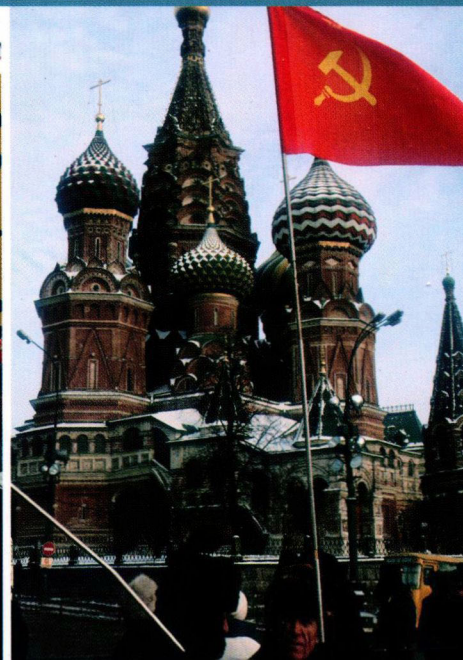
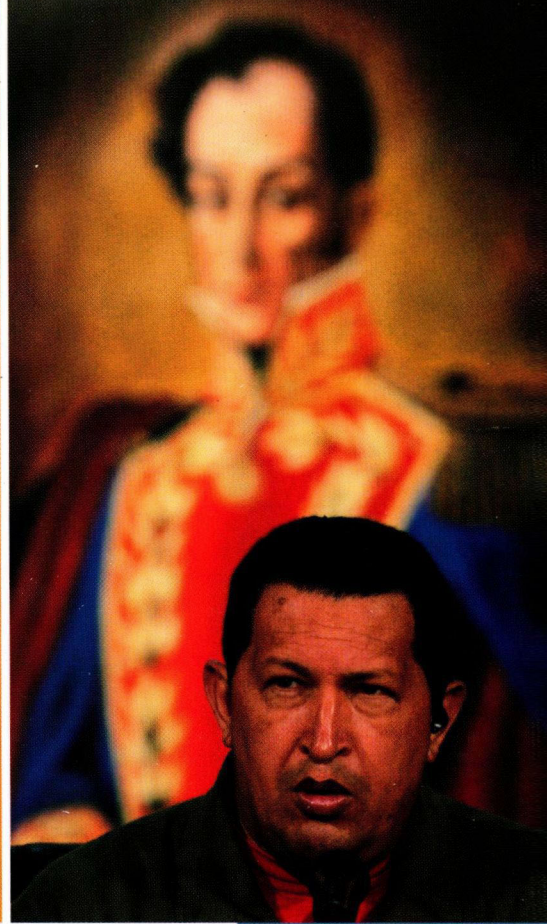


IDEALS AND IDEOLOGIES

A READER

TERENCE BALL • RICHARD DAGGER

EIGHTH EDITION



IDEALS AND IDEOLOGIES A READER

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Cover Photos: Clockwise from top right: Harold
Escalona/epa/Corbis; Robert Nickelsberg/Getty
Images News; Jim Wilson/The New York Times/
Redux Pictures; and Feng Li/Getty Images News
Senior Manufacturing Buyer: Roy Pickering
Printer and Binder: R. R. Donnelley &
Sons/Harrisonburg
Cover Printer: R. R. Donnelley & Sons/
Harrisonburg

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ideals and ideologies : a reader / [edited by] Terence Ball, Richard Dagger.—8th ed.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-205-77997-0 (alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-205-77997-2 (alk. paper)

1. Political science—History. 2. Ideology. 3. Right and left (Political science) I. Ball, Terence. II. Dagger, Richard. III. Dagger, Richard.

JA81.I34 2011

320.5—dc22

2009054339

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2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10—DOH—13 12 11

Longman
is an imprint of



www.pearsonhighered.com

ISBN-13: 978-0-205-77997-0
ISBN-10: 0-205-77997-2

To
Jonathan and Stephen Ball
and
Emily and Elizabeth Dagger

PREFACE TO THE EIGHTH EDITION

About twenty years ago we decided to collect readings from primary sources into an anthology for courses in political ideologies and modern political thought. We knew that we faced difficult choices—what to put in, what to leave out—but we believed that we could compile a set of readings that would be comprehensive and rigorous enough to meet instructors' standards while satisfying students' desires for a readable and reasonably accessible "reader." The fact that we are now issuing an eighth edition of this book suggests that our belief was not ill-founded. Since the socio-political world keeps changing, the thrust and contents of this anthology must change, too, and this eighth edition is no exception to that rule.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

New to this eighth edition are the following additions:

- Franklin D. Roosevelt, "New Deal Liberalism: A Defense" (Are there echoes here of what some—supporters and critics alike—call President Obama's "new New Deal"?)
- Terence Ball, "A Libertarian Utopia" (What if *every* good and service were for sale in free markets?)
- Russell Kirk, "Ten Conservative Principles" (A founder of modern American conservatism succinctly summarizes conservatism's main principles.)
- The Christian Socialist Movement, "Statement of Aims" (What is Christian socialism, what do Christian socialists believe, and why?)
- Martin Luther King, "Where Do We Go from Here?" (Should civil rights be supplemented with *economic* rights?)
- Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet" (Dr. King's more militant counterpart in the civil rights movement issues a warning about the consequences of continuing to deny African Americans their most basic rights, including the right to vote.)
- James H. Cone, "Whose Earth Is It, Anyway?" (A distinguished African American theologian argues the case for combining "black" liberation with "green" environmentalism.)

FEATURES

As in the previous editions, we have been guided by our sense that an ideal anthology for this subject would combine four features. First, it would present a wide range

of alternative ideological visions, right, left, middle, and unorthodox. Second, it would include a generous sampling of key thinkers in the different ideological traditions, old and new alike. Third, an ideal anthology would, when necessary, modernize the prose of thinkers long dead. Fourth, and finally, it would supply the student with some sense of the intellectual and political context within which these thinkers thought and wrote.

In this eighth edition of *Ideals and Ideologies* we have tried once again to satisfy these four criteria. First, we have attempted to cover the broad canvas of contemporary political ideologies, from the standard categories of liberalism-conservatism-socialism to a broader range of newly emerging ideological alternatives. Among these are the “liberation” ideologies, including indigenous or native people’s liberation, an ecological or “green” ideology, and the ideology of radical Islamism. Second, we have tried to supply a fairly generous and reasonably representative sample of alternative ideological views, including those not represented in any other anthology. Third, we have, wherever possible, simplified the prose of older thinkers—in several instances providing our own translations of works not written in English. And finally, we have provided brief introductions and added explanatory notes to place these selections and their authors in their political and historical contexts.

We have tried, in short, to supply the student with an accessible and readable anthology of original sources. The end result does not necessarily make for easy reading. But, as we remind our students, the old adage “No pain, no gain” applies to the building not only of muscles but also to minds. We have merely attempted to remove some of the unnecessary strain from a profitable, if sometimes taxing, exercise.

The present volume is paired with the new eighth edition of our *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*, also published by Longman. Although each book stands alone, each complements and can be used in combination with the other.

We should note, finally, that many of the readings included here easily fall under more than one heading. For example, Franklin D. Roosevelt’s 1936 Madison Square Garden speech could as easily fit into Part Two (The Democratic Ideal) as under Part Three (Liberalism). And black liberation theologian James H. Cone’s “Whose Earth Is It, Anyway?” could as well be included in Part Eight (Liberation Ideologies) as in Part Nine (Green Politics). There are, in short, many combinations, and many ways to use this book. But whatever the preferred combination may be, the aim is always the same: to convey to the student-citizen a vivid sense of the centrality and ongoing importance of ideas, ideals, and ideologies in modern politics.

SUPPLEMENTS

MyPoliSciKit for Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal and Ideals and Ideologies: A Reader This premium online learning companion features multimedia and interactive activities to help students make connections between concepts and current events. The book-specific assessment, reading guides, video case studies, mapping exercises, *Financial Times* newsfeeds, current events quizzes, and politics blog encourage comprehension and critical thinking. With Grade Tracker, instructors can easily follow students’ work on the site and their progress on each activity. MyPoliSciKit is available at no additional charge when packaged with this book. To learn more, please visit www.mypoliscikit.com or contact your Pearson representative.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In preparing this new edition, we had the benefit of detailed and thoughtful reviews from the following scholars, whom we wish to thank here: Asma Abbas, Bard College at Simons Rock; Doug Blum, Providence College; Claire Rasmussen, University of Delaware; and Christopher Rice, University of Kentucky. We are particularly grateful to Professor Daniel O'Neill of the University of Florida for his help in preparing this eighth edition. We would also like to thank our undergraduate research assistants—Nedda Reghabi, Stephanie Rugolo, and Syreeta Tyrell—for their conscientious assistance.

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INTRODUCTION

As the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the subsequent “war on terror” attest, the world in which we live continues to be shaped and scarred by political ideologies. Indeed, the truth of the old saying “ideas have consequences” must now be evident to everyone. More recently, the “Great Recession” that began in 2007 has exposed and deepened divisions between those who believe that government has a duty to regulate the economy and those who hold that government “interference” in markets is dangerous and counterproductive. For better or for worse, the twenty-first century, like the one that preceded it, is a century of ideas—and particularly of those clusters or systems of ideas called “ideologies.” These ideologies have raised hopes, inspired fear, and drawn blood from millions of human beings. To study political ideologies, then, is not to undertake a merely academic study. It is to dissect and analyze the tissue of our times.

At this early point in the twenty-first century, some ideologies, such as the Marxist-Leninist version of socialism, are clearly in eclipse, while others—such as radical Islamism and a newly emerging ecological or “green” ideology—appear to be gaining in influence and importance. Yet, despite their differences, these ideologies are similar in at least one respect: they all have their histories. All, that is, have emerged out of particular historical contexts and have changed in response to changing conditions and circumstances. And all have been formed from the ideas of thinkers old and new. As the economist John Maynard Keynes observed in the 1930s, when Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, and Joseph Stalin all held power, “madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back.”

This book is about, and by, those “academic scribblers”—and a number of those “madmen in authority” as well. Their ideas have formed the ideologies and fueled the conflicts that shaped and reshaped the political landscape of the twentieth century—and now the twenty-first. We live in the shadow, and under the influence, of these scribblers and madmen. To be ignorant of their influence is not to escape it. By tracing modern ideologies back to their original sources, we can see more clearly how our own outlooks—and those of our enemies—have been shaped by earlier thinkers. To return to and read these authors is to gain some insight into the shaping of the modern political mind—or rather minds, plural, since ideological disagreement continues unabated.

Some modern commentators have claimed—wrongly, we believe—that ideological disagreements are at last coming to an end. The age of ideology, they say, is over.

As evidence, they cite the end of the Cold War, the emancipation of Eastern Europe, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the democratizing of former dictatorships. Important as they are, however, these events do not presage “the end of ideology.” Rather, they suggest that ours is an age of important ideological realignments. Marxism-Leninism may be dead in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, but other versions of it linger on in the politics of China, Vietnam, North Korea, and Cuba. Radical Islamism is increasingly influential in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere. And, of course, ideological conflict persists as conservatives, liberals, and socialists continue to disagree with one another, animal liberationists fight for animal rights, gays for gay rights, and Greens campaign to protect the environment. The worldwide financial crisis that began in 2007 cast grave doubt on the deregulation of markets championed by libertarians and modern conservatives whose movements are, for the moment at least, in partial eclipse. Other movements, motivated by other ideologies, are poised to challenge and perhaps replace them.

Like it or not, in short, ours is likely to remain an age of ideological diversity and disagreement. Anyone who hopes to understand this diversity and disagreement will benefit, we believe, from a careful reading of the selections that follow, which provide a generous sampling of some of the writings that have helped to form the ideologically varied political terrain of the small planet on which we dwell together, if not always, alas, in peace and harmony.

Terence Ball

Richard Dagger



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THE CONCEPT OF IDEOLOGY

That ideologies and ideological conflict have persisted throughout modern history should come as no surprise. Ideologies are born of crisis and feed on conflict. People need help to comprehend and cope with turbulent times and confusing circumstances, and ideologies provide this help. An ideology does this by performing four important and perhaps indispensable functions for those who subscribe to it. First, it *explains* political phenomena that would otherwise remain mysterious or puzzling. Why are there wars and rumors of war? Why are there conflicts between nations, between classes, and between races? What causes depressions? The answer that one gives to these, and to many other, questions depends to some degree on one's ideology. A Marxian socialist will answer one way, a fascist another, and a feminist yet another.

Second, an ideology provides its adherents with criteria and standards of *evaluation*—of deciding what is right and wrong, good and bad. Are class differences and vast disparities of wealth good or bad things? Is interracial harmony possible, and, if so, is it desirable? Is censorship permissible, and, if so, under what conditions? Again, the answers one gives will depend on which ideology one accepts.

Third, an ideology *orients* its adherents, giving them a sense of who they are and where they belong—a social and cultural compass with which to define and affirm their individual and collective identity. Fascists, for example, will typically think of themselves as members of a superior nation or race. Communists will see themselves as people who defend the working class against capitalist oppression and exploitation. Animal liberationists will identify themselves as defenders of animals that are unable to protect themselves against human abuse and exploitation.

Fourth and finally, an ideology supplies its adherents with a rudimentary political *program*. This program provides an answer to the question posed by the Russian revolutionary Lenin, among many others: What is to be done? And, no less important: Who is to do it? With what means? A Marxist-Leninist, for instance, will answer these questions as follows: The working class must be emancipated from capitalist exploitation by means of a revolution led by a vanguard party. Fascists, feminists, Greens, liberals, conservatives, and others will, of course, propose other—and very different—programs of political action.

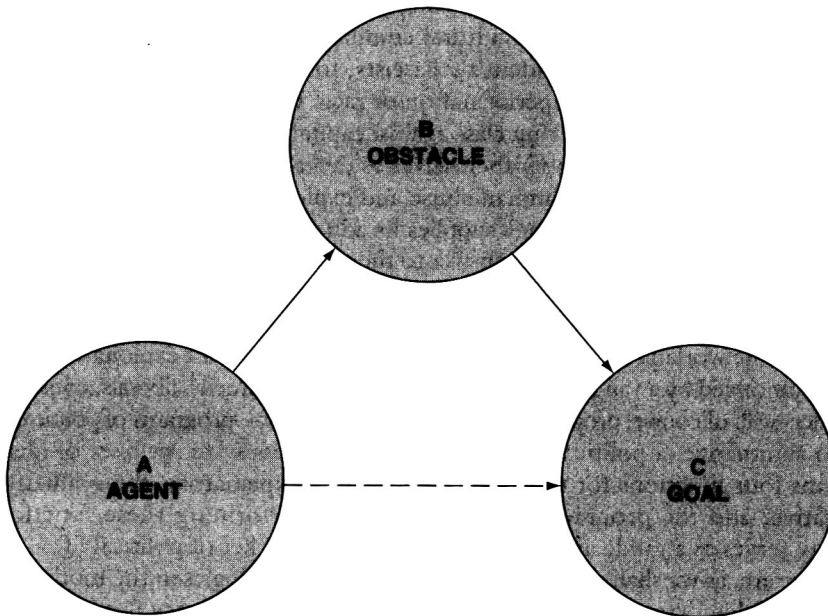
To summarize, a political ideology is a more or less systematic set of ideas that performs four functions for those who hold it: the explanatory, the evaluative, the orientative, and the programmatic functions. By performing these functions, an ideology serves as a guide and compass through the thicket of political life.

There are, as we shall see, many different political ideologies in the modern world. But what of democracy? Is it an ideology? In our view democracy is not an ideology

but an *ideal* that different ideologies interpret in different ways. For the ancient Greeks, who coined the word, democracy meant rule by, and in the interest of, the common people. In the modern world, some Marxists have insisted that a “people’s democracy” in which the leaders of a revolutionary party rule in the name of the masses is the best way to serve the interests of the common people. For liberals, however, democracy means “liberal democracy”—that is, majority rule, but with ample provision for the protection of minority rights. For modern Greens, democracy means decentralized “participatory” or “grassroots” democracy. Other ideologies interpret the democratic ideal in other ways. Democracy, then, is an ideal that most ideologies claim to strive for, but it is an ideal whose meaning they vigorously contest.

As with “democracy,” so too with “freedom.” What “freedom” means for liberals is something quite different from what it means for fascists, for example. We can see this more clearly by thinking of freedom (or liberty) as a triadic or three-sided relation among an *agent*, a *goal*, and any *obstacle* standing between the agent and the goal that he, she, or they seek to achieve. We represent this relationship in the following diagram.

Every ideology identifies the three elements of the triad in its own way. A liberal will typically identify the agent as an individual, the goal as the satisfaction of an individual’s own desires, and the obstacle as any unreasonable restraint or restriction on such “want satisfaction.” A Marxist, by contrast, will characteristically identify the agent as an entire class—the working class or “proletariat”—that struggles to overcome capitalist exploitation in order to achieve a classless communist society. A fascist will conceive of the agent as a whole nation or race attempting to overcome so-called inferior nations or races in a collective search for racial or national supremacy and purity. And other ideologies conceive of freedom in still other ways. Understanding how they conceive of freedom is, in fact, one of the best ways to understand the differences that separate any political ideology from its ideological rivals.



The Triadic Model of Freedom

Ideology: The Career of a Concept

TERRELL CARVER

The concept of ideology has undergone dramatic changes in meaning since the term *idéologie* was first coined in eighteenth-century France. In the following essay, the Anglo-American political theorist Terrell Carver (1946–) traces these changes, concluding with a critical consideration of the ways in which the term “ideology” is used today.

IDEOLOGY: THE CAREER OF A CONCEPT

As a coined word, the term “ideology” has a precise origin in the era of the French Revolution. The decisive shifts in its meaning, moreover, have been associated with some of the most colorful and influential figures in modern history—Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), Karl Marx (1818–1883), Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), and V. I. Lenin (1870–1924). From its very inception, in fact, ideology has been associated with highly abstract philosophy and forceful, even brutal, political repression.

Behind the term “ideology” are the familiar features of politics—ideas and power. Philosophers have not been conspicuous for their participation in politics, but through the actions of others they have been influential at times. Improving the connection between philosopher and politician to extend this influence was one of the main concerns of Antoine Louis Claude Destutt, Comte de Tracy (1754–1836), one of the Enlightenment *philosophes*. De Tracy coined the term “ideology” during the wild revolutionary decade in France when ideas inspired many thousands to test their powers in politics and to put their immediate material interests, even lives, at risk. Although the substance of de Tracy’s thought drew on the specific philosophies of Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1715–1780) and John Locke (1632–1704), among others, his work was explicitly directed toward political action. He assumed that criteria for the truth and falsity of ideas could be established and definitively employed, and that there was a point to doing so. That point was overtly political.

De Tracy and his colleagues aimed to promote progress in all areas of human endeavor, theoretical and practical, by reforming elite and middle-class opinion. Their Institut de France was established by the Convention in 1795 to disseminate higher learning as the *savants* of the revolution defined it. Their work began with three assumptions: that progress in social life is desirable; that progress comes only from correct ideas; and that incorrect ideas must be resisted, especially in the schools. In opposition to the traditions of the Catholic Church and to the personal authority

of anointed monarchs, de Tracy and his colleagues in the Institut favored the ideals of the new science associated with Francis Bacon (1561–1626), Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), René Descartes (1596–1650), and other thinkers who espoused rational inquiry into the natural and social world. The rationalism of the Institut was especially hostile to religious thought if conceived mystically.

In 1796 a British commentator reported that de Tracy had read a paper at the Institut in which he proposed to call the philosophy of mind “ideology.” Five years later, in his *Elements of Ideology* (1801; translated into English by Thomas Jefferson for an edition of 1817), de Tracy summarized the results of his logic within a “plan of the elements of ideology . . . to give a complete knowledge of our intellectual faculties, and to deduce from that knowledge the first principles of all other branches of our knowledge.” Without these first principles “our knowledge” could “never be founded on any other solid base.”¹ With correct ideas would come a correct psychology or theory of human behavior, and with that the justification for such political prescriptions as intellectuals might devise and enlightened politicians might enforce.

De Tracy’s system, while sweeping, was disarmingly simplistic, dismissive of skepticism, and surprisingly concise. Even at the time it must have raised some strong doubts among philosophers. Indeed, the association of ideology with intellectual shortcuts, oversimplification, and distortion seems inherent in de Tracy’s original conception. That de Tracy also associated his ideology with a political program and authoritarian politics provides further clues to the way the concept has functioned since his day.

There are three important features of de Tracy’s conception of ideology: (1) the explicit linkage between logic, psychology, and politics, set down in a “table” of simple propositions and backed up with more extensive observations; (2) the assumption that intellectuals discover the truth and that well-advised political authorities implement policies to match; and (3) the claim that logic, psychology, and politics, as linked, are