

CONTENTS

<i>Preface to first edition</i>	ix
<i>Preface to second edition</i>	xi
1 IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCE AND CONSENSUS IN BRITAIN SINCE 1945	1
Introduction	1
Consensus and the end of ideology?	1
The neglect of political ideas	5
The rebirth of ideology	6
From ideological polarisation to a new consensus	10
Conclusion	13
Guide to further reading	14
2 IDEOLOGY	15
Introduction	15
What is ideology?	15
Classifying ideologies	20
Constituents of ideologies	23
Levels of ideology	27
Power, influence and indoctrination	29
Theory and reality – ideology and public policy	32
Objectivity and bias in the study of ideologies	33
Guide to further reading	36

3	THE BRITISH POLITICAL TRADITION	37
	Introduction	37
	Why British political ideologies?	38
	The impact of the Reformation and religious upheavals of the sixteenth century	40
	The English Civil War and the Glorious Revolution	44
	The British Constitution and the British political tradition	50
	The impact of industrialisation – interests and power	53
	The impact of industrialisation – <i>laissez-faire</i> and collectivism	56
	The impact of war	59
	The legacy of empire	61
	Conclusion	64
	Guide to further reading	64
4	LIBERALISM	66
	Introduction	66
	Interpretations of liberalism	68
	Liberalism: underlying assumptions	70
	The Whig tradition	73
	Radicals	76
	Classical economics and utilitarianism	79
	Victorian liberalism	82
	Liberalism, capitalism and democracy	86
	The New Liberalism	89
	Neo-liberalism	94
	Liberalism today	95
	Guide to further reading	98
5	CONSERVATISM	100
	Introduction	100
	The Tory tradition	103
	Reaction and gradualism	104
	Suspicion of reason	109
	Human nature	112
	Authority, leadership and Tory democracy	114
	The defence of property	116
	Paternalism and collectivism	118
	Protection and Tory collectivism	120
	Patriotism and imperialism	123
	Conservatism and Thatcherism	125

Conservatism and post-Thatcherism	130
Guide to further reading	133
6 LABOURISM AND SOCIALISM	134
Introduction	134
Socialist values	136
Evolutionary and revolutionary socialism	139
The rise of the industrial working class in nineteenth-century Britain	143
Marxism and the British labour movement	145
Trade unionism and labourism	148
The Labour Party and socialism	151
State socialism and alternatives to state socialism	156
Labour in power? MacDonaldism	159
Labour in power – the Attlee government	160
Revisionism, pragmatism and fundamentalism	163
Democratic socialism and social democracy	167
New Labour?	168
British socialism and the wider world	172
Guide to further reading	173
7 THE FAR LEFT AND THE FAR RIGHT	175
Introduction	175
The far left	177
Communism	179
Trotskyism and revolutionary socialism	182
Anarchism	185
The far left and the Labour left	187
The far right	188
Fascism and the far right	189
Fascism in Britain – Oswald Mosley	192
The far right in modern Britain	193
A neo-Nazi revival?	196
Guide to further reading	197
8 NATIONALISM	198
Introduction	198
What is nationalism?	200
Why nationalism developed	202
How nationalism has developed – revolutionary and liberal nationalism	205

Conservative nationalism and imperialism	207
Nationalism, anti-colonialism and socialism	211
English and British nationalism	213
Scottish and Welsh nationalism	217
Europe, regionalism and nationalism	224
Globalisation and the future of nationalism	227
Guide to further reading	230
9 FEMINISM	231
Introduction	231
The origins and development of feminist thought – liberal feminism	233
Socialist and Marxist feminism	238
Radical feminism	243
Eco-feminism	249
The impact of the New Right – conservative feminism?	252
Feminism and post-modernism	256
Feminism and the future	257
Guide to further reading	259
10 GREEN IDEOLOGY	261
Introduction	261
Green and other ideologies	263
Greens and the right	264
Greens and the left	265
Key elements of Green thinking	266
Limits to growth – sustainability	267
Ecocentrism	269
The holistic approach	272
Small is beautiful?	273
Green strategy	276
Guide to further reading	282
<i>Bibliography</i>	285
<i>Index</i>	297

INDEX

- abortion 251
- Abrams, M. 4
- absolutism 45–6, 47, 205
- Acland, R. 178
- Act of Union 1536 218
- Act of Union 1707 218–19
- Act of Union 1801 215
- Adam Smith Institute 94, 130
- Adelman, P. 83, 120, 149
- Africa 209, 212
- Albania 227
- Algeria 62
- Almond, G. 5
- Alter, P. 199
- anarchism 175, 185–7
 - and conservatism 106, 112, 113
 - and far left 177, 178
 - and Green ideology 261, 264, 266, 275
 - ideology 22, 24
 - and labourism 135
 - and liberalism 69
 - political ideologies 38
 - and socialism 135, 156
 - and Whigs 73
- anarcho-syndicalism 135, 158
- Anderson, B. 200
- Anglicanism 41, 113
- Anglo-French treaty (1860) 84
- animal rights 251, 271
- anthropocentrism 269–70
- anti-colonialism 199, 211–13
- anti-communism 192
- Anti-Corn Law League 84
- anti-feminism 248, 258
- anti-imperialism 211
- anti-Marxism 190
- anti-Semitism 191, 192, 193
- Arblaster, A. 66, 69, 70, 72, 74, 87, 89, 94–5
 - liberalism 66, 69, 70, 72, 74, 87, 89, 94–5
- Arendt, H. 2, 176
- Aristotle 24, 25, 46, 87
- Arne, T. 215
- Ashford, N. 264
- Asia 209

- Asquith, H.H. 91
 Attlee, C.R. 160-3, 164, 166,
 167, 168
 Austria 205
 Ayer, A.J. 77

 Bacon, F. 112
 Bagehot, W. 115
 Baines, E. 27, 82
 Baldwin, S. 27, 121, 124
 Balkanisation 223
 Baltic States 206, 229
 Bank Acts 82
 barbarism 196
 Barker, R. 52, 156
 Barrett, M. 236
 Barry, N.P. 80, 81, 94
 Bean, J. 193
 Bebel, F.A. 239
 Beer, S.H. 115, 119, 120, 121,
 122-3
 Behrens, R. 97
 Belgium 196, 216, 226
 Bell, D. 1, 12
 Benewick, R. 192-3, 195
 Benn, A.W. 178
 Bentham, J. 5, 51, 57, 145
 conservatism 111, 112, 119
 liberalism 67, 78, 79, 80-1,
 85, 88, 94, 95
 Bentley, M. 82
 Berlin, I. 71, 94, 137
 Bernstein, G.L. 93
 Besant, A. 153
 Bevan, A. 162, 164, 178
 Beveridge, W. 33, 66-7, 87,
 93, 94, 121, 145, 162
 Bevin, E. 149, 161, 162, 163
 bioregionalism 275
 Birch, A.H. 217

 Bismarck, O.E.L. von 67, 213
 Blair, T. 11, 136, 152, 168,
 170, 171, 187
 Blake, R. 119, 120
 Blanqui, L.A. 139, 140
 Boer War 123
 Bolingbroke, H.S.J. 106, 113,
 123
 Bolshevik Revolution 147
 Bolshevism 172
 Bonapartism 177
 Bookchin, M. 275
 Boothby, Bob 2
 Bosanquet, N. 128
 Boyle, E.C.G. 129
 Bradley, I. 97, 167
 Branson, N. 158
 Breuilly, J. 201, 202, 212
 Briggs, A. 146
 Bright, J. 67, 78, 83, 84, 87,
 96
 British Constitution 50-3, 73
 Brittan, S. 96
 Brockway, F. 160
 Brougham, H.P. 75, 78
 Brownmiller, S. 245
 Bruce, Robert the 218
 Bryson, V. 236, 239, 257
 Buchanan, J. 94
 Buck, P.W. 102, 108, 114,
 115
 Bulgaria 83, 227
 Bulpitt, J. 129
 Burke, E. 27, 38, 69, 274
 conservatism 102, 103,
 107-8, 110-11, 113,
 116, 123
 Butler, D. 217
 Butler, G. 217
 Butler, R. 2

- Butler, R.A. 121, 122, 129
 Butskellism 2-3, 132
 see also Butler, R.; Gaitskell
- Callaghan, J.
 far left 177, 178, 180, 183, 184
 labourism and socialism 146, 147, 148, 152, 166
- Calvinism 40
- Cannadine, D. 209
- capitalism
 and anarchism 185
 collapse 183
 and conservatism 117, 121, 129
 and far right 190, 191
 and fascism 190, 191
 and feminism 238-9, 240, 242, 243, 249
 and Green ideology 265, 266
 industrial 106
 and labourism 134, 161
 laissez-faire 121, 142
 liberal 11-12, 66, 86-8, 141, 196
 and MacDonaldism 159
 modified 164
 and nationalism 204
 and New Labour 171
 and New liberalism 93
 religion 40, 41
 and socialism 134, 136, 140, 172-3, 173
 state 163
- Carlyle, T. 123, 263
- Carter, A. 232
- Cartwright, J. 78
- Castle, B. 239
- Catholicism 40, 47, 71, 75, 108, 177
- Cato Street conspiracy 143
- Cavour, Count C.B. di 67
- Cecil, Lord H. 102
- centralism, democratic 179, 183
- Centre for Policy Studies 130
- Chadwick, E. 57, 67, 80
- Challinor, R. 179
- Chamberlain, F. 67
- Chamberlain, J. 59, 213
 conservatism 102, 108, 120, 121
 liberalism 84, 88, 90-1
- Chamberlain, N. 121
- Charles I 45, 218
- Charles II 219
- Charter '88 97
- Chartism 52, 77, 88, 143, 144
- Child Support Agency 255
- China 12, 145
- Christianity 113
- Church *see* religion
- Church of England 41, 78, 83, 104
- Churchill, Lord R. 115, 120
- Churchill, W. 91, 93, 102, 123, 124, 162
- Citizen's Charter 131
- Civil War 39, 44-50
- Claeys, G. 144
- Clarendon Edward Hyde, Lord 113
- Clarke, P.F. 93
- classical economics 79-82
- Clause 4 169-70
- co-operative movement 144, 158
- Coates, D. 141, 148

- Cobbett, W. 78
 Cobden, R. 59, 67, 84, 94
 Cole, G.D.H. 135, 158
 Coleridge, S. 113
 collectivism 56-9, 118-20
 Fabian 158
 and industrialisation 57, 58
 and labourism 154
 and nationalism 212
 and socialism 154
 Tory 120-3, 129
 and Victorian liberalism 85
 war, impact of 60-1
 Collins, H. 77
 colonialism 209, 213
 see also anti-colonialism
 communication 204
 communism 175, 176, 179-82
 and anarchism 185
 Chinese 135
 and conservatism 100
 eastern Europe 21
 and far left 178, 179
 and far right 190
 and fascism 190
 ideology 18, 22, 23
 and MacDonaldism 160
 and Marxism and labour
 movement 147
 Soviet-style 21, 180
 as alternative to liberal
 capitalism 11-12
 collapse 66, 172
 in eastern Europe 60, 182
 and fascism 137
 and socialism 135, 147
 see also anti-communism
 communitarianism 171
 confederalism 225
 Conrad, J. 186
 conservatism 21, 22, 23,
 100-33, 176
 authority, leadership and Tory
 democracy 114-15
 Civil War and Glorious
 Revolution 47
 and collectivism 118-23
 constitution and political
 tradition 52, 53
 empire, legacy of 61
 Euro- 181
 and far right 188, 189
 and gradualism 104-9
 and green ideology 264-5
 human nature 112-13
 ideological difference and
 consensus 2, 3, 8, 10,
 11
 ideology 19-28 *passim*
 and imperialism 123-5
 and industrialisation 54,
 55-6, 59
 and labourism 134
 and liberalism 69, 72, 82,
 93, 96, 97, 98
 mainstream 264
 and nationalism 199
 and neo-liberalism 94
 and New Labour 168
 and paternalism 118-20
 and patriotism 123-5
 Peelite 82
 political ideologies 38, 39,
 64
 and post-Thatcherism 130-3
 property, defence of 116-18
 and protectionism 120-3
 and reactionism 104-9
 religion 41

- conservatism (*continued*)
 and socialism 134, 136,
 138, 139
 suspicion of reason 109–12
 and Thatcherism 125–30
 traditional 25, 264
 working-class 114
see also neo-conservatism;
 Thatcherism; Toryism
 constitutionalism 147, 195
 Coole, D.H. 233, 236, 237,
 239, 240, 242
 Corn Laws Repeal 1846 55,
 82, 84, 108, 121, 188
 corporatism 192
 Cowling, M. 126
 Crick, B. 215
 Cripps, Sir R.S. 152, 178
 Crosland, C.A.R. 4, 7, 135,
 147, 164–5, 266
 Crossman, R.H.S. 2
 Cust, R. 45
 Czech Bohemia 205
 Czechoslovakia 181
- Dahrendorf, R. 12, 172
 Dalton, H. 161, 163
 Dalyell, T. 221
 Dangerfield, G. 93
 Darwin, C./Darwinian 208–9
 d'Azeglio, M. 203
 de Gaulle, C. 225
 Dearlove, J. 30, 53
 decentralisation 273–6
 Declaration of Arbroath 1320
 218
 democracy 86–8
 social 167–8
 Tory 114–15
 Derby 82
- Descartes, R. 112
 Deutscher, I. 183
 Dicey, A.V. 85
 Dickens, A.G. 43
 Diggers 49
 Dinwiddy, J. 51, 80
 Disraeli, B. 27, 52, 82, 263
 and conservatism 102, 108,
 111, 114, 118–20, 122,
 123, 129
 Dobson, A. 262, 267
 Donald, J. 20, 62, 73, 124,
 209
 Downs, A. 3
 Dreyfus, A. 208
 Drucker, H. 30
 Duff, G. 145–6
 Dunn, J. 73
 Durbin, E. 161, 164
 Dworkin, A. 245
- eastern Europe 12, 21
 communism 180, 182
 far right 195
 nationalism 226
 neo-Nazism 196
 socialism 136, 184
 Trotskyism 184
 war, impact of 60
- Eccleshall, R. 91, 97, 101,
 108, 267
 Eckersley, R. 269, 275, 277
 ecocentrism 269–72
 Eden, A. 117, 121–2
 Edgar, D. 98, 128
 Education Act 1944 90, 121
 Edward I 218
 electoralism 156
 Elizabeth I 41, 44
 Elizabeth II 61

- Ellis, H. 153
 Elton, G.R. 43
 empire, legacy of 61-4
 Engels, F. 17, 112, 140, 145,
 146, 179
 Communist Manifesto 144,
 239
 England
 empire, legacy of 64
 nationalism 199, 201,
 213-17
 religion 43
 Enlightenment 46, 79, 80,
 106-7
 entryism 179
 environmentalism *see* Green
 ideology
 Equal Opportunities
 Commission 235, 236
 Equal Pay Act 1970 235, 236
 equality 71-2
 ethnic cleansing 207
 Etzioni, A. 171
 Europe 11
 conservatism 124-5, 128,
 131-2
 democratic socialism 167
 empires 61, 62
 far right 190
 fascism 190
 Green ideology 279
 industrial working class 145
 industrialisation 55
 labourism 166
 liberalism 38, 69, 70, 96
 nationalism 199, 202,
 205-7, 211, 213,
 216-17, 222-7
 neo-Nazism 196
 New Labour 168-9
 religion 42, 44
 socialism 172
 wars 46, 60
 see also east; west
 Evans, B. 16
 Evans, J. 252
 extremism 175, 195
 Fabian Society 153, 155, 167
 Fabianism 146
 and Green ideology 279
 and industrialisation 57-8
 and labourism 136, 149,
 152, 153, 163
 and MacDonaldism 160
 and state socialism 156
 and trade unionism 149
 see also socialism
 Factory Acts 82, 84
 Falklands 125, 128, 217
 fanaticism 198
 far left 176, 177-88
 anarchism 185-7
 communism 179-82
 Labour left 187-8
 revolutionary
 socialism 182-5
 Trotskyism 182-5
 far right 176, 188-97
 fascism 189-93
 modern Britain 193-6
 neo-Nazi revival 196-7
 fascism 175, 176, 177, 189-93
 and communism 180
 and conservatism 100, 109
 and far right 194, 195
 and Green ideology 264,
 265
 ideology 18, 22, 23, 24, 28,
 35

- fascism (*continued*)
 and nationalism 199, 210
 and neo-Nazism 196
 quasi 189
 Fawcett 206, 234, 245
 federalism 225
 feminism 231–60
 conservative 252–5
 eco-feminism 249, 251, 258
 and far left 178
 first wave 232, 234, 237
 and the future 257–9
 and Green ideology 263, 264
 ideology 18, 23, 25, 33
 lesbian 246
 liberal 232, 233–8, 240, 245, 247, 258
 mainstream 232
 Marxist 232, 233, 238–43, 247, 258
 and nationalism 199
 political ideologies 38
 and post-modernism 256–7
 radical 232, 238, 242, 243–9, 253, 254, 257, 258
 second wave 232, 235, 237, 252
 socialist 232, 233, 238–43
 upper-middle-class 248
 varieties 250
 see also anti-feminism
 Filmer, Sir R. 46
 Finer, S.E. 10, 80
 Firestone, S. 243, 244, 246–7, 251
 Flew, A. 19, 267
 Foot, M. 51, 53, 77, 87–8, 166, 167
 Foote, G. 146, 147, 152, 153, 161
 Ford, H./Fordism 228, 273, 274
 former Soviet Union 11–12, 21, 181
 anarchism 185
 feminism 239
 labourism 160, 161, 166
 Marxism 145
 nationalism 198, 203, 212, 226, 229
 neo-Nazism 196
 revolution 140, 179
 socialism 136, 184
 Trotskyism 184
 war, impact of 60
 see also communism, Soviet-style
 former Yugoslavia 196, 229
 Fourier, C. 144
 Fox, C.J. 74–5, 107
 France 47, 177
 conservatism 106, 110
 constitution and political tradition 52
 empire, legacy of 62
 far left 178
 far right 195
 feminism 232
 industrial working class 145
 industrialisation 54, 55–6, 59
 nationalism 201, 203–4, 206, 208–9, 211–12, 215, 218, 226–9
 neo-Nazism 196, 197
 Paris Commune 177
 political ideologies 39–40
 radicals 78

- France (*continued*)
 republicanism 49
 Revolution 73, 74, 106–7, 139, 202
 revolutionary
 syndicalism 158
 war, impact of 60
 Fraser, D. 61, 92
 fraternity 138
 freedom 137–8
 Freeley, M. 248
 Freud, S. 113
 Friedan, B. 235, 237, 244, 246, 248, 254
 Friedman, M. 70, 94, 125
 Fukuyama, F. 12
 fundamentalism 163–6

 Gaian hypothesis 270
 Gaitskell, H. 2, 136, 161, 164, 165, 167
 Gamble, A. 123, 128
 Garibaldi, G. 67
 Garner, R. 262, 267, 271
 Gellner, E. 200, 202, 203, 204
 General Strike 150
 George III 74, 107
 George, V. 93
 Germany
 anarchism 186
 communism 180
 constitution and political tradition 52
 far left 178
 far right 190, 195
 fascism 190
 Green ideology 262, 279
 ideology 29
 industrial working class 145
 industrialisation 54, 55, 59
 nationalism 201, 203, 205–6, 208–12, 227, 229
 neo-Nazism 196, 197
 New liberalism 91
 war, impact of 60
 Gilmour, I. 121, 122, 126
 Gingrich, N. 128
 Gladstone, W. 67, 82–4, 87, 90, 96, 123, 216
 Glasier, J. 152
 Glendower, O. 218
 Glorious Revolution 1688 39, 44–50, 73, 107, 218
 Godwin, W. 112, 185, 233, 252
 Gollancz, V. 199
 Goodin, R. 275
 Gough, J.W. 71, 73
 gradualism 104–9, 130, 146, 147, 276
 Gramsci, A. 16, 17, 19
 Grant, L. 232
 Grant, T. 184
 Gray, J. 69, 70, 81, 86, 87, 89, 94
 Gray, R. 144, 148
 Greece 206, 216
 Green, D.G. 128
 green ideology 11, 18, 23, 33, 38, 261–82
 decentralisation 273–6
 and ecocentrism 269–72
 and far left 178, 187
 and feminism 247, 251
 and holism 272–3
 key elements 266–7
 and the left 265–6
 limits to growth –
 sustainability 267–9
 and other ideologies 263–4

- green ideology (*continued*)
 and the right 264-5
 strategy 276-81
 Green, T.H. 67, 71, 91, 93
 Greenleaf, W.H. 16, 57, 60,
 85, 86
 and conservatism 102, 123,
 129, 131
 and labourism and
 socialism 152, 153, 154
 Greer, G. 232, 244, 254
 Grey, C. 75

 Halifax, E. 102, 108, 113
 Hall, S. 20, 62, 73, 124, 128,
 209
 Hamilton, M.B. 16
 Hardie, K. 152, 156, 239
 Hardin, G. 264
 Harrison, W. 110
 Hattersley, R. 137, 168
 Hay, J.R. 89
 Hay, P.R. 264
 Hayek, F. 19, 28, 68, 70, 81,
 94, 112, 125, 137-8
 Healey, D. 168
 Healy, G. 183
 Heath, E. 124, 125, 129
 Hegel, G.W.F. 16, 89, 91, 176
 Henry VII 215
 Henry VIII 40, 41, 42, 43-4
 Herder, J.G. 201
 Heseltine, M. 22, 121
 Hill, C. 44, 74, 107, 116
 Hindess, B. 4, 169
 Hitler, A. 176, 194, 195
 Hobbes, T. 5, 24, 27, 46-8,
 86, 113
 Hobhouse, L.T. 67, 70-1,
 87-9, 91-3, 96, 145
 Hobsbawm, E.J. 12, 54, 62,
 172, 202-3, 206, 212,
 223
 Hobson, L. 67, 68, 91, 96,
 145
 Hodgskin, T. 143
 Hogg, Q. 112, 124
 holism 272-3
 Holland, S.K. 165
 Honderich, T. 101, 119
 Hooker, R. 444
 Hooker, T. 109-10, 113
 Hughes, A. 45
 human nature 112-13
 humanism 270
 Hume, D. 69, 79-80, 81, 85,
 110, 113
 Hundred Years War 42
 Hungary 181, 205, 206, 216
 Hunt, H. 78
 Hutchinson, J. 227
 Hutton, W. 10, 171
 Huxley, A. 29, 176
 Hyndman, H.M. 146, 149, 179

 idealism 91
 ideological difference and
 consensus 1-14
 polarisation 10-13
 political ideas, neglect of
 5-6
 rebirth of ideology 6-10
 ideology 15-36
 classification 20-3
 constituents 23-7
 definition 15-20
 levels 27-9
 objectivity and bias in study
 of 33-5

- ideology (*continued*)
 - power, influence and indoctrination 29-32
 - and public policy 32-3
- imperialism 61
 - and conservatism 117, 123-5
 - cultural 256
 - and feminism 249
 - and nationalism 207-10, 211, 212, 216
- Import Duties Bill 121
- India 61, 188
- individualism 70, 72, 73
 - and conservatism 113
 - and far right 190
 - and fascism 190
 - and feminism 253
 - and industrial working class 144
 - and liberalism 86
 - and nationalism 209
 - and New Labour 170
 - and radicals 77
 - and socialism 138
 - and Victorian liberalism 85
- Indo-China 62
- indoctrination 29-32
- industrial working class 143-5
- industrialisation 204, 228
 - and collectivism 56-9
 - and Green ideology 270
 - interests and power 53-6
 - laissez-faire* 56-9
- industrialism 263, 264, 265
- Institute of Economic Affairs 94, 130
- internationalism 123
- Ireland
 - Home Rule 117, 216, 220
 - liberalism, capitalism and democracy 86
 - nationalism 213, 215, 216
 - Victorian liberalism 83-4
 - see also* Northern Ireland
- Italy
 - communism 181
 - conservatism 106
 - constitution and political tradition 52
 - far left 178
 - far right 101, 190, 195
 - fascism 101, 190
 - industrialisation 54
 - Marxism 145
 - nationalism 203, 205, 206, 209, 216
 - neo-Nazism 196, 197
 - religion 40
 - revolutionary syndicalism 158
 - Victorian liberalism 83
 - war, impact of 60
- Jacobinism 143
- Jacobitism 106, 188
- Jacques, M. 98, 128, 181
- James I 44
- James II 41
- James VI 218
- Japan 171, 209
- Jay, D. 161, 164
- Jenkins, R. 165, 167, 168
- Jennings, Sir I. 3
- Jevons, W.S. 146
- Johnson, Samuel 113
- Jones, J. 26
- Jordan, C. 193
- Joseph, K. 130
- Kafka, F. 176

- Kant, I. 16, 91
 Kedourie, E. 202, 203, 204
 Keegan, W. 126
 Kellas, J.G. 202
 Kenny, M. 267
 Keynes, J.M. 32
 conservatism 102, 122, 126,
 128-9, 132
 ideological difference 2,
 7-12
 labourism and socialism
 145, 161-3, 166-7
 liberalism 66-8, 87, 93-4
 Kingsley, C. 152
 Kinnock, N. 11, 168, 169
 Kipling, R. 67
 Kirk, R. 100
 Knox, J. 218
 Kogan, D. 167
 Kogan, M. 167
 Kollontai, A. 239
 Kramnick, I. 51, 77, 87-8
 Kropotkin, Prince P. 186, 264

 Labour Exchanges 93
 Labour Representation
 Committee 146, 149,
 152
 labour theory of value 143
 labourism
 and communism 180, 181
 and conservatism 102, 122,
 124
 constitution and political
 tradition 52, 53
 empire, legacy of 61
 and far left 178, 179
 and far right 193
 and fascism 192
 ideological difference and
 consensus 3, 4, 11
 ideology 21, 28
 industrialisation 55-6, 58
 left 187-8
 and liberalism 96, 97
 and New liberalism 93
 religion 42, 43
 Trotskyism and revolutionary
 socialism 184
 see also labourism and
 socialism
 labourism and socialism
 134-74
 Attlee government 160-3
 democratic socialism and
 social democracy
 167-8
 evolutionary and
 revolutionary
 socialism 139-42
 industrial working
 class 143-5
 MacDonaldism 159-60
 Marxism and labour
 movement 145-8
 new labour 168-71
 revisionism, pragmatism and
 fundamentalism 163-6
 socialist values 136-8
 state socialism and
 alternatives 156-8
 trade unionism 148-51
laissez-faire economics 56-9,
 69, 79-80, 82, 84-5, 90,
 95, 118
 Laqueur, W. 177, 190
 Laud, W. 45
 Layton-Henry, Z. 196
 Le Pen, J.-M. 197, 210

- Leach, R. 192
- left 21, 22, 23
see also far left
- Lenin, V.I. 17, 211, 239
 far left 178, 179, 182, 183
 labourism and
 socialism 140, 141
 political tradition 61, 62
- Levellers 49
- liberalism 66–99
 and capitalism and
 democracy 86–8
 classical 94, 102, 138
 classical economic *see* neo-liberalism
 and conservatism 101–3,
 106, 111–12, 116–18,
 123–4, 126
 constitution and political
 tradition 51
 economic 95
 and far right 190
 and fascism 190
 and feminism 243
 Gladstonian 83, 91, 95
 and Green ideology 264
 ideological difference and
 consensus 11
 ideology 20, 23, 24, 27, 33
 and imperialism 43
 industrialisation 54, 55, 56
 interpretations 68–70
 and labourism 134, 135,
 155
laissez-faire 4, 27, 152
 Manchester 84, 114
 and nationalism 199, 209
 old 57
 political ideologies 38, 39
 present day 95–8
 progressive 98
 radical 76–9, 145, 156, 163
 reaction and gradualism 108
 religion 41, 42, 43
 revisionist 89
 and socialism 134, 135,
 136, 138, 139, 155
 suspicion of reason 109
 underlying assumptions
 70–3
 universalistic 198
 Victorian 69, 75, 79, 82–6
 vintage 77, 87
see also neo; new; Whigs
- Liberation Society 83
- libertarianism 57, 158
- Lichtheim, G. 38
- limits to growth –
 sustainability 267–9
- Linz, J.J. 190
- Llewelyn of Gwynedd 218
- Lloyd George, D. 67, 91, 93,
 96
- Locke, J. 5, 47–8, 67, 71, 73,
 74, 77, 86
- Lovelock, J.W. 270
- Lovenduski, J. 232–4
- Low Countries 197
- Luddite riots 143
- Lukács, G. 17
- McCormick, J. 264
- MacDonald, J.R. 156, 158,
 159–60, 192, 239
- Machiavelli, N. 24
- Mackenzie, J.M. 62
- McKenzie, R.T. 3, 114, 124,
 151
- MacKinnon, C. 243
- McLellan, D. 15, 16, 17, 146

- Macleod, I.N. 129
 Macmillan, H. 3, 61, 121, 122, 124, 129
 Macpherson, C.B. 70, 83, 86
 McRobbie, A. 257
 Maddox, J. 268, 278
 Major, J. 11, 126, 131, 132, 173, 189, 217, 220
 Malthus, T. 17, 56, 67, 79, 81, 94, 261, 264, 267-8
 Mannheim, K. 16
 Manning, D.J. 69
 Maoism 173, 178
 Marquand, D. 97, 159
 Marr, A. 221
 Martell, L. 264, 268, 270, 271, 275
 Martineau, H. 27, 56, 82
 Marx, K./Marxism
 British labour movement 145-8
 Communist Manifesto 144
 conservatism 112, 126
 far left 178, 180-2
 far right 191
 feminism 233, 246, 249, 257
 green ideology 265-6
 ideological difference 6, 8-9
 ideology 16-20, 24, 26-8, 32, 34-5
 International Marxist Group 179
 labourism and
 socialism 135-6, 140-2, 145-8, 151-6, 164-5, 167
 liberalism 62, 66, 81, 87, 94
 nationalism 203, 211-12
 see also anti-Marxism
 Maurice, J. 152
 Mazzini, G. 67, 202, 206, 207, 208, 213, 216
 Meadowcroft, M. 97
 Meadows, D.H. 268
 media 30
 Methodism 152
 Michels, R. 141, 190
 Middlemas, K. 162
 Mies, M. 251
 Miliband, R. 135, 150, 151, 160, 172
 Militant Tendency 147, 179, 184
 Mill, J. 57, 67, 80, 88
 Mill, J.S. 6, 27, 57, 114, 126, 145, 206
 feminism 234, 235, 237, 244, 245
 liberalism 67, 71, 81, 84-9, 91, 94-7
 Millett, K. 239, 244
 Minkin, L. 150
 Mitchell, J. 242
 modernisation 270
 modernism 263, 264, 270
 monarchism 177
 Monetarism 126
 Morris, W. 135, 146, 158, 185, 264, 266, 274
 Morrison, H. 28, 161, 162, 163
 Mosley, O. 189-95 *passim*
 Municipal Corporations Act 1835 55
 Mussolini, B. 40, 176, 191, 192, 195
 Nairn, T. 223
 Napoleon III 59

- nationalism 176, 198–230
 and anti-colonialism 211–13
 assertive 209
 and conservatism 123, 125,
 132, 207–10
 definition 200–2
 development 202–7
 English and British 213–17
 in Europe and regionalism
 224–7
 exclusive 213, 226
 extreme 191
 and far right 188, 194
 globalisation and future of
 nationalism 227–9
 and Green ideology 263,
 264, 265
 ideology 18, 23, 33
 and imperialism 207–10
 liberal 208, 216
 peripheral 225, 229
 reactionary 223
 and religion 43
 revolutionary and liberal
 205–7
 Scottish and Welsh 217–23
 separation 206
 and socialism 211–13
 state-sponsored 210
 unification 206
 universalist 213
 varieties 214
 virulent 193, 196
 see also neo-nationalism
 Nazi-Soviet pact 1939 180
 Nazism 190, 191, 193, 194,
 195, 210
 see also neo-Nazism
 neo-conservatism 32, 128,
 132, 255
 neo-fascism 175, 194
 neo-liberalism 69, 79–82,
 94–5
 and classical economics and
 utilitarianism 80, 81
 and conservatism 102, 126,
 130
 and feminism 252–3
 and Green ideology 269
 ideological difference and
 consensus 9
 ideology 32
 and nationalism 198
 and New liberalism 89
 neo-nationalism 223
 neo-Nazi revival 196–7
 Nesbit, E. 153
 new Labour 11, 187
 new liberalism 32, 66, 68,
 69–70, 88, 89–93, 95,
 122
 industrialisation 57, 58
 and socialism 137
 new right 11–12, 35, 70,
 122–3, 126–8, 130, 132
 and conservatism 103
 and feminism 251, 252–5,
 259
 and nationalism 229
 and New Labour 170
 and socialism 173
 New Unionism 149
 Newcastle Programme 84, 91
 Newman, J.H. 113
 Newton, K. 30, 181
 Nisbet, R. 116, 117
 Nonconformism 41, 42, 68,
 69, 79
 and labourism and
 socialism 152

- Nonconformism (*continued*)
 and neo-liberalism 95
 and Victorian liberalism 83
 Norman Conquest 42
 North Sea Oil 222
 Northern Ireland 183, 186,
 201, 213, 217
 Nozick, R. 94
 Oakeshott, M. 108-9, 111-12,
 113, 116-17
 Oastler, R. 78
 O'Riordan, T. 262
 Orwell, G. 29, 135, 176, 185
 O'Sullivan, N. 109
 Owen, D. 167, 168
 Owen, R. 135, 143-4, 146,
 156, 158, 185, 266
 Paine, T. 51, 67, 77-8, 79,
 87-8, 95
 Pakistan 61
 Palmerston, H. 82, 83, 84, 123
 pantheism 261
 Pareto, V. 190
 Parkin, F. 31, 151
 parliamentarism 136, 142, 147
 and far right 190, 191, 195
 and fascism 190, 191
 gradualist 160
 and state socialism 156, 158
 and trade unionism and
 labourism 150
 parliamentary reform 108
 paternalism 118-20, 125
 patriarchy 244, 247, 248
 patriotism 123-5, 126, 190,
 208
 Payne, S.G. 177
 peace movement 165, 247
 Pearson, R. 20, 89
 Peel, Sir R. 27, 52, 54, 103,
 108, 114
 Pelling, H. 145, 146, 149
 Pepper, D. 266, 267
 Perryman, M. 257
 Pierson, S. 146
 Pimlott, B. 147, 166
 Plant, J. 6, 251
 Plato 16, 24, 25, 29, 87, 137,
 176, 233
 Plumb, J.H. 50
 pluralism 176, 196
 Poland 60, 203, 205, 206, 216
 political tradition 37-65
 and British Constitution
 50-3
 Civil War and Glorious
 Revolution 44-50
 empire, legacy of 61-4
 historical influences 63
 industrialisation: interests and
 power 53-6
 industrialisation: *laissez-faire*
 and collectivism 56-9
 reasons 38-40
 Reformation impact and
 religious upheavals in
 sixteenth century 40-4
 war, impact of 59-61
 Poll Tax 130, 131, 186, 222
 Poor Law 57, 80, 81, 90
 poplarism 158
 Popper, K.R. 94, 176
 populism 78, 126, 128
 pornography 245, 253-4
 Porrit, J. 262
 post-modernism 247, 256-7,
 258, 267
 Powell, E. 53, 98, 125, 189,
 195, 224

- power 29–32
 pragmatism 101, 163–6
 Presbyterianism 44, 218
 pressure group politics 278–9
 property, defence of 116–18
 protectionism 120–3
 Protestantism 40, 41, 44, 75, 218
 Proudhon, P.J. 185
 Public Health Acts 82
 public policy and ideology 32–3
 Punnett, R.M. 3
 Puritanism 40, 41, 86, 106, 218

 quasi-Keynesianism 192
 Quinton, A. 109, 110, 112–13

 racism 190
 and far right 191, 194, 195–6
 and fascism 191
 ideology 18
 and nationalism 199, 210, 216
 radicalism
 and conservatism 117, 124, 130
 constitution and political tradition 52
 and feminism 249
 industrialisation 54
 and liberalism 68, 76–9
 and neo-liberalism 95
 and New liberalism 89, 90, 91
 and Victorian liberalism 82, 83, 84
 working-class 143
 Railway Acts 82
 Rainbow Circle 156
 Ramazanoglu, C. 248
 Randall, V. 232–4, 236, 258
 rape 245, 247
 Rathbone, E. 239
 rationalism 71, 111–12, 113, 135
 and fascism and far right 190
 and Green ideology 263
 post-Enlightenment 256, 264, 278
 Rawls, J. 72, 94
 reactionism 104–9
 Read, H. 185
 Reagan, R. 138
 Red Clydesiders 155
 Redstockings Manifesto 249
 Redwood, J. 22, 189
 Reform Act 1832 55, 75, 78, 108, 114, 118–19
 Reform Act 1844 84
 Reform Act 1867 111, 114
 Reformation 39, 40–4, 47
 Regan, T. 271
 regionalism 224–7
 religion 40–4, 106, 112–13
 see also Catholicism; Protestantism; *and under* individual denominations
 republicanisim 49–50; 78, 128, 177
 revisionism 163–6
 Ricardo, D. 17, 27, 56, 67, 79, 81, 143
 Rich, P.B. 196
 Richards, J.R. 235, 249
 Riddell, P. 128

- right *see* conservatism; far right;
new right
- Ritchie, D.G. 87, 88, 192
- Robinson, M. 279
- Rodgers, B. 167
- romanticism 261
- Romilly, Sir S. 75
- Rosebery, A.P.P. 92–3
- Rousseau, J.-J. 24, 176, 263
- Royal Mint 85
- Ruskin, J. 158, 263
- Russell, J. 87
- Russia *see* former Soviet Union
- Saatchi & Saatchi 19
- St John-Stevas, N. 112
- Saint-Simon, C. 144
- Salisbury 27, 114, 120, 122–3
- Samuel, H. 88
- Sargent, L. 242
- Saunders, P. 30, 53
- Saville, J. 135, 161
- Scandinavia 215, 226, 258–9
- Scargill, A. 187
- Schlesinger, P. 227
- Schultz, H.J. 88, 90, 92
- Schumacher, E.F. 273
- Schumpeter, J.A. 115
- Schwarz, B. 62, 124
- Scotland
 empire, legacy of 64
 Enlightenment 80
 ideological difference and
 consensus 6
 nationalism 199, 206, 213,
 215, 216, 217–23
 religion 43
- Scott, Sir W. 219
- Scruton, R. 117, 126
- Seliger, M. 16
- Senior, Nassau William 27,
 80, 81
- sexual violence *see* rape
- Seyd, P. 168
- Seymour-Ure, C. 30
- Shaftesbury 78
- Shaw, E. 168
- Shaw, G.B. 146, 153
- Shiva, V. 251
- Silver, A. 114, 124
- Singer, P. 271
- Single European Act 131
- Skidelsky, R. 159, 192
- Slovakia 229
- Slovo, J. 213
- Smiles, S. 27, 41, 82
- Smith, A. 17, 28, 56, 125, 126
 liberalism 67, 79, 80, 81–2,
 85
- Smith, A.D. 202, 227
- Smith, J. 11, 152, 170
- Smith, P. 120
- Smith, T. 274
- Snowden, P. 156
- social democracy *see* socialism,
 revisionist
- social reform 119, 120, 121
- social welfare reforms 91, 93
- socialism 176
 and anarchism 185
 centralised state 229
 Christian 152, 170, 171
 Civil War and Glorious
 Revolution 49
 and conservatism 100, 109,
 111–12, 116, 121,
 123–5, 130
 constitution and political
 tradition 52–3
 demise 196

- socialism (*continued*)
 ethical 152–3, 156
 evangelical 155
 evolutionary 147
 Fabian 64, 96, 136, 152,
 153–5
 and far left 177, 178, 187
 and far right 193
 fundamentalist 11
 gradualist, non-revolutionary
 153
 and green ideology 264,
 265–6, 276–7
 Guild 158, 186
 ideological difference and
 consensus 3, 9, 11
 ideology 20, 22–8
 passim, 32
 industrialisation 54, 57, 58
 and Labour left 187
 and liberalism 72, 96
 millennial 160
 moderate parliamentary 138
 municipal 158
 and nationalism 198, 199,
 211–13, 222
 and new liberalism 89, 90,
 93
 parliamentary 147
 political ideologies 39
 populist 155
 and radicals 76
 religion 42, 43
 revisionist 137, 167–8
 revolutionary 147, 182–5
 scientific paternalist 154–5
 Soviet-style 160
 see also labourism and
 socialism
 South Africa 213
- Spa Field Manchester 143
 Spain
 anarchism 185
 communism 180
 conservatism 106
 constitution and political
 tradition 52
 far left 178
 far right 195
 nationalism 201, 203, 204,
 229
 religion 40
 revolutionary
 syndicalism 158
 Spencer, H. 68, 84, 85–6, 94,
 158
 stakeholding 171
 Stalin, J./Stalinism 2, 173,
 180, 181, 182, 183, 184,
 239
 Stanton, E.C. 234
 Stassinopoulos, A. 248
 Stephenson, H. 167
 Strachey, E. 147
 Strafford, T.W. 45
 Stuarts 73, 74, 106, 218
 Suez 188
 suspicion of reason 109–12
 sustainability 266–9
 syndicalism 156, 158, 186
- Taff Vale Railway
 Company 149
 Talmon, J.L. 2, 94, 176
 Tamworth Manifesto 103, 108
 Tawney, R.H. 40, 135, 137,
 152, 153, 157
 Taylor, H. 234
 Taylor, S. 193, 194, 195, 237
 Thatcher, M. 217, 264

- Thatcher, M. (*continued*)
 conservatism 103, 108, 117,
 123, 125–6, 129–30, 132
 far right 189, 195
 feminism 236, 241, 252
 ideological difference 11–12
 ideology 19, 21–2, 25, 27–8
 labourism and
 socialism 168, 171, 173
 liberalism 94, 98
see also Thatcherism
 Thatcherism 28, 94, 120,
 125–30, 132
 Third International 147
 Thompson, E.P. 143
 Thompson, W. 143, 239
 threshold principle 206
 Thucydides 87
 Thurlow, R.C. 193
 Tivey, L. 96
 Tomalin, C. 233
 Toryism 101, 103–4, 106,
 114–15, 125
 Civil War and
 Revolution 44, 47, 49
 constitution and political
 tradition 51–2
 industrialisation 54, 55
 totalitarianism 176, 177
 trade unionism 136, 142, 146,
 148–51
 and labourism 155, 162,
 163
 and socialism 155, 156
 Trotsky, L./Trotskyism 175,
 176, 178, 179, 182–5,
 239
 Tudor, H. 215
 Turkey 210, 227
 Tusscher, T. ten 252
 Tyndall, J. 193
 Unauthorised Programme 84,
 91
 United Nations 200, 224
 United States 161
 anarchism 185
 Constitution 112
 Declaration of
 Independence 74
 feminism 232, 234, 242,
 252, 254, 258
 ideological difference and
 consensus 3
 ideology 18
 industrialisation 59
 labourism 166
 liberalism 70
 nationalism 216
 neo-Nazism 197
 political ideologies 38
 radicals 78
 republicanism 128
 Revolution 73, 106
 revolutionary
 syndicalism 158
 totalitarianism 176
 War of Independence 107
 universalism 152, 229
 utilitarianism 79–82, 94, 95,
 111, 155
 Verba, S. 5
 Vietnam 183
 Vincent, J. 83, 84, 86
 Voltaire, F.M.A. de 111, 112
 Waldegrave, W. 126
 Wales
 empire, legacy of 64

- Wales (*continued*)
 ideological difference and
 consensus 6
 nationalism 199, 206, 213,
 215, 216, 217-23, 225
 religion 43
- Wallace, W. 218
- Wallas, G. 153
- Walpole, Sir R. 106
- Walter 254
- war, impact of 59-61
- Warnock, M. 71
- Watson, J.S. 75
- Waylen, G. 252-3
- Weale, A. 268
- Weatherall, D. 81
- Webb, B. 135, 141, 147,
 153-4
- Webb, S. 135, 141, 147,
 153-4, 156
- Weber, M. 40
- Webster, M. 193
- Welfare State 128, 129, 163,
 167
- Wellington, A.W. 108
- Wells, H.G. 153
- western Europe 141, 171, 180,
 208
- Whigs 68, 73-6
 capitalism and
 democracy 86, 88
 Civil War and Glorious
 Revolution 44-5, 46,
 47, 49
 classical economics and
 utilitarianism 81
 and conservatism 118
 constitution and political
 tradition 51
- Foxite 75
- industrialisation 54
- and neo-liberalism 95
- and new liberalism 89
- and radicals 77, 78, 79
- reaction and gradualism
 107, 108
- religion 41, 42
- and Toryism 103, 104
- tradition 73-6
- Victorian liberalism 82, 84
- Whitbread, S. 75, 78
- Wilding, P. 93
- Williams, G. 20, 89
- Williams, S. 167, 168
- Wilson, D. 272
- Wilson, H. 166
- Wilson, W. 206-7, 223
- Winner, D. 262
- Wollstonecraft, M. 77, 233,
 234, 248, 252
- women's movement 11, 165
- Woodcock, G. 185
- working class 143-5
- Worsthorpe, P. 126
- Wright, A. 96, 114
- Wright, D.G. 75, 83
- Young, H. 28, 128