

offered no explanation and said that the statement was complete within itself and not subject to interpretation. Oddly, while the appendix to the study includes various items of documentation, it does not include the PLO covenant, surely an important source.

There always has been a clear path to peace in the Middle East. Since the war resulted from the Arab determination not to accept the existence of Israel, it could have been ended at any time had recognition been extended. If the PLO is now ready to extend that recognition, as the study keeps implying, why do they not do so? Imagine the impact such a statement would have had. If Israel had rejected such an overture, it would have been completely and utterly isolated diplomatically, even from the United States. More to the point, there would have been such an outpouring of debate and discussion within democratic Israel that even the expansionist Begin government could not have withstood it. Such a declaration by the PLO would have been far more effective than terrorism or its present military and political policies. Surely the PLO is aware of this. Why then has it not openly stated what this study claims it is now willing to accept? Arafat's explanation of negotiating cards is far from convincing. It is possible that the Israelis are correct, that the PLO is out to destroy them. But it seems to me to be more likely that the PLO is so divided on this matter that it cannot gather a consensus. The PLO, I believe, holds the key. It could bring about peace—but cannot.

Two additional matters trouble me. One is the study's utility as a primer—that is what it is, despite its pretentious title. Here its bias and its failure to include, perhaps because of lack of understanding, a number of profound political issues disqualify it. But more than that I am troubled by its apparent willingness to accept conventional political standards and values. In his preface, Stephen G. Cary, board chairman of the AFSC, quotes William Penn: "Let us then try what love can do." Alas, there is no further mention of love anywhere in the study. Nor is there a hint of the prophetic tone one expects from this deeply religious, humanitarian, and pacifist organization that prides itself on being "peculiar" and having a quite unique approach. Instead, in 1982, this is a rather ordinary book expressing in ordinary terms what

many people already have concluded. Nothing new or unusual about it at all.

And that's too bad. The contemporary world is beset by widespread and perplexing problems involved in the search for national sovereignty and self-determination. Both those who search and those who oppose them generally depend on violence to achieve their goals. And the world moves from one disaster to another. If self-determination is a human right, what position should we take on the Kurds' long and violent struggle? On the Somalis? The Eritreans? The Basques? The list is very long, and chaos could result from every item on it. Do the ends justify the means? Can we accept these desirable values uncritically? These are profound moral, ethical, and political dilemmas, not susceptible to ready resolution. But our world must make a start, and I believe the AFSC uniquely competent to lead and to bring some insight to these intractable questions. I am sad they did not begin here.

Postscript: As this is being written, Israel is besieging Beirut. The terrible human costs of that incursion are clear, the political consequences uncertain at present. But that devastation adds emphasis to my contention: The AFSC missed an opportunity to be prophetic, to point out that the human and moral values being destroyed in this (or indeed any other) modern conflict in which both sides use violence to achieve what they consider justice may very well outweigh the political values sought. [WV]

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MARX'S THEORY OF IDEOLOGY by Bhikhu Parekh

(John Hopkins University Press; 247 pp.; \$24.50)

Gregg Kvistad

One of the few growth sectors in political theory these days is the study of Karl Marx's thought. The resurgent academic interest in Marx since the 1960s has produced increasingly narrow and specialized studies. *Marx's Theory of Ideology* is one of these. But the subject matter of this short work is far broader than its title suggests. Parekh works tenaciously through Marx's various uses of the concept of ideology, detailing interconnections and occasional inconsistencies. Arguing that a coherent notion of ideology can be discovered—though not without some difficulty—in Marx's writings, Parekh leads his readers through Marx's entire corpus, stopping along the way to pose some of the most difficult questions that can be asked of Marx's thought on the nature of social analysis. Parekh does not miss an opportunity to push Marx's views as far as (and, in my opinion, sometimes further than) they can be pushed. This is a rigorous study; my only reservation is that it may be more rigorous than Marx's views on ideology—which Parekh wants to call a "theory"—can sustain.

Parekh's purpose is to articulate "the logical structure and epistemological basis of Marx's theory of ideology." "Ideology" is neither a term of abuse nor merely a term for a system of beliefs. Rather, as Parekh has discovered, Marx uses ideology in two related ways: to denote idealism and apologia. Each type of ideology, Parekh contends, is, first, systematically biased in its presentation of social reality and, second, biased toward the interests of a particular social group. Parekh wants to call the systematic bias of ideology its "logical structure" and the bias toward a social group its "epistemological basis."

According to Parekh, idealism in Marx's writings refers to a theory of the nature of consciousness that mistakenly posits independently existing ideas which humans can "perceive," "grasp," or "live up to," but cannot create or alter. Idealism's ideas, according to Marx, are really produced by humans in particular social contexts, but they are seen by ideologists as universal, de-historicized, absolute en-

tities with lives of their own. The result is a distorted picture of reality that is really an apologia for a particular social context. In Marx's later works, according to Parekh, he comes to conceptualize ideology as apologia per se, without the mediation of idealism. Apologetic ideologists universalize a particular viewpoint. A modern ideological thinker may not only hold, for instance, that everyone in a society rationally maximizes his self-interest, but may further claim that the maximization of self-interest is "natural" to the human species at all times and in all places. Parekh does differentiate among the apologists whom Marx considers. The "base" are those who are aware of their partisanship and ply it with a vengeance; the "vulgar" are those whose analyses unwittingly confine them to society's surface; and the classical economists are the "ideologists" who come closest to providing an objective analysis of society.

Parekh concludes that a systematic bias in a theory, a faulty "logical structure," is the fatal mistake that renders a work "ideological." A failure of logic, then, rather than a social or class bias is what necessarily makes a work "ideological," and with this conclusion Parekh challenges such twentieth-century Marxist theorists as Lenin, Lukács, and Althusser. Parekh suggests that a bias in the direction of a particular class or social group is an "important" but "derivative characteristic" of the theory. And so he must argue that Marx's view of ideology is "conceptually detachable" from his theory of the social determination of knowledge. But if we actually detach the "sociological" from the "logical" aspects of Marx's theory of ideology, we end up gutting the social foundation of the logic.

Parekh himself argues that the purveyors of ideology are all "socially situated being[s] who perceive the world from a specific social position" and are "unaware...[that] every social point of view claims universal or absolute validity." Though Parekh considers the mistaken perceptions of ideologists "logical" mistakes, they are, in fact, mistakes made in a social context, by social beings; and, according to Marx, the content of the mistakes will in some way reflect that social dimension. It is then wrongheaded to characterize the "sociological" as secondary to and derived from the "logical structure" of ideological discourse, as Parekh does.

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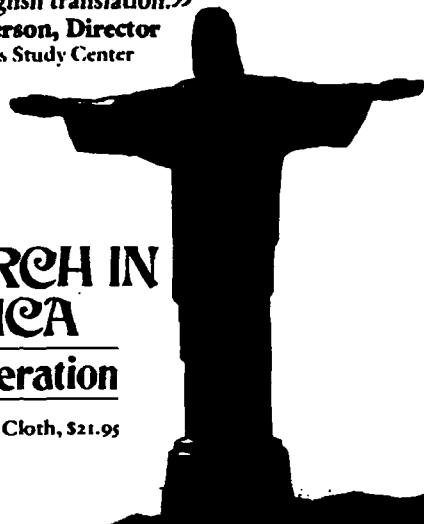
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