

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
Annan, 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
 assimilationist model of society 15,
 16–18, 25–31, 35, 86–7, 94
 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
Barroso, 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
Berkley, George 168

- 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
- Buttigioni, Rocco 42–3, 201
- Cain 56
- Calvinism 105, 110, 124, 185
- Cantle 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

- dialogue with Judaism 174–5 *see also*
interfaith relationships
- ethos of responsibility 56, 125–9,
132
- evil and 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
 - of responsibility 132–3
 - 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

- 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

- 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 52
 literature of 168
 self-hatred 78
 Havel, Vaclav 224
 Hayek, Friedrich 33, 174
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich 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
 covenantal shared identity 109,
 121–2, 136, 158, 160–1
 ethnic 9, 31

- 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
- Jakovovits, 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

- 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
- Iasch, 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
 - liberal revolution of the 1960s
 39–40, 53–4, 153, 200, 209–10
 - 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
- Lyotard, Jean-Francois 122

- Macaulay, Thomas Babington 16
- MacIntyre, Alasdair 41, 45, 85–6, 118,
 143–4
- Madison, James 111
- Maharishee 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

- 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
- Puritanism 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
- group domination in 19–20
- 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
- Sherbourne House 208
- Sherif, Muzafer 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
 - covenantal 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
- Talmon, J. L. 10, 220
- Talmud 42, 81
 - on non-utopian peace 177–9
- Taylor, A. J. P. 128
- technology *see* communications
 - technology; information
 - 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
- Tocqueville, Alexis de 7, 10, 108, 129–30, 186–7, 191

- on the role of religion in the state
216, 223–4
- tolerance/toleration
 - the birth of toleration 197–9
 - Blair on 21
 - British tradition of 10, 16–17
 - Dutch example of 202–3
 - European Commission and 42–3, 201
 - move from toleration to tolerance 199–201
 - multiculturalism and 3, 19, 201–3, 238
 - self-confidence and 78
 - toleration as 'the elusive virtue' 194–7
- tradition 213–16
- tragedy 57
- transcendental meditation 40
- Trilling, Lionel 77
- Truth* magazine 18
- tsunami 6, 71
- Tudjman, Franjo 51–2
- Turkey 32, 63
- Tutu, Desmond 191
- Uganda 18
- United Nations Universal Declaration (1948) 133, 150
- United States of America
 - 1924 Immigration Act 32
 - 'a new birth of freedom' 96
 - American Declaration of Independence 54, 60, 111, 114, 164
 - civil equality 34
 - cohabitation 207
 - covenantal politics 111–14, 119–20, 121
 - cultural pluralism 31–2
 - disenchantment with Europe after World War I 32
 - emergence of civil society 186–7
 - 'melting' pot ideal of society 25–6, 30–1
 - multiculturalism 3, 21–2
 - national stories 163–5
 - presidential memorials 163
 - relationship between religion and state 216, 223–4
 - religious 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
- violence 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