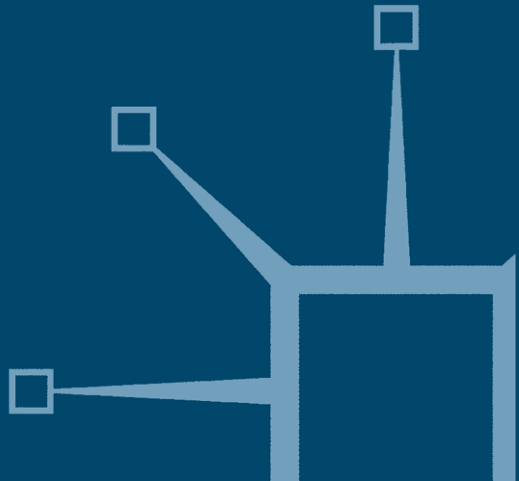


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The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Political Thought

Third Edition

Roger Scruton



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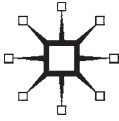
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A Note on Composition

The first draft of this dictionary was written continuously, so as to achieve maximum consistency of style and minimum overlap. The articles were sent out separately to the advisers, two of whom were asked to comment on each article. The final draft was then composed, taking into account, as far as possible, all the comments received. The list of entries was gradually amended and developed in the course of writing, partly in response to suggestions received, partly in response to a developing perspective. Because of the novelty of the project, and the attempt to bring together disparate but related disciplines, it cannot be hoped that a uniform standard has been reached throughout, or that some fundamental items of political thought have not been overlooked. However, a certain synthesis has emerged, which may permit development and clarification in any future edition.

I have benefited greatly from the comments offered, and from friendly advice given by Michael Oakshott, Amartya Sen, John Vickers and William Waldegrave. In particular, I have received inestimable benefit from the painstaking work of Sally Shreir, who read through the whole dictionary suggesting countless additions, improvements and amendments. Without her help and guidance this project would have been far more arduous and far less rewarding than it has been. It is not to be expected, however, that all errors have been eliminated, and I alone am responsible for those that remain, as well as for the tone and manner of the work, and for any expressions of opinion or manifestations of outlook.

ROGER SCRUTON
London, 1982

Note

Cross-references are indicated by an asterisk; they occur only when a major intellectual connection is in issue. Reference to authors and texts have been kept to a minimum, but are included wherever an idea seems to be specific to the thoughts of a particular school or person.

Because this is a dictionary of concepts, it has been necessary to provide not only definitions but also the sketches of arguments. These are necessarily incomplete, and may also be one-sided. The intention is to illustrate the concept, rather than to persuade the reader, and it should be borne in mind that no article can do more than suggest the arguments given for or against any particular position.

Preface to the First Edition

'Political thought' denotes something that all human beings engage in, whether or not knowingly. It also denotes various specialized academic disciplines which seek to explore, to support or to undermine our everyday political persuasions. Several such disciplines have contributed their terminology to this dictionary, among them political science, philosophy, sociology and economics. In addition the reader will find terms from the practical arts of law, politics and religion, together with words designed at least to draw attention to, if not to resolve, important modern controversies.

An apology may not be necessary for what follows, but some explanation of the aims and principles of such a dictionary may help the reader to gauge its utility. It is impossible to include in one small volume reference to all the concepts involved in the practice of politics, or in its related academic disciplines. The intention has been to extract, both from active debate, and from the theories and intuitions which surround it, the principal ideas through which modern political beliefs find expression. The emphasis of the dictionary is conceptual rather than factual, exploring the formulation of doctrines rather than their specific application. Political events are mentioned only when they cast light on intellectual conceptions. For this reason the few proper names contained in the dictionary are those of thinkers rather than those of political figures. Likewise nations, treaties, battles and laws are seldom mentioned, and, while it has been necessary to include discussions of the major movements and parties in contemporary politics, the detailed history of the modern world has been passed over, as outside the scope of a dictionary of concepts.

Political terms are often as obscurely understood by the person who uses them as by the person who is puzzled in hearing them used. The main purpose of this dictionary is to provide not just definitions but, where possible, clarifications of political terminology. Sometimes, as in the case of Marxism, the task is made easier by the existence of a definite and articulated theory, which the dictionary articles need only condense into appropriate form. In other cases (and this is particularly true of the main items of conservative thought) the absence of theory presents a peculiar difficulty. Here the dictionary must itself attempt a small part of a task that has not been accomplished, and perhaps not even been attempted, with the rigour that the subject demands. For this reason, while many entries will be recognized as summaries of existing theories, others will appear to present conceptual novelties. It is hoped that the two kinds of entry will so interlock as to give structure and coherence to the whole. It goes

Preface to the First Edition

without saying that every attempt has been made to be impartial, and to provide equal, and equally clear, expression to the major beliefs and concepts which enjoy favour in the modern climate of political opinion. But impartiality is itself a kind of partiality, and readers should approach the dictionary with as many quotation marks at their disposal as they might require for their peace of mind.

Some doubt may be felt as to the number of disciplines which have been called upon in the construction of this work. Why, for example, should the social sciences figure so prominently in a book designed to clarify the language of actual political discourse? It would certainly be odd to include, in a dictionary of mathematical concepts, entries dealing with the sociology of mathematical thought and practice. For what bearing could such entries have on concepts like those of number, proof, validity and integration? A sociological explanation of our mathematical habits casts no light upon their true internal logic. However, the same is not true of politics. Political thought, unlike mathematics, is permeable to its own explanation. A sociology of political belief will not leave its subject unaffected. Consider the concept of 'commodity fetishism'. While this purports to provide an explanation of certain persistent economic beliefs and practices, it contains within itself a novel way of criticizing what it explains. No sooner did the concept exist than it was used to give expression and support to political beliefs which seemed to gain in cogency through the adoption of this technical term. Similarly no exposition of modern political thought can avoid encroaching on those disciplines – economics, sociology and political science – which have political thought as part of their subject-matter. Both the language and the art of politics are formed and reformed under pressure from these disciplines, borrowing their concepts, their theories, their truths and above all their confusions in the compulsive search for self-justification.

It should not be thought, however, that the subject-matter of this dictionary is either recondite or truly theoretical. On the contrary, it belongs to the mental repertoire of all active, thinking beings, and it is to be hoped that, by treating impartially conceptions which enter, however hazily, into so many current debates and disagreements, this dictionary will make some small contribution to their clarity.

Preface to the Second Edition

In the 13 years since the first edition of this work was published, momentous events have occurred, and the language of politics has evolved in response to them. The collapse of the Soviet Union has entirely changed the confrontation between left and right, while the growth of European federalism has precipitated institutions, strategies and concepts whose bewildering character is only partly explained by the desire to bewilder. As in every period, reason and folly march in tandem, and neither has a monopoly over the language. In order to take proper note of their common progress I have deleted some entries, expanded others, and added definitions of terms which have come into prominence. I have also added summaries of political thinkers whose work has been especially influential in recent debates.

I have drawn on the advice of three people: Sean Sayers and Ian Steedman, both of whom were advisers to the original edition, and Robert Grant. As before, I have tried to be impartial without being bland, and to put concepts and arguments in the place of obfuscation and dogma. My advisers are not responsible for any local failure to achieve those goals, having done their very best to advance them.

ROGER SCRUTON
Malmesbury, September 1995

Preface to the Third Edition

A further ten years have elapsed since this book was last revised, and they have had as great an impact on political thought as the momentous years between the First and Second Editions. The eruption into Western politics of Islamic thought and Islamist movements has awoken us to the realities of religion and to the human need for it; the ever-expanding claims of the European Union have brought with them a new bureaucratic language; communism has died as an ideology, while Marxism and neo-Marxism survive only in isolated pockets of the Western academy and in the testimony to their former power provided by works such as this one.

Meanwhile the emergence of neo-conservatism in America, and capitalism without democracy in China, have created new kinds of international politics, and new ways of brokering the relations between states. Moreover, no observer can have failed to notice that political thought is being rapidly driven from public life, to be replaced by something that we might call 'business thought'. The deep and difficult arguments about constitutions and their legitimacy, about law and its sources, about property and its rights, about power and authority – arguments that have occupied the major thinkers in our political and philosophical tradition and which formed the original subject-matter of this book – seem to have no place in the thinking of today's politicians. Their concern is not with government, but with management; they are not interested in truth or doctrine but only in 'spin'; and the concepts with which they try to understand society come to them from business schools and management gurus rather than from the great works of political and sociological thought which inspired the original edition of this dictionary.

In this edition I have tried to take account of these developments, and also to amplify the aspects of the book that are the least vulnerable to the flow of events and the whims of fashion. I have therefore deleted ephemeral material and added more entries on thinkers and theories that have a permanent place in intellectual history.

I have retained much that is of no practical relevance, now that Marxism is unbelievable and socialism more or less dead. My excuse for doing so is that this is a dictionary of thought, not of action, and thoughts may be interesting and influential, even in times when they have lost their immediate use.

Preface to the Third Edition

I have drawn on the advice of Robert Grant, Jonathan Rée and Frank Buckley, three people with contrasting views and outlooks, who have helped me to suppress my prejudices and to maintain, as best I could, the attitude of impartial curiosity that has been the principal motive of this work.

Malmesbury, Wiltshire and Sperryville, Virginia, Spring 2006

Abdication

The voluntary relinquishing of the throne by a reigning monarch. Not the simple thing that it appears to be, since the monarch is *head of state and, in a *constitutional monarchy, possesses discretionary powers that are vital to the functioning of government (*see* *prerogative). The monarch will normally have been trained to exercised these powers in council, and his accession to the throne would have been associated in the popular mind with their *legitimacy. Abdication casts a shadow, therefore, over the legitimacy of government, and may lead to a national crisis, as did the abdication of Edward VIII in the UK in 1936.

abnormality

A deviation from a *norm. Abnormality is to be distinguished from eccentricity, which is the presence of noteworthy and uncommon characteristics in a *normal individual. Eccentricity is usually permitted if harmless, abnormality often regarded with suspicion whether harmless or not. Different political arrangements draw the line between the two in different ways, and the problem of defining what is normal in human nature makes dispute inevitable. Moreover the human desire to hold others responsible for the characteristics which distinguish them gives a motive to confusion. An abnormality is not part of the moral character, but part of the amoral circumstances, of the person who possesses it. To represent it as a harmful eccentricity is to justify

treatment intended either to conceal the victim, or to force him to change. This thought has been extremely important in *politicized theories of *psychotherapy. The idea of the individual as essentially *responsible for his eccentricities underlies some doctrines of *authenticity.

abortion

The issue of abortion is intractable, partly because of the absence of any other case to which it can be assimilated. The relationship between a woman and her unborn child is both non-transferable and original: the child comes into existence in and through the woman, and the question of its rights and welfare cannot be considered in complete isolation from the question of the rights and welfare of its mother. Some deny that an unborn child is a *person, and on that ground deny it the *right to life. On this view the only question of *rights* is that which concerns the woman: does she have a 'right to choose' whether to give birth? If the pregnancy is unwanted, what right has another to compel her to proceed with it? It seems arbitrary, however, to say that the divide between person and non-person occurs at birth. The alternative positions are many. some see the foetus as a person, but believe that the case is one of *conflicting* rights. Others argue that the language of rights is wholly inadequate to capture the nature of the *obligation towards the unborn child.

In the US abortion has become a defining issue in politics. The decision

absolutism

of the Supreme Court in the case of *Roe v. Wade* (1973) conferred what is tantamount to a constitutional right to abortion. According to the leading judgement in that case, delivered by Mr Justice Blackmun, the foetus has no rights at all under US law, since it is not a citizen, while the mother has a *right to *privacy (not explicitly mentioned in the Constitution) which would be violated by the attempt to forbid abortion. Many liberals defend the decision, and are prepared to campaign vigorously to prevent the Supreme Court from qualifying it, while conservatives tend to believe that the case was wrongly decided, or at any rate decided on grounds that are without authority in the Constitution. As a result the issue of abortion has become a political battleground in the United States, with implications for social policy, sexual relations and constitutional law of a kind that go to the heart of the conflict between the liberal and conservative visions of modern society. The decision in *Roe v. Wade* is now under challenge, with some liberals prepared to concede that the case was wrongly decided, and that 'abortion rights' should be granted by the legislature rather than read into the Constitution by the Supreme Court. This has been the procedure in other jurisdictions that permit abortion, and many Americans, both liberal and conservative, are wary of attempts by the Supreme Court to pre-empt the legislature over matters that are so profoundly controversial.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of abortion, there is no doubt that its acceptance in modern societies indicates a radical change of attitude towards the unborn, who are no longer protected as other human beings are protected. Some conservatives argue that a society which adopts this attitude to future generations has

discarded the feeling of *piety, and compromised its chances for survival. Liberals often retort that there is no place for piety in a secular society, and that the issue must be settled by considering the rights of existing citizens. Feminists in particular have campaigned for the right to abortion, by way of affirming the feminist principle that it is the woman, and no one else, who has rights over her body.

See, in general, *consequentialism, *rights, *judicial activism.

absolutism

The theory and practice of absolute *government, i.e. government which is not *limited by any *agency internal to itself. Absolute government should be distinguished from absolute *power. Power is always contained, limited or diverted by other powers within the state; but government can be absolute even without possessing absolute power. It is so whenever there are no constitutional *checks and balances, so that no exercise of government can be criticized or opposed in the *name* of government. The principal limitation of government is the law. Defenders of absolutism, such as *Bodin and *Hobbes, have often been motivated by the thought that all government requires *sovereignty – meaning a body of decisions which cannot be questioned. Since sovereignty must be exercised through law, the sovereign himself cannot be criticized *by* the law, which is no more than his own command. On this view law is authoritative simply by virtue of the status of the agent who commands it, and not by virtue of its content or of its moral or intellectual credentials.

Absolutism must be distinguished from *totalitarianism. It involves, not the total supervision by a central power of all the functions of society, but simply the possession of an unfettered

power of government, which may or may not be used, and which need not be applied universally, or in every area of social existence. Sometimes, as in the European absolutism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this power may be used in order to limit the concentration of power in bodies that are not themselves sovereign, such as the nobility, the church, or the empire. Sometimes it may be used to eliminate *opposition and to establish a complete *dictatorship, as with Hitler and Stalin. Absolute rule may vest in an individual, in an *office (absolute monarchy), in a party (*democratic centralism), or in a system of administration (classical Chinese *bureaucracy).

abundance

Goods are abundant in a society whenever any member of it can obtain such of those goods as he desires by working no more than he wishes. It is sometimes thought to be a criterion of *welfare that all goods which people need should also be abundant, and that the economy should have this abundance of necessities as its aim. (See *need.) The view that human needs expand indefinitely leads to scepticism about this criterion. It is also sometimes argued that the abundance of luxuries (i.e. goods which are not needed but only desired) may be an evil: see *consumerism.

academic freedom

1. Freedom to pursue teaching, learning and research without regard for the public utility of what is taught or studied, and unconstrained by external directives (whether from the state or from elsewhere) as to the form, content or conclusions of the subject. This freedom includes the freedom to publish the results of research.

2. Specifically, the freedom of an educational body to provide its own constitution, appoint its own staff and

students, and determine its own curriculum, whatever the *ideological content of what is taught. It is a disputed question whether this specific freedom does exist, or can or ought to exist. It implies that those who buy or provide the services of academics should have no power to prescribe the nature of the service rendered. Hence the provision of academic freedom requires the abolition of any contractual relation between the academy and the public.

The issue of academic freedom is to be distinguished from that of whether academic institutions ought to raise their funds, and recruit their students, without aid or direction from the state. On the other hand, it is naive to suppose that the state will provide the funding for an institution over which it exerts no right of control.

Academic freedom has been defended by *classical liberal thinkers such as *J.S. Mill, on the ground that knowledge advances best when freely pursued, and when released from the need for political or ideological conformity. Moreover, the best guard against error is the freedom to question, and this freedom is at the root of the academic life. That vision of 'the advance of knowledge', as *Bacon called it, seems to be only imperfectly endorsed in Western universities today, where pressures to ideological conformity in the name of *political correctness are constantly in the news. On the other hand, those pressures are felt most strongly in departments of the *humanities, and it is sometimes argued that these departments are, by their very nature, devoted less to the 'advance of knowledge' than to the propagation of moral and intellectual *values. Hence it is difficult to know exactly what would be meant, by teaching in the humanities in which ideological conclusions are avoided.

acceleration principle

acceleration principle (or: accelerator principle)

The hypothesis in economics, that investment in an industry varies according to the rate of change (rather than according to the level) of its output. Under standard conditions a certain amount of capital will be required to produce a particular rate of output. If this rate of output changes then, *ceteris paribus*, the amount of capital invested must also change. It is, however, not possible to assume that the relation between them is one of direct proportionality.

This hypothesis plays an important part in theories of the *trade cycle. It implies that an increase in demand for any product brings about an increase in demand for the machines etc. used to make it. Thus a small change in the output of consumer goods tends to result in a much bigger (i.e. accelerated) change in the output of the goods used to make them. Conversely a small fall in the output of consumer goods may result in a much larger fall in the output of capital goods. It is also argued that the 'accelerator' can be brought into play by a very slight *variation* in the rate of change of output of a consumer good. Thus if output of a particular product increases by five per cent in one year and continues to increase, but only by four per cent, in the next year, this may precipitate an actual *fall* in the output of capital goods, and in the amount of capital invested.

access

The concept of access has become increasingly important in sociological studies of political power, since, it is argued, 'power of any kind cannot be reached by a political interest group or its leaders without access to one or more key points of decision in government' (David B. Truman: *The Governmental Process: Political Interests*

and Public Opinion, 1951). Access is the probability of obtaining the attention and influencing the decisions of the relevant officers of government. 'Effective access' is usually given as a function of three variables: the strategic position of the group within society, the internal characteristics of the group, and the nature of the institutions of government. A group may be without access (such as the lowest *caste in a caste system), with effective access, or with 'privileged access' (which arises when decision makers automatically take a group's interests into account). The UK aristocracy has had privileged access, and also 'direct' access, to power through the House of Lords, whereas most other classes have had varying degrees of effective but indirect access.

Sociologists further distinguish 'loose' from 'taut' patterns of access, the first existing when there is a multiplicity of points of access to political decisions, the second when there are defined channels of *representation through which groups exert their influence. Access seems to have shifted, in the US and postwar Europe, from *party to *pressure group, perhaps as a result of modern *bureaucracy, and of the decline of trust in representation.

accession

The act of joining the *European Union through a 'Treaty of Accession' with the existing member states. The Treaty requires the 'accession state' to adopt a *rule of law, to respect the *European Convention on Human Rights, to be democratic and with a competitive *market economy, and to accept the **acquis communautaire* of the EU. Often interim arrangements and periods of adjustment form part of the Treaty, which must be ratified by all member states.

accommodation

1. In sociology, the state or process of social adjustment to conflict. To be distinguished from adaptation (structural changes brought about by biological variation and selection), *assimilation (the process whereby two groups or cultures fuse), and *acculturation. Accommodation allows two groups to harmonize overtly, while leaving the real source of conflict unresolved. Thus first generation immigrants may be accommodated by adopting the food, clothes etc. of the country in which they find themselves, but they may not be acculturated, where this implies full participation in the culture of the native population.

2. In politics, accommodation is usually distinguished from *confrontation and from *conciliation. It is the process whereby hostile powers establish a *modus vivendi* which enables each to fulfil as many of its purposes as it can without overt *aggression towards the other.

accountability

Sometimes distinguished from responsibility. A is accountable to B if B may sanction and forbid his actions. It does not follow that B is responsible for A: chains of responsibility run downwards by *delegation, chains of accountability upwards; if the two chains coincide, then this is a political achievement.

acculturation

The process whereby an individual or group acquires the cultural characteristics of another through direct contact. Acculturation is a one-way process, whereby one culture absorbs another, and is to be distinguished from the two-way process of *assimilation, in which homogeneity results from changes in both. The phenomenon is of increasing political significance, as

war, communication and migration force the states of the world to decide whether to open or to close their frontiers to one another. Their decisions may often be affected by the extent to which acculturation of new arrivals is considered possible.

accumulation

The amassing of *capital, for purposes of either investment or consumption expenditure. If there is to be a 'means of production' over and above what is provided by nature, then there must be accumulation, in the form of 'produced means of production'. In a *capitalist economy accumulation is in private hands; in a *socialist economy, in theory, every accumulation of any significance is *socially owned. In between those two, infinite varieties of *mixed economy can be envisaged.

Moral and political discussions of *private property often involve objections to certain levels of accumulation. Some think that all accumulation gives the person who has *control over it a further control over the lives of others. (See *exploitation.) Some also believe that the laws of inheritance ought not to permit constant accumulation of property across generations. Nevertheless it is difficult to envisage systems of private property rights without rights of transfer of property, and if transfer is permitted, then accumulation is always possible. Modern uses of *taxation can often be seen as attempts to permit maximum mobility of private property through exchange, while preventing accumulations beyond a certain level. (See also *primitive accumulation.)

acquis communautaire

The legal, political and procedural inheritance of the European Union, acquired through the process of union, and by the centralisation of powers and procedures hitherto exercised by

act of state

the member states. The term was formally adopted by the EU only in the *Maastricht Treaty of 1992, which made clear for the first time that the *acquis communautaire* denotes an irreversible process, so that powers once lost to the European process cannot thereafter be retrieved from it. The *acquis* now amounts to 100 000 pages of legal and regulatory edicts.

act of state

1. Philosophical. Any act which can be attributed to no single citizen or group of citizens, and which is done for reasons connected with the interests, rights, privileges etc. of a *state, can be considered to be an act of state. Thus a declaration of war, while conveyed between statesmen and usually through diplomatic channels, is the act of one state towards another, it being impossible for any *agency less than the state to declare war. Some acts of state are directed towards other states, as in the example. Others are directed towards citizens and subject associations. It is the state that punishes the criminal, that expropriates the property owner, that nationalizes industries and enacts laws. The state can act through its officers, or through a monarch; it may also endorse or *ratify the actions of private citizens undertaken independently (as when the state annexes as a colony land captured by an adventurous citizen). In general a state has all the capacities for agency that an individual person has. Its actions may be intentional or unintentional, reasonable or unreasonable, moral or immoral. It may also *have* reasons for what it does, and respond to reasons for or against courses of action (the idea of a 'process' of government). Thus, it is often said, the state has will and responsibility, and this is one argument for thinking that, like a company in law, it is to be regarded

more as an autonomous person than as an organic aggregate of subjects. This thought is given elaboration in the philosophies of *Rousseau and *Hegel.

2. Legal. Acts of state are usually defined legally so as to include only actions *between* states. Thus in English law an act of state is an act of the sovereign power performed by virtue of the *prerogative, and in the course of its relations with other powers or with the *subjects of other powers. It cannot be challenged in the courts since it lies outside their jurisdiction. Hence in English law (as also in US law), there can be no act of state against an individual citizen or subject (i.e. one who owes allegiance), and the plea of act of state can never be used by government officers in defence of an encroachment on a subject's rights. Certain provisions in other constitutions might be interpreted as allowing the same effective immunity for government actions against citizens as is granted to government actions against other states: e.g. rights to enter and search without warrant, to imprison without trial, and so on, in cases of sedition.

activism

The German *Activismus* was used at the end of the First World War to denote the active engagement of *intellectuals in political transformation. 'Activists' are distinguished by the extent of their involvement in politics, and by the methods that they are inclined to sanction in pursuit of transformation, rather than by the nature of their views. They are not necessarily *extremists, nor are they necessarily opposed to constitutional forms of political change. *Sorel, however, defended activism in terms that also sanction extremism, arguing that activism is a necessary part of any serious political standpoint, since doing is

everything, and thought only a *rationalization of what is done. On such a view it is incoherent to present a recipe for, or exhortation to, political transformation in advance of the attempt to precipitate it. Activism becomes essential to politics, and, Sorel thought, essentially violent.

actually existing socialism

Term used in the former communist countries to describe them as they really were, rather than as the official theory required them to be. Its use was largely ironical, and more or less confined to the writings of *dissidents.

addiction

A condition in which desire for some specific object of consumption becomes deep-rooted, recurrent and immovable, despite all rational considerations that weigh against it. The term is used somewhat loosely, to cover the habits of smokers, alcoholics and drug-abusers, as well as cravings for sex, music, television or even affection. It is important to distinguish those habits that significantly alter the physiological processes of the addict – such as heroine-addiction – from those which merely stimulate the craving for pleasure. The first replace vital functions of the body, and so cannot be set aside without painful and often fatal withdrawal symptoms. Some addictions seriously affect character – alcoholism, for example, and heroin addiction. Hence almost all governments have adopted policies to combat this kind of addiction. Others merely damage the body, like smoking or the addiction to fast food, though so far only the first of those has incurred legal restrictions. The most contentious instance, politically speaking, is television. Recent research seems to establish that television is genuinely addictive, setting up reward patterns in the brain that need to be

constantly stimulated, and also that it has an adverse effect on character (enhancing belligerence and impatience) and also on learning (shortening the attention span, and rendering abstract argument more difficult to absorb). The potentially disastrous long-term effects are probably not susceptible to political remedy, however.

additional member system

A system of *proportional representation in which members of the chamber of deputies are allotted to parties from two lists of candidates: those who stand in the *constituencies, and who must be voted in by the local electorate; and additional candidates whose numbers are chosen in order that the party representation in the chamber will be proportional to the total number of votes cast in its favour, regardless of its performance in the constituencies. Each party submits a list of candidates from which these additional seats will be filled, and can thereby guarantee the presence of its key members in the chamber, even if they could not be elected in any constituency. The system is used in Germany and also in the Czech Republic and Hungary.

adjudication

The settlement of a dispute by judicial decree, hence, in English and US law, the judgement or decision of a court.

More broadly the term is used to refer to the process of settling disputes peacefully by referring them to some body with authority to make a decision or award binding upon the parties. Thus it covers awards made by mixed commissions and arbitral tribunals as well as those made by the courts. It is a method of resolving conflicts, to be contrasted with such processes as *arbitration and *mediation, in that it issues in a statement of

administered prices

*rights under the law. Its nature is of great concern to students both of *jurisprudence, and of politics. It represents a particular style of government that may not exist in all places and in all times, and which may be criticized and defended for the characteristics that distinguish it. Some argue that the settling of all disputes by adjudication may confer legislative power upon judges, and thus violate the supposed requirement of a *separation of powers. Others argue that disputes should be capable of settlement by less tortuous or costly means, and that too great an emphasis on adjudication serves to limit the possibilities of settlement. Advocates of the politics of *confrontation may argue that adjudication is a way of ensuring the peaceful victory of the powers that be, through their servants, the *judiciary. Advocates of the politics of *conciliation, by contrast, value adjudication as one among many possible means of translating powers into rights while avoiding *violence. (See *judiciary, *law.)

administered prices

*Prices which are determined by the policy of some agency which can control them, rather than by *market forces, or by whatever other less deliberative mechanism might be held to determine them. Prices can be administered by a *monopoly, by an *oligopoly, by a *cartel, or by a government.

administrative law

The branch of law which governs the activities of state administrative bodies, such as ministries, state departments, local government, commissions, and agencies. To be distinguished from *constitutional law, which is concerned not with the subordinate organs of government but with the supreme executive and legislative bodies. (There is also a large grey area between the

two.) In modern government there is increasing *delegation both of government power, and, through delegated legislation, of government authority. Hence the question arises of what remedy the citizen has against a body which acts, or purports to act, with the authority of the state. In France, as a result of traditional centralization, reinforced by Napoleonic edicts, administrative bodies are now subject to strict control by special administrative courts, and by the *conseil d'état*. Hence no special remedy is provided whereby the aggrieved citizen can obtain relief from an ordinary court of law. In the UK and the US there are, by contrast, established procedures of appeal to the courts, regarded as important parts of the constitutional freedom of the subject.

In the US, the supervision of the Supreme Court can prevent administrative bodies from acting *ultra vires*, it being always possible for the aggrieved citizen to seek *judicial review on the grounds that he has been denied *due process of law. In the UK the courts can overturn administrative decisions by special prerogative writs. These are summonses issued to the administrative body on behalf of the aggrieved party, calling on it in the name of the Crown to account for its actions. Among such writs is the celebrated *habeas corpus, and also mandamus (ordering a public officer to perform some neglected function), and certiorari (asking for the records of a decision to be submitted). (As the Latin names testify, these writs are of ancient provenance, and were partly responsible for the emergence of the English style of government, in which the Crown is represented as the servant of the subject against his oppressors.)

Of particular relevance in any subsequent proceedings are the principles of natural justice: has the

administrative body effectively 'stood in judgement' on the plaintiff? If so, did it allow him the right of hearing? Did it review the relevant evidence? And so on. This survival of the doctrine of *natural justice in administrative law is vital if the state is to be seen as dealing at all levels on open terms with its citizens.

Adorno, Theodor, W. (1903–69)

German philosopher, social theorist and musician, who developed a Marxist critique of popular culture. A founding member of the *Frankfurt school, Adorno emigrated to the US upon Hitler's rise to power. The 'commodity culture' by which he found himself, in his new home, surrounded, elicited from him many acerbic and often penetrating pages of condemnation, and even if the Marxist trappings of his thought now seem dated, his defence of musical *modernism against musical *fetishism has had a lasting impact on Western culture. Adorno argued that 'late capitalism', as he called it, has generated, as part of its *ideology, a 'mass culture', the function of which is to distract people from the truth of their condition, and to provide them with a blanket of sentimental clichés. By contrast modernist art is concerned to see through the 'fetishized' products of popular culture, and to reveal the exploitation and oppression on which they depend. *See also* *authoritarian personality, *critical theory, *progress.

adversarial system

The mode of legal procedure in criminal cases whereby the prosecution (the state) acts through a counsel who is opposed in court by another counsel acting on the instructions of the accused. Each party is 'represented' before a third (the judge and jury) whose impartiality is necessary to justice, and whose existence and

independence are often taken to be fundamental constituents in the *rule of law. The adversarial system is to be contrasted with the *inquisitorial system common in countries with Roman-law or Napoleonic jurisdictions, and with systems that involve 'confessional' trials, trials by ordeal, and *show trials, where the individual is pitted directly against the state as his accuser and required to exonerate himself or be condemned. In show trials prosecutor and judge are identical, although this identity might be masked – for example by the presence of a judge who is acting under instructions from the prosecution. Some argue that there can be no true adversarial system unless the defendant who cannot afford a lawyer to represent him has an automatic right to public defence (US) or legal aid (UK).

The expression is sometimes used to describe a political system in which *opposition has a recognized function, with a place within the institutions of government, perhaps supported from public funds.

advertising

The declaration that goods or services are available for purchase, usually accompanied by attempts to persuade the public to buy them. The nature of advertising changed radically during the course of the twentieth century, with the development of new techniques of persuasion. Advertising has helped to form the character of *capitalist societies, and achieved a place in the life of the individual not unlike the place accorded to *propaganda in communist systems. It is the object of controversy on many grounds. Some argue, for example, that advertising is an economic evil, since it creates a barrier to entry into a market, preventing firms which cannot afford expensive advertising campaigns from selling their products. Others retort

that advertising promotes competition, and permits the emergence of self-supporting media of communication, thereby eliminating the need for state funding and promoting freedom of information.

Some of the hostility to advertising reflects the view that it radically alters the perceived quality of purchase and exchange, by imbuing them with acquisitive and *fetishistic impulses. Thus products become desired not because of their ability to satisfy human needs, but for reasons wholly unconnected with that, such as the desire for enhanced *status, the sense of a 'magic' power, the desire merely to have and to hold that which one is taunted for not possessing. Many go further and argue, with Vance Packard (*The Hidden Persuaders*, 1957) and *Galbraith, that advertising *creates* the wants that it offers to satisfy, and whose satisfaction it keeps just beyond our reach, by making sure that new wants are always created in the place of old. Thus it has an 'enslaving' effect, not unlike that described by nineteenth-century theories of *alienation. To this argument it may be replied that advertising provides useful information to consumers which they could easily obtain in no other way. It therefore enhances economic freedom. Moreover, the evils complained of by Packard and Galbraith are due less to advertising than to the particular styles and the particular media employed by it.

In the case of risky products, such as tobacco, alcohol and junk food, governments have begun to institute advertising bans, on the assumption that the appetite for these things is partly the result of advertising, which glamorizes the product and endows it with a false aura of sophistication. Against such bans it is argued that advertising does not sell the product but only the brand, and the effect of a

ban is simply to freeze the market, so abolishing competition, while actual consumption remains unaffected. All such claims are hotly disputed; as a result advertising remains a serious subject of political controversy.

From the economic point of view advertising is sometimes seen as a form of indirect *taxation, whereby the mass media are subsidized by the consumer: hence the association of the two in the term 'admass', coined by J.B. Priestley in 1955, in order to describe the emerging tyranny of the mass media and advertising. However, advertising has a far older history than the mass media, and has produced its own art forms, such as the shop signs and street cries of medieval Europe.

aesthetics and politics

The term 'aesthetic', introduced into modern philosophy by A.G. Baumgarten (1714–62), is now normally used to denote a kind of imaginative experience, whose object is conceived as an end in itself. It arises from the contemplation of appearances, in which questions of ultimate purpose and scientific truth are held in suspension. It was plausibly suggested by *Kant that such experience is not only essential to the life of a *rational being, but also itself inherently rational, issuing in judgements held forth as objectively binding. Moreover, despite its abstraction from particular purposes, aesthetic experience provides an intimation of the inherent 'purposiveness' of reality. Two questions arise: what are the political consequences, and what the social and political causes, of aesthetic *values so conceived?

(i) The political consequences. Some argue that, despite its non-functional character, aesthetic experience is essential both to understanding and to acting on the world. In every action appearance has a dominant part to play, since it is largely

through appearances that we respond to our environment. Hence the saving of appearances may be a persistent political purpose: it is this, for example, which explains much of the concern of 'conservationists' for landscape and townscape. When people agitate on behalf of some valley that is threatened by development, they are certainly not agitating on behalf of its rights. Nor are they truly concerned with the rights of themselves or future generations. The beauty of the landscape itself seems to give sufficient reason to act. Some argue, however, that such aesthetic activism has its ultimate *raison d'être* in social life. The regard for beauty reflects a deep need for social harmony, and in agitating on behalf of aesthetic values people are really agitating on behalf of the forms of life which are consonant with them. It is certainly indisputable that appearances are of overwhelming importance in social existence, and that the sense of manners, etiquette, and 'good form' are both intimately related to the aesthetic, and also integral to our understanding of one another as persons. Hence demands for aesthetic continuity can plausibly be seen as extensions of a sense of social 'belonging'; aesthetic values seem to nourish our understanding of the ends of social existence, and therefore inevitably qualify our pursuit of the political means. Such arguments were very popular in the nineteenth century, for example among *cultural conservatives, among certain kinds of pastoral socialists, and among thinkers like *Ruskin, *Morris and the critics of *industrialism. Such thinkers also extolled the aesthetic interest of the cognoscenti, as an index of the social needs of the common people. Their vision of the political significance of aesthetic value formed part of a general theory of the interdependence between high and common *culture.

The early twentieth century also saw the rise of an 'aestheticised' politics, in which the role of artist was consciously adopted by politicians as a model. This aestheticizing of politics was particularly influential in the birth of Italian fascism, with Mussolini expressly promoting himself as a 'sculptor whose material is humanity'. The futurist Marinetti, who saw all life as an opportunity for aesthetically interesting gestures, lent his support to this kind of politics, and it found exemplary expression in the poet Gabriele d'Annunzio's expedition to capture and hold the city of Fiume (now in Croatia), after the First World War, in defiance of Italy's obligations under the Treaty of Versailles. D'Annunzio reigned in Fiume for 15 months, decorating himself with titles, and dramatizing the process of government to give it the air of a work of art.

(ii) Social and political causes. It is evident that aesthetic values may reflect *ideological commitments. Some argue that the 'aesthetic' way of seeing things arose, like its name, in the *bourgeois period of Western civilization, as part of the *ideology (in the Marxist sense) of capitalist society. Aesthetic values arise in the mind of the person who wishes to consolidate his economic position by a species of passive and 'functionless' contemplation that shows to be harmonious what is in reality far from being so. This is then seen as part of an ideological attempt to *naturalize reality with consoling representations; other social orders will not require, and therefore will not produce, this kind of mystery. (Thus Bertolt Brecht: *The Messingkauf Dialogues*, 1939, published 1967. The theme has been taken up in our time by the literary critic Terry Eagleton (*The Ideology of the Aesthetic*, 1990) and the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (*Distinction*, 1988).) That is one example of a theory which tries to find the

affirmative action

causes of our love of beauty in social and political circumstances. Others, unpersuaded by that, may nevertheless see individual aesthetic outlooks as reflecting both particular political arrangements, and also the position of the individual within them. The eighteenth-century aesthetic of nature, for example, may be represented as an offshoot of aristocratic control exerted over the landscape. In contemplating the beauty of nature, the aristocrat was consoled by a vision of the 'natural' quality of his power. (See also *architecture, *art.)

affirmative action

Action taken in order to advance, rather than merely to conform to, the political vision underlying a doctrine of legal rights. Thus, if it is determined that, in matters of employment, blacks and women are to be given the same rights as white men, then affirmative action on the part of an employer involves not merely conforming to the code by giving equal consideration to all candidates independently of race and sex, but also actively seeking applications from women and blacks, so 'affirming' the underlying political vision which, if merely 'conformed to', might result in the perpetuation of existing inequalities. Affirmative action is sometimes defended as a necessary part of enforcing just distribution, sometimes criticized as a form of unjust discrimination in favour of those whose position is advanced by it. It is to be distinguished from a system of 'quotas', which requires a particular outcome, rather than a particular effort, and also from the practice of *reverse discrimination. Affirmative action is also sometimes justified as a way of correcting historical injustices, by giving favourable consideration towards people who belong to groups that have been discriminated against in the past.

affluence

The condition in which all human needs are easily satisfiable and generally catered for, and in which productive activity is directed increasingly to the production of luxuries (i.e. goods for which there is no natural *need).

In *The Affluent Society*, 1958, J.K. Galbraith argued that, when widespread poverty and want are abolished, people come to have a standard expectation of comfort. In such a society received ideas of economic theory (which tend to involve the assumption that at least *something* necessary is also scarce) cannot be applied. It is no longer rational for the *private sector to pursue increasing production or for the *public sector to refrain from interference in the economy. In fact, however, firms continue to seek the expansion of demand, and continue to see the public sector as an obstacle to the needed diversion of resources. This unbridled private expansion can persist only by the creation of artificial or 'synthesized' demands, through *advertising and the expansion of the credit system. Because of the neglect of public works the result is a condition of private affluence accompanied by public squalor: private cars but not enough roads for them, private wealth but insufficient police to protect it, and so on. Galbraith's argument seemed more plausible when it was first published, since it appeared at a time of rapid economic growth, before the necessary public adjustments had occurred. Since then Western societies have had to come to terms with affluence, and the pressures that it places on natural resources, on the environment and on cultural traditions.

In all discussions a distinction must be drawn between affluence that is concerned only with *consumption, and that which directs itself towards a style of life, involving, say, sumptuous

ceremony and display. It is contended, e.g. by *Veblen, that the latter is simply a conspicuous version of the former. However, Veblen also argues that such conspicuous consumption provides part of the motive of accumulation and so cannot be eliminated from the productive process, which requires accumulation if it is to proceed at all. Others argue that, until naturalized by the trappings of civilization and leisure, conspicuous consumption is merely the object of envy, and so of social discontent.

'Aflaq, Michel (1910–89)

Syrian writer and political activist, educated in French schools in Syria and at the Sorbonne, of Greek Orthodox extraction, who founded the **Ba'ath* movement for the 'resurrection' of the Arab peoples, with a view to uniting the Arabic-speaking world behind a reforming nationalist ideology, and in opposition to the colonial ventures of the European nation-states. 'Aflaq was a defender of free speech, civil rights and secular law, and was briefly, in the 1950s, minister of education in Syria. He argued in favour of an Arab, as opposed to a merely Muslim, identity, and hoped to reconcile Muslims, Christians and Jews in the foundation of viable jurisdictions in the post-colonial era. However, the movement that he founded, which took power in Syria and Iraq, soon found his views unacceptable and he retired from political life. When he died in Iraq he was granted a monumental funeral by the Ba'athist regime of Saddam Hussein, and the message was put out that he died a convert to Islam, having recognized that his defence of an Arabic politics dictated such a course. This message is now doubted, however, since 'Aflaq's voluminous writings have a strong undercurrent of attachment to the Christian legacy, and he continued to defend

**laïcité*, as a precondition of reconciliation between the faiths.

agency

The faculty of action. Changes are divided into things that happen and things that are done, and philosophers and jurists dispute over the grounds and significance of the distinction. Only some forces in the world are also agents: the wind, for example, does nothing, although it causes much to happen. Some argue that the distinctive feature of agency is that it involves intention or decision: this is disputed by others, who argue that the crucial idea is *responsibility, so that things done include many of the consequences of negligent but unintentional behaviour.

Agency belongs to many bodies and organizations besides human beings: e.g. to companies, states, committees and meetings. Perhaps this is because all such bodies are also *corporate persons; or perhaps agency and personality are independent ideas. The distinction between actions and happenings is of immense importance: the first are justified, and criticized, by reasons; they define the responsibility and answerability of an agent; they give grounds for reciprocal actions which punish, repair, restore or reward. The political problems are typified by *revanchism, which holds a present generation responsible for things done by its ancestors, and takes revenge accordingly.

agenda

Latin: things to be done, but used in English as a singular noun. A well-conducted meeting needs an agenda, meaning a list of matters to be considered or decided. But the term is now more widely used, to denote the goals which animate people in their thought and action, and which may not be immediately apparent. In politics it is

aggregate demand

very important to know, not only the thoughts and declared policies of a party, but also its underlying agenda.

A 'hidden agenda' is one that is deliberately concealed, usually by adopting another, harmless-seeming agenda which is designed to deceive outsiders. Communist Parties have acted on the principle that the real agenda should be revealed only to those who can be trusted to act on it, and that it must be kept hidden from all opponents until resistance is futile.

aggregate demand

The total demand for goods and services produced within a single economy, including demands of households for consumer goods, of firms for investment, of government for goods, investment etc. and export demands. Many economists hold that aggregate demand determines the level of production and hence employment. Followers of *Keynes, in particular, believe that the analysis of aggregate demand is essential to the understanding of *national income and *unemployment. Whether aggregate demand has an automatic tendency to achieve the level giving full employment of labour and of productive capacity is, however, a central point of controversy within economic theory.

aggregate supply

The total supply of goods and services to meet the *aggregate demand within an economy; i.e. domestic products + imports.

aggression

A term fundamental to international disputes, which, since the First World War, has come to replace the idea of an 'offensive' act. It is argued that 'an acceptable definition of aggression and a reliable procedure for determining when an act of aggression has

occurred are essential to a practicable system of collective security' (W.M. Honan: *International Conflict and Collective Security*, 1955). However, the United Nations Charter failed to define aggression, stipulating only that the Security Council and the General Assembly are authorized to call *specific* actions aggression. Two definitions were put forward in 1933, one by the Committee on Security Questions of the Disarmament Conference, the other by a 'Convention for the definition of Aggression', subscribed to by Afghanistan, Estonia, Latvia, Persia (Iran), Poland, Romania, Turkey, Yugoslavia and the USSR. While the subsequent history of those states may be held to illustrate the futility of definitions in international politics, certain distinctions were made that have been incorporated into more recent definitions. It is now normal to distinguish direct aggression between states (e.g. armed invasion, whether or not preceded or accompanied by a declaration of war) from indirect aggression (e.g. the provision of arms and relief to an existing aggressor); aggression may be military or, as in a blockade of ports or an embargo, economic – although to what extent a blockade may go without being an act of aggression is a matter of dispute (*see* **pacific blockade*). Aggression may involve regular armies answerable to the sovereign power, or more or less autonomous groups of guerrillas. All attempts to arrive at a definition are motivated by the desire to outlaw aggressive war (*see* **just war*), under the supposition that if there were no aggressors, but only states prepared for 'self-defence', then there would be no wars. Aggression is, therefore, the initiating act expressive of an intention to fight. The problem is to identify its instances, in particular to show how indirect aggression is manifested by such complex agencies as states.

Moreover, the adoption of pre-emptive measures by a peace-loving state, in order to avert a threat from a potential belligerent, may involve violent military intervention, but with the intention of preventing, rather than initiating, a fight. The problems of definition in this area have therefore come very much to the fore in the aftermath of the American-led invasion of Iraq.

agitprop

The acronym for the Department of Agitation and Propaganda, set up in 1920 as a section of the Central Committee Secretariat of the Soviet Communist Party, and which gradually spread its influence into all areas of Soviet life and into many of the spheres of international politics, where it advanced behind *front organizations. Now often used as a general term for left-wing agitation and propaganda, when these involve any substantial degree of organization, and also for certain kinds of cultural activity designed to establish a widespread acceptance of leftwing *ideology.

agrarian movements

Movements, popular in the early to mid-twentieth century, which extol the rural way of life as a model to be followed, and which represent the countryside and its economy as a source of wholesome values that have been eroded by technology and urban lifestyles. To a great extent literary in inspiration, the agrarian movements have been influential in France (led by the writers Jean Giono and Gustave Thibon), in England (under the influence of the *Soil Association and the writer H.J. Massingham), and in the American South (led by the Southern Agrarians and the poet Allen Tate). The *Wandervogel* movement in Germany, which began life as a youth movement at the end of the nineteenth century,

becoming an indigenous answer to the Boy Scouts after the disaster of the First World War, injected a strong agrarian streak into German politics, and was in due course hijacked by the Nazi Party, to become part of the 'blood and soil' ideology that was soon to lead to another and yet more disastrous war. As a result agrarian movements are viewed with suspicion in modern Germany, and have given way to *green politics, which attempts to distance itself from all forms of rural nostalgia and to see the land and its culture as simply one aspect of the global environment.

agrarian parties

Parties founded expressly in order to represent rural interests. Unfamiliar in the British context (although the Conservative Party has always had rural leanings and disproportionate rural support) and unknown in the US, agrarian parties have nevertheless been a familiar feature in agricultural countries with large rural populations. Their influence is now declining, as parties seek to free themselves from association with particular classes, groups or interests so as to appeal to the nation as a whole. In Poland, Hungary and Romania, however, 'peasant' or 'smallholders' parties are for the time being major forces in the political process, while traditional agrarian parties still have considerable following in Scandinavian countries.

agribusiness

A term introduced to denote the new kind of food production, in which large estates – often owned by non-resident or corporate landlords – are devoted exclusively to the production of crops or livestock, and in which the land is treated as a capital asset like any other, to secure the maximum return on investment. Agribusiness favours large holdings, mechanized

agriculture

production, a minimal labour force, and the use of fertilizers and pesticides to secure a reliable production of food-stuffs. It has become an object of controversy among those who believe it to be destructive of the natural and social ecology of the countryside. Others argue that the economies of scale introduced by agribusiness will facilitate the diversion of resources to environmental protection, as well as stimulating a viable rural economy.

agriculture

A term which should perhaps be contrasted with *agribusiness, so as to denote the small-scale production of food by resident farmers, whose interest in the land is also an interest in their home and in the place where they have settled with their families. Agriculture is not so much an economic function as a way of life, and the movement to maintain that way of life in the face of adverse economic trends has been an important force in recent politics – notably in Europe, under the *Common Agricultural Policy. The deliberate destruction of agriculture, and its replacement by state-controlled agribusiness, has been widely regarded as the primary social and economic disaster of the communist system. (See *collectivization.) In so far as the *agrarian movements survive today, it is in the guise of attempts to ‘put the culture back in agriculture’.

ahistorical (sometimes anhistorical)

A theory is described as such when it treats its subject-matter either as though it had no history, or as though its history played no important part in the explanation of its nature. It is often said that the *liberal theory of human nature and political institutions is ahistorical. The intention is to accuse liberalism of describing our social and political nature without reference to the fact that these develop

historically, or to the fact that historical development determines both what is politically possible and what is politically justified. Marxists often go on to add that this ahistorical vision is itself the reflection of a particular set of historical circumstances – say, those which obtained in eighteenth- or nineteenth-century Europe, and perhaps even now in America. Such circumstances (it is argued) enable people to envisage a universal human type, whose essence, while in fact the product of a particular phase of historical development, is perceived as changeless, sempiternal, the common property of every economic and political order.

Some confusion results from the fact that any description of the essence of something (be it human nature or the nature of a plant or animal) must have universal validity: i.e. it cannot be specific with relation to time. If it is of the essence of human nature to develop through time, then this is a timeless truth about human nature. A liberal theory may well rely on just such a timeless truth in constructing its fundamental theory of rights and duties, without incurring the charge of being ‘ahistorical’: yet this charge is sure to be levelled at it, simply on account of its search for universality.

aid

On the assumption that the world divides into ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ nations, and that it is better for a nation to be developed than not, the idea of international aid has come to have considerable importance in political thinking. (See *development.) It has been argued before the UN Conference on Trade and Development that growth in real terms in nations recognized as ‘developing’ can be secured only by a level of imports which exceeds their capacity to export. Hence, without foreign aid, they must inevitably