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SCHUMAKER, KIEL, HEILKE: GREAT IDEAS/GRAND SCHEMES STUDY GUIDE, 1998-2006

Steven Alan Samson

PREFACE

Great Ideas/Grand Schemes is a systematic treatment of twelve ideologies by means of an elaborate conceptual framework. This twelve-point analytic grid, which is comprised of six substantive political principles, four philosophical bases, and two political bases, is introduced in the first chapter. Subsequent chapters focus on the ideologies themselves.

Outline

A. GREAT ISSUES AND PERENNIAL QUESTIONS OF POLITICS (vii-viii)
   1. Need to Understand the Great Ideas That Have Been Proposed as Answers
   2. Political Ideologies: Grand Schemes of Systematically Interrelated Ideas
   3. Ideologies as Useful Introductions to the Great Issues
   4. Many Courses and Books Reflect Ideological Perspectives
   5. Changes in the Ideological Landscape

B. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK (viii-x)
   1. Twelve Category Grid to Analyze Twelve Ideologies
      a. Purpose: Facilitate Direct Comparisons by Analyzing Interconnected Principles and Philosophical Foundations
   2. Presentation of Ideologies Reflect Their Historical Development
      a. Nineteenth Century Ideologies: Classical Liberalism vs. Traditionalism Conservatism, Anarchism, Marxism
      b. Totalitarian Ideologies: Communism, Nazism, Fascism
      c. Democratic Ideologies: Contemporary Liberalism, Democratic Socialism, Contemporary Conservatism
      d. Nascent Ideologies: Fundamentalism, Environmentalism, Feminism
   3. Alternative Voices (Emergent Ideologies) in the Late Twentieth Century
      a. Libertarianism
      b. Communitarianism
      c. Black Separatism
      d. Liberation Theology
      e. Fundamentalism
      f. Environmentalism
      g. Feminism

C. AUTHORS' PEDAGOGICAL CONVENTIONS (x-xi)
   1. Each Ideology Presented from Perspective of Its Proponents
      a. Criteria for Evaluation Are Provided in Chapter One, in Footnotes, and at End of Chapters
   2. Sidebars Are Used to Make Elaborations and Connections
   3. Boldfaced Type to Highlight Important Terms

CHAPTER ONE: POLITICAL IDEAS, THEORIES, AND IDEOLOGIES

Outline

A. POLITICS: IMAGES, CONCEPTIONS, DEFINITIONS (2-4)
  1. Politics as Conflicting Ideas of How to Organize Community Life
    a. Politics Is Concerned with Realms Where Truth Is Not Known (Scientific vs. Political Domain)
    b. Where Consensus Stops, Politics Starts: Benjamin Barber
  2. Politics Is the Steering Sector of Society to Attain Common Goals
    a. Collective Self-control of Human Beings: Karl Deutsch
    b. Politics Is Cooperation among Disparate Community Elements
    c. Two Ingredients: Common Ideas of What Is Good and Right; Organizing the Community to Achieve the Envisioned Outcomes
  3. Definition of Politics Should Encompass Both Images

B. POLITICAL THEORY (4-8)
  1. Generalizations: Explanation, Prediction, and Prescription
  2. Humane Uncertainty
    a. Search for Contrary Ideas: Simone Weil
    b. Validation (and Falsification): Karl Popper
  3. Two Important Differentiations
    a. Empirical Theory: Describes, Explains, Predicts
    b. Normative Theory: Advocates, Justifies, Criticizes, Evaluates
  4. Range in Scope of Theories
    a. Lower-range Theories
    b. Midrange Theories: Great Ideas and Their Advocacy
      1) Democracy
      2) Nationalism
    c. Grand Theories
      1) Construction of Paradigms: *e.g.,* Systems Theory, Group Theory
      2) Utopias: Thomas More, Francis Bacon, B. F. Skinner

C. IDEOLOGIES: THEIR ATTRACTIVENESS AS TOOLS FOR UNDERSTANDING THE GREAT IDEAS OF POLITICS (8-12)
  1. Their Comprehensive Scope
  2. Ideologies Are Directly Relevant to Political Practice
    a. Upholding Regimes: Liberalism
    b. Overthrowing Regimes: Marxism-Leninism
    c. Changing Economic Institutions and Practices: Democratic Socialism
    d. Changing Social Institutions and Practices: Feminism and Environmentalism
  3. They Provide an Intellectual History of the Ideas That Have Influenced the Development of Political Life
    a. Contribution of Great Thinkers and "Sacred Texts"
  4. Their Intellectual Impetus Is to Ground Politics in True Ideas
  5. Negative View: List of Undesirable Characteristics
  6. Necessity of Understanding Ideology by Entering Its Worldview
  7. Introductory Matters
    a. Origins of Ideologies and Overview of Their History
    b. Ideological Diversity and the Failure of the Science of Ideology
    c. Framework for the Description of Ideologies vis-a-vis the Great Issues
    d. Functions and Importance of Ideologies

D. A BRIEF HISTORY OF IDEOLOGIES (12-18)
  1. Ideologues: A. L. C. Destutt de Tracy
    a. Scientific Revolution and the Idea of Universal Reason

1) Natural Laws
b. Science of Ideas: Empirical Epistemology
c. Goal: Establishing True Political Ideas
1) Enlightenment: Scientific Epistemologies Gave Rise to New Ontologies, Psychologies, and Sociologies
2. Resulting Political Principles: Classical Liberalism
a. Utilitarian View of Human Behavior: Pursuit of Pleasure and Avoidance of Pain
b. Society Is Governed by the Natural Laws of the Marketplace
c. Economic Corollary: Democratic Capitalism
3. Traditional Conservatism: Opposition to Revolutionary Change
a. Limits of Reason and Science in Dealing with the Spiritual and Moral Dimensions: Edmund Burke and John Adams
b. Origins in the Middle Ages
4. Anarchism
a. Coercive Institutions Limit Individual Freedom and Corrupt the Social and Cooperative Instincts within Human Nature
5. Marxism: Two-Pronged Attack on Liberalism
a. Economic Forces, Not Ideas, Determine the Human Condition
b. Liberalism Is Propaganda for the Interests of Industrial Capitalists
6. Communism: Marxism-Leninism
a. Marxism Transformed from a Protest Ideology into a Governing Ideology
b. Revision of Marxism: Communism Can Be Created in Underdeveloped Societies
1) State-Planning and State-Ownership
7. Nazism and Fascism
a. National Power and World Domination through Absolute Authority of the Leader: Totalitarian State [Shared with Communism]
8. Democratization: Preeminence of Three Ideologies
9. Contemporary Liberalism: Regulatory and Redistributive State
10. Democratic Socialism: Social-Welfare State
11. Contemporary Conservatism: Reduction of Government Intervention
12. Fundamentalism
13. Environmentalism
14. Feminism

E. EVALUATING VARIOUS IDEOLOGIES (18-20)
1. Sociology of Knowledge: Karl Mannheim
a. Criteria for a Comparative Evaluation of Ideologies: Comprehensiveness, Empirical Fruitfulness, Effectiveness
2. Criteria for Evaluating the Intellectual Attractiveness of an Ideology
a. Comprehensiveness, Coherence, Empirical Validity, Critical Insightfulness
3. Criteria for Evaluating the Political Attractiveness of an Ideology
a. Historical Impact, Public Appeal, Compatibility with Political Ideals, Compatibility with Ethical Ideals
4. Open- vs. Closed-Mindedness: Pejorative Sense of Ideology

F. A FRAMEWORK FOR DESCRIBING VARIOUS IDEOLOGIES (21-30)
1. *Substantive Political Principles*: Structure: Tightness vs. Laxity
a. Role of Public and Private Institutions
1) Totalitarianism and Statism
2) Social Pluralism
b. Centralized [Centripetal] vs. Decentralized [Centrifugal] Organization: Authoritarianism vs. Democracy

2. Citizenship: Belonging (Community) vs. Alienation (Anomia)
    a. Contemporary Libertarians: Open Immigration
    b. Contemporary Liberals: Limitation of Immigration
    c. Racism and Nativism: Restricted Immigration
    d. Rights vs. Duties
3. Rulers: Elitism vs. Pluralism
    a. Guardianship: Natural Aristocracy, Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Great Leaders
    b. Participatory (Strong) Democracy
    c. Representative Democracy
4. Authority: Legitimacy and Limits on Powers
    a. Anarchist Rejection vs. Authoritarian Expansion of Authority
    b. Protection vs. Economic Intervention vs. Lifestyle Regulation
5. Justice: Equity of Distribution of Social Goods
    a. Equality vs. Inequality of Contributions and Rewards
6. Change: Static vs. Incremental vs. Revolutionary
7. *Philosophical Bases*: Human Nature
    a. Essentiality vs. Malleability (Existentialism)
    b. Self-interest vs. Inequality vs. Institutional Corruption
8. Society: Problem of the One and the Many
    a. Organic Wholeness vs. Contract Theory vs. Class Structure vs. Interest Group Pluralism
9. Ontology: Transcendence vs. Immanence, Theism vs. Materialism
    a. Matter-in-Motion vs. Spirit vs. Will to Power
10. Epistemology (Theory of Knowledge): Objectivity vs. Subjectivity
    a. Utilitarianism vs. Collective Wisdom of Tradition vs. Science
11. *Political Bases*: Problems
    a. Liberalism: Transition from and Abandonment of Medieval Past
    b. Marxism, Nazism, Fascism: Responses to Ills of Capitalism
    c. Contemporary Liberalism: Response to "Market Failures"
    d. Contemporary Conservatism: Response to Liberal Reforms
12. Goals: Collective vs. Individualistic vs. Egalitarian

G. INTERRELATIONSHIPS AND APPLICATIONS (30-33)
1. All Ideologies Contain Interrelated Beliefs and Values
    a. Difficulty of Achieving Internal Consistency over a Full Range of Beliefs and Values
2. Political Principles Guide the Attitudes and Actions of People in Concrete, Everyday Political Life
    a. But Principles Do Not Determine Attitudes and Actions
    b. Conflicting Guidance
3. Complex Interaction of Principles, Attitudes, and Actions

H. THE FUNCTIONS OF IDEOLOGIES (33-35)
1. Ideologies Help Define Individual Identities
2. Other Individual Functions
    a. Help Orient People toward Political Life
    b. Cathartic Effect
    c. Sustain the Morale of Individuals
3. Collective Action: Assembling People and Providing Social Cement
    a. Identification of Problems
    b. Articulation of Common Goals
    c. Provision of a Common Language to Facilitate Cooperation
    d. Justification of Group Claims within the Larger Community
4. Community Functions: Definition of the Political Culture
    a. Establishing the Direction and Outer Boundaries of Reforms and

Public Policy
b. Legitimation of Institutions and Authorities
c. Internal Criticism: Provision of Leverage to Criticize and Change Unacceptable Departures from Ideological Norms

I. IMPORTANCE OF A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS (35-38)
1. Development of Better Empirical Theories of Politics
2. Development of More Thoughtful and Informed Political Ideals and Principles

Review

Karl Popper on validity	empirical theory	normative theory
democracy	nationalism	paradigms
utopias	Thomas More	ideologies
purposes of ideologies	A. L. C. Destutt de Tracy	Enlightenment
classical liberalism	traditional conservatism	Edmund Burke
anarchism	Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge	totalitarianism
social pluralism		functions of ideologies

CHAPTER TWO: CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

Outline

A. INTRODUCTION (43-44)
B. PROBLEMS: Features of Medieval Society that Impeded Progress (44-47)
1. Ascription: Fixed Social Status
a. Three Estates
2. Restrictions on Economic Activity
3. Decentralization of Government
a. Rise of Nation-States Assisted the Merchant Class
b. But Political Absolutism Resulted in Abuses
4. Primacy of Religion and the Demand for Religious Conformity
a. Protestant Reformation
b. Civil Wars
c. Toleration and Church/State Separation (John Locke)
5. Need to Protect Basic Human Rights
a. Contrasting Views of Thomas Hobbes (Sovereign Government), Thomas Paine (Limited Government), and John Stuart Mill (Government Protection of Individuals from Public Opinion)
C. GOALS (47-49)
1. Securing Liberty: New Science of Politics
a. Departure from Ancient, Christian, and Republican Conceptions
2. Liberal Conception of Liberty
a. Liberty Is a Natural Right
b. Individuals May Choose and Pursue a Self-Defined Conception of Happiness
c. Law and Government Involve Practical Constraints
3. Developing Capitalism and Practicing Free Trade
4. Developing Constitutional Democracies
a. Representative Rather Than Participatory Democracies
b. Political Involvement May Be Minimized
5. Science of Politics: Desire to Eliminate "Idols of the Mind"
D. ONTOLOGY (49-51)

1. Founders of Liberalism Often Embraced Deism
    a. Naturalistic View That God Created a World of Mechanical Regularity and Withdrew from It
    b. Elimination of Divine Right of Kings and Religious Authority
2. State of Nature Hypothesis
    a. Ontological Materialism: Matter-in-Motion
    b. Metaphysical Speculation Rejected [cf. Pope's Essay on Man]
3. History Seen as a Natural Process
    a. Herbert Spencer: Survival of the Fittest

E. HUMAN NATURE: RATIONAL PURSUIT OF SELF-INTEREST (51-53)
1. Liberal Model of Man as a "Maximizer of Utilities"
    a. Need to Channel Self-interest in Socially Beneficial Ways
2. Humans Are Endowed with Instrumental Reason
    a. Liberals Direct Their Reason toward Means Rather Than Ends
    b. Greeks Sought to Restrain Appetites in Favor of a Higher Good
3. Equality of Being: Immanuel Kant's Categorical Imperative
    a. Yet Physical and Mental Capacities Are Neither Equal Nor Fixed
    b. John Stuart Mill's Scheme of Plural Voting

F. SOCIETY (53-55)
1. Social Contracts: *e.g.,* Conjugal Society and Civil Society
2. Features of the Liberal Conception of Political Society
    a. Hobbes: Contract Creates a Commonwealth (Civil Society) to Replace the State of Nature, Which Is a State of War
    b. Locke: Contract Overcomes Inconveniences of State of Nature
3. Society Is an Aggregation of Individuals and Their Interaction
    a. Society Is a Marketplace Defined by Its Members
4. Individualist Image of Society
    a. Infringements upon Liberty May Be Justified by the Greater Good of Members of Society But Not of Society Itself
5. Majority Rule
6. Weak Conception of Society
7. Liberal Critique of the Patriarchal Family and State: Locke vs. Filmer

G. EPISTEMOLOGY (55-58)
1. Skepticism toward Traditional Institutions
    a. Beliefs: Possibility of Objective Truth and a Science of Politics
2. Cartesian Method: Doubt All Propositions Except Clear and Distinct Ideas That Are Self-evident
3. Individual Good Is Known through Utilitarian Analysis
4. Implications of Utilitarian Epistemology: Tolerance and Natural Rights
    a. David Hume Rejected Natural Rights in Absence of Universal Understanding [Convention vs. Copy Theory of Knowledge]
5. Jeremy Bentham: Aggregation of Utilities and Felicific Calculus
    a. Argument for Public Education and Other Reforms
6. John Stuart Mill's Revisions in Favor of Higher Pleasures
    a. Intellectual Activity Enhances the Value of a Pleasure
    b. Object of a Good Life Is a Pleasurable Existence
    c. Enlightened Self-interest

H. AUTHORITY (58-65)
1. Libertarian and Liberal Views Compared [See also Sidebar 2-3]
    a. Dominant but Voluntary Protective Agency Is Weakened by Power without Legitimacy, Service to Paying Customers Only
    b. Consequence: Need for a Second Social Contract
2. Government Should Be Limited to Providing Effective Security for All
    a. National Defense, Civil Law (Contracts, etc.), Criminal Law,

Criminal Justice System, Public Education and Public Works

3. Catalogue of Restrictions
   a. Freedom of Conscience, Speech, and Press: Utilitarian Views of Immanuel Kant and John Stuart Mill
   b. Noninterference with Self-Regarding Acts: Public vs. Private Spheres of Life [Blue Laws and the Idea of Victimless Crimes]
   c. Opposition to All Restrictions on Free Trade (Mandeville, Physiocrats, Adam Smith): *Laissez faire, laissez passer*.
      1) Adam Smith: *Wealth of Nations* (1776)
   d. Opposition to All But Nominal Redistribution of Income and Wealth
      1) John Locke: Property May Be Taken Only with Consent
      2) Physiocrats and Smith: Reinvestment of Wealth, Charity
      3) Herbert Spencer: Opposition to Charity

I. JUSTICE (65-68)
1. John Locke: Labor Theory of Value
   a. Labor Creates Value
   b. Two Provisos: Leave Enough for Others and Avoid Spoilage
2. Principle of Market Justice: People Should Be Rewarded According to Their Contributions in the Marketplace
   a. Sidebar 2-4 on Property, Talents, and Freedom: Patent System
3. Laws of the Marketplace
   a. Prices and Wages Determined by People's Free Choices
   b. Scarcity of Goods and Services Influences Prices
   c. Laws of Supply and Demand: Mobility of Self-Interested, Instrumentally Rational Workers and Investors into Areas of High Demand and Short Supply
      1) F. A. von Hayek: Naïveté of Economic and Social Justice
4. Robert Nozick's Entitlement Theory: Inevitability of Inequalities

J. STRUCTURE (68-70)
1. Constitutions
   a. Specify Does and Don'ts (Rules)
   b. Establish Structures
   c, Appointment and Removal of Officers
   d. Extraordinary Procedures
   e. Constitutional Limitations Observed for Fear of Legitimacy Loss
2. Separation of Powers: Baron Montesquieu
3. Accountability
   a. Civilian Control of the Military
   b. Elections
      1) Delegate Theory Rejected by Liberals
      2) Indirect Methods Preferred

K. RULERS
1. Representative Democracy
   a. Representatives Are Not Delegates or Trustees; They Are Brokers
   b. Property Qualifications for Suffrage
2. Proportional Representation: John Stuart Mill
3. Increasing Representativeness by Extending the Franchise
   a. Jeremy Bentham: Universal Franchise
   b. James Mill: One Person, One Vote
   c. John Stuart Mill: Women's Suffrage and Weighted Voting
   d. Fear That Non-Propertied Classes Will Produce Class Legislation
4. Popular Sovereignty But Aversion to Populism
   a. Alexis de Tocqueville: Idea of a Tyranny of the Majority
   b. James Madison: Majority Rule Must Yield to Minority Rights

c. John Stuart Mill: Skilled Democracy

L. CITIZENSHIP (72-73)
1. Enlargement of the Private Sphere
2. Safeguards: Frequent Elections, Free Press, Secret Ballot, etc.
3. Limitation of Citizenship
a. Scope of Citizenship: Property Ownership as a Prerequisite
b. Limiting Governmental Participation
4. Night Watchman View of Government
a. Obligation to Obey: Tacit Consent
5. Right to Resist Injustice: Voting, Leaving, or Dissolving the Government

M. CHANGE: DESIRE FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS (73-77)
1. Economic Progress
2. Intellectual Progress
a. Condorcet on Increases in Scientific Understanding
b. Need for Intellectual Freedom, for an Open Society
c. Government Provides a Stable and Secure Context: Open Forum
3. Moral Progress
4. Justification for Political Revolution: John Locke and Thomas Paine
5. Political Reform
a. Philosophical Radicals: Jeremy Bentham, James Mill
b. Areas of Reform: Law, Criminal Justice, Education, Public Health, Foreign Trade, Electoral System
c. Movement toward Welfare-State Liberalism
6. Welfare Rights vs. Property Rights
7. Reactionary Change Sought by Conservatives and Libertarians

Review

features of medieval society	liberal goals	deism
state of nature	ontological materialism	*tabula rasa*
social contract	views of Thomas Hobbes	Robert Filmer
Cartesian method	natural rights	Jeremy Bentham
utilitarian method	Adam Smith	invisible hand
John Locke	labor theory of value	philosophical radicals
Robert Nozick	entitlement theory	John Stuart Mill
proportional representation	tyranny of the majority	Alexis de Tocqueville

CHAPTER THREE: TRADITIONAL CONSERVATISM

Outline

A. INTRODUCTION (79-81)
1. Social Solidarity Emphasized More Than Individual Rights before 1800
a. Challenges to the Traditional Order: Renaissance, Reformation, Scientific Revolution, Enlightenment, Industrial Revolution
2. French Revolution as the Defining Moment
3. Edmund Burke: *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790)
4. Goal: Slow Down the Modernization of Society

B. PROBLEMS (81-85)
1. Dangers of Basing Politics on Abstract Rights: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity
a. Assaults on Traditional Groups and Associations (Mediating Institutions) That Buffer Individuals from Abuses of Power

- b. Demand to Redistribute Land and Money
- c. Inequality of Wealth and *Noblesse Oblige*
- d. Problems: Neglectful Elites and Pursuit of Self-interest
- e. Economic Rights of Capitalism Undermine Traditional Fabric

2. Deployment of Enlightenment as a Guide for Reform
   - a. Reason Is Always Influenced, Clouded, and Informed by Prejudice
   - b. Societies Are Best Understood as Organic Entities, Not Machines
3. Rejection of Traditional Authority
   - a. Governing Requires Prudence: Natural Aristocracy
   - b. Defense of Established Religions

C. GOALS (85-89)

1. Well-Ordered Community: Government Is a Limited Activity
2. Voluntary Associations: Mitigating or Mediating Institutions
3. Development of Individual Character and Excellence: High Culture
4. Encouragement of Non-instrumental Activities: Friendship, Leisure
5. Social Cooperation and Rooted Individualism
   - a. Sidebar 3-2 on Communitarianism

D. ONTOLOGY (89-90)

1. Great Chain of Being
   - a. Society as a Collective Reservoir of Human Knowledge
   - b. Interconnectedness of All Members of Society
2. Agnostic View of Ontology: Michael Oakeshott
3. Both Views: Ultimate Reality Is Never Grasped, Only Dimly Perceived

E. HUMAN NATURE (90-91)

1. Humans Are Spiritual Beings Needing Guidance through Tradition
2. Human Beings Have a Potential for Good and a Propensity for Evil
3. Human Reason and Rationality Are Limited: No Science of Man
   - a. Human Goals Must Be Socially Defined
4. Liberalism Promotes an Isolated Individualism: Alienated Self
5. Equality Is Not the Cure for Individualism: Need for Differentiation

F. SOCIETY (91-94)

1. Burke: Society Is a Permanent Contract and a Living Entity
2. Organic Conception of Society
   - a. Society Is Class-Based
   - b. Individual Choices Are Socially Important: Spillover Effects
   - c. Complex Interdependencies Argue against Intervention [*Gestalt*]
   - d. Obligation of Society to Promote Virtue
3. Maintenance and Creation of Mediating Institutions: Pluralism
   - a. Protection against Liberal Anomie and Susceptibility to Fascism
   - b. Rights and Responsibilities of Individuals Rooted in Society

G. EPISTEMOLOGY (94-96)

1. Reliance on Convention
   - a. Neither Faith Nor Reason Is a Sufficient Guide to Truth
2. David Hume: We Can Know Only Our Ideas about Things
3. Sidebar 3-3 on the Scottish Enlightenment

H. AUTHORITY (96-98)

1. Government Must Promote Harmony in Society: Conductor Role
2. Church Deserves Support as a Mediating Institution
3. Government Must Protect Traditional Norms and Conventional Rights
   - a. Hazards of Market Economies
4. Government Must Protect Society from Changes Due to Market Practices
   - a. Willingness to Intervene in the Market -- To Ameliorate Inequalities and Mistreatment of Workers: Disraeli, Bismarck
   - b. -- To Restrain Immoral or Imprudent Behavior

5. Responsibility of Government to Maintain and Nurture Public Morality
6. Government Must Promote Public Good and Good Citizenship

I. JUSTICE (98-100)
1. Commensurate Rights and Obligations
2. Ascriptive Principles of Justice
a. Equal Distribution of Goods Rejected

J. STRUCTURE (100-01)
1. Preference for Republican Structures: Mixed System, Limited Public Role
2. Criticism of Attempts to Make Institutions More Democratic
3. Constitution Is a Living Set of Conventions

K. RULERS (101)
1. Natural Aristocracy
a. People Are the Natural Control on Authority
2. Virtual Representation: Leaders as Trustees

L. CITIZENSHIP (102-03)
1. Level of Citizenship Is a Matter of Custom
2. Obligations: Obedience, Duty, Hard Work
3. Resistance Justified Only When Traditional Rights Are Violated

M. CHANGE (103-04)
1. Change Must Be Correction
2. Preferences: No Change, Gradual Change, Following Public Norms

Review

French Revolution	abstract rights	*Noblesse Oblige*
conservative goals	communitarianism	Great Chain of Being
Emile Durkheim's *anomie*	Edmund Burke	organic conception of society
David Hume	Scottish Enlightenment	natural aristocracy
functions of governmental authority		rulers as trustees

CHAPTER FOUR: ANARCHISM

Outline

A. INTRODUCTION (106-10)
1. Central Ideas
a. Only Natural Constraints, Not Man-made Law, Should Limit Human Freedom
b. Most Existing Institutions Repress Human Freedom and Should Be Displaced
c. New Social Order Should Be Decentralized, Voluntary, Communal
2. Definition: Theory That All Forms of Government Rest on Violence and Are Therefore Wrong and Harmful, as Well As Unnecessary (Goldman)
3. Precursors: Cynics, Renaissance Philosophers, Millenarians
4. Two Strands
a. Individualist: William Godwin and Max Stirner
b. Collectivist: Mikhail Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin
5. Modern Origins
a. *Enrages* of the French Revolution
b. Pierre Proudhon: Mutualism
c. Mikhail Bakunin: Anarchism
6. Role in Social Movements

- a. General Strike
  - 1) International Workers of the World (IWW): Wobblies
- b. Sidebar 4-2: New Left

B. PROBLEMS (110-12)
- 1. Conventional Institutions Unnecessarily Coerce and Dominate Everyone
  - a. Religion, Schools, Family, Capitalists
- 2. Proudhon: Property Is Theft
  - a. Social Contrasted with Private Property
- 3. Governments: Instruments of Coercion and War
- 4. Common Problem: Conventional Institutions Provide Some People with the Power and Resources to Dominate Others
- 5. Repressiveness of the Culture of Liberal Societies
- 6. System of Domination vs. Authentic, Natural, Free Individuals

C. GOALS (112-15)
- 1. No Clearly Defined Blueprint
  - a. Alexander Herzen: Leap to the Other Shore
- 2. Liberty in Almost All Its Forms
  - a. Max Stirner: Ownness (Authentic Self)
  - b. Henry David Thoreau
- 3. Forms of Freedom
  - a. Negative Freedom
  - b. Freedom to Choose (Positive Liberty)
  - c. Moral Autonomy
  - d. Natural Constraints on Freedom Are Recognized
- 4. Natural Communities: Genuine Mutuality Rather Than Crime and Strife
- 5. Cult of the Primitive: Simplicity vs. Luxury (Ascetic Attitude)

D. ONTOLOGY (115-17)
- 1. Natural or Pantheistic God: Leo Tolstoy [Influenced by Adin Ballou]
- 2. Laws of Nature Impose Restraints on Humans
- 3. Man Is a Social Rather Than a Solitary Being
- 4. Human Ideas Are Derived from the External Environment: Natural Law
- 5. Life as Possibility: Alexander Herzen
  - a. Kropotkin vs. Spencer: Need for Mutual Aid, Social Cooperation
- 6. Materialism and Private Property Are at the Root of Conflict
  - a. Liberation through Destruction of Institutions of Domination

E. HUMAN NATURE (117-18)
- 1. Man's Split Personality: Egoist and Social Animal
  - a. Herzen: Savage Orangutan vs. Tame Monkey
  - b. Altruism: Mutual Aid (Kropotkin)
- 2. Suppression of the Altruistic Impulse in Favor of Selfishness under Repressive Conditions and Institutions
- 3. Environmental Conditions Shape Human Characteristics: Laziness, Intelligence, etc.
- 4. Human Malleability

F. SOCIETY (118-19)
- 1. Societies Arise Out of Agreements But Not as in Social Contract Theory
- 2. Small-Scale, Face-to-face Voluntary Societies Are Natural
  - a. Norms of Reciprocity Augmented by a Common Religion (Tolstoy), Socialist Values (Kropotkin), or Respect for Privacy (Stirner)

G. EPISTEMOLOGY (119-21)
- 1. No Scientific Basis for Anarchism
  - a. Rejection of Liberal's Deductive and Marxist's Inductive Science
- 2. Vision of Life in a Natural World
  - a. Kropotkin's Use of Scientific Studies

- b. No Need for a Scientific Study of Institutional Deficiencies
- 3. Role of Reason: Godwin
- 4. Evils of Institutions Are Self-evident and Warrant Their Abolition

H. CHANGE (121-24)
- 1. Commitment to Rebellion Rather Than Revolution
  - a. Bakunin vs. Marx: State Must Be Destroyed, Not Conquered
- 2. Characteristics of Rebellion: Voluntary, Spontaneous, Total, International
- 3. Disagreement about Role of Violence
  - a. Godwin and Tolstoy (Passive Resistance)
  - b. Bakunin (Utilitarian View) and Kropotkin
- 4. Justifications of Violence: Act of Liberation, Polarizes Conflict, Part of the Natural Process
- 5. Goal: Dismantling Conventional Institutions

I. RULERS (124)
- 1. Refusal to Be Ruled
- 2. Democratic Governments Are Coercive
- 3. Democracy and Other Forms Threaten Self-government, *e.g.,* through Representatives, Majority Rule
- 4. Solution: Unanimous Direct Democracy

J. AUTHORITY (125-28)
- 1. Laws Favor Property Rights of the Rich and Powerful
- 2. Government Promotes Struggles for Power, Increasing Social Disorder
- 3. Laws Lead to Moral Depravity and Demoralization
  - a. Avoidance of Punishment Is the Wrong Motivation
  - b. Moral Judgment Not Exercised: Expedience, Not Altruism
  - c. Robert Paul Wolff: Irreconcilable Conflict between Authority and Autonomy (Combination of Freedom and Responsibility)
- 4. Written Laws of Government vs. Unwritten Social Laws

K. STRUCTURE (128-30)
- 1. Decentralism Must Replace Centralism
- 2. Primary Social Units Must Be Small and Local
- 3. Voluntary Organizations Must Replace Coercive Ones
- 4. Non-territorial Associations
- 5. Possibility of Transitional Institutions Such as People's Bank (Proudhon)
- 6. Mutualism and Social Pressure
- 7. Confederation

L. JUSTICE (130-33)
- 1. Rejection of Traditional Conservative and Classical Liberal Views
- 2. Natural Justice: Respect, Sincerity, Reciprocity, Generosity, Impartiality
- 3. Individual Must Decide How Best to Serve the General Good
- 4. Egalitarianisnm
  - a. Inequality Hinders Intellectual Growth
  - b. Inequality Promotes a Sense of Dependency
  - c. Inequality Promotes Greed in the Wealthy and Envy in the Poor
- 5. Egalitarian Ethic Is Needed, Not Redistribution
- 6. Kropotkin's Collectivist Anarchism
- 7. Goal: Absence of Domination and Exploitation

M. CITIZENSHIP (133-34)
- 1. People Should Abstain from Politics
- 2. People Have Only Moral Obligations
  - a. Godwin on Benevolence
- 3. Obedience to External Authority Thwarts Cultivation of Moral Autonomy

Review

Emma Goldman	individualist vs. collectivist strands	New Left
conventional institutions	system of domination	anarchist goals
Max Stirner	ownness	pantheism
Peter Kropotkin	mutual aid	natural community
characteristics of rebellion	justifications of violence	Robert Paul Wolff
acceptable social structures	Proudhon and Kropotkin on distribution	

CHAPTER FIVE: MARXISM

Outline

A. INTRODUCTION (136-40)
   1. Karl Marx's Theories: Labor, Classes, Alienation, Revolution
   2. Works: *Communist Manifesto*, *Grundrisse*, *Das Kapital*
   3. Orthodox Marxists: Friedrich Engels
   4. Revisionist Marxists: Evolution into Democratic Socialism
   5. Marxism-Leninism
   6. Marxism (Theoretical) and Communism (Practical Program) Distinguished
      a. Humanistic Concerns of the Young Marx
      b. Sidebar 5-2: Karl Marx
      c. Sidebar 5-3: Friedrich Engels

B. PROBLEMS: SUBJECTED TO SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS (140-43)
   1. Capitalism Produces Economic and Social Misery in the Working Class
      a. Opulence of the Wealthy, Solvency of the Middle Class
   2. Capitalism Emphasizes Competition over Cooperation
   3. Disunity of the Working Class Weakens Its Political Power
      a. Need for Class-Consciousness
      b. Distractions Include Preoccupation with Subsistence, False Consciousness of Liberal Ideology, Religion (Opiate of the Masses), Utopian Socialism
   4. Sidebar 5-4: Neo-Marxism: The Frankfurt School

C. GOALS (143-44)
   1. Paradox at the Heart of Marxism
      a. Deterministic View Does Not Require Specification of Goals (Historical Inevitability of Communist Revolution)
      b. Philosophical, Ethical, and Social Objectives Permit Human Intervention
   2. Ultimate Goals
      a. Authenticity: End State of Psychological Dualism
      b. Overcome Economic Necessity
      c. Create a Communal Society
   3. Precursors to Marx: Thomas More, the Diggers (English Civil War), Utopian Socialists
   4. Immediate Goals
      a. Provide a Scientific Account of the Historical Process
      b. Unite the Working Class

D. HUMAN NATURE (145-47)
   1. All Humans Have Potential to Be Creative Laborers
      a. Self-Actualization: Self-Creation through Labor
      b. Degradation of Labor Due to Existing Social Structures
      c. Labor Could Have Intrinsic Value under Altered Structures

- d. Social Structures Have Always Been Oppressive
- 2. Alienation: Gap between Humanity's Actual and Potential Condition
- 3. Four Types of Alienation Result from the Existing Division of Labor
  - a. Alienation from Fruits of Labor
  - b. Alienation from Nature
  - c. Alienation from Processes of Labor
  - d. Alienation from Species-Being
- 4. Solution: Capitalist Means of Production Must Be Socialized

E. SOCIETY (147-49)

- 1. Class Struggles
  - a. Class Divisions
- 2. Objective and Subjective Aspects of the Class Structure
  - a. Classes in Themselves: Economic Position
  - b. Classes for Themselves: Class Consciousness
- 3. Classes Objectively Determined by Economic Production
  - a. Variables: Forces of Production
    - 1) Means of Production
    - 2) Modes of Production
  - b. Relations of Production: Exchange, Appropriation
- 4. Capitalist Society
  - a. Bourgeoisie
  - b. Proletariat
  - c. Class Consciousness
- 5. Classless Society

F. ONTOLOGY (149-55)

- 1. Historicism
  - a. Pre-historical Stage
  - b. Historical Period: Slave-holding, Feudal, and Capitalist Eras
- 2. Origins
  - a. Prophecy
  - b. Apocalyptic Writings
  - c. Joachim of Fiore
- 3. Historical Change
  - a. Prehistoric Classlessness
  - b. Classes: Feudal Nobility and Rise of Bourgeoisie
- 4. Dialectical Materialism
  - a. Conflict between Different Conceptions of Reality
  - b. G. W. F. Hegel's Dialectical Idealism
    - 1) Self-Actualization of the *Geist* (Spirit)
  - c. Karl Marx's Inversion of the Dialectic
    - 1) Laws of Historical Change
    - 2) Centrality of Material Conditions
- 5. Ontology: Economic Determinism or Historical Materialism
- 6. Static Dimension: Infrastructure Determines Superstructure (Pyramid)
  - a. Requirements of Capitalist Forces of Production: Subsistence Wages for Proletariat, Profits for Bourgeoisie
  - b. Economic System Produces Class Structure That Imposes Liberal Ideology and Institutions: Economics Determines Consciousness
- 7. Dynamic Dimension: Changes in Infrastructure Produce Contradictions
  - a. Rise of Capitalist Economy Produced Liberalism
  - b. Tension [Contradiction] between Social Mode of Production and Individualistic Mode of Appropriation
  - c. Inevitable Result of the Dialectic: Socialism

- d. Thesis/Antithesis/Synthesis
- 8. Variant Interpretations: Soft and Hard Marxism

G. EPISTEMOLOGY (155-57)
- 1. Rejection of Traditional and Utilitarian Approaches
- 2. Scientific Socialism
- 3. Inductive Science
- 4. Static Analysis
  - a. Cultural Relativity
- 5. Scientific Propositions
  - a. Unequal Bargaining Power of Bourgeoisie and Proletariat
  - b. Surplus Value (Profits)
  - c. Reduction of Production Costs
  - d. Wretched Conditions of Proletariat and Dispossessed Bourgeoisie
- 6. Analysis of Capitalism

H. CHANGE: LAWS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY (157-59)
- 1. Extensive Competition among Capitalists
- 2. Concentration of Capitalist Power
- 3. Mechanization (Automation) and Technological Unemployment
- 4. Loss of Purchasing Power Causes Production to Slow Down
- 5. Cycles of Unemployment and Recessions
- 6. "Immiseration" of the Proletariat
  - a. Growth of Underclass: *Lumpenproletariat*
- 7. Development of Working-class Consciousness
- 8. Revolution
- 9. Dictatorship of the Proletariat
- 10. Transition to Communism: New Man

I. STRUCTURE (159-62)
- 1. Radical Political Principles
- 2. Capitalism: Private Industry Dominates Government
- 3. Social Functions of the Market
  - a. Naked Exploitation
  - b. Productive Forces Master Nature
  - c. Need for Innovation
  - d. Revolutionizing Social Relations of Production
- 4. Simplification of Class Antagonisms under Capitalism
  - a. Exacerbation of Alienation
- 5. Centralized Proletarian State
  - a. Eventual Withering Away of the State

J. RULERS (162-64)
- 1. Government: Executive Committee of the Bourgeoisie
- 2. Minor Role of Intellectual Vanguard
  - a. Formation of Proletarian Self-Consciousness
  - b. Marx Had No Theory of Substitutionism
- 3. Dictatorship of the Proletariat
  - a. Paris Commune, 1871
  - b. Worker Self-Management: End of Class Conflict and Its Hierarchies of Power, False Consciousness, and Alienation

K. AUTHORITY (164)
- 1. Promotion of Capitalist Interests
  - a. Concentration of Wealth
  - b. Averting Economic Stagnation
  - c. Amelioration of Class Conflict
- 2. Socialization of Means of Production

a. Central Planning
b. Functions of State: Nationalization of Means of Production, Crush Counterrevolutionary Activities

L. JUSTICE (164-68)
1. Conflicting Views
a. Issue: Fair and Efficient Methods of Production
2. Exploitation: Subsistence Wage
3. Surplus Value
4. Abolition of Private Property
5. Reasons: Alienation, Inequality, Elitism, Market Cycles
6. Scarcity Produced by Private Ownership
7. Circumstances of Justice
8. Contribution Principle [cf. Proudhon]
9. Object: Eliminate Scarcity
10. Marxism: A Critique of Injustices Rather Than a Program of Justice

M. CITIZENSHIP (168-70)
1. Formal Democracy: A Legitimation System
2. Restricted Citizenship in Socialist Societies [cf. General Will]
3. Participation in Decision Making: Minimal and Extensive

Review

Karl Marx | Friedrich Engels | class struggle
class-consciousness | types of alienation | problems with capitalism
self-actualization through labor | determination of economic classes
bourgeoisie | proletariat | historicism
dialectical materialism | Hegel's movement of the *Geist*
economic determinism | infrastructure and superstructure
utopian vs. scientific socialism | laws of political economy: theory of change
capitalism | surplus value | Paris Commune, 1871

CHAPTER SIX: COMMUNISM

Outline

A. INTRODUCTION (175-78)
1. Central Ideas: Worldwide Imperialism, Vanguard, Nationalization
2. Differences between Marxism and Communism
a. Marxists Less Politically Active
b. Marxism Is a Protest Ideology, Communism Is a Governing Ideology
3. Leadership: Vladimir Lenin, *et al.*
4. Crumbling of Communist Regimes

B. PROBLEMS (178-82)
1. False Consciousness: Views of Marx vs. Lenin
a. Communist Party as Vanguard of the Proletariat
2. Imperialism: Adaptability of Capitalism
a. Failure of Marx's Prophecy
b. J. A. Hobson: Economic Domination over Less Developed Countries (LDCs) by Advanced Capitalist Societies
c. Rosa Luxemburg: New Source of Surplus Value
d. Vladimir Lenin: Industrial vs. Finance Capitalism [Interlock]
e. Transfer of Wealth from LDCs

1) Indigenous Nationalist Movements: Communist Allies
3. Dependency Theory (Sidebar 6-2)
a. Core vs. Periphery [vs. Semi-periphery]
b. Alliances between International Capitalists and Indigenous Bourgeoisie
4. Improvements for Domestic Working Classes: V. I. Lenin
a. Trade Unionism Defuses Revolutionary Consciousness
5. Need for Forced Economic Development of Russia: J. V. Stalin
a. Obstacle to Industrialization: Few Proletarians
b. Requirement: State Investment in Infrastructure
c. Forced Labor and Collectivization of Peasants
d. System of Labor Camps [Gulag Archipelago]
6. Sectarianism vs. Unitary Science of History: [National Communism]
7. New Class [*Nomenklatura*]: Milovan Djilas
a. Diminished Life Expectancy and Environmental Degradation

C. GOALS: IDEAL COMMUNIST SOCIETY (183-84)
1. Implementing Marxism
2. Strategy of Depriving Capitalists of Their Colonies
a. Premature (Pre-industrial) Communist Revolutions
3. Establishment of Socialist Societies
4. Collectivization of the Means of Production

D. EPISTEMOLOGY (184)
1. Monistic (But Not Monolithic) Conception of Truth
a. Marx: The Authoritative Voice (Holy Writ)
2. Different Schools of Interpretation [Sectarianism]

E. ONTOLOGY: MODIFICATIONS OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM (184-87)
1. Adaptations of the Capitalist System
2. Differentiated World System
3. Theory of Telescoping the Revolution: Trotsky and Lenin
4. Vanguard of the Proletariat: Lenin
5. Sidebar 6-3: Mao's Departure from Dialectical Materialism: Peasant-Based Revolution

F. SOCIETY (188)
1. Class Struggle
a. Role of Peasant Class
2. Middle Class
a. Differentiation
3. Electoral Strategies [cf. United or Popular Front]
4. Goal: Classless Society

G. HUMAN NATURE (189-90)
1. Malleability of Human Nature: Antonio Gramsci
a. Labor
b. Theories of Alienation and Revolutionary Transformation; Determinism Rejected
2. Terrorism and the Transformation of Human Nature
3. Doctrine of Continuous Revolution: Mao Zedong
a. Great Leap Forward, Cultural Revolution
b. Breakdown of Chains of Institutionalization
4. Self-Managed Worker's Councils: Josip Broz Tito
5. Charismatic Leadership

H. CHANGE (190-93)
1. Lenin: Disciplined Bolshevik Party
a. Political Coup
b. Transformation of Society through Terror
2. Mao: Three-Part Strategy

- a. Mobilization of Peasants
- b. Guerrilla Warfare (Effective Violence) and Liberation Army
- c. Exportation of the Doctrine of a People's War to Undermine Imperialism and Cause a Leap Forward

3. Fidel Castro and Che Guevara: United Front and *Focos*
4. Gramsci: Ideological Subversion of Old Institutions
   - a. Bourgeois Hegemony
5. Common Ground: Voluntaristic View of the World

I. STRUCTURE (193-96)

1. Democratic Centralism: Lenin
   - a. Free, Open Debates
   - b. Binding Decisions by Party Congress
   - c. No Factionalism or Party Secessions
   - d. Indirect Election of Party Officers
   - e. Binding Decisions by Party Executives
   - f. Purges of the Party Hierarchy
2. Issue of Centralization vs. Decentralization: *Perestroika* and Revolutionary *Perestroika*
3. International Organization (Comintern): First, Second, Third

J. RULERS (196)

1. Two Phases of Post-revolutionary Government
   - a. Dictatorship of the Proletariat
   - b. Dissolution
2. Intellectual Vanguard
3. One-Party State: Stalin
   - a. Coercion of the Masses
4. Devolution of Power from Party to People

K. JUSTICE (197-98)

1. Exploitation of Workers and Peasants under Capitalism and Imperialism
2. Fair Recompense for Labor during Transition
   - a. Social Deductions: Forced Savings of Surplus Value
3. From Each According to His Abilities to Each According to His Needs
   - a. Control of Thought and Behavior [cf. Scientology]

L. AUTHORITY: THREE KINDS (198-201)

1. Control of Social Institutions to Produce New Man
2. Industrialize Precapitalist Economies
   - a. Collectivist Soviet State: Central Planning
3. Ability to Interpret Marx

M. CITIZENSHIP (201-02)

1. Liberal Democracy = Bourgeois Domination
2. Duties of the People: Twenty-One Conditions
3. Subordination to the Party [Elitism]
   - a. Blind Obedience (Stalin) vs. Limited Authority (Tito)

Review

industrial vs. finance capitalism Vladimir Lenin imperialism
dependency theory Leon Trotsky's permanent revolution
vanguard of the proletariat Mao's doctrine of continuous revolution
charismatic leadership guerrilla warfare Antonio Gramsci
bourgeois hegemony principles of democratic centralism *perestroika*
collectivist Soviet state liberation theology twenty-one conditions

CHAPTER SEVEN: FASCISM AND NAZISM

Outline

A. INTRODUCTION (204-07)
   1. Unprecedented Magnitude and Scope of Evil [Don't Forget Communism]
   2. Ideas in Common
      a. Rejection of Liberalism and Marxism [But Some Ideas Held in Common with Communism]
   3. Differences between Fascism and Nazism
      a. Veneration of Collective Nation vs. Celebration of Aryan Race
   4. Nazism: Adolf Hitler
      a. Central Problem: Racial Struggle [vs. Marxist Class Struggle], Jewish Conspiracy
      b. Holocaust: Racial Supremacy and Genocide
   5. Fascism: Benito Mussolini and Giovanni Gentile
      a. Nationalism Rather Than Racial Eugenics
   6. Continuing Influence of These Ideologies
      a. Spanish Falange: Francisco Franco
      b. Peronism in Argentina
      c. South African *Apartheid*
      d. Serbian Ethnic Cleansing [cf. Lenin's Liquidation, Stalin's Purges]
      e. Neo-Nazism

B. PROBLEMS: HISTORICAL CONTEXT [207-11]
   1. Treaty of Versailles
      a. War Guilt Clause: Germany Blamed for War
      b. Lost Territories and Colonies
      c. Massive War Reparations
      d. Unpopularity of the Treaty [*Dolchstoss*: Stab in the Back]
      e. Allies Reneged on Secret Treaty with Italy
      f. Sense of Betrayal
   2. Rising Economics Expectations [cf. Idea of Relative Deprivation]
      a. Diminution of Class Distinctions [Solidarity of Soldiers]
      b. Italy's Economic Problems: Budgetary and Balance of Payments Deficits, Growth of Trade Unionism
      c. Fascist Appeal: Self-Sufficiency [Autarky]
      d. Germany's Reparations, Hyperinflation, Worldwide Depression, Distrust of Liberal Democracy
      e. Authoritarian Appeal of National Socialism
   3. Parliamentary Inefficiency and Ineffectiveness
      a. New Electoral Laws: Replacement of Winner-Take-All Single-Member Districts Led to Weak Coalition and Polarization
      b. Rationale for One-Party State with Supreme Leader [*Il Duce*, *Der Fuehrer*]
      c. Mussolini's Rise Aided by Rulers and Economic Elites
   4. Alienation from Traditional Social Structures [Uprootedness]
      a. Appeal to Higher Purposes [Immanentization of the *Eschaton*]
      b. Fascists: Reflected [or Vicarious] Glory
      c. Nazis: Racial Scapegoating and Aryan Pride
   5. Other Problems: Lost Roman Empire, Race-Mingling [Miscegenation]
   6. Peculiar Circumstances of Fascist and Nazi Rise to Power

C. GOALS [211-13]
   1. National Solidarity: Redirection of Competitive Tendencies [cf. Mutual Aid]

a. Mussolini's Lack of a Clear Doctrine: Will, Survival of Fittest
b. Aryan Supremacy: Subjection and Destruction of Other Races
c. Final Solution: Holocaust
d. Footnote: Master Race Idea
e. Precedents: Nuremberg Race Laws, *Kristallnacht*
f. *Gleichschaltung* [Like-Shifting]: Synchronized Coordination

2. Differences: State as End (Fascism) or Means (Nazism)
3. Other Goals: Cooperation (Employer-Employee, *etc*.), Efficiency, Moral Uplift and Communal Values

D. ONTOLOGY (213-17)

1. Two Ways of Thinking about History
   a. *Res Gestae*: Necessity, Determinism Implied
   b. *Historia Rerum Gestarum:* Contingency, Indeterminacy Implied
   c. Marxism and Classical Liberalism vs. Fascism and Nazism
2. Mussolini: Role of the Human Will
   a. Influence of Elites [cf. Mosca, Pareto, Michels, Sorel, Lenin]
   b. Friedrich Nietzsche: Great Individuals [Will to Power]
   c. Mussolini: Mobilization of Collective Will [Total Mobilization]
   d. Voluntarism
3. Will Is Channeled by Circumstances
4. Three Streams of Race Thinking
   a. Ethnographic Studies
      1) Arthur de Gobineau: Racial Hierarchy, Racial Purity
      2) Bayreuth Circle: Richard Wagner, Houston Stewart Chamberlain
   b. Theory of Evolution: Charles Darwin, Samuel Morton's Craniology
   c. *Volk* Concept: Johann Fichte
5. Race Struggle: Racial Purification [Eugenics, Euthanasia]

E. EPISTEMOLOGY: REJECTION OF RATIONALISM (217-19)

1. Concept of Truth
   a. Weak: Knowledge Is Subjective
   b. Strong: Leader's Intuitions Are Authoritative [Charismatic Leader Embodies the Collective or General Will]
2. German Romanticism
   a. Arthur Schopenhauer: The World as Will and Representation
3. Intuitionism: Henri Bergson
4. Mystical, Mythological Symbols of the Romantics
   a. Promotion of Feelings of National or Racial Unity and Greatness
   b. Nuremberg Rallies
   c. Acquisitions from Romantic Revolt: Will, Radical Subjectivism, Emotivism, National/Racial Supremacy, Emergence of Supermen

F. HUMAN NATURE: WILL AND EMOTION (220-22)

1. Rejection of Liberal Views
   a. Human Motivation by Emotional Appeals to Will
   b. Connection to Collective Entities [cf. Medieval Realism]
2. Central Characteristic: Will [vs. Aristotle: Reason, Will, Appetite]
   a. René Descartes
   b. Classical Liberal Appeal to Reason and Appetite
   c. Marxist View: Constraints on Will That Lead to Alienation
   d. Fascist View: Motivation by Desires and Needs [Irrationalism]
3. Motivators: Group Membership, Glory, Order, Security
   a. Group Values and Authority
   b. Need for Violent Action
4. Bifurcation in Human Power of Will
   a. Malleability of Inferior Masses: Herd Instinct

- b. Strong Wills of Leaders: Use of Emotional Appeals on Behalf of Collective Will
- 5. Ideologies of Irrationality
  - a. Death Camps
  - b. Propaganda, Mythology: Instrumentally-Rational Motivation
  - c. Redemption for Sake of Excellence, Higher Pursuits

G. SOCIETY: NATION OR RACE (222)
- 1. National or Racial Identity [Identitarianism]
  - a. Deterministic Organicism or Realism
- 2. Homogeneity
- 3. Footnote: Contrast with Liberal Individualism, Marxist Class Identity, Conservative Social Pluralism

H. AUTHORITY (223-24)
- 1. Origin of the Term "Fascism"
- 2. Concept of State
  - a. Fascist: Empowerment of Nation and Manifestation of Spirit
  - b. Nazi: Means to End of Racial Advancement
- 3. Totalitarianism
  - a. Giovanni Gentile: Party Forms National Consciousness
  - b. State: Exclusive Guide to National Goals
  - c. Nazi Doctrine of *Gleichschaltung*
- 4. Dominance of State
  - a. Economic Controls
  - b. Acquiescence of Religious Leaders
  - c. Limits on State Seen as Pragmatic Concessions

I. JUSTICE (225)
- 1. Absence of a Theory of Public Justice: Collective Good Emphasized
- 2. Rhetoric of Distributive Justice vs. Reality of Reasons of State

J. RULERS: ELITISM (225-29)
- 1. Lack of Electoral Accountability or Competition
  - a. Dictatorial Powers for Leaders
- 2. Centralized, Unlimited Power: Lack of Institutional Checks
  - a. Control by Party [cf. Lenin]
  - b. Fascism: Trickle-Down Power from Leader
  - c. Nazism: *Fuehrerprinzip*
    - 1) Delegated Leadership Emanating from Fuehrer
    - 2) Onion-Like Structure Resulting in Totalitarian Fluidity
- 3. Leaders Articulate Nation's Will and Destiny
  - a. General Will: Mystic Union [Intuition]
- 4. Sidebar 7-2: Adolf Hitler
- 5. Sidebar 7-3: Benito Mussolini
- 6. Elite Theorists: Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, Roberto Michels
- 7. Other Influence: Friedrich Nietzsche, Georges Sorel

K. CITIZENSHIP (229-31)
- 1. Citizen Mobilization: Democratic Centralism
- 2. Total Obedience: Pluralism Discouraged, Duties toward State
- 3. Fascist Conception of Liberty

L. STRUCTURE (231-32)
- 1. Elimination of Competing Centers of Power
- 2. Centralization: Rejection of Checks and Balances, Focus on National Will
- 3. Fascist Corporatism
- 4. Nazi *Fuehrerprinzip*

M. CHANGE (232-33)
- 1. Conservative (Right) Similarities
  - a. Antipathy toward Enlightenment Liberalism

b. Conservative, Rural, Agrarian Values
c. Organic View of Society
d. Hierarchy
2. Radical (Left) Similarities: Revolutionary Action, Complete Transformation
3. Variable Methods of Coming to Power

Review

Benito Mussolini	Adolf Hitler	Treaty of Versailles
economic and political problems that favored the development of fascism and Nazism		
national solidarity	Aryan supremacy	Final Solution
Kristallnacht	Arthur de Gobineau	Bayreuth Circle
Richard Wagner	racial struggle	German Romanticism
will	*fasces*	*Gleichschaltung*
Fuehrerprinzip	Robert Michels	corporatism

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONTEMPORARY LIBERALISM

Outline

A. INTRODUCTION (237-38)
1. Criticisms of Liberalism
a. Europe: Fusion of Liberalism and Democratic Socialism
b. America: Recasting the Ideology (Dewey, FDR)
2. Reform Liberalism: John Stuart Mill
3. Idea of Reforming Capitalism: Two-edged Sword
a. Commitment to Capitalism: Corporate Liberalism
b. Welfare-State Liberalism
c. Interest-Group Liberalism (Theodore Lowi)
4. Pragmatic as Opposed to Philosophical Emphasis

B. PROBLEMS (239-41)
1. Triumph of Classical Liberalism: Vestiges of Feudalism Eliminated
2. Market Failures
a. Concentrations of Economic Power Undermine Competition
b. Business Cycles
c. Externalities Such as Environmental Pollution
d. Inability to Provide Public Goods
e. Inequitable Distribution of Wealth
3. Discrimination and Other Problems of Social Mobility
a. Denial of Equal Access and Equal Opportunity
b. Civil Rights Legislation
c. Discriminatory Cultural Values and Traditional Practices
4. Threats to Security
a. Policy of Containment: George Kennan
b. Second-Strike Capability: Robert McNamara
c. Domestic Threats: Organized Crime, Drugs, Gun Control
5. Changing Liberal Agenda: Neo-liberals
a. Regulations That Serve Vested Interests
b. Effects of Regulatory Costs on Competitiveness
c. White Flight
d. Military-Industrial Complex
e. Need to Re-industrialize the Economy

C. GOALS (241-45)
  1. Critique of Classical Liberals' Negative Liberty: T. H. Green
  2. Positive Liberty: Removal of Obstacles to Individual Choices
    a. Inequalities in the Amounts of Positive Liberty Enjoyed
    b. Varying Levels of Maturity
    c. Restrictive External Environments [Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs]
    d. Promoting Welfare May Overcome Environmental Restraints
  3. Citizen (or Welfare) Rights
    a. Expansion of Entitlements: Basic Health and Welfare Services [Social Amelioration]
  4. Reform of Capitalism
    a. Steady vs. Stagnation, Excessive, or Erratic Economic Growth
    b. Rapid Growth Can Breed Social Discontent [Relative Deprivation]
  5. Reform of Constitutional Democracies
    a. Increased Representativeness
    b. Overcoming Deadlock of Democracy [Strong Democracy]
    c. Need for Flexible Reinterpretation of Constitutions
  6. Scientific Analyses of Social and Economic Problems

D. STRUCTURE: STRENGTHENING GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS (261-64)
  1. Constitutional Amendment and Reinterpretation
    a. Sixteenth Amendment: Income Tax
    b. Fourteenth Amendment: Equal Rights
    c. Judicial Activism
    d. Fusion of Constitutional Language with Contemporary Moral Theory
  2. Relative Balance or State and National Power [Cooperative Federalism]
    a. Tenth Amendment vs. Elastic Clause
    b. Reasons for Increasing the Authority of National Government
      1) Economic Problems of Modernization and Globalization
      2) Control by Local Special Interests
      3) Severe Trade-offs between Equality and Efficiency in a Mobile Society
    c. National Supremacy: Derivative Rather Than Fundamental Issue
  3. Preference for Executive-Centered and Bureaucratic Government
    a. Reasons for Strengthening Executive Branch
      1) Legislatures Represent Diverse and Parochial Interests
      2) Informal Powers of the President
      3) Expertise of a Professional Bureaucracy
  4. Legislative Oversight
  5. Accountability to Citizenry
    a. Popular Elections
    b. Public Financing of Elections
    c. Ambivalence toward Term Limits

E. RULERS (264-66)
  1. Making the Electorate More Representative
    a. Extension of Voting Rights
    b. District-Based Partisan Elections
    c. Formation of New Pressure Groups
  2. Sub-governments
    a. Military-Industrial Complex
    b. Juridical Democracy: Theodore Lowi
  3. Parliaments Favored over Open Assemblies: Flexibility, Compromise, Oversight, Agenda-Setting, Prioritizing

Review

John Stuart Mill's reform liberalism
Theodore Lowi's interest group liberalism
market failures
business cycles, externalities, public goods
social status and discrimination
neoliberal complaints
T. H. Green
negative vs. positive liberty
deadlock of democracy
judicial activism
reasons for increasing authority of national government
executive-centered, bureaucratic government
making government more representative of the electorate

CHAPTER NINE: DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

Outline

A. INTRODUCTION (284-88)
  1. Goal: Curtailing Capitalist Domination
    a. Liberal Values Should Be Complemented with Socialist Values
  2. Sources of Socialist Ideology in Reaction against Capitalism: Thomas More, Gerrard Winstanley, Gracchus Babeuf, Jean-Jacques Rousseau
    a. Robert Owen: Criticized by Marx and Engels as Utopian Socialist
  3. Britain's Fabians: Named after Fabius Maximus
    a. Beatrice and Sidney Webb, George Bernard Shaw
    b. Labour Party, 1901
  4. Germany's *Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD)
    a. Division between Marxists and Revisionists, 1895
  5. International Spread of Social Democracy
  6. Sweden's Social Democratic Labor Party (SAP)
    a. Extensive Welfare State and Private Ownership
  7. Centralist vs. Decentralist Vision
B. PROBLEMS: MARKET FAILURES, EXTERNALITIES, ALIENATION (288-91)
  1. Capitalism Dominates Economic Distributions
    a. Necessities Like Medical Care Should Be Allocated on Basis of Need, Not Ability to Pay
  2. Capitalism Restricts Human Freedom
    a. Desperate Exchanges
  3. Capitalism Dominates Democratic Governments
    a. Money Illegitimately Buys Political Influence
    b. Trickle-Down Economic Policies [Welfare for the Rich]
  4. Capitalism Dominates Workers and Communities
    a. Business Decisions Are Made Unilaterally
  5. Capitalism Dominates Family Life
    a. Patriarchalism
  6. Capitalism Dominates Our Culture
    a. False Consciousness
  7. Capitalism Dominates Human Psychology
    a. Corrupted Sense of Self
  8. Summary: Root Cause of These Problems Is Capitalism
    a. Most Radical of the Pluralist Ideologies
C. AUTHORITY (302-09)
  1. Crime Caused by Inequalities in Wealth
    a. Need to Control Capitalist Ability to Generate Excessive Demands
    b. Need to Redistribute Wealth

2. Agreement on Ends or Purposes But Not Specific Policies
3. Nationalization of Industry: Theory, Practice, Limitations
    a. Obstacles: Need to Compensate Previous Owners, Need to Recruit Skilled Workers
4. State Planning: Intermediate Level
    a. Planners Project Needs and Preferences
    b. State Controls Major Investment Decisions
    c. Planners Monitor Salaries and Other Compensation
    d. Planners Seek to Ensure Job Security
    e. State Monitors and Regulates Products
    f. State Pursues Long-term Economic Interests
    g. State Oversees Distribution of Entitlements
5. Theoretical Justification for Extensive State Planning
    a. Distinction between Wants and Needs
    b. Distinction between the Short Term and the Long Term
6. Social Welfare State: It Is More Expansive Because Needs Are More Extensive and Universal than Liberals Perceive
    a. Classical Liberal: As Volitional Beings, People's Needs Are Minimal, Except Security
    b. Contemporary Liberal: As Purposive Beings, People's Baseline Needs Must Be Met in Order to Pursue Opportunities
    c. Socialist: As Social Beings, People's Wants and Needs Are Socially and Cultural Defined, Requiring Collective Choices, *e.g.*, Medical Treatment, Mass Transit, Day Care
7. Universal Entitlements
    a. Recognition of Needs That All have in Common
    b. Antidote to Hostility toward Liberal Welfare State
    c. Equality of Condition Promoted
8. Nationalized Distribution vs. Nationalized Production
    a. Communal Harmony Promoted, Dependency Decreased, Equality Fostered
    b. Commitment to a Strong State Is Ultimately Instrumental

D. JUSTICE: EGALITARIAN SOCIETY (309-12)
    1. Explanations and Justifications for Inequality Are Sought and Assessed
    2. Efforts Are Made to Reduce Inequalities in Wealth and Power
    3. Efforts Are Made to Contain Harmful Effects of Unequal Distributions
    4. Efforts Could Be Made to Make Inequalities Less Permanent
    5. Promotion of Non-cumulative Inequalities to Balance Opportunities [*e.g.*, Tax Funding of Campaigns, FCC Fairness Doctrine]

E. ONTOLOGY: NEO-KANTIANISM (317-19)
    1. Synthesis of Marx's Materialism and Hegel's Idealism
        a. Immanuel Kant's Dualism: Distinction between Phenomenal (Material) and Noumenal (Spiritual) World
        b. Contrast with Marx's Materialism and Spencer's Naturalism

F. SOCIETY: REJECTION OF INDIVIDUALISM AND HOLISM (323-25]
    1. Societies Are Collections of Associated Individuals
        a. Societies Differ as to Mutual Commitment and Common Life Societies Differ in Distribution of Power and Privilege

Review

utopian socialists	Robert Owen	Karl Marx
Fabian Society	Beatrice and Sidney Webb, George Bernard Shaw	
Revisionists	Eduard Bernstein	socialist critique of capitalism

reasons for evolutionary rather than revolutionary change

state planning and its justification

CHAPTER TEN: CONTEMPORARY CONSERVATISM

Outline

A. INTRODUCTION (327-29)
  1. Failure of Governmental Programs to Solve Problems
  2. Mixture of Ideological Sources: Classical Liberalism, Traditional Conservatism
  3. *National Review*
    a. Eastern Intellectuals, Western Libertarian Conservatives
  4. 1960s Catalysts
    a. Neoconservatives [Neocons or Cold War Liberals]: Public Interest, AEI, Heritage Foundation
  5. Electoral Victories

B. PROBLEMS (329-34)
  1. Failure of Western Foreign Policy to Promote Interests of "Free World"
    a. Communist Menace
    b. Over-reliance on International Institutions
    c. Criticisms: Capitulation, Containment, Conspiracies, Cooperation
    d. Need for Moral Zeal and Military Force
    e. Anti-communism as the Glue Binding Contemporary Conservatives
  2. Promotion of Socialist Domestic Policies by Strong Central Governments
    a. New Deal: Social Security
    b. Regulations: Costly, Intrusive, Excessive
    c. Lyndon Johnson's Great society
    d. Consequence: Moral Hazards (George Gilder)
    e. Liberal Tendency to Blame Social Structures Rather Than Individual Character
    f. Increased Scope of Governmental Activity: High Taxes Stall Economic Growth
  3. Prominence and Power of Radicals in Educational Institutions
    a. Social Engineering
    b. Universities as Havens for Socialist Scholars and Settings for Unrelenting Criticism of the West
  4. Culture of Permissiveness and Thoughtless Uniformity of Opinions
    a. Unwillingness of Professors to Defend Standards of Conduct and a Clear Hierarchy of Values
    b. Liberal Neglect of Virtue and Personal Character

C. GOALS (335-37)
  1. Defense and Extension of Free Market Capitalism
    a. Adam Smith: Minimal Government Intervention, Harmonious International Order
    b. International Free Market
    c. Privatization
    d. Deregulation
  2. Reinvigoration of the Work Ethic
    a. Increasing Entitlements and Welfare
  3. Traditional Family: the Most Important Mediating Group in Society
    a. Emergence of Female-Headed Single-Parent Households

D. AUTHORITY: LIMITED BUT POWERFUL (337-42)
  1. National Security and Domestic Order
    a. Deterrence by Military and Police
  2. Promotion of Cultural Values and Public Virtue

a. New Right
3. Limited Government Intervention
a. Negative Externalities
b. Rejection of Command and Control Regulations (Charles Schultze)
4. Market-like Incentives
a. Internalization of Costs
b. Delivery of Public Goods: Voucher System
5. Poverty Programs
a. Negative Income Tax
b. Tax Breaks for Urban Enterprise Zones
6. Erosion of Authority Due to Too Many Entitlements and Rights
7. Emergence of "Interest Group Liberalism"
8. Sidebar 10-2: Conservative Statism: Thomas Hobbes, William Rehnquist

E. JUSTICE (342-47)
1. Entitlement Theory: Robert Nozick
2. Fairness of the Market Processes and Opportunities
a. Fairness Should Not Be Judged by Final Outcomes
3. Differences with Traditional Conservatism
a. Positions within Hierarchies and Resulting Inequalities Should Not Be Predetermined
4. Distribution of Rewards and Goods through Free Markets
a. Markets Encourage Sellers and Buyers to Be "Colorblind"
b. Limited Place for Equal Opportunity Laws
5. Injustice Results from Preferential Treatment as Compensation for Past Discrimination: Reverse Discrimination
a. Ratcheting Effect of Quotas
b. Economic and Educational Losses for the Entire System
c. Thomas Sowell on the Complex Causes of Income Differentials
1) Relative Success of Jews and Asians Despite Discrimination
2) Factors: Region, Median Age, Educational Attainment
d. Thomas Sowell on Negative Consequences of Preferential Policies
1) Animosity of Non-Preferred-Group Members
2) Incentives for Employers to Practice "Credentialism"
3) Extension of Preferential Treatment to Other Groups Harms The Most Deprived Groups
4) Result: Unequal Treatment Due to Color Awareness Becomes a Permanent Injustice

F. STRUCTURE (347-48)
1. Retention of Institutions That Define Historical Identity of Nation
a. Canada: Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords
b. Issue of Integrating Britain into the European Union
c. Reunification of Germany
2. Character of American Federalism

G. RULERS: THREATS TO REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY (348-51)
1. New Class: Liberal Political and Cultural Elite
2. Autonarchy (James Payne): Bureaucratic-Clientele Politics
3. Populism
a. Eastern Conservatives: Maintain Requisite Distance from People
b. Western Conservatives: Recall, Referendum, Initiative [Oregon System]
c. Term Limit Legislation
4. Imperial-Plebiscitarian Presidency

H. CITIZENSHIP (351-54)
1. New Right Populists: National Initiatives
2. Sidebar 10-3: Contemporary Conservatives and the Working Class [“Reagan

Democrats"]
3. Eastern Conservatives Reject Greater Citizen Involvement
a. Joseph Schumpeter: "Realistic" Theory of Democracy
b. Neoconservatives: Democratic Distemper (Samuel Huntington)
4. Need for Greater Participation in Community Life: Alexis de Tocqueville
5. Need to Cultivate Citizen Virtue
a. Limited Role of Government
b. Wariness of Moral Imperialism by the State: Moral Crusades
c. James Q. Wilson on the Moral Sense

I. CHANGE: DIFFERENCES FROM TRADITIONAL CONSERVATIVES (354-57)
1. More Tolerant of Changes Created by Free Market Economies
2. More Confident in Ability to Undo Liberal Reforms
3. More Willing to Experiment with Reforms: School Choice, Term Limits
4. Resistant to Liberal Reforms That Demand Changes in Behavior
a. Wilmoore Kendall on Politically Mandated Changes

J. ONTOLOGY (357-58)
1. Religion: Instrumental View of Many Conservatives
2. New Right vs. Mainstream Conservatives
3. Environmentalism: Resiliency of Nature

K. HUMAN NATURE (358-59)
1. Neutrality [Locke's *Tabula Rasa* or Blank Slate]
2. Rationality of Individuals
3. Differences over Control Exercised over Individual Decisions
4. Human Imperfection
5. Importance of Gender Differences

L. SOCIETY (359-61)
1. Support of Mediating Institutions: Binding People to Local Communities,
a. Protecting against Centralized Government
b. Support for Dynamic Market without Upsetting Other Spheres
2. Metaphor of a "Delicate Watch"
3. Problems Created by Multiculturalism
a. Fear of Balkanization of Society

M. EPISTEMOLOGY: FORMS OF REASON (361-64)
1. Traditional Beliefs and Practices Result from Reason Being Tested over Time
2. Lessons of History
a. Lesson of Munich: Aggressors Should Not Be Appeased
3. Common Sense
4. Science and Its Application to Society: Eric Voegelin, Leo Strauss
a. Perversity Thesis: No Good Deed Ever Goes Unpunished
b. Futility Thesis: No Good Deed Ever Achieves Its Object
c. Jeopardy Thesis: No Good Deed Ever Is Left Alone

Review

conservative criticisms of western foreign policy
anticommunism as the glue binding contemporary conservatives
George Gilder on moral hazards social engineering
culture of permissiveness Charles Schultze on marketlike incentives
Thomas Sowell preferential policies, credentialism, quotas new class
imperial-plebiscitarian presidency mediating institutions
neoconservatives Albert Hirschman's perversity, futility, and jeopardy thesis

CHAPTER ELEVEN: FUNDAMENTALISM

Outline

A. INTRODUCTION (369-74)
  1. Reliance on Sacred Texts
  2. Criticism of Religious Mainstreams
    a. Return to Origins
  3. Jewish
    a. Kookists: Greater (*Eretz*) Israel
    b. *Gush Emunim*: Torah and Halakah
  4. Christian
    a. Inerrancy
    b. New Right
  5. Sidebar 11-2: Evangelical Religions and Fundamentalism
    a. Great Awakening
  6. Islam
    a. Response to Decolonization and the Creation of Israel
    b. Ayatollah Khomeini
B. PROBLEMS (374-77)
  1. Threat of Secular Humanism
    a. Liberalism Treats Questions of Faith as a Private Matter
  2. Skepticism Toward Enlightenment Science
    a. Creationism vs. Evolution
    b. Individualism and Hedonism
    c. Relativism and Cultural Pluralism
  3. Attitudes Toward Capitalism
  4. Marketplace of Ideas
  5. Moral Decay
C. GOALS (377-78)
  1. Community of Believers [*umma* in the Muslim tradition]
D. ONTOLOGY AND EPISTEMOLOGY (378)
  1. Creation
  2. Absolute Authority of Sacred Texts
  3. Epistemology of Faith and Extensve Textual Scholarship
E. HUMAN NATURE (379)
  1. Depravity of Man
  2. Humans Are Social Beings
  3. Gender-based Differences
F. SOCIETY (379-80)
  1. Family Is the Basic Unit
  2. Social Policy Should Support Traditional Family Units
G. AUTHORITY AND RULERS (380)
  1. Restoration of the Sanhedrin
H. CITIZENSHIP (381-82)
  1. Submission to God
  2. Theocratic State of Israel
  3. Home Schooling Movement
  4. *Ummah*
I. STRUCTURE AND JUSTICE (382-83)
  1. Attitudes Toward Democratic Structures and Social Welfare
J. CHANGE (383-85)

1. Civil Disobedience
2. Idea of Holy War
3. Jihad

Review

Gush Emunim	inerrancy	*The Fundamentals*
Roe v. *Wade*	Great Awakening	secular humanism
Ummah	Jihad	

CHAPTER TWELVE: ENVIRONMENTALISM

Outline

A. INTRODUCTION (387)
  1. Deep Ecologists: "Greens"
    a. The Fault Lies in Western Ideologies
B. PROBLEMS (387-89)
  1. Homocentric Perspective: Nature Seen as Warehouse for Human Use
  2. Reckless Pursuit of Economic Growth: Fetish of Consumerism
3. Arrogance toward the Environment Leading to Pollution, Resource Depletion, Loss of Ecological Diversity
C. GOALS (389-93)
  1. Steady-State Economies ("No Growth")
    a. E. F. Schumacher: Local, Clean, Appropriate Technology
    b. Elimination of Fossil Fuels; Use of Soft Technologies
    c. Hazards of Large Urban Areas
  2. Sidebar 12-2: Conservationism, Environmentalism, and the Greens
    a. Conservation: Gifford Pinchot, Izaak Walton League
    b. Environmentalists: John Muir, Sierra Club
    c. Greens: Rejection of Liberal Capitalist Patterns
  3. Need to Preserve Diverse Ecosystems
    a. Holistic Approach
  4. Preservation of Pristine Wildernesses
    a. Managed Conservation vs. Preservationism
  5. Stop Use of Animals in Scientific Research [Anti-vivisectionism]
    a. Animal Rights
  6. Bottom Line: Rejection of Utilitarian and Classical Liberal Outlook That
    a. Views Nature as a "Standing Reserve"
D. ONTOLOGY AND EPISTEMOLOGY: DIVERSITY OF VIEWS (393-95)
  1. Sacredness of Nature: Broad Ecumenical View
  2. Epistemological Criticism of Enlightenment Science
    a. Rejection of Assumption of Linear Causation
    b. Rejection of Mechanical View of Nature, Engineering Attitude
  3. Organic Nature vs. Artificial Society
  4. Sidebar 12-3: Gaia and the Greens
    a. James Lovelock: Living Biosphere
E. HUMAN NATURE AND SOCIETY (395)
  1. Malleability
  2. Rejection of Atomistic, Egoistic Individualism
F. AUTHORITY (396)
  1. Garret Hardin: Hobbesian Technocrats ["Tragedy of the Commons"]

G. STRUCTURE (396)
  1. Rousseauist Vision of Small, Self-sufficient Communities with Participatory Democracy: Petra Kelly, Arne Naess, Wes Jackson
H. RULERS AND CITIZENS (396-97)
  1. Rotation in Office, Regional Authorities Replacing Nation-States
I. JUSTICE: MUTUAL AID, EXTENSION OF LIBERAL RIGHTS (397)
  CHANGE (397-99)
  1. Rejection of Violent Revolution But Acceptance of Civil Disobedience
    a. Earth First!: Monkeywrenching
    b. Greenpeace: Confrontational Tactics
  2. Interest Group Politics: "Greens" and Shallow Environmental Groups
  3. "Greening" of Educational Curricula and Media
  4. Chipko and Greenbelt Movements

Review

homocentric perspective
conservationism, environmentalism, deep ecologists or greens
monkeywrenching
rejection of utilitarian outlook
steady-state economies
Garret Hardin

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: FEMINISM

Outline

A. INTRODUCTION (401-03)
  1. Androcentric Bias
  2. Equal Rights: Mary Wollstonecraft [Mrs. William Godwin]
  3. Three Main Forms of Feminism
    a. Liberal [Equity] Feminists: Equal Rights, Legal Reform
    b. Radical [Gender] Feminists: Focus on Remedying Structural Injustices
    c. Postmodern Feminists: Need to Deconstruct Worldviews to Eliminate Androcentric Bias
B. PROBLEMS AND GOALS (404-06)
  1. Exclusion of Women from the Liberal Project: John Stuart Mill
    a. Gender Bias of Enlightenment Science
    b. Romanticism: Debilitating Pedestal
  2. Public/Private Distinction in Liberal Societies
    a. Need for Reproductive Freedom
    b. Public Child Care Should Be Available
  3. Liberal Feminist Goals: Equal Rights Amendment, Comparable Worth
  4. Radical Feminist Goals: Abolition of Private Ownership and Conjugal Family, Use of Reproductive Technology (Shulamith Firestone)
C. EPISTEMOLOGY AND ONTOLOGY (406-08)
  1. Feminist Epistemology
    a. Criticism of Compartmentalization, Rigidity, Instrumentalism of Male-Oriented Ideologies: Mary Daly
  2. Liberal Goal: More Open, Inclusive Social Science
  3. Postmodern Approach: Nancy Hartsock on Standpoint
    a. Men and Women Experience the World Differently
    b. Competitiveness and Abstraction of Men vs. Nurturing and Concreteness of Women
D. SOCIETY (408-10)

1. Public and Private Spheres of Society: Liberals Accept, Radicals Reject the Public/Private Framework
2. Radicals: Personal Is the Political
   a. Male Domination in the Public Sphere Spills over into Private
   b. Public/Private Split Encourages Exploitation of Women
3. Sidebar 13-2: Pornography: Radical and Liberal Views

E. HUMAN NATURE (410-12)
1. Debates over the Relative Importance of Nature and Nurture
   a. Liberals: Gender-Blind Rights and Privileges
   b. Goal of Androgyny
   c. Women's Biological vs. Men's Traditional Roles: Need to Reject Gendered Division of Reproductive and Productive Labor
2. Feminist Separatism: Mary Daly
3. Biological Basis of Women's Communitarian Values: Jean Bethke Elshtain

F. AUTHORITY: LIBERAL VS. RADICAL VIEWS (412)

G. RULERS AND CITIZENS (413-14)
1. Extension of Suffrage and Empowerment
2. Separatists: Self-Rule
3. Postmodern Feminists: Energizing Others, Reciprocal Empowerment

H. STRUCTURE: MORE DELIBERATIVE, LESS CONFLICTUAL (414)

I. JUSTICE (415-17)
1. Prohibition of Discrimination Based on Race and Sex: Equal Pay Act of 1963, Civil Rights Act of 1964
2. Laws Sought to Advance Economic Position of Women
3. Need for Justice in the Family
4. Radical View: Patriarchy Is the Root Cause of Injustice
5. Unimportance of Abstract Rules: Carol Gilligan
6. Need for an Ethic of Care

J. CHANGE (417)

Review

Mary Wollstonecraft	types of feminist	androcentric bias
comparable worth	Mary Daly	Shulamith Firestone
androgyny	Jean Bethke Elshtain	patriarchy
Carol Gilligan		

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: BEYOND IDEOLOGIES

Outline

A. INTRODUCTION (421-25)
1. End of Ideology Thesis: Daniel Bell
   a. Prescriptive View
      1) Technocratic Solutions
      2) Weaknesses: Overlooks Need for Recognizing and Prioritizing Problems, Disagreements among Experts
   b. Descriptive View
      1) Ideology Overshadowed by Interests and Actors
      2) Overlooks Influence of Ideology on Behavior
   c. Claim That Ideological Conflict Is Ending Worldwide
2. Critical Conception of Ideologies: Simplified Emotional Appeals Used As Weapons in

Pursuit of False, Chiliastic [Millennial] Hopes
a. Achievement of a Rough Consensus Supporting Pluralism
3. Renewed Ideological Clashes of 1960s Led to Rise of New Ideological
a. Perspectives
4. End of History Thesis: Francis Fukuyama
a. Transformation of Ex-Communist Economies
b. Superiority of Capitalism and Democracy: Hegel and Kojeve
c. All the Big Questions Have Been Settled
d. Fukuyama's Critical Perspective
1) End of the Great Debates Brings Boring Sameness
2) Every Good Story Has a Plot That Involves Conflict
e. Critique of Fukuyama's Thesis
1) Continued Viability of Ideological Alternatives
2) Divergent Interpretations of Liberty and Equality

B. LEVELS OF INTELLECTUAL UNDERSTANDING ABOUT POLITICS (425-27)
1. Philip Converse: Five Levels of Sophistication in Political Thinking
a. Ideologues Are Adept at Employing Abstract. Coherently Structured Concepts
2. Implications: Effective Participation of Citizens May Be Hindered by Their
a. Lack of Facility with Ideological Thinking

C. QUESTIONING ONE'S IDEOLOGICAL PRECONCEPTIONS (427-31)
Sources of Ideological Preconceptions and False Consciousness
1. Agents of Socialization
2. Sigmund Freud's Strain Theory
3. St. Augustine's *Libido Dominandi*
4. Karl Marx and the Development of Interest Theory
a. Capacity of the Most Powerful Interests to Mold Our Beliefs
b. Our Own Interests as a Source of Ideological Preconceptions

D. POLITICAL SCIENCE (431-35)
Object: Moving Beyond Ideology and False Consciousness to Political Theory
1. Objectivity vs. Subjectivity
2. Influence of Ideological Preconceptions
3. Scientific Method as a Means of Overcoming Ideological Biases

E. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY (435-41)
1. Dialectical Method
2. Great Conversation
3. Seeking Common Ground
4. Smaller Conversations

F. POLITICAL EVALUATION (441-44)
1. Immanent Critiques

Review

end-of-ideology thesis	end-of-history	Francis Fukuyama
Sigmund Freud	strain thesis	St. Augustine
libido dominandi	interest theory	dialectical method
David Ricci		common grounds