

Introduction to Political Science

Comprehensive Textbook Notes

Ball And Dagger

Ideology and Ideologies (p. 1-16)

Lecture 13

ideologies: sets of ideas that shape people's thinking and actions with regard to race, nationality, the role and function of government the relations between men and women, human responsibility for the natural environment, and many other matters.

Sir Berlin -

two factors that have shaped human history in the 20th century
natural sciences, technology

20th century, clash of 3 political ideologies dominated world politics :

Liberalism
Communism
Fascism

Cold War- end of communism- end of clashing ideologies

Political Ideologies/movements arise out of particular backgrounds and circumstances, and grow out of grievance or injustice (things aren't as they could or should be)

Every ideology originates from earlier thinkers/ideas

Forgetting past= risk repeating its mistakes

Ideologies: Try to shape and direct social change

18th century France: ideology = study of ideas

NOW: set of ideas that try to link thought with action- shape how people think/ act

Performs 4 functions for people who hold it:

1. Explanatory
2. Evaluative
3. Orientative
4. Programmatic

Explanation

Explanation of WHY social, political, economic conditions are as they are (particularly in times of crisis)

Ideologies try to answer these questions and make sense of the world War, Poverty, Ethnic Tension, Peace, Prosperity

Marxist: wars= outgrowth capitalists' competition for foreign markets

Fascist: wars= tests of one nations "will's" against another

Ideologues: people who try to persuade others to accept their ideology

Evaluation

Standards for evaluating social conditions

Deciding whether things are good or bad

All war evil? Or are some morally justified?

All ideologies provide standards and cues to help assess social policies and conditions -
deciding whether they are good or bad

Orientation

Ideology provides orientation and identity

How you fit in to social world

Political Program

What to do and how to do it

Setting social or political action

Ideologies provide remedies for sick societies

If it does not perform all four functions then it is not a political ideology

What an Ideology is NOT

Anything ending in "ism"

Terrorism, nationalism, anarchism, alcoholism.

A scientific theory

Scientific theories are **empirical** in nature (concerned with describing and explaining some features of the world, NOT prescribing what we should do)
Implications for **normative** problems (how people SHOULD live)

Democracy

Offers no explanation for why things are the way they are
Doesn't necessarily demonstrate evaluative, orientative or programmatic functions
It is an IDEAL not an ideology

Religion

Concerned with supernatural and divine, Gods, and after lives
Ideology: here and now, life on this earth, help live as well as possible in this life

Human Nature and Freedom

What human beings are capable of achieving

TWO further Features:

1. Set of basic beliefs about HUMAN NATURE
2. A conception of FREEDOM

Human Nature

Natural to - compete or cooperate?
What human beings are truly like and what they can achieve
Limits political possibilities

Freedom

Defining freedom in different ways
Classical conservative on freedom differs from classical liberal on freedom
Freedom = essentially contested concept
No correct definition, matter of controversy
MacCallum: every conception of freedom includes 3 features:

- a. An **agent**
- b. **Obstacle** blocking agent
- c. **Goal** at which agent aims

A is free from B to achieve, be, or become C

Free= free from something, therefore free to do something
Agent person, thing, group that is/should be free
Must be free to pursue a goal

No one can pursue a goal unless they are free from any obstacles that are interfering
(walls, chains, prejudices, poverty)

The Agent

Individual, class, group, nation, sex, race, species

Ideology and Revolution

Revolution (original definition) = return to an earlier condition

Revolution (NOW after the 18th century) = radical new change overthrowing OLD order

Left, Right, Centre= terms from the seating arrangements in the National Assembly of the revolutionary period.

Left side (wing) - favored more or less radical change

Right side (wing) - those who resisted change

Ideologies + innovation

The Enlightenment Movement - world perfected by human action

Liberalism - first of political ideologies

Nationalism and Anarchism

Sometimes considered ideologies - we disagree

They can be liberal, conservative, fascist, communists

Nationalism

People of the world fall more or less naturally into distinct groups or nations

Nationality- something acquired at birth

Nationality separate from citizenship

But nationality and citizenship SHOULD NOT be separate,

Nation-state = sovereign, self governing political unit that comes together and expresses the needs of the whole nation

Example - Canada has many different nationalities, does that mean each group should have their own state?

Anarchism

An archos= no rule/ no government

Anarchist = someone who advocates getting rid of the state and replace it with voluntary cooperation

Government= immoral/evil

People can live together peacefully and prosperously with no coercive authority

Advocate: competitive capitalist society, communalists (equal ownership and control of property), pacifists (peaceful path)

Liberalism: Origins, Revolution, Capitalism (p 45-66)

Lecture 14

Attempt to promote individual liberty

What exactly is liberty? How's best to promote it?

Neoclassical liberals

Welfare liberals

Liber = free

Liberal = generous, tolerant

Political position/ point of view

1840's Liberal Party- people are free to pursue their ideas and interests with little interference

Human beings are typically rational, self interested and competitive

They are capable of living freely

What is liberal idea of freedom?

Follow somewhat of the same structure of freedom as; agent, goal, obstacle

Agent = individual

Free people from a variety of restrictions or obstacles

The individual must be free to decide what goals to pursue in life

Everyone should have an equal opportunity to succeed

Stresses competition

People should be free to compete with one another for success, and they shouldn't rather be impeded by discrimination of race, sex, religion

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Historical Background

Medieval Origins

Liberalism can be traced to 2 of the characteristic features in medieval society:

1. religious conformity

2. ascribed status

Religious conformity

Freedom of religion and separation of church and state

Ascribed Status

A person's social standing is fixed

Contrast to an **achieved status**- equal opportunity to work your way to the top

In the eyes of God, what counted was the state of one's soul, not their social status

Feudalism - what mattered was one's rank in life

Simplified matters by dividing society into 2 broad classes: nobles and commoners

Nobles thought superior to commoners

They thought their noble birth allowed them to exercise authority over commoners

First Estate- representatives of the clergy

Second Estate- the nobility

Third Estate- the commoners (bourgeoisie)

Bourgeoisie- the middle class, the commoners, lived mostly in cities and towns

Serfs- slaves, commoners that were not free

Owned no land
Farmed on small plots owned by lord of the manor
Paid in the form of crops

BORN IN TO THESE RANKS

Most important development that contributed to the decline of the medieval order was the Protestant Reformation

The Protestant Reformation

Martin Luther. Making church more about the word of God and less about the authority of Priests.

The Priesthood of All Believers

Theocracy- law of the city a direct reflection of God's Will

Value individual conscience more than the preservation of unity and orthodoxy

England

After Spanish armada in 1588

Entering the 17th century more secure and powerful than ever

Queen Elizabeth I + William Shakespeare

Also a time of turmoil: English Civil War

New king in a power struggle with parliament

King thinking he had a right to gather revenue through taxes

War between Crown and Parliament; social, religious, economic conflict.

First major work of political philosophy to bear the distinctive stamp of liberalism:

Thomas Hobbes: *Leviathan*

Wrote in France to avoid the war

People of a country should obey those who have power over them

As long as the person(s) in power protect the individual

Only reason for government in the first place

Not just because this is "God's Will"

Hobbes example:

Imagine you were in a state of nature; people had a natural right to do as they wish, everyone are equals, freedom with no authority

However we have a natural desire for Power, which will lead to endless conflict even resulting in death

The state of nature will turn in to a state of war

Therefore we give authority the right to defend us

Government is formed in the consent of people

Everyone is equal and has natural right to be free

Hobbes is a "protoliberal"- he is the one who articulated the main premise of a liberal ideology

John Locke: *The Treaties of Government*

Letter concerning toleration - it is wrong for governments to force their subjects to conform to a particular religion

Religious belief is a private concern - shouldn't be interfered by government

Catholicism should NOT be tolerated

They owe their first loyalty to the pope - a foreign monarch: therefore they cannot be trustworthy members of a commonwealth

Atheist should also NOT be tolerated

They don't believe in God therefore they are not trustworthy

The state of nature

We have natural rights:

Life

Liberty

Property

People can surrender or forfeit these rights, but no one can take them away

If government isn't protecting these rights, then people have a right to overthrow government

Unlike Hobbes, Locke doesn't refer to the State of War

Main difference from Hobbes' theory, Locke believed **that people can consent to create and obey only a limited or constitutional government**

The American Revolution

Levy taxes on colonists to pay for war, equipment, etc.

Violated rights, didn't have a voice in decision

Colonists position, "no taxation without representation"

Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*

Society is always a blessing; but government, even the best government, is a "necessary evil."

It coerces us, controls us,

But it is necessary because we cannot be trusted to respect natural rights of others

Monarchy= incompatible individual liberty. NO KING

Declaration of Independence

1. all men are created equal

Hypocritical for a slaveholding country

2. defense of rights and liberties of individuals against government

Constitution

Republican and liberal framework

Lack of concern for civic virtue - liberal element

Then came the bill of rights

The French Revolution

Old Order of French Society

Religious conformity

Aristocratic privilege

Political absolutism

1. Religious Conformity

Catholic Doctrine

Government policy

Favored status

Enlightenment: Voltaire - light of reason would lead to a better understanding of the world and a freer, more rational society.

2. Aristocratic Privilege

Feudalism

Preserved special rights as nobles (exemption from taxes)

Ascribed status mattered more than ability or effort (bourgeoisie resented)

3. Political Absolutism

Placed king above law

Concentrated political power in throne

Absolute monarchy

Louis XIV- I am the state

Third estate declared themselves as National Assembly and drafted a constitution - start to the French revolution

Revolutionaries, replace old order with:

Tolerance, equality of opportunity, constitutional government

Famous Slogan of the Revolution: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"

Liberalism and republicanism were entwined

Fraternity- (solidarity) putting common good in front of private desires

Liberalism and Capitalism

Against mercantilism

Mercantilism

One country could expand its economic strength at the expense of others

Tactics:

Monopoly - exclusive control over a market to a single firm

Dutch east India, British east India

High tariffs on imported goods- discourage sale of foreign goods

Establish colonies, extract their resources, forbid colonists to buy from/sell the anyone but the "mother country"

Middle class pressed for a wider and more equal opportunity to compete for profits -- theory of **capitalism**

Capitalism

Bernard Mandeviller: *Fable of the Bees*

Bees of a hive decide to reform and act with the good of others in mind

Reform proves disastrous

Soldier, servant, merchant bees are thrown out of work because there is no demand for their services

Variety of life is gone

Bee hive was better off in the selfish days when bees acted out of vanity and greed

" Private Vices, Public Benefits"

Let people pursue their private interests

Physiocrats - group of French thinkers

Against mercantilism

True basis of wealth is agriculture

Best way to cultivate wealth is through unrestrained or free enterprise

"Let it be, leave it alone " (" Laissez faire") - let people compete in market place

Adam Smith:

Restraints on economic competition only advantage the few that abuse this right

For other people, lack of competition= higher prices, scarcer goods

Competition to produce goods will make available more/better/cheaper goods

Invisible Hand: From Self-Interest to the Public Good

They want to get rich

Trade Benefits everyone (peaceful, unrestricted trade between countries)

Smith on Governments Role

Defend the country against attack

Protect Property Rights and Maintain Order

Provide public education and the infrastructure needed to do business

Smith on Distributive Justice

Opposes trade barriers, but supports taxation to benefit the poor

Rejects prevailing view of the poor (poor should stay poor)

Duty of rich is to treat poor with kindness and compassion

The poor are dignified, industrious, equally capable, and entitled to their fair share of goods

Poor people are humans just as we are... no, they were different people

Liberalism: 19th Century, Neo-Classical vs. Welfare Liberalism, 20th Century (177-182)

Lecture 15

Liberalism In 19th Century

Industrial revolution

Utilitarianism

Jeremy Bentham

original leader of utilitarians (philosophic radicals)

everyone has interest in experiencing pleasure and avoiding pain

we should seek utility

something has utility if it helps someone do what he or she wants

utility promotes happiness

some people fail to see what has utility .

for example, people drop out of school because they fail to see the utility of education
promote happiness in society by punishing (those who cause pain) and rewarding (those who give pleasure)
government should act to promote greatest happiness of greatest number
by either leaving people alone (laissez faire)
and by not being controlled by a small segment of society - require almost everyone to vote

John Stuart Mill

leading liberal philosopher
advocate on womens rights
essay: *On Liberty* - extend/defend individual liberty
now that we elect representatives: gvt more responsive to desires of the people
worried about " the tyranny of the majority"
power can be exercised to prevent harm to others
the harm principle- every sane adult free to do whatever he/she want as long as it doesn't harm others
ex. government should not prohibit drinking on grounds that it may harm drinker: but they may prohibit drunk driving because it possess a threat to the lives of others
we must be free to think and speak for ourselves
stressed educative value of democracy
everyone including men and women have a vote
people with higher education may have MORE votes (plural voting)
this system was necessary at least until the overall level of education was high enough to eliminate the threat of majority tyranny
defender of laissez-faire capitalism
towards end of his life: called himself a socialist

Liberalism Divided

due to reaction of social effects of the industrial revolution
some liberals thought governments should rescue people form poverty, ignorance, and illness
because of concern of the well-being of the individual, they came to be the "welfare" or "welfare-state liberals"
position is so close to that of liberalism, it has come to be called "neoclassical"

Neoclassical Liberalism

governments should be as small as possible
Darwins - natural selection
mutations account for mutation of species as well as their survival or extinction

Social Darwinism

Herbert Spencer

there is a natural struggle for survival within the human species
nature- free to compete with one another
those most strong, smart and fit will SUCCEED and PROSPER
those who are unfit will FAIL and SUFFER
HELPING the POOR holds back the STRONG - poor aren't fit to survive
"survival of the fittest"

William Graham Sumner

government= deal with the property of men, the honor of women
only matters government should concern of
enjoy fruits of victory, without having to share them with anyone else
certainly not with the poor
government or private charity should try to help anyone, no matter how weak or desperate
" a drunkard in the gutter is just where he ought to be"

Welfare Liberalism

government can be a positive force for promoting individual liberty

T.H.Green

heart of liberalism was removing obstacles that block free growth and human development

limiting powers of gov't so that ppl are free to live, worship and compete in the workplace as they want

need to overcome obstacles such as poverty and illness, prejudice and ignorance --- necessary to enlist the power of the state

two different ways of thinking about freedom;

Negative freedom

free as absence of restraint

Positive freedom

positive power or ability to do something worth doing

we have ideals as to what we plan and ought to be

Government can promote freedom through poor relief, public schools and hospitals, and regulation of working conditions

state needs to do things like regulate the economy

by the middle of the 20th century welfare liberals were simply known as liberals and their neoclassical rivals were known as conservatives

The Welfare State

important to distinguish between welfare state liberalism and socialism

socialists: want to do more than tame or reform capitalism; they want to replace it with a system of publicly owned and democratically controlled enterprises

welfare liberals: prefer private ownership; take competitive capitalist system for granted; role of government is to regulate economic competition in order to cure the social ills and redress individual injuries wrought by capitalist competition

Bismarck: welfare state = best way to oppose socialism

Liberalism in the 20th century

"big business"

many people blamed the depression on capitalism, and turned to either socialism or communism, or fascism (Hitler)

in English speaking countries - turn to welfare state

John Maynard Keynes

government should use their taxation money to prevent depressions and maintain a healthy economy

should manage/ fine tune the economy

prices rising - raise taxation (prevent inflation)

inflation not a threat - lower taxes - increase spending

stimulate economy, keep high levels of employment

welfare liberalism = dominant ideology in western world

liberty and equality = unfulfilled for African-Americans

The New Left - (challenge to welfare liberalism)

rejected both "obsolete communism" of Soviet Union and "consumer capitalism" of liberal democracies

people are reduced to status of CONSUMERS when they should be encouraged to be ACTIVE CITIZENS

led to "participatory democracy"

society where average people could exercise greater control over decisions that affect their lives

Rawls and Justice

veil of ignorance insures impartiality - If no body knows anything about identity, age, gender, race, abilities, disabilities, then they cannot promote rules for his / or personal advantage

they will choose 2 fundamental principles

everyone is to be equally free
everyone is to enjoy equality of opportunity
the people who make the most effort and have the most ability DON'T necessarily DESERVE a larger reward than others !!!
these characteristics are normally come by through heredity and environment (people are born with certain skills)
they don't deserve more, but it is the best way to promote the interests of the worst-off
example. paying doctors more will result in more money for health care therefore everyone, even the worst off, will benefit in their interest of good health
unequal distribution is justified only if it is better for those at the bottom of society
pluralism,..???

Nozick and the Minimal State

single protective agency
"minimal state" - no rights are violated
taking tax dollars is on a par with forced labor
violation of individual rights
libertarianism- neoclassical liberalism revival in philosophy and politics

Libertarian Anarchism

most extreme extension of liberalism
state is an UNnecessary evil
government = eliminated
desirable
no coercion
practical
anything governments do private practices can do better
"truly free and liberal society"

Liberalism Today

1. liberalism in so no longer the revolutionary force it once was (at least not in the West)
2. liberals remain divided among themselves
welfare liberals; neoclassical liberals; libertarian anarchists
3. liberals wrestle with problems that arose out of their commitments to individual liberty and equality
how far should individuals be able to exercise their freedom (harm principle)
liberal commitment to equal opportunity (no unfair discrimination)
liberal commitment to individual liberty and individual rights

Liberalism as an Ideology

Explanation

appeal to individual choices

Evaluation

Equal Freedom for Individuals
people have a natural right to be free
Protection from Harm
Equal Opportunity

Orientation

Rational Choice-Makers - we are capable to rational choice making
focus on shared characteristics, opposed from what makes us different
play down particular identities (more important that were all humans and not ; rich poor, black white, girl boy)

Political Program

Historically (liberals tend to be against religious conformity)
Now (should depend on what you do not who you are , governments should be controlled)
Negative freedom vs. positive freedom . (distinguish some liberals from other liberals)

and the Democratic Ideal

in liberal democracy, democracy is defined mainly in terms of the individual's right to be free from outside interference to do as he or she thinks best

Conservatism (p. 93- 102)

desire to conserve or preserve something ; however not all conservatives want to conserve the same thing

makes conservatism so difficult to define

WHY?

the word "conservative" is often applied to anyone who resists change.

difficult to define because...

two people who bitterly oppose each other's position can both be described as conservatives

must entail more than the desire to resist change

early, classical, or traditional conservatives were trying to preserve or restore an aristocratic society under attack from liberalism and the French Revolution

political philosophy of imperfection - human beings are flawed

we are never as intelligent or as good

we have no restraints, we will invent reasons for our desires even if we know it may harm others

selfish; power hungry

marked by original sin (adam and eve; garden of eden)

our restraints we get from

government

education; schools, churches, families, other groups

conservatism has been called an "anti-ideology"

Conservatism in General: 1

Traditionalism : someone in favor of continuity and tradition in politics

we should be suspicious of people who want to change tradition

Skeptical attitude to change of political knowledge

emphasis of the wisdom of history

if a practice has lasted then it should be respected because it has " lasted the test of time"

Organic conception of society and the state

human beings are internally related to one and other

society is a living thing - that should be treated with respect

should be maintained not over thrown

Conservatism in General: 2

Classical conservations: Flawed human beings, hierarchy, tradition, anti-revolution

we are not perfectible

Contemporary Conservatives: Small Government, Free Markets, Strong Military

preserve one aspect of tradition

Conservatism in General: 3

Modern Liberals: Rational Justification

Need for transparency, therefore against appeals to tradition and superstition

Conservatives: Suspicious of Reason, Favor sentiment over scrutiny

good thing to be a patriot, we shouldn't ask if it makes any sense , doesn't have to be justified

Edmund Burke

founder of conservatism

creatures of Habit, Custom, Tradition

we aren't essentially free people who make their own decisions, we need customs and traditions

Humans are not perfectible or changeable by social engineering

AGAINST atomistic conception (we are loose atoms that are not connected) WRONG

organic view (whole greater than the sum of its parts) individuals are related to one another and to the state as an interconnected whole

social fabric- individual members= interwoven threads

freedom doesn't HAVE to be good

doesn't mean you can do whatever you want, it has certain constraints

liberty = worthwhile (when properly ordered)

believed in freedom as agent, obstacle, goal

however he didn't think that government was an obstacle

without government restraints , there would be a lot more violence

Revolution and Reform

not opposed to all revolutions

change should be brought about carefully and gradually - REFORM (not through innovation)

innovation- attempt to do something entirely new

it goes against OLD reason " withstanding the test of time" (things last long its for a REASON

example.

if you have a web leaky roofs and broken windows, instead of fixing it because you know that this house has sheltered you your hole life, you decide to tear it down and build a new one

however you build your house with no carpentry skills and it ends up being a massive FAILURE

reform OVER innovation = safer and surer

STOOD THE TEST OF TIME

wisdom from generations

Burke on Government

Representative Government

having the right kind of person in office(wise, prudent, well-informed) is MORE important then the right to vote

thought people might elect someone that responds to their MOMENTARY wishes, not they LONG-TERM interests

Natural Aristocracy

learnt to govern wisely their WHOLE life

the aristocracy were the BEST educated

Private Property

somewhat similar to aristocracy

The Little Platoons

good government= enlist enlightened representatives , drawn from aristocracy , in

the defense of private property and the common good

people with money and property are reliable trustees

power should be spread throughout society

Society is like a choir

ordinary singers= ordinary members

soloists= natural aristocracy

basses, baritones, altos, sopranos= little platoons

conductor= government

Conservatism in the 19th Century

Joseph De Maistre

Reactionary (rejects revolutionary changes, and reacts negatively to it)

Wants to turn the clock back to an earlier time , returning to the " way things were"

Wants to defend **Throne and Altar** - aristocracy , church - sources of society that we cannot do without

constitution exposes weakness of Government

Enlightenment- age of arrogance downfall to necessary social institutions(throne and altar)

Against Enlightenment Rationality - not just about political institutions but about the method that they propose to use

were pitiful, shameful

Praises Instinct - rejects reason - defending: we shouldn't ask whether authority should be obeyed. we should just understand that they SHOULD be obeyed.

The hangman - the ultimate state action, kill someone in the name of the state

believed he was just an awesome individual

awesome : used to be "awe-inspiring" something incredible

Pope Pius - Pius IX's *Syllabus of Errors*

Human reason requires God's Help to Discover truth and promote human welfare

Catholic Religion is the only religion of the state

Rejection of Central Liberal Claims: Progress, authority of the civil law, etc...

we shouldn't have to come to terms with progress, liberalism and

Cultural Conservatism

Tory Democracy

Benjamin Disraeli

Tory Democracy

Attract support from Aristocratic landowners and working class

link conservatism to democracy

Address working class needs: Improve working conditions, support right to organize and strike

Support Monarchy and Church

19th Century Conservatism in the USA

conservatives defend liberal society

Cultural conservative reject Rationalist Pursuit of Perfection and Harmful Effects of Capitalism

'Conservative'='Defender of Laissez-Faire Capitalism'

Conservatism in the 20th Century

Conservatism vs Mass Society

Conservative distrust of democracy - rule by the mass

unreliable, unrestrained, aren't going to vote for having to change their living habits

From democracy to chaos and dictatorship

Masses are Ignorant and Unrestrained

Conservatives and Communism

Progress

communists are too optimistic

conservatives- anti-progress

Perfectible

conservatives- you can't perfect human being

Planning

conservatives- we should be suspicious of schemes

Socialism: Origins, Marx (125-147)

Modern Socialism : critique of liberalism in late 18th and early 19th centuries

like conservatives; Socialists OBJECTED liberal belief on self interest, competition and individual liberty

believed humans are by nature social or communal creatures; work in cooperation with one another

cooperation NOT competition

UNLIKE classical conservatives; assign no particular value to tradition and custom; nor private property

private property; source for class divisions (BAD)

believe in **levelling**: distribute wealth and power more evenly

Social Products; Sharing

SOCIETY AS WHOLE SHOULD OWN/CONTROL PROPERTY

socialists argue for **centralized or decentralized control** of public property

centralized control: see government own and control property for name of whole country (Soviet Union)

efficiency

decentralized control: vest control in groups at local level (workers)

opposition to unrestricted capitalism

human nature and freedom

agent, obstacle, goal freedom

agent: connected to and dependent from other people

a member of a class (working class)

goals: fulfilling work; fair share in profits; voice in management; equal opportunity to use talents to full extent

obstacles: capitalist production (material or mental)

rich get richer, poor get poorer

Marx and Engels: free development for each is the free development for all

Thomas More

communal ownership= antidote to sins of Pride, Envy and Greed

utopian society

NO MONEY; FREE LIVING

Saint-Simon

set socialism on a SCIENTIFIC basis

old form of society disappears; new one comes to take its place

feudalism - replaced by - enlightenment-

isolated individuals is FICTION

industrial society; individual is reduced to social roles and productive functions

laissez faire capitalism- inefficient (produced too much of ONE thing)

decisions made not by experts but by all adults in the community:

Fourier

we deceive others

we believe wealth will bring happiness

institutions prevent satisfaction of passions (12)

passions:

five senses

familism

friendship

love ambition

butterfly passion(variety)

cabalistic passion (plotting and intrigue)

composite passion (combining physical and mental pleasures)

13th : passion for harmony- comes from balance of the rest of the passions

competition frustrates harmony

when evils of society are overcome we can reach harmonism (cooperate freely)

Productive, Prosperous and Free

Owen

drunkenness, debauchery, theft= result of deformed SOCIAL SYSTEM

sent wrong message to kids by rewarding greed and selfishness of capitalist

we need a new system of education

established new living environment

factory = clean and relatively safe

workweek= reduced

children under 10= not allowed to work; educated at owners expense; learnt value/

necessity of cooperation

Karl Marx

jewish- had to convert to christianity
move towards political radicalism

1. appreciate central social and political importance of economic matters
property ownership, market forces , state's systematically favoring the rich over the poor
2. became a radical who believed that the political economic system of his day was so rotten that it could not be reformed from within

Hegels influence:

Alienation

we are alienated from our essence of human beings
unable to connect with each other
need to get rid of capitalism to overcome alienation
needed for spirits to evolve and progress..

stages which spirit passes through

cunning of reason

operation of the dialect

master-slave dialectic - master becomes master by physically conquering another
and enslaving him

however the slave needs the master and the master needs the slave

slave wants the master to recognize and acknowledge is humanity

master is no more free then the slave ; he is only master with a slave

Religion : the Opium of the people

because it dulls their minds and makes them uncritical of the wretched conditions that
they live in

History

technological determinism (inevitable)

capacity to produce will become more advanced

Economics

exploitation is the extraction of surplus value from the worker)

Human nature

creative artists nature that is obstruction

Marx Theory on History

Left Hegelians

as long as societies are divided in to different classes, class conflicts are inevitable

materialist conception of history: " the leading thread in my studies"

contrast from Hegel's idealist interpretation

production requires:

material forces of production : seeds to be planted, hunting tools, raw materials

social relations of production: invent, make, operate, repair, build

requires degree of specialization (Smith- division of labor)

different societies have different social relations to production

ex. hunting society has hunters;

different classes ARISE from different social relations of production

material-economic BASE of every society is determines the "ideological superstructure"

this is what forms ideas, ideals, and beliefs (morality, law, religion, etc)

Base = material forces of production+ social relations of production

ideological superstructure= ideas, ideals, beliefs

Socialism: Non-Marxist Socialism, Socialism Today (151-187)

early socialists (utopians)

- Marx and Marxism
 - revolutionary Marxism (Lenin)
 - Stalinism-Maoism
 - Trotskyism
 - Revisionist Marxism (Bernstein)
 - Critical Western Marxism
 - Social Democracy
- Non- Marxist Socialism
 - Anarcho-communism
 - Fabian socialism
 - Christian Socialism
 - Market socialism

Marxism After Marx

Lasalle

ardent proponent of nationalism: workers should seek their own path to socialism
working people are deeply patriotic and protective of their respective countries
the state could not, should not, and would not "wither away"

Engels's Marxism (Frederick Engels)

communist manifesto- by marx and engels
claimed for marxism the honorific title of "scientific socialism"
reinterpreted what Marx meant by materialism

scientific socialism

- science of dialects
- scientific account for how things are and must be

materialism

- similar to materialism of hobbes; everything is reducible to matter and its transformations

The Revisionists

Eduard Bernstein 1850-1932

Socialist, but socialism forks? around the time of Bernstein

Revisionist - he believed the marx socialist theory needed to be revised (updated)
questioned marx claimed about the inevitability of socialism ?

Evolutionary Socialist morally and politically preferable than a revolutionary political activist

criticisms of:

- morality
- politics
- economics

Morality: Freedom, Respect, Means

human beings should be treated with respect, as a means to themselves (kantian philosophy)

treat everyone with an end in them self,
concerned ONLY with the MEANS, not with the GOAL

the means is everything, we should reject the consequences of our actions, we have a duty to treat everyone with respect

movement is everything

Politics and Economics :

political: remarkable developments since Marx's death; democracy turns out to be an end in itself instead of socialism

economics- things should still continue to improve , improve working conditions

V.I. Lenin 1870-1924

Marx- possibility of revolution in Russia

Russia: Semifeudal agrarian economy, political autocracy

Intellectual and Practical support for revolution in Russia
Class struggle and goal-oriented lack of concern for moral constraints
goal : communism
Small, Organized, Disciplined Revolutionary movement
Against revisionism and 'trade union consciousness'
bus drivers: wanna promote their own interests as workers
Communist Party as Revolutionary vanguard
small, organized, disciplined
vanguard party: leadership was to consist primarily of revolutionary intellectuals
or else working force could become reactionary
Democratic Centralism
"you can't make a revolution without breaking heads"
4 conclusions of imperialism
reconfirmed lenin's suspicion of the revisionists
members of working class in advanced capitalist countries have been infected with "trade union consciousness"
communist party plays the important role of raising consciousness and promoting the objective interests of the working class
revolution will come first to areas where the proletariat is both "immiserated" and led by an active vanguard party
" New Economic Policy" - government retained control of the major manufacturing concerns ; peasants were permitted to farm their own land and sell produce for a profit

Joseph Stalin 1879-1953 (man of steel)

' man of steel': Ruthless, Expert in Political Murder and 'Purging'
ruled the Soviet Union and its Communist Party with ruthlessness
appetite for danger and intrigue
took on dirty difficult tasks for the party
eliminating all opposition (potential political opponents, theoretical or ideological opponents)

Stalin as the guide of the party

working class needs to be guided by vanguard party; or by one vanguard

' Socialism in One Country'

' Dialectical Materialism' -

there are no accidents or coincidences
everything that happened , happened because it should ... you can blame everything on dialectical materialism

NON-Marxist Socialism

Anarcho-Communism

Marx's main rivals were the anarchists

Godwin

state was oppressive, won't change unless it is somehow stopped
make communities small enough to be governed directly by their members
abolition of state and abolition of private property are the same

Tolstoy

violence in any sort is wrong
the state is by its very nature, a violent institution
must replace it with a voluntary cooperation - every can assist others
persuade rich to part from their wealth
use violence to eliminate violence

Bakunin

state could self destruct
state doesn't naturally disappear; it gains more power

Kropotkin

human species is steadily evolving and eventually society will become peaceful and cooperative

survival is the reward of cooperation - Darwin

Goldman

liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; human body from dominion of property; liberation from restraints of gvt.

liberation of women from exploitation of men

advocate of "free love"

Fabian Socialism

refused to fight battles, favored retreating and wearing down the enemy

G.B Shaw, H.G. Wells, Graham Wallas, Sidney and Beatrice Wells

parliamentary path to socialism

incorporated in to the British Labour Party - 1900

Nationalization; Social Welfare

American Socialism

never got down to help

debit cards- Bellamy

Fascism (p. 191-217)

totalitarianism - attempt to take complete control of a society

reactionary- reaction of past events and past ideologies (reaction of World War 1 came Hitler and Mussolini)

gut instincts

don't necessarily want to return to old order of society

Reaction against the Enlightenment

premises of enlightenment:

humanism

rationalism

secularism

progressivism

universalism

Background Ideas

Counter-enlightenment:

against enlightenment idea that human beings are all the same, or entitled to equal respect

Nationalism : blood and soil nationalism : whether your title is allowed in the nation based on your lineage, your blood

anti democratic- rule should be by a small minority of population

Elitism - elite as dominating status in society

Irrationalism - people are capable of barbarism - absence of culture

emphasis on the masses

Fascism in Italy

associated with one man; Benito Mussolini

Mussolini (Il Duce)

an ideologue; and an opportunist

we have never examined problems of unity

take advantage of nationalism

formed the fasci di combattimento (combat groups)

emphasis on National Unity

aim of Fascist Party- bind Italian people together, overcome divisions

no nation can be strong if everyone is only thinking about and concerned to protect their self interests

must think of themselves as ITALIANS before anything else.

once in power

gained control of mass media; stifled freedom of speech, made Italy a military and industrial power

celebration of war

“ War is to the male what childbearing is to the female”

“ A minute on the battlefield is worth a lifetime of Peace”

Individual Sacrifice and State Worship

Fascism in Theory and Practice

reject Atomism and Individualism, subscribe to an Organic view of life

individual can't accomplish anything of great significance

individual finds true fulfillment if he dedicates his life to the nation-state

value of the state

freedom- NOT individual liberty

freedom of the NATION

only freedom that matters is **the freedom to serve the state**

corporativism - property is to remain in private hands

Hitler and Nazism

communists and Jews are the enemies who divide and betray them

Two Explanations for Hitler's Rise to power

a. Economic - made possible by desperation and poverty of mass unemployment

b. Charismatic - magical gaze

Resentment about end of world war 1

felt betrayed by previous political leaders

German People ('Volk') must defeat jews, communists, and liberals

brown church

Need a strong, dominant leader ('Fuherprinzip')

prove merit through personal charisma

absolute authority over citizens

masses are bound to their leader

Nationalism

ethnic blood and soul nationalism.. blood and decent

Lebensraum (Living Space)

right to expand in to space that is their historical birthright

Social Darwinism

weak deserve to die

the fittest RACES survive

Racism and Anti-Semitism

social darwinism given a racist definition

only the racist are the fittest

fascism + racism= nazism

anti-democratic

anti-liberal

anti-Semitism

righteous people- non jews who saved the jews

molded to leader through indoctrination and propaganda

Fascism: Key Themes 1 (Paxton)

sense of crisis needing radical solution

Subordination of individuals to the group -- ANTI LIBERAL

One's group is a victim whose enemies must be attacked

Fear of liberalism, class conflict, and other alien forces

we should just obey the leader

high classes were pro hitler

Permit community integration by violence if necessary

Need for authority by natural (male) leaders embodying group's destiny

Superiority of leader's instincts to abstract and universal reason

follow your gut not your head

celebration of violence and will, when devoted to group's success

right of the chosen people to dominate others without moral restraint

our nation is superior to all other we can do whatever we want to promote our interests

Liberation Ideologies: Feminism (p. 221-223) AND WOLFF p. 182-199

Feminism

Wollstonecraft

A Vindication of the rights of women (1792)

Enlightenment commitment to reason and equality

each of us is entitled to the same rights

Women and Men are equals in possessing the capacity to reason

women are human beings just like men

should be treated exactly the same

Women are oppressed by social institution, including education

argues for educational reform

Differences between men and women are artificial, not natural

any differences that exist are purely artificial

changing institutions(eg. Marriage, Education) will end inequality

environment molds us

Mill

Gilligan

Jaggar

Socialist Feminists: women cannot be free until capitalism has been replaced by socialism

Anarchist Feminists: women will be oppressed as long as the state exists

Lesbian separatist feminists: women will be oppressed as long as they associate with and are dependent upon men

Liberal feminist perspectives :overcome overt discrimination ; change laws an institutions;
women and men should have the same opportunities

emphasize similarities

radical feminist perspectives :overcome more subtle forms of discrimination that go under
SEXISM ; ("innate" inferiority); overcome sexist attitudes and beliefs

emphasize differences

feminists must wage a broadly CULTURAL struggle

some sexists claims

" unfeminine" to be successful scholarly or athletically

no talent for math

diplomatic vs. weakness

angry vs. bitchy

Liberation Ideologies: Gay, Native, Animal (p. 223-250)

Black Liberation

major division between advocated of black liberation are :

integrationist or assimilationist approach

radical separatist or nationalist approach

struggle against racism

full integration or assimilation of black people in to society

want full participation in social, economic, and political life

treated as individuals

Martin Luther King Jr. : i have a dream

not be judged by colour of skin but of content of character

integration is not important; must build racial pride and economic self sufficiency

must recognize that black are a member of community, nation, or people

united negro improvement association

creating a black governed nation in Africa

blacks must adapt to the culture of white people in order to be accepted

double rage (black rage)

of oppressor

of one self

end up hating themselves, their economic situations,

black nationalists try to eliminate this by:

recovering black history (blacks have triumphed against black masters)

repudiate whites view of black by reclaiming/proclaiming "black" values and standards

("black is beautiful", restore black pride/identity

demand for reparations from white americans

Gay Liberation

Ancient Rome- homosexuality was superior to heterosexuality. it represented an intimate relationship between equals

religions from middle east- condemned homosexuality as sinful and unnatural

medieval europe- burned at the stake

sodom laws- prohibit homosexuality

gay rights movement -

daughters of bilitis

Mattachine society

stonewall riot

homophobic beliefs

most gays molest children

seek to recruit children

all are sexually permiscuous

abnormal and perverted sexual preference ; should be corrected by religion or psychology

we need to over come homophobia

strive for power, pride and dignity

Aboriginal Liberation

a. live on lands that their ancestors were the first inhabitants

b. ancestral land was taken away from them by europeans

c. became aliens and outsiders in their land and they were ridiculed as ; uncivilized, savage, primitive

d. deprived of pride and denied political power, culture destroyed, lost identity

e. high unemployment rate, alcoholism, suicide,

indigenism : aim to break cycle of poverty, social and economic subordination, restore identities

stolen generation- putting abo kids up for adoption, taking away their abo culture

canada apologized to aboriginals, giving them their own land: Nunavut(our land)

american indian movement : aim to rebuild their culture

want to overcome oppressing laws, demeaning stereotypes, prejudices

Liberation Theology

plight of the poor, help end poverty

orthopraxis : right or correct action in the world

equal justice

Animal Liberation

Using Animals

used throughout history as workers, food, clothing, pets, sport

Jeremy Bentham

can animals suffer? what matters is not whether they can speak

disregarding animals is a form of discrimination

suffering of animals should offend a sensitive human being

Harry Harlow

animal cruelty to discover psychological effects

The Traditional View (speciesism)

our relationship with non human animals

they are made for our use, we can treat them any way we want
charity does not extend to irrational creatures
Nazis though Jews as animals so they were easier to murder
Why disregard non-human animals?
how can we decide how to treat them
profitable units
BGH - speed growth
Challenging the Traditional View
Darwin's Origin of Species
Sensitivity to animal suffering
opposition to factory-farmed meat
Against Speciesism
what is speciesism - animal exploitation
unexamined prejudice that human beings are superior to animals
we have all the rights, they have none
Extend equal treatment to non-human animals
Practical Implications
Opposition to Factory Farming, Fur, Animal Experiments, Zoos
Is multiculturalism bad for animals?
Halal and Kosher Meat - dietary laws of Muslims and Jews
they have to at least be killed properly, and be healthy

Green Ideology (p. 257-272)

green politics /
environmental crisis
due to human actions
not only liberals
conservative environmentalists: Edmund Burke "habitation" "ruin"
free market libertarian environmentalists : private property and free-market competition
is the best way to protect natural environment
evangelical Christians
if you worship the creator, you take care of his creations
all species are interdependent
all things are connected; what effects one part of nature in turn effects the entire world (what goes around comes around)
greens are critical of other ideologies
economic progress is measured by the human species power over nature
Bacon speaks of nature as Marquis speaks of women
prefer economic growth and productivity to the protection of the natural environment
greens see little difference between communism and capitalism
they call their perspective an ETHIC not ideology

Ecological Ethic

emphasize web of interconnections and mutual dependence in which all of us species live
everyone aspect of nature depend on each other and need each other to survive
folk wisdom- nature is not for sale at any price
respect for life
we have an obligation to respect and care for the conditions that nurture and sustain life in its many forms
greens must work for peace
duty of "stewardship" - it will be from our actions (however tiny and insignificant they might appear) that will make large-scale changes to the environment

stewardship and future generations

we must be responsible for the earth
take in health and well being of future generations
greens worry about:

- global warming
- loss of precious topsoil
- disappearing rain forests
- polluting of underground aquifers
- depletion of non renewable energy sources (fossil fuel)
 - oil, coal, and natural gas are finite and irreplaceable

time horizons and collective action

- time horizon- marks the limit of how far into the future people can or will see
- sacrifice now for the sake of the future
- greens are asking people to adopt time horizon that extends beyond our generation
- private/public goods
- damage to the commons
- Hardin
 - society cannot rely on voluntary efforts to individual consciences to solve environmental issues
 - solution: mutual coercion of majority of people affected
- small d democrats - importance of informed and active democratic citizenship

Unresolved Differences

- Light Green
 - reform- minded
 - serve human needs and wants while minimizing damage to natural environment
- Dark Green
 - radical measures
 - roll back development of society and even extend the wilderness areas
- Arne Naess (eco-philosopher)
 - distinction between " shallow environmentalism" and "deep ecology"
 - deep ecology- ecosystems are INTRINSICALLY valuable - biocentric perspective

Islam and Radical Islamism (p. 277-292)

Islam, Mohammed, and the Qur'an

- Islam (surrender)
 - submission/ surrender to god, belief
- Mohammed
 - great prophets: moses, jesus, mohammed
- Qur'an
 - muslim holy book
 - contains revelations of the angel gabriel to the prophet mohammed
- hadith

Islam, Jihad, and Shar'ia

- the spread of islam
- the five pillars of Islam
 - key responsibilities:
 - faith in God
 - daily prayer
 - charity to the poor
 - fastening during holy month of ramadan
 - making pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in your lifetime
- Jihad (struggle)
 - struggle against evil
 - against enemies of islam
- Shar'ia
 - islamic law derived from Qur'an and sunna?
 - taxation on wealthy
 - punishment for adultery

Four external Threats to Islam

Crusades

European Imperialism

The State of Israel

Western Ideas of "Modernity"

liberalism

materialism

religious toleration

A Fifth Threat to Islam

United States Covert Intervention

United States direct military attack

U.S. support for corrupt regimes

Radical Islamism

Muslim Counter-Enlightenment

religious element to ideological position

rejection of liberalism, secularism,

Sayyid Qutb

we should try to make our societies more muslim `

most influential radical islamist thinker

western society was empty, sexually deprived, materialistic, superficial, ignorant

Qutb's Influence

Jahiliyya

reject the divine truth

we can find out what is true through science, not by religion

False Consciousness

they think the way forward is a secular western one

Offensive holy war

okay to kill a muslim ? because he's not a real muslim

Struggle Against the Corrupt West

attacking corrupt muslims

attacking U.S power

Education of boys

Bearing Witness

Radical Islamism as an Ideology

explanation

cosmic struggle

evaluation

orientation

how do u fit in to the world as a radical islamist

program

Islam versus the West

is there a clash of civilizations (islamic versus wester)

what is the evidence?

1. U.S allies: saudi arabia, pakistan, india

2. muslim support for democracy

The Future of Ideology (p. 295-309)

The Democratic Ideal (p. 19 - ..)

Rosen and Wolff

Liberty: Constant, Berlin, Taylor (p. 122- 130)

Constant

liberty: NOW

right to be subjected only to the laws

not be maltreated

express own opinions

dispose of property

practice a profession

etc

Liberty: Ancients

Distributive Justice: Aesop, Rawls, Nozick (p. 224, 241-248)

Feminism: Wollstonecraft, Mill, Gilligan, Jaggar (p. 39-51)

Conservatism and Socialism: Burke, Oakeshott, Marx (326-328, 331-334, 345-348)

Distributive Justice

Smith on Distributive Justice

Opposes trade barriers, but supports taxation to benefit the poor

Rejects prevailing view of the poor (poor should stay poor)

duty of rich is to treat poor with kindness and compassion

The poor are dignified, industrious, equally capable, and entitled to their fair share of goods

poor people are humans just as we are... no, they were different people

Spencer on Distributive Justice

why no state aid to the poor?

1. They are Unfit to Survive (they are poor for a reason)
2. Society is too complex to be controlled in the way governments want
3. Shouldn't override property rights

Exam Review

Ideology

systems of ideas with history

politics not just about power and states and governments and policies but about IDEAS

visions of the world that inspire politics

aim to shape social change

explanation, evaluation, orientation, political program

agent, obstacle, goal

Liberalism

Brian Barry

fundamental equality of all human beings: inequality is an artifact

every doctrine should be open to critical scrutiny

no religions dogma can reasonably be held with certainty (accept that your view on religion could be wrong)

medieval europe and the reformation(ascribed status, religious conformity, movement towards reformation)

Liberalism in England, America, and France

Hobbes, Locke (religious toleratin) , Paine (author of common sense; defend natural rights, necessary evil) , Jefferson (declaration of independence; individuals have rights against the government; all men created equals) , and the French Decloration

Adam Smith

free trade

capitalism (benefits the worst off, promotes international peace, self reliance, condusive to political order... NOT ABOUT GETTING RICH)

the role of the state (maintain order, provide education and infrastructure)

distributive justice (against poor ppl being lesser/ incapable, they are hardworking and equally able, supports taxation .. they are ultimately redistributed; redistribute wealth)

Spencers Neo-Classical Liberalism

defense of absolute private property rights

welfare programs don't work

believer in survival of the fittest

poor aren't worthy

can't help society it is too complicated

Green's Welfare Liberalism

individual freedom

individual choice

state can have a role in promoting these things

can promote freedom of individuals

Positive freedom- actually free to do things that are worth doing in community with other ppl

Rawls versus Nozick

difference principle

if u have free institutions than they will lead to pluralism

Conservatism

traditionalism

instead of valuing change they emphasize tradition

test of time

skepticism about political knowledge

organic conception of society and the state

state is like a living thing that has to be preserved and looked after

classical conservatives: flawed human beings, sinners, hierarchy (rather than equality) , tradition, anti-revolution

edmond burke (rejected french revolution)

contemporary conservatives : Small Government, free markets, strong military

Edmund Burke

human nature- we are creatures of tradition and habit, flawed

society- organic; living ; social fabric; liberal idea is mistaken

Revolution and Reform - against revolution, change should be gradual

Government and Representation - representatives should be delegates; should use his capacity to be responsible and think for himself

19th century conservatism

De Maistre- emphasized obedience to authority; fundamentally equality

Catholic Church (Pius IX)- antiliberal, denied appeal to reason

Cultural Conservatism - emphasis on reason rather than emphasis on emotion ; we should take emotional side seriously; emphasis should be on culture rather than profit; communal understanding of the role of individual (part of community)

Conservatism Today

traditional conservatism

Individualist conservatism (emphasis on mostly economics, one should be against welfare state, pro free market)

Neoconservatism (cultural contradictions of capitalism, people have to save money)

The religious right (Christian fundamentalist right , morality in to government)

Socialism

property should be owned by society

major means of production should be owned by all of us

basic goods should be produced with the aim of benefitting all (we should AIM for public benefits)

against capitalism and its unequal distribution of power (has an effect on commitment to equality)

Industrial Revolution Led to Dangerous, Difficult, Undignified factory work

Moral Objections to exploitation, povert, and greed

people are being exploiting

demonstrate negative attitude

'scientific claims about historical change and the end of capitalism

Major Figures

More (common ownership, wrong kind of emotions; pride, greed, envy)

Saint-Simon (efficiency, most efficient way to organize production)

Owen (set up own factory and treat workers better, individuals aren't natural corrupt, get corrupt by society)

Marx

Marx Theory of History

Level of development of the productive forces explains the nature of the economic structure - depending on the level of technology of society explains the economic structure that dominates society

Economic Structure determines the legal and political superstructure

Later Socialism

Engels (critique of patriarchy) , Bernstein (marxist who becomes evolutionary socialist; believed marx was wrong; kantian, end in themselves not as MEANS) ,

Lenin (evolutionary bangard, push economy forward by revolutionary party with use of violence if necessary)

Stalin; Fabians

social democracy - to be in favor of equality, concerned about the poor

Fascism

'Fasces' - symbol of strength through unity

totalitarian- someone who wants to control all aspects of society, all focus of state and ruler

reactionary- rejects enlightenment ideals
counter enlightenment- denial of reason, progress,
nationalism - 'blood and soil' nationalism,
Elitism - elites will rule (small group of people)
Irrationalism - mob psychology

Hitler's Nazism

comes out of resentment about End of World War 1
German People (wolk) must defeat jews, communists, and liberal ; people who
believe in freedom and equality
need strong, dominant lead (fuhrerprinzip)
Nationalism - national socialism/
Lebensraum (living space) - invading countries , use of violence is legitimate
Social Darwinsim - basically racist social darwinism , the fittest RACES
Racism and Anti-Semitism

Feminism

Liberal Feminism

wolstencraft- as capable of men
mill- well we don't know if they are as capable
aimed at changing institutions
they are fundamentally human

Radical Feminism `

women are different form men
terms have been set by men

Justice and Care

wolff- need for justice

Liberation Ideologies

Racism and Black Liberation

emphasis on difference and power
civil rights liberation - african americans should be treated the same and equally

Gay Liberation

social movement of identity politics
not poorer ; not about class
problem is society
overcome legal discrimination
overcome homophobia

Aboriginal People

restoring pride and dignity
not economically worst off

Animal Liberation

traditional view: animals as means
19th century: Darwin, Bentham (thing that matters is not that it can reason but
that it can suffer)
singer and speciesism
beings that aren't human don't make them necessarily below us (racism)

Ecologism

Serious Environmental Problems

loss of natural resources
ceiling on needed resources
harmful things we generate

population growth and per capita impact
An ecological ethic
we are part of an interdependent system
we are just one part of a complicated natural system
we should respect ALL life
human power and responsibility
stewardship - look after it , we owe something to future generations , obligation of justice
Light green and dark green
shallow environmentalism
deep ecology

Radical Islamism

Islam Mohammed and the Qur'an

Qur'an - holy book

Hadith

Islam

mohammed

5 pillars of islam

praying

fasting for rammedan

visit to mecca

faith in god

Radical Islamism

muslim counter-enlightenment

freedom is not valuable

sayyid Qutb

Qutb's Influence

Jahiliyya

False Consciousness

don't realize their true interests

offensive holy war

the future of Ideology

nationalism and ideology

religion and ideology

ideology and the environment

the end of ideology?

Wolff

Wolff 1-17

Introduction

Political philosophy is a *normative* study, contrast *descriptive* which tries to find out how things are, where normative tries to find out that things ought to be.

The political philosopher ask question with *ought, should, or* “how ought?” or “how should this be”.

Political philosophers present **arguments**, and **deduce** with logic. In this philosophy there is no hiding place, **agnosticism** cannot exist. \

State of Nature

Rousseau

Rousseau believed that the amount of time required to get out of the state of nature is longer than the biblical time that the world has existed.

Hobbes

Hobbes two keys to understanding humans

Self-Knowledge

Honest introspection to understand these animals.

General Principles of Physics

He was inspired by Galileo. Hobbes believed that to understand the physical setting in which humans are located is vital to understanding them.

Tired, needing rest, searching for food, needing shelter and safety, etc.

Felicity

Humans are constantly searching for success; felicity is achieving goods and knowing that the capacity to acquire more goods exists.

Equality

Humans are equal in that they are of relatively similar strength and intelligence, everyone is just as vulnerable, safety is constantly in jeopardy.

There are 3 reasons to be attacked in the state of nature

For Gain, For Safety, For glory

- Human beings of roughly equal intelligence and strength +
- Desired goods are scarce +
- No one can be ensured of their safety =

Completely rational to make the state of nature a battlefield.

Cruelty

Hobbes did not believe that humans were cruel in the slightest, but that they were selfish and that their acts of injustice were rational given requisites of their existence.

Many attack if not for immediate gain for defense.

Morality

Right of Nature, and because everyone else can be immoral, it is rational to do so.

Hobbes also presents “**Laws of Nature**”, 19

They can be deduced into one: **Do not unto others as you would have done to you.**

Hobbes concedes that peace would be the best way to live to preserve one's wills. A seeming contradiction may arise, how can he advocate for war and peace? He isn't:

Collectively Rational: The Laws of Nature

The thing that is the most rational to do in preserving wills and living the best **assuming everyone acts this way.**

Individually Rational Truth of the state of nature

The thing that is the rational thing to do maximize will from the individual perspective.

The laws of nature never come into effect because of **game theory** the one who obeys the law is the sucker. There exists too much of a desire for the individual to defect in what is collectively rational to maximize individual gain. [If the laws of nature were enforced and everyone knew that everyone else would follow the desire to defect would not be so strong.

Hobbes solution is the sovereign.

Locke

By "equality among men" Locke mean that no man had the natural right to subordinate another.

Unlike **Filmer**, Locke did not believe that one had *naturally* inherited the right to rule.

Laws of Nature

Locke put forth a theological tenet in his Laws of Nature that Hobbes did not.

He believed that humans were servants of God and that there is a fundamental right to *Preserve oneself . . . and preserve the rest of mankind.*

No one ought to harm another in his life, liberty, or possessions.

Liberty

Locke believes that although a state of nature is one of liberty, it is governed by the laws of nature and **we are given the liberty only to do what is morally permitted.**

Locke avoids the Hobbesian state of war, not by claiming that all humans are altruistic, but that in pure equality every human has the natural right to enforce the law on those who harm one's **Life, Liberty, or Property.**

Central Difference

Locke believes that there is an enforceable and effective moral law in the state of nature, and Hobbes is skeptical of this.

Even in the state of nature, Hobbes would not think punishment as a means to peace.

Other Main Difference

Hobbes believes that one of the key factors that brought humans into conflict was the rational desire for scarce goods. Locke believes that humans would rather cultivate the wilderness than steal from their neighbors, and thus does not encounter this issue.

Abundance of land rules of scarcity.

Reasons for State

If the state of nature as defined by Locke is so fine and dandy, why would humans make the state.

Distribution of Justice: people would fight over the administration of justice. They would fight over severity of punishment, what is punishable etc. The state reinforces this.

Scarcity Locke believes that with the invention of money scarcity will come even in cultivation.

Even or Locke the state of nature becomes unbearable

Rousseau

Concedes with Locke and Hobbes that man is concerned with self-preservation primarily.

But

That compassion, pity, and seeing another suffer is **constrain** enough for war not to break out.

Rousseau believes that Hobbes and Locke made the mistake of **projecting man-in-society** as **savage man**.

Savage man: Rousseau leaves Savage man with 2 drives: **Compassion** and **Self-preservation**

*in the case of conflict, self-preservation succeeds over compassion

Desires: Food, sex, sleep

Fears: hunger, pain

*nature has equipped man with the ability to fend off wild beast and live free of disease (Rousseau believed that disease was a result of unhealthy acts)

Man-in-society: unlike brutes maintains: Free will and Capacity for self-improvement

This allows man to stave off scarcity and create goods that go beyond basic survival needs.

“Corrupt Needs” such as luxury goods then exist, and one gets devastated one upon loss of luxury goods.

Societies develop the following:

Language

Comparison

Pride

Shame

envy

→ “real youth of the world”

Agriculture, metallurgy, private property, rules of justice = mutual dependence, jealousy, inequality

Civil societies are born, in a response to a near war state.

Anarchism

Peter Kropotkin: alternative to Darwin’s theory of natural selection in that humans profit through “natural aid”

Absence of government does not mean no social contract.

Fear of poor reputation, public opinion, will influence the individual.

Justifying the State

State of Nature brings us to a negative justification in that we cannot **think of anything better than the State**.

For a positive justification, we must show why we have a **moral duty** to obey the state.

- Locke: one can only come under authority by consent. (one Locke believes one maintains individual autonomy and this can only be obstructed if one allows for it.

Definition of State:

- Max Weber: Legitimate violence and coercion is supervised by the state.
- Locke: Ability to make laws and enforce them, protection of citizens.

Wolfe forms:

State possesses two essential features:

1. **Monopoly of legitimate violence or coercion.**
2. **Offers protection to everyone in its territory.**

Objections:

People take precautions to lock doors, or secure themselves; **protection** not relied on by the state.

People claim to have the right to own guns for protection, and that the state has no authority over them and **monopoly of violence** not controlled by the state.

The Goal of Justification:

To show that everyone, in principle, within the State's territories are **morally bound** to follow its laws and edicts.

The Social Contract

Voluntarism

Locke needs for political obligation to be explained in voluntaristic terms; that is that in some way or another, one has given the state consent to maintain authority over them.

- The state is not justified, because it is better than non-state.

Wolfe: **Social Contract** is a solution for **Political Obligation**, satisfies **universalism** (every person must be obligated) and **voluntarism** (every person has given consent).

Objections:

Original Contract: Problematic, as Rousseau would not believe savage man to be capable of drafting such a document, and why does it have authority over succeeding generations.

Ballot Box: Not everyone votes, and if it is mandatory, it is no longer a sign of consent.

Participatory Democracy: Modern democracies do not meet that ideal, as no one is obliged to participate.

Tacit Consent:

Wolfe: By quietly accepting protection from the state, you are giving it tacit consent, and this is enough to bind one to the authority of the state.

Objects:

David Hume says that to express **dissent** one is to get up and leave, but this is too unreasonable a condition for us to think that those who stay consent.

Rousseau says that residence is consent if one is in a "free state" (not when family, lack of refuge, etc. detains one against his will).

Wolfe: We must accept Hume's rejection, as leaving a country is unreasonable and impossible in many cases. For this reason Tacit Consent cannot justify the state.

Hypothetical Consent:

Perhaps the social contract is purely hypothetical, and it tells us what we *would do* if we found ourselves in the state of nature.

Wolfe: If you found yourself in the state of nature, then, if you were rational you would do everything in your power to recreate the state. You would rationally and freely join a contract to **bring about the state**.

Objects:

Hypothetical does not comply with 'voluntaristic' assumptions of social contract theory, as hypothetical is not an *act* of consent.

- It is not voluntaristic, but only that we would consent to bring a state from the state of nature simply because of the state's features.

Reconstructs:

Hypothetical consent can get us to realize what we really think, and that we have consented the entire time to the state.

Hypothetical contract argument reveals:

Dispositional Consent: an as-of-yet unexpressed attitude of consent

Concludes:

Weak consent argument as:

- Unacknowledged consent is barely legally binding
- We cannot assume everyone maintains this disposition to consent upon reflection (anarchists)

Ergo: Contract or Consent theory as discussed here cannot ensure that everyone has **political obligation**

Anarchism Revisited:

(If voluntaristic foundation of state is implausible, then we consider Anarchism)

Wolff: No one *asked* me whether we should have a state, therefore the state and police act illegitimately.

Objections:

The anarchist will comply with the police or state if they are acting according to morality, but are not obligated to otherwise.

This brings about moral self-indulgence, as one has their own individual moral perspective and are only bound to it.

Better to follow **set codes** than personal **conflicting codes**.

This is why **Locke** believed we should move away from the state of nature and have a *shared set of codes*.

Concludes:

Anarchist might argue that: individuals might all be brought to share the same set of moral principles. How can we ensure that everyone comes to that truth? For those who doubt, the anarchist position seems

Utilitarianism:

- The failure of contract arguments, and the unattractiveness of anarchism, makes utility theory more pressing.

Wolff: Put crudely, Utilitarianism requires one to perform the action that will create the greatest net happiness than any other action available at that time.

Objects:

Happiness is hard to quantify and compare ('**interpersonal comparison of utility**')

Wolff: What would a utilitarian theory of political obligation look like?

Answer: I should obey the law if my obedience brings the greatest happiness to society than my disobedience

Objects:

If everyone breaks laws if their formulation of happiness leads to a greater number (i.e. taking my possessions because your happiness is greater than my unhappiness) then general misery could result.

Indirect Utilitarianism

Everyone obeys the laws in –non utilitarian- reasoning, to bring about a maximization of happiness.

Example: **Lotus-eaters**, alternative view. (often seeking happiness will not bring one to happiness, by setting goals and achieving them, one finds happiness indirectly. Therefore a set of laws should be made by the state, and individuals follow them and hope for happiness as a side-effect)

Bentham: “taking the whole body [of people] together, it is their duty to obey, only when it is their interest.

1. Laws should be passed if they contribute to human happiness
2. Laws should be obeyed because they are laws, and disobeyed only to avoid disaster.
3. Laws should be replaced if they fail to serve utilitarian function.

Wolff: (Utilitarian message for political obligation now clear) The state’s laws are only justified if it makes for more happiness than any other arrangement.

- Compared to State of nature, the state is justified for the utilitarian
 1. Morally best society is the one where happiness is maximized
 2. State promotes happiness better than state of nature
 3. State and State of nature is all we have.
 4. We have a moral duty to bring about support the state.

Objects: the first premise is the only one that can be vulnerable

Scapegoat (public fearing a mass murderer, put an innocent in jail to make the public happier)

- **Lord Denning example**
- Utilitarianism can bring about great injustices

Indirect Utilitarianism would create a theory of rights, and allow for scapegoat objection to be denied.

Conclusion:

Even though the indirect utilitarianism defense is strong, utilitarianism is highly suspect. There are reasons to be dissatisfied with this justification for the state.

The Principle of Fairness:

HLA Hart: It is simply unfair to enjoy the benefits of the state and not adopting the burden made by those benefits. (receipts of benefits)

Benefits: security, safety, which operates with laws

Burdens: Political obligations

Hume:

- Each of us will profit in a society governed by justice
- We have to make short-term sacrifices
- Justice will flourish if we obey it.
- Therefore personal interest is in accordance with **political obligation**

If it is in our best interest to obey the law, then it is rational to obey it. Why then would some not obey it?

Hume believes this is because humans are not very rational:

- Short-term long-term example, humans would take the short term, as the short term is more conceivable and immediate.
- **Justice is a long-term benefit**

Irrational passions (equivocal to short-term gain)

= Disobeying the law

Reason (equivocal to long-term)

= Obeying the law

Humans are more likely to act on their passions than reason.

Hume solution: by punishing those who do not obey the law makes obeying the law a short-term gain as well.

Nozick:

If one does not ask for benefits, then they are not obligated to reciprocate them.

i.e. someone giving you a thing then demanding you pay for it, even if you do not want it.

Conclusion: *Principle of Fairness* does not solve political obligation, but is an improvement on *consent theory*.

Justifying the State conclusion:

Voluntaristic consent argument cannot justify obligation to those who do not consent.

Utilitarianism is not acceptable as it can –in principle- allow for the innocent to be convicted.

Fairness can only succeed if everyone *accepts* the benefits of the state.

Who Should Rule?

(Precursor; regardless of whether the state is justified, it exists and how should it be governed and by who?)

Voltaire: ‘Benevolent Dictatorship’

Wolff: Contemporary standpoint: undemocratic held to scrutiny,

Objects:

Democracy has greatly flourished in recent times, but what about the thinkers for the 2,000 years where there was no democracy.

Term “Democracy” is a praise, not a coherent system.

First Tension:

“*majority rule*” **and** “*consideration for individuals*”

Women with child unable to get into school, airport being built close to her house.

51 voted, *majority has ruled* –against her.

“I thought this country was meant to be a democracy” → individuals interests have been treated with insufficient regard

De Tocqueville: “Tyranny of the Majority”

Mill: - Generally assumed that if people were ruling with their own interests, political oppression would be impossible. *Why would people pass oppressive laws?*

- Assumption false, as people do not have homogenous interests. (different life-spans, preferences, etc.)
- It is quite easy to see how the majority can rule against minority

Wolff: To be gathered from first tension; is democracy *majority rule* or **Madisonism** (*that democracy requires protection of minorities*)

Second Debate:

Direct model: Electorate vote on particular laws and policies

Vs.

Representative model: electorate vote on person to represent them in government and make laws

Modern Democracies adhere to **Representative model**. The **Direct model** is unheard of in modern democracies.

Liberal democracy: subscribe to direct model, do not believe representative democracy is really democracy.

Plato Against Democracy: (ship example, not the best, but the one who can sustain vote, it could be the word-spinner and star-gazer)

Plato:

- The *demos* are *the mob* (unwashed, unfit, vulgar).
- Doctor analogy, if you were ill you'd seek help from an expert. Not gather a crowd and ask them to vote
- Relying purely on vote would have the people choose the **Sophist**, the character with most conviction in their speech than the **expert**.

Plato on who should rule: The philosopher king, one trained at birth, taught philosophy at age 30 for 5 years, followed by 15 years military.

Wolff: Ruling is a skill, and some are unfit for this. An expert must be chosen and trained. Democracy is absurd and irrational. How does the democrat respond to the craft analogy.

Objections to Plato:

- Just because they are experts, it does not follow that we give them the power to run our lives.

Objection 1: Power can corrupt. Who Guards the guardians?

Plato response: Guardians cannot own private property.

Objection 2: If they cannot have great wealth why do they rule?

Plato Response: they would rather not have the many foolish people rule them so they take this on begrudgingly.

Wolff: what if the guardians change laws? Then Plato's laws to prevent corruption will not follow.

Concludes:

Plato gives no guarantee rulers will resist temptation. We are not comfortable with Plato's republic. Still not a defense of democracy.

Knowledge and interests:

Rulers need **Expert Knowledge**, but is it attainable?

All claims of knowledge are fallible,

Not a plausible objection: There are people who are more skilled than others. (even if doctors make mistake, you will still go to one if your leg is broken)

Plato: Rulers are ruling *for* the people. Democracy is ruling *for* the people, but it is done *by* the people.

How can a ruler know what the people want to rule for them?

Voting allows for people to know **what people want**.

Concludes:

How do rulers know what is best for the people?

Road example:

Philosophical reading will not tell us how to resolve this issue.

Majority vote does not accurately express preference or interest. **Hume Chapter 2: people often are often poor judges of their interest.**

Smoking example:

Cannot accurately reflect preferences or interests.

People vote on mixed-motivational grounds, either **moral grounds** or **what the most want**.

Concludes:

Mixed motivational voting

We cannot say the winning example reflects **interests** or **common good**.

Voting and the common good:

Theoretical Question if we do not accept *Mixed motivation voting*:

Voters vote in accordance with preferences

Voters vote with their opinion of the common good

- Former idea does not work (mixed motivational voting)
- Latter can be a defense of democracy.

Last argument was: without a vote rulers can't know what people want.

Plato objects:

The majority opinion of the common good is rabble, should be left to the experts.

Marie Jean Antoine Nicholas Caritat, Marquis Condorcet:

Mathematical response: people on average have a better chance of getting decision right than wrong so in a large scale, likely to get right answer.

2 conditions must be met:

1. People have better chance of being right
2. People can vote with **opinion of common good** and **not preferences**.

The Values of Democracy

Plato provides ship analogy to show that democracy is poor at achieving **external object**, as drunken pleasure cruise is not as effective as navigator at helm.

Hobby/skill example: Working on a table, more expensive than department store table but value in having control and discretion.

Intrinsic value in democracy:

Freedom and Equality.

Wolff: There is value in democratic decision making different from value of achieving given objectives.

Rousseau: (who should rule):

Everyone can maintain the education to rule, as long as they take an active role as part of the 'Sovereign'

"Will nothing contrary to the will of society": it is required citizens take an active role in public service.

- Rousseau: There has never been a real democracy, and there never will be.
- "were there a people of the gods, they would be democratic, so *real* democracy is not for men.

—
General Will : equivocal to opinion on common good

Product of individual will: equivocal to individual preference.

Example: 1,000 employees, 1,000,000 capital.

Individual Will: each wants 1,000,000. Sum demand 1,000 million capital

General Will: 1,000 each.

- General Will is 'general in its object as well as essence' → Affect all citizens (demands policy that is equal in everyone's interest)
- Follows: no one has a reason to vote for oppressive or unnecessary laws.

-
Elected Aristocracy Governs. They are the wisest of the many.

- They govern for many's profit, not their own.

Key Contrast: Plato's Philosopher Kings: **Rulers make laws.**

Rousseau Elected Aristocracy: They administer and govern laws **but do not make them.**

Where are laws made: Laws are made in popular assemblies, there the general will is discovered.

Objection 1: Overcoming first condition of marquis

If people are voting on General Will, why does it follow they are right?

i.e. Class distinctions will cause different opinions on general will.

Why should we think there is a general will at all (a policy that affects everyone equally?)

If there is one it will be unlikely to determine what it is?

—
Response:

No classes. A classless society will surely overcome this obstacle.

Even if people make mistakes, the sum of good and minuses will even it out.

Finding the General will is not the issue.

, but having it emerge is.

Interest Group example:

1,000,000 capital, 1000 people, groups of 100 interest groups.

People will vote for their interest group. **Difficult for General will to emerge.**

Response:

Either no interest groups, or many interest groups. If many does little influence on decisions of the whole.

Objection 2: Overcoming second marquis condition

Does not explain why they will vote for the **general will** and not person **interest**.

Response: more unity so they **act** on general will and not personal interest

Identify the group as a very strong whole through **Civic Virtue**

- This is indoctrination and you can say “sinister”. Perhaps totalitarian overtones?
- No, education is formalizing already existent bonds.

‘Censorship’: Ensures “public morality”

‘Civil Religion’: Brings about private morality.

Wolff: It meets both of Condorcet’s conditions.

Freedom and Equality:

Precursor:

2 ways of responding to Plato:

Democracy achieves ‘right result’ (external object) as good or better than rulers.

- Rousseau’s democracy corresponds to this.

Democracy has intrinsic value. Freedom and Equality.

Objects to Equality and Freedom

Equality Objection:

Democracy Presupposes classlessness, this is equality.

General will is equality.

Rousseau believed women were subordinate citizens. This is **inconsistent**.

Mary Wollencroft: Addressed this inconsistency. But she herself did not believe poor people could vote, as democracy was taxing on one’s time and the practical work needed to be done

- Acknowledge trend: Greeks had slaves, Rousseau had women, Wollencroft had poor people.

Wolff: We have dishwashers?

Logic: Rousseau’s logic is inconsistent with this exclusion of women. We can amend this on Rousseau’s proposal.

Freedom Objection:

Freedom of thought is severely restricted.

1. Atheism barred. 2. Intolerant religions barred. 3. Everyone must conform to **civil religion**.

Response:

Positive Notion of Freedom

Free by following the sovereign, living what the rational man would live.

- One can be “forced to be Free”
- I.E. General will is with policy A, you want policy B. **Freedom is identified as acting with General will, so you’re forced to be free.**

Wolff: Inequality can be saved, Freedom cannot

Radical Criticism of Rousseau: 3 objections

Objection 1: General Will Objection

We cannot form general wills as we are very different, (class, race, religion, values)

What Rousseau does to second Crocoquet condition to be met is not something that contemporary democracies want.

Drop key assumption that we can form wills to general wills.

Objection 2: Minority View

Dissenters are ‘forced to be free’

Put to death if they deny ‘civil religion’

Objection 3: Freedom should not be equated to obedience

If minority view does not become law, it may be rational to 'coerce them' to follow. But, it does not follow that that makes them "free"

Wolff: For Rousseau to **instrumentally justify** his democracy, he makes for 'repressive' social unity. For instrumental terms, we lose intrinsic value. **The price we pay for the general will is too high.**

- The dissenting should have an opinion, even if the majority are right. The dissenter's opinion still matters.

Participatory Democracy: Extends Rousseau's Democracy in 3 ways:

More Respect for Dissenting voices

Convenience (people can vote on things from computer message boards instead of town square)

'Go All The Way Down' – People affect legislation and small things like work and such.

Participatory democracy:

- Satisfies voluntaristic assumptions of social contract theory
- Freedom and Equality can be achieved

3 criticisms:

Extraordinarily inefficient

Who Sets the Agenda? – if it is an appointed office, then that seems far less appealing

Too much time – Oscar Wilde: 'there would be no evenings'

Wolff: participatory democracy is good for Freedom and Equality, but can we do better for prosperity and fulfillment?

Representative Democracy – Mill

Participatory democracy - administrators have very little power

Plato – Guardians have complete power

Rousseau – people make laws, administrators carry them out

Mill – People elect administrators to both make laws and carry them out

2 functions of government: **'Improve' the citizens and manage their public affairs**

Despotism: leaves citizens passive and without action.

Mill's Key assumption: Human beings flourish under conditions of independence. **Self-protecting and self-dependent.**

Direct Democracy: Mill would agree that direct democracy would improve citizens as well, but is extremely **inefficient:**

Rousseau Criticism: Representative democracy is "elective dictatorship"

Educating Citizens for Citizenship: Emphasized by Mill, participation in jury, local affairs. Etc.

Unsavory Leaders: Sophist-like leaders may get votes. Mill proposes **Cheques and Balances** to keep the over-ambitious from exploiting their power.

The Federalist: (representative democracy) advocated for rulers to be checked to avoid corruption.

Leaders:

Are not to be paid, supported by private donations. Otherwise the seat would be a desire of low-class.

Voters:

Greatest obstacle in representative government is that voters do not vote for **class interest** or **personal interest**.

They should vote for who will **'Improve'** and **Manage public affairs**.

2 remedies:

Open ballot: Mill believes that an open ballot would have one accountable for their vote, and that this is more important than the threat of a loss of job.

Partial Disenfranchisement: Those illiterate and unable to perform arithmetic cannot vote. Those who are very intelligent and apt are to be given more than one vote.

Mill's Reason: The workers will elect a government to raise the taxes of the rich and affect the economy in a poor way. They are mistaken with where their interests lie.

- Mill does not want the vote to go in the direction of class interest.

Plural Voting: Mill favors the opinion of the educated more than the uneducated.

Vote for elector, they elect members of parliament.

It is either **unjustified** or **unnecessary**.

Protecting the Minority

- Precursor: The ignorant majority will end up harming themselves by voting with class interest.

Mill struggles with **the representation and protection of the outvoted**.

(the representation of the minority can be compensated with their vote being transferred to a different constituency, protection from more votes being casted by those with a moral high ground)

Mill's solution: restrict government in certain aspects of one's life.

— Mill's Problem: To achieve the instrumental goal of Democracy Mill forfeits one of the two virtues: Not **freedom**, but **equality**. Those of a low economic class cannot vote, while those of the moral high ground can vote more than once.

Conclusion:

Unlikely to be able to defend democracy on instrumental grounds and intrinsic grounds.

Case Study: 1994 black south Americans enfranchised: equal political opinion as whites.

- Mill's Plural voting has not been accepted by any thinkers since because it **violates** **"equal" tenet** of democracy.

Wolff: in contemporary world, we cannot survive without coercive authority structures. We need **rulers** to fill these roles. In past, those maintain authority because of God. Now through democratic means their role is justified.

Women are owed respect as citizens.

Coercive: To dominate control.

The Place of Liberty:

It is naïve to think that democracy rules out injustice. (tyranny of majority)

Mill's Solution: restrict power of authority:

His idea lies between **Hobbes** (state enforces rules how it wishes) and the **anarchist** (no laws, for mill life wouldn't be worth living as "*all that makes living valuable is . . . restraints upon actions*) spectrum.

Liberty Principle: Justifiably limit a person's freedom of action if they threaten to harm another.

- Liberty/harm principle only applies to the civilized. Liberty can be restricted outside of this principle to barbarians and children.
- Liberty is valuable for progress.

An illustration: Freedom of thought

Complete Freedom of thought and discussion.

No view should be silenced true or false or mix.

If we suppress true view: we lose opportunity for progression or change.

If we suppress false view: lose opportunity to reaffirm and challenge our true view. (ideas accepted as a dogma).

— Must maintain **fallibility** of view: Socrates and Jesus suppressed and silenced for views that conflicted with “known for certain” views.

Mill thinks humans have capacity for error and cannot claim **infallibility ever**.

Alexandrian Library example:

Rousseau: the development of arts and sciences leads to unhappiness.

Mill: Presupposes that knowledge over ignorance leads to happiness.

— Argument: the utility of a belief over its truth is what qualifies society to believe it.

Mill's response: that claim is infallible as it is not know that atheism, or something like it, will lead to unhappiness. Therefore we have no more reason to ban than accept a view.

What harm can be done in suppressing a false view?

Accepted view is then accepted as dogma and loses “living truth” aspect.

- Perhaps false view is brought and defenders of true view cannot defend it.
- i.e. organized religious fundamentalists in America against evolution.

Argument for censorship:

New view is **True**: more harm than good

New view is **False**: more harm than good

New view is a mix of **True** and **false**: open discussion, truth might emerge

Therefore: **never a case for censorship**.

Harm principle:

Corn dealer example: assembled mob in front of corn dealer's house.

Purely self-regarding actions: actions that do not affect anyone else, unless by their free will.

Other-regarding actions: actions that affect or involve another person.

Other-regarding actions can be restricted in accordance with **Liberty Principle**.

- Even though purely self-regarding actions can be found (shoe example) to *affect* other people. “dislike/like or offence” is not grounds for harm.

So, what does Mill mean by harm?

Harming another's “interests”. I.E. rape, murder etc.

But what about by competing in a field with someone, else I harm their interests.

Wolff: harming interests, for Mill, is not sufficient to classify harm.

Justifying the Liberty Principle

Precursor passage introduces “right-based interests”.

i.e. I have a right to have property not be taken by force, but no economic right.

Natural rights are taken as fundamental in liberal circles. It makes the moral theory that follows attractive as it is **principled** and **rigorous**.

Problem with natural rights:

If one denies natural rights, how does one defend such a view? They can't.

Bentham: people have different views on intrinsic rights, and it is not different than on personal opinion.

Bentham: A right is derived from a law.

- Mill Agreed with Bentham. If this is the case, how can Mill have 'right-based interests' for defining *harm*. (to accept conventional rights, custom and prejudice arises)

Mill will not make use of **abstract right** or **conventional (law given) rights**.

Mill's **right** is a right which maximizes happiness.

State grants people rights that more happiness is achieved within the structure than would be possible under any other view.

Indirect Utilitarian view of rights is how to derive these rights. As direct utilitarian law (Act to maximize happiness) is too vague and can allow for scapegoating.

Henry Sigwick: 'government house utilitarianism' Utilitarian theory is right, but is an esoteric doctrine to be kept by the elite. The common are to be maxims to follow as knowledge of underlying theory would lead to miscalculations.

Given **Indirect utilitarianism:** Utilitarian legislator does not just make the law "maximize happiness" but makes a larger body of laws which secures rights of individuals.

The greatest happiness is achieved by giving people two spheres of interests, private is not permitted to interfere, and public is on utilitarian grounds.

Public Sphere of interests: can be interfered with on utilitarian grounds.

Private Sphere or interests: in this is 'right-based interests'

I.E. : it will serve general happiness if we:

Truth brings general happiness. *So we are assumed to have a right-based interest* in freedom of thought and speech.

Business competition brings about general happiness by having more efficiency in commerce. So people are given 'right-based interests' to compete in business, but not given the right to financial interests.

Indirect Utilitarianism does not extend to protection against economic competition.

Wolff: Utilitarian defense of liberty principle is very plausible. Supplies what is missing. A theory that does not rest on **Natural rights** and **Shifting sands of convention**.

Is it really free? Drug addict example.

Why 'Grounded in permanent interests as man as a progressive being'

Individuality and Progress

In ch.3 of *On Liberty* Mill argues that general happiness would be best advanced by assigning people a **private sphere of no-interference**.

James Fitzjames Stephen: Liberty is not good in itself but is like fire. Good in the context it is used. Also that giving humans liberty will not necessarily lead to vigorous experimentation.

—

Mill's Argument: Advancing Liberty contributes much more to human happiness than any other policy

First: People know what makes them happy better than anyone else.

Leaving people to themselves will make them happier than insisting societies recommendations.

Second: Human choice is vital for human nature.

They will develop their most distinctive human capacity, **the capacity for choice.**

Third: Progress is best when humans can conduct “**experiments in living**”

Role models can show how human ought or ought not to live, through experience

Now it is seen why Mill appeals “utility in its largest sense is grounded on man's permanent interests as man as a progressive being”

Man is **progressive**; human beings are capable of learning from experience for the **long-term benefit of all.**

It will lead to human **flourishing.** And **Liberty is a vital condition for experimentation.**

Liberty will, in the long run secure the “greatest possible happiness for mankind”

Wolff: Mill assumes humans are capable of progression through learning. Humans constantly repeat their mistakes. **Liberty is the cornerstone of Mill's Doctrine.**

Liberty as an intrinsic Good

Mill presents Liberty as an instrumental Good. It is instrumentally valuable at achieving the greatest possible happiness.

He accepts happiness as an intrinsic good, but does not accept liberty as an intrinsic value.

— Mill sets limits for Liberty, only because these limits creates a greater net happiness. Not setting limits for the sake of liberty.

Problems with Liberalism

Poison Drunken ness and Indecency:

In Mill's last chapter he sets to restrict Liberty by ‘**Obvious Limitations**’

Poison example: (regulating poison sales may be an interference on ones liberty, but is justified as it can cause harm. **Liberty can be justly restricted to prevent crime.**

Drunk: if one is convicted of crime while drunk, they are restricted from alcohol consumption.

-

Mill provides ‘**One Simple Principle**’.

Lord Devlin shows that liberty principle cannot justify the restriction of euthanasia, dueling, or incest of brother and sister. He suggests criminal law can show how these offend society as a whole and such acts can be restricted.

If liberty principle is as serious as Mill suggests it cannot be concerned with “customary morality”.

Marxist objections to liberalism

Marx's paper ‘**On The Jewish Question**’ was written in response to Jews being rendered unequal in Prussia.

(Bruno Bauer, atheist, says that religion must be abolished)

Marx distinguishes between “the state” and “civil society”

Political Emancipation – USA, no where in constitution is one rendered unequal politically because of their religion.

Even if Political emancipation occurs in “the state”, in “civil society” individual can still be hated in day to day life.

Human emancipation

Liberalism allows for political emancipation.

Other people are viewed as obstacles to one's liberty in liberalism and – allows for antagonism of civil society to exist.

For Marx, political emancipation/liberalism is better than what came before it but worse than human emancipation in communism.

Communitarianism and Liberalism

Communitarianists share Marx opposition to liberalism (atomism/individualism).

Liberalists see people as isolated free individuals who pursue their own goods their own way.

Communitarianism:

Humans are social beings. Thorough socialization and adherence to one's custom allows humans to attain their 'real interests'

Humans identities are bounds by the communities that they are placed in.

Mill provides a **negative definition of liberty** (one is free to the extent that they are able to make their own choices)

Mill also makes a **mistake of human nature**, that liberty relieves the crushing bonds of society.

For the Communitarianist **positive liberty** is adhering to custom morality.

Wolff: perhaps a modified view of both (liberty principles) and (customs and traditions) is fitting.

Conclusion:

Mill was right to value his negative view of liberty.

Mill's liberty principle rests on the notion that humans are capable of moral progress.

Defenders of liberty must either prove this or find an alternative foundation.

Anecdote:

Spanish Lawyer who studied philosophy:

Only studied Mill briefly as Mill and liberty would be more likely to turn heads than Marx on communism.

The Distribution of Property

Laissez faire economy is supported by Mill. (he does not in his writing on socialism, that a socialist economic system could exist in the perfect humans of the future)

How should a liberal society distribute property?

Locke: valuing liberty supposes very strong natural rights to liberty.

Robert Nozick: Anarchy, State, Utopia: the rights to liberty so powerful that government has no right to interfere with them

In Nozick's 'Minimal State' The government cannot tax beyond what is necessary to protect an individual's good and protect the state from foreign aggressors.

The market is free from taxation in gifts, voluntary donations, and trade.

Wolff: The libertarian takes the notion of liberty and forms a very strong capitalism where private property is within one's private sphere of interest.

John Rawls: presents **Welfare Liberalism**, which suggests that Libertarianism will inevitably lead to great inequalities of wealth and that wealth should be redistributed to those that are not wealthy.

The Income Parade

Jan Pen in *income distribution*, presents the parade analogy.

In the last few minutes one would find the accountants and lawyers very tall, while for 45 minutes people are below average height.

Objections:

Philosophical objection: how much of the acquired wealth is done so in a legitimate fashion? How much is stolen etc.

Is the reference unit fair? Including students with paper routes or people who have only worked a few weeks in their entire lives.

Property and Markets

Nozick: Property rights need 3 different principles:

Justice in acquisition

Justice in transfer

Justice in rectification

Locke on Property

Locke believes individuals have natural rights to property, this means **Justice in Acquisition**

First Argument:

For your survival.

Locke's 2 conditions for acquisition in natural state:

Lockean Provisos – cannot take more than we can use

'leave enough for others' – hence the name

Second Argument

'Labour Mixing' justifies acquisition of land

Nozick argues, tomato juice mixing with sea, do I own sea? Perhaps Locke should reformulate to "labour"

Third Argument

"Value Added" – working on land makes it more valuable, therefore if one works land they have justly acquired it.

Fourth argument

God gave us land, quarrelsome and industrious argument.

Wolff: These conditions for acquisition leave out many other rights of property. **What about when land becomes scarce.**

Wolff Concludes: Justice in acquisition is too hard to justify, perhaps it is intrinsic in free market.

The Free Market

Utilitarian justification to property rights can be an alternative to Locke's view. But it only concerns itself with benefits of transfer and not acquisition.

'Pure Model' of Capitalism:

Goods are held by people

Produced for profit, rather than needs of producer

Trade is regulated through laws

Competition exists as anyone can produce these goods

Planned Economy (perhaps more rational than Free Market, as distribution controlled by state.

(in chuck's lectures)

Adam Smith

That demand and need will even out and free-market serves needs better than planned economy.

The **Self-Interest** of free market makes it work mechanically.

Arguments against the Market

Engel's Two Arguments:

1. Capitalism leads to crisis after crisis, 'Trade Cycle'
2. A Free Market has people who perform no productivity (middle men)

Second argument: Free-market leads to alienation

Human nature is not working machines . . .

Third Argument Capitalists exploit workers in free market

Owner and worker have heavily disproportionate income.

Fourth

Free market, unconstrained leads to great unequalness.

Utilitarian Justification – For modified free-markets

"Diminishing marginal returns" my first biscuit is better than my second. SO if I have 2 and you 0, I should give 1 one to increase over-all happiness.

Wolff: Utilitarian Justification of free market allows it to produce more happiness than planned economy, although government reforms can make it better.

Rawls's Theory of Justice

Hypothetical Contract

Ace of Spades example, imagine rules before game is played.

Must be abstracted from real life.

3 Elements for Rawls:

1. Setting/conditions: **Original Position**

Impartiality before principle can be made. 'Veil of Ignorance' Only under this is it rational to be impartial.

Soccer coach example

Rawls presupposes a 'Thin Theory of the Good'

- Primary goods 'equality, wealth, liberties etc. everyone wants these
- 'Mutually disinterested' In other's wealth **OR** plight

Choosing Principles

1. **Liberty Principle** (each person to have equal rights as long as compatible)
2. **A) Difference Principle** (Maximin, inequalities justified if benefit worst off)
B) Fair Opportunity Principle (distribution of opportunity of equal opportunity to all)

Liberty Principle:

Hospital example: follows you want the most *extensive* equal liberties, because you *primary goods* and you do not know your characteristics.

Difference Principle is seen in:

Rational Choice theory

Mussels and Melon.

‘expected utility’ – is an average.

Melon is safe. **Maximin** is melon example.

The worst possible outcome is as good as possible. Maximize the minimum.

Maximax is caviar example. Maximize the maximum.

Conclusion: Rational Choice in Original Position is Maximin

Reasons for Maximin

Given constraints wolf contends

Maximization of expectations (average utilitarianism)

Maximization of Minimum (Difference Principle)

Given *finality* condition, it would not be smart to accept utilitarian view

Wolff considers Rawls is being unfair in only comparing to utilitarian view:

‘**Constrained Maximization**’ – maximization constrained by a safety net.

Rawls denies this, government is not known, must cannot make **non-arbitrary** principle.

Rawls and his Critics

Hypothetical Contract Method

Wolff’s criticism:

Rawls ‘primary goods’ are argued by him as the choice of a rational person in the original position.

Wolff argues that the liberty and opportunity principle is biased for capitalist and commercial markets. That they are not ‘All purpose means’

– Rawls does not allow one to be entitled to the rewards of their skills and talents.

Wolff argues they lose motivation to hone these skills.

Wolff: Liberty Principle and Opportunity Principle can be doubted easily, if they are not viewed as fair from the original position.

Nozick and patterns

Rawls makes a contradiction as the difference principle contradicts liberty principle.
Difference principle would make for restrictions on property, and this trumps liberty.

End-State – Looking at how a system functions is enough to determine whether or not it is just.

Historical - patterned and unpatterned

Patterned theory: system of distribution that appeals to a pattern. (Rawls's) *according to the maximization of the least advantaged*

– Suppose **D1** (money is given relative to one's need)

D2 (Wilt Chamberlain has made \$250,000 through this intervention)

1. Free actions can disrupt pattern
2. If people voluntarily did **D2**, then it is also just
3. Pattern is at a grave cost for Liberty.

Therefore Proper respect for Liberty rules out a pattern

People will spend and difference principle will fail unless constant intervention is had.

Tax is equivalent to forced labour

Wolff's Conclusion:

All argument have been have been defended on the grounds of Liberty, except liberty.