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# Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal

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# PREFACE

An ancient Chinese curse says, “May you live in interesting times.” That is, may you live in times of social, political, and economic upheaval, of mass misery, and maybe even of death. Some times are more trying and dangerous than others. We should count ourselves fortunate for not living during a world war, or civil war, or some other variety of violent internecine conflict. But we *are* living in an era of national and international economic crises, of global warming and environmental degradation, of international terror, of military coups and civil wars, of genocide in the Sudan and elsewhere, of hot wars fought with weapons and culture wars fought with competing ideas. And because our world keeps changing and hurling new challenges at human beings, people’s ideas—and especially those systems of ideas called “ideologies”—change accordingly in hopes of helping people cope with those crises.

In this, the ninth edition of *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*, we have tried to track and take account of changes in our world and in how people interpret those changes with the aid of one or another ideology. This is no easy task, and we sometimes fear that any account must fall short of the mark. Nevertheless, we have here done our best to offer a reasonably up-to-date and systematic account of the ideologies that have shaped and continue to reshape the world in which we live. As before, we have described in some detail the deeper historical background out of which these ideologies emerged and developed.

## NEW TO THIS EDITION

In this ninth edition we have once again made numerous changes, large and small. Among the larger changes are the following:

- In Chapter 2 we have added an account of the long and still-continuing struggle for the right to vote, and the U.S. Supreme Court’s *Citizens United* decision and recent voter ID laws and their implications for American democracy.
- In Chapter 3 we have added greatly expanded accounts of John Locke’s and Adam Smith’s important contributions to the liberal tradition, a new discussion of James Mill, an enlarged exploration of the link between Utilitarianism’s “protectionist” theory of democracy and J. S. Mill’s “educative” theory, the alleged “break” between classical liberalism and modern welfare liberalism, the conservative origins of the welfare state, and the Occupy Wall Street movement.
- Chapter 4 includes expanded discussions of Burkean or classical conservatism—most especially its conceptions of freedom and the rule of law—as well as

modern conservatives' reasons for placing property rights ahead of other rights, and the influence of the newly emergent "Tea Party" on the Republican Party.

- In Chapter 6 we discuss Lenin's amendments to Marxism and his reasons for distrusting Stalin and seeking to have him expelled from the Communist Party. Also new is a more detailed discussion of Chinese Communism and Mao Zedong's ideas and policies and their destructive human and environmental impact.
- In Chapter 7 we provide enlarged accounts of Hitler and the Nazis' rise to power, Nazi "racial Darwinism," Nazi family policy, and why National Socialism (Nazism) is neither nationalist nor socialist. Also included is a discussion of recent electoral gains by far-right, neo-fascist, or neo-Nazi parties in Europe.
- Chapter 8 includes a greatly expanded discussion of feminism in light of the so-called "war on women" to restrict women's reproductive rights, changing attitudes toward gays and same-sex marriage and why those attitudes do not always neatly divide along liberal-conservative lines, and the grave dangers facing gays in Africa and elsewhere.
- Chapter 9 includes an account of the new discipline of "ecopsychology" that studies the relationship between humans and nature, and of the surprisingly strong alliance between hunters and environmentalists.
- In this new edition we have once again expanded the discussion of radical Islamism in Chapter 10, especially with regard to radical Islamists' distrust of democracy and their role in recent elections in Egypt and elsewhere, and in the entirely new phenomenon of "self-radicalization" via the Internet, as apparently exemplified in the terrorist bombings at the 2013 Boston Marathon.
- And we have greatly expanded the discussion of "free trade" vs. "fair trade" in Chapter 11.

We have made many other changes as well, to make the text as clear, accurate, readable, and up to date as we can.

## FEATURES

As in previous editions, we have tried in this new one to improve upon *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal* without sacrificing the qualities that have made the book attractive to many students and teachers. Our principal aims continue to be the two that have guided us since we set out, in the late 1980s, to write the first edition. We try, first, to supply an informed and accessible overview of the major ideologies that shaped the political landscape of the twentieth century and now begin to give shape to that of the twenty-first. Our second aim is to show how these ideologies originated and how and why they have changed over time. In addition to examining the major modern "isms"—liberalism, conservatism, socialism, and fascism—we try to provide the reader with a sense of the history, structure, supporting arguments, and internal complexities of these and other, recently emerging ideologies.

The basic structure of the text remains the same as in previous editions. We begin by constructing a fourfold framework—a working definition of "ideology"

and of the four functions that all ideologies perform—within which to compare, contrast, and analyze the various ideologies. We also show how each ideology interprets “democracy” and “freedom” in its own way. Democracy is not, in our view, simply one ideology among others; it is an *ideal* that different ideologies interpret in different ways. Each ideology also has its own particular conception of human nature, and its own program for promoting freedom. We use a simple three-part model to illustrate this, comparing and contrasting each ideology’s view of freedom in terms of agent, obstacle, and goal. In every chapter devoted to a particular ideology, we explain its basic conception of freedom in terms of the triadic model, discuss the origin and development of the ideology, examine its interpretation of the democratic ideal, and conclude by showing how it performs the four functions of political ideologies. We do this not only with liberalism, conservatism, socialism, and fascism but also with newly emergent ideologies. These include “liberation ideologies”—black liberation, women’s liberation, gay liberation, native people’s liberation, liberation theology, and animal liberation—as well as the emerging environmental or “Green” ideology and the ideology of radical Islamism.

This text is twinned with an accompanying anthology, *Ideals and Ideologies: A Reader*, also published in a newly revised ninth edition by Pearson. Although each book can stand alone, they are arranged to supplement and complement each other. Other instructional materials are available from the publisher ([www.pearsonhighered.com](http://www.pearsonhighered.com)).

## SUPPLEMENTS

Pearson is pleased to offer several resources to qualified adopters of *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal* that will make teaching and learning from this book even more effective and enjoyable. The instructor supplements for this book are available at the Instructor Resource Center (IRC), an online hub that allows instructors to quickly download book-specific supplements. Please visit the IRC welcome page at [www.pearsonhighered.com/irc](http://www.pearsonhighered.com/irc) to register for access.

**Instructor’s Manual/Test Bank** This resource includes learning objectives, lecture outlines, multiple-choice questions, true/false questions, and essay questions for each chapter.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We first undertook this collaborative effort in the belief that two heads are better than one. We found in writing the first and subsequent editions that a project of this sort requires more, or better, heads than the authors could muster between themselves, and revising the book for the subsequent editions has only strengthened that conclusion. To those who shared their time, energy, and wisdom with us in preparing this new edition, especially our families and the staff at Pearson, we offer our deepest thanks. We are particularly grateful to Professor Daniel I. O'Neill of the University of Florida for his help in preparing this ninth edition. We would also like to thank Zhipei Chi for his advice regarding Chinese Communism in Chapter 6, Professor Mary Dietz of Northwestern University for extensive and astute advice on Chapter 8 (particularly feminism and LGBT) and Professor Roxanne Euben of Wellesley College and Dr. Salwa Ismail of Exeter University for help with radical Islamism. And for his helpful advice about the affinities between hunters and environmentalists, we thank Steven Kingsbury.

We would also like to express our heartfelt gratitude to those scholars and fellow teachers whose thoughtful reviews of the previous edition of this book helped us to prepare this new one: Mark Bevir, University of California–Berkeley; Matthew Bradley, Indiana University Kokomo; Christopher Devine, Mount Vernon Nazarene University; JoAnn Myers, Marist College; Amit Ron, Arizona State University–West Campus; and Robert Switky, Sonoma State University.

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