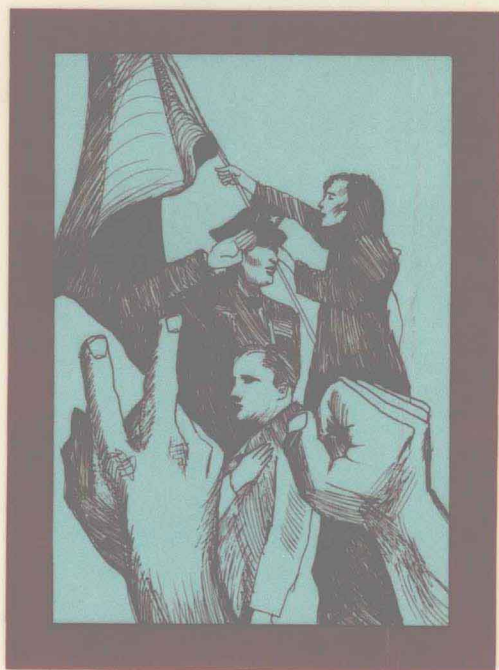


THIRD EDITION

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

**Their Origins
and Impact**



LEON P. BARADAT

THIRD EDITION

Political Ideologie

THEIR ORIGINS AND IMPACT

Leon P. Baradat

Mira Costa College



PRENTICE HALL, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Baradat, Leon P. (date)

Political Ideologies.

Bibliography: p. 265.

Includes index.

Political Science—History. 2. Ideology.

3243 .1988 320.5 87-12650

BN 0-13-684390-5

Editorial/production supervision: Debbie Ford
Cover design: 20/20 Services, Inc.
Manufacturing buyer: Carol Bystrom



© 1988, 1984, 1979 by Prentice Hall
A Division of Simon & Schuster
Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632

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Printed in the United States of America
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

ISBN 0-13-684390-5 01

Prentice-Hall International (UK) Limited, *London*
Prentice-Hall of Australia Pty. Limited, *Sydney*
Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., *Toronto*
Prentice-Hall Hispanoamericana, S.A., *Mexico*
Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited, *New Delhi*
Prentice-Hall of Japan, Inc., *Tokyo*
Simon & Schuster Southeast Asia Pte. Ltd., *Singapore*
Editora Prentice-Hall do Brasil, Ltda., *Rio de Janeiro*

To Elaine

Wife, Partner, Friend

And to the memory of

Henry Meier, colleague and mentor

Kevin Muldoon, student and friend

Richard Frizzell, student and friend

Preface

The world has become considerably more dangerous since the first edition of this book was written. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, together with the turmoil in Poland and Central America, combined with the reelection of Ronald Reagan as president of the United States, has amplified the ideological argument between East and West, even as it has exacerbated the contest between the world's superpowers. Rhetoric reminiscent of the 1950s again asks us to condemn communism as an absolute evil while it exalts our brand of liberal democracy. Pragmatic considerations (such as our common interest with the Soviets in sheer survival) are given scant attention as we are treated to the specter of a new arms race; this despite the fact that at this writing there are over 50,000 deliverable United States and Soviet nuclear warheads aimed at their targets—enough to completely destroy the world.

We see our government supporting trade with fascist regimes such as the one in South Africa; the same government then asks us to consider sending our youth to combat communism in the jungles of Central America. If we are to make such sacrifices, shouldn't certain questions be answered first? For example, what 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 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? These and hundreds of other questions must be addressed if we are to face intelligently the political controversies which loom before us. These questions can be ignored only at great peril, and the study of political ideologies is perhaps the best context in which to begin finding answers.

Ideology and the emotional simplification that accompanies it are growing increasingly prominent, becoming in fact the dominant themes in modern politics. No longer content with the simple tangibles of territory, resources, or political power, world leaders present abstract ideas as the motivations to which we should respond. If we are to decide whether to chance the world's destruction in defense of one ideology and against another, we should certainly try to understand those ideas. Since political leaders are increasingly basing their governments on ideological frameworks, the subject of this book has become even more relevant than when it was first written. A clear understanding of current ideologies is essential to anyone who hopes to grasp the political realities of our time.

A NOTE TO THE READER

One of the most gratifying things about writing a text book is the knowledge that it is a vehicle for teaching; it reaches students whom the author will probably never meet and thus influences the lives of strangers, if only slightly. With this in mind I have designed this book as a teaching mechanism and have included several features which should 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 readers to the principal ideas developed in the text that follows. Thus you will find that, armed with this overview, the details in the chapter become more meaningful.

The text also includes italicized words or phrases. When encountering these words, take special note of them; it is my way of saying that that material is particularly important. The glossary and the index at the end of the book should also be especially useful.

As a final note to the reader, I would like to say just a few words about general education courses. Our society has recently adopted a much more materialistic attitude than existed in the past. Responding to economic and social pressures, students today are anxious to complete their studies so that they can begin to make a living. Courses which 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. 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.

An education is more than a ticket to a higher salary. A college education brings perspective, ideas, thought, history, art, literature, logic, and more to those who pursue it. Education is the custodian of civilization, and its function is to transmit the knowledge comprised by our civilization to each succeeding generation. General education courses are the principal vehicle by which this function is executed. They offer you the priceless treasures of knowledge and 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 recently 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 heavy contributions to this work that I take pleasure in mentioning them here. My deepest gratitude belongs to my family: Elaine, who shares the dedication, and our two boys Pierre and René. They have unselfishly sacrificed time we might have spent together in pleasurable pursuits so that this 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, suggesting improvements, and correcting errors, Professor Hatoff was of invaluable assistance. I am similarly indebted to Professor Patricia Valiton for her service on both the second and the present editions. Professor Valiton's conscientious attention to my misplaced modifiers, arbitrary punctuation, and eccentric spelling has been very helpful, and I am most grateful to her. For the excellent artwork embellishing this edition, my deep appreciation goes to Professor Dan Camp, who graciously consented to interrupt a busy schedule to do the drawings. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Stan Wakefield, Karen Horton, Debbie Ford, and Walter Welch of Prentice-Hall. Without their help and encouragement this book probably would not have been written.

For giving so generously of his time and effort toward the new edition, I am pleased to thank Professor Myles Clowers of San Diego City College. Myles, a long-time friend, made extensive comments and suggestions about the first edition, providing a critique that was especially helpful in developing the present work.

Besides these people who did so much to make this book a reality, I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the people of California for providing an excellent and free public education system to its youth. Were it not for the opportunity to attend state-supported schools, I would almost surely not have received an education. In addition, I would like to single out three teachers who have had particular influence on my professional life and whose scholarly examples have been an important

inspiration. To N. B. (Tad) Martin, professor of history at the College of the Sequoias, who has a grasp of history and a teaching ability worthy of emulation, my sincere appreciation. To Karl A. Svenson, professor of political science at Fresno State University, whose lectures were memorable and whose advice was timely and sound, my heartfelt thanks. Finally and most importantly, to David H. Provost, professor of political science at Fresno State University, my lasting gratitude for the help, encouragement, scholastic training, and friendship he so abundantly extended. His example has been particularly meaningful to me.

LPB

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Ideology and Nationalism



1

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.

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 invariably portrayed as materially better than the present and as attainable within a single lifetime.

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.

Nationalism is the ideology of the nation-state, and as such it has had an enormous impact on the modern world. The terms *nation* and *state* are often confused. *Nation* is a sociological term referring to a group of people who, because of blood relationships, linguistic similarities, common cultural patterns, or geographic proximity, have a sense of union with one another. *State* is a political term that includes four elements: people, territory, government, and sovereignty.

The state probably evolved when societies exchanged their nomadic lifestyle for farming. Yet, several theories of the origin of the state have had an important impact on nationalism as an ideology. The **natural theory** actually based its definition of humanity on the existence of the state. The **divine theory** suggested that a particular people were chosen by God, while the **divine right of kings theory** regarded the monarch as the personification of the state. The **social-contract theory** equated the nation-state with the individuals in it, suggesting that the people are the source of all political power; the **force theory** went furthest toward viewing the state as a moral institution with few, if any, limits.

Each of these theories contributed to nationalism as the ideology of the nation-state. While **patriotism** is an act, gesture, or expression of loyalty to the state, **nationalism** is the theoretical definition and basis of the state. It tends to divide people along territorial lines, and people use it as a frame of reference for their own identity as well as a yardstick by which to measure other people. Being primarily property-oriented, nationalism is firmly rooted in the conservative tradition.

IDEOLOGY

During the medieval period, 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. The masses were expected to work, producing material goods to sustain the state, but they were not mobilized for political activity. Frederick the Great (1712–1786), a Prussian ruler and great general, once said, “A war is something which should not concern my subjects.”

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, the Soviet Union, 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 the 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; 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. Tradition was the repository of knowledge, and people were expected to comply with customs, laws, and teachings that had always been accepted.

Gradually, however, people began to challenge the established mode. Some, such as Galileo, were punished for doing so. Yet they persisted, and in time their efforts led to discoveries that revolutionized human existence. I will not catalog these accomplishments here but will simply state that the net result was the development of science and its 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, encouraged people to apply human reason to an ever-widening range of problems.

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 ever imagined before. 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 making 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 found themselves psychologically estranged from their neighbors at the very time when they were forced to cohabit the same city block. Doing for others became passé, and doing for oneself alone became increasingly necessary as society became more competitive. For millennia people had depended on a close and intimate relationship with the soil for the necessities of life. Now, suddenly, they found themselves divorced from the land. The full effects on people in industrial societies being wrenched from the land and self-sufficiency in such a brief period of time has not yet been fully studied. We do know, however, that urbanization and industrialization as accomplished by the brutal methods employed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries caused massive confusion and insecurity among most peo-