

Political Ideologies *and the* Democratic Ideal

Second Edition



ERENCE BALL • RICHARD DAGGER

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Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal

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Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal

To
Jonathan and Stephen Ball
and
Emily and Elizabeth Dagger

Preface to the Second Edition

Like all authors who prepare a second edition of a book, we have tried to improve upon *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal* without sacrificing any of the qualities that made the first edition attractive to so many students and teachers. Hence our aims in this second edition, as in the first, are twofold. We try, first, to supply an informed and accessible overview of the major ideologies that have shaped, and continue to reshape, the political landscape of this century. Beyond that, our second aim is to show how these ideologies originated and how and why they have changed over time. Ideologies have histories, and students need to know something about these histories if they are to comprehend the ideological divisions and contests of their own time. In addition, then, to examining the major modern “isms”—liberalism, conservatism, socialism, and fascism—we provide the reader with a sense of the history, structure, supporting arguments, and internal complexities of these and other, recently emerging ideologies.

History sometimes moves quickly, as the collapse of the communist regimes of Eastern Europe in 1989 and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 testify. One of our aims in preparing this second edition has been to bring the text up to date by taking account of these and other significant changes, such as the communitarian challenge to liberalism, the rise of strident nationalism, and the possible revival of fascism. Following suggestions from colleagues and students, we have also tried to sharpen the clarity of the text and to amplify the discussion at key points. In particular, we have expanded Chapter 9 to present a richer account of “Ecology as Ideology.”

Yet the basic structure of the text remains the same. We begin by constructing a fourfold framework—a definition of “ideology” in terms of the four functions that all ideologies perform—within which to compare, contrast, and analyze the various ideologies. We also show how each ideology interprets “democracy” and “freedom” in its own way. Democracy is not, in our view, simply one ideology among others, but an *ideal* that different ideologies interpret in different ways. Each ideology also has its own particular conception of, and its own program for promoting, freedom. We use a simple three-part model to illustrate this, comparing and contrasting each ideology's view of freedom in terms of agent, obstacle, and goal. In every chapter devoted to a particular ideology, then, we explain its basic conception of freedom in terms of the triadic model, discuss the origin and development of the ideology, examine its interpretation of the democratic ideal, and conclude by showing how it performs the four functions of political ideologies.

We do this, as in the first edition, not only with liberalism, conservatism, socialism, and fascism, but also with the more recent ideologies. These include “liberation ideologies”—black liberation, women's liberation, gay liberation, liberation theology, and animal liberation—as well as the newly emerging environmental or “Green” ideology.

As before, this text forms the first leg of a tripod. The second leg is an accompanying anthology, *Ideals and Ideologies: A Reader*, also published in a revised edition by HarperCollins. The third leg is Terence Ball's “Contemporary Political Ideologies,” a public television series comprising ten half-hour episodes. (To obtain videotape copies of this series, write to: The Director, Media-Assisted Instruction, Independent Studies, 45 Wesbrook Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 55455.) Each section of the anthology and each half-hour video program corresponds to, and complements, successive chapters in this text. Although each of these “legs” is able to stand alone, we like to think that, taken together, they form a coherent, stable, and sturdy structure—one fit for the end of this century and the beginning of the next.

We first undertook this collaborative effort in the belief that two heads are better than one. We found in writing the first edition that a project of this sort requires more, or better, heads than the authors could muster between themselves. To those who shared their time, energy, and wisdom with us in preparing this new edition, especially our families and the staff at HarperCollins, we offer our deepest thanks.

We also want to express our gratitude to those scholars who provided helpful reviews of this book at different stages in its development. For contributing their critical judgment and expertise to the first edition, we remain grateful to William T. Bluhm, University of Rochester; Robert E. Calvert, De Pauw University; Phillip C. Chapman, University of Arizona; Peter Diamond, University of Utah; Larry Elowitz, Georgia College; Alan Gilbert, University of Denver; Timothy W. Luke, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University; William McGuire, Normandale Community College; Andrew Raposa, Westfield State College; and Joel D. Schwartz, College of William & Mary. For the second edition, we are grateful for the counsel of Charles S. Bednar, Muhlenberg College; Victor D'Lugin, University of Hartford; Timothy Luke, Virginia Polytechnic University;

James F. Ward, University of Massachusetts-Boston; Charlie A. Jones, Capital University; and Shane Phelan, University of New Mexico. We are also indebted, once again, to Gary Thomas of the University of Minnesota for help with the Gay Liberation section of Chapter 8.

Terence Ball
Richard Dagger

To the Reader

We want to call three features of this book to your attention. First, many of the primary works quoted or cited in the text are also reprinted, in whole or in part, in a companion volume edited by the authors, *Ideals and Ideologies: A Reader*. When we cite one of these primary works in this text, we include in the footnote a reference to the corresponding selection in *Ideals and Ideologies*.

Second, the study of political ideologies is in many ways the study of words. For this reason we frequently call attention to the use political thinkers and leaders make of such terms as “democracy” and “freedom.” In doing so we have found it convenient to adopt the philosophers’ convention of using quotation marks to mean *the word*—as in “democracy” and “freedom.”

Third, a number of key words and phrases in the text are set in **boldface** type. Definitions of these words and phrases appear in the glossary at the back of the book, just before the index.

We also invite you to send any comments you have on this book or suggestions for improving it to one or both of the authors. You may write to Terence Ball at the Department of Political Science, 1414 Social Sciences Building, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, 55455, and to Richard Dagger at the Department of Political Science, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ, 85287.

T.B.
R.D.

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PART
One

IDEOLOGY AND DEMOCRACY

Chapter

1

Ideology and Ideologies

[T]he ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed the world is ruled by little else. Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back.

John Maynard Keynes

Skinheads. Ethnic cleansing. The break-up of the Soviet Union. The end of apartheid in South Africa. Peace talks between Palestinians and Israelis. The decline of Castro's Cuba. Peasant rebellion in southern Mexico. Militant environmentalists on trial. Conservatives oppose President's health-care plan. Gays protest government's policy on AIDS. Feminists demonstrate against pornography. "Free speech" vs. "political correctness."

This is the stuff of today's headlines and tomorrow's history. But behind today's fast-breaking news stories are slower and longer-term, but no less controversial, changes in thinking—thinking about race, nationality, the role and function of government, the relations between men and women, human responsibility for the natural environment, and many other matters. For better or worse, these changes are already shaping the world in which we and our children will live in the next century—a century that promises to be more complicated politically than the twentieth.

For most of this century, the clash of three political ideologies has dominated world politics. In World War II, the communist regime of the Soviet Union joined forces with the liberal democracies of the West to defeat the fascist alliance of Germany, Italy, and Japan. Following their triumph over fascism, the communist and liberal allies soon became implacable enemies in a Cold War that lasted more than 40 years. Now, with the collapse of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the terrifying but easy-to-understand clash of ideologies seems to be over. The "communist menace" is