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same period. Such a work has recently appeared about the DDR under the aegis of Klaus von Beyme.⁵ Analyses of policies like those in this work are important because they show clearly whether and in what respects politics has changed. Party rhetoric is not to be taken for the gospel truth.

Brendan O'Leary: A Contestable Distinction

Mark N. Hagopian: *Ideals and Ideologies of Modern Politics*, New York and London, Longman, 1985, 263 pp., £9.95.

Hagopian's introductory text for courses in comparative politics and political ideas is clearly and, for the most part, very well written. Each of its seventeen chapters read as excellent entries for an encyclopaedia. They are succinct, informed, pedagogically precise and conclude with helpful 'Suggestions for Further Reading' appended at the end for students prepared to study beyond the syllabus of a core text. For these reasons teachers of introductory courses should find it useful.

However, the book is organized around a contestable, and sometimes confusing, distinction between 'ideals' and 'ideologies'. Part One (six chapters) summarizes ideals, and Part Two (ten chapters) summarizes ideologies. Hagopian promises to employ a 'tight' definition of ideology. Ideologies are systematic. They have three structural components (philosophy, programme, and propaganda), and three functional components (legitimation, mobilization and interpretation). Ideals, by contrast, are vaguer and more incomplete and have a chameleon-like variability. The genesis of ideologies can normally be traced with historical precision, whereas ideals, if not timeless, are difficult to locate exclusively in historical time. This distinction makes the author classify socialism and capitalism as ideals, whereas communism, social democracy and liberalism are ideologies.

The preface forestalls criticism of the distinction between ideals and ideologies: 'even if people dispute the categorization of this text, they might still find value in the specific expositions'. As the pedagogical value of his book has been noted, Hagopian will presumably not mind if he is told that the distinction is both theoretically and pedagogically unhelpful. First, many of his 'ideologies' (for example anarchism, conservatism and populism) are often as vague, diffuse, and timeless as his 'ideals'. Secondly, some of his 'ideals' (such as Utopia and Revolution — Chapter 6, and Neo-Individualism — Chapter 7) are either instrumental elements of the programme of an ideology or straightforward ideologies. Arguably one hallmark of an ideology is the construction of utopias, both to

⁵ See Klaus von Beyme and Hartmut Zimmermann (eds.): *Policy-making in the German Democratic Republic*, Aldershot, Gower, 1984.

instruct and to mobilize a movement, and revolution is a strategic method advocated for implementing an ideology. There is no disembodied and abstract ideal 'utopia' or 'revolution', except for some severely disturbed people. There are rather particular utopias and particular revolutionary strategies. Revolution is an ideal only in the sort of pathological group mocked in *Monty Python's Life of Brian*. For others it is a rational means towards an ideal, or more often, a means to the elimination of an unacceptable, non-ideal political order. Chapter 7, 'Neo-Individualism', classifies libertarianism, radical feminism and environmentalism as versions of an 'ideal', despite Hagopian's recognition of their modernity. His only defence is that neo-individualism is too broad to be considered an ideology. However, that is only because he has invented one, rather unsuitable, label to cover libertarians, radical feminists, and Greens. The first group is politically and methodologically individualist, the second is often collectivist (gender based), and the third is often maximally collectivist (all-species and Nature). Whilst both libertarians and radical feminists might fairly be accused of having vague ideals, their thought is philosophical, programmatic and propagandist. Environmentalists by contrast are normally quite precise about their objectives, whether as reformist controllers of the 'externalities' of industrialization or as revolutionary anti-industrialists. Thirdly, some chapters mix ideals and ideologies quite unashamedly. Chapter 2, 'Democracy and Elitism', for example, does not seriously explore elitism as an ideal at all; rather it presents elite theorists' (ideological?) criticisms of the possibility of an ideal democracy after having explored democracy as an ideal. Finally, it is difficult to sustain the idea that ideals are more plastic than ideologies. Populism, one of the author's ideologies, has been both left-wing and right-wing, and Hagopian's classification of all populist movements as *petit-bourgeois* and rightist neglects the leftist and multi-class dispositions of Latin American and contemporary Greek populists.

His definitions are not tight enough to sustain the structure of the book. What Hagopian has written is in fact a helpful introduction to some of the most consequential of Western political ideas (the 'isms' and their friends) since the middle ages. There are some omissions from the ideals and ideologies which might cause eyebrows to be raised about Hagopian's principles of selection. If democracy is an ideal why isn't liberty, equality, or community? If anarchism can be included why not nihilism, Islamic socialism, and militarism? A title such as '*The Ideas Behind Major Political Movements in Europe and North America*' would have been more accurate.

Unsurprisingly given the uncommonly wide scope of the author's text he is more up-to-date with scholarship in some areas than others. For example, students exploring the debates between democratic elitists and participatory democrats should be made aware of Bingham Powell's *Contemporary Democracies* (1982), the first serious cross-national empirical study of the relationships between

democratic stability, violence, and electoral participation, which refutes the argument that voter apathy and political stability are highly correlated. No literature on 'market socialism' written after 1975 is cited or suggested in the chapter on socialism. And the chapter on nationalism omits reference to Kedourie's and Gellner's influential discussions of the origins and characteristics of nationalism. The reading suggested for communism (really Marxism), is dated and inferior to modern work, and for social democracy is rather Anglo-Saxon centred and jaded.

Hagopian's conclusion will stimulate students rather than provide them with the 'truth', as a good teaching book should. He classifies and introduces four critiques of ideologies: the realist, the Marxist, the psychological and the sociological. Realists regard ideologies as rhetorics masking the pursuit of power, little more than dramaturgical props. The Marxist critique of ideology, summarized in a page and a half, takes ideology to be superstructural, false consciousness and class-determined. The psychological critique (by which Hagopian rather narrowly means Freudian and post-Freudian psychoanalysis) describes ideologies as rationalizations of subconscious 'drives'. And the sociological critique (i.e. Karl Mannheim) combines elements of the previous three critiques. Hagopian suggests that the fundamental weakness of all these critiques of ideologies is that they neglect the autonomy of ideas from rationalizations, interests and structural determinants: 'the human mind is flexible enough to rise above the pressure of power lusts, economic interests, youthful psychic traumas, and membership in social classes'. Jon Elster has recently suggested rather more severely that the 'sociology of knowledge' literature should be put in science's chamber of horrors. Hagopian is less radical, being content simply to defend some residual autonomy for the human intellect against sociological reductionism. Finally, Hagopian detects five elements in all ideological thought: a theory of human nature, society, history, social justice and truth. Unfortunately, these five elements are common to any worthwhile political theory, and since Hagopian presumably does not wish to reduce all political theory to ideology (in relativist fashion) it is a strange note on which to end his book. However, there is every reason to believe that he is right to say that ideological thinking 'now ebbs and flows but shows no signs of disappearing'.

The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916-1985

Scott Mainwaring. Nowhere in the Roman Catholic world of the last two decades has the Church proven itself more pastorally innovative, theologically original, and politically progressive than in Brazil—the nation with the greatest number of Catholics in the world. For years the Brazilian military government condemned the Church as a subversive institution, and by 1982 it was in an ongoing battle with the Vatican and the Latin American Bishops Conference. To explain how the Church assumed such great importance, the author analyzes radical Catholicism in Brazil: its precursors, emergence, development, triumphs, dilemmas, and (since 1982) its decline. The book concludes with an analysis of why Brazil's radical Catholics faced an uphill struggle after 1982 as the country continued its transition to liberal democracy. \$37.50

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