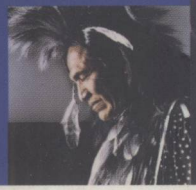
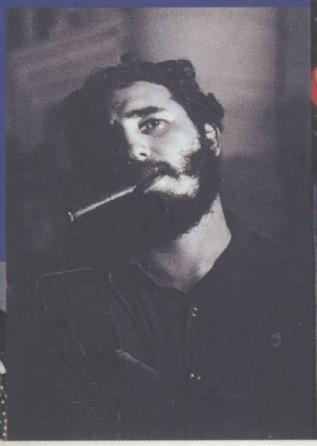
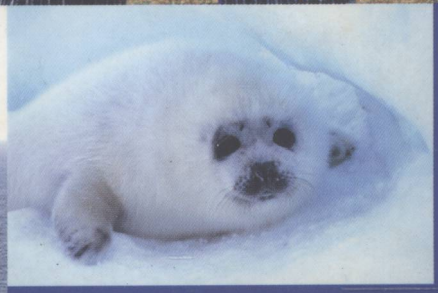
IDEALS AND IDEOLOGIES
A READER

Fourth Edition







Terence Ball
Richard Dagger

Ideals and Ideologies

A Reader

FOURTH EDITION

TERENCE BALL

RICHARD DAGGER

Arizona State University

New York San Francisco Boston
London Toronto Sydney Tokyo Singapore Madrid
Mexico City Munich Paris Cape Town Hong Kong Montreal

Publisher: Priscilla McGeehon
Senior Acquisitions Editor: Eric Stano
Associate Editor: Anita Castro
Marketing Manager: Megan Galvin-Fak
Supplements Editor: Jennifer Ackerman
Production Manager: Ellen MacElree
Project Coordination, Text Design, and Electronic Page Makeup: Electronic Publishing Services Inc., NYC
Cover Designer/Manager: John Callahan
Cover Photo: Images courtesy of The Associated Press, Tony Stone, FPG International, and PhotoDisc, Inc.
Manufacturing Buyer: Lucy Hebard
Printer and Binder: The Maple-Vail Book Manufacturing Group
Cover Printer: John P. Pow

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Ideals and ideologies : a reader / [edited by] Terence Ball, Richard Dagger. — 4th ed.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references..
ISBN 0-321-07775-X
1. Political science--History. 2. Ideology. 3. Right and left (Political science)
I. Ball, Terence. II. Dagger, Richard.
JA81 .I34 2001
320.5—dc21 00-140207
CIP

Please visit our website at http://www.ablongman.com

ISBN 0-321-07775-X

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10—MA—04 03 02 01

Ideals and Ideologies

Preface to the Fourth Edition

About a dozen years ago, after much frustration with jerry-rigged packets of photocopied materials, we decided to collect readings from primary sources into an anthology for courses in political ideologies and modern political thought. We knew that our choices—what to put in, what to leave out—would not please everyone. Nevertheless, 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 a fourth edition of this book suggests that our belief was not ill-founded.

As in the previous editions, we have been guided by our sense of what an ideal anthology or reader for this subject would be. Such an ideal anthology—which no doubt exists only in Plato's heaven—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.

Although the anthology that follows is far from ideal, we have tried to satisfy the aforementioned 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, the ecological or "Green" ideology, and neo-Nazism. 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, in short, tried to supply the student with an accessible and readable book of original sources. Even so, the end result does not necessarily make for easy reading. But then, as we remind our students, the axiom "No pain, no gain" applies to the building not only of muscles, but of minds as well. We have merely attempted to remove some of the unnecessary strain from what is a sometimes painful but always profitable exercise.

This reader can be used either on its own, as a sourcebook of original readings from which instructors can assign the selections they think most important, or in combination with our textbook, *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal* (Longman, 4th edition), which contains references keyed to this reader.

In preparing this fourth edition, we had the benefit of detailed and thoughtful comments from the following scholars, whom we wish to thank here: Rebecca E. Deen, University of Texas–Arlington; Jonathan Olsen, University of Wisconsin–Parkside; Ghanda Talhami, Lake Forest College.

For help in securing permission to reprint material and in putting it all together, we are grateful to Michael Patti.

We should also note, finally, that many of the readings included here easily fall under more than one heading. There are 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.

Terence Ball

Richard Dagger

About the Authors

TERENCE BALL received his Ph.D from the University of California at Berkeley and teaches political theory at Arizona State University. He has held visiting professorships at Oxford University and the University of California, San Diego. His most recent books are *Reappraising Political Theory* (Oxford University Press, 1995) and *Rousseau Ghost* (SUNY Press, 1998).

RICHARD DAGGER earned his Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota and is now Professor of Political Science at Arizona State University. His is the author of, among other publications, *Civic Virtues: Rights, Citizenship, and Republican Liberalism* (Oxford University Press, 1997).

Introduction

The world in which we live has been, and continues to be, shaped by political ideologies. Indeed, the truth of the old saying that "ideas have consequences" must be evident to anyone who did not sleep through the twentieth century. For better or for worse, the century that has just ended was a century of ideas—and particularly of those clusters or systems of ideas called "ideologies." These ideologies raised hopes, inspired fear, and drew blood from millions of human beings. Some heroes and, alas, many mass murderers of the twentieth century were inspired and motivated by ideas and ideals—in short, by ideologies. To study political ideologies, then, is not to undertake a merely academic study. It is to dissect and analyze the tissue of the twentieth century itself.

As we enter the twenty-first century, some ideologies, such as the Marxist-Leninist version of socialism, are clearly in eclipse, while others—such as 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: 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. When one of the characters of Peter DeVries' novel *Reuben*, Reuben exclaims, "We must get Aristotle out of our system!" another objects that Aristotle is not in *his* system because he has never even read Aristotle. "Oh, he's there, all right," says the first, "whether you know it or not." The same can be said of other thinkers long dead—Plato, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Mandeville, Smith, Marx, Mill, and many others. 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 claim—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. And, of course, conservatives continue to disagree with liberals, socialists disagree

among themselves, animal liberationists fight for animal rights, gays for gay rights, and Greens organize and act to protect the environment. Other movements, motivated by other ideologies, are no less active.

So ours is now, and is likely to remain, an age of ideological diversity and disagreement. The selections that follow include a generous sampling of some, though scarcely all, 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 in peace or harmony.

T.B.

R.D.

Contents

PART ONE

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.

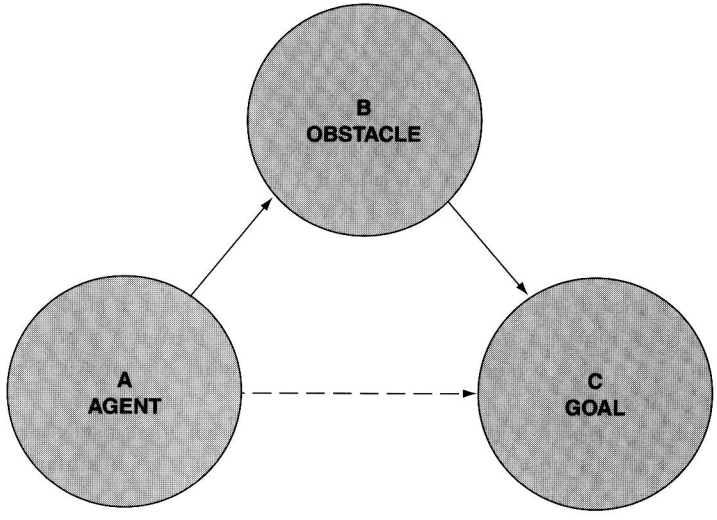
Fourth and finally, an ideology supplies its adherents with a rudimentary political *program*. This program provides an answer to the question posed by the Russian revolutionary Lenin, among many others: What is to be done? And, no less important: Who is to do it? With what means? A Marxist-Leninist, 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, opt for other 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. An ideology, in short, 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—and for modern Marxists—democracy (or "people's democracy") means rule by, and in the interest of, the common people. For liberals, 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 "grass roots" democracy. Other ideologies interpret the democratic ideal in other ways. Democracy, then, is an *essentially contested concept* whose meaning is disputed and defined in different ways by different ideologies.

As with "democracy," so too with "freedom." Different ideologies conceive of freedom in different ways. "Freedom" means something quite different for liberals 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, of course, 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.



Triadic Model of Freedom

1

Ideology: The Career of a Concept

TERRELL CARVER

The concept of ideology has undergone dramatic changes in meaning since the term *ideologie* 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.

Source: This essay was written expressly for *Ideals and Ideologies.*

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), Réné 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 coincident with science and history, properly understood.

In 1797 Napoleon Bonaparte, the leading general of the revolutionary army, became an honorary member of the Institut, and his fellow "ideologues" supported the coup d'état by which he seized power in 1799. With their boundless faith in reason, the "ideologues," de Tracy amongst them, expected to achieve the same success in psychology, morality, social and economic relations, and politics that the new "natural philosophers" had achieved in studying planetary and terrestrial motion, optics, and mathematics. Such was their certainty that they committed themselves to an administrative structure to promote their ideas and to discourage what they termed prejudices—and with that they necessarily engaged in politics. As their concept of truth presupposed the authority of the intellectual (validated by the "correct" assumptions and methods), so their politics created no great obstacles to authoritarian rule—provided, of course, that the authority had proper intellectual guidance. There was little in the doctrines of the "ideologues" to favor the unenlightened intellect or to afford it any great role in decisionmaking. Because politics was supposed to be subject to the new science, democracy with its popular decisionmaking would have little to recommend itself to the Enlightenment intellectual unless it were properly guided. Tutoring rulers was obviously the easier and more immediately efficacious task. With Napoleon a member of the Institut, furthermore, the "ideologues" could expect enlightenment and progress to spread all the more quickly throughout France and beyond its borders. The forces of reaction were to be swept away by the enlightened use of political power as the resources of the state were made available to the intellectual elite.

The crucial event in the development of the concept of ideology came when Napoleon turned against the "ideologues" and decisively reversed their interpretation of the proper relationship between intellectuals and rulers, philosophers and politicians. Around 1812 he dismissed de Tracy's work and the work of the Institut de France as "ideology, that sinister metaphysics." This hostility to the "ideologues" apparently reflected a shift in Napoleon's political tactics—from alliance with the rationalists of the Institut against religion and the Church, to the reverse. Eradicating what the "ideologues" saw as prejudice was politically costly, and Napoleon sought to increase his personal power by making peace with the Church and allying himself with other conservative forces.[2]

About thirty years later the German Communist Karl Marx seized on "ideology" as a term of abuse. He criticized German intellectuals whose philosophy and politics displeased him by dismissing them as "ideologists," proponents of "the German ideology." He and Friedrich Engels coauthored a manuscript of that name which remained unpublished as a whole until 1932, though sections of the large work appeared in excerpts from 1903 onward.[3] In other published works that circulated during his lifetime and in his private correspondence, Marx used the term "ideology" in ways that drew on the more extensive airing he had given the concept in *The German Ideology.*

Ideologies and ideologists arise in class-divided societies, according to Marx. In particular, "the class which has the means of material production at its disposal consequently also controls the means of mental production." Thinkers are "producers of ideas," in other words, while ruling classes regulate "the production and distribution of the ideas of their age." Thus "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling *material* force of society is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force." Within the ruling class the division of labor divides mental from material tasks, so that:

> Inside this class one part appears as the thinkers of the class (its active, conceptualizing ideologists, who make the formation of the illusions of the class about itself their chief source of livelihood), while the other's attitude to these ideas and illusions is more passive and receptive, because they are in reality the active members of this class and have less time to make up illusions and ideas about themselves.[4]

The German ideology was to be explained, Marx argued, "from its connection with the