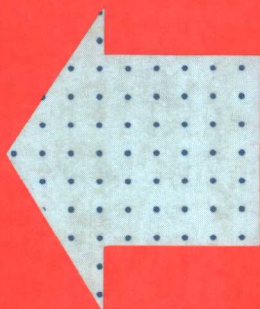
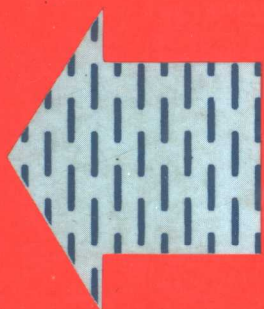
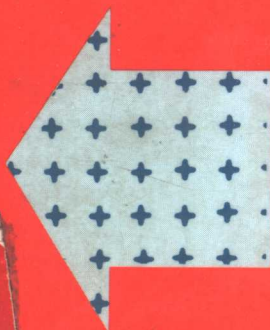
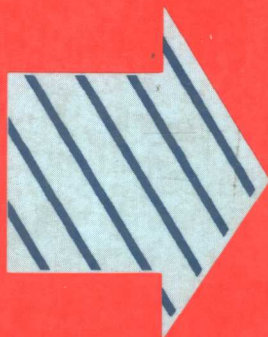


Contemporary Political Ideologies



Lyman Tower Sargent



Seventh Edition

Contemporary Political Ideologies

A Comparative Analysis

Seventh Edition

Lyman Tower Sargent
University of Missouri—St. Louis



Brooks/Cole Publishing Company
Pacific Grove, California

© THE DORSEY PRESS, 1969, 1972, 1975, 1978, 1981, 1984, and 1987

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transcribed, in any form or by any means—electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise—without the prior written permission of the publisher, Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, Pacific Grove, California 93950, a division of Wadsworth, Inc.

ISBN 0-534-10822-9

Former ISBN 0-256-05598-X

Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 86-50817

Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3

Preface

According to a recent scholar, political ideologies in this century have replaced religion as the focus of both human liberation and human fanaticism.¹ These ideologies, for example, *communism*, *democracy*, and *nationalism*, whose names are well recognized but whose contents are not well known, form the focus of this study. Since the original edition in 1969, this study has found a steady audience among those courses on political thought and comparative politics that require a readable yet concise treatment of political ideologies.

This book presents the essential features of certain belief systems in the world today in a way that can be readily understood. To the extent possible, I have tried to present the ideologies as they are understood by their believers together with criticisms made by their opponents. My goal is to achieve a position where the reader can draw his or her own conclusions about each ideology based on a reasonably balanced picture of that ideology.

Taking advantage of the new Dorsey Press, I have reorganized this edition more drastically than the previous editions while keeping the text about the same length. The most obvious additions are the photographs. The other major changes include the division of the book into four major parts (democracy, communism, opponents of marxism, and recent developments); the addition of Chapter 11 on feminism; the deletion of a separate chapter on the New Left; and the reshaping of the chapters on democracy and communism into multichapter Parts 1 and 2. Hence, Part 1, "Democracy," now offers three separate chapters: "The Principles of Democracy," "Capitalism and Socialism and Democracy," and "Conservatism and Liberalism and Democracy." Similarly, Part 2, "Communism," now offers two chapters:

¹Feliks Gross, *Ideologies, Goals, and Values* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), p. xxiii.

“The Marxist Tradition” and “Contemporary Communism in Practice.” Finally, a glossary has been added. More subtle changes exist in all other chapters and, of course, each chapter has been brought up to date.

Enhanced by these changes, the book maintains its essential character as a comparative introduction to the dominant and some of the minor ideologies of the modern world. Most chapters conclude with a “Current Trends” summary and an extensive suggested readings list, and I have tried to maintain the usefulness and flexibility of the work as a teaching tool. Having taught from this and previous editions, I wish to thank my students for helping me to improve it. I also wish to thank John Redekop at Wilfried Laurier University.

Lyman Tower Sargent

Contents

List of Figures *xiii*

List of Photos *xiii*

Chapter 1 Ideologies: What Are They and Why Study Them? 1

Ideology Defined	2
Beliefs and Ideologies	2
Ideological Conflicts	3
Debates over Ideology	5
Ideologies to Be Considered	7
Method of Analysis	8
The Social System	11

Chapter 2 Nationalism 15

Defining Nationalism	16
The Development of Nationalism	20
Nationalism and New Nations	21
Internationalism	24
Current Trends	25
Contemporary Examples of Nationalism	26

Part One: Democracy 33

Chapter 3: The Principles of Democracy 35

Citizen Involvement	36
Equality	42

Political Equality	42
Equality before the Law	44
Equality of Opportunity	44
Economic Equality	45
Social Equality	46
Freedom, Liberty, and Rights	47
Natural Rights and Civil Rights	48
Types of Liberty	51
The System of Representation	57
Rule of Law	61
Electoral System	61
Education	65
Conclusion	66
Current Trends	66

Chapter 4: Capitalism and Socialism and Democracy 72

Capitalism	73
The Principles of Capitalism	73
Capitalism and Democracy	75
Monopolies	76
Economic Freedom	77
Equality of Opportunity	78
Criticisms of Capitalism	79
Socialism	80
The Principles of Democratic Socialism	81
Criticisms of Socialism	85
Current Trends	86

Chapter 5: Conservatism and Liberalism and Democracy 91

Conservatism	92
Liberalism	95
Contemporary Conservatism in the United States	97
The Radical or New Right	97
Traditional Conservatism	98
Neoconservatism	99
Contemporary Liberalism in the United States	99
Neoliberalism	100
Traditional Liberalism	101
Conclusion	101

Part Two: Communism 105

Chapter 6: The Marxist Tradition 107

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels	109
Alienation—The Young Marx	109
Marx's Critique of Capitalism	110
Philosophical Basis—Materialism	113
The Class Struggle	121
Revolution	122
Lenin	123
Mao Zedong	126
Dictatorship of the Proletariat	129
Full Communism	130
Current Trends	132

Chapter 7: Contemporary Communism in Practice 140

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	140
The Political System	141
The Economic System	144
The Social Stratification System	146
The Socialization System	147
China	150
The Commune System	150
The Economic System	152
Yugoslavia	152
Self-Governing Socialism	153
Conclusion	154

Part Three: Traditional Opponents of Marxism 159

Chapter 8: Fascism and National Socialism 161

The Theoretical Base	161
Irrationalism	162
Social Darwinism	163
Nationalism	163
Glorification of the State	165
The Leadership Principle	166
Racism	169
Anticommunism	171
The Economic System	172
Current Trends	173

Chapter 9: Anarchism 178

Principles of Anarchism	178
Collectivist Anarchism	181
Individualist Anarchism	184
Anarchist Social Thought	186
Current Trends	188

Part Four: Recent Developments 197

Chapter 10: Third World Ideologies 199

Nonalignment	200
Movements for National Liberation	201
The Colonial Experience	202
The Independence Movement	203
The Revitalization of Indigenous Culture	203
Developmental Socialism	205
Communism in the Third World	207
Capitalism in the Third World	208
Current Trends	209
The Economic Problems	209
Conflicts	210
Liberation Theology	211

Chapter 11: Feminism 217

Sexism	218
The Personal Is the Political	221
The Feminist Responses	222
Liberal or Reform Feminism	222
Marxist Feminism	223
Socialist Feminism	223
Radical Feminism	224
Current Trends	224
Conclusion	225

Chapter 12: Conclusion 229

Index i

List of Figures

- 3-1 Voter Turnout in Western Democratic Countries—Based
on Most Recent National Elections 39
- 6-1 The Dialectic 117
- 6-2 The Communist Party and Society 125
- 7-1 Organization of a Communist Party 142

List of Photos

- New England Town Meeting 37
- John Locke 49
- John Stuart Mill 53
- Jean-Jacques Rousseau 60
- James Madison 65
- Adam Smith 74
- Willy Brandt 82
- Edmund Burke 94
- Karl Marx 108
- Vladimir Ilyich Lenin 124
- Mikhail S. Gorbachov 144
- Chinese Wall Poster 151
- Adolf Hitler 168
- Nazi Concentration Camp 170
- Petr Kropotkin 179
- Emma Goldman 190
- Julius K. Nyerere 206
- Racial Conflict in Soweto 211
- March for Women's Suffrage 220
- Women at Greenham Common 226

Ideologies—What Are They and Why Study Them?

Late in 1985 terrorists massacred people in airports in Rome and Vienna; the people shot and wounded were waiting to catch planes, drinking coffee, or seeing off friends or relatives. Why would anyone throw hand grenades at or shoot such people? The answer is ideology. The leader of one country contends that industries must be taken away from their private owners and operated under government supervision; the leader of another country contends that industries must be taken away from those that operate them under government supervision and sold to private owners. Both are convinced that their position is economically and morally correct. Why the difference? The answer is ideology.

These are but two examples of the ways in which ideology affects the behavior of people in our world today. Obviously, ideology and the specific ideologies that influence the behavior of terrorists and political leaders as well as the rest of us are important if we are to understand both what happens in the world and to ourselves.

Whether we are aware of it or not, most of us are influenced by ideology. Every television program, newspaper, book, or film directly or indirectly, intentionally or unintentionally, presents an ideology. Some of these presentations are simple; others are very complex: all of them influence us. As we grow up, our family, teachers, and friends help shape our personalities and beliefs by pushing us to do or believe what they do or believe. At times we also make conscious choices among beliefs and attitudes, either because we weigh one position against another and conclude that one is better or worse according to some standard or perhaps simply because we do or do not respect a person who holds that belief.

We gradually come to the set of beliefs and attitudes with which we

will live, those we believe represent truth, even though we may not be aware of it. This set of beliefs will change throughout our lives, but it is less likely to change as we grow older. Most of us are not deeply aware of what we believe. We do not take our beliefs out and examine them very often, if at all. We may rethink one position or change another without really thinking about it, but we rarely look carefully or thoroughly at our beliefs.

In the development of our own beliefs and attitudes, we are affected by a variety of belief systems—religious and/or political views of the world that are, or are believed to be, internally consistent and consciously held by many people; we call these belief systems *ideologies*. We may accept parts of these ideologies simply because we have been taught to react positively or negatively to words that represent them. For example, people growing up in the United States are likely to be certain that democracy is right and communism wrong even if they have never read a book such as this that discusses democracy and communism. We react to words because they have emotional content even if they do not have intellectual content. Most people, of course, find some emotional and some intellectual content in most important words. At times each of us reacts on the basis of an ideology; at such times we are acting as though we accepted the ideology, even if we don't accept all of the attitudes and beliefs that make up that ideology.

IDEOLOGY DEFINED

There has been much controversy among political scientists, sociologists, and others about the meaning and effect of ideology. Here I want to look at the concept carefully. *An ideology is a value or belief system accepted as fact or truth by some group.* It is composed of sets of attitudes toward the various institutions and processes of society. It provides the believer with a picture of the world both as it is and as it should be, and, in so doing, it organizes the tremendous complexity of the world into something fairly simple and understandable. This is the point of the word *system*; ideologies are organized or patterned beliefs. The degree of organization and the simplicity of the resulting picture vary considerably from ideology to ideology, and the ever-increasing complexity of the world tends to blur the pictures. At the same time, however, the fundamental pattern of each ideology remains fairly constant.

BELIEFS AND IDEOLOGIES

We all have beliefs; we are all influenced by ideologies, but we do not all have an ideology in the sense of a system of beliefs. For believers an ideology provides a coordinated picture that can answer most questions

about the world. Our beliefs come in large part from our identification with or membership in some group, such as a religion, and from our family background, education, and exposure to the media.

As an example of ideology in current usage, let us take an oversimplified and extreme case which will illustrate both the nature of ideology and the process of change within an ideology. In the past movies presented viewers with a simple, clearly defined view of the clash of good and evil in the American West. The good guy and the bad guy were even identified by white clothes and a white horse for the hero and black clothes and a black horse for the villain. The good guys always won. All ideologies include definitions of who are the good guys and who are the bad guys.

Although much of the basic pattern has not changed and the identical pattern can be found in the type of science fiction known as "space opera," today's Westerns show the two sides dressed the same and riding the same color horses. In addition, many go so far as to present the bad guy as not entirely evil, and the good guy is not always entirely good.

These differences illustrate some of the problems in analyzing ideologies as they change over time. In some ideologies there is the old rigid good-bad division. In others there is such a complexity of factors at work that it is difficult, or even impossible, to tell the good guys from the bad guys. In this situation a believer is often affected by more than one set of beliefs. She or he is influenced by, for example, the positions of a political party, a church, and a corporation or union. Each of these stands can constitute a partially or fully developed ideology. Although some parts of these systems may coincide perfectly or closely enough to not cause conflict within the individual, other parts may differ greatly.

Ideological Conflicts

Some people may not even notice the differences, but others will be so torn apart by the conflict that they develop serious mental problems. Most of us muddle through aware that we are not really consistent in our beliefs and behavior but not terribly bothered by that fact.

Similar situations occur within countries. In most open societies where a variety of ideologies are recognized and accepted, even if not encouraged, ideology becomes de-emphasized. The conflict within the individual is unlikely to become important. But the conflicts among ideologies may become obvious and, if the numbers of adherents are large enough and close enough in size, the stability of the country can be affected. On the other hand, in a closed system with only one official ideology, if an individual holds beliefs counter to that ideology, he or she will probably be intensely aware of the difference and affected by it.

The same thing is true for the country as a whole. Ideological differences become more important, particularly differences within the official ideology, and can cause serious conflict.

The phenomenon apparent in the American movies of the Old West occurs in all societies. As a society grows more and more complex, it becomes harder and harder to present a simple division between good and bad, between the white and black hats. Black and white are mixed and become gray. We have discovered that the world is not as simple as the older movies would have us believe; the new Western reflects this recognition.

Even with this change in the pattern of some ideologies, all ideologies attempt to organize our complex world into a pattern that will at least give some signposts to help the believer distinguish good from bad. Finally, in none of them do the ideal and reality meet, and there is a struggle to bring them together through changes in either the ideal or the reality.

In any society, different segments of the population will hold different ideologies. For example, within the United States today, the overwhelming majority, if asked, would call themselves believers in democracy. But some would call themselves anarchists, Fascists, and so forth. Every society exhibits a variety of ideologies. In no case will a given society be so completely dominated by a single ideology as to have no ideological alternatives available within the system, even though those alternatives may be actively suppressed by the regime.

Many of those willing to label themselves democrats and so forth do not know the meaning of the terms they use or act in the way the ideology would be expected to lead them. But most people build up a pattern of behavior, some aspects of which come directly from the dominant political ideology of the country in which they live. For example, it is a bit surprising that people accept the outcome of elections rather than fighting for their side when they lose. But most people in countries with established democracies are so conditioned to accept loss in elections that they do so without ever thinking about revolt. This is not always the case, though. There are countries in most parts of the world where elections produce violent attempts, sometimes successful, to change the results.

Differences within Ideologies. There are differences within each ideology that make each a cluster of ideologies. Democracy is the most obvious example, being composed of at least two major categories—democratic capitalism and democratic socialism. All who place themselves in either of these categories believe themselves to be democrats and often see themselves as the only true democrats. In addition to this major division, there are numerous disagreements over the emphasis

placed on certain aspects of democracy and over the tactics used in achieving desired goals. This phenomenon is not characteristic of the democratic ideology alone. As we know from reading the news from Eastern Europe and China in recent years, there are significant disagreements among communists over what is essential to communism as an ideology and what is nonessential and can be changed, modified slightly, or completely discarded.

There is no ideology completely free from this sort of disagreement. When one speaks of a single, official ideology, it should be recognized that even these so-called single, official ideologies are not monolithic but are composed of a variety of differing positions and disagreements which together comprise the ideology and allow it to change to meet changing conditions. Only a dead ideology is free from such differences.

To reiterate, individuals may hold a variety of beliefs which may be in conflict. Normally, people do not recognize the conflicting nature of these beliefs and apply them to different situations without ever looking at their values as a whole. A person either fails to see the problem, argues that the positions are not irreconcilable, or gradually rejects one position. This presents one of the most serious obstacles to a clear understanding of ideologies; it will remain a theme in the consideration of each ideology.

Debates over Ideology

The word *ideology* was first used in the late nineteenth century by a group of French thinkers called the Ideologues to describe an approach to the understanding of ideas through sensory data. The word was picked up by others and used mostly as a label for ways in which people block out messages that threaten them. Here I shall briefly discuss three of these theorists and a debate in the 1950s and 1960s over the end of ideology in the West.

Karl Marx. Karl Marx (1818–1883) described as ideological any set of political *illusions* produced by the social experience of a *class* (i.e., a social group defined by its economic role; for example, owners or workers). For Marx a person's membership in a particular class produced a picture of the world shaped by the experiences of that class. Thus, it would be almost impossible for an individual class member to form an accurate conception of the world. Marx argued that the *socialization process* (i.e., the process by which an individual comes to accept the values of a society) is strongly shaped by one's place in the class system of that society. The members of different classes are both directly and indirectly taught to think and behave in ways "appropriate" for that class.

Karl Mannheim. Karl Mannheim (1893–1947) gave a description of ideology close to Marx's, except Mannheim attempted to avoid the negative connotations that Marx intended in his definition. For Marx ideologies were illusions that kept members of a class from understanding their true place in society. For Mannheim they were—in what he calls “the total conception of ideology”—“the characteristics and composition of the total structure of the mind” of an age or a group, such as a class.¹ This means an ideology is the set of beliefs that filters the mass of information we perceive; rather like the blinders on a horse, an ideology allows us only a limited view of the world. Mannheim also used what he called “the particular conception of ideology.” In this usage he was closer to Marx because he said that the ideas of our opponents are “more or less conscious disguises of the real nature of a situation, a true recognition of which would not be in accord with his interest.”² This is the belief that the other person's ideas, but not ours, are false representations of the world, illusions or masks, depending on whether they are consciously recognized.

Sigmund Freud. A third writer, not as often considered in this context, deserves mention. Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) made one point about beliefs such as ideologies that must be noted. These belief systems, he argued, are usually illusions. These illusions are based largely on the distortion or repression of our psychological needs, but they still provide an organized framework for explaining the world and its ills. An accepted explanation, even one that is demonstrably wrong, can be comforting. Thus, Freud, like Marx, saw ideologies as illusions that keep us deluded and content with a difficult, if not intolerable, condition. Freud prescribed psychoanalysis if the illusion becomes sufficiently pathological; Marx prescribed revolution.

The End of Ideology Debate. In the 1950s and 1960s a debate started, particularly in the United States, as to whether ideological politics had ended in the West.³ In a few cases it was argued that there had never been ideological politics in the United States. From the perspective of 1986, this debate seems a bit foolish. Even if ideological politics had never before existed in the United States, they do now, and the roots of

¹Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, trans. Louis Wirth and Edward Shils (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1936), p. 56.

²*Ibid.*, p. 55.

³For the debate, see Mostafa Rejai, ed., *Decline of Ideology?* (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971); and Chaim I. Waxman, ed., *The End of Ideology Debate* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1968). The book which gave rise to the debate in the United States was Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1960).

the contemporary situation go back to precisely the time when the debate over the end of ideology was raging.

Still, the debate is interesting because it reflects an attitude toward ideology that continues to be expressed. The major exponents of the end of ideology contended both that ideology had ended in the West (if it had ever existed) and that this was a good thing because ideology was a bad thing. Ideological politics were seen as divisive politics—politics that made compromise impossible, that drove people apart. Ideology also hindered Western progress toward the “good society.” Had ideology not gotten in the way, a better society may have been possible in the near future through the usual practices of compromise politics.

The participants in the debate differed on both what they were talking about and to some extent, whether the end of ideology was a good thing. Some people suggested ideology was ending in Communist as well as Western countries. Again, this was generally seen as favorable. The single point on which the debaters came closest to agreeing was that ideology is bad for us and if it hadn't ended, it should.

IDEOLOGIES TO BE CONSIDERED

The ideologies selected for consideration have been chosen on the basis of two main criteria: their importance in the world today and the author's desire to present the broad range of political beliefs. Nationalism, democracy, and communism clearly fall into the first category. Each must be understood before the news of the day can be intelligently grasped. Anarchism clearly belongs in the second category. Although anarchism never has been dominant in any area for long, it still has many adherents and has a continuing popularity. A survey of political ideology would be incomplete if anarchy were ignored. The other ideologies included fall somewhere between these two categories. Each is important for an understanding of recent history and current events but not to the same degree as nationalism, democracy, and communism. In addition, each represents a point on the spectrum of political beliefs which is not clearly occupied by any of the others.

One belief system, nationalism, is different from all the others because it affects all the others. Nationalism is important because it is part of the other ideologies; therefore, it will be discussed first to make it possible to see its effects on the other ideologies.

Since nationalism differs from the other ideologies discussed here, some people argue that it is not an ideology. Nationalism is an ideology in that it fits the general definition of an ideology—a value or belief system accepted as fact or truth by some group. In addition, the modern world simply cannot be understood without understanding nationalism.