

Koultst

GVPT100 Semester Notes

Political Ideology

- Isms: liberalism, conservatism, socialism
- How people frame the political world in different ways
 - Property, freedom, equal opportunity
 - Preserving something that may or not have existed in the past
 - Authoritarian nationalism that aligns itself as a corporate perspective of the world
 - Race
 - Gender

Politics and Power

- Everything is political

Politics

Authority

Government

Power

- Force
- Persuasion
- Manipulation
- Exchange

What is Politics?

- Politics touches everything (Robert Dahl)
- Politics involves change (David Easton) ***come back to look at for essay
 - A world of flux, tensions, transitions; domestic and international (can't help but blend)
 - (*) Authoritative allocation of values (known for this definition)
 - Institutions of govt/distributing/goods, services, attitudes, values → helps us prioritize what is important to us living in our liberal society
 - (*) Politics is deciding who gets what, when and how (key definition of politics); a process of determining how power and resources are distributed in society without recourse to violence (Harold Lasswell)
 - Disagreements among people in the world, but when violence begins politics breaks down
 - Who is the who?
 - The participants of politics, the people who are involved in the process
 - Congress, courts judges, bureaucrats, voters, lobbyists, corporations
 - What is the what?
 - Outcomes
 - Of the public policy process
 - People getting services, goods, values

- How?
 - Political process, legislative process
 - How the participants involve themselves in order to achieve the outcomes they want to get
 - Politics is the recognition that our life is shared; Rules, expectations that govern our common life (Ellen Grigsby)
 - Live in community, political world → must be universal rules that apply to everyone → set expectations that govern
 - Being attuned to the people that you are facing in the room, the country, the community (Blair)
 - The psychology of being able to read other people and to respond to those people before they articulate what it is what they want
 - If you can do that, you are excellent at politics
- Politics is...
 - Politics arranges our lives into some kind of social order
 - Takes us from chaos to social order
 - Life starts in the state of nature that is a pre political situation (cannot survive) (Hobbes and Locke)
 - For different reasons, people must arrange themselves into political order to live, to have culture to survive
 - Politics manages power. To avoid violence, management of power must be legitimate
 - There must be legitimacy in society or order will break down
 - Government gives us the legitimate use of power
 - Legitimate use of power within official/govt. setting is referred to as authority
 - Authority is power that attaches to 'the office' not the individual
 - Within a governmental setting we relate to the concept of authority
 - Authority: legitimate use of power within governmental/institutional setting (we are not talking about an individual person)
- Politics and Government
 - Government is the system or organization for exercising authority over a people
 - Doesn't matter what type of govt
 - Rules: directives that specify how resources will be distributed or what procedures govern collective activities
 - The "how" process of who gets what, and how?
 - Help us to implement politics
 - They tell us how resources will be distributed, what procedures will we use, who gets what
 - Rules are universally applied, but doesn't mean rules are necessarily fair

- Institutions: organizations in which government power is exercised
 - Congress, presidency, courts
 - How power is distributed
 - Power is divided into separation of powers

Power

- Latin term *potere*: ability to affect something else
 - Notion of volition (will, desire, choice)
 - The things of everyday life
 - Dahl: main indicator of power is decision making
 - We exert power when we decide to do X but not Y
 - Peter Bachrach: by the time people have taken time to decide, power has already been exerted
 - If you really want to understand how power is used, you want to look at decisions but also take a step back and look at notions of agenda
 - The people making decisions no one knows about, avoiding public scrutiny
 - Excluding a lot of things one could be deciding about, setting the agenda=framing what it is people are going to be focusing on (lot of stuff outside frame you will never get to)
 - Steven Lukes: decisions are important, agenda setting is important, but we should put on the TV to see how power is used in society
 - Look at the media
 - Study advertising
 - What consumers like/don't like
 - Cultural hegemony: how society gets us to think how we do, born into society constructing a reality; read the symbols; setting idea of preferences/what we want/what is important in society
 - Talking about decisions made by everyone, not just elites
 - We are all victims
- Ability to achieve objective/goals: attaining an objective is something someone wills
 - Example of interest group (NRA example)
- Getting someone to do something it would rather not do**(bottom-line definition of power)
 - Example of country getting another country to act against its will
 - If you can do this, you are asserting power over them

Power reserved/deployed

- Reserved power: power latent or inactive
 - Example of military deterrence
 - Having power and not using it
- Deployed Power: power that is manifest
 - Going to war

- Using power
- Power is usually a blending of reserved and deployed power

Oct 20 Required

Power as persuasion

- Martin Luther King's "I have a dream" speech

Power as exchange

- Both get something out of it
- It is in their interest to go along with it

State, Nationhood & Citizenship

- The state
 - Security, rules, extraction
 - Sovereignty
 - Government
 - Political economy
- The nation:
 - Nation-state
 - Multinational state
 - Nation without state
- Citizenship

The state (construction of power)

- Security, Extraction, & Rule making and enforcing authority (monopoly on coercive use of force) within its territorial borders
 - This authority is ultimate/final (Sovereign)
 - The state is sovereign (independent and autonomous over territory)
 - State has final say
 - Autonomy and independence
 - No power stands above the state
 - In charge of rule making on enforcing its authority
 - The state itself has a monopoly on coercive use of force, no one else can use force unless state says so
 - State relationship with government; creates government; confederal, federal, unitary
 - In U.S., the sovereign state created confederal (Articles of Confederation 1781) and then federal (U.S. Constitution 1787) forms of govt
 - State is bigger than govt
 - Govt is the notion of state, kind of state, form of institutions within state
 - State chooses kind of govt it wants
 - The sovereign can, and sometimes does, stand outside govt; ruled by Constitution
 - Outside govt and still making decisions for the people
 - Govt→something created by the state
 - Historical/Political Economy: feudal state; mercantile state, capitalist/liberal state; social democratic state; socialist state

- We are no longer colonies
- As free & independent state → full power
- State creates govt, went thru process to come up with AOC and form the confederal form of govt in 1781
 - Then reformed that and came up with Constitution in 1787
 - 2 different forms of govt within the same state
- Limits on State Power (we live in a global economy, come from a variety)
 - Other states
 - Thru negotiations, threats of war, etc place limits on other states
 - NGOs (Non-governmental organizations)
 - Persuasive and exchange power
 - Put a lot of pressure on state to change priorities, practices
 - Have a lot of influence on nation states
 - Limiting, shaping power of different sovereign states
 - MNCs (Multi-national corporations)
 - Growing power
 - Larger budgets than nation states
 - Because of MNCs, war in Iraq is still going on; they've taken over
 - Limiting, shaping, guiding
 - International organizations
 - UN
 - World Bank
 - World Health Organization
 - Set policy that set global politics that limit what a state can do

The Nation (the people that can live in the state & their shared characteristics)

- The people defined by history; culture; language; ethnicity; religion...
 - Subjective characteristics; nation of people can overlap
- Unifying threads; identity, oneness
 - Connecting themselves; creation of an identity; what makes us who we are; what makes us different than everyone else
 - **Nation comes from a shared set of values; constitutionalism → adherence to sets of key values (what makes us different to other nations)
- Nation-state: where state and nation coincide
 - Multinational state: many nations within one state (former Yugoslavia)
 - A lot of different ethnic groups, broke apart when Tito died in the 80s

- Genocide; multinational state broke apart; ethnic identity coincided more closely
- Nation without a state (Roma a.k.a. gypsies)
 - These are a wandering people
 - As a people, they have no power whatsoever
- Nation exceed the state (Greater Hungary)
 - People see themselves as ethnic Hungarians
 - Great pride in language
 - Wherever they live, they speak the language and consider themselves still a part of the nation

The Citizen

- Idea is having rights and responsibilities associated with full membership in the shape (what it means to be a citizen)
- Rights: vote in federal elections

Approaches to Citizenship

- Robert Putnam

Elms brief readings

Rest of notes from pp

Access to Citizenship

- Current debate on citizenship:
 - Who should be allowed to be a citizen?
 - Something to work for? Consent to? Be born int; b/c bloodline?
 - Should children of undocumented immigrants be citizens

Defining Ideology

Ideology Defined

- An action oriented system of ideas
 - 1) A system of Ideas
 - Based on a world view; lends coherence to the political world; brings issues to life in coherent way
 - 2) Orientation towards action
 - Links how world is with how world ought to be
 - Informs how we might respond to events; tells adherents how might act
 - 3) All ideologies in support/attack various socio-political system
 - Serves important propaganda function
 - For the status quo; to perpetuate itself
 - Find cracks in the propaganda
 - Position us in a way to lend a critique in the world

4 Functions of Ideology

- Explanatory
 - Explains political phenomena; How to understand the world: Origins from the Greek “Ide”; Platonic “forma”; Humean notion of an “idea”

- Scientific study of ideas
- Evaluative:
 - Provides standards, guidelines for deciding what is right and wrong, good and bad. Establishes normative principles to guide actions and political practice
- Orientative:
 - How to place ourselves within it; Identity and belonging
- Programmatic:
 - What is to be done and who is to do it? How to engage the system

Triadic Relationship

- B. Obstacle
- C. Goal
- A. Agent

The Triad

- Any ideology identifies three elements to the triad:
 - A) Agent (unit of analysis)
 - B) Obstacle: impedes agent from reaching goal
 - C) Goal: the ends; what it is hoping to achieve

Terrell Carver: origins of the term "Ideology"

- Claude Destutt de Tracy coined the term "ideology"
 - Came from time of Enlightenment (rationalism)
 - Assumed:
 - Progress in life was a good thing; possible and desirable
 - Progress came as result of having correct ideas
 - Incorrect ideas (couldn't be scientifically verified) must be rejected
 - Link between ideology, logic, psychology, physics, and politics
 - Each of these disciplines could be reduced to basic propositions that you could prove or disprove
 - The ones who derive these basic truths would pass discoveries to political leaders who would then make policy which would then advance society
 - THOSE people were intellectuals
 - Authoritarian leaders would rule the world
- Elements of Ideology (1801)
 - Science of ideas
 - The logic/science of ideas directed towards political action
 - Ideas could be scientifically tested
 - Ideas could reform elite/middle class opinion

Napoleon Bonaparte

- Ideology as sinister metaphysics
- Initially sided with rationalists and the science of ideas
 - Turned against de Tracy (1812)
 - Partially against rationalism and role of intellectuals
 - Key point: De Tracy spoke against influence of religion and the Church as prejudice

- Napoleon saw Church/religion a requirement of power
- Key point: Idea is that De Tracy's definition of ideology stopped being seen as an objective science → now labeled as sinister metaphysics

Karl Marx

- Ideology as class—serving illusion; as social constructs
- The German Ideology
 - Used term “ideology” to describe ideas in class—based society
 - Link “producers of ideas” with ruling class
 - The class that is the ruling material force is also the ruling intellectual force
 - Key point: ideology as illusion, albeit useful illusions; interest-serving mystifications
 - Ideas serve the interests of individuals/groups/classes, which generate and defend the ideas that do this...
 - False consciousness

Karl Manheim

- “sociology of knowledge”
 - Modes of thought that cannot be understood as long as their social origins are obscured
 - The study of these ideologies involves unmasking deceptions and disguises of interest groups
 - Ideology:
 - Particular: being skeptical of ideas advanced by opponent
 - Total: the ideology of an age or historical-social group

Where we find ideologies?

- Almost everywhere
 - Media
 - Great books
 - Governments represent ideologies
 - Internet; Churches/Mosques/Synagoges; News media; Popular culture; Corporations; College Campuses; Political campaigns; Textbooks; Advertising

From left to right:

- Communism
- Marxism
- Socialism
- Liberalism/Progressivism
- Conservatism
- Right leaning authoritarianism
- Fascism/Nazism

Isms of government control

- From anarchism to totalitarianism (no government to militarized & total government)
- Anarchism
- Libertarianism

- Authoritarian
- Totalitarianism

Democrats v. Republicans

- Democrats
 - Bigger govt.
 - More regulation
 - Raise taxes
 - Pro-fairness and justice
 - Pro-choice
 - Pro gay marriage and civil liberties
- Republicans
 - Smaller govt.
 - Less regulation
 - Lower taxes
 - Pro-law and order police
 - Anti-abortion
 - Anti-gay marriage

Pericles Funeral Oration: The Golden Age of Democracy

*Dikaisyne (justice, harmony, balance) & Arate (virtue & excellence)

Golden Age of Athens

- 5th century B.C.; lasted 462-404 B.C.
- Pericles: “the first citizen of Athens” 495-429 B.C.
- Age of wealth, prosperity, art, culture, philosophy
 - Merchant and trading city; open city, engaged in trade and commerce with its neighbors
 - Because of its openness, able to prosper

Athens: prerequisites for democracy

- Very small both geographically and in terms of population; on seacoast, port town on Aegean Sea
- 30,000 citizens
 - Sovereign power on almost every decision on public and private world
- 2 days walk to polis/acropolis; 30 mi
- Just defeated Persia released burst of nationalism and golden age of Athens
 - After victory over Persia—incredible pride which led to nationalism (country, place, Athens)
 - “Athens is superior to all nation states and rest of the world”

Politics/Polis/Acropolis

- More than a government or a city or state but referred to as city-state
- Over 100 city-states in ancient Greece: fragmented/decentralized/some democratic; some not/--each own experiment in self governing

- City-state: A self-governing community: integrated, small, own autonomous culture (constitution/system/government/economy) (Sparta)
- Participatory community: idea of public service
- Acropolis: site of the Athenian polis (a defensible area)
- Everyone is involved in politics; still had a say in the political world; worked, but worked enough to supply for family & real sustenance of life is politics
- If you weren't involved in politics, Athenian society had no use for you as a citizen; you didn't count or belong or matter; you were ignored
- Public not the private which constructed the meanings of people's lives
- Art, literature, philosophy... none could be understood without the lens of politics
- No separation between the governors and the governed
- At no other time were people as sovereign as then
- Potential is reached as how active you are as a citizen
- Metics—merchants, shop owners (10,000)
 - Not citizens, no voting rights, immigrant class
- Slaves
 - No rights
 - Not free
 - Domestic labor, did work no one wanted to do
 - Mining
- Women
 - No rights of citizenship
 - Treated like children

Politics as a Habit

- Participatory and deliberative democracy a way of life
- Politics not separated from other parts of life
- Deliberative democracy:
 - Philosophical basis (gave meaning to life)
 - Practical basis (citizens were decision-makers)

Citizenship in Athens

- Athens: 30,000 citizens (free/male heads of families/ freeholders)
 - 10,000 metics (resident aliens; foreign traders)
 - 100,000 slaves (not free 'but' part of household)
 - Total: 250,000-300,000 people in Athens during Golden age
 - About 10% Athenians were citizens
 - In all about 1:6 citizens took active part in government

Athenian Assembly: The basis for Democracy

- Assembly: all citizens entitled to meet/speak in Assembly about 10x/year
 - People would walk for 2 days to get to these meetings
 - Assemblies were held 40x/year
 - Any citizen had right to raise any question or any piece of legislation
 - Amateurs: businessmen, farmers, not experts in policy
 - Responsible for
 - Approving or disapproving treatise
 - Declaring war on another city-state

- Confirming officials in the military
- Assigning the generals
- Making decisions; the final word
 - On matters of religion, inheritance, any matter you can think of went before this group of 5,000
- By lot elected Committee of 500
 - Writing up legislation
 - Ones with power
- By lot executive committee of 50 average citizens
- President: one day terms to head the assembly
- Voluntary army/navy (except generals who were hired)

Athens Law Courts

- Assumption: citizens know right from wrong
- No specialized judiciary; functioned like assemblies
- Juries comprised of 201-501 people
 - Up or down vote on innocence or guilt of person on trial
 - Each trial would last no longer than 1 day
 - Jury couldn't leave until final decision was made
- Trial like forums/assembly/legislative hearing

Funeral Oration

- End 1st year of Peloponnesian War (w/ Sparta) ceremonial burial of war dead
- Patriotism
- Virtue
- Community
- Pericles' Funeral Oration a tribute to the dead and to the Arete --virtue/excellence-- and Dikaisyne—justice/harmony of Athenian democracy

Critique

- Slavery: Justice and Excellence of citizenship did not apply to slaves, 100,000 of them
- Sexism: "If I am to speak of womanly virtues to those of you who will henceforth be widows, let me sum them up in one short admonition: To a woman not to show more weakness than is natural to her sex is a great glory, and not to be talked about for good or for evil among men."
- Imperialism: "For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valour...The (Spartans) come into Attika (Athenian territory) not by themselves, but with their whole confederacy...we go alone into a neighbor's country..."

To Know

Midterm is October 5, in 2 weeks

Machiavelli

Machiavelli

- A name synonymous with treachery and deceit
- Seems to be very favorable towards democracy, authority, the rule of law, civic virtue

Democracy is...

- "...we shall find more virtue in the people than in the prince; and if we compare them when both are freed from such control, we shall see that the people are guilty of fewer excesses than the prince..."

Politics is...

- "You must know there are two methods of fighting. The one of law, the other by force. The first is the method of men, the second of beasts. But as the first method is often insufficient, one must often have recourse to the second."
 - There are two methods of fighting: law and force
 - First method: Method of Law- method of man/men (in times of happiness, maintain the law)
 - Second method: Method of Force- method of beasts (when times are bad, when the first method does not work)

Background

- 16th Century
- Renaissance (rebirth) and Civic Humanism
 - Man is ruler, not God
- A period of change, progress and cultural and creative imagination
 - Open trade, printing press, gun powder
 - Copernicus, Michelangelo, De Vinci, Columbus, Luther
 - Writing about the notion of man
 - Man setting his limits; not being told by God
- Man now at center of the universe
 - Idea: Man (not God) could be powerful

Niccolo Machiavelli

- Celebrated man at center stage
- Focus: Politics from perspective of leader/ruler
 - The art of politics is a human enterprise
 - A political realist approach to politics (concerned w/ coping not w/ truth)
- Circa 1513, Florence, Italy
- The Prince: addresses the prince who is ruler
 - A "how to book" for governing (how to win and keep power)
 - Very useful
 - Italian city/states since 1100s, now in decline, being overrun
 - Instructs The Prince how to stay in power; how to govern a city/state

Key Concepts/Question

- Virtue
 - In Christian teaching: generosity; benevolence, concern, caring, a conception of the good
 - For Machiavelli: force, power, 'manliness,' audacity
 - Act like you are on their side, even if you are not
 - Strengthening and maintaining your legitimacy of the rule
 - People say this is where the deceit comes in

- You can pretend to be benevolent, but need to remain power
- Fortuna
 - Unpredictability of the real world
 - When things go wrong, and they go
- Questions:
 - Does the Good Ruler have virtue to see the country through fortuna?
 - What to do when your city/state (Florence) loses its (Christian) virtue? What to do when bad things happen to good people/How to rule when things go wrong?
 - Answer: Virtue must (appear to) overcome fortuna

Civic Virtue versus Realism

- A realist, unlike the Greeks (idealists)
- Prefers civic virtue: civic unity; independence; autonomy; preservation civic life in the city-states of Italy (self government, a republic)
 - civic virtue exists when politics at peak of its morale; ancient Athens; autonomy of Italian city-states
 - In such circumstances, man relies on law and man (virtue)

Realism

- But deals/writes in Realism and virtue: what to do when politics became rough/crucial; Detroit/Baltimore/DC; or 16th C Renaissance Florence—autonomy/into city state was/is precarious
 - Mayors indeed have not stuck to the rule of law
 - Machiavelli would say they are stupid for getting caught (not that they did something wrong)
- What to do when your position/job is tenuous; when survival is precarious
- What to do in times of crisis; coup; war; calamity?
- Answer: force/beast

Purpose of Government

- Governing is not about justice/right/principle
- Its about maintaining AUTHORITY and support of the people (legitimate power/consent of the people; attaches to office not person)
- Is about preserving/securing/maintaining the autonomy of city/state; political life
- Preventing conquest
 - Do whatever you can to prevent this

Art of Politics

- If you find yourself in office/job and would like to remain in power:
 - Need to secure AUTHORITY: people take orders voluntarily; accept you as legitimate; if people accept you, then force is not necessary
- (But) you must assume other always threatening your authority/competing
 1. Convince people theirs is your home base (you are one of them—move your home base (base of operations))
 2. Govern conservatively/according to existing custom; let things alone
 3. Appeal to the powerless; those not in power

4. Counsels against revolution/dramatic change, BUT if change is necessary, then must use force: do it:
 - a. Dramatically, ruthlessly, kill all your enemies at once
 - b. 'Safer to be feared than loved' (people have free will and so love changes, fear constant)

Civic Principality

- Two forms of civil government
- Aristocracy: selected by peers/aristocracy
- Democracy: elected by the mass of the people

Governing Aristocracy

- Aristocracy: sees you as a peer/equal; competitive, envious; will be quick to judge you/challenge/criticize/resent/undercut; hold you under acute scrutiny (which is a distraction)
 - Must build close coalitions
- 3 types of constituents:
 - Friends: cherish them
 - Enemies: cope with them
 - Indifferent: seek their counsel; co-opt them

Governing Democracy

- Democracy (representative): people see you as above them; give you benefit of doubt/ except you are qualified and will lead them (more space to govern in democracy)
- Machiavelli: easier to govern democracy than aristocracy

Thomas Hobbes

The Leviathan (1651)

- The sovereign is standing above everything
- The leader of civil society, religion, culture

The Questions

- What is the source of authority?
- What makes legitimate authority possible?
- The idea of Political Obligation:
 - Why ought you accept govt?
 - Why ought I obey the law?
 - Why should I give up my free will to someone else?

Terms to know

- State of nature
- Sovereignty
- **Pride**- self satisfaction that no body is better than me
- **Fear**- fear of death; what is its relationship with pride?
- Appetites
- Passions
- Reason/will
- Natural Rights
- Natural Law

- Social Contract

Background

- Life: 1588-1679
- The Leviathan: 1651
- Period of the nation states
- Stuart Monarchy (1603)
 - King Charles I asserted monarchial privilege over parliament; was executed and aristocracy forced to flee by Cromwell/Republican armies;
 - Treaty of Westphalia (1648); end to 30 yr war → created nation state; sovereign state
- 1640s Hobbes: pro-monarchial absolutism
 - Defended rule of divine right (the King has special relationship with God; serve as God's trustee; understand morality, thus, are able to have power over people)
 - Justify absolute monarchism through the idea of the consent of the government
- But not from divine right but from contract (basis for liberalism); it's the way we reason about politics

Influences of Hobbes

- Grounded in science of Galileo; de Carte; Isaac Newton
 - To explain the cause of things
- Physics the master science; basis for politics
- Saw himself as first political scientist
- Science of politics: universe is accessible to human reason; logic; its basic laws are understandable; empiricism knowledge thru senses
 - De Carte's skeptical rationalism
 - Francis Bacon scientific method
- Created logical steps to explain why state of nature didn't work
 - Rested that method upon the above great thinkers

Theory of Human Nature: Nature of Man

- What causes human motion (beings to act):
 - Psychology of man: stimulus; human beings respond to stimulus
 - All voluntary actions begins as motion towards something or away from something, or is indifferent (no motion)
 - Towards pleasure and away from pain
 - People are attracted by things; repelled by things
 - Everything else derives from this basic motion;
 - Morality: Good is that which attracts us and evil is what repels us

Human Nature: Introducing terms

- 1) Pleasure/Pain principle
 - Run be appetites
 - Different people have different pleasures and pains
 - One appetite after another, until death
- 2) Passion: Classify people by their different pleasures and pains; patters of those things that attract us; repel us

- Life is pursuit and fulfillment of passion
- Life is one appetite after another
- 3) Reason: nothing more than calculation; deliberation on how we achieve/increase pleasure; avoid pain; servant to passion; calculate means to ends; ability to plan
 - The head is subservient to the body
 - Reason is about the ability to calculate (rationally)
 - How best to achieve what we want
 - How best to achieve power? To get more? And more? To satisfy our wants and appetites
- 4) Will last appetite/aversion before action; the last reason that stimulates you into action
 - The last calculation before you make a move

State of Nature

- Political implications of human nature
 - Why ought one want to have government at all?
 - Why would people voluntarily agree to be ruled by somebody other than their own selves (that would constrain choice; act according to another's will rather than your own)?
 - What happens if not govt. at all and no civilization (no customs; mores; no religions; no ordering principle)
 - If all we have are our appetites and aversions and each other
 - Humans seek survival and power
 - Have natural rights: right to everything
 - "It followeth, that in such a condition, every man has a Right to everything; even to another's body"
 - Weigh each other as potential means to ends (satisfaction of appetites)—could potentially enslave the other
 - Wary of each other as potential threat- as one who might enslave me)
 - Human equality: Each person has power to take the life of another; nobody completely dominates; each mistrusts the other and is crafty enough
 - State of perennial wariness; perpetual state of war; fear of being enslaved or willingness to enslave (pride)
- Life in the state of nature is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short
 - Can't get anything done because you are constantly in conflict
 - No industry
 - No commerce
 - No education
 - No culture, literature, art...

Life in State of Nature

- a war of all against all,
- life "is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short."
- No industry or production, no culture, no education
- Problem: Irrational to be in constant state of dread
- Man has reason; is rational

- What to do?

Natural law

- Humans, with reason, can discover rules of conduct that will help them preserve themselves
- 19 laws of nature
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- 19 Laws of Nature
- 1. To Seek Peace is “right reason” in the “Law of Nature”
 - Irrational to be in constant fear
 - Self-interest to reach understandings; enter into mutual calculations; develop alliances
- 2. “To lay down this right to all things”
 - Only way to maximize my power is through restraint (by giving up some of my freedom)
 - Relinquish rights (to attack others in my alliance)

Social Contract

- Social contract is among individuals—not individuals with the sovereign
- To enter civil society
- Surrender all rights/freedom in State of Nature—except one—so as to secure peace, which makes freedom possible
- Need for impartial arbiter to resolve disputes
 - Someone to stand above us
 - Note: having final say is part of definition of sovereignty
- Impartial arbiter is the sovereign
- Humans thus reason their way into government
- Rationale for Govt.: need laws universal and binding; impartial arbiter (judge) to interpret agreements/contracts among power seeking people
- The alternative is anarchy

Life with Government

- “Commodious living”
- Appetites now channeled into more social constructive outlets: industry, commerce, agriculture (get our lives back, we can have these things now)
 - Life has meaning
- Government function: establish rules of conduct that will allow people the liberty to pursue their own self interest while prohibiting certain other types of behavior

Justification for Government

- Defense of Government
- Of Monarchical Absolutism?
- Right to resist?
- Are there limits to state power?
- Right to self-preservation
- (implosion) Power

The Sovereign

- All Powerful: over civil life; religion; university/ education/censorship

- Less interested in personal life/liberty
- Freedom exists in absence of law
- Commitment to basic liberties: private property; 'right against self accusation'
- Tension: tyranny and origin for liberalism

John Locke

- Comes 30/40 years after Hobbes
- Life in state of nature is less war like, more inconvenient
- Labor and industry is the basis for the state of nature, it helps us to understand why people would leave the state of nature, join social contract and civil society
- Hobbes says it is pride and fear; Locke says its complicated/modern
- Best way to frame Locke is through
 - Property: part of founding documents of capitalism
 - Consent: originating concept that helps us understand beginnings of liberal democracy

Terms to know

- Enlightened self interest
- Reason
- State of Nature
- Natural Rights
- Natural Law
- Social Contract
- Sovereignty
- Function of Government

Context

- Glorious (Whig) Revolution 1688
- William of Orange (1688-1690)
 - Came to power through will of Parliament, to assume power
 - King rules b/c Parliament asks William to assume throne
 - From now on, crown rules with consent of Parliament (consent of the power)
 - King reigns but does not rule
 - No blood, first time
 - Parliament gives him power, and can take it away
 - Suggests: power is not absolute, hence the glorious revolution
 - Glorious Revolution was in need of a theory/concepts to understand what was going on → enter John Locke
 - Second Treatise of Government
 - Brief book, one of the most important in modern civilization

Second Treatise

State of Nature

- Axiomatic human nature
- Man is self interest; seek self interest
- Each person defines their own aims in the world (ethically neutral)

- We are calculators: Reason/rationality is calculation of self interest (weighing advantages and disadvantages of course of action)
- Maximize satisfaction but are optimizers (get most we can given circumstances); we weight our options
 - Similar to Hobbes: want the greatest satisfaction
 - What do I want?? Cost and benefits
 - Calculating self-interests; what is the best thing for me to do NOW? Tomorrow?
- A thought experiment (absence of authority); a condition of Perfect Freedom (without civil authority/obligations); is common to all
- Natural right to life, liberty, property
- The Natural Law: knowable by virtue of rational capacities; fundamental law of nature is right to self preservation; oversees peace and security, and natural rights
 - Law of God; made known to man; through the use of man's reasons (brain)
 - Includes these laws
 - Don't have impartial arbitrary (judge to meet out conflicts)
- Enlightened self interest: Natural Reason leads people to recognize a reciprocal right in others (unlike Hobbes no constant dread)
 - Exists in man in state of nature
 - Life doesn't need to be nasty, brutish, short
 - We are reasonable creatures, rational creatures
 - I want mine (says Hobbes; Locke says this AND you can have yours too)
 - Locke says we can get along, there are things we can do to get along
 - There are agreements (tacit): what to do in common eating spaces; how to get along
- Each person is the decider; the enforcer of norms

Enlightened Self Interest

Life in Inconvenient

- But, every person the judge and enforcer of the law of nature/natural law
 - Turns us into beasts of prey
 - Unease and anxieties: inconveniences
 - We are uncomfortable, we want to get out of

Theory of Property

- Property is defined: includes human body and that which involves life, liberty and all possessions
 - That which is properly ours
- Property is common to all
- "Man is property acquiring animal"
- Principle of Labor: Man appropriates property and, by exerting his labor on it, it becomes his; a natural right to it
 - We have a right to that which our bodies can reproduce
 - The reasons for getting out of the state of nature:
 - No waste for Locke

- Once you have the government, you begin to see that this is a way out of the problems created by the principle of waste
- Principle of Waste: immoral to store up vast unused quantities; property should have social function (role of money)
- Principle of Scarcity: should leave behind enough and as food for others

****Would Locke be a republican or a democrat today??**

- He leans towards limited govt and mixed govt

Consent

- Upon calculation and consent, enters into agreement to make one community; one people; one government
- Govt. gets consent from the majority of the people
- Conferring Consent: (Sec118)
 - Government gets consent if:
 - Government represents real improvement over state of nature
 - It guarantees natural rights to life, liberty, property in state of nature are better protected in civil society than would be in the state of nature
 - Purpose of govt is to safeguard natural rights
 - Locke: not giving up rights; forming agreement to create entity of govt that exists solely for the purpose of protecting their rights
 - Therefore, they're actually getting more rights

Functions of Government

- Government is limited
- Two functions of govt:
 - Govt as security agency; defense from outside invasion
 - Protect natural rights within
- To protect 3 natural rights:
 - Life
 - Liberty
 - Property
- Criminal Law
 - Protects life (murder, assault)
 - Liberty (exploitation)
 - Property (theft)
- Civil Law (law of contract)
 - Impartial adjudicator to protect human agreements; basis for social cooperation

Locke says

- Right to revolt
 - Right to revolution
 - Helps us understand limits on power of the sovereign
- Edmund Burke: Modern Conservatism

Traditional Conservatism

- Politics as the art of the possible; as intended to preserve order, justice, freedom (Russell Kirk)
- Man has fundamental need for stability and control
- Human tendency towards irrational behavior
- Conventions traditional authority (family, religion, aristocracy, inheritance)
 - Traditional morality
- Reform: slow, incremental piece by piece change; backward looking (for guidance)
- The past was so important: it provided stability and control (man have a need for this)
- The past and history temper man's fundamental unstable qualities
 - Traditional conservatives didn't have faith in man's human nature
 - Saw them as unstable
- Aristocracy, inheritance, govt, law: history and the past

Edmund Burke

- Reflections of the French Revolution
- A reaction against the French Revolution
 - French govt. was corrupt, bankrupt, not many ideas left

Context

- French Revolution several phases and regime changes
- Revolt against absolute monarchism of "ancient regime" and Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette
- Inspired by enlightenment principles:
 - Universal human rights (Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1792):
 - Individual and collective rights of all persons as universal

The Enlightenment

- 18th Century intellectual/social phenomenon
 - Critical questioning of traditional institutions, morals and beliefs
 - Age of Reason/Rationality
 - Gave birth to modern ideas: freedom, democracy and reason
 - Important thinkers: Rousseau, Voltaire; Immanuel Kant

La Marseillaise

- French National Anthem
 - Anthem of world revolution
 - Adopted by Russians in 1917; Chinese in Tiananmen Square played it during its showdown in 1989

Edmund Burke Background

- Born 1729
- Dublin, Ireland: a Catholic nation controlled by England
- Aspired to a literary career
- A British Politician: member of parliament (Whig) (House of Commons, 1765)

Human Nature

- Individual Humans are:
 - Man reasonable but not perfectly reasonable
 - Egoistic, rude, opportunistic, foolish and kind of dumb

- (if alone and atomistic, not going to go very far; never reason to social contract)
- Species (great multitudes under discipline of nature):
 - Wise
 - Thought it was great and had practical wisdom
- Society: (true natural aristocracy) embodiment of a set of conventions (the notions of everything that's gone on before);
 - Individuals are social beings; born into society
 - Individuals are pieces of the whole
- Alone they are erratic; need society as balancing force; the correcting side of our egoistic, rude selves
- Society corrects, not govt.

Social Contract

- "Society is indeed a contract..."
- Rejects idea of a social contract abstract and rooted in consent
- Partnership
- Emphasis on social not the contract; of society with the living, dead and yet to be born
 - To preserve practical wisdom of past generations for future generations

Reason/Prejudice

- Rejects Enlightenment thinking
 - To be free from darkness; provinciality
 - System of ideas rooted in reason and rationality abstract and individualistic; basis for Locke and Hobbes
- Endorses Prejudice: pre-judgment
 - Reason (limited) with prejudice
 - Judgment without proper or exact knowledge
 - Thought it was good to be prejudice
 - Said that you do not need scientific methods to judge (Enlightenment says you do)
 - Originates in past, collective experiences and constrains "the wisdom of the ages", represents a practical wisdom to be preferred over abstract ideas until experience dictates otherwise

Natural Right/Common law

- Rejects Lockean natural right (universal and abstract); rights are confusing to man
- Endorses notion that says rights come from forefathers; a state/culture-based notion of rights
 - Contingent upon customs/culture of a particular nation state
 - Unwritten, prescriptive, analogous to English common law: handed down generation to generation
- Big fan of British Common Law

Prudence

- "the great must submit to the dominion of prudence and of virtue, or none will long submit to the dominion of the great"

- people should act prudent
- leaders should be prudent or they won't be leaders for long
- A moral imperative to take all circumstances into account (history, geography, religion, climate, nationality, race..)
- Not to make any decisions that upset the status quo
- Importance of practical wisdom in political sphere
- Expressed as a way of acting in time; acting in accordance with historically accrued knowledge
- Prudent individual is the aristocrat, natural leader

Continuity/Convention

- Historical continuity provides sense of national identity (habits; histories of family, church and state)
 - Corrects the deviant sides to our human nature
- Historical inheritance
- Conception of civil society: organic
- Organism: we are all pieces of whole
- We are born into society

Burke on French Revolution

- Favors reform and slow change
- Strongly opposed French Rev.
 - Thought it was misreading human nature
- More interested in how do we administer programs to get food to people rather than universal right of food
- Opposed abstract concepts of rights and property

On the American Revolution

- Favored colonists
- Supportive of Am. Rev.
- Opposed Stamp Act
- Saw King George as having violated the continuity of Great Britain relationship to British subject in colonies
 - King wasn't abiding by the law, colonies had to stand up and hold him accountable to the conventions
- Sympathetic to the colonies
- Am Rev he could follow, French he couldn't because it was so violent and reign of terror

Neo-conservatism & Social Conservatism

Remember Burke?

- Didn't like French Revolution
- Didn't think rights were universal
- Did like social continuity with the past

Remember the French Revolution?

- Equality, fraternity, liberty
- Declaration of man and emphasis on human rights

- Use of violence and state power to accelerate social and political progress by overturning the old order
- Hegel after Battle of Jena (1806): history as a philosophical project has come to an end

Fast-forward to the 1950s

- New Deal/Truman Liberals
 - State intervention in economy
 - Promote democracy abroad
- Eisenhower Conservatives
 - Minimal state intervention
 - Minimal foreign intervention

Then the 1960s

- Civil rights
- Cultural revolution
- War

Result?

- The left splits:
 - Anti-war, social progressives
 - Pro-war, social conservatives/centrists
- The right regroups
 - Fusion of fiscal conservatives, social conservatives, and neoconservatives

After the split

- The anti-war crowd wins—McGovern in 1972, Carter in 1976
- The pro-war liberals gradually break away, some of them becoming...

Neoconservatives

- In particular
 - Irving Kristol (The Public Interest)
 - Norman Podhoretz (Commentary)

Neoconservative Views I (1960s-80s)

- Welfare state
- Socially conservative
- Strong national defense
- Interventionist foreign policy
- Freedom is a universal right
- In short: Burke and the French Revolution

Neoconservative Moment I

- Reagan and the Cold war
- Berlin speech in 1987

Neoconservative Views II (1990s-on)

- Who?
 - Bill Kristol (Fox News) & John Podhoretz (commentary)
- What?
 - Social conservatism
 - Strong national defense
 - Interventionist foreign policy

- Freedom is definitely a universal right
- End of Cold War showed if you push hard enough, democracy will emerge
- No longer advocates of welfare state

Neoconservative Moment II

- Project for the New American Century
- 9/11
- 2003 Iraq War
- In short: neo-conservatism offered a coherent philosophy for understanding the incomprehensible

Social Conservatism

Back to the 1950s

- Mainline Protestants relatively evenly split between political parties
- Evangelicals culturally and politically quiescent
- Result: religious cleavages NOT politically salient domestically

The Come the 1960s

- Civil rights movement
- Cultural revolution
 - Birth control and sexual revolution
 - Television and media revolution
 - Religious affiliation begins to decline

The Final Straw: Roe v. Wade (1973)

- Federalizes the issue of abortion
- Produces a politically salient cleavage:
 - Pro-choice left v. pro-choice right

The Cultural Wars Begin

- Focus on the Family (1977)
 - Dr. James Dobson
- Moral Majority (1979)
 - Jerry Falwell (inspired by MLK, Jr)
- Christian Coalition (1988)
 - Pat Robertson
- Christians/conservatives created an entire sub-culture to indoctrinate a new conservative right

How'd they do it?

- Created an independent sub-culture:
 - Christian music
 - Christian Books
 - Christian television
 - Christian Education

Why did they do it?

- The 60s had fundamentally ruptured the American social contract
- Mass media now rendered mainstream culture and values unavoidable
- Medical advances forced the gov't to legislate moral questions

Political Triumphs

- Reagan in 1980 & 1984

- Contract for America in 1994
- Bush in 2000 & 2004

Where is this all going?

- Neoconservatism & conservatism are blurring
 - But the blurring has led to the Tea Party
- Social Conservatism is fracturing
 - Rick Warren v. Mike Huckabee

Fascism

Fascio

- A bundle
- An axe encased in a bundle or rods/sticks
 - Each stick breaks easily by itself
 - But in the bundle it can create a lot of damage
 - Becomes weapon, hurt, harm
- From Roman Empire: symbolizes authority and unity of the state

Fascism

- Extreme political ideology (extreme right)
- Authoritarian mass movement; charismatic leader
- Grand Theatrics: Mussolini's March on Rome
 - Says socialism and fascism have touched
- State is everything
 - Individuals do not count in the Fascist state
 - State embodied in charismatic leader
 - People give up all control and power to state/ruler
- Inculcates psychological state of agitation and anxiety
 - Irrational, quiescent and hostile attitude on part of adherents
 - Directed toward the "other"
 - Other countries, nationalities, ethnic groups
 - Gets to notion of ethnic cleansing=genocide
 - Cleaning out impurities in own society and going to war to beat defeat in other areas
 - Psychological component
 - Individual/subjects of regime are incredibly quiescent
- Solidifies and institutionalizes significant inequalities

Antecedents

- Burke and Traditional Conservatives:
 - Emphasis on natural leadership: aristocracy (simple authoritarianism)
 - Individuals born into society; something that is larger than themselves
 - Weakens attachment to enlightenment
 - Celebrating authority over liberty; hierarchy over equality; and deference over fraternity
- Liberalism

- Took populist anger from left (French Revolution) and adapted it for the Right
 - Warped idea of Fraternity/Brotherhood to extreme nationalism
 - Hobbes's Leviathan (absolute leader)
 - Notion was not accountable to any kind of rule of law but stands alone in a part → leads to fascist understanding

Unlike other Ideologies

- Provides no overarching/cohesive system or science (Liberalism, Marxism; Burke)
 - No idea where different nation states go to a theoretical head and say they're fascist states
- An ideology in opposition to liberalism (liberty, equality, fraternity) and socialism
 - Burkean (traditional) conservatives oppose mass enthusiasms and total power (preferred order and inherited authority)
 - Fascism is in dramatic opposition to this
 - Post French Revolution Liberals oppose totalitarian state, inequality. Enlightenment is antithesis of fascism
 - Fascism does not support science of Enlightenment

Fascism to Right of Right Ideologies

- Neo and social conservative Movement:
 - Neo conservative focus on exportation/forcible imposition of beliefs/ideas on other countries; idea of perpetual war (& cold war liberals)
 - Social conservatives: cynical exploitation of race; fundamentalists: irrational (out of context) adherence to (biblical) text; to charismatic leaders
 - Tea Party: manipulation of emotions over rational discourse and facts

Origins

- Post WWI
 - Treaty Versailles (1919-20): Germany, Italy treated badly
 - Between WW's
 - Economic crisis
 - As a result of Treaty of Versailles
 - Thoroughly demoralized
 - Looked to gain pride after being humiliated
 - Open and right for charismatic leaders to come forward
 - Dispirited war losers
 - Resurgent nationalism (Germany, Italy, Hungary)
 - Germany lost many colonies
 - Had to compensate other countries
 - Resurgent nationalism as source of pride
 - Shifts in empire
 - Shift from empire to nation state

- Rise of racist sentiment
 - Fascism was different in Germany and Italy

7 Shared Points

- State
- Anti-Individual
- Charismatic
- War
- Racism
- Irrationalism
- Economic Principles

1) Primacy of the State

- Highest entity, moral and political social entity; only entity that matters
- Precedes the individual, family, church
 - We are born into state
 - Individual identified thru the state; it is your only identity
 - State had religious significance
 - “State is God on earth” (Hitler)
 - Extreme Nationalism:
 - Belonging to nation more important than any individual right as worker, as citizen, or concern for family...

2) Anti-Individualistic

- Because I am identified through the state...
 - I can be sacrificed, surrender, martyr
 - Get rid of me if there is something wrong with me
 - Duty is to the state (no right or wrong)
 - The Leviathan is everything, the individual is nothing
 - Subject will be sacrificed to the state if it needs to be
 - Denial of rights-based ideas, no free speech, press, thought, self-denial, heroic self-sacrifice

3) Charismatic Leadership

- Government is centralized and autocratic; government is master of the people, not their servant
- State is personalized in the leader (Great Leader)
 - Total subservience to 1 leader
 - His will=will of all
 - Leader=hero=state
 - El Duce= Mussolini
 - Hitler=Fuhrer

4) War

- War: (defeating enemies) is symbolic of state power
- Ethical significance: spiritual bloodletting (unites subjects as One Nation)
- Brings out ‘best’ of people in terms of courage, sacrifice
- “Man is only man in war” (Mussolini)

5) Racism

- Eugenics
 - Francis Galton (cousin of Charles Darwin)

- Survival of the fittest: the Aryan race
- Genetic superiority of Aryans; inferiority of all other 'races' (jews, blacks, gays, gypsies)
- Aryan race was superior
- Makes nation exclusive and ranked
 - In hierarchy that have Aryans right to dominate
- Killed 6 million jews, 8 million people

6) Irrationalism

- Appealed to the emotions with carefully planned rituals, staged ceremonies, intensely charged rhetoric
- Role of Propaganda
- Praise of brutality
- Idealized version of past
- 10s of thousands of people crowding around, making salutes

7) Economic Principles

- "Fascism should more properly be called corporatism because it is the merger of state and corporate power"
- Corporatism: economic sector subsumed by state, vice versa
- Not free market capitalism (threads mercantilism)
- State organizes/functions as (series of) corporations/syndicates
 - State planning organizes economic life
 - Society is divided into syndicates (ex. Workers assimilated in with owners)
 - Existing inequalities institutionalized within corporatist system, No class-shifting; no substantial changes in property ownership or social relations of production

Neoliberalism: A Critique by David Harney

- In 2010 growing debate over neoliberalism today
 - Different camps defining different terms
 - Belief that govt is strong and has a positive role to play in society
- Govt for state is needed to intervene in market to make sure ppl left out are marginalized in the capital marketplace→they have owns mean to be free
- Govt is needed to help sick, poor, elderly; they need support in order to be free
- Evening the race for them to compete fairly in the market

Liberalism (John Lock)

- Ideals of liberty and freedom
 - Can only be acheieved in marketplace alone
 - Govt should stay out of the way
- Minimal govt
 - Defense, police, enforcing the law, adjudicating disputes thru courts
- Marketplace is the place to go to maximize individual freedom

Neoliberals

- Freedom of choice without intervention, without intrusion

- Takes away liberty, doesn't allow us to have liberty

What is Neoliberalism

- The term "liberal" comes from commitment to principles of freedom and liberty

Milton Friedman

- Forefather of neoliberalism
- Freedom of choice
- School vouchers
- Ideas were in margins but had role to play in American politics
- Big govt is bad
 - Creates large burdens (which are still being talked about!)
- His ideas:
 - State is not remedy; state IS the problem
 - State has become too intrusive on rights of man
 - Govt should get out of the way
- Beginning to focus on airlines, worker safety, environmental protection regulations
- Suggested regulations were intruding upon liberty and choice; intruding upon freedoms of people who were running the companies and the employer/employee relationship
- Friedman says: rather than forcing everyone to buy into system, leave it up to those workers/individuals/elderly to prepare
- Also said: rather than sending kids to public schools that they don't want to go to, we should let them go where they want to go, shouldn't mandate it
 - Lets give people individual choice
 - Gave families vouchers to help send kids to any school
 - Big govt is bad!

Structural Transformation (1970s-)

- Post WWII industrial based economy peaks in 1960s and begins to wane in 70s
- Deindustrialization textiles/manufacturing
 - Decline in strip mining (less competitive); decline in auto industry; loss jobs
 - Consumer electronics to Asia
- Attacked on organized labor
- Neoliberalism is violent; destroying working middle class by trading jobs overseas
 - Mexico: maquiladoras
- Growth of 3rd sector; shift from blue to white collar (service sector; less unions)
- Outsourcing production (labor is cheaper abroad); can no longer compete in manufacturing, niche (specialty) economies (I-phones)
 - New strategies: neo-corporatism (big business/big labor/govt sit down together)

Political Origins

- Harvey suggest neoliberalism is the dominant narrative, had seeds in 1970s/80s

The Idea**

Post 9/11

- Combination neo-conservatism and neo-liberalism
 - Neo-conservatism (Bush Doctrine)
 - Neoliberal:
 - Iraq: Paul Bremer restructures Iraqi government (similar to Chile in 1973)
 - Privatization of War in Iraq: Blackwater
 - Privatization DHS: (private contracts)

Utopian Socialism

Terms

- Socialism (common threads):
 - Optimistic/flexible view of human nature
 - Emphasis on cooperation/solidarity
 - More gets done when people cooperate, there is more power, society is more just
 - Manufacturing can be more productive
 - Positive view of freedom
 - Right to participate as social beings in society
 - Want of material resources should not be an impediment as a free being of society
 - Support for equality (of result)
 - Recognizing injustice in the world
 - Many threads to socialism, a lot of socialists, a lot of disagreements
- Utopian socialism:
 - Early thread of socialism
 - Goal of cooperation and communitarianism
 - Public/cooperative ownership of means of production (cooperatives)
- Utopia: ideal society

Background

- French Revolution (1890s)
 - Cleared way for industrialization
 - Robert Owen saw as good thing
 - Development of the working class
 - Brought active revolutionary masses to center stage
 - United artisans, capitalists, nascent working class together for 1st time
 - Role of reason/rationality
 - Wouldn't have Owen's idea of Utopian Socialism were it not for the French Revolution

The New Millennium

- Ignorance is the opposite of reason

Robert Owen

- Welsh Born (1771) (died 1858)
- Industrialist (textile mills)
- Student of Jeremy Bentham (liberal rationalist)
- New Lanark founded 1785 by David Dale
 - Became largest cotton manufacturing mill in Scotland (2,500 workers)
 - Owen marries Caroline Dale in 1799, David gave New Lanark to Owen
- Robert Owen takes over New Lanark (1800-1825):
 - Community of workers
 - Institute for the Formation of Character
- 1825:
 - New harmony (Indiana)
 - Create utopian workplace
 - Change problems of workplace
 - Schools and workshops to try to create discipline to become less competitive, more cooperative
 - Try to change way people thought
 - Started at New Lanark
 - Tried to create model villages based on success of New Lanark

Human Nature

- Is changeable (man not driven by passions, but by self interest)
- We are products of our own environment
 - Bc of this, human nature is changeable
 - We are not inherently selfish or greedy, there is another explanation
 - Change Environment=Change Human Nature
- Defined within existing social system:
 - Human nature=capitalist social nature
- In capitalism, man is greedy, competitive, selfish, corrupt, and lazy
- If we could change the environment we could change man

Rationality/Reason

- Rationality and the power of a good idea
 - Believed a good idea and finding right people to implement them could transform society
 - Utopian belief in power of right reason alone
 - Owen: made rational arguments to parliaments; monarchs; fellow elites trying to convince them of benefits of socialism
 - No real conception of the realities of power
 - Class struggle

Role of Community

- "Villages of Cooperation"
- Believed cooperation of competition
- Creatures of our environment
- Founding of modern cooperative societies find their roots in Robert Owen (credit unions, cooperative grocery)
- Cooperatives: jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprises
 - Guided by values of self help, self responsibility, democracy, equity, solidarity

Owen's Own Experience

- A pragmatic, wealthy, successful industrialist:
 - Saw abuses in own experience
 - Long work hours & low pay
 - Abuses of child labor
 - Deplorable work conditions
 - Decided he could do better

New Lanark

- Social experiment within New Lanark
 - Humane work conditions
 - Shorter working hours
 - Decent housing
 - Schools for children
 - 10 hr work day
 - No physical punishment in factory or schools
 - Improved work conditions in factory

Villages of Cooperation

- In New Lanark Self contained agricultural communities
 - Unemployed could find jobs
 - Work organized on a Cooperative rather than competitive basis
 - More productive than private enterprise
 - Idea is to reproduce these all over Great Britain and America

New Harmony, Indiana

- Owen bought land in 1824
- One of 16 utopian socialist villages in US
- Brought scientists and philosophers
- Experiment in enlightened community living
- No social classes
 - Occupation does not matter
 - Every family owns own homes
 - Religious freedom
 - First kindergarten
 - First trade school
 - First night school for adults
 - Free public schools
 - Free public libraries

V.I. Lenin: State and Revolution

The Social Engineering of Marxism

- Marx: The philosopher
- Marxists are the social engineers: Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Mao, Castro
 - Building social society: revolution; state
 - Referred to themselves as communists (were really state socialists)
 - Communists would be people who are operating within the utopian framework, this is not what we are talking about

- The questions:
 - How to grow a revolution? State Socialism
- The stage between capitalism and communism
- Follows a revolution
- How best to get to communism
 - Revolution:
 - How best to run it? Vanguard Party (Bolsheviks), elite
 - Dictatorship of the Proletariat
 - Marx said very little about this stage
 - The state was superstructure/epiphenomenal

Dictatorship of Proletariat

- The state would function in the name of the proletariat
- Using power of the state to create/expedite conditions to expedite capitalist production, and expedite eventual emergence of communism
- Not way for capitalism to fall under weight of its own internal contradictions; (surplus theory of value; monopoly capitalism; overproduction)
- Rely on state, not the market, to maximize productive capacities of industry:
 - Market competition is repetitive (wastes time, resources)
 - Need to get to abundance and plenty, but how?

V.I. Lenin

- 1870-1924; born in Central Russia, on Volga River
- Birth name: Vladimir Ilich Ulianov
- Father a government inspector of schools
- Brother Alexander (21 yrs old) arrested and hanged by Czar; alleged to have been in plot to kill the Czar
- The death of his brother radicalized Lenin
- Devotee of Marx
- Russian intellectual (spoke French and German; completed law school in 1 year) and activist in growing radical movements late 19th early 20th century

Lenin's Theory of Revolution

- "A revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; furthermore, not every revolutionary situation leads to revolution"
 - You need to look at revolution, change in society/history scientifically
 - Objective component:
 - Rhythm of capitalist development and decay
 - Identifying weak links in terms of employment, production, capital accumulation
 - Time to act: low production, high unemployment, low capital accumulation, times of war, times of civil war, times of strife
 - Lenin would've looked at the US and said there are a lot of objective components
 - Subjective component:
 - Consciousness of proletariat
 - The problem of demystification (rejecting legitimacy of liberal order)

Russia

- Russia: backwards; underdeveloped; feudal economy; Autocratic, Czarist (Romanov family for 300 years)
 - Incipient industrial growth/reforms late 19th century (in cities)
 - 1905-1914: in turmoil; lost war with Japan; peasant revolts (Bloody Sunday (1905): workers strikes with approx 200,00 peasants)
 - 1914: WWI the breaking point; Russian army humiliated fighting industrial powers (under-armed, underfed); 4 million died; the weakening Czarist regime couldn't adequately manage the war effort

Soviets

- As Czarist regime was weakening
- Soviet: council, committee
- Soviets: started running much of war effort; took over production where govt was failing (filled in gaps from where the Czar couldn't wage the war)
- Lenin's militant followers (Bolsheviks): infiltrated the soviets
- 1917 (March) bread riots and strikes in St. Petersburg; general strike; police stopped enforcing law; the Czar fled
- Provisional govt takes place of Czar, runs war effort
 - In reality, power is shifted toward Soviets
- "10 Days that Shook the World" (John Reed)
- Oct/Nov 1917: Bolshevik Revolution
- (Lenin assumed power) took over Soviets; ignored provisional govt and said it was time for him to take over; Soviets turned hand of control over to Lenin
 - Now had United Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR)
 - A government being run by Soviets, who were run by Lenin

How to Run Socialist State

- Marx didn't care much for this topic; it was epiphenomenal
- Left it to the social engineers
- Russia would eventually surrender to Germany, but was already in civil war which would last for 3 years
 - Wouldn't be until end of war that Lenin would finally consolidate control in Russia—Lenin's time to begin socialist state
- Lenin was chief social engineer

Powers of the State

- 3 aims of the State to pave way for communism:
 - 1) Socialist construction
 - 2) Creation of socialist institutions
 - 3) Creation of socialist consciousness

Social Construction

- "We shall now proceed to construct the socialist order"—Lenin
- State central planning: state takes charge of economy (distributes; resources, manpower, capital) to maximize growth
 - Nationalized banks, industry; abolish private property, state was taking care of everything
- Maximize economic development: productivity (development industry, technology), and produce high standard of living; in charge of technology

- Under state socialism, trying to get to some of the same goals as capitalism (high standard of living)—a phase where you could change consciousness of Proletariat and move away into next phases
- Role of Vanguard of Proletariat: militant professional class

Create Socialist Institutions

- Institutions were imbued with liberal capitalist ideology: Trade Unions; schools and universities; political parties; city governments; law
 - Shift away from class based and religious institutions; example” seized and closed Russian Orthodox Church
- Socialist institutions:
 - And towards mass institutions as opposed to class based; and collectivist political parties as opposed to individuals
 - New Soviet Constitution in 1924 (year Lenin died) (established USSR)
 - 1920s: created secret police: to go against counter revolutionary activity (KGB) (whole purpose)

Create Socialist Consciousness

- People not yet demystified
 - Socialist pedagogies; art; culture; literature
 - Art: impressionism—bourgeois decadence (life of the artist mind)
 - Socialist collectivist ideology, trying to change and shift consciousness of people in Russia
 - Socialist realism: like posters of workers, miners, truck drivers

In Practice

- Civil War: Reds (Red Army/Bolsheviks) v. Whites (Mensheviks) (3 yrs, 1917 until 1920)
- “War communism”: nationalization; centralization and military-like control of industry, economy and society
- Why war communism?
 - Economic crisis; Lenin had to get economy started again:
 - ****
 - ***

Lenin’s New Economic Policy (1921)

- Took a step back: hybrid capitalism and socialism
 - For example: some private property to peasants (incentives)
 - Revived Russian economy for much of 1920s
 - Combination nationalization of economy with some capitalistic programs
 - This would change when Stalin came to power

FDR

FDR Background

- 1882-1945; President from 1933-1945 (elected four times)
- 1920 ran for Vice President
- Governor of New York
- Had Polio
- Underestimated as a “Political Boy Scout”—Walter Lippman

- Masterful politician; communicator—Fireside chat (1st was March, 1933) Speech at Madison Square Garden (1936)
- Possible Strategy for Obama?
 - “Never before in all our history have these forces been so united against one candidate as they stand today. They are unanimous in their hate for me— and I welcome their hatred.” (FDR)

FDR’s Legacy

- Changed our relationship to government
- Created New Deal Coalition (southern, African Americans, white, ethnic working class voters)
- Legitimize larger role for government:
 - Using Government (the presidency)
 - To make life less risky
 - To stabilize society: old age pensions, universal health care; old age pensions;
 - To grow the middle class
 - (bring people 1/3 of the population historically marginalized into the center of political and economic life) Inaugural Address 1937
- Social security as Pension systems; old age pensions; accepted by public as a property right; in other countries they are civil rights— accrue b/c membership in society; that is financed out of general revenues
- FDR Refused to finance it out of general revenues

Mechanism

- Keynesian economics
 - Governments promote economic growth
 - John Maynard Keynes (British economist)
 - The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money (1936)
 - Mixed economy: predominantly private sector but with substantial government role
 - Response to the Great Depression: stimulate the economy
 - Reduce interest rates
 - Government investments in infrastructure
 - Inject income, create jobs, stimulate spending, stimulate production, create more jobs...

Response to Great Depression

- People demand action, action, action
- Address collapse of industrial economy
- To make life more secure for everyone, less risky for elderly, sick, poor... (old age pensions, stabilize banking system, social security)
- Create political coalition to protect policy gains (New Deal Coalition)
 - New immigrant communities; working class ethnics, Catholics, Jews, into the Dem. Coalition (lasted until 1970s-80s)

New Deal

- Innovations to promote economic growth

- Promote bigger but still limited government
 - Government intrusion on market was narrowly tailored
 - Could have tried, but didn't nationalize industry, banks, railroad...
 - In other words, nothing socialist going on here
 - If anything, it saved capitalism

First 100 Days: March 1933

- Relief from immediate problem of unemployment
- Avalanche of legislation (15 pieces of legislation)
- President, not Congress, became legislative leader
- Established new federal govt. agencies (alphabet soup agencies):
 - AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Act) declared unconstitutional
 - CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps): 250,000 hobos clearing trails, planting trees; nation's first jobs program; largest, fastest mobilization of people
 - TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority)
 - NIRA (National Industrial Recovery) established the NRA (National Recovery Administration) declared unconstitutional
- Securities Act of 1934 created SEC; Securities Act of 1933 was first time Wall street was regulated—idea of financial transparency
- Didn't nationalize banks; keep them in private hands

Post 1935 Reforms

- Reform society: changed relationship to government
- Wagner Act: collective bargaining
- SS Act:
 - Social Security: dependent upon payroll taxes assessed on workers and employers; not financed by treasury revenues (not a dole or entitlement; you pay for it out of your working life)—minimizes government as much as possible
- Banking Leg (1935): deposit insurance
- FLSA: minimum wage, 40 hour work week

Lesson for Obama

- Government has positive role to play to ensure people are free and at choice
- FDR's 1936 speech
- Take on political opponents rather than side with them through compromise?
- Government has positive role to play to ensure markets are secure and stable
- Positive government is not socialist government
- Lessons of Social Security: a property right, as opposed to a civil right
- Keynesian Stimulus: Is Obama a Keynesian

MLK and Malcolm X

Both fighting against racial justice and racism

Concepts

- Theme: In context of injustice, to use "the ballot or bullet," violence or nonviolence

- Freedom
- Justice
- Equality
- Integrationism
- Separatism
- Non-violent direct action, civil disobedience
- Self defense

MLK

- January 15, 1929-April 4, 1968
- Middle class upbringing in Atlanta
- Son of a pastor
- Morehouse College; Crozer theological seminary; Boston University of Ph.D.
- Pastor Dexter Ave Baptist Church Montgomery, Alabama (1954)
- Took leadership of Montgomery Bus Boycott (1954-5)
- 1957, head of Southern Christian Leadership

Background to CRM Jim Crow:

- Started after Reconstruction; 1890s, segregation would divide society along strictly racial hierarchical grounds for 60 years
- Brown v. Board of Education (1954)
 - Unanimous opinion (9-0), overturned Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)

The Lens: Civil Disobedience

- Civil disobedience is a public, non-violent and conscientious breach of law undertaken with the aim of bringing about a change in laws or government policies
 - What do you do with these people who break the law?
 - People were willing to spend time in jail to commit to this social change
- The people who practice civil disobedience are willing to accept the legal consequences of their actions, as this shows their fidelity to the rule of law
 - Breaking the law because they believe in the law
 - Breaking laws that are discriminatory/racist because they believe in a higher law/natural law= Constitutional Law
- Civil disobedience, given its balance at the boundary of fidelity to law, is said to fall between legal protest, on the one hand, and conscientious refusal, revolutionary action, militant protest, and organized forcible resistance, on the other hand

Birmingham Campaign

- "Segregation now, Segregation tomorrow, and I say segregation forever." George Wallace
- Employment, segregated restaurants
- Birmingham Commissioner of Public Safety Bull Connor (linked to Klan) use of dogs and water hoses, mass Arrests
- A Strategic movement organized by SCLC
 - Project C (=confrontation) (Spring 1963):
 - Birmingham, largest city in Alabama; known nationally for bomb attacks against African Americans