What is Politics?

Note: This collection of definitions and quotations is drawn from the Columbia Encyclopedia and other reference works available on-line at www.bartlebys.com. Interspersed are printed selections from H.L. Mencken, A New Dictionary of Quotations. It was prepared for students taking PS101 What is Politics?, the introductory course to the Political Science major at Colorado College, and is available tree of charge to all majors. David Hendrickson, Chair of Department

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What is Politics?

Politics is not an end, but a means. It is not a product, but a process. It is the art of government. Like other values it has its counterfeits. So much emphasis has been placed upon the false that the significance of the true has been obscured and politics has come to convey the meaning of crafty and cunning selfishness, instead of candid and sincere service. ATTRIBUTION: Calvin Coolidge (1872-1933), U.S. president. Have Faith in Massachusetts, ch. 12, Houghton, Mifflin (1919).


Politics begin where the masses are, not where there are thousands, but where there are millions, that is where serious politics begin. ATTRIBUTION: Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924), Russian revolutionary

The politics of the family are the politics of a nation. Just as the authoritarian family is the authoritarian state in microcosm, the democratic family is the best training ground for life in a democracy. ATTRIBUTION: Letty Cottin Pogrebin (20th century), U.S. editor, writer. Family and Politics, ch. 1 (1983).

Politics is still the man's game. The women are allowed to do the chores, the dirty work, and now and then but only occasionally one is present at some secret conference or other. But it's not the rule. They can go out and get the vote, if they can and will; they can collect money, they can be grateful for being permitted to work. But that is all. ATTRIBUTION: Mary Roberts Rinehart (1876-1958), U.S. novelist. My Story, ch. 48 (1931).

Politics has been called the "art of the possible," and it actually is a realm akin to art insofar as, like art, it occupies a creatively mediating position between spirit and life, the idea and reality. ATTRIBUTION: Thomas Mann (1875-1955), German author, critic. first complete publication as Deutschland und die Deutschen in "Die Neue Rundschau," Stockholm, Heft 1, Oct. 1945. Germany and the Germans, p. 58, trans. by Helen T. Lowe Porter, Library of Congress (1963).

Politics should share one purpose with religion: the steady emancipation of the individual through the education of his passions. ATTRIBUTION:
Politics is just like show business, you have a hell of an opening, coast for a while and then have a hell of a close. ATTRIBUTION: Ronald Reagan (b. 1911), U.S. Republican politician, president. quoted in There He Goes Again, eds. Mark Green and Gail MacColl (1983). Said in 1966 to aide Stuart Spencer.

Politics can be relatively fair in the breathing spaces of history; at its critical turning points there is no other rule possible than the old one, that the end justifies the means. ATTRIBUTION: Arthur Koestler (1905-1983), Hungarian-born British author. Extract from Rubashov's diary, in "The Second Hearing," ch. 1, Darkness at Noon (1940).

Politics, as a practise, whatever its professions, has always been the systematic organization of hatreds.. ATTRIBUTION: Henry Brooks Adams (1838-1918), U.S. historian. The Education of Henry Adams, ch. 1 (1907).

Politics ought to be the part-time profession of every citizen who would protect the rights and privileges of free people and who would preserve what is good and fruitful in our national heritage. ATTRIBUTION: Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890-1969), U.S. general, Republican politician, president. Broadcast speech, January 28, 1954.
Politics inflame the passions in a way that few beloveds can match.

Politics is a science. You can demonstrate that you are right and that others are wrong. ATTRIBUTION: Jean Paul Sartre (1905-1980), French novelist, dramatist, philosopher, political activist. Methuen (1963). Dirty Hands, act 5, sc. 2, Gallimard (1948).

Politics will eventually be replaced by imagery. The politician will be only too happy to abdicate in favor of his image, because the image will be much more powerful than he could ever be. ATTRIBUTION: Marshall McLuhan (1911-1980), Canadian communications theorist. Quoted in Maclean's (Toronto, June 1971).

The belief that politics can be scientific must inevitably produce tyrannies. Politics cannot be a science, because in politics theory and practice cannot be separated, and the sciences depend upon their separation…. Empirical politics must be kept in bounds by democratic institutions, which leave it up to the subjects of the experiment to say whether it shall be tried, and to stop it if they dislike it, because, in politics, there is a distinction, unknown to science, between Truth and Justice. ATTRIBUTION: W.H. (Wystan Hugh) Auden (1907-1973), AngloAmerican poet. "Tyranny," A Certain World (1970).

Revolutionary politics, revolutionary art, and oh, the revolutionary mind, is the dullest thing on earth. When we open a "revolutionary" review, or read a "revolutionary" speech, we yawn our heads off. It is true, there is nothing else. Everything is correctly, monotonously, dishearteningly "revolutionary." What a stupid word! What a stale fuss! ATTRIBUTION: Wyndham Lewis (1882-1957), British author, painter. "Revolution and Progress," ch. 5, The Art of Being Ruled (1926).


Green politics at its worst amounts to a sort of Zen fascism; less extreme, it denounces growth and seeks to stop the world so that we can all get off. ATTRIBUTION: Chris Patten (b. 1944), British Conservative politician. Independent (London, April 19, 1989). Patten was secretary of state for the environment at the time.
In politics, as in religion, it is equally absurd to aim at making proselytes by fire and sword. Heresies in either can rarely be cured by persecution.


In politics people give you what they think you deserve and deny you what they think you want. ATTRIBUTION: Cecil Parkinson (b. 1932), British Conservative politician. Televised interview, November 19, 1990, ITV.

The politics of the exile are fever, revenge, daydream, theater of the aging convalescent.
You wait in the wings and rehearse.
You wait and wait.

ATTRIBUTION: Marge Piercy (b. 1936), U.S. poet, novelist, and political activist. "The Organizer's Bogeyman," lines 20-24 (1969). Written during the Vietnam War, on expulsion from an activist organization governed by radical political ideology. Piercy was prominent among the opponents of American involvement in that war.

In politics, victory is never total. ATTRIBUTION: Donald Freed, U.S. screenwriter, and Arnold M Stone. Robert Altman. Richard Nixon (Philip

In politics if you want anything said, ask a man. If you want anything done, ask a woman. ATTRIBUTION: Margaret Thatcher (b. 1925), British Conservative politician, prime minister. People (New York, Sept. 15, 1975).

In politics people throw themselves, as on a sickbed, from one side to the other in the belief they will lie more comfortably. ATTRIBUTION: Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe (1749-1832), German poet, dramatist. Conversation with Friedrich von Miller (December 29, 1825).

If American politics are too dirty for women to take part in, there's something wrong with American politics. ATTRIBUTION: Edna Ferber (1887-1968), U.S. author. Sabra Cravat, in Cimarron, ch. 23 (1929).

Groucho Marx QUOTATION: Politics is the art of looking for trouble, finding it everywhere, diagnosing it incorrectly and applying the wrong remedies. ATTRIBUTION: Recalled on his death 19 Aug 77

Theodore H White QUOTATION: Politics in America is the binding secular religion. ATIRIBUTION: Time 29 Dec 86

Jimmy Breslin QUOTATION: Politics, where fat, bald, disagreeable men, unable to be candidates themselves, teach a president how to act on a public
Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together. ATTRIBUTION: Edmond Burke (1729-1797); Irish philosopher, statesman. Speech, March 22, 1775, House of Commons, London. Speech on Conciliation with America: The Thirteen Resolutions, Works, vol. 2 (1899).


Only he has the calling for politics who is sure that he will not crumble when the world from his point of view is too stupid or base for what he wants to offer. Only be who in the face of all this can say "In spite of all!" has the calling for politics. ATTRIBUTION: Max Weber (1864-1920), German sociologist. (First published 1919). "Politics as a Vocation," Essays in Sociology, eds. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (1946).

Gilbert Hight QUOTATION: What is politics but persuading the public to vote for this and support that and endure these for the promise of those? ATTRIBUTION: "The Art of Persuasion" Vogue Jan 51

Alliance. In international politics, the union of two thieves who have their
hands so deeply inserted in each other's pockets that they cannot separately pilfer a third. ATTRIBUTION: Ambrose Bierce (1842-1914), U.S. author. The Devil's Dictionary (1881-1906), repro In Collected Works of Ambrose Bierce, vol. 7 (1911).

... the art of politics is to be ahead of your time-about six months will do it. Any more than that, and people forget you were there. ATTRIBUTION: Gloria Steinem (b. 1934), U.S. feminist, author, and editor. As quoted in Ms. magazine, p. 41 (October 1972). Steinem was thinking of Senator (and Democratic Presidential candidate) George McGovern's often-acknowledged, early opposition to American involvement in the Vietnam War.

Son, in politics you've got to learn that overnight chicken shit can turn to chicken salad. ATTRIBUTION: Lyndon Baines Johnson (1908-1973), U.S. Democratic politician, president. Quoted in Fawn Brodie, Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character, ch. 25 (1983). In reply to a reporter who had questioned him on his embracing Richard Nixon on Nixon's return from his vice presidential tour of South America, where he had stood up to being mobbed by an angry crowd in Caracas, Venezuela, May 1958. Johnson had previously referred to Nixon as "chicken shit." Reactions to the incident were not all favorable: Walter Lippmann called the tour "a diplomatic Pearl Harbor" and the Boston Globe said it was "one of the most ineptly handled episodes in this country's foreign relations."

If American politics does not look to you like a joke, a tragic dance; if you
have enough blindness left in you, on any plea, on any excuse, to vote for the Democratic Party or the Republican Party (for at present machine and party are one), or for any candidate who does not stand for a new era, -then you yourself pass into the slide of the magic-lantern; you are an exhibit, a quaint product, a curiosity of the American soil. You are part of the problem. 

ATTRIBUTION: John Jay Chapman (1862-1933), U.S. author. Practical Agitation, ch. 7 (1898).


My dream of politics all my life has been that it is the common business, that it is something we owe to each other to understand and, discuss with absolute frankness. ATTRIBUTION: Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), U.S. president. Address, September 9, 1912, to New York Press Club. The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson, vol. 25, p. 119, ed. Arthur S. Link.

Every two years the American politics industry fills the airwaves with the most virulent, scurrilous, wall-to-wall character assassination of nearly every political practitioner in the country-and then declares itself puzzled that America has lost trust in its politicians. ATTRIBUTION: Charles Krauthammer (b. 1950), U.S. national newspaper columnist. Chicago
The profession I chose was politics; the profession I entered was the law. I entered the one because I thought it would lead to the other. It was once the same road; and Congress is still full of lawyers. ATTRIBUTION: Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), U.S. president. Letter, October 30, 1883, to Ellen Axson. The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson, vol. 1, p. 500, ed. Arthur S. Link.

What is called politics is comparatively something so superficial and illusory, that practically I have never fairly recognized that it concerns me at all. ATTRIBUTION: Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), U.S. philosopher, author, naturalist. "Life Without Principle" (1863), in The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, vol. 4, p. 480, Houghton Mifflin (1906).

Once you are involved in politics, the most difficult thing is to go for hang [be sentenced to death]…. We can't cry over what has happened to us because other people suffer lots more than we suffer until you are killed, you can't say that you have really suffered. ATTRIBUTION: Ela Ramgobin (b. 1941), South African Indian anti-apartheid activist. As quoted in Lives of Courage, ch. 9, by Diana E. H. Russell (1989).

The history of American politics is littered with bodies of people who took so pure a position that they had no clout at all. ATTRIBUTION: Ben C. Bradlee (b. 1921), U.S. editor. quoted in Studs Terkel, Talking to Myself, bk. I, ch. 7 (1977).

Religion means goal and way, politics implies end and means. The political end is recognizable by the fact that it may be attained-in success-and its attainment is historically recorded. The religious goal remains, even in man's highest experiences, that which simply provides direction on the mortal way; it never enters into historical consummation. ATTRIBUTION: Martin Buber (1878-1965), Austrian-born Jewish philosopher. Pointing the Way, Harper & Row (1957).

Reinhold Niebuhr QUOTATION: The sad duty of politics is to establish justice in a sinful world. ATTRIBUTION: Quoted by Jimmy Carter Why Not the Best? Broadman 75

Ronald Reagan, 40th US President QUOTATION: Politics I supposed to be the second-oldest profession. I have come to realize that it bears a very close resemblance to the first. ATTRIBUTION: LA Herald-Examiner 3 Mar 78

One of the things being in politics has taught is that men are not a reasoned or reasonable sex. ATTRIBUTION: Margaret Thatcher (b. 1925), British Conservative politician, prime minister. interview on BBC (Jan. 14, 1972).


The so-called consumer society and the politics of corporate capitalism have created a second nature of man which ties him libidinally and aggressively to the commodity form. The need for possessing, consuming, handling and constantly renewing the gadgets, devices, instruments, engines, offered to and imposed upon the people, for using these wares even at the danger of one's own destruction, has become a "biological" need. Attribution: Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979), U.S. political philosopher. An Essay on Liberation, ch. 1 (1969).

Marilyn Moats Kennedy, Managing Partner, Career Strategies, Chicago QUOTATION: Politics is the process of getting along with the querulous, the garrulous and the congenitally unlovable. ATTRIBUTION: Quoted in "Playing Office Politics" Newsweek 16 Sep 85
We shall one day learn to supersede politics by education. What we call our root-and-branch reforms of slavery, war, gambling, intemperance, is only medicating the symptoms. We must begin higher up, namely, in Education. ATTRIBUTION: Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), U.S. essayist, poet, philosopher. "Culture," The Conduct of Life (1860).

The trouble with Nixon is that he's a serious politics junkie. He's totally hooked ... and like any other junkie, he's a bummer to have around: especially as President A TIRIBUTION: Hunter S. Thompson (b. 1939), U.S. journalist. "Jacket Copy for Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas," The Great Shark Hunt (1979).

I am really sorry to see my countrymen trouble themselves about politics. If men were wise, the most arbitrary princes could not hurt them. If they are not wise, the freest government is compelled to be a tyranny. Princes appear to me to be fools. Houses of Commons & Houses of Lords appear to me to be fools; they seem to me to be something else besides human life. ATTRIBUTION: William Blake (1757-1827), British poet, painter, engraver. repro In Complete Writings, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (1957). Public Address (c. 1810).

It is not so much that women have a different point of view in politics as that they give a different emphasis. And this is vastly important, for politics is so largely a matter of emphasis. ATTRIBUTION: Crystal Eastman (1881-

How can I that girl standing there,
My attention fix
On Roman or on Russian


Bill Moyers QUOTATION: Ideas are great arrows, but there has to be a bow. And politics is the bow of idealism. ATTRIBUTION: Time 29 Oct 65

Then down came the lid-the day was lost, for art, at Sarajevo. World-politics stepped in, and a war was started which has not ended yet: a "war to end war." But it merely ended art. It did not end war. ATTRIBUTION: Wyndham Lewis (1882-1957), British author, painter. "Toward an Art-Less Society," pt. 5, Blasting and Bombardiering (1937).
**liberalism**

philosophy or movement that has as its aim the development of individual freedom. Because the concepts of liberty or freedom change in different historical periods the specific programs of liberalism also change. The final aim of liberalism, however, remains fixed, as does its characteristic belief not only in essential human goodness but also in human rationality. Liberalism assumes that people, having a rational intellect, have the ability to recognize problems and solve them and thus can achieve systematic improvement in the human condition. Often opposed to liberalism is the doctrine of **conservatism**, which, simply stated, supports the maintenance of the status quo. Liberalism, which seeks what it considers to be improvement or progress, necessarily desires to change the existing order.

**Origins**

Neither individualism nor the belief that freedom is a primary political good are immutable laws of history. Only in the Western world in the last several centuries have they assumed such importance as social factors that they could be blended into a political creed. Although Christianity had long taught the worth of the individual soul and the Renaissance had placed a value upon individualism in limited circles, it was not until the **Reformation** that the importance of independent individual thought and action were expressed in the teachings of Protestantism. At the same time, centralizing monarchs were destroying **feudalism** and alongside the nobility arose the **bourgeoisie**, a new social class that demanded the right to function in society, especially commercially, without restriction. This process took several centuries, and it may be said that the first philosopher to offer a
complete liberal doctrine of individual freedom was the Englishman John Locke (1689). From this period on the doctrines of classical liberalism were evolved.

**Classical Liberalism**

Classical liberalism stressed not only human rationality but the importance of individual property rights, natural rights, the need for constitutional limitations on government, and, especially, freedom of the individual from any kind of external restraint. Classical liberalism drew upon the ideals of the Enlightenment and the doctrines of liberty supported in the American and French revolutions. The Enlightenment, also known as the Age of Reason, was characterized by a belief in the perfection of the natural order and a belief that natural laws should govern society. Logically it was reasoned that if the natural order produces perfection, then society should operate freely without interference from government. The writings of such men as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Jeremy Bentham, and John Stuart Mill mark the height of such thinking.

In Great Britain and the United States the classic liberal program, including the principles of representative government, the protection of civil liberties, and *laissez-faire* economics, had been more or less effected by the mid-19th cent. The growth of industrial society, however, soon produced great inequalities in wealth and power, which led many persons, especially workers, to question the liberal creed. It was in reaction to the failure of liberalism to provide a good life for everyone that workers' movements and Marxism arose. Because liberalism is concerned with liberating the individual, however, its doctrines changed with the change in historical
realities.

Liberalism in the Twentieth Century

By 1900, L. T. Hobhouse and T. H. Green began to look to the state to prevent oppression and to advance the welfare of all individuals. Liberal thought was soon stating that the government should be responsible for providing the minimum conditions necessary for decent individual existence. In the early 20th cent. in Great Britain and France and later in the United States, the welfare state carne into existence, and social reform became an accepted governmental role.

In the United States minimum wage laws, progressive taxation, and social security programs were ail instituted, many initially by the New Deal, and today remain an integral part of modern democratic government. While such programs are also advocated by socialism, liberalism does not support the socialist goal of complete equality imposed by state control, and because it is still dedicated to the primacy of the individual, liberalism also strongly opposes communism. Current liberal goals in the United States include integration of the races, sexual equality, and the eradication of poverty.

Bibliography

The classic works of liberalism include J. Locke, Second Treatise on Government (1689); J. S. Mill, On Representative Government (1862); L. T. Hobhouse, Liberalism (1911); J. Dewey, Liberalism and Social Action (1935). See also H. K. Girvetz, From Wealth to Welfare (1950); T. P. Neill, The Rise and Decline of Liberalism (1953); G. L. Cheery, Early English Liberalism (1962); K. R Minogue, The Liberal Mind (1963); A. Arblaster,
conservatism

in politics, the desire to maintain, or conserve, the existing order. Conservatives value the wisdom of the past and are generally opposed to widespread reform. Modern political conservatism emerged in the 19th cent in reaction to the political and social changes associated with the eras of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. By 1850 the term conservatism, probably first used by Chateaubriand, generally meant the politics of the right. The original tenets of European conservatism had already been formulated by Edmund Burke, Joseph de Maistre, and others. They emphasized preserving the power of king and aristocracy, maintaining the influence of landholders against the rising industrial bourgeoisie, limiting suffrage, and continuing ties between church and state. The conservative view that social welfare was the responsibility of the privileged inspired passage of much humanitarian legislation, in which English conservatives usually led the way. In the late 19th cent great conservative statesmen, notably Benjamin Disraeli, exemplified the conservative tendency to resort to moderate reform in order to preserve the foundations of the established order. By the 20th cent. conservatism was being redirected
by erstwhile liberal manufacturing and professional groups who had achieved many of their political aims and had become more concerned with preserving them from attack by groups not so favored. Conservatism lost its predominantly agrarian and semifudal bias, and accepted democratic suffrage, advocated economic laissez-faire, and opposed extension of the welfare state. This form of conservatism, which is best seen in highly industrialized nations, was exemplified by President Reagan in the United States and Prime Minister Thatcher in Great Britain. It has been flexible and receptive to moderate change, favors the maintenance of order on social issues, and actively supports deregulation and privatization in the economic sphere. Conservatism should be distinguished both from a reactionary desire for the past and the radical right-wing ideology of fascism and National Socialism.


**socialism**

general term for the political and economic theory that advocates a system of collective or government ownership and management of the means of production and distribution of goods. Because of the collective nature of socialism, it is to be contrasted to the doctrine of the sanctity of private property that characterizes capitalism. Where capitalism stresses competition and profit, socialism calls for cooperation and social service.

In a broader sense, the term socialism is often used loosely to describe
economic theories ranging from those that hold that only certain public utilities and natural resources should be owned by the state to those holding that the state should assume responsibility for all economic planning and direction. In the past 150 years there have been innumerable differing socialist programs. For this reason socialism as a doctrine is ill defined, although its main purpose, the establishment of cooperation in place of competition remains fixed.

The Early Theorists
Socialism arose in the late 18th and early 19th cent. as a reaction to the economic and social changes associated with the Industrial Revolution. While rapid wealth came to the factory owners, the workers became increasingly impoverished. As this capitalist industrial system spread, reactions in the form of socialist thought increased proportionately. Although many thinkers in the past expressed ideas that were similar to later socialism, the first theorist who may properly be called socialist was François Noel Babeuf, who came to prominence during the French Revolution. Babeuf propounded the doctrine of class war between capital and labor later to be seen in Marxism.

Socialist writers who followed Babeuf, however, were more moderate. Known as "utopian socialists," they included the comte de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen. Saint-Simon proposed that production and distribution be carried out by the state. The leaders of society would be industrialists who would found a national community based upon cooperation and who would eliminate the poverty of the lowest classes. Fourier and Owen, though differing in many respects, both believed that
social organization should be based on small local collective communities rather than the large centralist state of Saint-Simon. All these men agreed, however, that there should be cooperation rather than competition, and they implicitly rejected class struggle. In the early 19th cent. numerous utopian communistic settlements founded on the principles of Fourier and Owen sprang up in Europe and the United States; New Harmony and Brook Farm were notable examples.

Following the utopians came thinkers such as Louis Blanc who were more political in their socialist formulations. Blanc put forward a system of social workshops (1840) that would be controlled by the workers themselves with the support of the state. Capitalists would be welcome in this venture, and each person would receive goods in proportion to his or her needs. Blanc became a member of the French provisional government of 1848 and attempted to put some of his proposals into effect, but his efforts were sabotaged by his opponents. The anarchist Pierre Joseph Proudhon and the insurrectionist Auguste Blanqui were also influential socialist leaders of the early and mid-19th cent.

**Marxists and Gradualists**

In the 1840s the term *communism* came into use to denote loosely a militant leftist form of socialism; it was associated with the writings of Étienne Cabet and his theories of common ownership. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels later used it to describe the movement that advocated class struggle and revolution to establish a society of cooperation.

In 1848, Marx and Engels wrote the famous *Communist Manifesto*, in which
they set forth the principles of what Marx called "scientific socialism," arguing the historical inevitability of revolutionary conflict between capital and labor. In all of his works Marx attacked the socialists as theoretical utopian dreamers who disregarded the necessity of revolutionary struggle to implement their doctrines. In the atmosphere of disillusionment and bitterness that increasingly pervaded European socialism, Marxism later became the theoretical basis for most socialist thought. But the failure of the revolutions of 1848 caused a decline in socialist action in the following two decades, and it was not until the late 1860s that socialism once more emerged as a powerful social force.

Other varieties of socialism continued to exist alongside Marxism, such as Christian socialism, led in England by Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley; they advocated the establishment of cooperative workshops based on Christian principles. Ferdinand Lassalle, founder of the first workers' party in Germany (1863), promoted the idea of achieving socialism through state action in individual nations, as opposed to the Marxian emphasis on international revolution. Through the efforts of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, Lassalle's group was brought into the mainstream of Marxian socialism. By the 1870s Socialist parties sprang up in many European countries, and they eventually formed the Second International. With the increasing improvement of labor conditions, however, and the apparent failure of the capitalist state to weaken, a major schism began to develop over the issue of revolution.

While nearly all socialists condemned the bourgeois capitalist state, a large number apparently felt it more expedient or more efficient to adapt to and
reform the state structure, rather than overthrow it. Opposed to these gradualists were the orthodox Marxists and the advocates of anarchism and syndicalism, all of whom believed in the absolute necessity of violent struggle. In 1898, Eduard Bernstein denied the inevitability of class conflict; he called for a revision of Marxism that would allow an evolutionary socialism.

The struggle between evolutionists and revolutionists affected the socialist movement throughout the world. In Germany, Bernstein's chief opponent, Karl Kautsky, insisted that the Social Democratic party adhere strictly to orthodox Marxist principles. In other countries, however, revisionism made more progress. In Great Britain, where orthodox Marxism had never been a powerful force, the Fabian Society, founded in 1884, set forth basic principles of evolutionary socialism that later became the theoretical basis of the British Labour party. The principles of William Morris, dictated by aesthetic and ethical aims, and the small but able group that forwarded guild socialism also had influence on British thought, but the Labour party, with its policy of gradualism, represented the mainstream of British socialism. In the United States, the ideological issue led to a split in the Socialist Labor Party, founded in 1876 under strong German influence, and the formation (1901) of the revisionist Socialist Party, which soon became the largest socialist group.

The most momentous split, however, took place in the Russian Social Democratic Labor party, which divided into the rival camps of Bolshevism and Menshevism. Again, gradualism was the chief issue. It was the revolutionary opponents of gradualism, the Bolsheviks, who seized power in
the Russian Revolution of 1917 and became the Communist party of the USSR. World War I had already split the socialist movement over whether to support their national governments in the war effort (most did); the Russian Revolution divided it irrevocably. The Russian Communists founded the Comintern in order to seize leadership of the international socialist movement and to foment world revolution, but most European Socialist parties, including the mainstream of the powerful German party, repudiated the Bolsheviks. Despite the Germans' espousal of Marxist orthodoxy, they had been notably nonrevolutionary in practical politics. Thereafter, revolutionary socialism, or communism, and evolutionary, or democratic, socialism were two separate and frequently mutually antagonistic movements.

**Democratic Socialism**

Democratic socialism took firm root in European politics after World War 1. Socialist democratic parties actively participated in government in Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, Belgium, the Netherlands, and other nations. Socialism also became a powerful force in parts of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. To the Indian leader Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders of independence movements, it was attractive as an alternative to the systems of private enterprise and exploitation established by their foreign rulers.

After World War II, socialist parties came to power in many nations throughout the world, and much private industry was nationalized. In Africa and Asia where the workers are peasants, not industrial laborers, socialist programs stressed land reform and other agrarian measures. These nations, until recently, have also emphasized government planning for rapid
economic development. African socialism has also included the revival of precolonial values and institutions, while modernizing through the centralized apparatus of the one-party state. Recently, the collapse of Eastern European and Soviet Communist states has led socialists throughout the world to discard much of their doctrines regarding centralized planning and nationalization of enterprises.

Bibliography

The liberal sees outer, removable institutions as the ultimate source of evil; sees man's social task as creating a world in which evil will disappear. His tools for this task are progress and enlightenment. The conservative sees the inner unremovable nature of man as the ultimate source of evil; sees man's social task as coming to terms with a world in which evil is perpetual and in which justice and compassion will both be perpetually necessary. His tools for this task are the maintenance of ethical restraints inside the individual and the maintenance of unbroken, continuous social patterns inside the given culture as a whole. Hence, the conservative distrusts direct democracy, unrestrained and unpatented. ATTRIBUTION: Peter Viereck (b. 1916), U.S.
historian. The Unadjusted Man: A New Hero for Americans, ch. 4, Beacon Press (1956).

Theodore H White QUOTATION: A liberal is a person who believes that water can be made to run uphill. A conservative is someone who believes everybody should pay for his water. I'm somewhere in between: I believe water should be free, but that water flows downhill.

We who are liberal and progressive know that the poor are our equals in every sense except that of being equal to us ATTRIBUTION: Lionel Trilling (1905-1975), U.S. critic "The Princess Casamassima," The Liberal Imagination (1950).

QUOTATION: The essence of the Liberal outlook lies not in what opinions are held, but in how they are held: instead of being held dogmatically, they are held tentatively, and with a consciousness that new evidence may at any moment lead to their abandonment. ATTRIBUTION: Bertrand Russell (1872-1970), British philosopher, mathematician. "Philosophy and Politics," Unpopular Essays (1950).


QUOTATION: American liberal s and conservatives share much of the
same political heritage. Originally the term Liberal referred to the political and economic ideal of liberating individuals from unrepresentative and arbitrary governments. Early liberalism set in motion patterns for the rule of law that would guarantee individual rights, representation in law making, access to the courts, and protection of private property. Both conservatives and Liberals are Liberal in this sense. But whereas American conservatives of various stripes have continued to place primary emphasis on individual freedom, the autonomy of private institutions, and limits to government in the economic area, American liberals have more frequently appealed to government to advance the liberation of individuals from economic, racial, and political disadvantages in society as a whole. ATTRIBUTION: James W. Skillen. The Scattered Voice: Christians at Odds in the Public Square, ch. 5, Zondervan Books (1990).

QUOTATION: Most of us are conditioned for many years to have a political viewpoint- Republican or Democratic, liberal, conservative, or moderate. The fact of the matter is that most of the problems ... that we now face are technical problems, are administrative problems. They are very sophisticated judgments, which do not lend themselves to the great sort of passionate movements which have stirred this country so often in the past. [They] deal with questions which are now beyond the comprehension of most men. ATTRIBUTION: John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1917-1963), U.S. Democratic politician, president. Press conference, May 1962. quoted in David Eakins, "Policy-Planning for the Establishment," A New History of Leviathan, eds. Ronald Radosh and Murray Rothbard (1972).

QUOTATION: The great problem of American life [is] the riddle of
authority: the difficulty of finding a way, within a liberal and individualistic social order, of living in harmonious and consecrated submission to something larger than oneself…. A yearning for self-transcendence and submission to authority [is] as deeply rooted as the lure of individual liberation. ATTRIBUTION: Wilfred M. McClay, educator, author. The Masterless: Self and Society in Modern America, p. 4, University of North Carolina Press (1994).

QUOTATION: Unlimited economic growth has the marvelous quality of stilling discontent while maintaining privilege, a fact that has not gone unnoticed among liberal economists. ATTRIBUTION: Noam Chomsky (b. 1928), U.S. linguist, political analyst. For Reasons of State, introduction (1973).

QUOTATION: I often think it's comical
How Nature always does contrive
That every boy and every gal,
That's born into the world alive,
Is either a little Liberal,
Or else a little Conservative!
ATTRIBUTION: Sir William Schwenck Gilbert (1836-1911), British parodist, librettist. Iolanthe.

QUOTATION: A radical is a man with both feet firmly planted in the air. A conservative is a man with two perfectly good legs, who, however, has never learned to walk forward. A reactionary is a somnambulist walking backwards. A liberal is a man who uses his legs and his hands at the behest

QUOTATION: The principal feature of American liberalism is sanctimoniousness. By loudly denouncing all bad things-war and hunger and date rape-liberals testify to their own terrific goodness. More important, they promote themselves to membership in a self-selecting elite of those who care deeply about such things. It's a kind of natural aristocracy, and the wonderful thing about this aristocracy is that you don't have to be brave, smart, strong or even lucky to join it, you just have to be liberal. ATTRIBUTION: P.J. (Patrick Jake) O'Rourke (b. 1947), U.S. journalist. Give War a Chance, introduction (1992).

QUOTATION: Liberalism is too often misconceived as a new set of dogmas taught by a newer and better set of priests called "liberals." Liberalism is an attitude rather than a set of dogmas-an attitude that insists upon questioning all plausible and self-evident propositions, seeking not to reject them but to find out what evidence there is to support them rather than their possible alternatives. This open eye for possible alternatives which need to be scrutinized before we can determine which is the best grounded is profoundly disconcerting to all conservatives.... Conservatism clings to what has been established, fearing that, once we begin to question the beliefs we have inherited, all the values of life will be destroyed. ATTRIBUTION: Morris Raphael Cohen (1880-1947), Russian born U.S. philosopher, educator. The Faith of a Liberal, Ayer (1946)
QUOTATION: Liberalism—it is well to recall this today—is the supreme form of generosity; it is the right which the majority concedes to minorities and hence it is the noblest cry that has ever resounded in this planet. It announces the determination to share existence with the enemy; more than that, with an enemy which is weak. ATTRIBUTION: José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955), Spanish essayist, philosopher. The Revolt of the Masses, ch. 8 (1930).

AUTHOR: George McGovern, US Senator QUOTATION: To those who charge that liberalism has been tried and found wanting, I answer that the failure is not in the idea, but in the course of recent history. The New Deal was ended by World War II. The New Frontier was closed by Berlin and Cuba almost before it was opened. And the Great Society lost its greatness in the jungles of Indochina. ATTRIBUTION: Lecture at Oxford University, NY Times 22 Jan 73


QUOTATION: Conservatives believe government's principal functions are the preservation of freedom and removal of restraints on the individual. Liberalism's ascent in the first two-thirds of this century reflected the new belief that government should also confer capacities on individuals. Liberalism's decline in the final third of this century has reflected doubts about whether government can be good at that, or whether government that
is good at that is good for the nation's character. ATTRIBUTION: George F. Will (b. 1941), U.S. political columnist. "Conservative -- With Conviction," The Washington Post (November 12, 1994).

QUOTATION: Most liberals never lost sight of the potential for evil in big government. They have consistently opposed government power in matters of personal and political belief. Liberals are not unconcerned with economic liberty, but they have come to believe that the common good requires that social justice be given a higher priority than absolute economic freedom. Conservatives are-and always have been-on the other side of both questions. They are much more prone to limiting personal and political liberties, but they place the freedom of an individual to do as he pleases in the economic realm at the top of their concerns. Social justice has held a lower priority for conservatives, from the days of Alexander Hamilton when they favored strong government as a means of protecting their economic privileges to the days of Ronald Reagan when they see government as an instrument of social justice and therefore a threat to their economic position. ATTRIBUTION: Robert S. McElvaine (b. 1947), U.S. historian, educator. The End of the Conservative Era: Liberalism After Reagan, ch. 2, Arbor House (1987).

Socialism proposes no adequate substitute for the motive of enlightened selfishness that to-day is at the basis of all human labor and effort, enterprise and new activity. ATTRIBUTION: William Howard Taft (1857-1930), U.S. Republican politician, president. Popular Government, ch. 3 (1913).

If Socialism can only be realized when the intellectual development of all
the people permits it, then we shall not see Socialism for at least five hundred years. ATTRIBUTION: Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924), Russian revolutionary leader. speech, Nov. 27, 1917, at Peasants' Congress, Petrograd. Quoted in John Reed, Ten Days That Shook the World, ch. 12 (1919).

The socialism of our day has done good service in setting men to thinking how certain civilizing benefits, now only enjoyed by the opulent, can be enjoyed by all. ATTRIBUTION: Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), U.S. essayist, poet, philosopher. "Wealth," The Conduct of Life (1860).

To make men Socialists is nothing, but to make Socialism human is a great thing. ATTRIBUTION: Oscar Wilde (1854-1900), Anglo-Irish playwright, author. review of Chants of Labour: A Song-Book of the People, ed. Edward Carpenter, Pall Mall Gazette (London, Feb. 15, 1889).

Men conceive themselves as morally superior to those with whom they differ in opinion. A Socialist who thinks that the opinions of Mr. Gladstone on Socialism are unsound and his own sound, is within his rights; but a Socialist who thinks that his opinions are virtuous and Mr. Gladstone's vicious, violates the first rule of morals and manners in a Democratic country; namely, that you must not treat your political opponent as a moral delinquent. ATTRIBUTION: George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950), Anglo-Irish playwright, critic First published in English in Forecasts of the Coming Century, ed. by Edward Carpenter (1897). "The Illusions of Socialism," Shavian Tract No. 4, The Illusions of Socialism and Socialism: Principles and Outlook (Nov. 1956).

Italy is such a delightful place to live in if you happen to be a man. There one may enjoy that exquisite luxury of Socialism—that true Socialism which is based not on equality of income or character, but on the equality of manners. In the democracy of the caffè or the street the great question of our life has been solved, and the brotherhood of man is a reality. But it is accomplished at the expense of the sisterhood of women. ATTRIBUTION: E.M. (Edward Morgan) Forster (1879-1970), British novelist, essayist. Where Angels Fear to Tread, ch. 3 (1905).

When one makes a Revolution, one cannot mark time; one must always go forward—or go back. He who now talks about the "freedom of the press" goes backward, and halts our headlong course towards Socialism. ATTRIBUTION: Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924), Russian revolutionary leader. speech, Nov. 17, 1917, Smolny, Petrograd. Quoted in John Reed, Ten Days That Shook the World, ch. 11 (1926).