

Chapter

Conclusion: Ideology without End?

11

1. The end of ideology?
2. The end of history?
3. Postmodernism as ideology
4. Globalism as ideology

Political ideology has been an essential component of world history for over two hundred years. Ideology sprang out of the upheavals – economic, social and political – through which the modern world took shape, and has been intimately involved in the continuing process of social transformation and political development. Although ideology emerged first in the industrializing west, it has subsequently appeared throughout the globe, creating a worldwide language of political discourse. However, opinion has been deeply divided about the role that ideology has played in human history. Has ideology served the cause of truth, progress and justice, or has it generated distorted and blinkered world-views, resulting in intolerance and oppression?

This debate goes back to the nineteenth century and the firm distinction that Marx (see p. 126) drew between ‘ideology’ and ‘science’. The notion that science provides an objective and value-free method of advancing human knowledge, so releasing humanity from enslavement to irrational ideologies, has been one of the enduring myths of modern times. Science is not the antithesis of ideology, but can perhaps be seen as an ideology in its own right. For instance, science has been linked to the interests of powerful social forces, in particular those represented by industry and technology. It has contributed to a profound process of social change and become, in a sense, the ruling ideology of industrial society. Ideology, from this point of view, is simply a means by which a social group or an entire society achieves a measure of self-consciousness, by establishing a common identity or a set of collective goals. As such, ideology should not be thought of as liberating or oppressive, nor as true or false. It can be any of these things. The character of ideology is shaped by the historical forces from which it emerges and is fashioned by the social and political needs it serves. Ideology has therefore come to be an indispensable and ineradicable feature of the human condition. Nevertheless, it is remarkable how often political thinkers have proclaimed that ideology has been, or should be, brought to an end.

The end of ideology?

The idea of the ‘end of ideology’ became fashionable in the 1950s and 1960s. Its most influential statement of this position was made by Daniel Bell (1960). Bell was impressed by the fact that after the Second World War politics in the West was characterized by broad agreement amongst major political parties and the absence of ideological division or debate. Fascism and communism had both lost their appeal, while the remaining parties disagreed only about which of them could best be relied upon to deliver economic growth and material prosperity. In effect, economics had triumphed over politics. Politics had been reduced to technical questions about ‘how’ to deliver affluence, and had ceased to address moral or philosophical questions about the nature of the ‘good society’. To all intents and purposes, ideology had become an irrelevance.

However, the process to which Bell drew attention was not the ‘end of ideology’ so much as the emergence of a broad ideological consensus amongst major parties and therefore the suspension of ideological debate. In the immediate post-war period, representatives of the three major western ideologies – liberalism, socialism and conservatism – came to

Daniel Bell (born 1919)

US academic and essayist. As professor of sociology at Harvard University, Bell developed an analysis of modern society that had a broad political as well as an academic impact. In the 1960s, with Irving Kristol, he founded the journal *The Public Interest*, which has attacked the philosophy of ‘big’ government, and helped to give neoconservatism intellectual credibility in the United States.

In *The End of Ideology* (1960), Bell drew attention to the exhaustion of rationalist approaches to social and political issues, and, in the Afterword to the 1988 edition, he warned against tyranny of utopian end-states. He also helped to popularize the ‘post-industrialism’, highlighting the emergence of ‘information societies’ dominated by a new ‘knowledge class’. In *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (1976), Bell analysed the growing tension between the need for rationality and efficiency to sustain production and capitalism's tendency to strengthen values such as ‘feeling’, personal gratification and self-expression.

accept the common goal of ‘managed capitalism’. This goal, however, was itself ideological – for example, it reflected an enduring faith in market economics, private property and material incentives, tempered by a belief in social welfare and economic intervention. In effect, an ideology of ‘welfare capitalism’ or ‘social democracy’ had triumphed over its rivals, although this triumph proved to be only temporary. The 1960s witnessed the rise of more radical new left ideas, a revival of interest in Marxist and anarchist thought and the growth of modern ideologies such as feminism and ecologism. The onset of economic recession in the 1970s provoked renewed interest in long-neglected, free-market doctrines and stimulated the development of new right theories, which also challenged the post-1945 consensus.

Finally, the ‘end of ideology’ thesis focused attention exclusively upon developments in the industrialized West and ignored the fact that in the 1950s and 1960s communism remained firmly entrenched in the Soviet Union, eastern Europe, China and elsewhere, and that revolutionary political movements were operating in Asia, Africa and parts of Latin America.

The end of history?

A broader perspective was adopted by Francis Fukuyama in his essay ‘The End of History’ (1989). Unlike Bell, Fukuyama did not suggest that political ideas had become irrelevant, but that one particular set of ideas, western liberalism, had triumphed over all its rivals. Fascism was defeated in 1945, and Fukuyama clearly believes that the collapse of communist rule in eastern Europe in 1989 marked the passing of Marxism-Leninism as an ideology of world significance. By the ‘end of history’, Fukuyama meant that the history of ideas had ended, and with it, fundamental ideological debate. Throughout the world there was, he argued, an emerging

agreement about the desirability of liberal democracy, by which he meant a market or capitalist economy and an open, competitive political system.

Without doubt, the eastern European revolutions of 1989–91 and the dramatic reform of surviving communist regimes such as China have profoundly altered the worldwide balance of ideological debate. However, it is far less certain that this process amounts to the ‘end of history’. One difficulty with the ‘end of history’ thesis is that no sooner had it been proclaimed than new ideological forces rose to the surface. While liberal democracy may have made impressive progress during the twentieth century, as the century drew to a close there was undoubted evidence of the revival of very different ideologies, notably political Islam, whose influence has come to extend from the Muslim countries of Asia and Africa

Perspectives on ...

History

Liberals see history as progress, brought about as each generation advances further than the last through the accumulation of knowledge and understanding. Liberals generally believe that this will happen through gradual or incremental reform, not through revolution.

Conservatives understand history in terms of tradition and continuity, allowing little scope for progress. The lessons of the past provide guidance for present and future conduct. Reactionary conservatives believe that history is marked by decline, and wish to return to an earlier and preferred time.

Socialists are committed to a progressive view of history, which places heavy emphasis on the scope for social and personal development. Marxists believe that class conflict is the motor of history and that a classless, communist society is history's determinant end-point.

Fascists generally view history as a process of degeneration and decay, a decline from a past ‘golden age’. They nevertheless subscribe to a cyclical theory of history that holds out the possibility of national rebirth and regeneration, usually through violent struggle and war.

Religious fundamentalists have an ambivalent attitude towards history. Although they tend to see the present as morally and spiritually corrupt in comparison with an idealised past, they conceive of social regeneration in modernist terms, thus rejecting conservative traditionalism.

into the former Soviet Union and also the industrialized West. It is possible, for example, that the ‘death of communism’ in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe prepared the way for the revival of nationalism, racialism or religious fundamentalism, rather than created the opportunity for the final victory of liberal democracy.

Underlying Fukuyama's thesis is the optimistic belief, inherited from classical liberalism, that industrial capitalism offers all members of society the prospect of social mobility and material security, encouraging every citizen to regard it as reasonable and attractive. In other words, it is possible for a broad, even universal, agreement to be achieved about the nature of the ‘good

society'. This can nevertheless only be achieved if a society can be constructed that is capable both of satisfying the interests of all major social groups and of fulfilling the aspirations of at least a substantial majority of individual citizens. Despite the undoubted vigour and efficiency that the capitalist market has demonstrated, it certainly cannot be said that capitalism has treated all social classes or all individuals alike. Ideological conflict and debate are thus unlikely to have ended in the late twentieth century with the ultimate worldwide triumph of liberalism, any more than they did with the 'inevitable' victory of socialism that had been widely predicted at the end of the nineteenth century.

Postmodernism as ideology

Yet another form of 'endism' is the belief that, as the established features of modern society have crumbled, the political creeds and doctrines that it threw up have been rendered irrelevant. This notion is usually advanced through the idea of postmodernity, considered in Chapter 1. Not only have the major political ideologies been in some ways adapted to the 'postmodern condition', giving rise to 'post-isms' such as post-liberalism, post-Marxism and post-feminism, but, according to postmodern theorists, our way of understanding and interpreting the world has changed, or needs to change. This reflects a shift from modernism to postmodernism. Modernism stemmed largely from Enlightenment ideas and theories, and was expressed politically in ideological traditions that offer rival conceptions of the good life. The clearest examples are liberalism and Marxism. Modernist thought is characterized by foundationalism, the belief that it is possible to establish objective truths and universal values, usually associated with a strong faith in progress. In contrast, postmodernism is anti-foundationalist; the central theme of postmodernism was summed up by Jean-François Lyotard (1984) as 'incredulity towards meta-narratives', meta-narratives being universal theories of history that view society as a coherent totality.

If the 'Enlightenment project' is dead, where does this leave political ideology? From one perspective, postmodernism spells the end of ideology

Postmodernism

Postmodernism is a controversial and confusing term that was first used to describe experimental movements in western arts, architecture and cultural development in general. As a tool of social and political analysis, postmodernism highlights the shift away from societies structured by industrialization and class solidarity to increasingly fragmented and pluralistic 'information' societies, in which individuals are transformed from producers to consumers, and individualism replaces class, religious and ethnic loyalties. Postmodernists argue that there is no such thing as certainty; the idea of absolute and universal truth must be discarded as an arrogant pretence. Emphasis is instead placed on discourse, debate and democracy.

as both a mode of thinking and a means of organizing social life. As more or less coherent bodies of ideas that offer a critique of existing society by developing the image of a preferred alternative, political ideologies cannot but be guilty of foundationalism, regardless of whether they constitute full-fledged meta-narratives. Through their remorseless questioning of apparently solid realities and accepted beliefs, postmodern theories aim to demonstrate that it is impossible

any longer to advance grand-scale theories. All knowledge must be local and particular. This has given rise to an interest in the views of identity and difference, and to an emphasis upon the role of new social movements in articulating political demands. In this sense, the anti-capitalist or anti-globalization movement, influenced by the ideas of writers such as Naomi Klein and Noam Chomsky (see p. 212), may be a model for the 'new politics' of the twenty-first century. However, the implications of this 'new politics' are profound. For example, as political parties have become disengaged from the ideological traditions that once gave them a sense of purpose and a basis for emotional attachment, they have become little more than electoral machines concerned with political marketing and consumer responsiveness. Having abandoned their traditional 'isms', de-ideologized parties succumb to managerialism. Similarly, it is notable that modern political movements, such as the anti-globalization movement, have been more successful in mobilizing political support across a range of disparate groups, than in developing a coherent analysis of how and why political problems should be tackled.

However, it is less clear how far political life can be de-ideologized in this sense. In the first place, de-ideologized politics is unable to give adequate expression to oppositional forces and political discontent.

Naomi Klein (born 1970)

Canadian journalist, author and anti-corporate activist. Klein is a frequent media commentator. She lives in Toronto but travels widely throughout North America, Asia, Latin America and Europe tracking the rise of what she has called the 'first genuinely international people's movement'.

The international success of *No Logo* (2001) has made her a spokesperson for the anti-corporate movement and has helped to re-invent politics for a new generation. The book is a wide-ranging critique of lifestyle branding and discusses emerging forms of resistance to globalization and corporate domination. Although it has been described as the 'the Das Kapital of the growing anti-corporate movement', it has had wider significance in provoking reflection on the nature of consumer capitalism and the tyranny of brand culture.

Postmodernism lies open to the charge of being politically conservative. Although the rejection of hierarchies of ideas implies a rejection of any social and political hierarchies, an anti-foundationalist political stance offers no coherent perspective from which the existing order may be criticized and no basis for the construction of an alternative social order. Second, de-ideologized politics is more about realism than idealism: it sells political products not political visions. Evidence of declining party membership and falling voter turnout may, indeed, be a consequence of the failure of mainstream, managerial parties to engage the electorate at a level of moral commitment and passion. Moreover, if mainstream parties do not give voters a reason to believe in something larger than self-interest and material advancement, those who seek a deeper political engagement will only be able to find it through extremist groups and parties.

Globalism as ideology

A final threat to political ideology come from the process of globalization. Globalization has had a significant impact upon a number of ideological traditions, notably socialism, nationalism and religious fundamentalism, but it also has wider implications for ideology as a whole. One of the key aspects of globalization is the growth of 'supraterritorial' relations between people: physical geography is becoming less relevant as a complex web of inter-connectedness has emerged that pays little attention to traditional borders. This is evident in new transnational patterns of economic activity and trade, as well as in the advent of new forms of information and communication technology, creating, for instance, the phenomenon of 'cyber-space'. Rather than living in geographically discrete communities, characterized by a limited range of personal, social and working relationships, we have come to inhabit a global world in which our lives are increasingly shaped by events that occur, and decisions that are made, at a great distance from us. Such developments pose major problems for ideology. Most importantly, global inter-connectedness has substantially strengthened the tendency towards risk, uncertainty and instability, meaning that once solid realities 'melt into air'. In this light, ideology can be seen to belong to an earlier and simpler time, a time when it was still possible to advance coherent solutions to definable problems.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to portray globalization as ideologically neutral. There are two alternative versions of globalism. The first, neoliberal globalism, links it to the expansion of market-based economic structures and values. From this perspective, the essence of globalization is the construction of a global capitalist economy, which is geared to the interests of transnational corporations and substantially reduces the power of the state, particularly its ability to transform the social structure. Globalization is thus the mechanism through which the 'end of history', in the sense of the final triumph of liberal capitalism, is going to be brought about. The second version of globalism is a state-security version. This has largely been a product of the advent of global terrorism, and of the response to it by western powers generally, and especially the USA. The so-called 'war on terror' is a 'borderless war' because its enemy is a collection of sub-state actors that operate through transnational organizations. State-security globalism has been viewed both as a defence of embattled liberal-democratic values and humanitarian ideals and as an attempt by the USA, as the world's sole remaining superpower, to establish global hegemony.

However, whether it is globalization, postmodernism, the end of history or the end of ideology, what each of these attacks upon ideology has in common is that it is itself ideological. Each of these theses is essentially an attempt to portray one particular set of political ideas and values as superior to all its rivals, and to do so by predicting its ultimate triumph. The mandate of history is called upon to validate a single ideology or creed, be it social reformism, liberal democracy, deliberative democracy or global capitalism, and so to discredit every other political creed. Rather than heralding the final demise of ideology, such assertions merely demonstrate that ideological debate is alive and well, and that ideology is a continuing and unending process.

Further reading

Butler, C., *Postmodernism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University, 2002). A lucid and concise introduction to the history and significance of postmodernism.

Freedan, M., *Reassessing Political Ideologies: The Durability of Dissent* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001). A volume of essays that consider the reassess the major ideological traditions in a so-called 'post-ideological' age.

Gray, J., *Endgames: Questions in Late Modern Political Thought* (Oxford and Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1997). A fascinating and insightful discussion of the condition of the major ideological traditions as they confront the collapse of the 'Enlightenment project'.

Scholte, J. A., *Globalization: An Introduction* (London: Palgrave, 2001). A comprehensive and authoritative introduction to globalization and debates about its significance.

Shtromas, A. (ed.), *The End of 'isms'? Reflections on the Fate of Ideological Politics after Communism's Collapse* (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1994). A collection of considered and carefully argued essays on the state of and future prospects for the politics of ideology after the collapse of communism.

Glossary of Terms

When a term is discussed more fully in a box in the main text of the book, a page reference is given after the definition in the glossary.

Absolutism A form of government in which political power is concentrated in the hands of a single individual or small group, in particular, an absolute monarchy. **Alienation** To be separated from one's genuine or essential nature; used by Marxists to describe the process whereby under capitalism labour is reduced to being a mere commodity and work becomes a depersonalized activity rather than a creative and fulfilling one. **Altruism** Concern for the interests and welfare of others, based either upon enlightened self-interest or a belief in a common humanity. **Anarchy** Literally, without rule; anarchy is often used pejoratively to suggest instability or even chaos. **Ancien régime** Literally, old order; usually linked to the absolutist structures that predated the French Revolution. **Androgyny** The possession of both male and female characteristics; used to imply that human beings are sexless persons in the sense that sex is irrelevant to their social role or political status. **Anomie** A weakening of values and normative rules, associated with feelings of isolation, loneliness and meaninglessness. **Anthropocentrism** A belief that human needs and interests are of overriding moral and philosophical importance; the opposite of ecocentrism. **Anti-Semitism** Prejudice or hatred towards Jews; anti-Semitism may take religious, economic or racial forms (see p. 233). **Atomism** A belief that society is made up of a collection of self-interested and largely self-sufficient individuals, or atoms, rather than social groups. **Autarky** Economic self-sufficiency, brought about either through expansionism aimed at securing markets and sources of raw materials or by withdrawal from the international economy.

Authoritarianism A belief that strong central authority, imposed from above, is either desirable or necessary, and therefore demands unquestioning obedience (see p. 84). **Authority** The right to exert influence over others by virtue of an acknowledged obligation to obey. **Autonomy** Literally, self-government; the ability to control one's own destiny by virtue of enjoying independence from external influences. **Bourgeois ideology** A Marxist term denoting ideas and theories that serve the interests of the bourgeoisie by disguising the contradictions of capitalist society. **Bourgeoisie** A Marxist term denoting the ruling class of a capitalist society, the owners of productive wealth. **Capitalism** An economic system in which wealth is owned by private individuals or businesses and goods are produced for exchange, according to the dictates of the market. **Charisma** Charm or personal power; the ability to inspire loyalty, emotional dependence or even devotion in others. **Chauvinism** Uncritical and unreasoned dedication to a cause or group, typically based upon a belief in its superiority, as in 'national chauvinism' or 'male chauvinism'. **Christian democracy** An ideological tradition within European conservatism that is characterized by a commitment to the social market and qualified economic intervention. **Citizenship** Membership of a state; a relationship between the individual and the state based on reciprocal rights and responsibilities. **Civil liberty** The private sphere of existence, belonging to the citizen not to the state; freedom from government. **Civil society** A realm of autonomous associations and groups, formed by private citizens and enjoying independence from the government; civil society includes businesses, clubs, families and so on. **Class consciousness** A Marxist term denoting an accurate awareness of class interests and a willingness to pursue them; a class-conscious class is a class-for-itself. **Classical liberalism** A tradition within liberalism that seeks to maximize the realm of unconstrained individual action, typically by establishing a minimal state and relying upon market economies.

Collectivization The abolition of private property and the establishment of a comprehensive system of common or public ownership, usually through the mechanisms of the state. **Collectivism** A belief that human ends are best achieved through collaborative or collective effort, highlighting the importance of social groups (see p. 109). **Colonialism** The theory or practice of establishing control over a foreign territory, usually by settlement or economic domination. **Communism** The principle of the common ownership of wealth; communism is often used more broadly to refer to movements or regimes that are based on Marxist principles. **Communitarianism** A belief that the self or person is constituted through the community in the sense that there are no 'unencumbered selves' (see p. 149). **Conflict** Opposition or competition between two or more forces, arising either from the pursuit of incompatible goals or a clash of rival opinions. **Consensus** An agreement on basic issues or principles that may permit disagreement about matters of detail or emphasis. **Constitutionalism** The belief that government power should be exercised within a framework of rules (a constitution) that define the duties, powers and functions of government institutions and the rights of the individual (see p. 41). **Contract** An agreement entered into voluntarily and on mutually acceptable terms. **Cooperation** Working together; collective effort intended to achieve mutual benefit. **Corporatism** The theory (linked to either fascist or liberal theory) that the major economic interests – business and labour – are or should be incorporated into the processes of government. **Cosmopolitanism** Literally, a belief in a world state; more usually, a commitment to fostering harmony and understanding amongst nations (see p. 182). **Cultural nationalism** A form of nationalism that places primary emphasis on the regeneration of the nation as a distinctive civilization rather than on self-

government. Decentralization The expansion of local autonomy through the transfer of powers and responsibilities away from national or central bodies.

Deep ecology A green ideological perspective that rejects anthropocentrism and gives priority to the maintenance of nature, and is associated with values such as biocentric equality, diversity and decentralization. Deliberative democracy A form of democracy that emphasizes the role of discourse and debate in helping to define the public interest. Democracy Rule by the people; democracy implies both popular participation and government in the public interest, and can take a wide variety of forms. Democratic centralism The Leninist principle of party organization, based upon a supposed balance between freedom of discussion and strict unity of action. Determinism A belief that human actions and choices are entirely conditioned by external factors; determinism implies that free will is a myth. Devolution The transfer of power from central government to subordinate regional bodies, without (unlike federalism) leading to shared sovereignty. Dialectic A process of development in which interaction between two opposing forces leads to a further or higher stage; historical change resulting from internal contradictions within a society. Dialectical materialism The crude and deterministic form of Marxism that dominated intellectual life in orthodox communist states. Dictatorship of the proletariat A Marxist term denoting the transitional phase between the collapse of capitalism and the establishment of full communism, characterized by the establishment of a temporary proletarian state. Direct action Political action taken outside the constitutional and legal framework; direct action may range from passive resistance to terrorism. Direct democracy Popular self-government, characterized by the direct and continuous participation of citizens in the tasks of government. Discourse Human interaction, especially communication; discourse may disclose or illustrate power relationships. Divine right The doctrine that earthly rulers are chosen by God and thus wield unchallengeable authority; divine right is a defence for monarchical absolutism. Ecocentrism A theoretical orientation that gives priority to the maintenance of ecological balance rather than the achievement of human ends. Ecology The study of the relationship between living organisms and the environment; ecology stresses the network of relationships that sustain all forms of life.

Economic liberalism A belief in the market as a self-regulating mechanism that tends naturally to deliver general prosperity and opportunities for all. Egalitarianism A theory or practice based on the desire to promote equality; egalitarianism is sometimes seen as the belief that equality is the primary political value. Egoism Concern for one's own interest or welfare, selfishness; or the belief that each individual is the centre of his or her own moral universe, and is thus entitled to function as a morally autonomous being. Elitism A belief in rule by an elite or minority; elite rule may be thought to be desirable – the elite possessing superior talents or skills – or inevitable, egalitarian ideas such as democracy and socialism being simply impractical. Enlightenment, the An intellectual movement that reached its height in the eighteenth century and challenged traditional beliefs in religion, politics and learning in general in the name of reason and progress. Environmentalism A belief in the political importance of the natural environment; environmentalism is often used (in contrast to ecologism) to denote a reformism approach to nature that reflects human needs and concerns. Equality The principle that human beings are of identical worth or are entitled to be treated in the same way; equality can have widely differing applications. Ethnicity A sentiment of loyalty towards a particular population, cultural group or territorial area; bonds that are cultural rather than racial. Ethnic nationalism A form of

nationalism that is fuelled primarily by a keen sense of ethnic distinctiveness and the desire to preserve it. Eugenics The theory or practice of selective breeding, achieved either by promoting procreation amongst 'fit' members of a species or preventing procreation by the 'unfit'. Eurocommunism A form of deradicalized communism that attempts to blend Marxism with liberal-democratic principles. False consciousness A Marxist term denoting the delusion and mystification that prevents subordinate classes from recognizing the fact of their own exploitation. Federalism A territorial distribution of power based on the sharing of sovereignty between central (usually national) bodies and peripheral ones. Feudalism A system of agrarian-based production that is characterized by fixed social hierarchies and a rigid pattern of obligations.

Fraternity Literally, brotherhood; bonds of sympathy and comradeship between and amongst human beings. Free market The principle or policy of unfettered market competition, free from government interference. Free trade A system of trading between states that is unrestricted by tariffs or other forms of protectionism. Freedom (or liberty) The ability to think or act as one wishes, a capacity that can be associated with the individual, a social group or a nation. Fundamentalism A belief in the original or most basic principles of a creed, often associated with fierce commitment and sometimes reflected in fanatical zeal (see p. 299). Gender A social and cultural distinction between males and females, as opposed to sex, which refers to biological and therefore ineradicable differences between men and women. General will The genuine interests of a collective body, equivalent to the common good; the will of all provided each person acts selflessly. Globalism An ideological stance that endorses globalization as a desirable or irresistible feature of modern society. Globalization A complex web of interconnectedness through which life is increasingly shaped by decisions or events taken at a distance; globalization reflects the increasing permeability of the nation-state. Government The machinery through which collective decisions are made on behalf of the state, usually comprising a legislature, executive and judiciary. Hegemony The ascendancy or domination of one element of a system over others; for Marxists, hegemony implies ideological domination. Hierarchy A gradation of social positions or status; hierarchy implies structural or fixed inequality in which position is unconnected with individual ability. Historical materialism A Marxist theory that holds that material or economic conditions ultimately structure law, politics, culture and other aspects of social existence. Holism A belief that the whole is more important than its parts; holism implies that understanding is gained by studying relationships among the parts. Human nature The essential and innate character of all human beings, what they owe to nature rather than to society.

Human rights Rights to which people are entitled by virtue of being human; universal and fundamental rights. Humanism A philosophy that gives moral priority to the achievement of human needs and ends. Idealism A view of politics that emphasizes the importance of morality and ideals; philosophically, idealism can imply that ideas are more 'real' than the material world. Ideology A more or less coherent set of ideas that provides the basis for some kind of organised political action. Imperialism The extension of control by one country over another, whether by overt political means or through economic domination. Individualism A belief in the central importance of the human individual as opposed to the social group or collective (see p. 30). Individuality Self-fulfilment achieved through the realization of an individual's distinctive or unique identity and qualities; that which distinguishes one person from all others. Industrialism An economic theory or system based on large-scale factory production and the relentless

accumulation of capital (see p. 276). Integral nationalism An intense, even hysterical nationalist enthusiasm that absorbs individual identity into that of the nation. Internationalism A theory or practice of politics that is based on transnational or global cooperation; the belief that nations are artificial and unwanted formations. Jingoism A mood of nationalist enthusiasm and public celebration provoked by military expansion or imperial conquest. Justice A moral standard of fairness and impartiality; social justice is the notion of a fair or justifiable distribution of wealth and rewards in society. Keynesianism A theory (developed by J. M. Keynes) or policy of economic management, associated with regulating aggregate demand and achieving full employment (see p. 63). Labourism A tendency exhibited by socialist parties to serve the interests of the organized labour movement rather than pursue broader ideological goals. Laissez-faire The doctrine that economic activity should be entirely free from government interference, an extreme belief in the free market.

Law Established and public rules of social conduct, backed up by the machinery of the state: the police, courts and prisons. Left A broad ideological disposition that is characterized by sympathy for principles such as liberty, equality, fraternity and progress. Legitimacy The acceptance that political authority is rightful and therefore that those subject to it have a moral obligation to obey. Leninism Lenin's theoretical contributions to Marxism, notably his belief in the need for a revolutionary or vanguard party to raise the proletariat to class consciousness. Liberal democracy A form of democracy that incorporates both limited government and a system of regular and competitive elections; liberal democracy is also used as a regime type. Libertarianism A belief that the individual should enjoy the widest possible realm of freedom; libertarianism implies the removal of both external and internal constraints upon the individual (see p. 91). Majoritarianism A belief in majority rule; majoritarianism implies either that the majority dominates the minority, or that the minority should defer to the judgement of the majority. Managerialism The theory that a governing class of managers, technocrats and state officials – those who possess technical and administrative skills – dominates all industrial societies, both capitalist and communist. Market A system of commercial exchange between buyers and sellers, controlled by impersonal economic forces: 'market forces'. Market socialism An economic system based upon self-managing cooperative enterprises operating within a context of market competition. Meritocracy Literally, rule by those with merit, merit being intelligence plus effort; a society in which social position is determined exclusively by ability and hard work. Militancy Heightened or extreme commitment; a level of zeal and passion typically associated with struggle or war. Militarism The achievement of ends by military means, or the extension of military ideas, values and practices to civilian society. Millenarianism A belief in a thousand-year period of divine rule; political millenarianism offers the prospect of a sudden and complete emancipation from misery and oppression.

Modernization The process of social and political change through which modern industrial societies came about; the emergence of a capitalist economic order and a liberal-democratic political system. Modern liberalism A tradition within liberalism that provides (in contrast to classical liberalism) a qualified endorsement for social and economic intervention as a means of enlarging liberty. Monetarism The theory that inflation is caused by an increase in the supply of money: 'too much money chasing too few goods'. Monism A belief in only one theory or value; monism is reflected politically in enforced obedience to a unitary power and is thus implicitly totalitarian. Multiculturalism An endorsement of communal diversity (usually linked to race,

ethnicity, religion or language), usually based upon the belief that different cultural groups are entitled to respect and recognition, (see p. 67). Mutualism A system of voluntary, mutually beneficial and harmonious exchange, in which individuals or groups bargain with one another, trading goods and services without profiteering or exploitation. Myth, political A belief that has the capacity to provoke political action by virtue of its emotional or symbolic power rather than through an appeal to reason. Nation A collection of people bound together by shared values and traditions, a common language, religion and history, and usually occupying the same geographical area. National socialism A form of fascism practised in Hitler's Germany and characterized by totalitarian terror, genocidal anti-Semitism and expansionist racism. Nationalization The extension of state or public ownership over private assets or industries. Nation-state A sovereign political association within which citizenship and nationality overlap; one nation within a single state. Natural aristocracy The idea that talent and leadership are innate or inbred qualities that cannot be acquired through effort or self-advancement. Natural rights God-given rights that are fundamental to human beings and are therefore inalienable (they cannot be taken away). Negative freedom The absence of external restrictions or constraints upon the individual, allowing freedom of choice.

Neoconservatism A modern version of social conservatism that emphasizes the need to restore order, return to traditional or family values or revitalize nationalism. Neoliberalism An updated version of classical political economy that is dedicated to market individualism and minimal statism. Neo-Marxism An updated and revised form of Marxism that rejects determinism, the primacy of economics and the privileged status of the proletariat. New left An ideological movement that seeks to revitalize socialist thought by developing a radical critique of advanced industrial society, stressing the need for decentralization, participation and personal liberation. New right An ideological trend within conservatism that embraces a blend of market individualism and social authoritarianism. Nihilism Literally a belief in nothing, the rejection of all moral and political principles; nihilism is sometimes, but not necessarily, associated with destruction and the use of violence. Normative The prescription of a moral standard of what 'should', 'ought' or 'must' be, rather than a descriptive statement of what 'is'. One-nation conservatism The tradition of conservative reformism, characterized by a belief in paternal duty and a fear of wide social inequality. Order Settled, predictable and peaceful social circumstances in which personal security is upheld. Organicism A belief that society operates like an organism or living entity, the whole being more than a collection of its individual parts. Orthodoxy Adherence to an established or conventional view, usually enjoying 'official' sanction or support. Pacifism The principled rejection of war and all forms of violence as fundamentally evil. Pan-nationalism A style of nationalism that is dedicated to unifying a disparate people either through expansionism or political solidarity ('pan' means all or every). Particularism The belief that historical, cultural and other differences between people and societies are more significant than what they have in common. Pastoralism A belief in the virtues of rural existence: simplicity, community and a closeness to nature, in contrast to the allegedly corrupting influence of urban and industrialized life.

Paternalism Authority exercised from above for the guidance and support of those below, modelled on the relationship between fathers and children. Patriarchy Literally, rule by the father; patriarchy is often taken more generally to describe the dominance of men and the subordination of women in society at large. Patriotism Literally, love of one's fatherland; a

psychological attachment and loyalty to one's nation or country (see p. 167). Permissiveness The willingness to allow people to make their own moral choices; permissiveness suggests that there are no authoritative values. Pluralism A belief in diversity or choice, or the theory that political power is or should be widely and evenly dispersed (see p. 37). Politics An activity related to the institution of the state or the machinery of government; more broadly, the processes through which social conflict is expressed and possibly resolved. Populism A belief that popular instincts and wishes are the principal legitimate guide to political action, often reflecting distrust of or hostility towards political elites (see p. 301). Positive freedom Self-mastery or self-realization; the achievement of autonomy and the development of human capacities. Postmaterialism The theory that as material affluence spreads, 'quality of life' issues and concerns tend to displace economic ones. Postmodernism An intellectual movement that rejects the idea of absolute and universal truth, and usually emphasizes discourse, debate and democracy (see p. 323). Postmodernity A shift from societies structured by industrialization and class solidarities to increasingly fragmented, fluid and pluralistic 'information' societies. Pragmatism Behaviour shaped in accordance with practical circumstances and goals rather than ideological objectives (see p. 11). Privatization The transfer of state assets from the public to the private sector, reflecting a contraction of the state's responsibilities. Progress Moving forward, usually implying improvement; progress is based upon the belief that human history is marked by the advance of knowledge and the achievement of higher levels of civilization.

Proletariat A Marxist term denoting a class that subsists through the sale of its labour power; strictly speaking, the proletariat is not equivalent to the working class (manual workers). Property The ownership of physical goods or wealth, whether by private individuals, groups of people or the state. Protectionism Import restrictions such as quotas and tariffs that are designed to protect domestic producers from foreign competitors. Race A collection of people who share a common genetic inheritance and are thus distinguished from others by biological factors. Racialism A belief that racial divisions are politically significant, either because races should live apart or because they possess different qualities and are thus suited to different social roles (see p. 231). Radical democracy A form of democracy that favours decentralization and participation: the widest possible dispersal of political power. Radical feminism A form of feminism that holds gender divisions to be the most politically significant of social cleavages, and believes that they are rooted in the structures of domestic life. Radicalism A belief in fundamental or far-reaching change, as opposed to moderate or incremental reforms. Rationalism A belief that the world can be understood and explained through the exercise of human reason, based upon assumptions about its rational structure. Reactionary Resistance to change or a desire to return to a former system, based upon the belief that human history is marked by descent or decay. Reformism A belief in gradual, piecemeal improvements, opposed to both revolution and reaction; a reform is an action or policy designed to remedy a problem or grievance. Relativism A belief that moral or factual statements can only be judged in relation to their contexts, because there are no objective or 'absolute' standards. Representative democracy A limited and indirect form of democracy that is based on the selection (usually by election) of those who will rule on behalf of the people. Revisionism The revision or reworking of a political theory that departs from earlier interpretations in an attempt to present a 'corrected' view.

Revolution A fundamental and irreversible change, often a brief but dramatic period of upheaval; systemic change. Right A broad ideological disposition that is characterized by sympathy for

principles such as authority, order, hierarchy and duty. Rights Moral entitlements to act or be treated in a particular way. Science A method of acquiring knowledge through a process of careful observation and the testing of hypotheses by reproducible experiments. Scientism The belief that scientific method is the only value-free and objective means of establishing truth, and is applicable to all fields of learning. Secularism A belief that religion should not intrude into secular (worldly) affairs, usually reflected in the desire to separate church from state. Self-actualization Personal fulfilment brought about by the refinement of sensibilities; self-actualization is usually linked to the transcendence of egoism and materialism. Separatism The quest to secede from a political formation with a view to establishing an independent state. Shallow ecology A green ideological perspective that harnesses the lessons of ecology to human needs and ends, and is associated with values such as sustainability and conservation. Social class A social division based upon economic or social factors; a social class is a group of people who share a similar socio-economic position. Social contract A (hypothetical) agreement amongst individuals through which they form a state in order to escape from the disorder and chaos of the 'state of nature'. Social democracy A moderate or reformist brand of socialism that favours a balance between the market and the state, rather than the abolition of capitalism. Social ecology The theory that human society operates according to ecological principles, implying a belief in natural harmony and the need for a balance between humankind and nature. Social revolution A qualitative change in the structure of society; for Marxists a social revolution involves a change in the mode of production and the system of ownership. Sovereignty The principle of absolute or unrestricted power expressed either as unchallengeable legal authority or unquestionable political power.

Stalinism A centrally planned economy supported by systematic and brutal political oppression, based on the structures of Stalin's Russia. State An association that establishes sovereign power within a defined territorial area, usually possessing a monopoly of coercive power. State of nature A pre-political society characterized by unrestrained freedom and the absence of established authority. State socialism A form of socialism in which the state controls and directs economic life, acting, in theory, in the interests of the people. Statism A belief that the state is the most appropriate means of resolving problems and of guaranteeing economic and social development. Supranationalism The ability of bodies with transnational or global jurisdiction to impose their will upon nation-states. Surplus value A Marxist term denoting the value that is extracted from the labour of the proletariat by the mechanism of capitalist exploitation. Sustainability The ability of a system to maintain its health and continue in existence; the central principle of green economics. Syndicalism A form of revolutionary trade unionism that is based upon a crude notion of class war and emphasizes the use of direct action and the general strike. Terrorism The use of violence to induce a climate of fear or terror in order to further political ends; a clearly pejorative and usually subjective term (see p. 304). Thatcherism The free-market/strong state ideological stance associated with Margaret Thatcher; the UK version of the new right political project. Theocracy Literally, rule by God; the principle that religious authority should prevail over political authority, usually through the domination of church over state. Third way The notion of an alternative form of economics to both state socialism and free-market capitalism, sought at different times by conservatives, socialists and fascists. Toleration Forbearance; a willingness to accept views or action with which one is in disagreement. Toryism An ideological stance within conservatism that is characterized by a belief in hierarchy, an emphasis upon tradition and support for duty and organicism (see p. 88).

Totalitarian democracy An absolute dictatorship that masquerades as a democracy, typically based on the leader's claim to a monopoly of ideological wisdom. **Totalitarianism** An all-encompassing process of political rule in which the state penetrates and controls all social institutions, thus abolishing civil society and 'private' life (see p. 227). **Tradition** A practice or institution that has endured through time and has therefore been inherited from an earlier period. **Traditionalism** A belief that inherited institutions and practices, particularly those with a long and continuous history, provide the best guide for human conduct. **Universalism** The belief that it is possible to uncover certain values and principles that are applicable to all people and all societies, regardless of historical, cultural and other differences. **Utilitarianism** A moral and political philosophy that evaluates 'goodness' in terms of pleasure and pain, and ultimately seeks to achieve 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number'. **Utility** Use-value; in economics, utility describes the satisfaction that is gained from the consumption of material goods and services. **Utopianism** A belief in the unlimited possibilities of human development, typically embodied in the vision of a perfect or ideal society, a utopia (see p. 195). **Violence** Destructive action undertaken against property or person. **Vitalism** The theory that living organisms derive their characteristic properties from a universal 'life-force'; vitalism implies an emphasis upon instinct and impulse rather than intellect and reason. **Welfarism** A belief that the state or community has a responsibility to ensure the social well-being of its citizens, usually reflected in the emergence of a welfare state. **West, the** The parts of the world that are distinguished culturally by common Greco-Roman and Christian roots, socially by the dominance of industrial capitalism, and politically by the prevalence of liberal democracy. **Xenophobia** A fear or hatred of foreigners; pathological ethnocentrism. **Zionism** The movement for the establishment of a Jewish homeland, now linked to the defence of the interests and the territorial integrity of Israel (see p. 316).