so. Yet they persisted, and in time their efforts led to discoveries that revolutionized human existence. The net result of these accomplishments was the development of science and its practical application, technology. Success in early attempts to solve problems through the application of science, such as curing a disease or developing an important labor-saving device, gave people a sense of liberation from ignorance. The world became more rational, and could be approached in a systematic fashion. Invigorated by this secular epiphany, people were encouraged to apply human reason to an ever-widening range of problems.



Galileo Galilei (1564–1642)
Engraving after painting by
Wyatt. Corbis-Bettmann

In time, innovators developed machines that greatly increased productivity and drastically changed people's relationship to the things produced. Whereas production was once limited to the quantity a person could fashion by hand, the new technology produced goods in quantities that no one had previously imagined. At the same time, however, the worker was no longer personally involved in the production process. Machines were weaving fabrics, forging steel, and carving wood. Workers found themselves tending the machines instead of actually making the goods.

These changes in productivity had enormous social effects. People who once led a relatively healthy, albeit poor, life in a rural setting were brought together to live in the cities. The workers' neighborhoods were crowded and unsanitary. Life became less social as people ironically found themselves psychologically estranged from their neighbors at the very time when they were forced to cohabit the same city block. For millennia people had depended on a close relationship with the soil for the necessities of life. Now, suddenly, they found themselves divorced from the land. Urbanization and industrialization, accomplished by brutal methods during the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries, caused massive confusion and insecurity among most people. Ordinary people became disoriented and frightened. No longer could they produce most of the things they needed themselves. They had become dependent for their well-being on people they did not know, in places they had never seen. Scholars, philosophers, and politicians launched themselves into efforts to comprehend these events, to explain them, and to rationalize them. Some of the rationalizations became political ideologies.

If the mechanization of production, the urbanization of society, and the separation of people from an intimate relationship with the land had been all that people had to face, the impact on human life would have been great indeed. However, even more turmoil lay ahead. Economic dislocation became a severe problem. Unemployment, depression, and inflation began to plague society and to disrupt the order of things to a degree previously unequaled. Workers became disoriented as the skills that had once been a major source of self-identification and pride were made unnecessary by automation. It became necessary to learn new skills to fit the new technology. At the same time, the workers became divorced from owners. Capital investment necessary to buy machines, factories, and resources became so great that owners had to spend their time managing their money (becoming capitalists); they were no longer able to work alongside their employees. Hence, the workers, lulled by the monotony of the assembly line, became separated from their employers, estranged from impersonal managers, and ultimately alienated from their work.

Meanwhile, as family farms and businesses have disappeared, society has become increasingly mobile. Roots have disintegrated. Families, the most basic of all social units, have become dislocated from ancestral foundations, and the institution of the family itself seems to be dissolving before our eyes. While we are being crowded closer together, we seem to be losing concern for one another. We are becoming increasingly isolated in a world filled with people. Ironically, we are developing a self-oriented world at the very time that we are becoming more and more dependent on others for our most basic needs. As the pace of change quickens and the basic institutions of society are weakened, the generation gap, which must always have existed in some form, has widened.

Our economic success has tended to make our social problems worse. Industrialization has produced great wealth for those who are fortunate enough to profit from it. For others, however, it has produced a new kind of slavery. The new slaves, be they industrial workers or neocolonial suppliers of cheap raw materials, are exploited more fully than those of previous eras because of the efficiency of the modern system. The gap between the user and the used, between the haves and the have-nots, is also increasing, threatening frightful results for a world that remains insensitive to it. In addition, industrialized economies have become voracious consumers of natural