

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 reason 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