From Political Thought to Political Ideology - How People Try Make Politics a Reality

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Abstract: *Politics as the art of governing requires the adoption of an appropriate strategy, setting goals to be achieved and the methods of their implementation. However, it is no less important to understand its essence, assimilate its principles and hierarchy of values and reflect on how, by making the right decisions, make your interests more concrete, meet the most important needs and increase the importance of the state on the international arena.*

Keywords: politics, political thought, ideology, political ideology

1. Introduction

Aristotle saw politics as a kind of government governing the common good, as evidenced by the following words: *"In all skills and arts, good is the goal. This is the case above all and to the highest degree in the most important of all, which is the ability to exercise power in the state […] "[1]*. However, in order to govern in a given country, one must have some idea in which way to go, what and with what tools to achieve. Political thought often becomes such a model of action, often accompanied by a specific ideology based on politics.

Political scientist Waldemar Paruch points out that politics, which is the subject of political science research, can be considered in two dimensions: practice and reflection[2]. He adds that in both these dimensions political thinking appears with an effect in the form of political thought. He refers to the words of the historian Jerzy Topolski: *"People act [. . .] in accordance with the assumptions of rationality - in these actions they refer to the represented value systems [. . .]"[3]*. Hence, as Paruch points out, when conducting research on politics, one should undertake analytical and systematic studies devoted to the issues of political thought[4]. He justifies this view with five premises:

- The subject of politics - when carrying out activities and implementing political processes - uses the information available to him about public reality. Paruch explains that *"This information layer is also one of the sources of shaping political thought, therefore its analysis allows to determine 1) a set of information that a given subject of politics had at its disposal at a specific time; 2) the information situation accompanying the given activities [. . .]"[5]*,
- Political thought is a register of the subjective characteristics of the subject of politics, including his style of thinking, ideological pattern, and core values. Thus, it represents the character of a person who acts and makes decisions in the sphere of politics, and creates an element connecting the community. Political activities are based on the way of thinking and the ideology that is typical of a given political subject[6],
- Political thought explains the hierarchy of priorities of the subject of politics, which she/he implements through the decisions he implements[7],
- Political thought includes a set of alternatives that are at the discretion of the decision - maker and an explanation of the choice of one of them, treated as optimal[8],
- Political thought documents the political decisions taken. According to Paruch, "*By analyzing the political thought, one can define; 1) situational stimuli to which the policy subject is willing to respond; 2) relations between the goals and the means and methods of action; 3) registered effects, which are assigned an important meaning; 4) the nature of discernable alternatives to actions that have been rejected; 5) attitude to the possessed information about the decision situation; 6) axiological motivations [. . .]"[9]*.

The aforementioned political scientist concludes that: "*political thought is a set of views on political reality, regardless of the degree of their development, internal consistency and systematization, as well as theorizing and concretization. In this context, a priority role in political thought is played by reflections on: satisfying interests by means of ruling decisions; imposing one's own political order on other participants in social relations at a given time and in a specific space; taking over and maintaining power in the state by an entity creating political thought […]"[10]*.

As the lawyer Rett R. Ludwikowski explains: *"political thought deals mainly with views on the political organization of society, especially the state and the law. By the political organization of society, I mean a set of factors that contribute to the organization of society in a political manner, that is, one that is aimed at gaining, changing, maintaining or influencing power, on the organization of the bodies implementing it and on the manner of its implementation. These factors include primarily institutions*

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[1]Arystoteles, *Polityka*, De Agostini, Warszawa 2002, p.70.
[2]W. Paruch, Myśl polityczna – refleksje metodologiczne o pojęciu, *AnnalesUniversitatisMariae   Curie -Skłodowska. Lublin- Polonia, Vol. VI, 1999*, p.27.
[3] Ibidem.
[4] Ibidem.
[5] Ibidem.

[6] Ibidem, p.27-28.
[7] Ibidem, p.28.
[8] Ibidem.
[9] Ibidem.
[10]W. Paruch, Konsekwencje definiowania myśli politycznej dla kwestionariusza badań politologicznych, *Humanities and SocialSciences, vol. XX, 22 (1/2015),*p.160.

that make rulership decisions, but also institutions organizing society in the struggle for power, such as political parties, and socio - economic organizations that fulfill certain political functions, such as pressure groups or trade unions [. . .]"[11].

In the center of political thought, according to the philosopher of politics, Marcin Król, are: "*all public behavior of individuals and social groups that in any way relates to the mutual relations between these individuals and groups and to the products of their actions. In other words, it focuses on issues such as: if and why we want to be free, what conditions must be met for this, what the desired social order should look like and how to make it go in the right direction [. . .]"[12].*

Political thought relates, according to political scientists N. D. Arora and S. S. Awashty, for systematic reflection on the practices and institutions of political life[13]. It is focusing over how people live under political power, how they listen to it, how they resist it, when it does not fulfill what they consider to be impartially appropriate. It concerns the influence of the outside world on political life[14]. It shows how power works as a system and how it connects with its sub systems and with the external systems of which it is a part[15]. Political thought, as history, is, according to Arora and Awashta, the thought of the entire society of a particular period of time, showing how the chosen philosopher perceived politics and political life as a whole[16].

It is therefore the political thought of mankind, reflecting human, political, visions about politics and political institutions. It creates a collection of all the ideas of a specific philosopher from a given historical era, hence we can talk about the political thought of Aristotle, John Stuart Mill or Karl Marx[17]. It concerns political thinking of a specific time, so it is referred to as the political thought of the Middle Ages or the sixteenth century[18].

Political thinking is not limited to the state and government, but, which is plasticized by political scientists Urmila Sharma and S. K. Sharma, exceed them[19]. It is interested in the very nature of man and his relationship with the universe. The aforementioned representatives of political science cite the view of political scientist Phylis Doyle, according to which the essence of political thought consists of three issues: the nature and functioning of man, his relationship with the rest of the universe, forcing reflection on the meaning of life as a whole, and, based on the two previous factors, the problem of the relationship of a man with his neighbor[20].

Historian, lawyer and political scientist Jan Baszkiewicz expressed his conviction that:
"*Political thought [...] is not socially powerless. It shapes political reality when it comes out of the four walls of the thinker's studio, when it takes control of human minds on a macrosocial scale. The description of social reality is an important task and the understandable ambition of the thinker; even in the wildest fantasies of a utopian one can usually find some elements that make it possible to recognize the reality of his time. On the other hand, in a dispassionate description of the state of affairs, we often find an expression of hopes and longings, projects for changes and political programs. From the time of Plato it has been and is so, that studying politics and writing about it becomes an attempt to influence its shape and course [. . .]"[21].*

The above statement seems to be complemented by the words of lawyer Bogdan Szlachta that: "*Political thought is not only the ideas of politicians involved in the current competition for the realization of more or less precise goals, but also entering into much more important issues, for which learning it is necessary both to refer to program documents and to thoroughly familiarize yourself with numerous theoretical works "Whose authors try to supplement the reflection of lawyers, political sociologists, and especially politicians [. . .]"[22].*

Specialist in Russian studies, Katarzyna Duda, explains that the particular term of ideology appears when we do not believe in specific ideas and views of the opponent that aimed at distorting the state of affairs inconvenient for our opponent[23]. He/she can use a variety of techniques: lying, cheating or masking reality. Duda explains that: "*This concept of ideology, which has gradually broken away from the simple concept of lying, is particular in the multiple sense of the word. Its particularity is noticeable as soon as it is opposed by the radical, total concept of ideology. You can talk about ideology an epoch or a specific socio - historical group, e. g. a class in the sense that what is meant is the specificity and nature of the total structure of consciousness of that epoch or social group [...]"[24].* The radical concept of ideology, according to Duda, is best reflected in the definition of ideology by the Russian writer Andrei Amarlik: "*We define ideology as a socially significant system of ideas, supported by this or that social group and serving to strengthen or a change in social relations [...]"[25].*

[11]R.R. Ludwikowski, *Historia polskiej myśli politycznej,*Wolwers Kluwer, Warszawa 2012, p.10.
[12]M. Król, *Historia myśli politycznej od Machiavellego po czasy współczesne*, Arche, Gdańsk 2003, p. 3.
[13]N. D. Arora, S.S. Awasthy, *Political Theory and Political Thought,* Har-Anand Publications, Delhi 2007, p.63.
[14] Ibidem.
[15] Ibidem.
[16] Ibidem, p.64.
[17] Ibidem, p.64-65.
[18] Ibidem, p.65.
[19]U. Sharma, S.K. Sharma, *Western Political Thought,* Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi 2006, p. 2.

[20] Ibidem
[21]J. Baszkiewicz, *Myśl polityczna wieków średnich,* Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 2009, p.6-7.
[22]B. Szachta, *Faktyczność, normatywność, wielokulturowość*, Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, Kraków 2012, p.7-8.
G. Radomski, *Spory o samorząd terytorialny w polskiej myśli politycznej po 1989 r.,* Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2017, p.15.
[23]K. Duda, *Andriej Amalrik- rosyjski dysydent*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2010, p. 291.
[24] Ibidem.
[25] Ibidem.

Political scientist Andrew Vincent shows that: *"Ideologies are sets of concepts, values and symbols that contain concepts about human nature and thus indicate what is possible and what is impossible for humanity to achieve; further - contain critical reflections on the nature of human interaction; values that people should either reject or aspire to; and the proper technical facilities for social, economic and political life that will satisfy the needs and interests of human beings. Ideologies claim both the description and the recipe for humanity. The two trends are mixed in ideologies [. . .]"*[26].

Hannah Arendt in her definition of ideology emphasized the etymology of this concept:
"Ideology is quite literally what its name implies: it is the logic of ideas. Its subject is the story to which the "idea" has been applied. The result of this application is not a set of statements about what is, but an unfolding of a process in which continuous change occurs. Ideology captures the course of events as if they were subject to some "law", as a logical disclosure of their "idea". Ideologies claim to know the secrets of the entire historical process - the secrets of the past, the intricacies of the present, doubts about the future - on the basis of the logic inherent in their respective ideas [. . .]"[27].

Karl Popper was convinced that ideology is an all - encompassing and closed system of thought that has something to say about virtually all political, social and moral matters, but it is also impossible to refute, because, within ideology, there is always an explanation for the current deviation from its predictions[28]. He assumed that ideological thinking should be the opposite of scientific theorizing, creating falsifiable hypotheses. A scientific approach to social issues consists of developing, chaotic, explanations of how particular issues work, and testing them, without a grand theory explaining everything[29]. The validity of a scientific proposal can be agreed by any two persons of good standing in the light of the current evidence and are subject to modification in the light of new evidence. However, in order to make political judgments, people must also apply opinions about, specific to them and impossible to solve by looking at evidence, values[30]. So, according to Popper, political innovation depends on building consensus among people about values and correctly interpreting causes and effects[31].

British philosopher and political theorist Michael Oakeshott noted that ideologies *"are seen as abstract "thought systems", i.e. sets of ideas that distort political reality because they want to explain what is simply inexplicable [. . .]"*[32]. The basis for this opinion was the conviction that human reason is unable to encompass most of the world, hence political activity can be considered as "*sailing on the endless and bottomless sea*"[33].

According to historian Eric Carlton the most important functions of ideology are[34]:
- Cleansing - ideologies can act as a mechanism for releasing emotions. In religious movements, catharsis can be seen in the exercise of worship, where the value of the ritual is sometimes prior to the conditions in which it is performed, which triggers euphoria. Social cleansing is connected, among others, with the identification of the chosen onesin the society of scapegoats, this practice has become a common feature of modern totalitarian systems, as evidenced by the Nazi policy of institutionalized anti - Semitism and systematic genocide,
- maintaining morals in society - ideology can displace the authenticity of certain levels of reality. For example, racist ideologies maintain that the criteria for classifying ethnic groups can be clearly defined. Ideologies can take away the humanity of individual, constantly limited or treated as alien to social groups. In addition, ideology can work to uphold moral attitudes by reassessing collective experience. It may be about re - examining or rationalizing what can no longer be denied, but is nevertheless taken as an affront to said experience,
- strengthening solidarity - ideologies promote unity, at least among their followers, by worshiping traditions or repeating and perpetuating popular myths, advocate functions - ideologies promote key views that society recognizes or takes different positions on.

The philosopher Martin Seliger clarified the position that the function of ideology is to conduct intense action of a specific social group or groups in their political struggles[35].

For sociologist KeikoYokoyama, ideology may serve to change or maintain the power relations between the interested parties in the system of a given institution[36].

The sociologist Eric Carlton distinguishes between conservative and liberal/ revolutionary ideologies[37]. The term *conservative ideology*, according to Carlton, is self - defined. Indicates an ideology supporting the interests and values of existing social contracts. This type of ideology may be imposed or perpetuated by a dominant ruling group or associated or identified with the religious belief system of

[26]A. Vincent, *Modern Political Ideologies*, Blackwell, Oxford-Cambridge 1996, p.16.
M. Zmierczak, *Czy warto zajmować się ideologiami?, Debaty o ideologii w drugiej połowie XX wieku,* [w:] A. Citkowska Kimla, M. Kiwior- Filo, B. Szlachta (red.), *Doktryny- Historia- Wladza: Księga dedykowana Profesorowi Wiesławowi Kozubowi- Ciembroniewiczowi z okazji czterdziestolecia pracy naukowej*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2009, p.425.
[27]H. Arendt, *Korzenie totalitaryzmu*, Świat Książki, Warszawa 2014, p. 547.
[28]S.D. Tansey, *Politics, the Basics,* Routledge, London 2004, p. 68.
[29] Ibidem.
[30] Ibidem.
[31] Ibidem.

[32]A. Heywood, *Ideologie polityczne. Wprowadzenie,* Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2007, p.53.
[33] Ibidem.
[34]E. Carlton, *Ideology and Social Order*, Routledge, New York 2015, p.29-31.
[35] M. Seliger, *Ideology and Politics, George Allen & Unwin,* London 1976, p. 146.
[36]K. Yokoyama, *Government, Policy and Ideology: Higher Education's Changing Boundaries in Two Island Kingdoms- Japan and England,* University Press of America, 2009, p.113.
[37] E. Carlton, op. cit., p.32.

society. Revolutionary ideology is more interested in possible disruption of the present social order, potential social change[38].

The historian Jan - Werner Müller notices that the 20th century is often called the age of ideology, which he sees as filled with passion and, often, fanaticism, faith into a specific idea, a multifaceted social development program[39]. He explains that: *"the narrative looks like this: around 1917, with the Russian Revolution, Europeans became more or less possessed by an ideological premise, from which they recovered, approximately, only in 1991 with the collapse of the Soviet empire and the obvious triumph of liberal democracy over both fascism and communism [. . .]"*[40].

He emphasizes that the great importance attached to political ideas meant that a large part of the population blamed ideas for the harm they experienced. Müller explains, however, that treating the twentieth century as a period of extremism makes
it impossible to see that a significant number of men and women at the time viewed ideologies as answers to the problems she struggled with, such as providing a sense of meaning and salvation or as for hopes for a better tomorrow.[41].

For the political scientist Andrew Heywood, ideology is "*a more or less coherent set of ideas that underpins organized political action, whether or not it is aimed atto preserve, transform or overthrow the existing system of exercising power. Thus, all ideologies (a) provide a picture of the existing system of governance, usually in the form of a picture of the world (b) promote a model of the desired future, a vision of a good society, and (c) explain how a political change can take place - that is, how to move from (a) to (b) [...]"*[42].

Europeanist Roger Eatwell gives an explanation of political ideology according to which: "*a relatively coherent set of empirical and normative beliefs and thoughts, focusing onon the problems of human nature, the historical process and socio - political agreements. It is usually associated with specific short - term concerns. Depending on its relationship with the dominant value structure, ideology can act as a stabilizing or radical force [...] Political ideologies are a product of collective thought [...]"*[43].

As the political scientist Lyman Tower Sargent assumes, a political ideology is an ideology devoted to the political system - the way by which societies make decisions about their most important values[44].

Another representative of political science, Robert Leach, believes that most of the political ideologies that influence our way of thinking and acting today, developed relatively recently, shaped directly or indirectly, inter alia, through the eighteenth - century Enlightenment, the American and French Revolutions, and industrialization[45]. It emphasizes that ideas are the foundation of politics. In his opinion, there is nothing stronger than the idea whose time has just come, which is why the ideas presented in the American Declaration of Independence or in the slogan of the French Revolution "Freedom, Equality, Fraternity" changed the world[46]. The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels inspired the revolution in Russia and the economic and political system that dominated a third of the world. Nowadays, the rediscovery of the free market idea has given a political boost and economic change among Western states, former members of the Soviet Union and representatives of the Third World. [47]. Leach emphasizes, however, that, on the other hand, in politics, power and interests are more important than ideas. At the same time, he refers to the words of Trasmachus from the Plato's *Republic* that: "*justice or law means only what is in the interest of the stronger party [. . .]".* [48].

Political scientist Stanisław Filipowicz makes it understandable that: "*politics is always under strong pressure from ideology, it is the element that animates political reason. In general, specific ideological instincts are stronger than philosophical acumen, forcing them to seek support in simplifications, slogans and slogans. The history of ideas makes it possible to see the problematic nature of all decisions. The longer we study, the more clearly we see the controversy of all fundamental matters. This relativistic initiation is, of course, indispensable. Only it protects us from the rashness of judgments, from ideological blindness. The vocation of the history of ideas is therefore - as it can be briefly said – the creation of a counter balance for the ideological hoaxes that frustrate the scientific analysis of politics [...]"*[49].

Another representative of political science, Paul Wetherly, leaves the thought that the basic definition of ideology suggests an understanding of how the relationship between ideology and politics should work[50]. The policy itself can be seen as a scope of decisions, what members of a group or community must undertake together to create conditions for cooperation and successful functioning of the community. However, it is difficult to ignore the fact that there are disagreements in society as to collective decisions or even the subject of decisions that should be taken collectively or individually[51]. We therly argues that ideologies can be

[38] Ibidem, p.33.
[39] J.-W. Müller, *Przeciw demokracji. Idee polityczne XX wieku w Europie,* Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, Warszawa 2016, p. 7.
[40] Ibidem.
[41] Ibidem, p.7-8.
[42] A. Heywood, op. cit., p.20.
[43] R. Eatwell, *Introduction,* [w:] Idem, A. Wright (red.), *Contemporary Political Ideologies: Second Edition*, A&C Black, 1999, p.17.
[44] L.T. Sargent, *Comparative Political Ideologies: A Comparative Analysis*, Cengage Learning, Wadsworth 2009, p.3.

[45] R. Leach, *Political Ideology in Britain,* PALGRAVE Macmillan, New York 2015, p.1.
[46] Ibidem, p.2.
[47] Ibidem.
[48] Ibidem.
[49] S. Filipowicz, *Wprowadzenie*, [in:] S. Filipowicz, A. Mielczarek, K. Pieliński, M. Tański (ed.), *Historia idei politycznych. Wybór tekstów,* Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2002, p.5-6.
[50] P. Wetherly, *Introduction,* [in:] P. Wetherly (ed.), *PoliticalIdeologies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2017, p.14.
[51] Ibidem.

viewed as the dominant way in which these political misunderstandings are expressed and formulated. Individual view points usually use and illustrate the set of ideas made up of from ideologies available within society[52]. This does not mean, according to Wetherly, that all individuals express their political views in terms of compliance with an appropriate ideology, by declaring that they are socialists or conservatives - it is more common for someone to present socialist views on social inequalities and a conservative stance on crime. But for any question of political controversy, the terms of disagreement will be drawn from ideological perspectives[53]. Man may not have a fixed or consistent set of ideological beliefs, but he will have a set of beliefs that are ideological[54]. If the misunderstanding is manifested by ideological concepts, then, according to Wetherly, it can be said that it triggers ideological rivalry[55]. Only one ideology wins - the one who has attracted more adherents than the others, and thanks to this support, influencing or controlling political decisions in the form of law and public policy. More literally, it is not ideologies as such that compete with each other, but the organizations promoting them and institutions, such as political parties[56].

Political scientist Ian Mackenzie explores the three dimensions of each ideology[57]:

- Empirical - political ideology helps a person understand the comprehensive social world in which she/he lives. Provides descriptions of societies - intellectual maps - enabling people to find their place in the social landscape.
- Normative - political ideologies implement a set of political ideals aimed at specifying the best, possible form of social organization,
- Practical - political ideologies contain a set of strategies and policies on how to manage the current political situation in order to achieve the set vision of a good or even ideal society.

Monika Kacprzak in the book *Pułapki poprawności politycznej. Nie daj się złapać[58]* presents the view that ideology is born at the moment when cognition is separated from reality and transforms it into a basis for political action[59]. People are then tempted by the illusion of future happiness or the logic of the ideological system. According to   Kacprzak, the significant number of ideologies means that, perceiving them as indisputable and inaccessible systems, they are placed in a conflict resulting from the inability to reconcile real understanding and dialogue[60]. The political program does not create an ideology in the case of subjective treatment of society and the pursuit of the true common good. In the opposition. According to Kacprzak, to ideology there is truth, that is, the equivalence of cognition and the existing reality, as well as the individual image of a man as a person having dignity and rights, resulting from its unquestionable nature. [61].

The current political environment is characterized, according to the political scientist Ian Mackenzie, by two interconnecting tendencies: the gradual unification of ideological positions within liberal democracies and the relentless eruptions of ideological fury in the world[62]. In many cases, these trends can be explained, at least in part, by in relation to the return of ideology. While most of the twentieth - century parties that reflected deep class divisions dominated politics in liberal democracies, a form of politics is now being experienced in which each of the most important political groups tries to appeal to all peoples[63]. It means a change in both left - wing and right - wing political parties, in their perception of the political terrain. It is no longer possible, as Mackenzie emphasizes, to gain political power by appealing to one part of society (e. g. the workforce) and claiming that the views of the rest (e. g. management) are false, in return political parties seek to seize the area they define as non - ideological. [64]. In addition, one cannot pass by the fact that the populism of the present political history has brought about with each other the return of the idea of ideology. There is also, according to Mackenzie, no coincidence in a situation where ideology, as the propagation of false ideas that serve only one social group, returns in the political debate at exactly the time when some politicians and commentators announced the end of the age of ideology. It is hardly surprising.

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[52] Ibidem, p.14-15.
[53] Ibidem, p.15.
[54] Ibidem.
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[59] Ibidem, s.33.
[60] Ibidem, s.34.

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[61] Ibidem.
[62] I. Mackenzie, op. cit.,p.15.
[63] Ibidem.
[64] Ibidem.

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