

# Brief Contents

List of Illustrative Material	xi
Using this Book	xiii
Preface	xviii
Acknowledgements	xix
<b>1 INTRODUCING POLITICAL IDEAS</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>PART 1 TRADITIONAL POLITICAL IDEAS</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>2 LIBERALISM</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>3 CONSERVATISM</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>4 SOCIALISM</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>PART 2 OTHER POLITICAL IDEAS</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>5 ANARCHISM</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>6 NATIONALISM</b>	<b>111</b>
<b>7 FEMINISM</b>	<b>137</b>
<b>8 ECOLOGISM</b>	<b>158</b>
<b>9 MULTICULTURALISM</b>	<b>182</b>
Bibliography	204
Index	210

# Contents

List of Illustrative Material	xi	The New Right	49
Using this Book	xiii	National conservatism	57
Preface	xviii	<b>Questions for discussion</b>	<b>59</b>
Acknowledgements	xix	<b>Further reading</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>1 INTRODUCING POLITICAL IDEAS</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4 SOCIALISM</b>	<b>60</b>
Role of political ideas	2	Historical overview	61
Understanding political ideologies	4	Core ideas and principles	62
Left- and right-wing ideas	5	Human nature	62
Further reading	8	Society	66
		The state	67
		The economy	69
		<b>Types of socialism</b>	<b>70</b>
		Communism	70
		Social democracy	80
		<b>Questions for discussion</b>	<b>90</b>
		<b>Further reading</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>PART 1 TRADITIONAL POLITICAL IDEAS</b>	<b>9</b>		
<b>2 LIBERALISM</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>PART 2 OTHER POLITICAL IDEAS</b>	<b>91</b>
Historical overview	11	<b>5 ANARCHISM</b>	<b>92</b>
Core ideas and principles	12	Historical overview	93
Human nature	12	Core ideas and principles	94
Society	14	Rejection of the state	94
The state	16	Anarchy is order	97
The economy	19	Anti-clericalism	99
<b>Types of liberalism</b>	<b>20</b>	Economic freedom	100
Classical liberalism	20	<b>Types of anarchism</b>	<b>101</b>
Modern liberalism	25	Collectivist anarchism	101
<b>Questions for discussion</b>	<b>32</b>	Individualist anarchism	105
<b>Further reading</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>Questions for discussion</b>	<b>110</b>
		<b>Further reading</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>3 CONSERVATISM</b>	<b>33</b>		
Historical overview	34	<b>6 NATIONALISM</b>	<b>111</b>
Core ideas and principles	35	Historical overview	112
Human nature	35	Core ideas and principles	115
Society	37	The nation	115
The state	41	Organic community	118
The economy	42		
<b>Types of conservatism</b>	<b>43</b>		
Authoritarian conservatism	43		
Paternalistic conservatism	45		
Libertarian conservatism	48		

Self-determination	119	Ecology	160
Culturalism	121	Holism	163
<b>Types of nationalism</b>	<b>124</b>	Sustainability	165
Liberal nationalism	124	Environmental ethics	168
Conservative nationalism	128	Post-materialism and ecological consciousness	169
Expansionist nationalism	129	<b>Types of ecologism</b>	<b>171</b>
Anti-colonial and postcolonial nationalism	132	Modernist ecology	171
<b>Questions for discussion</b>	<b>136</b>	Social ecology	173
<b>Further reading</b>	<b>136</b>	Deep ecology	177
<b>7 FEMINISM</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>Questions for discussion</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>Historical overview</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>Further reading</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>Core ideas and principles</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>9 MULTICULTURALISM</b>	<b>182</b>
Sex and gender	140	<b>Historical overview</b>	<b>183</b>
Patriarchy	142	<b>Core ideas and principles</b>	<b>184</b>
The personal is political	143	Politics of recognition	184
Equality and difference	145	Culture and identity	187
<b>Types of feminism</b>	<b>146</b>	Minority rights	189
Liberal feminism	146	Diversity	192
Socialist feminism	148	<b>Types of multiculturalism</b>	<b>193</b>
Radical feminism	150	Liberal multiculturalism	193
Developments in modern feminism	154	Pluralist multiculturalism	195
<b>Questions for discussion</b>	<b>157</b>	Cosmopolitan multiculturalism	198
<b>Further reading</b>	<b>157</b>	Critiques of multiculturalism	199
<b>8 ECOLOGISM</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>Questions for discussion</b>	<b>203</b>
<b>Historical overview</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>Further reading</b>	<b>203</b>
<b>Core ideas and principles</b>	<b>160</b>	Bibliography	204
		Index	210

## 1

# Introducing Political Ideas

## PREVIEW

All people are political thinkers. Whether they know it or not, people use political ideas and concepts whenever they express their opinion or speak their mind. Everyday language is littered with terms such as ‘freedom’, ‘fairness’, ‘equality’, ‘justice’ and ‘rights’. In the same way, words such as ‘conservative’, ‘liberal’, ‘socialist’, ‘communist’ and ‘fascist’ are regularly employed by people to describe either their own views, or those of others. However, even though such terms are familiar, even commonplace, they are seldom used with any precision or a clear grasp of their meaning. What, for instance, is ‘equality’? What does it mean to say that all people are equal? Are people born equal; should they be treated by society as if they are equal? Should people have equal rights, equal opportunities, equal political influence, equal wages? Similarly, words such as ‘socialist’, ‘nationalist’ and ‘feminist’ are commonly misused. What does it mean to call someone a ‘nationalist’? What values or beliefs do nationalists hold, and why do they hold them? How do socialist views differ from those of, say, liberals, conservatives or anarchists?

This introductory chapter examines, first, the role of political ideas, together with rival views about the relationship in political life between, on the one hand, values, doctrines and beliefs and, on the other hand, the material world and the quest for power. Do political ideas ‘make’ the world in which we live, or are they merely a reflection of that world? Second, it considers the nature of the ideological traditions that have done so much to shape political thinking in general and, most specifically, to determine the meaning (and, all too frequently, the meanings) of political ideas. What are political ideologies and why do they matter? Third, it examines the significance and implications of the distinction between left-wing ideas and right-wing ideas. Do the notions of left and right sharpen political thinking, or do they simply cause confusion?

## CONTENTS

- Role of political ideas
- Understanding political ideologies
- Left- and right-wing ideas

## ROLE OF POLITICAL IDEAS

This book examines political ideas from the perspective of the key ideological traditions. It focuses, in particular, on the ‘traditional’, or ‘core’, ideologies (liberalism, conservatism and socialism, which are examined in Part 1), but it also considers a range of other ideological traditions, which have arisen either out of, or in opposition to, the traditional ones (anarchism, nationalism, feminism, ecologism and multiculturalism, which are examined in Part 2).

However, not all political thinkers have accepted that ideas and ideologies are of much importance. Politics has sometimes been thought to be little more than a naked struggle for power. If this is true, political ideas are mere propaganda, a form of words or collection of slogans designed to win votes or attract popular support. Ideas and ideologies are therefore simply ‘window dressing’, used to conceal the deeper realities of political life. The opposite argument has also been put, however. The UK economist John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946), for example, argued that the world is ruled by little other than the ideas of economic theorists and political philosophers. As he put it in the closing pages of his *General Theory*:

Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back. (Keynes, [1936] 1963)

This position highlights the degree to which beliefs and theories provide the wellspring of human action. The world is ultimately ruled by ‘academic scribblers’. Such a view suggests, for instance, that modern capitalism (see p. 62) developed, in important respects, out of the classical economics of Adam Smith (1723–90) and David Ricardo (1772–1823), that Soviet communism was shaped significantly by the writing of Karl Marx (see p. 67) and V. I. Lenin (1870–1924), and that the history of Nazi Germany can only be understood by reference to the doctrines advanced in Adolf Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* (1925).

In reality, both of these accounts of political life are one-sided and inadequate. Political ideas are not merely a passive reflection of vested interests or personal ambition, but have the capacity to inspire and guide political action itself and so to shape material life. At the same time, political ideas do not emerge in a vacuum: they do not drop from the sky like rain. All political ideas are moulded by the social and historical circumstances in which they develop and by the political ambitions they serve. Quite simply, political thought and political practice are inseparably linked. Any balanced and persuasive account of political life must therefore acknowledge the constant interplay between ideas and ideologies on the one hand, and historical and social forces on the other.

Ideas and ideologies influence political life in a number of ways. They:

- ▶ structure political understanding and so set goals and inspire activism
- ▶ shape the nature of political systems
- ▶ act as a form of social cement.

In the first place, ideologies provide a perspective, or 'lens', through which the world is understood and explained. People do not see the world as it is, but only as they expect it to be: in other words, they see it through a veil of ingrained beliefs, opinions and assumptions. Whether consciously or subconsciously, everyone subscribes to a set of political beliefs and values that guide their behaviour and influence their conduct. Political ideas and ideologies thus set goals that inspire political activism. In this respect, politicians are subject to two very different influences. Without doubt, all politicians want power. This forces them to be pragmatic, to adopt those policies and ideas that are electorally popular or win favour with powerful groups, such as business or the military. However, politicians seldom seek power simply for its own sake. They also possess beliefs, values and convictions (if to different degrees) about what to do with power when it is achieved.

Second, political ideologies help to shape the nature of political systems. Systems of government vary considerably throughout the world and are always associated with particular values or principles. Absolute monarchies were based on deeply established religious ideas, notably the divine right of kings. The political systems in most contemporary western countries are founded on a set of liberal-democratic principles. Western states are typically founded on a commitment to limited and constitutional government, as well as the belief that government should be representative, in the sense that it is based on regular and competitive elections. In the same way, traditional communist political systems conformed to the principles of Marxism–Leninism. Even the fact that the world is divided into a collection of nation-states and that government power is usually located at the national level reflects the impact of political ideas, in this case of nationalism and, more specifically, the principle of national self-determination.

Finally, political ideas and ideologies can act as a form of social cement, providing social groups, and indeed whole societies, with a set of unifying beliefs and values. Political ideologies have commonly been associated with particular social classes – for example, liberalism with the middle classes, conservatism with the landed aristocracy, socialism with the working class, and so on. These ideas reflect the life experiences, interests and aspirations of a social class, and therefore help to foster a sense of belonging and solidarity. However, ideas and ideologies can also succeed in binding together divergent groups and classes within a society. For instance, there is a unifying bedrock of liberal-democratic values in most western states, while in Muslim countries Islam has established a common set of moral principles and beliefs. In providing society with a unified political culture, political ideas help to promote order and social stability. Nevertheless, a unifying set of political ideas and values can develop naturally within a society, or it can be enforced from above in an attempt to manufacture obedience and exercise control. The clearest examples of such 'official' ideologies have been found in fascist, communist and religious fundamentalist regimes.

## UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

Ideology is one of those controversial concepts encountered in political analysis. Although the term now tends to be used in a neutral sense, to refer to a developed social philosophy or ‘world-view’, it has in the past had heavily negative or pejorative connotations. During its sometimes tortuous career, the concept of ideology has commonly been used as a political weapon with which to condemn or criticise rival creeds or doctrines.

The term ‘ideology’ was coined in 1796 by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy (1754–1836). He used it to refer to a new science of ideas (literally, an idea-ology) that set out to uncover the origins of conscious thought and ideas. De Tracy’s hope was that ideology would eventually achieve the same status as established sciences such as zoology and biology. However, a more enduring meaning was assigned the term in the nineteenth century in the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (see p. 72). For Marx and Engels, ideology amounted to the ideas of the ruling class, ideas that therefore uphold the class system and perpetuate exploitation. In their early work, *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels wrote the following:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force in society is, at the same time, the ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of mental production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of production. (Marx and Engels, [1846] 1970)

The defining feature of ideology in the Marxist sense is that it is false: it mystifies and confuses subordinate classes by concealing from them the contradictions on which all class societies are based. As far as capitalism is concerned, the ideology of the property-owning bourgeoisie (bourgeois ideology) fosters delusion or ‘false consciousness’ among the exploited proletariat, preventing them from recognising the fact of their own exploitation. Nevertheless, Marx and Engels did not believe all political views had an ideological character. They held that their work, which attempted to uncover the process of exploitation and oppression, was scientific. In this view, a clear distinction could be drawn between science and ideology, between truth and falsehood. This distinction

### Key concept ... IDEOLOGY

From a social-scientific viewpoint, an ideology is a more or less coherent set of ideas that provides a basis for organised political action, whether this is intended to preserve, modify or overthrow the existing system of power relationships. All ideologies therefore (1) offer an account of the existing order, usually in the form of a ‘world-view’, (2) provide a model of a desired future, a vision of the ‘good life’, and (3) outline how political change can and should be brought about. Ideologies are not, however, hermetically sealed systems of thought; rather, they are fluid sets of ideas that overlap with one another at a number of points.

tended, however, to be blurred in the writings of later Marxists such as the Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin (1870–1924) and the Italian revolutionary and political theorist Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937). These referred not only to ‘bourgeois ideology’, but also to ‘socialist ideology’ or ‘proletarian ideology’, terms that Marx and Engels would have considered absurd.

Alternative uses of the term have been developed by liberals and conservatives. The emergence of totalitarian dictatorships in the inter-war period encouraged writers such as Karl Popper (1902–94), J. L. Talmon (1916–80) and Hannah Arendt (1906–75) to view ideology as an instrument of social control designed to bring about compliance and subordination. Relying heavily on the examples of fascism and communism, this Cold War liberal use of the term treated ideology as a ‘closed’ system of thought, which, by claiming a monopoly of truth, refuses to tolerate opposing ideas and rival beliefs. In contrast, liberalism, based as it is on a fundamental commitment to individual freedom, and doctrines such as conservatism and democratic socialism that broadly subscribe to liberal principles, are clearly not ideologies. These doctrines are ‘open’ in the sense that they permit, and even insist on, free debate, opposition and criticism. A distinctively conservative use of the term ideology has been developed by thinkers such as Michael Oakshott (see p. 37). This view reflects a characteristically conservative scepticism about the value of rationalism (see p. 13), born out of the belief that the world is largely beyond the capacity of the human mind to fathom.

## LEFT- AND RIGHT-WING IDEAS

The origins of the terms ‘left’ and ‘right’ in politics date back to the French Revolution and the seating arrangements of radicals and aristocrats at the first meeting of the Estates General in 1789. The left/right divide therefore originally reflected the stark choice between revolution and reaction. The terms have subsequently been used to highlight a divide that supposedly runs throughout the world of political thought and action, helping both to provide insight into the nature of particular ideologies and to uncover relationships between political ideologies more generally. Left and right are usually understood as the poles of a political spectrum, enabling people to talk about the ‘centre-left’, the ‘far right’ and so on. This is in line with a linear political spectrum that travels from left-wing to right-wing, as shown in Figure 1.1. However, the terms left and right have been used to draw attention to a variety of distinctions.

Stemming from their original meanings, left and right have been used to sum up contrasting attitudes to political change in general, left-wing thinking welcoming change, usually based on a belief in **progress**, while right-wing thinking resists change and seeks to defend the **status quo**. Inspired by works such as Theodor Adorno et al.’s *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), attempts have been made to explain ideological differences, and especially rival attitudes to change, in terms of people’s psychological needs, motives and desires (Jost et al., 2003). In this light, conservative ideology, to take one example, is shaped by a deep psychological aversion to uncertainty and instability (an idea examined in

---

**Progress:** Moving forward; the belief that history is characterised by human advancement underpinned by the accumulation of knowledge and wisdom.

---

**Status quo:** The existing state of affairs.

---



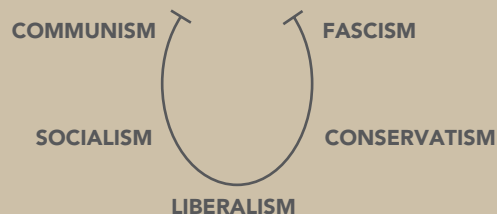


**Figure 1.1** Linear spectrum

Chapter 3). An alternative construction of the left/right divide focuses on different attitudes to economic organisation and the role of the state. Left-wing views thus support intervention and collectivism (see p. 64), while right-wing views favour the market and individualism (see p. 12). Bobbio (1996), by contrast, argued that the fundamental basis for the distinction between left and right lies in differing attitudes to equality, left-wingers advocating greater equality while right-wingers treat equality as either impossible or undesirable. This may also help to explain the continuing relevance of the left/right divide, as the ‘great problem of inequality’ remains unresolved at both national and global levels.

As a means of providing insight into the character of political ideas and ideologies and how they relate to one another, the traditional linear political spectrum nevertheless has a range of drawbacks. For example, the ideologies that are traditionally placed at the extreme wings of the linear spectrum may have more in common with one another than they do with their ‘centrist’ neighbours. During the Cold War period in particular, it was widely claimed that communism and fascism resembled one another by virtue of a shared tendency towards **totalitarianism**. Such a view led to the idea that the political spectrum should be horseshoe-shaped, not linear (see Figure 1.2).

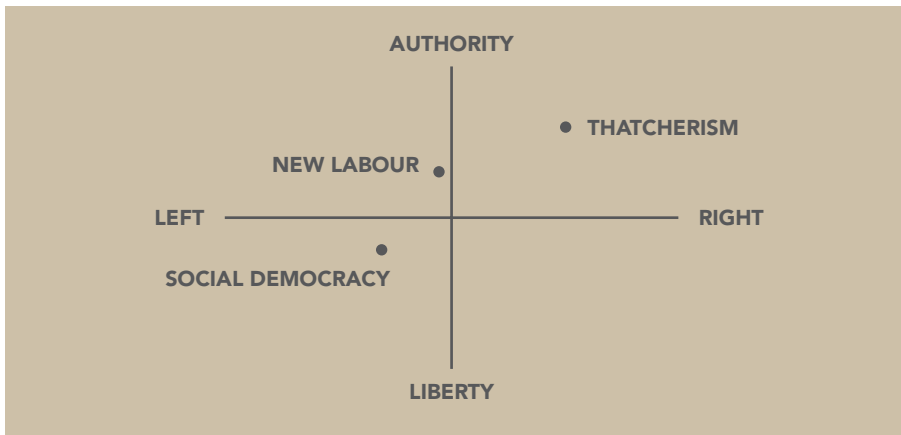
Moreover, as political ideologies are fluid entities, capable, some would argue, of almost constant re-invention, our notions of left and right must be regularly updated. This fluidity can be seen in the case of reformist socialist parties in many parts of the world, which, since the 1980s, have tended to distance themselves from a belief in nationalisation and welfare and, instead, embrace market economics. The implication of this for the left/right divide is either that reformist socialism has shifted to the right, moving from the centre-left to



**Figure 1.2** Horseshoe spectrum

---

**Totalitarianism:** An all-encompassing system of political rule, typically established by pervasive ideological manipulation and open terror.



**Figure 1.3** Two-dimensional spectrum

the centre-right, or that the spectrum itself has shifted to the right, redefining reformist socialism, and therefore leftism, in the process.

Finally, as ideological debate has developed and broadened over the years, the linear spectrum has seemed increasingly simplistic and generalised, the left/right divide only capturing one dimension of a more complex series of political interactions. This has given rise to the idea of the two-dimensional spectrum, with, as pioneered by Hans Eysenck (1964), a liberty/authority vertical axis being added to the established left/right horizontal axis (see Figure 1.3).



## FURTHER READING

Festenstein, M. and Kenny, M. (eds), *Political Ideologies: A Reader and Guide* (2005). A very useful collection of extracts from key texts on ideology and ideologies, supported by lucid commentaries.

Freeden, M., *Ideology: A Very Short Introduction* (2004). An accessible and lively introduction to the concept: an excellent starting place.

Freeden, M. et al., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies* (2015). A wide-ranging, up-to-date and authoritative account of debates about the nature of ideology and the shape of the various ideological traditions.

McLellan, D., *Ideology* (1995). A clear and short yet comprehensive introduction to the concept of ideology.

# Index

Location references in **bold type** refer to illustrative material and on-page definitions.

- absolutism 11, **11**  
 Acton, Lord 17, 95  
 Adorno, T. 5, 78  
 affirmative action 191, **191**  
 alienation **73**, 73–4  
 Allende, S. 62  
 altruism 27, **27**  
 anarchism 92  
   collectivist anarchism 101–2  
     anarcho-communism 104, 105  
     anarcho-syndicalism 93, 103–4  
     mutualism **102**, 102, 103  
 core ideas and principles  
   anti-clericalism 99–100  
   anti-statism 94, 95, **95**, 96, 97  
   economic freedom 100–1  
   natural order 97, 98, 99  
 democracy, anarchists' perspective on **19**  
 differences between  
   individualist anarchism and collectivist  
   anarchism **108**  
 eco-anarchism 174, 175  
 economy, anarchists' perspective on  
   the **69**  
 equality, anarchists' perspective on **65**  
 freedom, anarchists' perspective on **15**  
 human nature, anarchists' perspective  
   on **38**, 94, 95  
 individualist anarchism 105–6  
   anarcho-capitalism 108, 109  
   egoism 106, 107  
   libertarianism **107**, 107–8  
 nation, anarchists' perspective on  
   the **117**  
 nature, anarchists' perspective on **162**  
 origins and development of 93, 94  
 society, anarchists' perspective on **40**  
 anarcho-capitalism 108, 109  
 anarcho-communism 104, 105  
 anarcho-syndicalism 93, 103–4  
 Anderson, B. 118  
 androgyny **140**, 140, 141  
 animal rights 162, 169, **169**, 170, 175  
 anomie **38**  
 Anthony, S. B. 138  
 anthropocentrism **161**  
 anti-colonial nationalism 132, 133–4  
 anti-politics 57, **57**  
 anti-Semitism **132**  
 Arendt, H. 5  
 assimilation **201**  
 Atkinson, T.-G. 153  
 atomism 14, **14**  
 austerity 54, **54**  
 authoritarian conservatism 43–4, 45  
 authoritarianism **44**  
 Bahro, R. 173  
 Bakunin, M. **64**, **97**, 99, 100, 101  
 Barruel, A. 111  
 Barry, B. 202  
 Beasley, C. 155  
 Bentham, J. 22, 23, **23**, 26, 41  
 Berlin, I. 15, 16, 195, **196**  
 Bernstein, E. 82  
 Beveridge Report 29  
 biocentric equality **177**  
 biodiversity **177**  
 bioregionalism 179, **179**  
 Bismarck, O. von 44  
 black feminism 154  
 black nationalism 122  
 Blair, T. 85  
 Bobbio, N. 6  
 Bohr, N. 163  
 Bolivar, S. 112, 124  
 Bookchin, M. 98, 173, 174, **175**, 175, 180  
 Boulding, K. 165  
 bourgeois ideology **76**  
 bourgeois state **67**, **67**  
 bourgeoisie 66, **66**  
 Bourne, R. 96  
 Bright, J. 108  
 Brownmiller, S. 153  
 Brundtland Report **168**  
 Buddhism 98, 100, 134, 159, 164, 171  
 Bukharin, N. 77  
 Burke, E. 34, 39, **40**, 45, 48, 49  
 Bush, G.W. 34  
 Butler, J. 155  
 capitalism **62**  
 Capra, F. 163, 164, 172  
 Carson, R. 159, **159**, 174  
 Castro, F. 133  
 Chamberlain, H. S. **132**  
 Chamberlain, J. 41  
 Charvet, J. 153  
 Chauvin, N. 130  
 chauvinism **113**, 130, 131, 132  
 Christian democracy **46**  
 Christianity 81, 99, 130 164  
 Christoyannopoulos, A. 100  
 Churchill, R. 46, 47  
 citizenship **185**  
 civic nationalism 117, **117**  
   ethnocultural nationalism, and  
   **123**  
 civil liberty **18**  
 civil society 14, **14**, **18**  
 class consciousness **76**, 76  
 class politics 66–7  
 classical liberalism 10, 12, **12**, 20  
   characteristics of 20–1  
   economic liberalism 23, 24  
   modern liberalism, and **29**  
   natural rights 21–2  
   Social Darwinism 24–5  
   utilitarianism 22–3, **23**  
 Clinton, B. 85, 88  
 Clinton, H. 89  
 Cobden, R. 25, 108  
 collectivisation 65, **65**  
 collectivism **64**  
 collectivist anarchism 101–2  
   anarcho-communism 104, 105  
   anarcho-syndicalism 103–4  
   individualist anarchism, and **108**  
   mutualism **102**, 102, 103  
 common ownership 69, 70  
 communism 61, **61**, 70, **71**  
   social democracy, and **83**  
   see also Marxism  
 communitarianism **86**, 86, 187–8  
 competition state 88, **88**  
 'consciousness-raising' 152, **152**

- conservatism  
 authoritarian conservatism 43–4, 45  
 Christian democracy 46  
 core ideas and principles  
 authority 41, 41  
 hierarchy 35, 35, 39, 41  
 human imperfection 35–6, 37  
 property 42, 42, 43  
 social order 35–6  
 society 37, 38, 39, 41  
 tradition 36, 36, 37, 39  
 culture, conservatives' perspective on 188  
 democracy, conservatives' perspective on 19  
 differences between  
 libertarian conservatism and paternalistic conservatism 49  
 neoconservatism and neoliberalism 55  
 ecoconservatism 172–3  
 economy, conservatives' perspective on the 42–3, 69  
 equality, conservatives' perspective on 65  
 fiscal conservatism 53, 53  
 freedom, conservatives' perspective on 15  
 gender, conservatives' perspective on 141  
 human nature, conservatives' perspective on 35–6, 37, 38  
 libertarian conservatism 48, 49  
 multiculturalism, and 200, 201  
 nation, conservatives' perspective on the 117  
 national conservatism 57, 57, 58  
 nature, conservatives' perspective on 162  
 New Right 33, 35, 35, 49–50  
 neoconservatism 50, 54, 55, 55–7  
 neoliberalism 50, 51, 51, 52–3, 54  
 origins and development of 33, 34–5  
 paternalistic conservatism 45  
 One Nation conservatism 45, 46, 47, 48  
 social conservatism 38, 38  
 society, conservatives' perspective on 37, 38–9, 40, 41  
 state, conservatives' perspective on the 41–2, 95  
 Toryism 47  
 traditional conservatism 33, 41, 48  
 conservative nationalism 128–9  
 constitutionalism 17, 17–18  
 constructivism 118–19, 119  
 consumer sovereignty 172, 172  
 Corbyn, J. 89  
 cosmopolitan multiculturalism 198, 199  
 cosmopolitanism 198  
 Crosland, A. 83, 84, 84, 85  
 cultural feminism 145, 145–6  
 cultural nationalism 121, 121, 122, 123  
 culture  
 perspectives on 188  
 see also multiculturalism
- Daly, M. 175, 176  
 Darwin, C. 25  
 Daoism 98, 100, 159, 164  
 de Beauvoir, S. 140, 151  
 de Gaulle, C. 128  
 de Maistre, J. 43  
 de Tracy, D. 4  
 deep diversity 194, 194  
 deep ecology 161, 161, 162, 177–8, 179–80  
 shallow ecology, and 162  
 democracy 17, 18  
 perspectives on  
 anarchists 19  
 conservatives 19  
 ecologists 19  
 liberals 18, 19  
 multiculturalists 19  
 socialists 19  
 democratic centralism 76, 76  
 Descartes, R. 163  
 developmental individualism 12  
 Dewey, J. 37  
 dialectic 73, 73  
 dictatorship of the proletariat 75, 75, 77, 102  
 difference feminism 141, 141  
 equality feminism, and 146  
 direct action 97, 97  
 direct democracy 105, 105  
 discourse 154  
 Disraeli, B. 45, 46  
 divine right 3, 11, 11, 36, 99  
 Donne, J. 63  
 Drake, J. 154  
 Dubois, R. 160  
 Durkheim, E. 38
- eco-anarchism 174, 175  
 ecocentrism 161  
 ecoconservatism 172–3  
 ecofeminism 175, 176, 177  
 ecoliberalism 172  
 'ecological consciousness' 171, 171  
 ecologism  
 core ideas and principles  
 'ecological consciousness' 171, 171  
 ecology 160, 160, 161, 162  
 environmental ethics 168, 169  
 holism 163, 163–4, 165  
 post-materialism 170, 170  
 sustainability 165, 166, 166, 167, 168, 168  
 deep ecology 161, 161, 162, 177–8, 179–80  
 democracy, ecologists' perspective on 19  
 differences between  
 shallow ecology and deep ecology 162  
 economy, ecologists' perspective on the 69  
 equality, ecologists' perspective on 65  
 freedom, ecologists' perspective on 15  
 human nature, ecologists' perspective on 38  
 modernist ecology 167, 167, 168, 171–2  
 ecoconservatism 172–3  
 ecoliberalism 172  
 nature, ecologists' perspective on 162  
 origins and development of 159, 160  
 shallow ecology 161, 161  
 social ecology 168, 168, 173  
 eco-anarchism 174, 175  
 ecofeminism 175, 176, 177  
 ecosocialism 173–4  
 'transpersonal ecology' 171  
 types of 176  
 economic liberalism 23, 24, 48  
 economy, the  
 perspectives on  
 anarchists 69  
 conservatives 42–3, 69  
 ecologists 69  
 liberals 19–20, 69  
 socialists 69, 69, 70  
 ecosocialism 173–4  
 egalitarianism 64, 64, 65  
 egoism 14, 14, 106, 107  
 egoistical individualism 12  
 Ehrlich, P. 160  
 Einstein, A. 163  
 Elshaint, J. 144  
 empire 114  
 Engels, F. 4, 61, 67, 70, 72, 73, 74, 148  
 Enlightenment 13, 13  
 entropy 165, 165  
 environmental ethics 168, 169  
 equality  
 equality of opportunity 16, 16  
 formal equality 185  
 perspectives on 65  
 anarchists 65  
 conservatives 65  
 ecologists 65  
 feminists 65  
 liberals 65  
 socialists 60, 64–5, 65  
 equality feminism 145, 145  
 difference feminism, and 146  
 essentialism 141, 141  
 ethical individualism 12  
 ethical socialism 80, 81  
 ethnic nationalism 121, 121, 122, 123  
 ethnicity 115  
 ethnocultural nationalism 123, 183, 183  
 civic nationalism, and 123  
 Eurocentrism 186  
 Euroscepticism 56, 56, 129  
 expansionist nationalism 129–30, 131, 132  
 liberal nationalism, and 127  
 Eysenck, H. 7

- Fabian Society 68  
 Fanon, F. 133  
 fascism **130**  
 feminism  
   black feminism 154  
   core ideas and principles  
     equality and difference 145–6  
     patriarchy 142, **142**, **143**, 143  
     redefining ‘the political’ 143–4  
     sex and gender **139**, 139, 140, **141**, 141  
   cultural feminism **145**, 145–6  
   culture, feminists’ perspective on **188**  
   difference feminism 141, **141**  
   differences between  
     equality feminism and difference feminism **146**  
     liberal feminism and radical feminism **151**  
   ecofeminism 175, 176, 177  
   equality, feminists’ perspective on **65**  
   equality feminism 145, **145**  
   first-wave feminism 138, **138**  
   freedom, feminists’ perspective on **15**  
   human nature, feminists’ perspective on **38**  
   intersectionality **139**, 139–40, 154, 155  
   liberal feminism 138, **138**, 146, 147–8  
   multiculturalism, and 201  
   nature, feminists’ perspective on **162**  
   origins and development of 137, 138–40  
   postfeminism 139, 156  
   ‘pro-woman’ feminism 145, **145**  
   radical feminism **139**, 150, 151, 152, 153  
   second-wave feminism 139, **139**  
   sexual division of labour **144**  
   socialist feminism **139**, 148, 149, 150  
   society, feminists’ perspective on **40**  
   state, feminists’ perspective on the **95**  
   third-wave feminism 154, 155  
   transfeminism **139**, 155  
   types of **153**, 154  
 feudalism 11, **11**  
 Fichte, J. 121, 131  
 Figs, E. 151  
 first-wave feminism 138, **138**  
 fiscal conservatism 53, **53**  
 fiscal stimulus **54**  
 fossil fuels **165**  
 Foucault, M. 154  
 Fourier, C. 61, 80, 149  
 Fox, W. 171  
 Franco, F. 93  
 Frankfurt School 78  
 fraternity **63**, **63**  
 free trade **126**  
 freedom  
   perspectives on  
     anarchists **15**  
     conservatives **15**  
     ecologists **15**  
   feminists **15**  
   liberals 13, **13**, 14, **15**, 15, 16  
   nationalists **15**  
   socialists **15**  
 Friedan, B. 13, **14**, 139, 146, 147  
 Friedman, D. 99, 108  
 Friedman, M. 51, 52  
 Fromm, E. 170  
 Fukuyama, F. 79  
 fundamentalist socialism 70, **70**  
 future generations **169**  
 Gaia hypothesis 164, **165**  
 Gaitskill, H. 82  
 Galbraith, J. K. 85  
 Gandhi, M. 133  
 Garvey, M. 122, **122**, 183  
 Gellner, E. 118  
 gender  
   perspectives on **141**  
   see also feminism  
   ‘general will’ 119, **119**  
 Giddens, A. 86, **87**, 87  
 Gilman, C. P. **149**, 149  
 Gilmour, I. 45  
 Gladstone, W. 10  
 Godwin, W. 93, 95, 97, 105, 108  
 Goldman, E. **96**, **96**  
 Goldsmith, E. 160  
 Goldwater, B. 34  
 Goodhart, D. 202  
 Goodin, R. 169  
 government **11**  
 gradualism 68, **68**  
 Gramsci, A. 5, 78  
 Gray, J. 195  
 Green, T. H. 27, 28  
 green capitalism **172**, 172–3  
 green ideology see ecologism  
 Greer, G. 139, 152, 156  
 Grimm, J. 122  
 Grimm, W. 122  
 Habermas, J. 78  
 Haeckel, E. 158  
 ‘happiness economics’ 170  
 ‘hard’ Wilsonianism 56–7  
 Hardin, G. 166, **167**  
 Hardy, T. 159  
 Harriman, R. 160  
 Hayek, F. von **48**, 51, 52  
 Hegel, G. W. F. 72, 73  
 Heisenberg, V. 163  
 Herder, J. 121, **121**, 187  
 Herzl, T. 124  
 Heywood, L. 154  
 Hinduism 133, 135, 159, 164  
 historical materialism **72**, **72**  
 Hitler, A. 2, 44  
 Ho Chi Minh 133  
 Hobbes, T. 16, 22, 36, **36**, 97  
 Hobhouse, L. T. 27  
 Hobsbawm, E. 118–19  
 Hobson, J. A. 27  
 holism **163**, 163–4, 165  
 homeostasis 160, **160**  
 hooks, b. (G. J. Watkins) 154, **155**  
 Horkheimer, M. 78  
 human nature **13**  
   perspectives on  
     anarchists **38**, 94, 95  
     conservatives 35–6, 37, **38**  
     ecologists **38**  
     feminists **38**  
     liberals 12, 13, **14**, **38**  
     socialists **38**, 62–3, 64–5  
 human rights 12, **12**, 13  
 humanism **80**, 169, **169**  
 Huntington, S. 184, 200  
 hybridity **198**  
 identity politics **189**  
 ideology **4**  
   concept of 4, 5  
 imperialism **113**, 129, 130  
 independence 112, **112**, 120  
 individualism 12, **12**, 13, 14  
 individualist anarchism 105–6  
   anarcho-capitalism 108, 109  
   collectivist anarchism, and **108**  
   egoism 106, 107  
   libertarianism **107**, 107–8  
 individuality **12**, 26, 27  
 industrial capitalism 11  
 industrialism **166**  
 inflation **52**, **52**  
 integral nationalism **131**, 131, 132  
 intersectionality **139**, 139–40, 154, 155  
 internationalism **126**  
 Islam 3, 62, 81, 134  
 Islamism 135, 184, 193  
 Jahn, F. 121, 131  
 James, W. **37**  
 Jefferson, T. 21, 22  
 jingoism **130**  
 John Paul II, Pope 81  
 Johnson, L. 29  
 Jost, J. 5  
 justice **12**, 30, 53, 64–5, 168  
   see also social justice  
 Kant, I. **54**, 126  
 Kautsky, K. 70  
 Kennedy, J. F. 29  
 Keynes, J. M. 2, 30, 31, 52  
 Keynesianism **31**  
 Khomeini, Ayatollah 35  
 King, M. L. 183  
 King, Y. 175  
 knowledge economy 86, **86**  
 Kropotkin, P. 64, **96**, 101, 104, **104**, 105, 159, 175  
 Kymlicka, W. 189, 190, **190**

- Laclau, E. 79  
 laissez-faire 24, **24**, 25  
 Layard, R. 170  
 Le Pen, J.-M. 58  
 Le Pen, M. 58  
 left/right divide in politics 5, **6**, **6**, **7**, **7**  
 Lenin, V.I. 2, 5, 61, 67, 70, 75, 76, 77, 93, 134  
 Leninism 76  
 Leopold, A. 177, **178**  
 lesbianism 153  
 'liberal'  
 meanings of term 10  
 liberal democracy 18, **18**  
 Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) (Japan) 34–5  
 liberal feminism 138, **138**, 146, 147–8  
 radical feminism, and **151**  
 liberal multiculturalism **188**, 188, 193, 194–5  
 liberal nationalism 124, 125, 126, 127–8  
 expansionist nationalism, and **127**  
 liberalism 10  
 classical liberalism 10, 12, **12**, 20  
 characteristics of 20–1  
 economic liberalism 23, 24  
 natural rights 21–2  
 Social Darwinism 24–5  
 utilitarianism 22–3, **23**  
 communitarian liberalism 86  
 core ideas and principles 10  
 equality of opportunity 16, **16**  
 freedom 13, **13**, 14, **15**, 15, 16  
 individualism 12, **12**, 13, 14  
 reason 13, 14  
 culture, liberals' perspective on **188**  
 democracy, liberals' perspective on 18, **19**  
 differences between  
 classical liberalism and modern liberalism **29**  
 universalist liberalism and pluralist liberalism **201**  
 ecoliberalism 172  
 economy, liberals' perspective on the 19–20, **69**  
 equality, liberals' perspective on **65**  
 gender, liberals' perspective on **141**  
 human nature, liberals' perspective on 12, 13, 14, **38**  
 liberal democracy 18, **18**  
 modern liberalism 10, 12, **12**, 25–6  
 economic management 30, 31  
 individuality 26, 27  
 positive freedom 27–8  
 social liberalism 28–9, 30  
 multiculturalism, criticisms of 200  
 nation, liberals' perspective on the **117**  
 nature, liberals' perspective on **162**  
 neoliberalism 24  
 origins and development of 11–12  
 society, liberals' perspective on 14, 15–16, **40**  
 state, liberals' perspective on the 16, 17–18, **95**  
 libertarian conservatism 48, 49  
 paternalistic conservatism, and **49**  
 libertarianism **48**, **107**, 107–8  
 Locke, J. 16, **17**, 18, 21, 22, **54**, 97  
 Lovelock, J. 164  
 Lukacs, G. 78  
 Luxemburg, R. 76, **76**  
 Lyotard, J.-F. 79  
 MacIntyre, A. 187  
 Macmillan, H. 42, 47, 48  
 Macpherson, C. B. 14  
 Malatesta, E. 105  
 managerialism 83, **83**  
 Manchesterism 108  
 Mao Zedong 133  
 Marcuse, H. 78  
 market **19**  
 free market 19–20, **20**  
 market fundamentalism 24, **24**  
 Marshall, P. 94  
 Marx, K. 2, 4, 61, 67, **67**, 70, 134  
 Marxism 70, 71  
 classical Marxism  
 economics 73–4  
 philosophy 71, 72, 73  
 politics 74–5  
 demise of 79  
 dialectical materialism 71, **71**  
 neo-Marxism **77**, 77–8  
 orthodox communism 75–6, 77  
 post-Marxism 79–80  
 Maslow, A. **170**  
 materialism **169**  
 Maurras, C. 131, **131**  
 May, T. 58  
 Mazzini, G. 124, 125, **125**  
 Meadows, D. 160  
 mercantilism 19, **19**  
 Merchant, C. 175, **176**  
 meritocracy 16, **16**  
 metaphysics **178**  
 methodological individualism 12  
 militarism **129**, 131, 132  
 Mill, J. 22, **23**  
 Mill, J. S. 14, 15, 18, 26, **27**, 27, 125, 138, 146, 147, 172  
 millenarianism 100, **100**  
 Millett, K. 139, 142, **142**, 143, 152  
 minority rights 189–90, 191, 192  
 Mitchell, J. 150  
 mixed economy 70, **70**, 82  
 modern liberalism 10, 12, **12**, 25–6  
 classical liberalism, and **29**  
 economic management 30, 31  
 individuality 26, 27  
 positive freedom 27–8  
 social liberalism 28–9, 30  
 modernism 118  
 modernist ecology **167**, 167, 168, 171–2  
 ecoconservatism 172–3  
 ecoliberalism 172  
 Modood, T. 193, **194**  
 Montesquieu, C. de 18, 187  
 More, T. 61  
 Morris, W. 81, 159, 173, 175  
 Mouffe, C. 79  
 multiculturalism  
 core ideas and principles  
 culture and identity 187, **187**, 188, **188**, 189  
 diversity 192–3  
 minority rights 189–90, 191, 192  
 politics of rights, redistribution and recognition 184–5, **185**, 186, 187  
 cosmopolitan multiculturalism 198, 199  
 democracy, multiculturalists' perspective on **19**  
 liberal multiculturalism **188**, 188, 193, 194–5  
 nation, multiculturalists' perspective on the **117**  
 opposition to 199  
 conservative criticisms of 200, 201  
 feminist concerns about 201  
 liberal criticisms of 200  
 social reformists' criticisms of 201–2  
 origins and development of 182, 183–4  
 particularist multiculturalism 197, 198  
 pluralist multiculturalism **188**, 188, 195–6  
 society, multiculturalists' perspective on **40**  
 types of **199**  
 Murray, C. 53  
 Mussolini, B. 44  
 mutualism **102**, 102, 103  
 Naess, A. 161, 171, 177, 179  
 Napoleon III, Emperor 44  
 nation  
 perspectives on the nation **117**  
 see also nationalism  
 nation-states 114, **114**  
 national conservatism 57, **57**, 58  
 nationalisation 70, **70**  
 nationalism  
 anti-colonial nationalism 132, 133–4  
 black nationalism 122  
 civic nationalism 117, **117**  
 conservative nationalism 128–9  
 core ideas and principles 111  
 culturalism 121, **121**, 122, 123  
 nation 112, **112**, 115–16, 117, **117**  
 organic community 118–19  
 self-determination 119, 120–1  
 cultural nationalism 121, 121, 122, 123  
 differences between  
 civic nationalism and ethnocultural nationalism **123**  
 liberal nationalism and expansionist nationalism **127**

- ethnic nationalism **121**, 121, 122, 123  
 ethnocultural nationalism 123, 183, **183**  
 expansionist nationalism 129–30, 131, 132  
 freedom, nationalists' perspective on **15**  
 integral nationalism **131**, 131, 132  
 liberal nationalism 124, 125, 126, 127–8  
 origins and development of 111, 112, 113, 114–15  
 pan-nationalism 130, **130**, 131  
 political nationalism **121**, 121  
 postcolonial nationalism 134, 135  
 society, nationalists' perspective on **40**  
 supranationalism 129, **129**  
 natural aristocracy **41**  
 natural rights **12**, 21–2  
 nature  
   perspectives on **162**  
 negative freedom **15**, 15–16  
 Nehru, J. 124, 133  
 neo-Reaganism 56  
 neo-revisionism 85, 86, 87, 88  
 neoconservatism 50, 54, **55**, 55–7  
   neoliberalism, and **55**  
 neoliberalism 24, 50, **51**, 51, 52–3, 54  
   neoconservatism, and **55**  
 New Left **78**  
 New Right 33, 35, **35**, 49–50  
   neoconservatism 50, 54, **55**, 55–7  
   neoliberalism 50, **51**, 51, 52–3, 54  
 Newton, I. 163  
 Nicholas I, Tsar 44  
 Nietzsche, F. 51, **52**, **96**, 107  
 nihilism **106**  
 Nkrumah, K. **122**  
 Nozick, R. **48**, 53, **54**, 108  
 Nyerere, J. 63  
  
 Oakeshott, M. 5, 36, **37**  
 offence 191, **191**  
 One Nation conservatism 45, 46, 47, 48  
 organic community 118–19  
 organicism 39, **39**  
 O'Sullivan, N. 35  
 Owen, R. 60, 61, 81, 149  
  
 pacifism 97, **97**  
 Paglia, C. 156  
 Paine, T. 21  
 pan-nationalism 130, **130**, 131  
 pan-Slavism 130, 131  
 Pankhurst, C. 138  
 Pankhurst, E. 138  
 Parekh, B. 195, 196, **197**  
 particularist multiculturalism 197, 198  
 pastoralism 159, **159**  
 paternalism **47**  
 paternalistic conservatism 45  
   libertarian conservatism, and **49**  
   One Nation conservatism 45, 46, 47, 48  
  
 patriarchy 142, **142**, **143**, 143  
 patriotism **112**  
 permissiveness **54**  
 Perón, J. 35, 44, 45  
 Pettit, P. **186**  
 Pisan, C. de 138  
 Pius IX, Pope 44  
 Plato 61  
 Plekhanov, G. 70, 71  
 pluralism **197**  
 pluralist multiculturalism **188**, 188, 195–6  
 political myth 103, **103**  
 political nationalism **121**, 121  
 political spectrum **6**, **7**  
 Popper, K. 5  
 populism **57**  
 positive discrimination 190, **190**  
 positive freedom 16, **16**, 27–8  
 post-materialism 170, **170**  
 postcolonial nationalism 134, 135  
 postcolonialism 186, **187**  
 postfeminism 139, 156  
 poststructuralism **154**, 154, 155  
 pragmatism **37**  
 preservationism 179, **179**  
 primordialism **117**, 118  
 privatisation **42**, 42–3, 53  
   'pro-woman' feminism 145, **145**  
 progress **5**  
 progressive taxation 65, **65**  
 proletariat 4, 66, **66**, 67, 73–7, 82  
   *see also* dictatorship of the proletariat  
 Proudhon, P.-J. 92, 96, 99, 102, **102**, 103, 105  
  
 racism **123**  
 radical feminism **139**, 150, 151, 152, 153  
   liberal feminism, and **151**  
 Rand, A. 51, **52**, 108  
 rationalism **13**  
 Rawls, J. 15, 29, **30**, 194  
 Reagan, R. 34  
 Reaganism 24, 35  
   neo-Reaganism 56  
 religious fundamentalism 134, **135**, 135  
 republicanism **186**  
 revisionist socialism 81–2, **82**, 83, 84  
 revolution 5, 20, 31, 34, 46, 61, **67**, 67, 68, 70, 74–7  
 Ricardo, D. 2, 19  
 rights **12**, 86, 100, 108, 115, 116, 119, 125, 138, 145–8, 168, 185  
   *see also* animal rights, minority rights  
 Roosevelt, F. D. 29, 31  
 Roosevelt, T. 42  
 Rothbard, M. 108, 109  
 Rousseau, J.-J. 98, 112, 119, **119**, 124  
 Rowbotham, S. 149, **150**  
 ruling class 74, **74**  
 Rushdie, S. 191  
 Ruthven, M. 135  
  
 Said, E. 186  
 Saint-Simon, H. de 60  
 Sandel, M. 187  
 Saunders, B. 89  
 Schumacher, E. F. 165, 167, **167**, 170  
 scientism 163, **163**  
 Scott-Dixon, K. 155  
 second-wave feminism 139, **139**  
 self-actualisation 179, **179**  
 self-determination 119, 120–1  
 Sen, A. 197, 200  
 separation of powers 18, **18**  
 separatism **120**  
 shallow diversity 195, **195**  
 shallow ecology 161, **161**  
   deep ecology, and **162**  
 Shaw, G. B. 68  
 Sikhism 134  
 Singer, P. 169  
 Smiles, S. 24  
 Smith, Adam 2, 19, 23, 24, 48, 50  
 Smith, Anthony 118  
 Smuts, J. 163  
 social class 66, **66**  
 social conservatism **38**, 38  
 social contract **16**, 16, 17  
 Social Darwinism 24–5  
 social democracy 61, **61**, 80, **80**  
   communism, and **83**  
   'crisis' of social democracy 84–5  
   ethical socialism 80, 81  
   neo-revisionism 85, 86, 87, 88  
   revisionist socialism 81–2, **82**, 83, 84  
   social justice 81, **81**, 84  
   'third way', and the **87**  
 social ecology 168, **168**, 173  
   eco-anarchism 174, 175  
   ecofeminism 175, 176, 177  
   ecosocialism 173–4  
 social inclusion **88**, **88**  
 social justice 37, 70, 81, **81**, 84, 102, 186, 202  
 social liberalism 28–9, 30  
 social revolution **74**, 74–5  
 socialism  
   communism 61, **61**, 70, **71**  
   *see also* Marxism  
 core ideas and principles  
   class politics 66–7  
   common ownership 69, 70  
   community 62, 63  
   cooperation 60, **63**, 63, 64  
   equality 60, 64–5, **65**  
   society 63  
 culture, socialists' perspective on **188**  
 democracy, socialists' perspective on **19**  
   differences between  
     communism and social democracy **83**  
     social democracy and the 'third way' **87**  
   economy, socialists' perspective on the 69, **69**, 70



- ecosocialism 173–4  
 freedom, socialists' perspective on **15**  
 fundamentalist socialism 70, **70**  
 gender, socialists' perspective on **141**  
 human nature, socialists' perspective on  
     **38**, 62–3, 64–5  
 nation, socialists' perspective on the **117**  
 nature, socialists' perspective on **162**  
 New Left **78**  
 origins and development of 60, 61, 62  
 revival of 88–9  
 social democracy 61, **61**, 80, **80**  
     'crisis' of social democracy 84–5  
     ethical socialism 80, 81  
     neo-revisionism 85, 86, 87, 88  
     revisionist socialism 81–2, **82**, 83, 84  
     social justice 81, **81**, 84  
 society, socialists' perspective on **40**,  
     66–7  
 state, socialists' perspective on the 67,  
     68, 69, **95**  
 state socialism 70, **70**  
 socialist feminism **139**, 148, 149, 150  
 society  
     perspectives on  
         anarchists **40**  
         conservatives 37, 38–9, **40**, 41  
         feminists **40**  
         liberals 14, 15–16, **40**  
         multiculturalists **40**  
         nationalists **40**  
         socialists **40**, 63, 66–7  
 Sorel, G. 103  
 sovereignty 119, **119**  
 speciesism 169, **169**  
 Spencer, H. 25, 104  
 Spooner, L. 107  
 Stalin, J. 70, 76, 77  
 Stalinism 77, 77  
 Stanton, E. C. 138  
 state **12**  
     perspectives on the state  
         anarchists 94, 95, **95**, 96, 97  
         conservatives 41–2, **95**  
         feminists **95**  
         liberals 16, 17–18, **95**  
         socialists 67, 68, 69, **95**  
     'state of nature' **16**, 16  
 state socialism 70, **70**  
 status quo **5**  
 Stirner, M. 95, **96**, 106, **107**, 107  
 Sumner, W. 25  
 Sun Yat-Sen 124  
 supranationalism 129, **129**  
 surplus value 74, **74**  
 sustainability 165, 166, **166**, 167, 168,  
     **168**  
 syndicalism **93**  
 system **164**  
 Talmon, J. L. 5  
 Tawney, R. H. 81  
 Taylor, C. 190, 191, **191**  
 Taylor, H. 146  
 Thatcher, M. 41, 53, 56  
 Thatcherism 24, 35, 128, **128**  
 third-wave feminism 154, 155  
 'third way' 85, **85**, 86, 87, 88  
     social democracy, and **87**  
 Thoreau, H. D. 107, 179  
 Tocqueville, A. de 18  
 toleration **193**  
 Toryism **47**  
 totalitarianism 6, **6**  
 traditional conservatism 33, 41, 48  
 'tragedy of the commons' 166, **167**  
 transfeminism **139**, 155  
 transgender **155**  
 'transpersonal ecology' 171  
 transphobia **155**  
 transsexual **155**  
 tribalism 127, **127**  
 Tsipras, A. 88  
 Tucker, B. 107, 108  
 unification 113, **113**, 120  
 utilitarianism 22–3, **23**  
 utility **22**  
 utopianism 61, **61**, 98, **98**, 99  
 value pluralism 195, **195**  
 Volksgeist **121**, 121  
 Wagner, R. 122, **132**  
 Waldron, J. 198  
 Ward, B. 160  
 Warren, J. 107, 108  
 Watkins, G. J. (bell hooks) 154, **155**  
 Webb, B. 68, **68**  
 Webb, S. 68, **68**  
 welfare state 28, **28**, 29  
 Wells, H. G. 68  
 Wilson, W. 114, 124, 125, 126, 127  
 Wolf, N. 156  
 Wolff, R. 105  
 Wollstonecraft, M. 13, **13**, 138, 146, 147  
 women's movement *see* feminism  
 written constitution 17, 17–18  
 xenophobia **113**  
 Zapata, E. 93  
 Zen Buddhism 100, 164  
 Zionism **124**