



Ethics and Society

POLI 27

Communism, Fascism



Leon Trotsky – *Terrorism and Communism*



- ▶ Dictatorship of the proletariat – “if our problem is the abolition of private property in the means of production, the only road to its solution lies through the **concentration of State power in its entirety in the hands of the proletariat.**”
- ▶ “The dictatorship is necessary because it is a case, not of partial changes, but of the very existence of the bourgeoisie. **No agreement is possible on this ground. Only force can be the deciding factor.**”
- ▶ “Universal suffrage, according to the **legal fiction of parliamentarism**, expresses the will of the citizens of all classes in the nation, and, consequently, gives a possibility of attracting a majority to the side of Socialism. While the theoretical possibility has not been realized, the Socialist minority must submit to the bourgeois majority. This **fetishism of the parliamentary majority** represents a brutal repudiation, not only of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but of Marxism and of the revolution altogether.”

Leon Trotsky – *Terrorism and Communism*



- ▶ “If, in principle, we are to subordinate Socialist policy to the parliamentary mystery of majority and minority, it follows that, **in countries where formal democracy prevails, there is no place at all for the revolutionary struggle.**”
- ▶ “**Who aims at the end cannot reject the means.** The struggle must be carried on with such intensity as actually to guarantee the supremacy of the proletariat. If the Socialist revolution requires a dictatorship – “the sole form in which the proletariat can achieve control of the State” – it follows that **the dictatorship must be guaranteed at all cost.**”
- ▶ “...we can have no way to Socialism except by the **authoritative regulation** of the economic forces and resources of the country, and the **centralized distribution** of labor-power in harmony with the general State plan.”

Leon Trotsky – Terrorism and Communism



- ▶ “The man who repudiates terrorism in principle...must reject all idea of the political supremacy of the working class and its revolutionary dictatorship. **The man who repudiates the dictatorship of the proletariat repudiates the Socialist revolution**, and digs the grave of Socialism.”
- ▶ “Not only the worker, but the peasant also, must give to the Soviet State his energy, in order to ensure that laboring Russia, and with it the laboring masses, should not be crushed. The only way to attract the labor power necessary for our economic problems is to introduce **compulsory labor service**.”
- ▶ “The introduction of compulsory labor service is unthinkable without the application, to a greater or less degree, of the methods of **militarization of labor**... For we can have no way to Socialism except by the authoritative regulation of the economic forces and resources of the country, and the centralized distribution of labor-power in harmony with the general State plan...**economic pressure melts here into the pressure of State compulsion**.”

Benito Mussolini – The Doctrine of Fascism

- ▶ “Fascism does not, generally speaking, believe in the possibility or utility of perpetual peace.”
- ▶ “**War** alone keys up all human energies to their maximum tension and puts the **stamp of nobility** on those peoples who have the courage to meet it.”
- ▶ “Fascism also **denies** the immutable and irreparable character of **the class struggle.**”
- ▶ Absolute **primacy of the state**, born of the need for action
- ▶ **Rejection of egalitarianism**
- ▶ **Totalitarian** ideology
 - ▶ No need for “ordered expression of doctrine”



Benito Mussolini – The Doctrine of Fascism

- ▶ “I had a living experience of one doctrine only – that of socialism.”
- ▶ “Fascism...believes in neither the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace...repudiates any universal embrace.”
- ▶ “Such a conception of life makes Fascism the complete opposite of that doctrine, the base of so-called scientific and Marxian Socialism, the materialist conception of history.”
- ▶ **“Fascism repudiates the conception of ‘economic’ happiness.”**
 - ▶ “It denies the validity of the equation, well-being equals happiness, which would reduce men to the level of animals.”
- ▶ “Fascism combats the whole complex system of democratic ideology, and repudiates it.”



Benito Mussolini – The Doctrine of Fascism

- ▶ “[Fascism] affirms the immutable, beneficial and fruitful inequality of mankind, which can never be permanently leveled.”
 - ▶ “The democratic regime may be defined as from time to time giving the people the illusion of sovereignty, while the real, effective sovereignty lies in the hands of other, concealed and irresponsible forces.”
- ▶ “Fascism has taken up an attitude of complete opposition to the doctrines of liberalism, both in the political field and in the field of economics.”
- ▶ “...all the political hopes of the present day are anti-liberal.”
- ▶ “...this will be a century of authority, a century of the left, a century of Fascism...this will be the century of collectivism, and hence the century of the state.”



Reading for Wednesday 8/25

- ▶ Gerry Mackie - Social Norms Change, Believing Makes It So
- ▶ Cristina Bicchieri - The Rules We Live By
- ▶ Bo Rothstein – Anti-corruption, the indirect 'big bang' approach

Gerry Mackie - Social Norms Change, Believing Makes It So

- ▶ Types of fact: **brute** (does not depend on us) and **institutional** (depends on us).
- ▶ Reference group: the group of people who create an institutional fact.
 - ▶ Social norms originate in capacities of joint attention (Tomasello) in a local setting.
- ▶ “A social norm is a rule constructed from an individual’s beliefs and evaluations: her beliefs about what others do (**descriptive norm**), her beliefs about what others dis/approve of (**injunctive norm**), and her evaluation about whether what certain others do and dis/approve of is enough reason for her to comply (**reference group**).”
- ▶ Actions can be either **dependent** or **independent** of the actions of others.
 - ▶ “Social norms can be quite stable and even operate behind people’s backs for generations, because they are locked in by such interdependence.”

Gerry Mackie - Social Norms Change, Believing Makes It So

- ▶ Because interdependent action requires coordination of beliefs, social norms often (usually) seem objective – even though we create them.
 - ▶ A suitable social norm can become harmful when circumstances change.
 - ▶ “An important way to change a social norm is for those in favor of change to join together in a new reference group.” Example: Tostan community empowerment program (CEP).
- ▶ Coordinated Abandonment or Adoption: “enough people must believe that enough people are changing” and “seeing is believing.”
 - ▶ “What works is redundantly to make visible repeatedly, at many levels and in many ways, that enough people see that enough people are changing.” [What’s the role of common knowledge?]
- ▶ “A harmful social practice is held in place by a web of beliefs, evaluations, and actions within the individual and within her group. These cultural models organize one’s knowledge about objects and events, other people, and oneself.”

Gerry Mackie - Social Norms Change, Believing Makes It So

- ▶ Three kinds of belief: beliefs can be about:
 - ▶ The **nonsocial environment**, such as that a tree exists, or how to grow the best millet, or what causes disease;
 - ▶ The **social environment**, such as what one believes about the minds of others, including social norms; and
 - ▶ The **self**, such as what one believes about one's own mind, one's own beliefs, desires, intentions, and one's conception of oneself.
- ▶ “A **harmful social practice** can be caused, in whole or in part, by harmful false beliefs about the nonsocial world.”
- ▶ **Social proof**: observing similarly-situated peers adopting a new approach to the norm.
 - ▶ “The observed actions of a local minority were more credible to the larger community than the messages of an external change agent.”
- ▶ “It's easier to act your way into a new way of thinking, than to think your way into a new way of acting” (compare Haidt).

Gerry Mackie - Social Norms Change, Believing Makes It So

- ▶ “It’s easier to act your way into a new way of thinking, than to think your way into a new way of acting” (compare Haidt).
- ▶ “The researchers were surprised to discover that changes in individuals’ and communities’ conceptions of themselves were also essential to beneficial change.”
 - ▶ Adopting new roles.
- ▶ “Policy should rely first on moral regulation, next on social regulation, and only as a last resort on legal regulation. In response to a particular harm, legitimate and effective regulation requires that the applicable moral, social, and legal norms be in harmony rather than discord.”
 - ▶ Example: *Cultura Ciudadana* (Citizenship Culture) in Bogotá.
- ▶ “The most surprising part of our experience, and what has intrigued many social scientists who have studied Bogotá’s experience, is that we have been able to plan and modify, from City Government, social norms at a large scale” (Mockus 2004).

The Norm of Legal Obedience

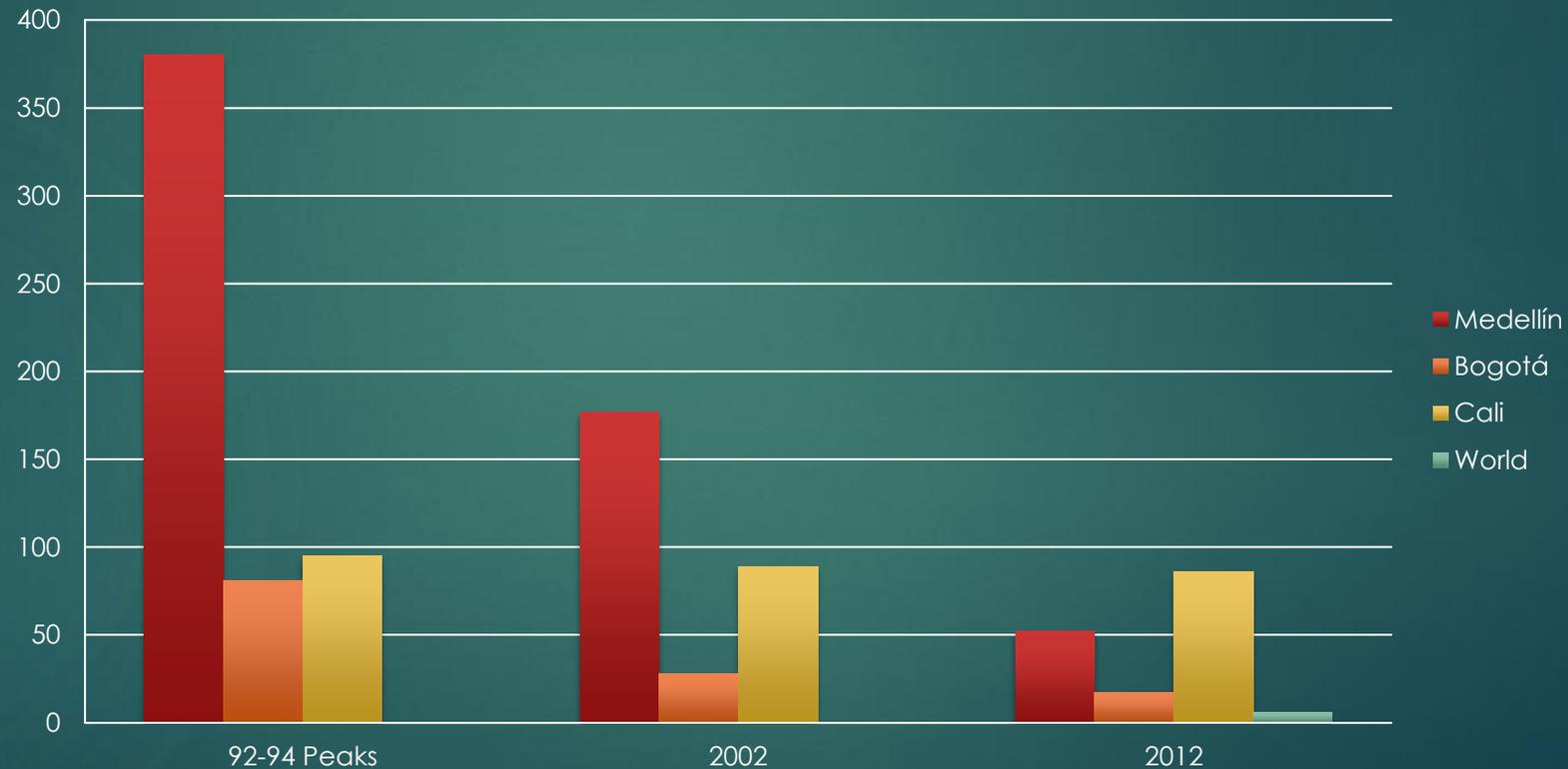


The Norm of Legal Obedience

- ▶ Nagin and Pogarsky (2001, 869)
 - ▶ “A belief that illicit conduct is wrong [**moral**], and the fear of peer disapproval, embarrassment, or social stigma [**social**] *discourage offending behavior.*”
 - ▶ Further, several studies investigating the relative strength of both sanction forms find
 - ▶ the “conforming *influence of extralegal sanctions to be far greater* than that from legal sanctions.”

Why Social Transformation in Bogotá & Medellín, but not in Cali?

Homicides per 100,000
Three Largest Cities in Colombia



Mayor Antanas Mockus, Bogotá

Core Moral Motivations

Slide by GM

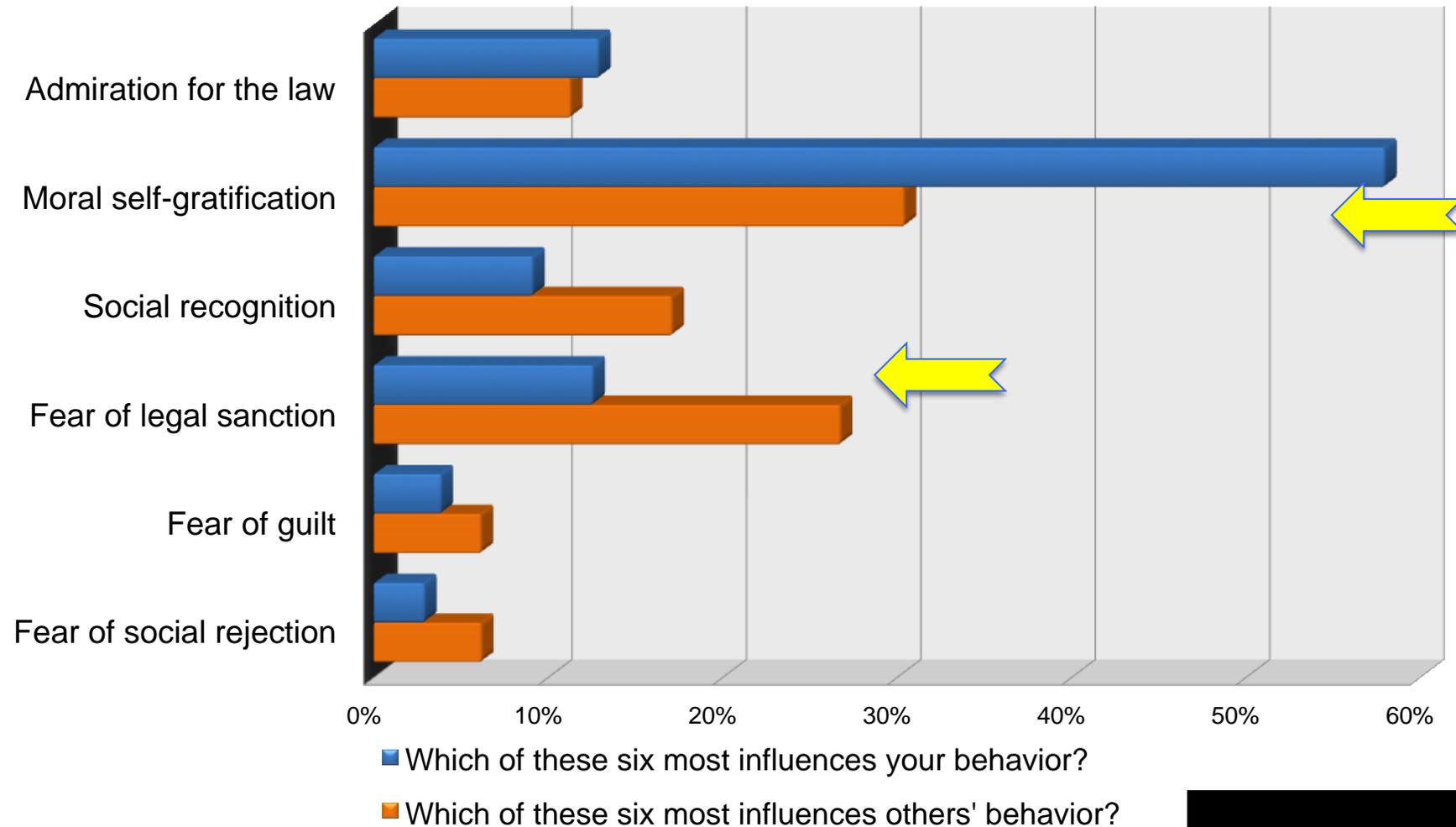
Life is Sacred

Talk not Violence



An asymmetry in attribution of motives

Regulatory systems: Legal, Moral, Social
Average across surveys in 35 Colombian cities (2008 - 2011)





Example: traffic behavior (Moral)



Estrellas negras (“black stars”): marked the spot of a death resulting from traffic accident. Later specified age and sex of deceased.

- Re-appropriation of a **common cultural symbol**: simultaneously fostered moral and social regulation – provided opportunities for discussing and coordinating beliefs

Example: traffic behavior (Social)



Social regulation cards: 350 000 distributed,
very high visibility, citizens willing to try them out.

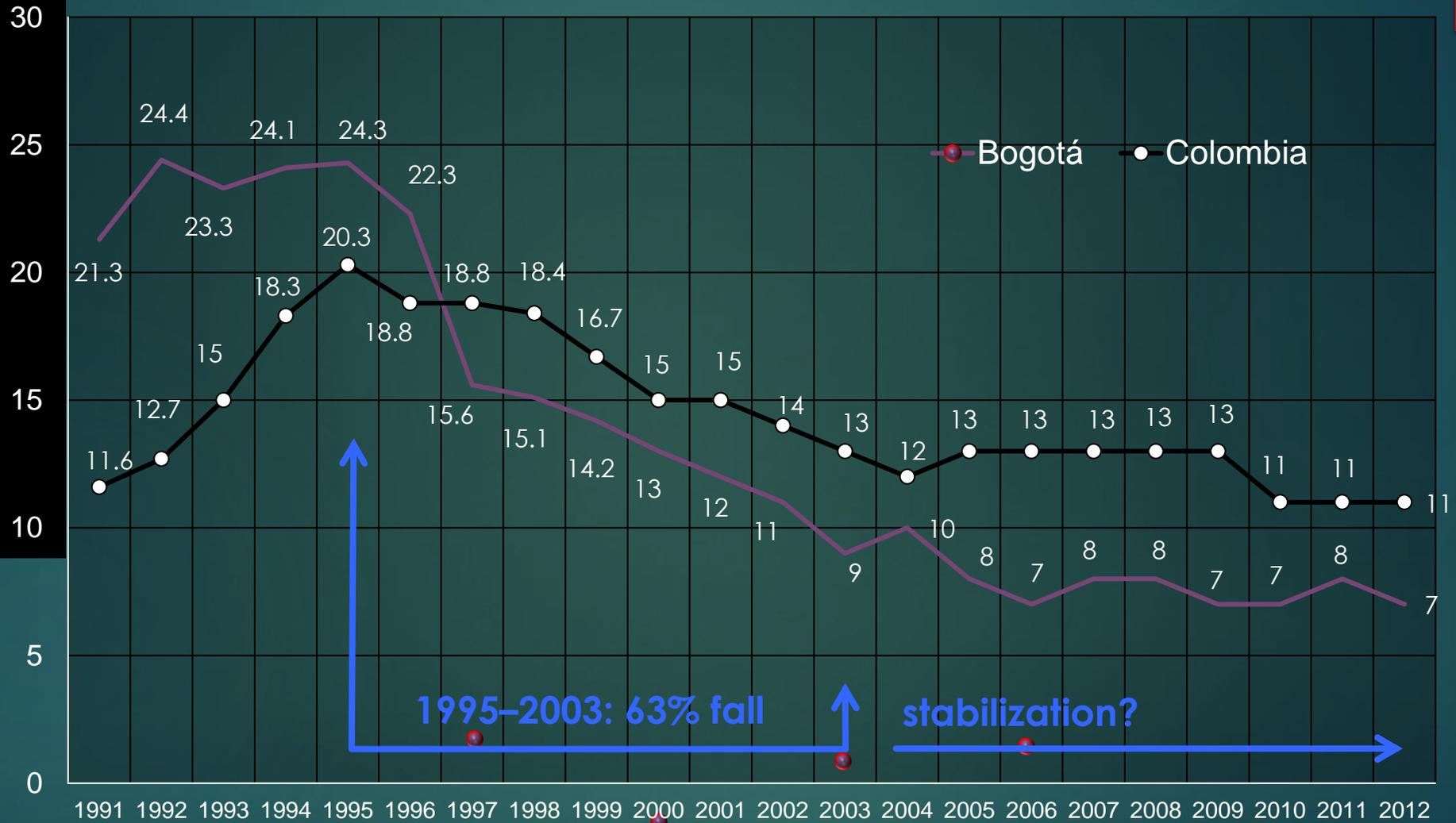
- **Fostered new normative expectations**
consistent with legal norm compliance.

Example: traffic behavior (Legal)



- **Corrupt traffic police fired and replaced:** **signal** of strong institutional commitment.
- **Mimes:** initially 40, then 400!
- Dramatic success in terms of **visibilization**, but replication *questionable*.
- **Further strengthened anticipations of disapproval**

Traffic-related deaths in Bogotá and Colombia 1991 - 2012 (rate per 100 000 inhabitants)



Cristina Bicchieri - The Rules We Live By

- ▶ What is a norm? – “A norm can be formal or informal, personal or collective, descriptive of what most people do, or prescriptive of behavior.”
 - ▶ Conventions (coordination game)
 - ▶ Descriptive norms (coordination game)
 - ▶ Social norms (mixed motive game)
- ▶ “Given the right kind of expectations, people will have conditional preferences for obeying a norm, meaning that preferences will be conditional on having expectations about other people's conformity. Such expectations and preferences will result in collective behaviors that further confirm the existence of the norm.”
- ▶ Social norm – an informal rule supported (if at all) by informal social sanctions.
 - ▶ Distinct from legal regulation (external sanctions) and moral regulation (internal sanctions).

Cristina Bicchieri - The Rules We Live By

- ▶ “The games that social norms solve are called mixed-motive games. Such mixed-motive games are not games of coordination to start with, but **social norms...transform mixed-motive games into coordination ones**. This transformation, however, hinges on each individual expecting enough other people to follow the norm, too. If this expectation is violated, an individual will revert to playing the original game and to behaving 'selfishly.’”
- ▶ How do we choose our behavior?
 - ▶ Rational deliberation (costly, time-consuming, useful in some high-stakes situations).
 - ▶ Behavioral rules (habits, roles, norms) [The “heuristic” route]
- ▶ Social norms can be “cued” by particular situations, “and hence manipulated.”
- ▶ “...we may be able to induce pro-social behavior and maintain social order at low cost.”
 - ▶ “...it may be possible to structure the environment in a way that produces desirable behavior.”

Cristina Bicchieri - The Rules We Live By

- ▶ Moral norms seem to be different from social norms in that their enforcement is entirely internal. By **internalizing** the norm, we reduce the cognitive load of compliance.
 - ▶ “What needs to be stressed here is that what makes something a social or a moral norm is our attitude toward it.”
- ▶ “...public support might be voiced for a norm that is seldom adhered to in private.”



Cristina Bicchieri - The Rules We Live By

- ▶ “...**public endorsement** of the norm may coexist with considerable **private deviance**.”
- ▶ “...following a social norm may be **contrary to self-interest**, especially if we define it in purely material terms.”
- ▶ “...it is plausible that one is guided by benevolence (or even altruism) in interacting with family and friends, but when interacting with strangers...[one is] guided by social norms.”





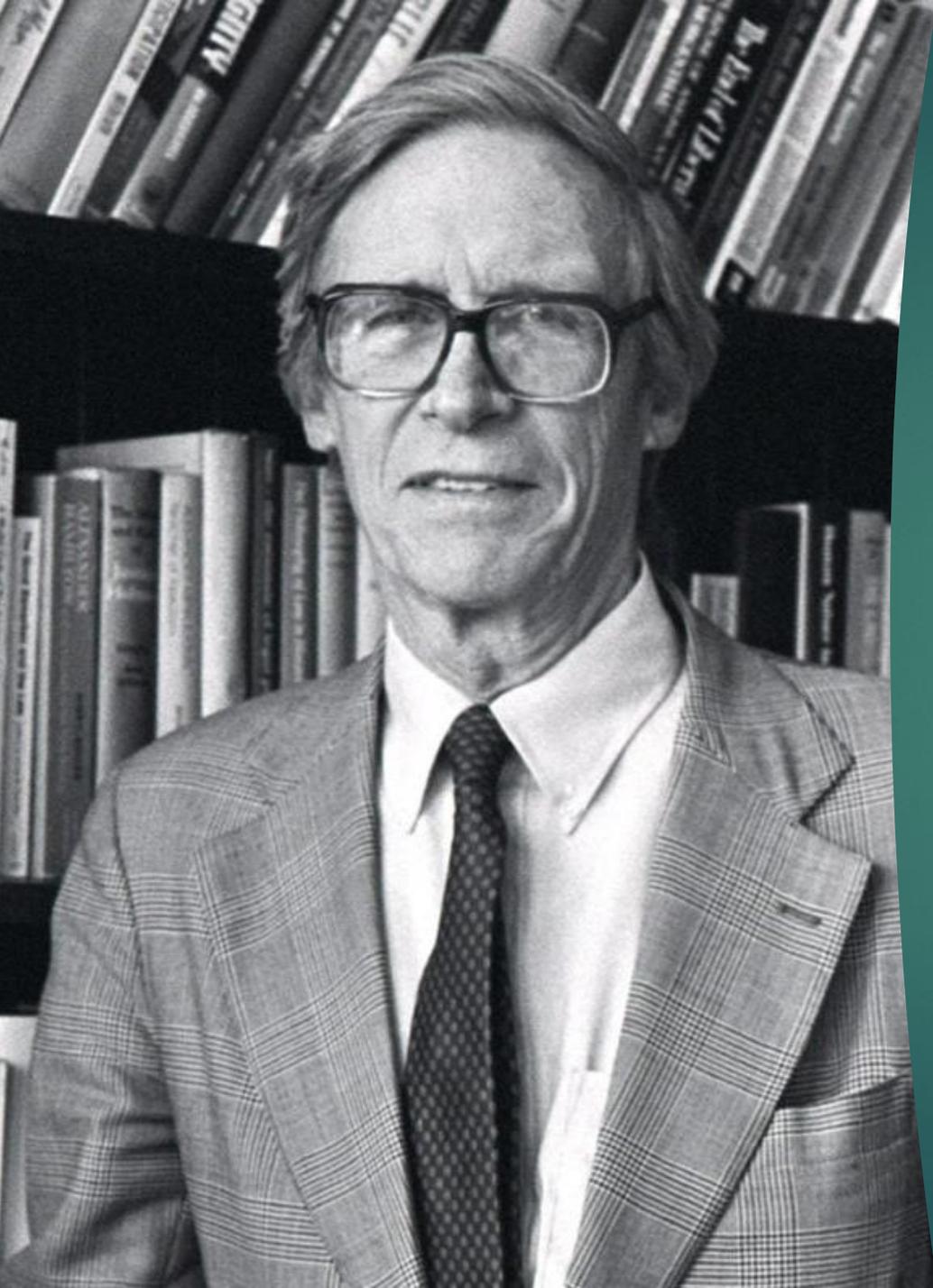
Bo Rothstein – Anti-corruption, the indirect 'big bang' approach

- ▶ Argument: corruption isn't a principal-agent problem, it's a collective action problem ("social trap").
- ▶ Consider the role of:
 - ▶ Non-incremental change
 - ▶ Informal institutions
- ▶ "The disadvantage with the incentive-based principal-agent approach is that it **just forces the problem to what has been called 'a second-level' collective action problem.**"
- ▶ All the agents may well understand that they would stand to gain from erasing corruption, but because they cannot trust that most other agents will refrain from corrupt practices, they have no reason to refrain. The only reason they would do so is if institutions could be established that would make them trust that most other agents would refrain from taking part in corrupt behavior."



Bo Rothstein – Anti-corruption, the indirect 'big bang' approach

- ▶ “From this institutional perspective, the problem with corruption is that it is a **self-reinforcing phenomenon.**”
- ▶ Evidence: “ordinary people in severely corrupt systems usually **do not internalize** corrupt practices as morally legitimate acts. Instead, they usually condemn corruption as morally wrong and **put the blame on ‘the system’** for forcing them to take part in corruption, thus understanding that they are in a ‘social trap’.”
- ▶ How do different societies end up in different equilibria?
 - ▶ Can this be changed?
- ▶ **Interactive rationality:** the strategic situation is incomplete without specifying the social context.



John Rawls - A Theory of Justice (selections)

- ▶ “For although men know that they share a common sense of justice and that each wants to adhere to existing arrangements, they may nevertheless **lack full confidence in one another.**”
- ▶ “They may suspect that **some are not doing their part**, and so they may be tempted not to do theirs. The general awareness of these temptations may eventually **cause the scheme to break down**. The suspicion that others are not honoring their duties and obligations is increased by the fact that, **in absence of the authoritative interpretation and enforcement of the rules**, it is particularly easy to find **excuses for breaking them.**”



Bo Rothstein – Anti-corruption, the indirect 'big bang' approach

- ▶ We carry our reference group with us, even to new places.
 - ▶ Example: diplomats' parking tickets at the UN.
- ▶ “Both North et al. and Mungiu-Pippidi argue convincingly that corruption and similar practices are rooted in deeply held beliefs about the proper order of exchange in a society – personal-particularistic versus impersonal universalistic.”
- ▶ “The implication is that to effectively curb corruption and establish ‘good governance’, **the whole political culture has to move** from the ‘limited access’ or ‘particularistic’ equilibrium to the very different equilibrium characterized by ‘impersonal’ and/or ‘universal’ forms of exchange.”
 - ▶ Lampedusa: “for everything to stay the same, everything must change.”



Bo Rothstein – Anti-corruption, the indirect 'big bang' approach

- ▶ “The implication so far of this analysis is quite negative. First, corruption is driven by the workings of a large set of historically rooted formal and informal institutions in a society.”
- ▶ “Secondly, neither the formal nor the informal institutions are easily changed since they constitute ‘self-reinforcing’ equilibria. If an agent tries to reform a single or a small set of the institutions in a corrupt–particularistic–limited access political culture, it will in all likelihood backfire since the new institutions will be overtaken by the corrupt networks and dominated by such practices that, in its turn, will increase cynicism among the population and serve to delegitimize future efforts to increase the quality of government institutions.”