

Study Questions for PS 94D

LIBERALISM

Locke, Second Treatise

Preface

1. What does it mean to justify a people in its revolution?

Chapter 1

1. What is Locke's purpose in writing this treatise?

Chapter 2

1. Does Locke give you a reason to believe that all men are equal? What does Locke mean by "equality"? What does he mean by "freedom?"
2. What is the state of nature?
3. Does paragraph 6 give Locke's definition of justice? Is Locke also concerned that his theory be one that is "in accordance with nature?"

Chapter 3

1. What is the state of war? How does it differ from and arise out of the state of nature?

Chapter 4

1. Why does a man have no right to consent to be a slave?
2. When is slavery justified? Does Locke justify slavery as it was practiced in America?
3. What is just punishment?
4. Why is government necessary?
5. What distinguishes men from beasts?

Chapter 5

1. Why is there a natural right to private property? What are the limits to its accumulation?
2. What gives anything its value? labor, scarcity, its uses?
3. Why do nations have a right to claim territory?
4. Does Locke's argument hold if there is no vacant land left?
5. Is it only agriculture that gives a right to own land? Would Locke have sided with the Indians or the settlers?
6. What role do consent and law play in determining who owns what?
7. What are the consequences of the invention of money? Does the invention of money make life better or worse?
8. Is it just for some men to have much more than others? Why or why not?

Chapter 7

1. How does political authority differ from the other forms of social authority?
2. Is there a difference between patriarchal societies where grown children by tacit consent agree to obey the father and absolute monarchies?

3. What is the difference between political society and absolute monarch? Between political power and absolute, arbitrary power?
4. What are the institutional safeguards against abuses of power? Why are they necessary?

Chapter 8

1. Why does every member of the community have an obligation to obey the majority? Is this a matter of principle or a form of "might makes right"?
2. Can you ever retract your consent once you have given it? Why or why not?
3. At what point do men consent to membership in society? to the government of the society? How can you tell when consent has been given?
4. Why does government have jurisdiction over all people within its territorial boundaries? over the territory itself?

Chapter 9

1. Why is government needed? Why are standing laws needed?

Chapter 10

1. What determines the form of government? Who determines it?

Chapter 11

1. Compare par. 134 and par. 6 with regard to what the law of nature says. Do they agree?
2. Why are you obligated to die for your country?
3. Why is the legislative power supreme?
4. What are the limits on the legislative power?

Chapter 18

1. Is the difference between a tyrannical action and an act of prerogative obvious?
2. What protects citizens from exploitation by their rulers?
3. Does Locke care about who the ruler is? Why not?

Chapter 19

1. When are the people likely to rebel, according to Locke? When should they rebel? - or resist?
2. How can the prince prevent rebellions?
3. Locke says in the beginning that his theory will help prevent violence. Does his doctrine lead to peace?
4. Is majority tyranny possible according to Locke?
5. Are there limits on the right of revolution or can the people overthrow the government and institute a new one whenever they feel oppressed?
6. What is the difference between the dissolution of the society and the dissolution of the government?
7. What actions on the part of men in government dissolve government?

Jefferson, Declaration of Independence

1. What are inalienable rights? Where do they come from?
2. What does Jefferson mean by equality?
3. What is the pursuit of happiness?
4. What form of government is specified by the Declaration?
5. Does the list of abuses prove the case laid out in the general principles?

Lincoln, Lyceum Address

1. What is the chief danger to American democracy?
2. Do all men want to be tyrant?
3. What is the relation between mob rule and tyranny?
4. What is Lincoln's solution to anarchy and tyranny?
5. Is the civil religion identical with morality?

Thoreau, Civil Disobedience

1. What is wrong with government? with democracy?
2. Why doesn't voting and consent legitimate government?
3. What is civil disobedience? What is its justification?
4. What ultimately should govern our conduct?
5. What is the legitimate basis for government?

Mill, On Liberty

Chapter I

1. Why is democracy a danger to liberty? Would Locke agree? Thoreau?
2. What must be done to insure that democratic government is also liberal government?
3. Are laws sufficient?
4. Why does Mill write this book?
5. Why is the individual sovereign in his sphere? How does Mill justify this?

Chapter II

1. Why is freedom of thought and discussion necessary?
2. Doesn't such freedom endanger the state? Why or why not?
3. Shouldn't government try to propagate the truth?
4. Should it allow salutary beliefs to be attacked?
5. How does free discussion ultimately promote truth and happiness according to Mill?

Chapter III

1. Should men be allowed to express all of their opinions in actions?
2. Why does Mill believe that individuality is intrinsic to happiness?
3. What are the advantages of the eccentric or outlandish?
4. Is a certain degree of social conformity necessary to stable government?
5. Does conformity lead to mediocrity?

Chapter IV

1. What burdens and limits may the society justly impose upon the individual?
2. How should we treat the morally reprobate?
3. What are the minimum requirements for free individuality? When can the state act paternally?

Chapter V

1. What is the difference between self-regarding and other-regarding actions?
2. Can the state restrain a man from selling himself into slavery?
3. Can the state interfere in the family? Why or why not?

CAPITALISM

Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations

Title:

1. Why would anyone be interested in the nature and causes not merely of wealth but of the wealth of nations? Is this self-interestedness public-spiritedness?

Volume One, Book I

1. Why should we be concerned with the improvement of productive powers? How would Locke judge such a concern?

Chapter I

1. What is the consequence of division of labor for general prosperity? What is its consequence for wholeness and variety of each human life? Is happiness more dependent upon the quantity of one's possessions or the character of one's activities?

Chapter II

1. Why do men specialize in Smith's view?
2. What is man's natural propensity? Why don't animals share this propensity?
3. How does man persuade his fellows?
4. Does the division of labor depend upon natural differences?
5. Is Smith arguing that all men are "equal"?

Chapter III

1. What are the limits to exchange and therefore to specialization? How can these be overcome?
2. What are the natural prerequisites to a complex civilization?
3. Are these sufficient for civilization? To what extent is security necessary?

Chapter IV

1. What is the primary source of value in Smith's view? Would Locke agree?
2. What are the sources of the variation in the value of labor?

3. Why does Smith seem to drop the whole conception of labor as the source of value?
4. What are the components that make up the value of a thing? Do all of these originally arise out of labor?
5. What is the difference between rent and profit? Between interest and profit?

Chapter VII

1. What is the natural price? How is it determined?
2. What is the market price? How is it determined? To what extent does this depend upon mere desire? Is this rational?
3. Why does the market price naturally tend toward the natural price? Is it, in the self-interest of suppliers that price equal "natural price"?
4. Why does the market price tend to remain above the natural price despite the forces of supply and demand? Is this "Just"?
5. Why are monopolies bad? What is the advantage of perfect liberty, or free trade? To whom?
6. What is the consequence of restricting entrance to certain trades? Is this bad? Is this an indictment of unions?
7. How can the natural price vary and still be natural?
8. What are the social consequences of a system where all prices "gravitate" to the natural price? Is this a desirable outcome?

Chapter VIII

1. Why does the laborer not continue to enjoy the whole produce of his labor? Is this unjust? Would Locke agree?
2. Why is the workman likely to come out on the short-end in wage-disputes with the master? Is collusion just?
3. What is the minimum wage? Why do wages ever rise above this minimum?
4. What is the source of high wages? What happens to wages in the USA when the GNP is not growing? Why don't they fall more than they do?
5. Why are high wages good for society? Are they also in the interest of the master?
6. Is it better to be a slave or a free workman?
7. Why do high wages lead to general prosperity?

Chapter X

1. Why do men receive different wages for different jobs?
2. Why does Smith believe that the real benefits from all jobs are the same? Does this mean that it is equally as good to be a garbage man as a physician?
3. What is the difference between pecuniary and non-pecuniary returns? Are these commensurable in Smith's view?
4. Why are agreeable employments less well-paid than disagreeable ones? Does Smith assume that all men prefer ease to endeavor?
5. Why must the cost of learning a business or profession be reflected in the ultimate compensation of the practitioner?
6. Why does Smith believe seasonable employments must be paid at a higher rate? Is he right? How would a continual high rate of unemployment affect this factor?

7. Why do we have to pay more to those we must trust? Is this a sort of extortion? Do we pay them to prevent them from acting unjustly?
8. Is the desire for honor greater than the desire for wealth in Smith's view? Why are the young especially susceptible to this desire? Is it irrational to be courageous according to Smith?
9. Why is it necessary for businesses to operate regularly over a long period of time with the same person at the helm? Why is this preferable to speculation? Is stability more profitable than instability?

Book II, Chapter III

1. What distinguishes the different sorts of labor?
2. What determines the produce of any country?
3. What is capital? Why is it better to accumulate it than consume it?
4. Is industriousness an inherent human characteristic or the result of economic organization?
5. How is capital accumulated?
6. Who benefits from saving?
7. Is Smith a puritan?
8. Who is potentially the greatest prodigal and thus the greatest public enemy?
9. Why is it better to buy durable than perishable goods? Would Locke agree?

Book V, Chapter I, Part I

1. What is the primary function of government?
2. Why does the cost of defense become greater with greater civilization?
3. Why does the state have to worry about defense? Doesn't each man's self-interest compel him to defend his country?
4. Why is a professional army necessary?

Part II

1. Is justice necessary for all societies?
2. Is the administration of justice only necessary to preserve the rich? Would Locke agree with Smith?
3. Are all men merely self-interested in Smith's view?
4. What are the non-political sources of preeminence? Why do men desire superiority?
5. Why is it necessary to support the justice system with public funds? Who benefits? Is this a democratic revolution against oligarchy?

Part III, Article I.

1. Why are public works necessary? Is public-spiritedness necessary for public works?
2. How do public works facilitate commerce? Why can't they be left to private initiative?
3. How should they be financed? Why should the vain pay more?
4. How should public works be administered and maintained? Why should the government not be directly in charge? Is this only because of a "bureaucracy problem"? How can bureaucracy be made efficient?

5. Can a citizen refuse to support public works if he does not use them, as Thoreau argued?

Article II

1. How does modern education differ from ancient education?
2. Why is education more necessary in modern than in ancient societies.
3. What is the effect of division of labor on human character? Does this mean the ancients, and indeed all men in barbarous societies led fuller, more well-rounded lives than modern men?
4. Why does the state have to take a hand in education? Who must it educate? What are the advantages it gains? What's wrong with cowards and block-heads?

Radford, The Economic Organization of a P.O.W. Camp

1. How does a P.O.W. camp differ from an ordinary society with an operating economy?
2. How does commerce begin? What are the disadvantages of such primitive commerce?
3. How does currency improve matters?
4. What roles does broad knowledge have on the price of goods?
5. What is Gresham's law and how did it apply in this economy?
6. Was it possible for the political authorities to control this economy? Why or why not?
7. Is there such a thing as a just price?

Alger, Horatio, Ragged Dick

1. What would Ragged Dick refuse to do to improve his condition?
2. What does Ragged Dick do with the money he is given by Mr. Whitney?
3. What is needed to make a person respectable?
4. Why was Ragged Dick appealing to Mr. Greyson?
5. Why did Mrs. Greyson say Ragged Dick could not be called poor?
6. What are the list of morals Mr. Whitney prescribe for Dick?
7. What are the two sides of democracy that Dick and Micky Maguire represent?
8. What kind of politician would Micky Maguire be?
9. Who are the evil people in this book? What morals do they violate?
10. What is the role of government in this book?
11. Are there rewards for being virtuous?
12. Is there class conflict according to Alger?
13. What is necessary to succeed in a profession?

F.D.R., Commonwealth Club Address

1. Does the Declaration of Independence lend support to Roosevelt's views, undermine them, or have no relation to them?
2. Why does the government have a greater role in the economy than heretofore?
3. Does Roosevelt sound radical in his position here?

Adolph Berle, Jr. "The Social Economics of the New Deal"

1. Why doesn't the market work efficiently anymore?
2. What can government do to improve economic efficiency? improve economic justice?
3. Why not have government take over the planning of the economy and the distribution of goods totally?

Norman Thomas, "Why I am a Socialist"

1. How does Thomas' position differ from F.D.R.'s and Berle's?
2. What is the relation between economic Justice and peace?
3. Why is freedom impossible in a capitalist system?

Irving Kristol, "When Virtue Loses All Her Loveliness"

1. Compare Kristol's critique with Tocqueville's.
2. Is capitalism best. defended as providing for justice or for freedom? Is it fair to say that Smith would argue the former and Friedman the latter?
3. What are the three arguments for the Justice of capitalism that Kristol identifies?
4. Why is Irving Kristol not a socialist?

Melville, The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids

1. What characterizes the life of the Templars? What makes it possible?
2. What characterizes their communal life?
3. Are they hedonists?
4. What characterizes life in the paper-mill? What makes it necessary?
5. To what extent is mechanization the source of degradation? How much of this is due to division of labor?
6. What form of economic life does Melville himself prefer?

SOCIALISM

Marx and Engels

Manifesto

I. Bourgeois and Proletarians

1. Who are the bourgeoisie? Where did they come from?
2. What characterizes history?
3. What characterizes the rule of the bourgeoisie? How do they maintain themselves? What is the motive behind their repression? Are they evil men?
4. Why is the bourgeoisie unable to control the means of production? Why does it become increasingly difficult for them to control the relationship of supply and demand? Would Smith agree?
5. How is the proletariat created?

6. Why is the bourgeoisie unable to retain its integrity as a class and to maintain its political power? What is the relationship of political power and economic power?
7. What is class antagonism? Why will this come to an end with the triumph of the proletariat?

II. Proletarians and Communists

1. What is the difference between the proletarians and the Communists?
2. What is the distinguishing trait of Communism?
3. What is the source of property? What is capital?
4. What is freedom according to Marx and Engels?
5. What will become of culture, the family, nations, and philosophy and religion with the triumph of Communism?
6. How will the revolution occur?

III. Socialist and Communist Literature

1. How does Communism differ from the other Socialist movements?

IV. Position of the Communists

1. What is the central goal of the Communist power?

Graveside Speech

1. What were Marx's great discoveries?

Socialism: Utopian and Scientific

1. What is the basis of all social structures? What characterizes the existing mode of production?
2. What characterized the social structure of the Middle Ages? How did bourgeois society arise out of this?
3. What happens when the means of production become socialized? Why is private ownership a problem then?
4. What is the consequence of the accumulation of wealth? Why does profit limit productive capacity?
5. How does the bourgeoisie itself adapt to the socialized conditions of production? What is the role of government in late bourgeois society? What happens to the state under socialism?
6. What is the consequence of socially controlled production? How will the original problem of insufficiency be resolved? How will class conflict be overcome?
7. What is the industrial reserve army? What is surplus value?

Wage Labor and Capital

1. What are wages? Why do they tend under capitalism towards the subsistence wage?

2. What is capital? Is it primarily economic or political? What is the relation between capital and the working class?
3. What is the relation of profit and wages? Would Smith agree?
4. What is the relation of competition? Would Smith agree?
5. Why does division of labor tend to lower wages? What effect does it have upon the character of work?
6. What is the source of unemployment?

German Ideology

1. What is the motivating force in history according to Marx?
2. Why can needs not be satisfied? Would Locke agree?
3. What is the basis of society? What is the relationship of society and production? What is the effect of division of labor?
4. What is the basis of consciousness?

Bakunin/Nechayev "Catechism of the Revolutionist"

1. What is the objective of the revolutionist?
2. What is the revolutionist's orientation toward the world?
3. What is the basis of friendship for the revolutionist? Is this friendship an end?
4. What are the categories of human beings for the revolutionist? How does the revolutionist use these categories?
5. What is the revolutionist's view of the state? Should it exist?

Proudhon

1. What are the first and second ideas of the human race?
2. What is liberty for Proudhon?

Stirner

1. What is the difference between revolution and insurrection?

Walter

1. What is the moment of great danger for anarchism?
2. What is the meaning of direct action for Walter? How do the anarchists view this differently from other groups?
3. What is nihilism for Walter? How is this related to anarchism?
4. What is the extreme form of action for nihilism?
5. What is bohemianism?
6. Why is permanent protest a pessimistic form of anarchism?
7. In Walter's opinion, how should anarchists proceed?

Henry

1. Does Henry defer to a court for his actions? Who composes this "court"?
2. What does Henry think of conventional morality?
3. How are anarchists different from previous men Henry has encountered?
4. How does Henry view violence?
5. How does Henry view the bourgeoisie?
6. What is Henry's justification for planting a bomb?

Bakunin, What is authority?

1. What is the liberty of man?
2. Why should we reject the authority of other individuals or groups?
3. What does Bakunin think of academics?
4. What does Bakunin think of the bootmaker?
5. How should we view the man of genius?

Koestler, Darkness at Noon

1. What is the meaning of the two quotations following the title page?

The First Hearing

1. Why is Rubashov arrested?
2. Who is Rubashov?
3. Why can the Party never be mistaken?
4. Why is Rubashov not fed?
5. What do Rubashov's recollections tell us about the Party?
6. What is the relationship of Rubashov and Ivanov?

The Second Hearing

1. Why are lies superior to truth?
2. What is the difference between Gletkin and Ivanov?
3. Why does Rubashov's standard of life improve?
4. What is the significance of Bogrov's execution?

The Third Hearing

1. Why is Rubashov's confession not accepted?
2. Why is he forced to make a false confession?
3. How is this confession extracted?
4. Why does Gletkin believe severity is necessary?

The Grammatical Fiction

1. What is the grammatical fiction?

NATIONALISM

Mazzini, The Duties of Man

1. What are our duties as human beings? Where do they come from?
2. What is the relation between duty and progress?
3. Is patriotism compatible with Christianity?
4. What is a country?
5. Why must one love one's country?
6. Does one love one's country simply because it is one's own?
7. Would Mazzini agree with the statement: "May my country be always in the right, but Right or wrong my country."

Mussolini, The Doctrine of Fascism

1. Why does Fascism depend on a new world-view? What is this view?
2. What is the relationship of man and the community according to Fascism?
3. Why is Fascism opposed to individualism?
4. Why is the state foremost? Would Lincoln agree?
5. Why is Fascism opposed to pacifism? Would Thoreau agree?
6. Why is it opposed to Marxism? to Liberalism?

Hitler, Mein Kampf

Volume I, Chapter XI

1. What characterizes man's nature? Would Locke agree?
2. Why are the Aryans a superior race?
3. What characterizes the Jew? Why is he a threat to the Aryan?
4. How is Marxism a Jewish conspiracy?

Volume II, Chapter 1

1. Why should a political party rest upon a world-view?

Chapter II

1. What characterizes the state?
2. What is the end of the state? Would Mussolini agree? Would Lenin?
3. What are the consequences of racial division? How does this differ from class division?
4. What is necessary to form a folkish state?
5. What are the requirements of education for such a state?

Chapters III-IV

1. Why must this be an aristocratic state? How does this differ from Marxism?

Chapter V

1. How must the party and movement be organized? Would Lenin agree?

Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth

“Concerning Violence”

1. What is national liberation?
2. What characterizes the colonial world?
3. How is national liberation bound up with decolonialization?
4. How does the international situation affect struggles for national liberation?
5. Why is violence essential to national liberation?
6. Does this focus on violence differ from that of Fascism and Nazism?
7. Is decolonialization sufficient to guarantee independence?
8. In what sense is this nationalism not merely self-interested but also good for humanity?
9. Is this nationalism compatible with liberalism and capitalism?

Anthony Smith, Ethnicity and Nationalism

1. What is the difference between ethnicity and nationalism?

Connor, The Nation and its Myth

1. What is a nation?
2. In what sense is a myth necessary to nationhood?
3. How do different revolutionary movements use these myths to secure and maintain power?
4. What is the relation between the nation and the state?
5. Are patriotism and nationalism the same thing?

Ignatieff, Blood and Belonging

1. What is the difference between civic and ethnic nationalism?
2. What is cosmopolitanism? Are cosmopolitans also nationalists?
3. Is the political significance of ethnic differences rooted in nature or in human ideas?
4. To what extent is ethnic nationalism merely tyranny of the majority?
5. To what extent is ethnic conflict rooted in the actions of those long dead? Does being a nationalist mean being controlled by the dead hand of the past?
6. To what extent is nationalism the creation of political entrepreneurs seeking power?
7. Who is at fault for the resurgence of ethnic nationalism with all of its horrors?

FEMINISM

Frye, “Oppression,” Sexism”

1. What are the differences between oppression and suffering?
2. What is Frye’s evidence to support the claim that women are oppressed? Compare the evidence brought to bear on this matter in the readings.

Liberal Feminism: NOW Manifesto; J.S. Mill, "The Subjection of Women"

1. What characterizes these selections as "liberal?"
2. Is it Mill's position that men and women are naturally equal? What if it should turn out that they are not? Would there be any change in his position?
3. Why is it unlikely that the legal subordination of women will change according to Mill?

The Conservative Position: Wilson, "Sex;" Schlafly, The Positive Woman; Tocqueville, Democracy in America

1. Do these three readings have anything in common? Are they all rightly labeled conservative?
2. Why is it, according to Schlafly, that women have power over men? What kind of power is it?
3. How is Tocqueville's view of the equality of the sexes in America related to his general views of American democracy?
4. Is it possible for men and women to be "different but equal?" or do the differences between them justify the inequalities?

Socialist Feminism: Engels, "Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State;" Reed, "Women, Class, Chaste, or Oppressed Sex?"

1. Why is it important to know the historical origins of the current social relations between the sexes? How does Engels' account differ from that of Mills?
2. What difference does it make in terms of political strategies whether sexual oppression is derived from class oppression or not?

Radical Feminism: Redstockings Manifesto; Politics of the Ego: A Manifesto for N. Y. Radical Feminists; Jaggar, "Radical Feminism and Human Nature"

1. What are the varieties of radical feminism, that Jaggar describes? Is there anything that they all have in common?
2. Why is liberal feminism insufficient according to radical feminists?
3. What mistake do socialist feminists make? Is socialist feminism also radical?
4. What does it mean to say that, "one is not born a woman?" what does it mean to say that, "the personal is the political?"