

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

Their Origins and Impact

◆
Fifth Edition



Leon P. Baradat

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Leon P. Baradat

MiraCosta College



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To Elaine
Wife, Partner, Friend

And to the memory of
Ellen Côté, Elaine's mother

Preface

Since the first edition of this book, we have witnessed many changes in the tides of political turmoil throughout the world. Now, as a large part of the communist world has collapsed, and as the strident ideologues of the Reagan administration are no longer in power, the world's political climate becomes increasingly temperate. Still, however, we find ourselves confronted with a threatening environment. The Middle East continues to fester; religious fundamentalism engenders violence; political terrorism, while somewhat abated, continues to threaten disruption; racism divides peoples against themselves; nationalism and neo-fascism emerge again, creating havoc in Europe and elsewhere; famine emaciates millions in the underdeveloped world; air pollution is rampant; water everywhere is increasingly adulterated; the earth's protective layer of ozone is rapidly disintegrating; and the globe apparently is warming in response to the chemicals released into the atmosphere.

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 last few years of this 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? These and hundreds of other questions must be addressed if we are to face intelligently the political controversies that 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 to find answers. Ideological assumptions become the premises for the approaches different societies take to resolve their internal problems and their international difficulties.

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 approach to politics has usually been unilateral. We have either tried to ignore the rest of the world—as in 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 possible—if indeed it ever was. The United States must face the fact that it is only one player, albeit an important one, in world politics, and we must learn to cooperate with the rest of the world in the resolution of global problems. To do so, we must understand the other peoples of the world. We must comprehend their views of politics, and we can start by understanding their ideologies as well as by developing fuller appreciation of our own identity. A clear understanding of the current ideologies, therefore, is essential for anyone who hopes to grasp the political realities of our time.

A NOTE TO THE STUDENT

I think of myself as a teacher, not an author. The 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 this in mind, several features have been included 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 readers 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. At the end of each chapter I have included a brief review of the major points so as to reinforce the material just learned. Later, the previews and reviews can be used to quickly refresh your memory about the chapters' contents.

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 complete, 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.

As a final note to the reader, I would like to say just a few words about general education courses. 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, 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, and 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 in college. They offer you 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 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 family. Elaine, to whom, along with her late mother, I have dedicated the book, has made innumerable contributions to its success. And our sons, Pierre and René, 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 and Mary Murphy for their services on the subsequent editions. Their conscientious attention to my misplaced modifiers, arbitrary punctuation, and eccentric spelling has been very helpful, and I am most grateful to them. I am also very grateful to my colleague and friend David Ballard for his help on this edition. Additionally, Professor Peter N. Kirstein of Saint Xavier College deserves special recognition for his many helpful comments and suggestions, and I am deeply indebted to Professor Monica Tagnoli of Mira Costa College and to the staff at the Mira Costa College Learning Resource Center, including Director Leland Russell, Janet Megill, and Patricia McClure. Their friendly and helpful attitude makes my work much easier. I would also like to thank Charlyce Jones Owen, Julia Berrisford, Shelly Kupperman, Steve Hopkins, Stan Wakefield,

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Leon P. Baradat

Contents

PREFACE ix

A Note to the Student x

Acknowledgments xi

1 IDEOLOGY 1

Preview 1

The Development of Ideology 2

The Source of Ideology 2

Ideology Defined 5

The Origin of the Term 5

Contemporary Definitions 6

Review 9

Suggestions For Further Reading 9

2 THE SPECTRUM OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES 11

Preview 11

Understanding the Spectrum 12

Change 13

Radical 16

Liberal 19

Moderate 20

<i>Conservative</i>	21
<i>Reactionary</i>	25
Values	26
Some General Observations	31
<i>Motivation</i>	31
<i>The Changing Spectrum</i>	32
Specific Policies	34
Review	39
Suggestions For Further Reading	39

3 NATIONALISM 41

Preview	41
The Importance of Nationalism	42
<i>Nation and State</i>	42
<i>Theories of the Origin of the State</i>	45
The History of Nationalism	50
The Theory of Nationalism	52
Review	55
Suggestions For Further Reading	56

4 THE EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRATIC THEORY 57

Preview	57
The Meaning of Democracy	58
The Early History of Democracy	60
The Social Contract	61
<i>Calvinists and Jesuits</i>	61
<i>Thomas Hobbes</i>	63
<i>John Locke</i>	65
<i>Jean Jacques Rousseau</i>	72
Review	76
Suggestions For Further Reading	76

5 DEMOCRATIC CAPITALISM AND BEYOND 77

Preview	77
Capitalism	78
<i>Adam Smith</i>	78
Neoclassical Democratic Theory	84
<i>Edmund Burke</i>	84
<i>James Madison</i>	87
<i>John C. Calhoun</i>	94
The Reliberalization of Democracy	98
<i>Utilitarianism</i>	99
<i>Democratic Socialism</i>	100
Review	104
Suggestions For Further Reading	105

6 THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS 106

- Preview 106
- Systems of Democracy 107
 - Democracy and the Legislative Process* 108
 - Elite Theorism* 113
- Systems of Government 114
 - The American System* 114
 - The British System* 118
- Elections 122
 - Nominations* 122
 - Electoral Districts* 123
 - Political Party Structures* 125
- Representation 128
 - Theories of Representation* 128
- Some Criticisms of Democracy 130
- Review 131
- Suggestions For Further Reading 131

7 ANARCHISM 133

- Preview 133
- Development of Anarchism 133
- Definition of Anarchism 134
- Particular Theories of Anarchism 137
 - The Pacifists* 137
 - The Revolutionaries* 141
 - Individualist Anarchists* 144
- Review 146
- Suggestions For Further Reading 146

8 MARXISM 148

- Preview 148
- Background 149
 - Marx's Life* 150
 - Europe in the Nineteenth Century* 152
- Capitalist Development 155
- The Basic Principles of Marxism 156
 - Marxist Sociological Theory* 157
 - Marxist Historical Theory* 160
 - Marxist Economic Theory* 165
 - Marxist Theory of Revolution* 168
 - The Marxist Political System* 170
 - Internationalism* 171
- Review 171
- Suggestions For Further Reading 172

9 SOCIALISM 173

- Preview 173
- The Meaning of Socialism 174
 - Ownership of Production* 174
 - The Welfare State* 177
 - The Socialist Intent* 180
- The Development of Socialism 182
 - From the French Revolution to Marx* 182
- Socialist Theory after Marx 187
 - Orthodox Marxism* 187
 - Revisionism* 187
 - Marxism-Leninism* 189
- Review 196
- Suggestions For Further Reading 196

10 APPLIED MARXISM: COMMUNISM 198

- Preview 198
- The Soviet Union and Russia 200
 - Lenin's Policies* 200
 - The Rise of Stalin* 202
 - Stalin's Rule* 204
 - Khrushchev's Revisions* 204
 - The Brezhnev Era and Beyond* 206
- Yugoslavia 208
 - Tito's Rise to Power* 208
 - The Evolution of Titoism* 208
- China 211
 - The Belligerent Stage of the Chinese Revolution* 212
 - The Political Stage of the Revolution* 214
 - The Principles of Maoism* 219
- Cuba 223
 - The Cuban Revolution* 223
 - Fidelismo* 225
- Socialism in Retreat 227
- Review 228
- Suggestions For Further Reading 229

11 FASCISM AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM

- Preview 230
- The Failure of Democracy and Capitalism 231
 - The Development of Fascism and National Socialism* 231
 - Mussolini* 233
 - Hitler* 236

Fascist and Nazi Ideology	238
<i>Irrationalism</i>	239
<i>Racism</i>	244
<i>Totalitarianism</i>	248
<i>Elitism</i>	250
<i>The Corporate State</i>	251
<i>Imperialism</i>	252
<i>Militarism</i>	253
Contemporary Fascist and Neo-Nazi Movements	255
Review	258
Suggestions For Further Reading	259

12 *IDEOLOGIES IN THE THIRD WORLD* 260

Preview	260
Third World Ideologies	261
Politics of the Third World	262
Economics of the Third World	266
Economic Nationalism	269
Third World Democracies and Dictatorships	271
Review	274
Suggestions For Further Reading	275

13 *CONCLUSION* 276

GLOSSARY 280

INDEX 293

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 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 invariably portrayed as materially better than the present and it is thought to be 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.*

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. The masses were expected to work, producing material goods to sustain the state, but 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; 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 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. The net result of these accomplishments 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 gave people a sense of liberation from ignorance. The world became 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.

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



Galileo Galilei (1564–1642)

New York Public Library Picture Collection

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. 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 the brutal methods employed 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 a new set of 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 estranged from their work, alienated by impersonal managers, and separated from their employers.

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 resources. Some of these vital commodities are, in fact, reduced to very short supply. The competition for the remaining fuel and mineral resources increases the tension between industrialized and developing nations as well as among the industrialized nations themselves.

Not only have many technical advances increased the demand for resources, but they have also tended to increase the population and thus further escalate the demand for resources. Medical and nutritional discoveries have lengthened life expectancies and eradicated certain diseases so that today the world's population stands at over 5 billion, a figure which will most certainly double within the next half century. Housing, clothing, and feeding these multitudes aggravates the drain on basic resources, causing scarcity and stimulating greater competition for control of those goods.

Prior to the present era people relied on religion for answers to adversity, putting their faith unquestioningly in their God and in their priests. However, as rationalism developed and science seemed to contradict certain basic tenets of the Church, people began to rely on science for solutions to their difficulties. The world became increasingly materialistic, decreasingly spiritualistic. Unfortunately, however, science brought humanity mixed blessings. For each problem it solved, it created new difficulties. Automobiles give us mobility, yet they also visit air pollution on their owners; birth control pills prevent unwanted children, but now ancient moral scruples are rejected and society faces