

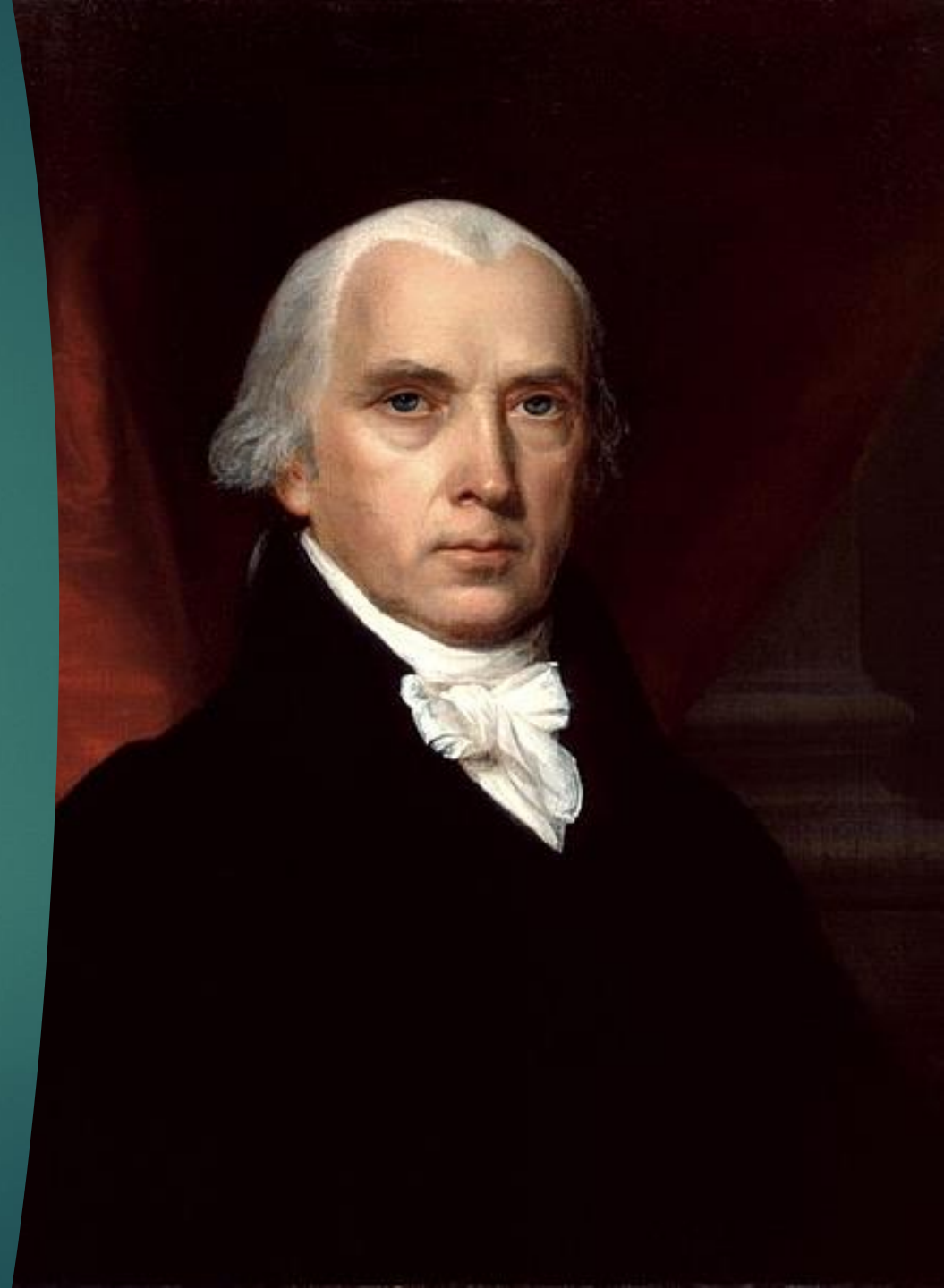


Ethics and Society

POLI 27

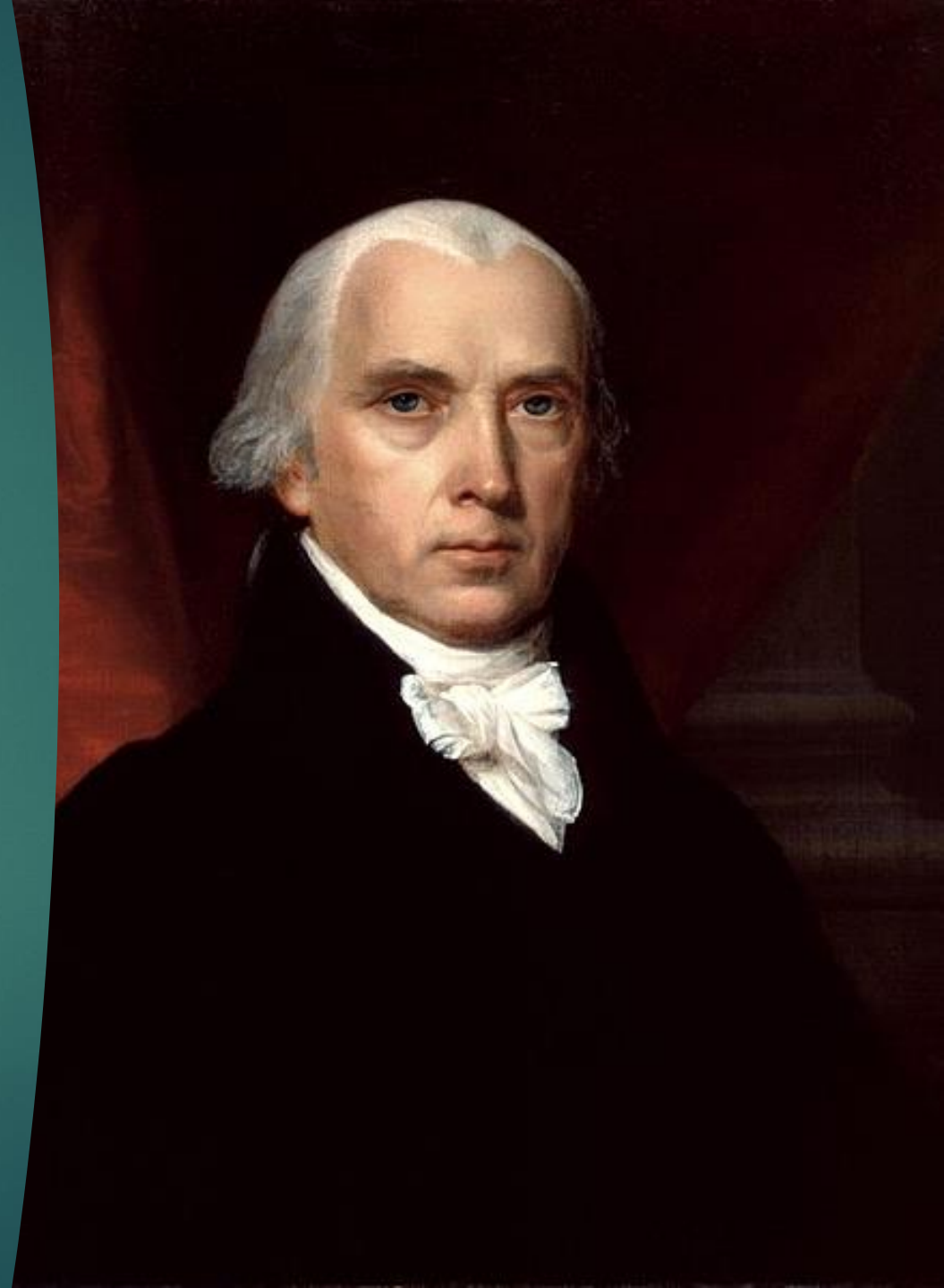
Hamilton, Madison, Jay - The Federalist Papers (51)

- ▶ “[A]s all these exterior provisions are found to be **inadequate**, the defect must be supplied, by so contriving the interior structure of the government as that its several constituent parts may, **by their mutual relations**, be the means of keeping each other in their proper places.”
- ▶ “...each department should have a **will of its own**; and consequently should be so constituted that the members of each should have as little agency as possible in the appointment of the members of the others...”
- ▶ “[T]he great security against a gradual concentration of the several powers in the same department consists in **giving to those who administer each department the necessary constitutional means and personal motives** to resist encroachments of the others”



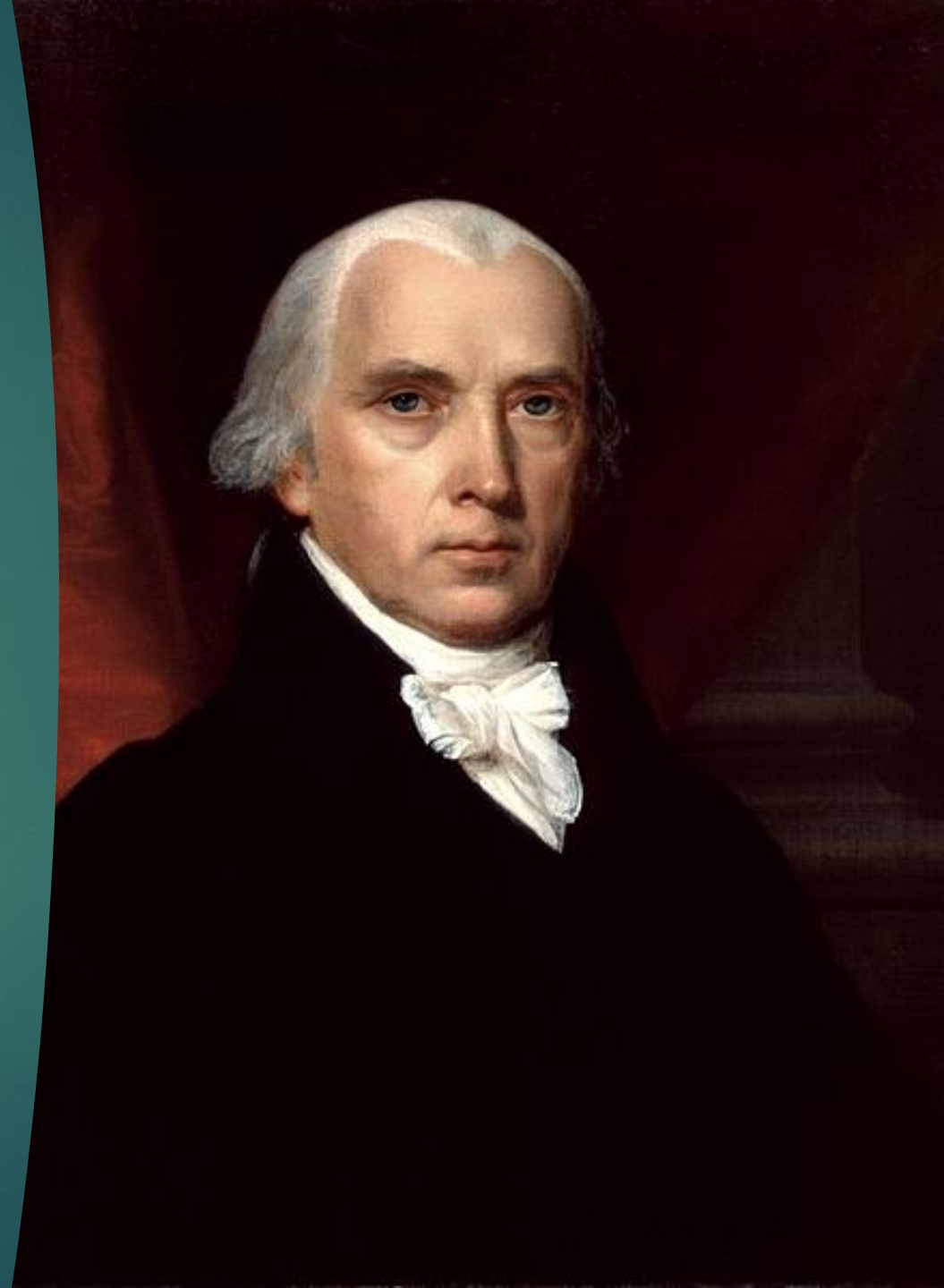
Hamilton, Madison, Jay - The Federalist Papers (51)

- ▶ **“Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. The interest of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place. It may be a reflection on human nature, that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government.”**
- ▶ **“But what is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself.”**



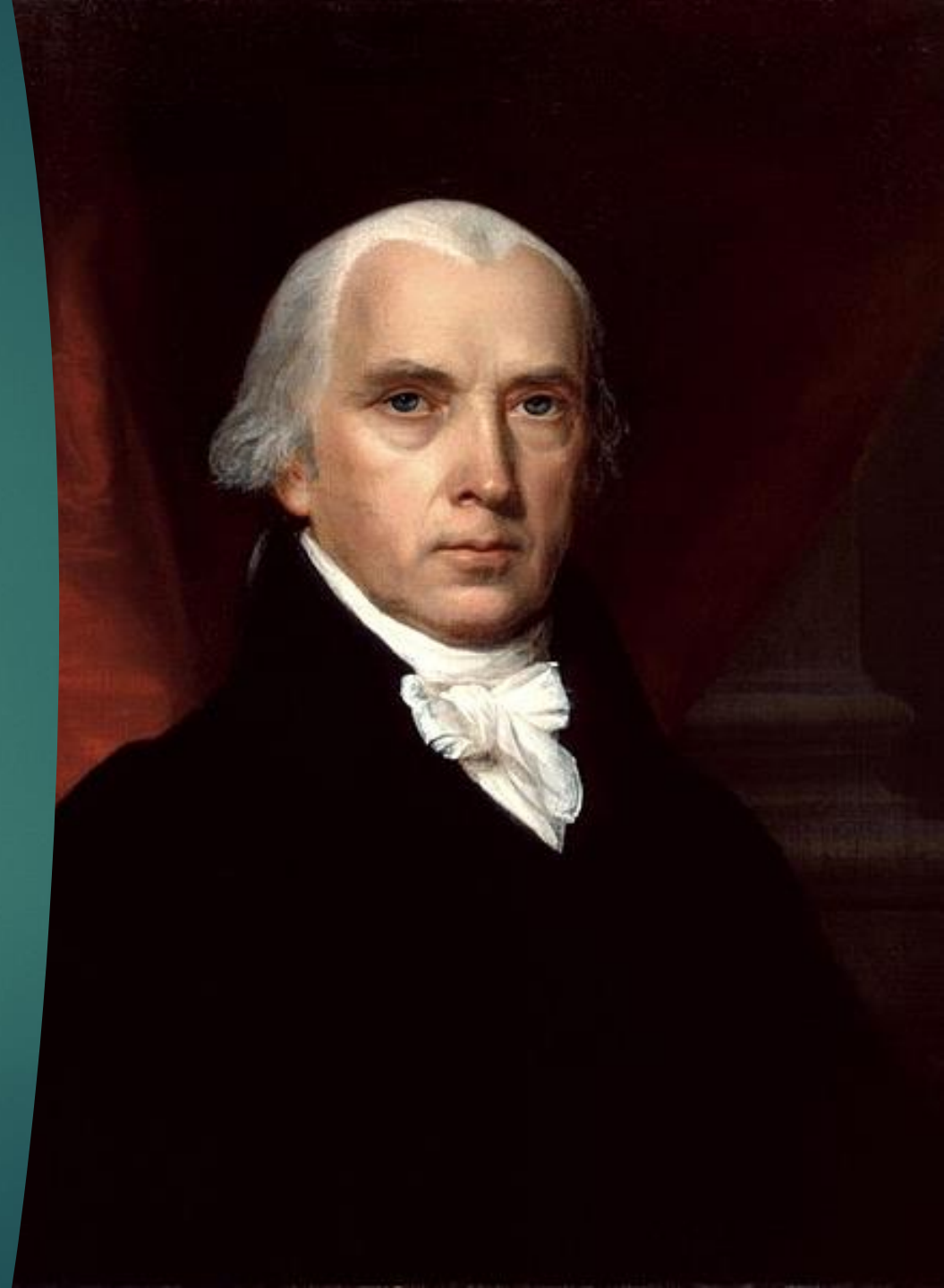
Hamilton, Madison, Jay - The Federalist Papers (51)

- ▶ “This policy of **supplying, by opposite and rival interests, the defect of better motives**, might be traced through the whole system of human affairs, private as well as public.”
- ▶ “[I]n a single republic all the power surrendered by the people is submitted to the administration of a single government; and **the usurpations are guarded against by a division of the government** into distinct and separate departments.”
- ▶ “In the compound republic of America, the power surrendered by the people is first **divided** between two distinct governments, and then the portion allotted to each subdivided among distinct and separate departments. Hence a **double security** arises to the rights of the people. The different governments will control each other, at the same time that each will be controlled by itself.”



Hamilton, Madison, Jay - The Federalist Papers (51)

- ▶ “Whilst all authority in it will be derived from and dependent on the society, the society itself will be **broken into so many parts**, interests, and classes of citizens, that the rights of individuals, or of the minority, will be in **little danger** from interested combinations of the majority.”
- ▶ “**Justice is the end of government**...the great variety of interests, parties, and sects which it embraces, majority of the whole society could seldom take place on any other principles than those of justice and the general good.”



Hamilton, Madison, Jay - The Federalist Papers (51)

- ▶ “In a society under the forms of which the stronger faction can readily unite and oppress the weaker, anarchy may as truly be said to reign as in a state of nature, where the weaker individual is not secured against the violence of the stronger”
- ▶ “...and as, in the latter state, even the stronger individuals are prompted, by the uncertainty of their condition, to submit to a government which may protect the weak as well as themselves; so, in the former state, will the more powerful factions or parties be gradually induced, by a like motive, to wish for a **government which will protect all parties**, the weaker as well as the more powerful.”



Reading for Monday 8/23

- ▶ [Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy - Socialism \(2019\)](#)
- ▶ [Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy - Conservatism \(2019\)](#)
- ▶ [Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy - Liberalism \(2018\)](#)
- ▶ [Benito Mussolini - The Doctrine of Fascism \(1935\)](#)
- ▶ [Leon Trotsky - Terrorism and Communism \(selections\)](#)

1688, Glorious Revolution, UK
Constitutional Monarchy
English Bill of Rights



1776, American Revolution
Democratic Republic
Replace King with President
American Bill of Rights



1789, French Revolution
Democratic Republic
Displace Monarch, Nobility,
& the Church
Declaration of Rights of
Man & the Citizen





French Revolution in 1791

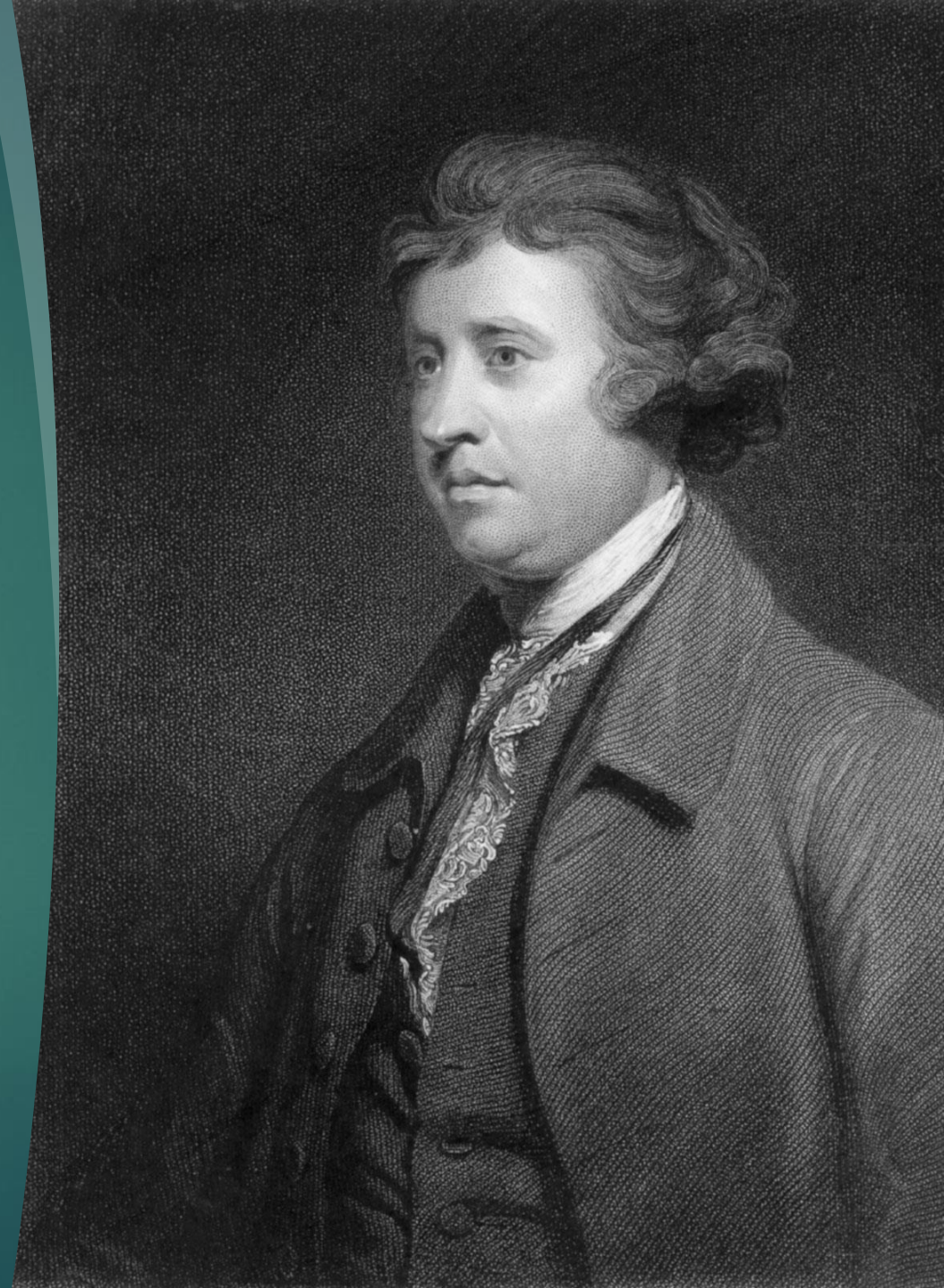
LEFT		CENTER	RIGHT	
Radical	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative	Reactionary
End Monarchy, Nobility, Church	Republic, King as Adviser	Constitutional Monarchy	Limited Monarchy	Restore Absolute Monarchy, etc.
Total Revolution	Strongest Reform	Original Goal in 1789	No Further Change	Go Back to Old Ways

Conservatism

- ▶ Distinction between conservatism as a temperament and as a political theory.
- ▶ As a political theory, it is “a response to the challenges of modernity.”
- ▶ Characterized by:
 - ▶ Skepticism about abstract reasoning in politics
 - ▶ Appeals instead to living tradition
 - ▶ (Limited) political reform is possible.
 - ▶ Sudden change is probably undesirable
- ▶ Possibly a “non-ideology” trying to avoid the errors of ideologies (Graham 1986).
- ▶ Discounts the idea of political expertise.

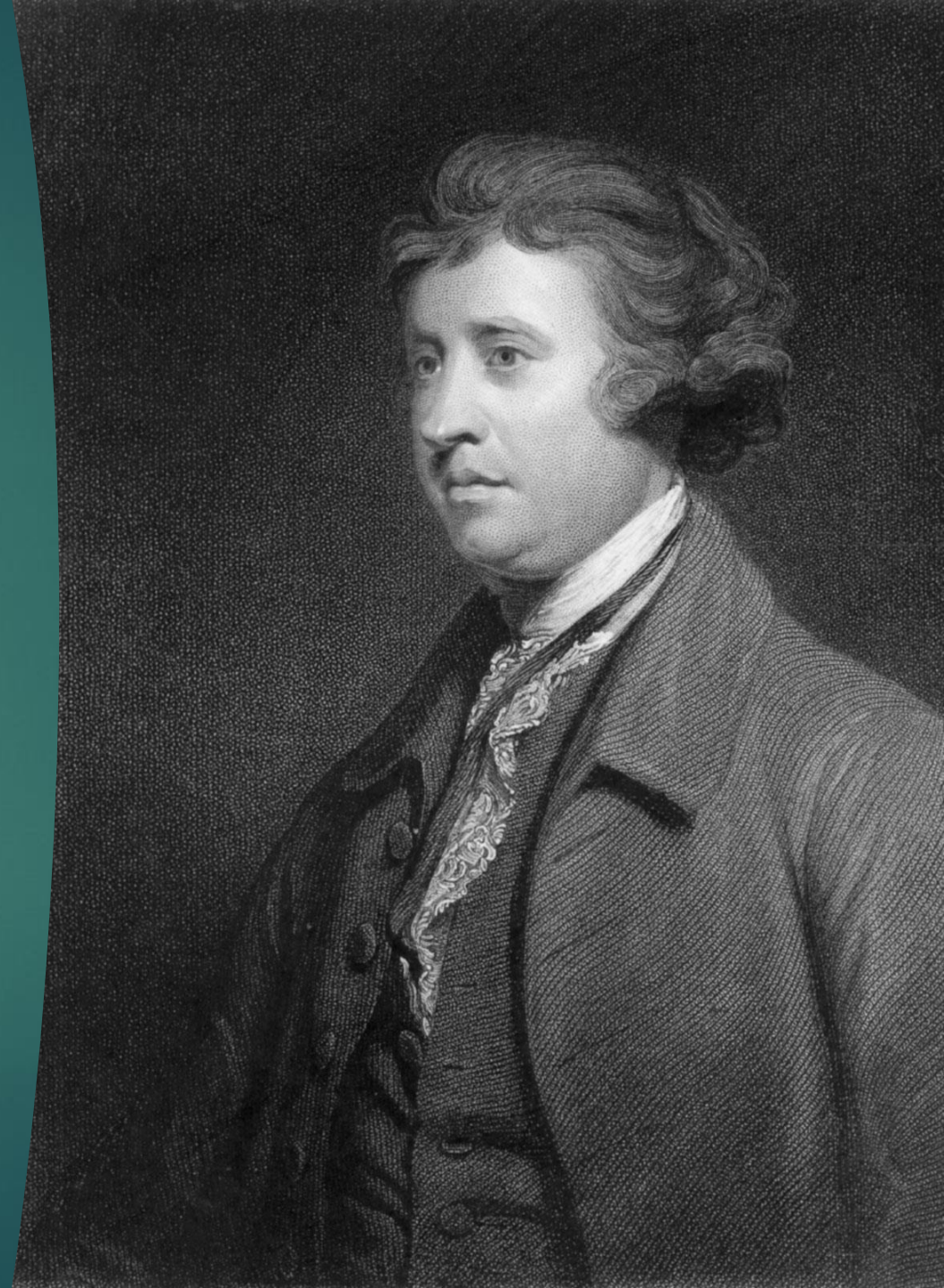
Conservatism

- ▶ “one enlightenment in conflict with another” (Pocock 1999)
- ▶ “conservatism, with its defining skepticism and opposition to “rationalism” in politics, contrasts with liberalism and socialism in rejecting *a priori* value-commitments” (Kekes 1997)
- ▶ Burke: there is a practical wisdom in institutions that is mostly not articulable theoretically, certainly not in advance, but is passed down in culture and tradition.
- ▶ “Conservatives such as Burke contrast the French Revolution with England’s more peaceful Glorious Revolution of 1688, which for them was a revolution in the original sense —a return to an alleged status quo prior to monarchical absolutism, as opposed to an overturning of traditional institutions in accord with a rational plan.”



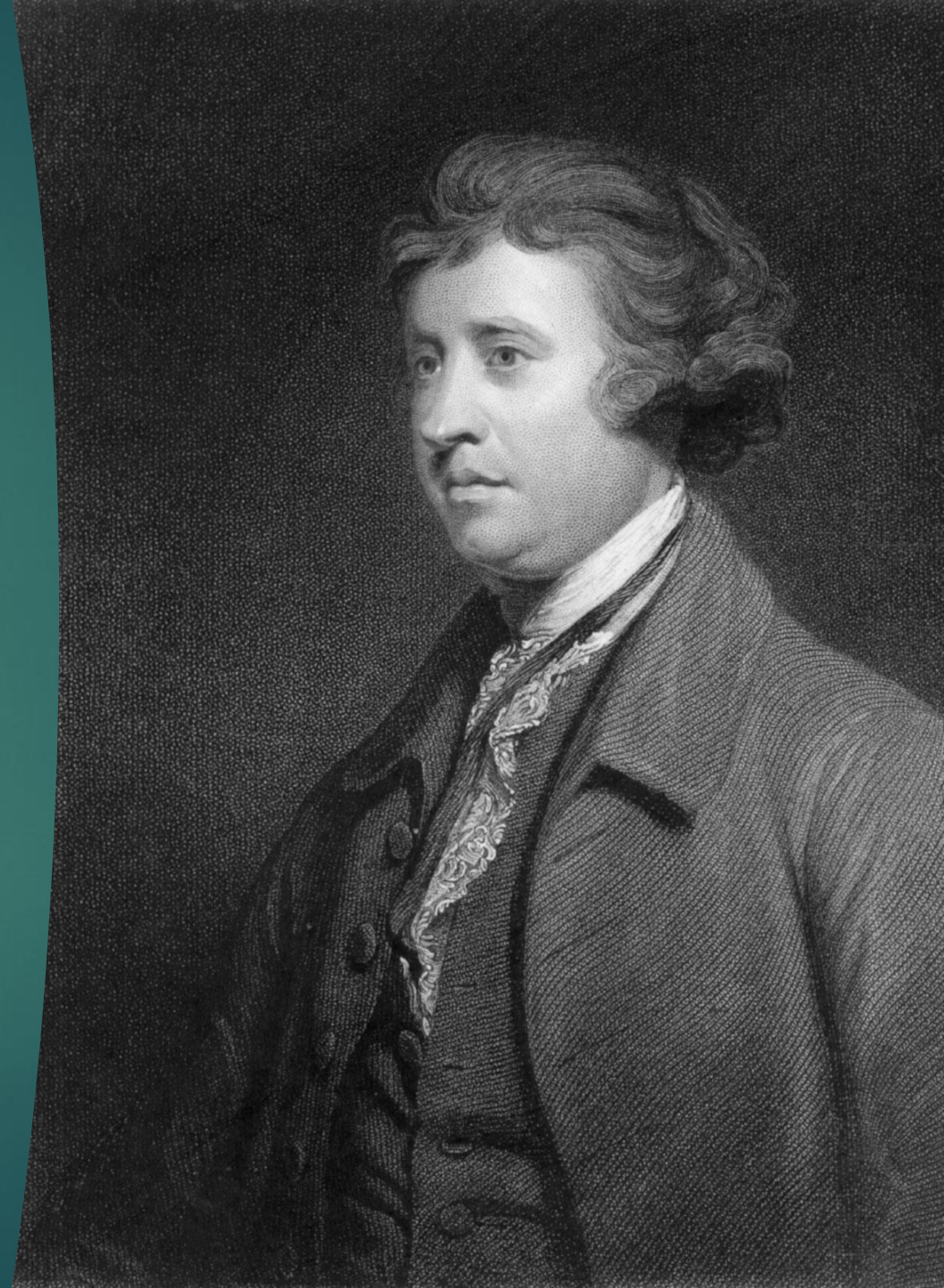
Conservatism

- ▶ “Conservatism and revolutionary Jacobinism are interdependent concepts that arose together, in conjunction with liberalism and socialism.”
- ▶ “Conservatism therefore rests on what may be termed particularist scepticism concerning abstract rational principles.”
 - ▶ Burke: “I cannot [praise or blame] human actions...on a simple view of the object, as it stands stripped of every relation, in all the nakedness and solitude of metaphysical abstraction.”
 - ▶ Cobban: “circumstances give every political principle its colour.”
- ▶ Conservatism is primarily an epistemic standpoint.
 - ▶ Distinguish the claim that absolute values don't exist from the claim that it is impossible to know them with any certainty.



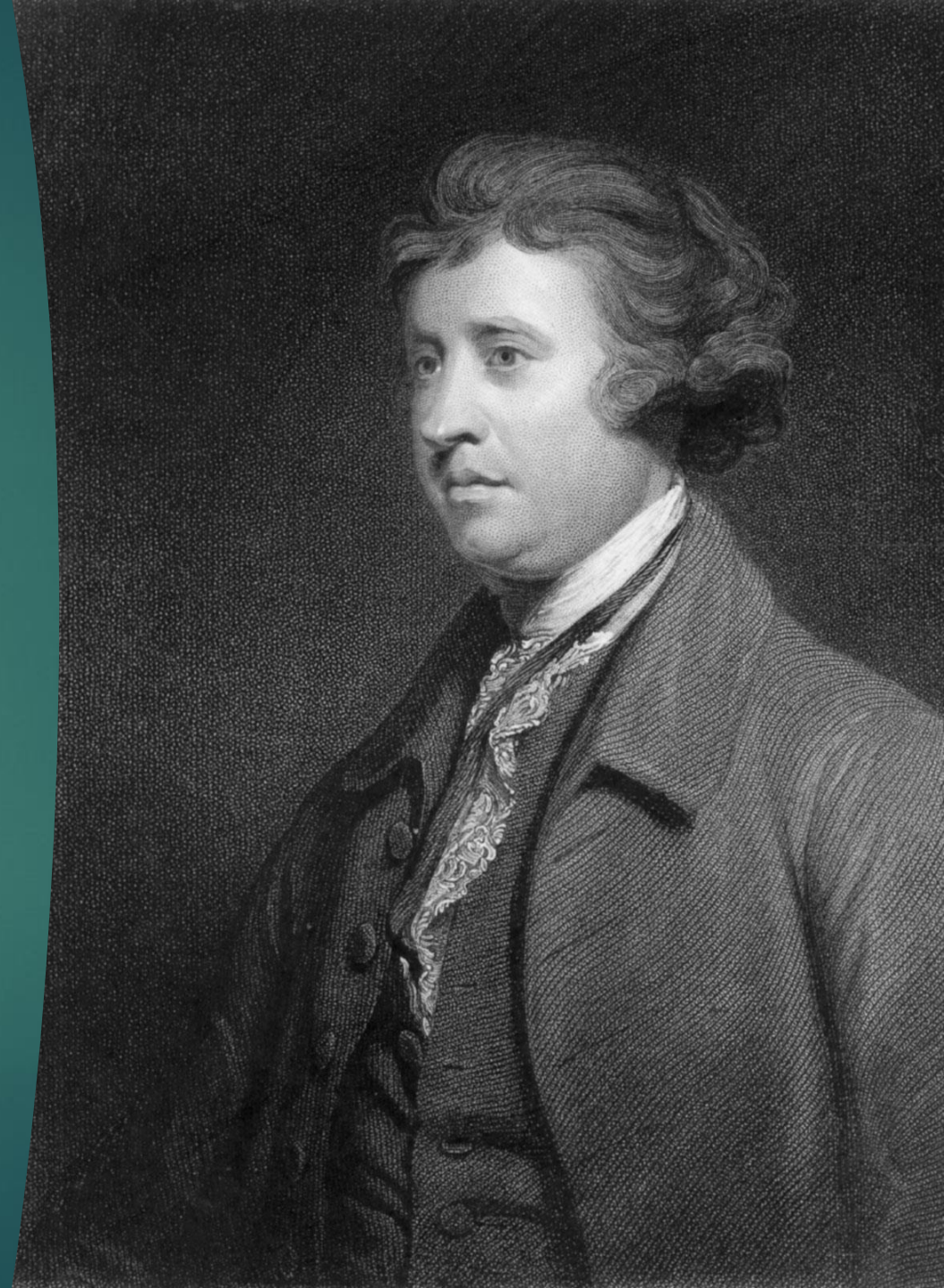
Conservatism

- ▶ But not dogmatic: Burke argued that “a state without the means of some change is without the means of its conservation.”
 - ▶ Burke: “I must see with my own eyes...touch with my own hands not only the fixed but the momentary circumstances, before I could venture to suggest any political project whatsoever.”
- ▶ “Revolutionary systems, and autocratic systems with no possibility of incremental change—societies that do not exhibit living traditions—are not amenable to a conservative outlook.”
 - ▶ “...there is no such thing, in these terms, as a “reasonably functioning totalitarian society.”



Conservatism

- ▶ “Conservatism is popularly conflated with neo-conservatism and with libertarianism. But right libertarians and neo-conservatives, unlike Burkean conservatives, reject state planning for doctrinaire reasons.”
- ▶ “Making anti-planning into a principle, or economic liberalism into an ideology, offends the conservative’s pragmatic, sceptical temper, which could admit a role for state planning and economic intervention were such things shown to be effective. Conservatives reject ideologies, of which neo-liberalism is one.”
 - ▶ Criticism: “If you profess to believe in both the unrestrained market and such old Tory touchstones as family, nation and community, you will...discover that the former eats away at the foundations of the latter” (John Harris).



Russell Kirk – *The Essence of Conservatism*

- ▶ Progress is not an end in itself, but “may be either good or bad, depending on what one is progressing toward.”
- ▶ “What is conservatism?” (Lincoln) “Is it not preference for the old and tried, over the new and untried?”
- ▶ Opposed to liberalism and radicalism.
- ▶ “Our American War of Independence had not been a real revolution, but rather a separation from England; statesmen of Massachusetts and Virginia had no desire to turn society upside down.”
- ▶ “At heart, political problems are moral and religious problems.”
- ▶ “Justice means that every man and every woman have the right to what is their own—to the things best suited to their own nature, to the rewards of their ability and integrity, to their property and their personality.”
- ▶ “Power is full of danger; therefore the good state is one in which power is checked and balanced, restricted by sound constitutions and customs. “

Liberalism

- ▶ The Fundamental Liberal Principle: freedom is normatively basic, and so the onus of justification is on those who would use coercion to limit freedom. (Gaus 1996).
 - ▶ So can we justify political authority? If so, how?
 - ▶ Link to social contract tradition (Hobbes, Rawls), but limits (keep the peace).
- ▶ Mill: “the burden of proof is supposed to be with those who are against liberty; who contend for any restriction or prohibition.... The *a priori* assumption is in favour of freedom...”
 - ▶ But what kind of freedom?
- ▶ Negative liberty: “the heart of liberty is the absence of coercion by others; consequently, the liberal state’s commitment to protecting liberty is, essentially, the job of ensuring that citizens do not coerce each other without compelling justification”

Liberalism

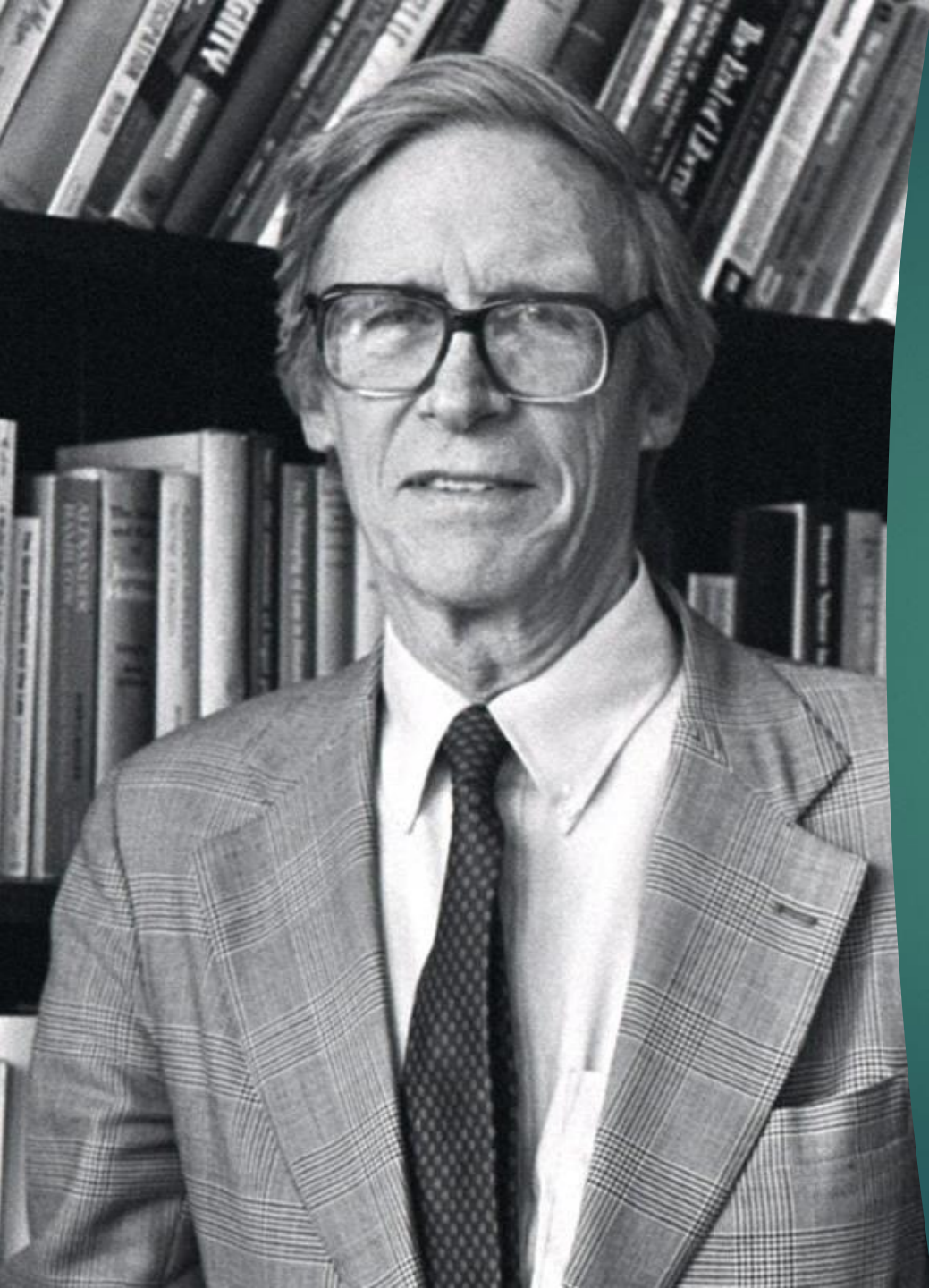
- ▶ **Negative liberty:** “the heart of liberty is the absence of coercion by others; consequently, the liberal state’s commitment to protecting liberty [involves] ensuring that citizens do not coerce each other without compelling justification. Being free is a matter of what options are left open to us, regardless of whether we exercise them” (Berlin 1969).
- ▶ **Positive liberty:** “a person is free only if she is self-directed or autonomous. The idea of a free person is one whose actions are in some sense her own. In this sense, positive liberty is an exercise-concept . One is free merely to the degree that one has effectively determined oneself and the shape of one’s life” (Taylor 1979).
- ▶ **Republican liberty:** “the opposite of freedom is domination. To be unfree is to be “subject to the potentially capricious will or the potentially idiosyncratic judgement of another. The ideal liberty-protecting government, then, ensures that no agent, including itself, has arbitrary power over any citizen. This is accomplished through an equal disbursement of power. Each person has power that offsets the power of another to arbitrarily interfere with her activities (Pettit, 1997: 67).”

Liberalism

- ▶ The role of property:
 - ▶ **Classical liberals:** liberty and private property are intimately related.
 - ▶ Private property effectively protects liberty.
 - ▶ **Social justice liberals:** property rights foster an unjust inequality of power.
 - ▶ “They entrench a merely formal equality that in actual practice systematically fails to secure the kind of equal positive liberty that matters on the ground for the working class.”
 - ▶ “This theme is central to what is now called ‘liberalism’ in American politics.”
- ▶ The reach of liberalism: is it **justified in all political communities**? One scholar identifies a liberal principle in favor of nonintervention in the affairs of other states, and another in favor of protecting the rights of individual citizens of other states.
 - ▶ “[With respect to non-liberal states] [t]he liberal dictum in favor of nonintervention does not hold. Respecting a nonliberal state's state rights to noninterference requires ignoring the violations of rights they inflict on their own populations. Addressing the rights of individuals in other states requires ignoring the rights of states to be free of foreign intervention” (Doyle 1983).

Liberalism

- ▶ The role of property:
 - ▶ **Classical liberals:** liberty and private property are intimately related.
 - ▶ Private property effectively protects liberty.
 - ▶ **Social justice liberals:** property rights foster an unjust inequality of power.
 - ▶ “They entrench a merely formal equality that in actual practice systematically fails to secure the kind of equal positive liberty that matters on the ground for the working class.”
 - ▶ “This theme is central to what is now called ‘liberalism’ in American politics.”
- ▶ The reach of liberalism: is it **justified in all political communities**? One scholar identifies a liberal principle in favor of nonintervention in the affairs of other states, and another in favor of protecting the rights of individual citizens of other states.
 - ▶ “[With respect to non-liberal states] [t]he liberal dictum in favor of nonintervention does not hold. Respecting a nonliberal state's state rights to noninterference requires ignoring the violations of rights they inflict on their own populations. Addressing the rights of individuals in other states requires ignoring the rights of states to be free of foreign intervention” (Doyle 1983).



John Rawls - A Theory of Justice (selections)

- ▶ “I shall maintain instead that the persons in the initial situation would choose two rather different principles: **the first requires equality in the assignment of basic rights and duties**, while **the second holds that social and economic inequalities**, for example inequalities of wealth and authority, **are just only if they result in compensating benefits for everyone, and in particular for the least advantaged members of society**” (13).
- ▶ “The intuitive idea is that since everyone’s well-being depends upon a scheme of cooperation without which no one could have a satisfactory life, the division of advantages should be such as to draw forth the **willing cooperation** of everyone taking part in it, including those less well situated” (13).

Socialism

- ▶ Emerged in contrast with capitalism, during the 19th century.
- ▶ Capitalism:
 - ▶ (i) The bulk of the means of production is *privately owned and controlled*.
 - ▶ (ii) People legally own their labor power. (Here capitalism differs from slavery and feudalism, under which systems some individuals are entitled to control, whether completely or partially, the labor power of others).
 - ▶ (iii) *Markets* are the main mechanism allocating inputs and outputs of production and determining how societies' productive surplus is used, including whether and how it is consumed or invested.
- ▶ Socialism at minimum disputes (i):
 - ▶ (i*) The bulk of the means of production is under social, democratic control.

Socialism

- ▶ The critique: capitalism necessarily involves:
 - ▶ Exploitation of workers by employers (unequal exchange, labor entitlement, unfair distribution of productive endowments, power asymmetry).
 - ▶ Domination of workers (“Workers’ consent to their exploitation is given in circumstances of deep vulnerability and asymmetry of power.”)
 - ▶ Domination of society: “capitalists have a disproportionate impact on the legal and political process shaping the institutional structure of the society in which they exploit workers.”
 - ▶ Conflict with democracy?
- ▶ “Capitalism flouts an ideal of non-domination as freedom from being subject to rules one has systematically less power to shape than others.”

Socialism

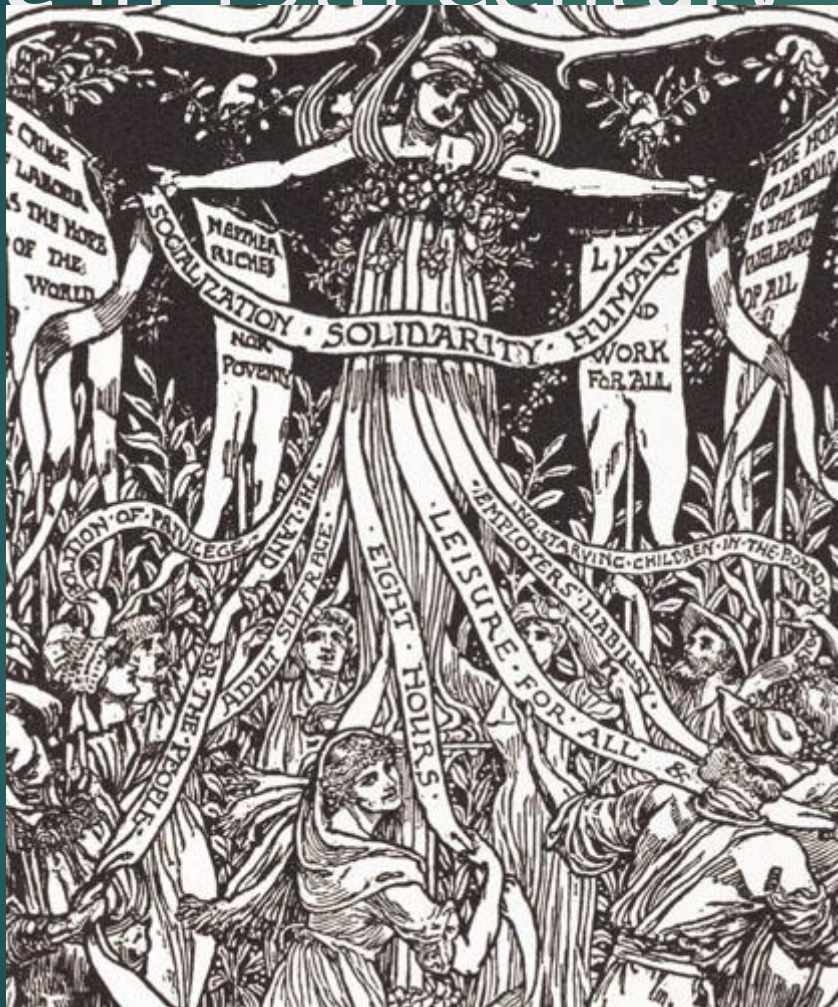
- ▶ Distinct from statism: “If a state controls the economy but is not in turn democratically controlled by the individuals engaged in economic life, what we have is some form of statism, not socialism.”
- ▶ Objective: social justice
 - ▶ Equality of opportunity: “everyone should have “broadly equal access to the necessary material and social means to live flourishing lives
 - ▶ Democracy: people should have “broadly equal access to the necessary means to participate meaningfully in decisions” affecting their lives.
 - ▶ Freedom: positive and negative liberty *plus* self-determination.
 - ▶ Community/solidarity: “people should organize their economic life so that they treat the freedom and well-being of others as intrinsically significant (compare Kant).

Socialism

- ▶ Question: what's the relationship between a state's economic and political systems?



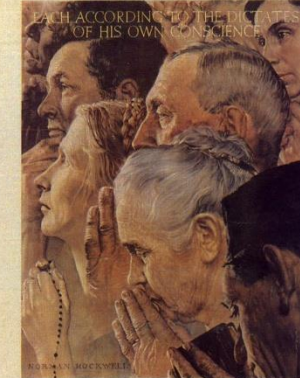
Socialism, Liberalism Mature in 19th Century



OURS...to fight for



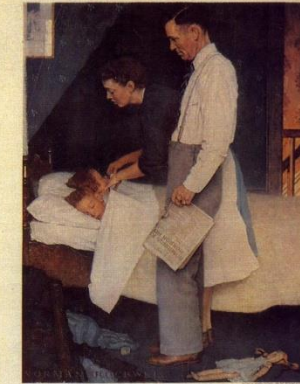
Freedom of Speech



Freedom of Worship



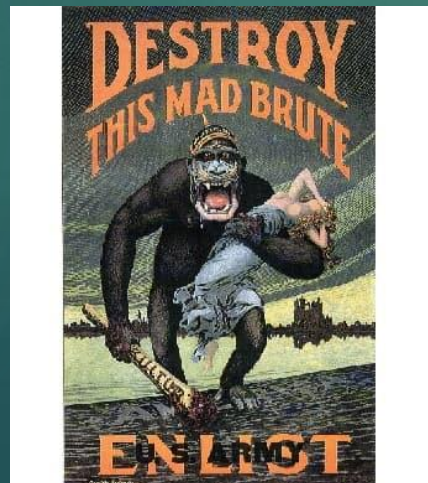
Freedom from Want



Freedom from Fear

FOUR FREEDOMS This classic poster from wartime America shows four paintings by the artist Norman Rockwell, all celebrating democratic and patriotic values as experienced in small-town American life.

Total War, Total Mobilization



Communism, Fascism

20th century



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.**”
- ▶ “**Who aims at the end cannot reject the means.**”
- ▶ “...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.”

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”



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.”



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.”



