Index

7/7 terror attacks 20, 168
9/11 terror attacks 45–6, 50, 71

Abel 56
abortion 40, 196, 200, 210, 216
Abrahams, Louis 28
acculturation 28, 33
Acheson, Dean Gooderham 76
Adam 53
Adorno, Theodore 34
Afghanistan conflict 9
African-Americans 34, 54
Ajegbo, Sir Keith 5
alcohol abuse 189, 206, 212
Alexandria Declaration 70
alphabet 67
Altham, Jimmy 168
anarchy 196–7
Anderson, Benedict 65–6
Aannan, Noel 33
anomie 59
Anouilh, Jean 57
anti-semitism 29–30, 34, 197–8
see also Holocaust
Appiah, Anthony 79
Arendt, Hannah 53
Aristotle 4–5, 93–4, 96–7, 135, 158
Arnold, Matthew 91
assimilation
integration without 16, 21–3, 85, 234
Augsburg, Treaty of 153
Auschwitz 30, 34, 46
Austen, Jane 69
authoritarianism 34
autonomy 34, 93, 116
morality and 47, 143, 196
Bahai 9
Baldwin, Stanley 165, 166
Balkans 51–2
Barnardo, Thomas 167
Barrosso, Jose Manuel 42
Baudrillard, Jean 45, 46
Baumeister, Roy 51
Beatles 40, 214
Bell, Daniel 19, 77
belonging
civil society and 54
collective belonging 22–3, 145, 237
conformity and 6
giving and 231, 240
multiculturalism and 5
through working together 14–15, 231
see also identity
Benda, Julien 46
Benedict XVI 63
Bennett, Alan 77
Berkeley, George 168
Index

Berlin Declaration of the European Union (2007) 54
Berlin, Isaiah 33–4, 115, 174
'Two concepts of liberty' 92–3
Bible 53, 54, 56, 58, 65
biblical picture of anarchy 196–7
biblical politics and freedom 96–100
biblical politics and liberal democracy 222–3
covenant 104–6, 109, 118–19, 124–5
covenant love 126, 222–3
Deuteronomy 56, 102–3, 118–19, 125–6, 127
Exodus 58, 97, 98, 104–5, 136–7
First Samuel 101–4, 109
Genesis 53, 56, 97, 222
historical narrative 115–16, 117, 118
Hosea 109
human responsibility 125–8
Isaiah 53, 126, 177, 179
Jeremiah 85, 178, 181
love and biblical morality 219
Moses see Moses
as part of national culture 69
political nature of the Hebrew Bible 96–7, 135–6
Ruth 126, 221–2
scrolls and codices 67
self-critical tradition of 121
and social capital 131
and social contract 101–4
the Tabernacle and Temple 136–42, 230–1
vision of peace 177
bilingual communication 162–3
black civil rights movement 80
Blair, Tony 21
blogging 70, 238
Blunkett, David 19
bonding capital 179
Bonhoeffer, Dietrich 191
Booth, Charles 27, 167
bridging capital 179–80
Brien, Alan 41
British Society
assimilationist tradition 16–18, 25–30, 231–2
British values and the creation of a national narrative 166–71
children in 206–9
complex identities in 155–6
lack of national narrative 120, 163–4, 165
loss of national confidence 76–9
marriage statistics 205–6
multiculturalist tradition 18–21
political covenant in England and Scotland 110
the return of the tribes 80–2
rise of tolerance 200
social capital 131–2
Victorian philanthropy 128–9, 167
Bruce, Robert 110
Bruner, Jerome 117
Buber, Martin 174–5
Buddhists 9, 92
Bulgaria 205
Burke, Edmund 107, 187
Burtons 27
Buttiglioni, Rocco 42–3, 201
Cain 56
Calvinism 105, 110, 124, 185
Car1tle Report 19–20, 233
capitalism 185
see also market
Carter, Stephen 222
Catholics
Catholic birth rate 214
Catholic defence of heterosexual marriage 215
curtailed rights of Catholics in Britain (before 1829) 18
Chajes, Zvi Hirsch 103
Chamberlain, Joseph 27
Charles, Prince of Wales 180
Chekhov, Anton 192
Chesterton, G. K. 22
children 206–11, 215
Cho, Seung Hu 49–51, 62
Christianity
British 77–8
260
Index

dialogue with Judaism 174–5 see also interfaith relationships
ethos of responsibility 56, 125–9, 132
ever 56
forced conversion to 27, 197
social gospel 128–9, 167, 179
thought experiment on Christian persecution 44–5
Christmas 78, 115
Churchill, Winston Leonard Spencer 16–17, 69
memorial 163
citizenship
civility and 183–92 see also civil society
education 5, 167, 239
language of 162–3
social covenant of 177–82
civic nationalism 12, 140
see also national identity
civic virtue 98, 220–1
civil equality 34, 135, 144
civil society 94, 106, 128, 132, 142, 201 versus the civic virtue tradition 98, 220–1
civility and 184, 186–8, 190–2
‘covenant love’ and 126, 222–3
erosion of 11
liberal politics and 54, 98
civility 183–92, 222
Clarke, Charles 9
classicism 35
classical democracy 218, 219
Clinton, Bill 7
Clinton, Hilary 214
codices 67
cohabitation 206, 207, 214
Colegate, Isabel 29
common good 5, 10, 11, 16, 22
as a by-product 158
civility and 189
identification with 85
social covenant and 110, 152–4, 156, 157, 181, 234, 236
in the Tabernacle model of society 138, 140, 231
working together for 85, 110, 240
communications technology 6–9, 238–9
and the end of autonomous cultures 68–70
and the fragmentation of culture 63–73
see also information technology; internet
community
community-creation 127, 170–1, 230
community relations 10, 131–2, 177, 179, 233
community service 23, 184, 233, 239
covenantal society as a moral community 125, 145, 156 see also social covenant
inward turn from society to 82–6 sense of national community 66 state and 202, 216
Tabernacle as visible emblem of 138
of values 84
Comte, Auguste 59
concentration camps 30, 34, 46
conflict management 9

civility and conflict resolution 189, 192
non-violent conflict resolution 70
conspiracy theories 64, 71
consumerism 83, 143
contracts 109–10
social contract 101–4, 110
corporate state 55
cosmopolitanism 21–2, 79–80, 161

covenant
in the Bible 104–6, 109, 118–19, 124–5
‘covenant love’ 126, 158, 180, 222–3
social see social covenant
Crèvecoeur, J. Hector St. John 26
crime 188–9
Croats 51–2
Cromwell, Oliver 27
Crusades 53
Cuddihy, John Murray 162
cultural pluralism 30–2, 33–4, 35, 82 see also multiculturalism
culture
of the 1960s 40
of Ancient Greece 56–7
cultural canon 69
cultural diversity see diversity
cultural habits of individualism 6
fragmentation of 11, 20, 63–73
global cultures 9, 73
global media and the end of autonomous cultures 68–70
marriage and 213–16 see also marriage
national see national culture
politicization of 55
rise of national cultures 64–8 ‘scientific’ 59
tasks of religion in 214–16
technologies of 6–9
of victimhood 56–62
of the visual image 71
youth 40
Czechoslovakian refugees 18

Dalai Lama 92
Dalrymple, Theodore 212
Dawkins, Richard 211
de Gaulle, Charles 65
Declaration of Independence (US) 54, 60, 111, 114, 164
Defoe, Daniel 17
democracy
basis of 55
the character of liberal democracy 98, 201–2, 226–7
classical and liberal 218–19
defence of liberal democracy 9–11, 95–100, 192, 217–27, 232–3
European roots of 96
freedom and liberal democracy 10–11, 92–5, 108, 150
individualism and 129–30, 187, 224
insufficiency of liberal democracy 150–1
religion and 217–19, 221–7
Denmark 3, 96
determinism 59, 86
Devlin, Patrick Arthur 38, 39
devolution 76, 155
Dewey, John 32
dialogue 174–5
Diamond, Jared 214
Dickens, Charles 69, 167
dignity
as a basis of covenant 144
biblical concept of human dignity 132
civil society and 190
of difference 3, 10, 22
equal 61
of the individual 54–5
language and 42
Dionysus 45
Disraeli, Benjamin 209
diversity
biblical treatment of 98–100, 138
as a fact and value 4–5
importance of cultural diversity 216
integrated 10, 22–3, 139
divorce 206, 207–8
Donne, John 69
Dreyfus affair 30, 191
drugs 34, 40, 189, 206, 212
Durkheim, Émile 59

Easter 115
eastern mysticism 34, 40
education
citizenship education 5, 167, 239
collapse of the integrationist ideal 82–4
national system of 66–7
by ‘Practical Christianity’ 128–9
as a purely state responsibility 210, 220
see also schools
Edward I 27
Egypt 108
Eichmann, Adolf 53
Elias, Norbert 184, 185
Eliot, George 167
Eliot, T. S. 216
Elizabeth II 75, 78, 180
email 9, 44, 63, 68, 71, 86
community building through 238–9
Engels, Friedrich 128
## Index

Enlightenment 26, 58, 160
- failure of 35
- Scottish 167, 219–20
- environment 237
Erasmus, Desiderius 184
- ethics
  - collapse of the sexual ethic 210–12
  - Greek and Roman 218
  - internalized 185
  - mutation into barbaric aesthetics 45
  - of personal responsibility 123–33
- see also morality
ethnic identity 9, 31
- in Germany 16
- pluralism and 35
- the return of the tribes 80–2
ethnic-religious separatism 11
etiquette 184–5, 189
- see also civility
European Commission 42–3, 201
European demographics 205–6
European Union 76
- 2007 Berlin Declaration 54
Eve 53
evil 47, 51–3, 56
faith schools 82–4, 212, 235
- see also Jewish schools
family
- centrality in monotheistic faiths 212
- family breakdown 11, 21, 206–10, 212–13, 214
- identity and continuity of 31, 116
- objections to 208
- rebuilding of the family 235
fascism 191, 236
Ferguson, Adam 107–8, 186, 191, 220, 222
festivals 115, 127
- see also individual festivals
Ford, Ford Madox 17
Forster, E. M. 161
Fortuyn, Pym 4
Foucault, Michel 160
Fox, Kate 77
‘Fractured Families’ 207–8
France
- anti-semitism 29–30
- assimilation and the Republican tradition 16
- civic virtue tradition 220–1
- French Revolution 98, 107, 236
- multiculturalism 3
- Napoleonic 108
- youth protests (1968) 34
Frankl, Viktor 61–2
Franklin, Benjamin 107
free speech 11, 19
- political correctness and 42–5
- and the politicization of intellectuals 46–7
Freedland, Jonathan 167
freedom
- and the battle of ideas 91–5
- betrayal of 38–48
- biblical politics and 96–100
- through collaborative effort 137–8
- of conscience 96
- democratic see democracy
- journey from slavery to 97, 117, 136, 164, 230
- marriage and 211
- Mill on 39, 43, 129
- of response 62
- responsibility and 129–30, 161
- rights and 60–1
- science and the death of 58–9
- sexual 210, 211–12
- supreme power and human freedom 105
- undermined through media manipulation 72
French Revolution 98, 107, 236
Freud, Sigmund 45, 59, 80, 92, 210, 211
Fromm, Erich 34
Frost, David 37
Fuller, Millard 229–30
Gamliel, Rabban 218–19
Gaskell, Elizabeth 167
Gauguin, Paul 92
gays 54, 76
- see also homosexuality
Gellner, Ernst 66–7
Index

Germany
  anti-Semitism 29-30
  birthrate 205
  ethnic identity 16
  Fascist Germany 236
Gladstone, William Ewart 70
global economy 7, 11, 232
globalization 7, 8, 70-3
global communication see communications technology
global cultures 9, 73
Gnosticism 71
Goldsmith, Oliver 225
Goodhart, David 17
Gordon Evans, William 27
Gorer, Geoffrey 188
Greece 205
  Ancient 56-7, 98, 215
Greek philosophy 97-8
  see also individual philosophers
Greek politics 97-8, 219
  Athenian democracy 218, 219
Greek tragedy 57, 59
  guilt
    confession and 219
    forgiveness and 57
    retribution and 59
    victims and 51, 53
Gulf War (1991) 7, 68
Gustincic, Andrej 52

Ha-am, Achad 68
Habitat for Humanity 229, 230, 231
Halevi, Judah 8
Halsey, A. H. 209
Hanina, Rabbi 218
Hart, H. L. A. 38, 39, 40
hate
  literature of 168
  self-hatred 78
Havel, Vaclav 224
Hayek, Friedrich 33, 174
Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedr 66, 108, 135
Heidegger, Martin 168
Hellenistic politics see Greek politics
Herder, Johann Gottfried 16
Herzl, Theodore 30
heteronomy 93
Hill, Octavia 167
Himmelfarb, Gertrude 167
Hindus 18, 76, 131
  Hindu leaders in Britain 9
history
  as memory 115-16, 119
  of multiculturalism 25-35
  as narrative 115-22
  racism in British history 16-17
  as a weapon 51-2
Hitler, Adolf 34, 78, 150
Hobbes, Thomas 10, 60, 96, 104, 135, 189
Holland see Netherlands
Holocaust 34, 50, 76
  concentration camps 30, 34, 46
  Holocaust survivors 61-2
  homosexuality 38-9, 40, 42-3, 44-5
  legalization of 200
  politicization of gays' victimhood 54
  same-sex partnerships 206
  see also gays; lesbians
Honeyford, Ray 18
hope 57-8
Hosea 109
Huguenots 16, 17, 20, 231, 234
Hulme, T. E. 35
Hume, David 40, 52
Hungarian refugees 18
Hungary 205
Huntington, Samuel 21-2, 86-7
Husain, Ed 45, 82
Hussein (Ibn Talal), king of Jordan 173
Hutus 53
Huxley, Aldous: Brave New World 211-12

identity
  belongingness and 54 see also belonging
  British 76-8, 163-9
  complex identities 155-6
  covenental shared identity 109, 121-2, 136, 158, 160-1
  ethnic 9, 31
Index

global 72
identity politics 55-6, 60-1
memory and 115-16, 120, 122
modernity’s crisis of 79-80
national 5, 8-9, 75-9, 161-9
religious 9, 72, 81-2, 115
search for 79-80, 159-60
values and 95
ideological politics 191
immigration
and the fading of ethnicity 81
Jewish 27-9
and the rise of multiculturalism 18, 32-3
Immigration Act (US, 1924) 32
imperialism 21
individualism
cultural habits of 6
democracy and 129-30, 187, 224
inadequacy of 95
the liberal revolution and 53-4
Industrial Revolution 7, 66
information technology 7, 91, 238-9
and the nation state 64-8, 232
see also communications
technology; internet
integration
Blair on 21
diversity and 10, 16
integrated diversity 10, 22-3, 139
replaced by ideal of segregation
84-6
without assimilation 16, 21-3, 85, 234
interfaith relationships 9-10, 167, 168-9, 180
face-to-face 174-5
side-by-side 173-4, 177-81, 239
internet 7-8, 50, 68, 71, 83, 232
as an educational tool 238-9
terrorist exploitation of 72
see also communications
technology; email
Iran 18, 32, 63
Iraq
1991 Gulf War 7, 68
refugees 32

world impact of conflict through
communications technology 9

Irish 16, 17, 27, 31, 80, 231, 234
Isaacs, Harold 81
Isaiah 53, 126, 177, 179
Islam 198, 202
see also Muslims
Israel
Ancient Greece and 98
as a culture 68-9
and global communications 9
as mixed society 99
social contract of 101-4
social covenant of 104-6

Jains 9
Jakobovits, Immanuel 82
James, Oliver 206
James, William 194
Jefferson, Thomas 10, 60
memorial 163
Jeremiah 85, 178, 181
Jesus Christ 127
Jewish Chronicle 27-8
Jewish schools 28, 29, 81, 82, 84
Jews
anti-semitism 29-30, 197-8 see also
Holocaust
birthrate of Orthodox Jews 214
concerns about marital breakdown
214
forced conversion of 27, 197
identity label of 76
Jewish emancipation 16
a Jewish perspective on
multiculturalism 25-35
Jewish rights in Britain 18
memory and history of 115-16
Orthodox viewpoints 214, 215
politicization of victimhood 54
self-hatred 78
Johnson, Lyndon Baynes 114, 119
Johnson, Samuel 168
Joseph (Patriarch) 127
Joseph, Morris 28
Joyce, James 117-18
Judaism
American Orthodox community 81
Index

dialogue with Christianity 174–5 see also interfaith relationships

ethos of responsibility 56, 125–8, 132
evil and 56

illegality in Britain, pre-1656 199

memory and history in 115–16

Passover 115, 116, 118, 144, 213

the place of the family 212, 213–14

prophetic 118, 124, 126, 177, 178–9

rabbinic view of politics 218–19

rejection of coerced 'faith' 198

as religious identity 81

Sabbath 213–14

the Tabernacle and Temple 136–42, 230–1

Talmud 42, 81, 177–9

see also Jewish schools

July 7 terror attacks 20, 168

jurisprudence 59

Kallen, Horace 30–1, 35, 86

Kant, Immanuel 40, 52, 97, 196

Kashmir 9

Kaufman, Stuart 51–2

Kennedy, John F. 113–14, 119

Kennedy, Robert F. 124, 227

Kenya 18

Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah 18

Kierkegaard, Søren 169

King, Martin Luther 34, 97, 124, 164, 191

Knox, John 110

Koran 65, 198, 223

Kosovo, Battle of 52

Ku Klux Klan 32

Kuhn, T. S. 92

language

bilingual communication 162–3

breakdown of moral language 41

of citizenship 162–3

of clarity 168

of freedom 58

national cultures and 66

of political correctness 42–5

sacred 65

of shared belonging 11

Larkin, Philip 209–10

Lasch, Christopher 49

Leach, Penelope 213–14

Lenin, Vladimir 34

Lenski, Gerhard 80

lesbians 76

Levi, Primo 34

Levin, Bernard 37–8, 47

liberal democracy see democracy

liberalism

British and continental 10

clashes with multiculturalism 18–19


the liberal state 54–5

political liberalism and moral relativism 200–1, 203

and the rights of the individual 5, 54

libertarianism 43–4, 210, 212, 213, 216

liberty of conscience 96

Librescu, Liviu 62

Liebman, Charles 81

Lincoln, Abraham 54, 96, 121

memorial 163

literary canon 69

Locke, John 10, 60, 96, 135, 167

Letter Concerning Toleration 197

Longley, Clifford 169

love 98, 219

'covenant love' 126, 158, 180, 222–3

sex, marriage and 210, 211, 215

Lovett, William 167

loyalty 19, 154–5, 161

Luchaire, Achille 65

Lytard, Jean-Francois 122

Macaulay, Thomas Babington 16

MacIntyre, Alasdair 41, 45, 85–6, 118, 143–4

Madison, James 111

Maharishi Mahesh Yogi 40

Maimonides, Moses 127

Major, John 166

Manasseh ben Israel 4

Manichaeism 71
manners 184–5, 186
see also civility
manufacturing industry 7
market 149, 154–5
civility and the emergence of the free market 186
Marks and Spencer 27
Marr, Wilhelm 30
marriage 201, 205–6, 207, 211, 235
breakdown of 206–8, 212–13, 214
see also family: family breakdown
National Marriage Week 213
and the place of religion in society 213–16
sanctity of 216
and the sexual revolution 210
Martin, Millicent 37
Marx, Karl 55, 59
Maslow, Abraham 34
master race 121
Mead, Margaret 212
media
and the creation of a national narrative 167
democratized attention 50
global media and the end of autonomous cultures 68–70
print and the nation state 64–8
unity and division through global media 70–3
see also communications technology
memory 115–16, 119, 120, 122
meta-narrative 122
see also narrative
Mikes, George 38
Miles, Jack 57
Mill, John Stuart 10, 40, 45, 47–8, 93, 167
on freedom 39, 43, 129
on responsibilities of parenthood 208–9
on rights 39, 150
Millennium celebrations 78, 167
Milosevic, Slobodan 51–2
Milton, John 10, 77, 96, 139, 167
Mishcon, Victor 173
modernism 160
modest politics 221, 226
Modigliani, Amedeo 92
Montefiore, Sir Moses 29
Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat 17, 160
Moore, G. E. 168
moral relativism 83, 93, 195, 200–1, 203, 215
morality
biblical principle of love 219
breakdown of moral language 41
and the culture of victimhood 56–62
democratic moral order 10 see also democracy
enforcement of morals 38–40
Judaeo-Christian tradition 56
Kant’s criterion of 151
loss of confidence in 11
moral relativism 83, 93, 195, 200–1, 203, 215
mutated into politics 42–5
personal choice and 93–4, 143
results of death of 42–8
shared moral codes 5, 41, 153
tolerance and 194–7
see also ethics
Moroccan workers 32
Morris, William 167
Moses 56, 58, 79, 102–3, 104–5, 114
humanness of 118
and the question of identity 159
and the Tabernacle 137–8
Moss Bros 27
Mount, Ferdinand 211
multiculturalism 3–4, 5, 233–4
in America 3, 21–2
birth of 32–5, 86
clashes with liberalism 18–19
and the denial of public culture 153
history of 25–35
identity politics and 55–6
liberal democracy and 10
and the loss of national identity 8–9
multiculturalist model of society 15–16, 18–21, 86, 94–5
in the Netherlands 4, 32–3
post-multiculturalism 21–3
Index

segregation through 3, 16, 82, 95, 234

tolerance and 3, 19, 201–3, 238
see also cultural pluralism

music 69

Muslims 18, 76, 131, 202–3, 215

Mussolini, Benito 34

MySpace 50, 83, 238

mysticism 34

narrative 113–22
creation of a national narrative 166–71
description and 165–6
the national story 163–5
values and 169–71

nation state
information technology and 64–8, 232
to ‘little states’ 84–6
national culture and 7–8

National Anthem 75–6

national culture 66, 68–9, 73, 86, 231
impact of information technology on 7–8

National Front 18

national identity 5, 8–9, 75–9, 140, 161–9
complex identities 155–6

national pride 78–9

nationalism 21, 22, 34, 35
civic nationalism 12, 140
patriotism and 79

neo-Marxism 54

Netherlands
multiculturalism 4, 32–3, 202–3
political covenant 110
tolerance 202–3

Neuhaus, Richard John 192

Niebuhr, Richard 111

Nietzsche, Friedrich 40–1, 45, 62

North African workers 32

Nye, Joseph 91

Oedipus 57, 92, 210–11

Orwell, George 38, 77, 79, 165–6, 188

Ottoman Empire 199

Owen, Robert 167

Oz, Amos 184n, 192

Paine, Thomas 99, 106–8, 135, 167

Parliament, Houses of 165

Passover 115, 116, 118, 144, 213

patriotism 79

Paxman, Jeremy 166

peace 176–9

politics of 226–7

Peres, Shimon 173

philanthropy 128–30

Phillips, Trevor 4, 20

Philo 217

Pilgrim Fathers 96, 224

Pinter, Harold 27

Plato 52, 96–7, 135, 225

Republic of 4, 210–11, 236

pluralism
cultural 30–2, 33–4, 35, 82 see also multiculturalism

of values 34, 92

political correctness 11, 42–5, 98, 201

political systems 108–12, 120
covenantal politics 109–14, 116–17, 119–28, 135–45
ideological politics 191

modest politics 221, 226

politics of recognition 54–6, 60–1

politics of responsibility 123–33

politics of victimhood 52, 53–6, 62

pop music 34, 69

Popper, Sir Karl 33, 93, 174

postmodernism
absence of worship and identity 160
denial of shared moral codes 5
and the politicization of victimhood 54

the postmodern state 54–5

as ‘the death of meta-narrative’ 122

Powell, Enoch 18, 168

Princeton University 111

printing technologies 65–8

procedural state 18–21

Prochaska, Frank 128

prophets
Jeremiah’s message of integration without assimilation 178
prophetic and kingly leadership 102-4
as social critics 108, 126, 151, 177, 219, 225
utopianism of 177-8
Prospect magazine 20
Protestant work ethic 185
Prussia 108
psychological oppression 55
see also victims
public spaces 152-4, 192, 235
neutral space and its politicization 190-1, 235-6
protection of social space 235-6
punishment 59
Putianism 96, 110, 111, 123
Putman, Robert 179
racism 34, 191
in British history 16-17
post-war 6
Reality TV 50
recognition 50
politics of 54-6, 60-1
rights and 60-2
'Red Scare' 32
refugees 18, 32
relativism 83, 93, 195, 215
political liberalism and moral relativism 200-1, 203
religious identity 9, 72, 81-2, 115, 224
and the inward turning of communities 82-4, 212
ritual and social inclusion 127
religious pressure groups 11
religious roles in society 213-16, 223-5
religious toleration 197-200
repentance 121
respect 10, 61
see also self-respect
'respect' programme 180
responsibility
of covenantal society 123-33
culture of 132-3
freedom and 129-30, 161
social capital and 130-2
volunteering and 128-30, 141-2
retribution 59
Rhodes, Cecil 77
Ricoeur, Paul 118
Riesman, D., Glazer, N. and Denney, R. 186
rights
authenticity and 43-4
black civil rights movement 80
freedom and 60-1
of groups 19, 54
of individuals 5, 19, 54
Jewish rights in Britain 18
Mill on 39, 150
recognition and 60-2
responsibilities and 132-3
ring-fencing of 150
Robbers' Cave experiment 175-6
Robinson, John A. T.: Honest to God 40
rock 34, 69
romanticism 35
Rome, Ancient 215
Roman republicanism 218, 219
Roosevelt, Franklin D. 32, 69
memorial 163
Roosevelt, Theodore 25
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 99-100, 116, 135, 187, 191, 214
and civic virtue tradition 220
Rushdie, Salman 18-19
Ruskin, John 167
Russell, Bertrand 55, 157, 168, 191
Rustin, Lena 6
Ruth 126, 221-2
Rutherford, Samuel 110
Rwanda massacres 53
Ryan, Alan 43
Sabbath 213-14
Saki (H.H. Munro) 77
Samuel 101-4
Sandel, Michael 93, 164
Schaar, John 121
Schaffer, Peter 27
schools 7, 66-7, 236
citizenship education in 5, 167, 239
collapse of integrationism in 82-4
community service and 239
and the creation of a national narrative 167
faith schools 28, 29, 82--4, 212, 235
for immigrant groups 33
Jewish 28, 29, 81, 82, 84
multiculturalism in 18
as a resource in creating social cohesion 239
see also education
Schopenhauer, Arthur 193
science
and the death of freedom 58--9
as a source of authority 30
Scottish Covenanters 110--11, 155--6
Scruton, Roger 109, 163--4, 165, 168
segregation
and cross-community outreach 181
as an ideal 84--6
multiculturalism and 3, 16, 82, 95, 234
self-segregation 215
self-esteem 3, 51, 60, 61
politics and 55--6
self-respect and 11, 83
self-hatred 78
self-image 55
self-respect 11, 14, 66--7, 78, 83
self-restraint 19, 83, 161
Seligman, Martin 62
Selznick, Philip 106, 123
Sen, Amartya 79
Sentamu, John 4, 20
September 11 terror attacks 45--6, 50, 71
Serbs 51--2
sexual relations 206
collapse of the sexual ethic 210--12
homosexual see homosexuality
marriage and 211
the sexual revolution 209--10, 212
Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 7th Earl of 167
Shakespeare 45, 57, 69, 81, 108, 192
shame 219
Shell Petroleum 27
Shelley, Percy Bysshe 160
Sherborne House 208
Sherif, Muzaffer 175--6
Sherrin, Ned 37
Shils, Edward 189, 191
Shlain, Leonard 71
Sikhs 18, 76, 131
Sikh leaders in Britain 9
slavery 105, 125, 128, 136
journey from slavery to freedom 97, 117, 136, 164, 230
Smith, Adam 52, 220, 222
Smith, Anthony 120
Sniderman, Paul and Hagendoorn, Louk 4, 32, 202--3
social capital 130--2, 179, 237--8
bonding capital and bridging capital 179--80
see also volunteering
social cohesion 6, 157--8, 239
self-restraint and 19
social contract 101--4, 109--10, 142, 143, 157--8, 201
social covenant 104--6, 109--12, 110, 157, 201
of active citizenship 177--82
bridging capital 179--80
cohesion and 157--8
and the common good 110, 152--4, 156, 157, 181, 234, 236
‘covenant love’ 126, 158, 180, 222--3
covenantal institutions 191, 234, 238 see also community; family; marriage
covenantal narrative 113--22, 164
covenantal politics 109--14, 116--17, 119--28, 135--45, 155--6, 234--9
the logic of covenant 151
loyalty and 154--5
renewal of 118--22, 124
responsibility of 123--33
voluntary nature of 141--2, 223
social Darwinism 30
social diversity see diversity
social gospel 128--9, 167, 179
social integration see integration
social solidarity 151, 179, 236--7
collective belonging and 145, 237
covenant of human solidarity 155-6, 180
national solidarity 20
social space 235-6
see also public spaces
society
of Britain see British Society
building a society see society-building
civil society see civil society
civility and 162 see also civility
community and 162
as country house or melting pot 13, 15, 16–18, 25–31, 35, 86–7, 94 see also assimilation
covenental 104–6, 109–14, 116–17, 123–33 see also social covenant
dependency of politics upon 94
hierarchical societies 108, 135, 165
as home (post-multiculturalism) 14–15, 21–3, 138–45
as hotel (the procedural state) 13–14, 15–16, 18–21, 40, 86, 94–5 see also multiculturalism
inward turn to community 82–6
moral foundations of 39
organic 109, 135, 165
Paine on society and state 106–8
parables of 13–15
religion in a secular society 213–16, 223–5
state and 106–8, 128–30, 142
structures of grace in 125–8
as Tabernacle 138, 140, 230–1
society-building
through the act of creation 137–42
community-creation 127, 170–1, 230
need for 5–6
through a politics of responsibility 123–33
social covenant as basis for 104–6, 151–8, 234–40 see also social covenant
story telling and 113–22, 166–71
through working side by side 140, 173–82, 230
Socrates 214
solidarity see social solidarity
Solomon 141–2
Somalia 32, 63
Sophocles 92
Spain 3, 205
Spanish Inquisition 197
Spinoza, Benedict de 4, 10, 59, 96, 135
Spitalfields 20
Sri Lanka 32, 233
Stalin, Joseph 34
state
nation state see nation state
society and 106–8, 128–30, 142
Stockhausen, Karlheinz 45–6
story telling see narrative
Straw, Jack 169
suicide 40, 59, 61
suicide bombers 72
Surowiecki, James 234
Sweden 207
Switzerland 110

Tabernacle 136–8, 140–1, 230–1
Talm, J. L. 10, 220
Talmud 42, 81
on non-utopian peace 177–9
Taylor, A. J. P. 128
technology see communications technology
teenage pregnancies 83, 206, 207, 212, 214
television 38, 50, 83
satellite 7, 8, 68, 69
soundbites and 69–70
Temple 136, 139, 141–2
Ten Commandments 104–5
terrorism
July 7 terror attacks 20, 168
the media and 71–2
September 11 terror attacks 45–6, 50, 71
Tesco 27
That Was The Week That Was 37
Thought for the Day 70
Times, The 27, 29
on the role of religion in the state 216, 223–4

relationship between religion and state 216, 223–4

religion and identity 9

the return of the tribes 80–1

Vietnam war 34, 71

utopianism 174–5

Van Gogh, Vincent 92

victims

Cho Seung Hu and the victim mentality 49–51

culture of victimhood 56–62

the perpetrator as victim 51–3

politics of victimhood 52, 53–6, 62

the voluntary victim 62

Vietnam war 34, 71

eviction 38, 41

aestheticization of 45–6

from the death of moral conversation 47–8

fatwa 18–19, 63

global communication and 9, 63–4, 71–3

massacres 49–51, 53, 62 see also Holocaust

media attention and 71–3

pogroms 27

in schools 83

street fighting in Britain 18

threat of 11

violent crime 188–9

see also terrorism

Voltaire 17, 83–4

volunteering 128–30, 141–2, 229–30

and the funding of non-liberal institutions 237–8

see also social capital

Walzer, Michael 55, 84, 191

Washington, George 119

Webb, Beatrice 16, 27

Weber, Max 185

Westminster Confession 110

Whitman, Walt 79

Wilberforce, William 128

Williams, Sir Bernard 168, 190, 196

Wilson, James Q. 209
Index

Witness (film) 230
Wolfenden Committee 38–9, 42, 45
women
  identity label of 76
  politicization of victimhood 54
Wordsworth, William 171
world instability 9
World War I 32, 78
World War II 32, 69, 76
writing, invention of 67

xenophobia 16, 18, 78
Yes, Prime Minister 184
youth culture 40
YouTube 50, 69, 83, 238
Yugoslavia 51–2

Zangwill, Israel: The Melting Pot 25–6
Zionism 68–9
Zoroastrians 9