

1987

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CHRISTIAN BAY

"After the splitting of the atom in 1945, all social sciences took on a new urgency. It was hoped that better insights into human nature and the laws of social behavior would somehow contribute toward wiser decisions."

Christian Bay was a man with a motive. He saw the ravages of World War II and knew something must be done to prevent such a destructive event from ever happening again. After teaching at three major universities (U. of Chicago, Harvard, & U of Mich) he settled back to a home in California to write the book, the book that would hopefully promote better understanding of freedom.

Bay takes the stance of believing that we should strive to achieve a state of maximum freedom. Two things make up this maximum freedom: Human Rights and Social Privileges. Human rights are defined as a demand for freedom that can be vindicated for all human beings. Social privileges are defined as rights that, by their very nature, must be limited to some.

He believes that we must be sure that everyone has the same level of freedom because a society is only as free as its most bonded member. But in a pragmatic sense, no society can give full freedom to all individuals or, indeed, even to one individual. But before a maximum of freedom can be achieved, we must have a firm basis for security & limited freedom.

Another one of his beliefs is that the majority should not decide on matters of discrimination against minorities. He says this because he believes that majorities can be manipulated.

One of the theories that he supports is that a man has three behaviors: Rational, Institutional, and Legal. Rational behavior is defined as behavior guided by perceived efficacy norms deducted toward given or chosen goals. Institutional is behavior conforming to institutional expectations, with no motivations beyond the habit to conform. Legal institutions serve to maintain some balance between institutional stability and rational adaptability.

Bay, Christian. The Structure of Freedom, Stanford. Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958.

p. 376

"He who cares for freedom and human rights cares for freedom & human rights everywhere. He will not only hold that suppression abroad is a potential threat against freedom at home but also that suppression is evil wherever it is."

p. 379

"The human rights approach to the maximization of freedom distinguish between rights and privileges: Rights can be extended to all citizens, privileges by their nature alone must be limited to some.

p. 381

"The majority should not be the sovereign judge of whether a majority got hurt or not.

P. 381

"Democratic government is a process of steady appeasement of relatively small groups.

p. 387

"Decisions about the extension of human rights should be automatically in favor of the individual to the extent that general priorities are consensually established."

Amy Forsee
Homewood, Al

ALEXANDER M. BICKEL

Alexander M. Bickel, Constitutional authority at Yale and author of The Morality of Consent, is a strong advocate of processes & consent. He believed that morality of consent to govern and law were necessary in a society. He believed moral imperatives and absolutist ideas caused tyranny.

First, he believes processes hold the society together. Process is the essence of a constitutional governmental system. Many of the laws & principles our government is based on are formed to keep a process. These laws and principles our government is based on are formed to keep a process. These laws & principles may, at first, seem to protect rights or values; but, actually, they merely protect a process. For example, many people see the First Amendment freedom of speech as a guardian of truth. According to Bickel, the First Amendment protects a political process as well as the right to self-expression. The First Amendment is initial to our politics because of the decisions made through that political process. The American checks and balances system and separation of powers is one of the secrets to our process. We must adhere to these processes, for we are held together by this agreement on our means.

He was also a strong believer in the consent of the people. Consent is above all in importance. Government should be based on majority rule with minority consent. Consent of the people as a whole, not a majority is essential to the laws of society. The majority alone cannot make long-range decisions. A majority without restraint oppresses minorities. Our system of law may be questioned by a domesticated civil disobedience. Civil disobedience is disobeying a law because of a moral or political principle. When this occurs, the Supreme Court has to listen to the people. It does not have to agree, but take their view into consideration.

Bickel, Alexander M. The Morality of Consent, Yale University Press, 1975

p. 17

"and where a majority does rule unrestrained, it is capable of great and cruel oppression of minorities."

p. 18

"The influence of the people, so conceived, must be a dominant one because their consent is essential."

p. 30

"Process and form, which is the embodiment of process, are the essence of theory and practice of constitutionalism."

p. 123

"And the highest morality almost always is the morality of process."

p. 142

"It is crucial that everyone adhere to certain procedures."

Brad Hofstetter
Battleground Academy, Tennessee

NORMAN COUSINS

"Norman Cousins has been editor of the Saturday Review since 1940. Long active as a worker for world peace, he is honorary president of United World Federalists and the author of such books as Modern Man is Obsolete, Who Speaks for Man, and In God We Trust: The Religious Beliefs of our Founding Fathers." ["Therefore Choose Life...", p. 4]

Mr. Cousins is a zealous opponent of nuclear war. In a collection of writings published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, he divides the issue into two groups of ultimate consequence. One group that sees the problem and is willing to try and avert it, and another that regards nuclear force simply as a form of weaponry. Mr. Cousins definitely falls into the first group. As he said, "The first grouping knows that the business of peace has become the most important business in the world...The ties that bind them are literally the strongest ties in the world, for they are concerned with human destiny." [Therefore Choose Life, p. 3]

Cousins believes that war, especially a nuclear war, is not only an attack on the human level, but it is also an attack on God. For, since God created the earth and placed us upon it, if we were to destroy it or permanently alter it, we would be violating or attacking God Himself.

Cousins also has interesting ideas about the relationship between the individual and the state. He believes that the state has many rights including the right to take a human life in defense of itself. However, he also believes that the individual has certain rights which must be protected, and as he said, "If these natural rights should die, though human flesh in some form remain, then the survivors will not be the lucky ones. [Therefore Choose Life, p. 6] Through these ideas he related this back to the idea of nuclear war and the transformations that would occur in Man.

Speaking of man as a whole, Cousins has his own ideas about the nature of man. He believes, like Hobbes, that in a state of nature, men are naturally competitive, but when directed towards creative and social ends, this competitive nature leads to progress, and it is only when these habits lose direction that they are destructive. As is so often the case, he related this idea to war in saying, "Thus war is not a reflection, but an expression of man's nature." [Modern Man..., p. 12] Another important about man that Cousins holds to be extremely important is his capability to change, but, as he said, "Capability without decision is inaction and inconsequence." [Modern Man..., p. 16]

Change is an important aspect to Cousins' philosophy because of the many problems he sees with modern civilization in what he calls the "Atomic Age." He believes that modern civilization has hampered education by making it too specialized. He also believes that man has devoted too much attention to the science of war and suggests turning to the science of healing, for we can destroy the world with an Atomic Bomb, but we cannot cure the common cold. Perhaps, the most interesting idea he has about modern society is that sovereignty of states is obsolete. He believes that since one nation can destroy another with the push of a button, sovereignty is really no longer of any importance; we should turn to a type of "world sovereignty" in an attempt to preserve peace.

All of this simply touches upon the philosophies of Norman Cousins. There is much more dealing especially with striving for world peace. But all of his ideas are steeped with ecumenicalism, the concept of world-wide Christian unity or co-operation, but as he said, "The spirit of ecumenicalism ... finds its fulfillment not just in Christian unity but in the effort to safeguard and enoble human destiny." [Therefore Choose Life..., p. 15]

"Therefore Choose Life, That Thou Live. Thou and Thy Seed." from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Cousins, Norman, Modern Man is Obsolete

"Therefore", p. 5

"For there are only two groupings of ultimate consequence on earth. One grouping consists of those who give thought to the implications of nuclear war and are willing to look and build beyond national sovereignty in order to avert it. The other grouping regards nuclear force as a form of advanced military weaponry at the call of the antional sovereign state."

p. 6

"The rights of the state are many. They include the right to sacrifice human life or to take human life in the defense of the nation."

p. 6

"Man has a right to keep himself from being cheapened, debased or deformed. He has a right to creative growth. He has a right to individual sanctity and sovereignty. He has a right to make life purposeful."

MOdern Manp.

Where man can find no answer, he will find fear.

p. 13

"The main test before him (man) involves his will to change rather than his ability to change. That the is capable of change is certain. For there is no moremutable or adaptable animal in the world."

p. 13

"But change requires stimulus; and mankind today need look no further for stimulus than its own desire to stay alive."

p. 20±

"When directed to creative and social ends, they can serve the purposes of progress, for competition can be an effective stimulus to constructive accomplishment. It is only when the competitive impulses or habits lose direction and become savagely anti-social that they constitute a destructive and ominous force."

p. 22

One of the liabilities of modern education is that it has contributed to a dangerous compartmentalization both of knowledge and progress.

p. 26

It [sovereignty] is preposterous because we have invested it with nonexistent powers.

Nicole Navarro
Lafayette, Louisiana

GEORGE WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL

George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel was born in 1770. one of his most basic beliefs was that of freedom. Freedom requires self-consciousness and knowledge of the truth. Freedom and reason are totally intertwined. "Reason presupposes freedom, the power to act in accordance with knowledge of the truth, the power to shape reality in line with its potentialities. The fulfillment of these ends belong only to the subject who is master of his own development and who understands his own potentialities as well as those of the things around him. Freedom in turn, presupposes reason, for it is comprehending knowledge, alone, that enables the subject to gain and to wield this power. "Man, however, knows what he is , - only thus is he real. Reason and freedom are nothing without this knowledge" The PHILOSOPHY OF RIGHT dealt with ethics, jurisprudence, society, and the state. The PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY dealt with social and political freedom. Singer once said of the PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY, that " the history of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom". Hegel was influenced by both Plato and Aristotle. Hegel reinterprets much of Aristotle's work, Including METAPHYSICS.

Hegel believed there were different forms of consciousness viewing each one from inside. "Limited forms of consciousness necessary to develop into adequate one. The aim of his philosophy is the actual knowledge of what truly is. Hegel's theories influenced Karl Marx. Marx's basic economic analysis links to a basic category of the Helgian philosophy. In common terms, both believed in revolution and constant change. This change was part of an endless cycle that started with the status quo, - a challenge to the status quo and then the outcome of the challenge. They both felt this led to progress.

Peter Singer, HEGEL: Oxford University Press, 1983

Herbert Marcuse REASON AND REVOLUTION, Humanities progress, Inc. 1958

QUOTATIONS:

"What is of the utmost importance is that the law of reason should be shot through and through by the law of particular freedom..." Singer, p. 42

"If we hear it said that the definition of freedom is the ability to do what we please, such an idea can only be taken to reveal an utter immaturity of thought, for it contains not even an inkling of the absolutely free will of right, ethical life, so forth." Singer, p. 25-26

"We are not free when we act from particular natural or socially conditioned desires; that reason is essentially universal; that freedom is to be found in what is universal." Singer, p. 31

"Nothing is reason that is not the result of thinking." Marcuse, p. 6

" Something is true if it is what it can be fulfilling all its objective possibilities". Marcuse, p. 25

Michael Schwartz
Mt. Brook, Alabama

DAVID HUME

All historians who have reviewed the work of David Hume have all come to the same conclusion: namely, that he was one of the leading skeptics of his day. His views on subjects such as human knowledge, human perception, and religion rank him as one of the top philosophers in his age.

The definitive work by Hume is Treatise on Human Nature. In this work, one of his main points was that human nature is the most neglected of all studies, yet it is the most basic. He then proceeded to expound on various facets of man's existence. Hume tried to apply Newtonian science to moral problems, but in the process, shocked many of his peers because he held that the basis of morality and religion was natural and rooted in man, and not supernatural. This ties in to Hume's view of religion. He presented his theories in such a way that many held him to be an atheist. He said that the belief in God came from man's desire for happiness. When man had a specific desire for something, it was not a divine influence that moved him to complete his goal, but his own desire for success. The fact that future actions were "tuned in" to this goal was not due to an act of God, said Hume. It was theories like this that catapulted him into the public eye. Hume had a novel idea of human perception. He began by saying that things were only what they appeared to be; no more and no less. He then continued to speculate on what is really real. He asked "Are ideas in the mind, or are ideas the mind itself?" The belief that much of what we perceive might only be in the mind was a startling revelation. He also said that knowledge does not ever go beyond the sensory experience. He also helped pioneer theories of analytic and synthetic propositions; in other words, statements like "my brother is a member of my family (analytic because the beginning of the statement proves the second part)," and "if you are not good, God will punish you (synthetic, because neither part of the statement actually proves that the other will happen)." In conclusion, the theories of Hume help to move forward the skepticism movement, while advancing his own ideas at the same time.

Frost, S.E. (Asst. prof of Education, Brooklyn College). Basic Teachings of the Great Philosophers. 1962

Ayers, A.J. Hume, 1980

Hreysche, Gerald L. Thirteen Thinkers Plus. 1984

Frost, p.

"Since morals...have an influence on the actions and affections, it follows that they cannot be derived from reason." (Treatise 457)

Frost, p.

The rules of morality are not conclusions of our reason."

Frost, p.

"No action can be virtuous or morally good unless there is in human nature some motive to produce it, distinct from the sense of its morality." (Treatise 47a)

Ayers, p.

"Reason...can never be the motive for any action of the will." (Treatise 412)

Hreysche, p. 152

The Victory is not gained by the men at arms who manage the pike and the sword; but by the trumpeteers, drummers, and musicians of the army."

Although Immanuel Kant has had many beliefs and theories, the most prominent are the Categorical Imperative and Transcendentalism.

Kant's views and ideas about the Categorical Imperative are perhaps, the most well known of his theories. The Categorical Imperative is the absolute obedience to duty that seems to imply blind obedience to the state. We are not, for example, permitted to violate the rights of a person in order to maximize the rights and freedoms of other people. In simpler terms, the Categorical Imperative has the same connotations as the golden rule: do unto others as you would have them do unto you.

To understand Kant's theory of Transcendentalism, a basic component must be explained. The component is the a priori. The a priori may be described in terms of cause to effect: it is reasoning, ending with a conclusion which originates from circumstances noted before the act, as opposed to basing the conclusion upon fact (sound reality). With an understanding of a priori, the meaning of transcendentalism is clarified. Kant's theory of transcendentalism is a philosophy that emphasizes the a priori conditions of knowledge and experience or the unknowable character of ultimate reality, or that emphasizes the transcendent as the fundamental reality.

Kant's philosophies are accepted today. They are not only accepted and valued by us as debaters, but by the modern philosophers.

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Theodore Mayer Green, KANT - SELECTIONS, Charles Scribner's Sons, Inc. 1957
Justus Hartnack, IMMANUEL KANT, Humanities Press, 1974

Quotations:

"Two things fill the mind with ever new and increasing wonder and awe, the more often and the more seriously reflection concentrates upon them: the starry heaven above me and the moral law within me." Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, p. 288

"Finally, there is an imperative which commands a certain conduct immediately, without having as its condition any other purpose to be attained by it. This imperative is categorical ... this imperative may be called that of morality: (Ibid above)

"Whoever wills the end, wills also -so far as reason decides his conduct - the means in his power which are indispensably necessary thereto" (ibid above)

"...happiness is not an ideal of reason but of imagination." (ibid)

"Out of the crooked timber of humanity no straight thing can ever be made"
Familiar Quotations, (Bartlett's) p. 366

"Morality is not properly the doctrine of how we may make ourselves happy, but how we make ourselves worthy of happiness". (ibid)

"There is ...only a single categorical imperative and it is this" Act only on that maxim through which you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law". (ibid)

We are assured, so far as paper and print can assure us, that, in the future, power is to be used with 'justice' in the realations of states" It becomes important, therefore, to inquire how far any concept or concepts that may be set forth in this word 'justice' can serve as a norm to control action in the United Nations.

Few individuals or groups ever admit, at least in public, that anything they are attempting to do is not just. One frequent meaning of the word, then, is what the speaker wants. It is a fact, however, that men can and do become indignant at what they regard as injustice to others. It is also a fact that most of us are unaccustomed to having the realization of our desires limited by the claims of others. In a word, we live more or less contented in society and accept for most purposes the highest common multiple of desires which forms the standards of justice in our society. When we get worked up about what we believe to be a defect in this standard, we may set about getting the standard modified. We know that the prevailing notion of what is just has changed a great deal in our own society, and we know that our prevailing notion does not correspond in all details with the notions prevailing in our societies.

It is true that we can give definition of justice that will be at least accepted by a large number of nations. On examination they prove too abstract to man much in actual value to the human being. Equality of individuals before the law is another proposition stoutly asserted in most states, but only for such rights as the law allows to the particular individual or the group in which he is classified. Even the procedural equality which this principle of 'justice' seems to promise may be cut in upon by costs and rules as to societies which create a substantial difference of position.

One effect to discover is a concept of justice based on the notion of equality. The essence of justice, it is said, is that equal things should be treated equally.

The tendency of the individual to identify justice with his own needs or desires has been noted. The strength of this tendency is multiplied in those groups which we call nations or states.

Let us, finally take a far more inclusive example. The five great powers have set the limits of justice in the community of the United Nations. The middle and small states quite obviously did not regard it as just that the great should be exempt from sanctions which will be applicable to the small. They do not like a system which enables any one of 5 leaders to stop the process of justice the moment it becomes uncomfortable. But, hoping for increased security, they ceded to power, recognizing that justice by standards acceptable to all states is politically impossible in a society in which certain members are strong enough to reject the social contract.

Morgenthau feels we should aim at a fuller jurisdiction and a more impartial composition for the International Court of Justice. We shall not easily or immediately persuade either the US or USSR to accept compulsory jurisdiction. But the objective is not so remote that it can be dismissed as visionary. It is important enough to challenge the effect of men of good will.

Biob:

THE DECLINE OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICS, 1962

THE IMPASSE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1962

the restoration of american politics, 1962

PEACE, SECURITY AND THE UNITED NATIONS, 1946

POLITICS AMONG NATIONS- THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER AND PEACE, 1967

QUOTATIONS. (all from PEACE, SECURITY AND THE UNITED NATIONS

"Few individuals or groups ever admit, at least in public, that anything they are attempting to do is not just" p. 12

"One frequent meaning of the word, then, is what the speaker wants" p. 12

"Most peoples will exalt the dignity of the individual and his right to self-development- but only within the law can vary from light to darkness even among states formally friendly to one another - no true definition of justice" p. 13

"The essence of justice, it is said, is that equal things should be treated equal" p 13

Matt McGary
Huntsville, Alabama

ROBERT NOZICK

Robert Nozick classifies himself as a libertarian, which, as defined by the dictionary of philosophy, is someone who "...is opposed to any social and/or legal constraints that put constraints on individual freedom."

One of Robert NOzick's biggest beliefs is that a man's goods are his own, and no one has the right to take them away without his consent. This theory is labeled the Entitlement Theory. The exact wording of this theory (see quote 3) suggests and implies the fact that man's property is his own by reason of "justice of acquisition and transfer or by rectification of injustice." This theory is the basis of all of his arguments against John Rawls' Justice as Fairness theory which states that man should give up wealth to help those less-advantaged people--basically a share the wealth proposition.

One of Robert NOzick's most "believed in" theories is kthat, although he is a libertarian, he feels that there ought to be some type of protection for a person's rights, even if it does involve constraint. Nozick believes in a "minimal state," which is defined as "...a state that is limited to the functions of protecting all its citizens against violence, theft, fraud, and to the enforcement of contracts, etc." He also terms this as the "nightwatchman state." In this theory the watchman is the state and it protects the citizens from violations, but it must also limit some liberty.

Another of Nozick's beliefs is kthat of a perfect society--a utopia. To understand what NOzick means by a utopia, we must look to him. According to his book Anarchy, State, and Utopia, "Utopia, though, must be, in some restricted sense, the best for all of us; the best world imaginable, for each of us."

From what we can see, NOzick is implying that an utopia can only be achieved by the individual himself, and not society as a whole. This would correlate directly to his argument on the state-of-nature.

The last of Nozick's philosophies is that he feels anarchy is necessary under some instnances and that it can work. NOzick continually speaks of the state as a monopoly. They (state) are the leaders and controllers of all. They distribute justice as they see fit and they refuse it. Just as a monopoly controls all aspects of an industry--so does the state control all aspects of liberty. Nozick also feels that this type of "police state" is immoral and dangerous because they would do anything to protect the state. Nozick feels that anarchy would be best to achieve the security of individual rights because in anarchy there would be no strong denial of rights and a monopoly-like state would be alleviated.

Robert Nozick is believed to be an extremest as far as beliefs go, but in many ways he may be much of a realist.

Goldman, Allen. "Entitlement Theory of Distributive Justice," Journal of Philosophy, Dec. 2, 1976, p. 824.

NOzick, Robert with Randall Rothenburg. "Robert NOzick vs John Rawls," Esquire Magazine, MARCH 1983, p. 204

Davis, Lawrence. "Comments on NOzick's Entitlement Theory!" Journal of Philosophy, Dec. 2, 1976,

NOzick, Robert. Anarchy, State, and Utopia. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1974

Goldman, p. 824

"The deepest moral problem with such operations (state) is that it allows or rather forces some to start out in life with nothing but economic handicaps & prospects of misery and deprivation, through injustice done to their ancestors."

Nozick, p. 2

Nozick and Rothenburg, p. 204

"A social distribution is just if it is arrived at through legitimate acquisition or transfer.:

Nozick & Rothenburg, p. 207

"The holdings of a person are just if they are entitled to him by the principles of justice in the acquisition and transfer or by the principle of rectification of injustice....If each person's holdings are just, then the total is just."

Nozick & Rothenburg, p. 207

"From each as they choose, to each as they are chosen."

Davis, p. 839

"Nozick's first principle is that each individual is endowed with 3 fundamental rights: (1)the right not to be physically injured; (2)not to have his liberty limited, and (3)not to have his property taken without his consent."

Rothenburg, p. 204

"He is the intellectual bedrock behind latter-day libertarianism, a do-your-own-thing, laissez-faire capitalist darling."

Josh Lee
Jesuit HS, Louisiana

AYN RAND

"Metaphysically, the only authority is reality; epistemologically one's own mind. The first is the ultimate arbiter of the second."

Ayn Rand is the originator and chief proponent of philosophy known as objectivism. William F. O'Neill, in An Analysis of Ayn Rand's Philosophy, describes the basic axiom of Ayn Rand's philosophy as that existence exists. From this basic axiom follow two corollary axioms:

- (1) that something exists which one perceives;
- (2) that one exists possessing consciousness, consciousness being the faculty of perceiving that which exists.

Underlying Reality (Truth) also plays a key part in Objectivism. Her fundamental position with respect to this is as follows:

- (1) Reality is what it is--that is, what it is fundamentally apprehended to men;
- (2) Everyone comprehends that reality is what it is--that is, all men implicitly know the truth;
- (3) The basic problem with knowing stems not from a lack of knowledge but rather a tendency to deny or to avoid recognizing true knowledge for what it is. "The extreme you have always struggled to avoid is the recognition that reality is final, that A is A and the truth is true."

The following are the other elements of her philosophy:

Objective Value

Value is an aspect of truth (objective reality). Truth precedes & determines value. Value is therefore factual or "objective."

Values are not relative to choices. Choices are relative to values and can be objectively determined on the basis of certain absolute and self-evident standards.

Natural Knowledge

There is no truth (ultimate meaning) except that which is self-evident on the basis of natural (sense-empirical) experience, and all truth is, potentially, knowable.

Contingency of Virtue

Virtues have no intrinsic value. Life is the reward of virtue and happiness is the goal and the reward of life.

O'Neill, William. An Analysis of Ayn Rand's Philosophy. [All quotes from Rand]

p. 21

"To exist is to be something, as distinguished from the nothingness of non-existence, it is to be an entity of a specific nature, made of specific attributes ... Existence is Identity, Consciousness is Identification."

p. 18

"For each living species, the course of action required is specific; what an entity is determines what it ought to do."

p. 7

"The ultimate goal of man is a state of non-contradictory happiness."

p. 11

"Pleasure, for man, is not a luxury, but a profound psychological need."

p. 5

"Happiness--not pain or mindless self-indulgence--is the proof of your moral integrity, since it is the proof and result of your loyalty to the achievement of your values."

John Rawls set out to form a new theory of justice for two main reasons. The first is that he wanted to articulate a small set of general principles of justice which underlie and account for the various considered moral judgements we make in particular cases. These are judgements that we make reflectively. Second, he wanted to develop a theory of justice that is superior to classical and average utilitarianism. Classical utilitarianism maximizes aggregate utility, and average utilitarianism maximizes utility per capita.

These principles of justice would specify how the basic structure of society is to distribute prospects of obtaining what Rawls called primary goods. This structure would provide three things" 1) a maximally flexible means for pursuit of one's goals, 2) conditions of the effective pursuit of one's goals and 3) conditions of the critical and informed formulation of one's plans. For example, wealth would be flexible means. Freedom would be the condition. And freedom of the press and speech would provide the information.

John Rawls principles are to do two things. They are to yield concrete judgements about the injustice or justice of specific institutions and institutional practices. They also provide guidance to us in developing policies and laws to correct injustices in the basic structure of society.

A just societal structure has to have two main ingredients. Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all. This is the principle of greater liberty.. The difference principle tells us that social and economic inequalities ought to be arranged so that they are both (A) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged and (B) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity.

Rawls presents three justifications for his principles of liberty. 1) If a principle accounts for our considered moral judgements about what is just or unjust, then this is a good reason for accepting it. (2) If a principle would be chosen under conditions which according to our moral judgements, are appropriate for choosing principle of justice, we should accept it. (3) Based on Kant - an autonomous agent is one whose will is determined by rational principles rather than particular desire and they can serve as principles for everyone not just for someone with a desire.

The hypothetical situation of choice, or the original state, consists of four main things: (1) motivation of parties (2) veil of ignorance (3) formal constraints on the concept of right (4) list of competing principles. Under the veil of ignorance we are deprived of knowledge of economic status, skills, and strength. Thus we can make just decisions not influenced by factors that are arbitrary from a moral point of view.

Blacker, H. Gene, & Elizabeth H. Smith. John Rawls' Theory of Social Justice: An Introduction, Athens: Ohio Univ. Press, 1976. quoting John Rawls. Theory of Social Justice, 1971.

p. 7

Many different kinds of things are said to be just and unjust: not only laws, institutions, and social systems, but also particular actions of many kinds, including decisions, judgments, and imputations. We also call the attitudes and dispositions of persons, and persons themselves, just or unjust.

p. 8

"...Things that every rational man is presumed to want. These goods normally have a use whatever a person's rational plan of life."

p. 14

"We shall say that certain principles of justice are justified because they would be agreed to in [the original position]. I have emphasized that this original position is purely hypothetical. It is natural to ask why, if this agreement is never actually entered into, we should take an interest in these principles, moral or otherwise. The answer is that the conditions embodied in the original position are ones that we do in fact accept [as appropriate conditions for the choice of principles of justice.]

Rawls, p. 2

p. 15

"...the principles of justice for the basic structure of society are the principles that free and rational persons concerned to further their own interests would accept in an initial position of equality as defining the fundamental terms of their association. These principles are to regulate all further agreements; they specify the kinds of social cooperation that can be entered into and the forms of government that can be established. This way of regarding the principles of justice I shall call justice as fairness.

p. 18

"The principles of justice are chosen behind a veil of ignorance. This ensures that no one is advantaged or disadvantaged in the choice of principles by the outcome of natural chance or the contingency of social circumstances. Since all are similarly situated and no one is able to design principles to favor his particular condition, the principles of justice are the result of a fair agreement or bargain. For given the circumstances of the original position, the symmetry of everyone's relations to each other, this initial situation is fair between individuals as moral persons....The original position is, one might say, the appropriate initial status quo, and thus the fundamental agreements reached in it are fair. This explains the propriety of the name 'justice as fairness'; it conveys the idea that the principles of justice are agreed to in an initial situation that is fair."

p. 22

"Without it nothing may seem worth doing or if some things have value for us, we lack the will to strive for them. All desire and activity becomes empty and vain, and we sink into apathy and cynicism. Therefore the parties in the original position would wish to avoid at almost any cost the social conditions that undermine self-respect."

The famous social theorist, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, focused his philosophy on the Social Contract theory. Although Rousseau felt the state of nature did not exist right before government, he still supported the idea that the State of Nature was a vital part in being able to understand why man would have entered into the Social Contract. But we first must keep in mind that the State of Nature and the Contract itself was purely hypothetical and idealistic. According to Rousseau, the State of Nature never existed and never will.

Rousseau felt in the original state of nature, man lived in isolation from each other. To extend, he defined the state of nature as where man may exist without obligations to society. Rousseau seems to feel the state of nature is very important to the state. He claims it as the root of the civil state. The heavy emphasis is indicative of this fact.

In the original state of nature, it is logical to Rousseau that man is perfectly satisfied in isolation. After all, man before communities would not know anything more than what he had at that time. His desires could not extend past what he knew. All humans desire only what they know. If we add this idea to the idea that in the state of nature man has individual autonomy considering he is isolated from fellow men. By considering Rousseau's position on the isolation of man, we can clearly see how he believes that man is inherently asocial. In other words, Rousseau doesn't believe man is inherently bad nor is he good (to be with other people), but man is not a social animal. Rousseau feels that if man is satisfied in his isolated state, he would have no need or desire to be social. Thus he differs with Hobbes' belief that man in the state of nature is in a state of constant war of all against all. After all, if men are asocial, completely satisfied, and do not have competing claims, why should there be war among men?

However, natural occurrences in the state of nature such as tornadoes, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes provide man with the need to form groups in order to survive. Man may be self-sufficient when isolated, but after the needs occur to form groups, their needs become interdependent. Although man does have a need for a group for survival, Rousseau advocates this is purely a need for survival and NOT a need for companionship. According to Rousseau, the problems start when man forms these societies. After man enters these groups, competitive desires arise among the individuals. Men, through these desires, gradually become more hostile toward his fellow men. This brewing animosity stirred by the creation of societal groups, says Rousseau, is comparable to the type war Hobbes discusses in his State of Nature argument. Thus, contrary to what other philosophers may believe, Rousseau advocates that the state of war of all against all is promoted AFTER the formation of societal groups rather than in the state of nature.

Because individuals realize this type of group cannot survive, they finally decide to create a society founded upon the rules of peace and justice. Thus, government is established on these two principles.

Rousseau, however, felt society was far from perfect. He developed two ideas of the individual in relationship to the society. These are the particular will and the general will. Rousseau felt it was crucial to the social unit to examine these two ideas. The particular will explains how the individual has selfish desire which he may place first. This will can only benefit the individual's wishes and hopes. But the particular will could not benefit society and allow for a truly free society. Rousseau's other idea involving the general will is what, according to Rousseau, will stabilize and allow for a free society. The general will focuses on what is the best for the whole of society. If individuals make decisions manifested in the common good, the decisions reflect the general will. Rousseau felt that the human relationship which existed in society were purely superficial. That, combined with the fact of competition within society, is how the particular will of the individual was developed. But, according to Rousseau, the society cannot fulfill its obligation and exist in a secured form unless the individuals are willing to place the general will first. These ideas support the fact that Jean-Jacques Rousseau was more of a utilitarian than an advocate of individual rights. His belief in the general will supporting society verifies this point.

If Rousseau thought that there was any way man could be self-sufficient without society/state influence, he would have absolutely opposed government. As it is, he feels society corrupts the individual. However, the society he speaks of is an advanced society. Man through the ability to own extensive property will become corrupt. Rousseau thought the ability for the individual to prosper through the attainment of property creates inequality and this would harm societal interests. Rousseau advocates that three things fragment social unity: 1) Religious cleavages, 2) special interest groups, 3) and finally unequal distribution of wealth. Advanced societies with a rich-poor gap will lead to the destruction of stability in that society. Rousseau also believed luxury in general was bad. He felt the advanced societies with luxurious ideals were inimical to morality, religion, and liberty. The inequalities, economic and political, which would exist would lead to the destruction of unity mentioned above.

In retrospect, when man is in the state of nature, he is considered asocial and satisfied. But when the need occurs to form social groups for survival, man joins a state of war. To escape this, man enters a society/state. yet Rousseau feels that an advanced society would be antithetical to a unified society. Rousseau felt that in order for society to be free, man must overcome his tendency to particular with a hope for the general will.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Emile Durkheim, *MONTESQUIEU AND ROUSSEAU*, 1965
Mark N. Hagopian (Prof. of Political Science, American International College),
IDEALS AND IDEOLOGIES OF MODERN POLITICS, 1985

QUOTATIONS: by Rousseau

Durkheim, p. 70-71 " Since he (man) desires only what he knows and knows only what it is in his power to possess...his soul is perfectly tranquil and his mind extremely limited."

Durkheim p. 73 " But even if man is not a wolf to his fellow man, it does not necessarily follow that he is inclined to unite with them permanently and from societies in the strict sense of the word. He has neither the means nor the need to do so. He lacks the means because his intelligence, limited to momentary sensations, having no conception of the future, cannot even imagine what such an association of which he has no visible example - might be."

Durkheim p. 74 "He is not hostile to society, but has no inclination toward it. He has within him the seeds which, if nurtured, will develop into social virtues, social inclinations, but they are only potentialities."

Durkheim, p. 75 " Since men in this state have no kind of moral tie between them and no known duties, they could be neither good nor bad and had neither vices nor virtues".

Durkheim p. 79 "From the recognition of property the first rules of justice were born."

Durkheim p. 79" ...The beginnings of society gave way to the most terrible state of war. Debased and savages, unable to retrace its steps or give up its unfortunate acquisitions, the human race had reached the brink of ruin."

Hagopian p. 23; " Man is thus free in a moral, spiritual way only in a community where the general will regularly prevails. Rousseau takes the term 'general' quite seriously because it only applies to law and the 'sovereign'."

Hagopian p. 23 "Morally, a community where the general will prevails requires that its members shed their egotism and devote themselves to the common good of the whole."

Ibid "(By Rousseau) In a morally and socially unified community the decision of the majority is a virtually infallible guide to the general will."

Lara Evers
Vestavia Hills, Alabama

MICHAEL J. SANDEL

Sandel does not believe in Kant's theory of deontological liberalism that deals with societies in which all laws are formed, not according to what protects the welfare of the society, but according to what is right. Sandel thinks the ideal of justice that this theory is based on is flawed and should be limited. He accepts that justice is the primary virtue and is also not an end, but a means to weight other values. He stands for justice as fairness, not utilitarianism because he believes that individual rights cannot be violated for the sake of society. He believes that within every society there exists a conflict of interest as well as an identity of interest. He recognizes the value of the original position in determining the outcome of all arguments. Sandel concurs with Rawls that for justice the subject must be "plural." Justice can only take place in a society of people who are in some sense distinguishable from one another. This is the principle of "plurality." Unity is in a society of people who are not differentiated from each other. Unity is important but plurality is of a much higher priority. He also talks a lot about the link between possession and self. He claims that possessions are linked closely to who we are but are not a part of us. Sandel is also an advocate of communitarianism. Communitarianism recognizes both the value of the individual as an integral part of society because they make up society. He states that when all of society is involved, utilitarianism will suffice, but when society is not involved each person should act to maximize his own greatest good.

On contractual agreements, Sandel believes that the agreement must be assessed on two points of view: (1) the conditions under which the agreement was made—whether the parties involved were free or coerced; and (2) the terms of the agreement, whether each party received a fair share. When a contract approaches the base of pure procedural justice, the outcome is just in virtue of the contract that produced it, no matter what it is.

Sandel believes that a social policy that violates individual rights for social welfare cannot be justified. He avoids relying on motivations or intentions because he believes man to be, by nature, selfish or egoistic. It is his belief that whether or not a society is just depends on whether or not the majority of the members decide to act justly. Justice is prevalent because people cannot know each other well enough to govern by the common good alone. Liberalism is important to keep a distance between self and our ends, but it can be taken too far.

Sandel, Michael J. Liberalism and the Limits of Justice. Cambridge U. Press, 1982. (Sandel is prof. of political philosophy, Harvard U)

p. 15

"...justice is not merely one important value among others to be weighted and considered as the occasion requires, but rather the means by which values are weighed and assessed...Justice is the standard by which conflicting values are reconciled and competing conceptions of the good accommodated if not always resolved."

p. 15

"To sacrifice justice for the sake of the general good is to violate the inviolable, to fail to respect the distinction between persons."

p. 18

"In justice as fairness, unlike utilitarianism, the individual's right to equal liberty in the face of majority preferences to the contrary is unconditionally affirmed."

p. 85

"We can see in this light how Rawls' arguments from arbitrariness undermines desert not directly, but claiming I cannot deserve what is arbitrarily given, but indirectly by showing I cannot possess what is arbitrarily given, that is, that 'I,' quo subject of possession, cannot possess it in the undistanced, constitutive sense necessary to provide a desert base."

p. 134

"We have spoken of the two central features of the self—its distinctness and its unity—as though each were in some sense self-sufficient, as though each could be described independently of the other. But it is difficult in practice to observe the distinction between these two features of the self without also remarking their internal connection."

Nathan Johnson
Homewood , Alabama

MICHAEL WALZER

Michael Walzer wrote a treatise entitled Spheres of Justice. He advocates egalitarianism as just political thought. Walzer deals basically with a distributive justice based on equality, which he separates into two distinct classes--simply equality and complex equality. Simple equality for Walzer is not even true equality. It is the allotment of goods to individuals without respect to their individuality, rendering unjust proportions with respect to need or merit. He seems to agree that the greatest injustice is the treatment of unequals equally. Complex equality, however, he considers is the truest form. Upon examination, complex equality is found by Walzer to be the complete and total separation of status in one area of life from any and all others. For example, simply because a man may be a movie star gives him no right to have a greater allotment of input in the public pool than any other. He must climb each proverbial ladder separately. Walzer states this in my first quote on the evidence section.

The purpose behind equity is to eliminate domination, not only of goods, but of power also. Walzer protested the fact that an individual could hold one small amount of a rare commodity and , by this ownership, gain social dominance. His ideal just society is one in which everyone places aside all selfish considerations and shares proportionally without any dominance of an individual or group over another individual or group in the society.

Walzer believed that those in power should voluntarily limit themselves and not allow themselves to have the rights to enslave, control marriages, corrupt justice, control religion, interfere with teaching, or remove civil liberties.

Walzer, Michael. Spheres of Justice, 1983.

p. 19

"In formal terms, complex equality means that no citizen's standing in one sphere or with regard to one social good can be undercut by his standing in some other sphere, with respect to some other good."

p.xiii

"Hence, again, equality as we have dreamed of it does not require the repression of persons. We have to understand and control social goods; we do not have to stretch or shrink human beings."

p. xiv

"Justice and equality can conceivably be worked out as philosophical artifacts, but a just or egalitarian society cannot be. If such a society isn't already here--hidden, as it were, in our concept and categories--we will never know it concretely or realize it in fact.

p. xv

"We make the social world as much with our minds as with our hands, and the particular world that we have made lends itself to egalitarian interpretations

p. xv

"Men and women do indeed have rights beyond life and liberty, but these do not follow from our common humanity; they follow from shared conceptions of social goods; they are local and particular in character."

Walzer, p. 2

p. 3

"nothing can be omitted; no feature of our common life can escape scrutiny."

p. 315

"The dominance of capital-outside the market makes capitalism unjust."

→ ABORTION

FACTS ON FILE, 1986, p. 410.F3.

Arizona could not deny state aid to a private family planning organization because it provided abortions and planning.

SUPREME COURT REPORTER, #93, 1972, p. 705.

Abortion infringes on the rights of the mother. The fetus has no social status.

→ ARISTOTLE

Anthony Flew, Dictionary of Philosophy, 1979, p. 26

The goal of social evolution is happiness, and "in seeking happiness all men are seeking to actualize the best that men are capable of."

John L. Stocks, Our Debt to Greece & Rome, 1963, p. 80

Man, like all the rest of nature, is occupied with the effort to achieve, defend and sustain the form which is the law of his being.

Henry B. Veatch, Aristotle, 1974, p. 104

What Aristotle is suggesting is that there must be a final cause of human existence toward which a man's entire natural development & progress are oriented, much as an acorn might be said to be oriented toward the attainment of its own perfection & fulfillment in the full grown tree. Moreover, as the acorn is ordered to its perfection as a full grown tree in the sense of a potentiality being ordered to its proper actuality, so also a maturing, developing human being is ordered to his own fulfillment as a fully developed human personality, again exactly as potentiality is to actuality.

→ FEDERAL BUDGET

Economists, Feb. 8, 1986, p.13-14

"Once the budget deficit shrinks the Federal Reserve can let interest rates fall without fear of rekindling inflation."

The Federal Deficit, Andrew Kimmens, 1985, p.134

"Financing a budget deficit may draw on private saving and foreign capital inflows that otherwise would be available to the private sector...Weak and marginal buyers may be 'rationed' out of the market by higher interest rates unless saving flows are adequate... During a recession - as now exists - the borrowing requirements of business and consumers tend to be relatively small. At such a time a given deficit can be financed with less pressure on interest rates than during a period of growth... Much of the Administration's tax program is designed to increase the private savings of the nation. As a consequence, both public and private borrowing will be accommodated more easily."

→ HOBBS

THOMAS HOBBS GREAT BOOKS OF THE WESTERN WORLD vol 23 1952

"Nature hath make men so equal in the faculties of body and mind."

Ibid

"I find yet a greater equality amongst men than that of strength."

HOBBS SELECTIONS Frederick Woodbridge 1930
 "All men in the state of nature have a desire and will to hurt, but not proceeding from the same cause, neither equally to be condemned. For one man, according to the natural equality which it is among, permits as much to others as he assumes himself; which is an argument of a temperate man, and one that rightly values his power. Another, supposing himself above others, will have a license to do what he lists., and challenges respect and honor, as due to him before others; which is an argument of fiery spirit. p.262

THE MOTTA PHYSICAL SYSTEM OF HOBBS Calkins 1963, p. 250

From this equality of ability, arises equality of hope in the attaining of our ends. And therefore if any two men desire the same thing, which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies; and in the way their end, which is principally, their own conservation and sometimes their delectation only endeavor to destroy, or subdue one another."

Hobbes (cont'd)

A DICTIONARY OF PHILOSOPHY by Antony Flew
"Hobbes expresses a preference for monarchy... because every man is desirous of what is good for him.."

DICTIONARY OF THE HISTORY OF IDEAS
Philip P. Wiener p. 20 1973
As the supreme evil is suffering and death they consequently go ahead and unite in a society under the influence of fear and insecurity and delegate their powers to an authority which would be all the more absolute insofar as Hobbes made the social contract the basis of a civil state.

IoP Bowie and Simon p.16 1986
"...if Hobbisian assumptions are correct, the authoritatian state cannot work and the social contract that creates it cannot rationally be signed."

IOP Bowie and Simon 1986
"Hobbesian contractes give all thier powere up to a soverign to enhance security." The individual and the Political order.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF Philosophy vol 4 ed Paul Edwards 1967 p. 42
"The social contract theory was an attempt to rationalize political obligation, to substitiute an intelligible bargain for mystifing appeals to tradition and divine right."

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE POLITICAL ORDER
..."Hobbesian contractees give all thier power up to a soverign to enhance security."

→ HUGO - LIBERTY

VICTOR HUGO THE MAN AND THE POET BY WILLIAM F GRIESE 1926
"He declaimed all his life about liberty."

VICTOR HUGO Matthew Jospen 1942
"For me, there is no fatherland where there is no liberty."

COLLIERS ENCYCLOPEDIA p. 344 vol 12, 1986
Victor Hugo thought that liberty was necessary if one wanted a stable government. (paranhrased)

→ KANT

Kant, Roger Scruton, p.58, 1982

"All rational beings recognize the distinctive between knowing the truth and knowing what to do about it. Judge-ments and decisions may each be based on, and amended through, reason, but ..

Kant, Roger Scruton, 1982, p.58

"All rational beings recognize the distinctive between knowing the truth and knowing what to do about it. Judge-ments and decisions amy each be based on, and amedned through, reason, but only the first can be true a or false."

A Dictionary of Philosophy, Antony Flew, 1979, p.53

"What is Kants' categorical imperative? A term, introduced into ethics by Kant to distinguish the guidance to action given by morality from other formss of prescription."

Kants' Life and Thought, Yale, 1981

"Act only according to the maxim by which you can at the same time will that it should become a universla law."
(quoting Kant)

Immanuel Kant, The Metaphysical Elements of Justice, 1965

"The categorical (unconditional) imperative is one that does not command med-iate, through the representation of an end that could be attained by an action but immediately, through the mere repre-sentation of this action itself (its form) which the categorical imperstive thinks as objectively necessary and makes nec-essary."

→ LIVING WILL

MOBY'S MEDICAL & NURSIMG DICTIONARY, p.659
living will--a written agreement between a patient & physician to withhold heroic measures if the patient's condition is four to be irreversible.

B. D. Colen, Health, Nov.1986, p. 72

The living will is a statement of wishes made while you are still of sound mind & body regarding the use of "extraordinary means" to sustain life should you become comatose or otherwise incompetent while suffering from a terminal illness.

→ LOCKE

The Individual and the Political Order
P. 59 Norman Bowie, Robert Simon 1986
"to avoid the State of war... is one great reason of man's putting themselves into society and quitting the state of nature."

2Nd Treatises of Government John Locke
pg. 67 1980
"whatsoever he thinks fit for the preservation of himself and others with the permission of the law of nature by which is common to them all here all the rest of mankind are one community, make up one society, distinct for, all other creatures."

Locke p. 8
"...a state of perfect freedom to order their actions, and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit with the bounds of the law of nature without asking leave, or depending upon the will of any other man."

EXCERPT FROM: THE SECOND TREATISE Peardon 1952 Bobbs Merrill Chap 2 Sect 6
"Lockes state of nature has a law to govern it which obliges everyone; and reason which is that law teaches all mankind who will but consult it that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions."

LOCKE AN INTRODUCTION By Yelton 1985 p.51
Man "...by a secret and tacit consent establishes itself in several Societies Tribes, and Clubs of Men in the World."

JOHN LOCKE Maurice Cranston 1961 p,28
"the great and chief end...of men's uniting in a commonwealth and putting themselves under government is the preservation of their property."

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PHILOSOPHY vol. 4 ed. Paul Edwards. 1967 p.499
"By the social contract men give up, not all their rights but only the legislative and executive right they had under the law of nature."

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PHILOSOPHY VOL 4 Ed Paul Edwards p. 1967 p499
"all men are bound to preserve peace, preserve mankind, and refrain from hurt to one another."

John Locke and the Doctrine of Majority Rule p. 64 Wilmoore Kendall 1965
Locke...held that men in the state of nature are the subject of certain natural rights e.g. "to order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit... without asking leave or depending upon the will of any other man"

Ibid
"...locke thought men might will have chosen to remain in the state of nature indefinitely."

DICTIONARY OF THE HISTORY OF IDEAS VOL II p. 288 Philip P. Wiener
The individual surrenders his right to interpret and enforce the laws of nature and that the state protects his rights to life, liberty and property within a framework of public law governing everyone eagerly."

→ MARX

The Federal Deficit, Andrew Kimmens, 1985, p. 134

"Karl Marx justifies a violent overthrow of a government because he believes that "out of the wreckage of an old order, new life will mysteriously spring into being ... All roads lead to revolution."

David McLellan, Collier's Encyclopedia, 1986, p.462

"Such a revolution, wherever it happened could be expected to be violent; though, again, marx did admit the possibility of exceptions, intimating that such democratic countries as Britain and the US. might achieve a peaceful transition to socialism."

David McLellan, Colliers Encyclopedia, 1986, p. 462

Such a revolution, wherever it happened, could be expected to be violent; though, again, Marx did admit the possibility of exceptions, intimating that such democratic countries as Britain & the United States might achieve a peaceful transition to socialism.

David Lyon, Karl Marx: A Christian Assessment of His Life & Thought, 1979, p. 15

Karl Marx justifies a violent overthrow of a government because he believes that,"out of wreckage of an old order, new life will mysteriously spring into being...All roads

Karl Marx: A Christian Assessment of His Life and Thought

To overthrow all systems in which man is humiliated, enslaved, abandoned, and despised its citizens--the means to destruction being a combination of proletarian action & philosophical reflection

→ MACHIEVALLIEN THEORY

Dictionary of Philosophy, 1963, p. 166
(Rines)

"Machievallien: A political principle according to which every act of the state (or statesman) is permissible - especially with reference to foreign relations - which might be advantageous for one's own country."

"The Prince", Great Books of the Western World, 1952, vol. 23

"The government should be all powerful in every aspect so that it can maintain order and keep the government mainly smoothly."

→ JOHN STUART MILL

Ellery, John Stuart Mill, p. 79

If one denies man his liberty, one ~~absolves~~ ~~absolves~~ absolves him from responsibility for his actions.

JS Mill, On Liberty, p. 79

The individual should be responsible for himself and society should become indifferent.

Alexander Bain, John Stuart Mill: A Criticism, 1969, p. 113

My own decided opinion is, that he ought to have resolved all the so-called nobler or higher pleasures into the one single circumstance of including, with the agent's pleasure, the pleasure of others. This is the only position that a supporter of utility can hold to.

John B. Ellery, p. 58

The sole end for which mankind are warranted individually or collectively in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection.

Ellery, p. 78

He maintained that "the purpose of government is to insure the greatest happiness for the greatest number of the people"; that "each individual is the best judge of his own happiness & can serve his own interest better than the government can."

Bowie & Simon, p. 148

According to Mill--Each person, it (Liberty) asserts, is to be granted a sphere of inviolability in which to do as he or she wishes.

On Liberty, p. 92

It would be a great misunderstanding of this doctrine to suppose that it is one of selfish indifference which pretends that human beings have no business with each other's conduct in life, and that they should not concern themselves about the well-doing or well-being of one another, unless their own interest is involved. Instead of any diminution, there is need of great increase of disinterested exertion to promote the good of others.

Ellery, p. 79

Liberties should not be denied--if one denies man his liberty, one absolves him from responsibility for his actions.

Ency. of Philo, Edwards, p. 321, vol 5.

Individuals, he held, are radically affected by their membership in society & inevitably affected by their membership in society and inevitably formed by the customs, habits, morality, & beliefs of those who raise them.

On Liberty, p. xvii, intro. by Curwin Shields

He [an individual] has duties to himself & to others.

On Liberty, p. 3

Civil or social liberty--"The nature & limits of the power which can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual."

→ REINHOLD NIEBUHR

D. B. Robertson, Love & Justice, 1962, p.48

Reinhold Niebuhr says that "reason is not capable of defining any standard of justice.

Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 1967, Vol 5, p.504

Justice requires the coercions of government to support moral demands; and the power of opposing parties must be equalized if one is not to be subordinated unjustly to the interests of the other. Also, to have justice, freedom to criticize is required.

→ Niebuhr (cont)

Love and Justice, p. 48

The fact remains, nevertheless, that reason is not capable of defining any standard of justice that is universally valid or acceptable.

→ PLATO - LAW

THE PHILOSOPHY OF PLATO G.C. Field p,77 1969
"And Plato's first point here is that, just because it is essentially a system of general rules, law cannot attain perfect justice or tightness in every case."

→ PRESS

Curtis D. ^{Mac}Dougal, THE PRESS AND ITS PROBLEM, 1964, p. 306.

To print proceedings of judicial and legislative bodies, the newspaper (press) must follow certain laws. 1.) it must be a fair and accurate account of facts without comments; 2.) there must be no malice; 3.) the account must be based on judicial or legislative proceedings.

Curtis D. MacDougall, THE PRESS AND ITS PROBLEMS, 1964,

Privileged communication is the right of the press to withhold information in order to protect a source.

Harold Nelson, LIBEL IN NEWS OF CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES, 1961, pp. 4-5.

. . . it is so important that the public know what its officials do. It (the press) must be free to tell the public what is said . . . without fear of the consequences. The press . . . is protected by an immunity called "Qualified privilege".

Harold Nelson, LIBEL IN NEWS OF CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION COMMITTEES, 1961, p. 4-5.

The immunity that the press thus enjoys in reporting official activity is related to the "absolute privilege" of the official himself or of persons required to take part in official proceedings.

RAWLS

Professor Sowell, 1980
[Look up the book in BOOKS IN PRINT]

According to Rawls, a policy that benefited all of the human race except one person should not be adopted, no matter how much they were benefitted, nor even if the one person were completely unharmed, because that would be an "unjust" distribution of the benefits of the policy.

Professor Hart, 1974

Nothing must be allowed to lessen the self respect of any man, nor may any man be treated instrumentally.

Professor of Philo. Newton, 1981

Liberty is the core of the sense of self, of personal existence & personal integrity, which precedes all utilitarian calculation in importance.

RAWLS/VEIL OF IGNORANCE

Norman Bowie & Robert Simon, The Individual & the Political order, p89

The "veil of ignorance" guarantees impartiality because it excludes knowledge of one's class position or social status, one's fortune in the distribution of natural assets & abilities, one's intelligence, physical strength, the nature of one's society, & one's individual conception of the good.

H. Gene Block & Elizabeth H. Smith, John Rawls' Theory of Social Justice, 1980, p.53

The purpose of the veil of ignorance is to preclude this kind of situation from arising by denying the parties knowledge of the particular facts and case.

Norman E. Bowie, & Robert Simon, The Individual and the Political Order, 1986, p. 89

The ignorance principle states that the contract makers are to act as if they did not know their place in society. Such ignorance guarantees impartiality... & prevents us from arguing on selfish rather than general grounds. This veil of ignorance would exclude knowledge of one's class position or social status, one's fortune in the distribution of natural assets & abilities, one's intelligence, one's physical strength, the nature of one's society, & one's individual conception of the good. ...the ignorance principle tells us to act as if our enemy were to assign our place in society.

Bowie & Simon, p. 89

The "veil of ignorance" guarantees impartiality because it excludes knowledge of one's class position or social status, one's fortune in the distribution of natural assets & abilities, one's intelligence, physical strength, the nature of one's society, & one's individual conception of the good.

Dictionary of the History of Ideas, Phillip P. Weirner, ed. in chief, p. 436

It is well known that he refused to pay his poll tax by way of protest against the Mexican War and the expansion of slavery, & that he was turned out of jail when friends paid it in his stead. The protest itself accomplished nothing, but for many people his act became highly significant as a symbol of passive resistance to injustice.

→ RIGHT TO PRIVACY

Trudy Hayden & Jack Monick, Your Right to Privacy, 1980, ppxi-xvii

Louis Zurcher, Jr., The Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences, 1984, p. 434

In fact, privacy is synomous with the "right to be left alone" and the "freedom not to participate..."

→ VOLATARIE

DICTIONARY OF THE HISTORY OF IDEAS
Vol II pg 288 Philip P. Wierer

"Equality is at once the most chimeical of thing." "Although nature makes me equal" on our miserable globe it is impossible for men living in society, not to be divided into a class one the rich in command the other the poor who serve."

→ SOCIAL PROGRAMS

Facts on File, "Poverty Rates Dropped in '85," p.639

"The number of people living below the poverty rate in 1985 was placed at 33.1 million," which is "600,000 fewer than in 1984." Isabel Sawhill, an economist for the Urban Instityute, said that if Congress restored funds that the Reagan Administration had cut from social programs, the poverty would decline by one or two percentage points."

→ Livingston, 1979

As our whole experience with modern totalitarianism ought to have taught us, ends do not justify the means; the means we employ determine the ends we will reach.

→ HENRY DAVID THOREAU

Michael Moron, The Encyclopedia of Philosophy 1967, Vol 8, p. 123

Thoreau was an anarchist and revolutionary who created a highly articulate literature revolt including "Civil Disobedience" his most influential work because of its political overtones and his "act of Principle", which was his terms for the act of doing only what a person's own conscience dictated.

Encyclopedia of Philosophy, p. 122

The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think might/

Encycl. of Philosophy, p. 121

This involves what he calls "action from principle" on the basis of a intuitive perception of what is right, which is roughly rquivalent to acting on the dictates of one's own conscience.

→ Sidney Hook, 1980

Survival is not the be all and end all of a life worthy of a man. Sometimes the worst thing we can know about a man is that he has survived. Those who say that life is worth living at any cost have already written for themselves an epitaph of infamy, for there is no cause and no person they will not betray to stay alive. Man's vocatkon should be the use of the art of intelligence in behalf of freedom.

* JUSTICE *

John Rawls, The Egalitarian Theory of Justice, 1971

Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override. Justice is the first virtue of social institutions.

Rawls, p. 37

I shall call justice as fairness. The principles that free & rational persons concerned to further their own interests would accept in an initial position of equality as defining the fundamental terms of their association.

Rawls, p. 37

The principles of justice are chosen behind the veil of ignorance.

Rawls, p. 36

Just as each person must decide by rational reflection that constitutes his good, that is, the system of ends which it is rational for him to pursue, so a group of persons must decide once & for all what is to count among them as just & unjust.

Rawls, P. 37

It may be observed, however, that once the principles of justice are thought of as arising from an original agreement in a situation of equality, it is an open question whether the principle of utility would be acknowledged.

Adam Smith, The Theory of Moral Sentiments, quoted by Benjamin A. Rogge in The Wisdom of Adam Smith, 1976, p. 61

Concern for our own happiness recommends to us the virtue of prudence; concern for that of other people, the virtues of justice & beneficence--of which the one restrains us from hurting, the other prompts us to promote that happiness.

Adam Smith, p. 167

Society may subsist, though not in the most comfortable state, without beneficence; but the prevalence of injustice must utterly destroy it.

*LAZY People and Quitters NEVER
Know The Thrill of Victory —
NOR The love of Their coach!*

Adam Smith, p. 202

Justice, on the contrary, is the main pillar that upholds the whole edifice. If it is removed, the great, the immense fabric of human society, that fabric which, to raise & support, seems, in this world, if I may say so to have been the peculiar & daring care of nature, must in a moment crumble into atoms.

Adam Smith, p. 203

We may often fulfill all the rules of justice by sitting still & doing nothing.

Adam Smith, p. 206

But upon the impartial administration of justice depends the liberty of every individual, the sense which he has of his own security.

Adam Smith, p. 210

Commerce and manufacturers, in short, can seldom flourish in any state in which there is not a certain degree of confidence in the justice of government.

Richard B. Brandt, Prof. of Phil, Swarthmore College, Ethical Theory, 1959, p. 436

The phrase "have a moral right to" can be explained in parallel fashion. We can say, roughly, that to have a moral right to something is for someone else to be morally obligated (in the objective sense) to act or refrain from acting in some way to refrain from acting in some way in respect to the thing to which I am said to have the right, if I want him to

Brandt, p. 436

First, on reflection, we can notice that we always believe that, when one person has a moral right, some other person or persons have corresponding obligations.

Brandt, p. 436

[Example of moral right w/o legal right]
"to be considered for a job without discrimination on grounds of race or religion.

Milton A. Gonsalves, Ph.D., Fagotthy Right & Reason, 1981, p. 77

...moral values are understood to be those that make a person good purely & simply as a person.

Milton A. Gonsalves, PhD., Fagothey's Right & Wrong, 1981, p. 414

Justice is derived from the fundamental equality of all people, based on their personhood & common human nature.

Tom Reagan, Earthbound, 1984, pp.30-31

First, moral rights, if there are any, are universal...

...moral rights are equal rights. If all persons have a moral right to life, then all have this right equally...

...Moral rights are sometimes said to be natural rights not in the sense that they are discoverable by closely studying nature from the scientific point of view, but in the sense that they are not conventional, that is, as are legal rights created by acts of ordinary human beings.

Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Paul Edwards, ed. 1967, Vol 7, p. 146

Bentham & Austin treated moral rights as the correlatives of duties to which sanctions were attached by public opinion (or allegedly by God) rather than by the law.

Ibid,

Hegelian like T. H. Green and Barnard Bosanquet have approached the questions from a different angle. Morality, they have said, is a developing idea, manifest in social experience & institutions. It is not simply that whatever public opinion sanctions is moral but that the convictions of a society represent the most advanced stage in the unfolding of a rational morality. Individuals do not make up their own moral convictions, rather, the society's morality forms their moral consciousness. Green admitted that an individual might have a right that was not generally recognized but only if it was a necessary condition for the attainment of some end generally acknowledged as good, to which, therefore, the community was in a sense already committed.

Joel Feinberg, Rights, Justice, and the Bounds of Liberty 1980, p. 224

As such, these claims can exist prior to or independently of their recognition by the state. Hence, they are, in the appropriate sense, moral rights.

Theodore M. Benditt, Rights, p. 1982p. 52

The view that rights do not have an independent bearing in the moral assessment of action.

ROUSSEAU/REPRESENTATIVE GOV.

Paul Merrill Spurlin, Rousseau in America, 1760-1809, 1969, p. 62

Rousseau contends that the social compact is formed by a personal association of individuals, which must be unanimously assented to, and which cannot possibly be made by a representative body.

The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Paul Edwards, ed., 1967, Vol 7

It [General Will] is not simply an external authority which the citizen obeys in spite of himself, but the objective embodiment of his own moral nature.

"Montesquieu/Rousseau" BRITANNICA GREAT BOOKS, 1952

As long as several men in assembly regard themselves as a single body, they have only a single will which is concerned with their common preservation & general well being.

Peter Gay, Collier's Encyclopedia, 1986, p. 245

Contrary to widespread opinion, Rousseau did not want an all powerful state, but reduced the state to an agent of the community.

Lester G. Crocker, Rousseau's Social Contract: An Interpretive Essay, 1968, p. 187

The government is the judge of the public good and the general will, and it imposes the identification expressed at the end.

Rousseau--Totalitarian or Liberal? Chapmar 1968, p. 51

The government is the agent of the people, "an intermediate body set up between the subjects & the sovereign to secure their mutual correspondence, charged with the execution of the laws & the maintenance of liberty, both civil & political." Law is the expression of the general will & ca therefore, be made only by the people.

Rousseau feared that the government will tend to subvert the general will because of the biases of its members. "In the government, each member is first of all himself, then a magistrate, & then a citizen--in an order exactly the reverse of what the social system requires.

Harold H. Titus, Denison U., & Morris Keeton, Antioch Col., Ethics for Today, 1973, p. 562

The impartial adjudication of conflicting claims. In general, justice implies giving every man his due. Political or legal justice implies a rule of law that is applied impartially; social justice implies a distribution of the products of society so that all men have equal or equitably determined opportunity; ethical justice stresses the right of men to fair treatment in all respects.

Titus & Keeton, p. 148

Yet here the long-range consequences and the general pattern of life that men wish to maintain puts the act in a new light and calls for devotion to justice. If the total and long-range good is taken into account, the right & the good may come together.

John Cogley, Natural Law and Modern Society, 1961, p. 171-172

Justice extends beyond the legal order as such. It may have to do with the distribution of wealth, the allocation of responsibility for private harms, the definitions of crimes or parental rights. Such issues may be decided politically, & law may be used to implement whatever decision is made.

Milton A. GonSalves PhD., Fagothey's Right & Reason, 1981 rev., p. 403

Moral & natural rights are thus the source from which justice flows.

Tom Reagan, Earthbound, 1984, p. 20

Justice is the similar; & injustice the dissimilar.

T. Reagan, p. 31

Legal justice requires that one respect the legal rights of everyone, while moral justice demands that everyone's moral rights be honored.

GonSalves, p. 208

Comutative justice exists between two equals, that is between one person & another or between groups acting as if they were private persons negotiating on equal terms.

GonSalves, p. 209

Distributive justice is a relation between the community & its members. As its name indicates, it requires a fair & proper distribution of public benefits & burdens among the members of the community.

Gonzalez, p. 209

Social justice refers to the organization of society in such a way that the common good, to which men are expected to contribute in proportion to their ability & opportunity, is available to all the members for their ready use & enjoyment

Steven Toulmin, Richard Rieke, Allen Janik, An Introduction to Reasoning, 1984. p. 405

Furthermore, ethical discussions of good & bad require us to pay attention to the question, "Whose good are we talking about?" Ethics is concerned not only with considerations of value.

George Washington, letter to Edmund Randolph, Sept. 27, 1789

The administration of justice is the firmest pillar of government.

Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, 1979, p. 287
Emperor Justinian

Justice is the constant and perpetual wish to render every one his due.

Steven Toulmin, Richard Rieke, Allan Janik, An Introduction to Reasoning, 1978, p. 405

The basic difficulty in promoting the end of social justice by the use of political means springs from the difficulty of treating an entire society as the ethical counterpart of a single family. Patterns of ethical argumentation that operate easily and unambiguously within small enough groups inevitably give rise to problems when extended to a whole state or nation.

Robert Anchor, philosopher, The Enlightenment Tradition, 1967, p. 96

Justice is not natural, but it enables men to preserve what is and to live in accordance with nature.

Norman E. Bowie, Ethical Issues in Government, 1981, p. 173

But, as a matter of justice, the poor ought to be subsidized, in terms of either health & welfare services or financial awards, no matter what cost-benefit analyses reveal.

Walter Kaufmann, in Ethics & Social Justice, Howard E. Kiefer & Milton K. Munitz, eds., 1968 p. 57

My thesis can be expressed in an extremely simple way: Punishment can be unjust but never just; and distributions can be unjust but, with the exception of simplistic cases, never just.

Tom Beauchamp, William Blackstone, Joel Feinberg, PHILOSOPHY OF THE HUMAN CONDITION, 1980, p. 465

As Hobbes pointed out, without laws which bind everyone in society, life would not only be intolerable, but probably rather short.

Robert Bierstedt, FREEDOM AND CONTROL IN MODERN SOCIETY, 1954, p. 67

Society indeed is impossible without order - in a larger sense society is synonymous with order - and it is authority which serves as the foundation of much of the order which society exhibits.

Dr. Samuel Stumpf (Prof. of Phil, Vandy) MORALITY AND THE LAW, 1966, p. 219

Moreover, the requirements of moral obligations are such that the law cannot encompass or enforce them.

Dr. Samuel Stumpf, MORALITY AND THE LAW, 1966, p. 98

To prove the close relation between law and morals, it is not necessary to prove that every single law is a moral law or is in conformity with morality.

Randon House Dictionary of the English Language, College Edition, 1968, p. 727

JUSTICE - The quality of conforming to principles of reason, to generally accepted standards of right and wrong, and to the stated terms of laws, rules, agreements, etc., in matters affecting persons who could be wronged or unduly favored.

J.J. Rousseau, SOCIETY, LAW, AND MORALITY p. 213

Conventions and laws are therefore needed to join rights to duties and refer justice to it's object.

N. Bowie & R. Simon, THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE POLITICAL ORDER, 1977, p. 14

Life without the state Hobbes tells us, would be solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short...if there were no state, if humans lived in a so-called state of nature, then given selfishness, scarcity of resources, and approximate equality in strength, cunning and personal resources,

Christian Bay(Prof., Univ. Calif. at Berkeley), THE STRUCTURE OF FREEDOM, 1958, p. 88

The individual as a social being demands restrain if this word is taken in a wide sense, as much as he demands freedom, if not much more.

Thomas Jefferson, THE JEFFERSONIAN CYCLOPEDIA, 1969, p. 500

The freedom and happiness of man are the sole objects of all legitimate government.

Thomas Jefferson, THE JEFFERSONIAN CYCLOPEDIA, 1969, p. 477

That people will be happiest whose laws are best, and are best administered.

Thomas Jefferson, THE JEFFERSONIAN CYCLOPEDIA, 1969, p. 481

While the laws shall be obeyed all will be safe.

Thomas Hobbes, HOBBS SELECTIONS, 1958, p. 262

All men in the state of Nature have a desire and will to hurt, but not proceeding from the same cause, neither equally to be condemned.

Immanuel Kant, GROWTH OF CRITICAL ETHICS, p. 250

The propostion that the will is a law to itself in all its actions, however, only expresses the principle that we should not act according to any other maxim than that which can also have itself as a universal law for its object. And this is just the formula of the categorical imperative and the principle of morality. Therefore a free will and a will under moral laws are identical.

M.J. Adler, THE IDEA OF FREEDOM, 1958, p. 277

Some restraints are inevitable, some opportunitie must be denied, simply because men have to live with one another and move differently to the attainment of antithetic desires.

M,J. Adler, THE IDEA OF FREEDOM, 1956, p. 226

Sometimes, like Spencer, Laski, Russell and Knigh they make freedom itself the principle of limitation: to maximize the freedom of all the members of his society, each must be prevented from interfering with the freedom of others.

LIBERTY

Abraham Maslow; The Human Search: An Introduction to Philosophy, 1981, p. 169

Self-actualizing people enjoy life in general and in practically all its aspects, while most other people enjoy only stray moments of triumph, of achievement or of climaxes or peak experience.

M. J. Adler; The Idea of Freedom, 1956, p240

The functions of government and law should be minimized to secure maximum freedom for the individual ...as against coercion by anyone or in any form, specifically by law and the enforcement of law.

M. J. Adler; The Idea of Freedom, 1956, p240

In Laski's VIEW "liberty must always be conceived, if its philosophy is to be an adequate one, as related to the law." When it is so conceived, he continues, individual freedom cannot be "absolute", for under any system of laws for the government of men in society.

Rex Martin, professor, Rawls & Rights, 1985, p. 113

We do not say that basic liberties...have priority because they are incorporated in the constitution, rather, we say that they are so incorporated because they have a certain priority?

Ernst Cassirer, Kant's Life and Thought, 1981, p. 245

Act only according to that maxim by which you can, at the same time, will that it should become a universal law.

Ernst Cassirer, Kant's Life & Thought, 1981 p. 250

Therefore, a free will and a will under moral law are identical.

Dr. Samuel Stumpf, Prof. of Phil, Vanderbilt U., Morality & the Law, 1966, p219

Moreover, the requirements of moral obligations are such that the law cannot encompass or enforce them.

John Stuart Mill, "On Liberty," in Philo. & The Human Condition, 1980, p. 476.

Mankind are greater by suffering each other to live as seems good to themselves, than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest...

Encyclopedia of Philo., Vol 4, 1967, p. 317 (Kant's theory of moral action)

Such actions (moral) have the distinguishing feature that they are undertaken not for some ulterior end, but simply because of the principle they embody.

John Locke in Bowie & Simon, The Individual & the Political Order, 1977, p. 65

Locke's state of nature "has a law to govern it which obliges everyone; and reason which is the law teaches all mankind who will but consult it that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, or possessions.

John Rawls, The Theory of Justice, 1977, p. 241

The principle of liberty leads to the principle of responsibility.

Harold Laski, Liberty in the Modern State, 1947, p. 161

I have taken the view liberty means that there is no restraint upon those conditions which, in modern civilizations, are the necessary guarantees of individual happiness.

Louis Brandeis, Justice of US Supreme Ct, Whitely vs. California, 1927, p. 375

Those who won our independence...believed liberty to be the secret of happiness.

Harold J. Laski, Prof. at London School of Economics and Political Science, Liberty in the Modern State, p. 161

Let me remind you of the essence of my argument I have taken the view that liberty means that there is no restraint upon those conditions which, in modern civilization, are the necessary guarantees of individual happiness.

Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Freedom in the Modern World, p. 83

We cannot afford to forget that the guarantees of liberty in the bill of rights do not of themselves operate to preserve liberty.

The Jeffersonian Encyclopedia, #4685, 1969, p.

The freedom & happiness of man are the sole objects of all legitimate governments.

FREEDOM OF PRESS AND SPEECH

Walter Lippman (Am. writer, editor)
GREAT THOUGHTS, 1985, p. 247

True opinions can prevail only if the facts to which they refer are known: if they are not known, false ideas are just as effective as true ones, if not a little more effective.

Hugo L. Black (US Supreme Court Justice)
GREAT THOUGHTS, 1985, p. 43

The Framers of the Constitution knew that free speech is the friend of change and revolution. But they also knew that it is always the deadliest enemy of tyranny.

Junius, GREAT THOUGHTS, 1985, p. 230

Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that the Liberty of the Press is the palladium of all the civil, political and religious rights of an Englishman.

John Peter Zenger, "The New-York Weekly",
November 19, 1733.

The loss of liberty in general would soon follow the suppression of the liberty of the press; for it is an essential branch of liberty, so perhaps it is the best preservative of the whole.

William O. Douglas, (former US Supreme Court Justice, GREAT THOUGHTS, p. 113

Restriction of free thought and free speech is the most dangerous of all subversions. It is the one un-American act that could most easily defeat us.

Stephen A. Smith, VITAL SPEECHES, November 1, 1984, p. 56

I believe that the increasingly pervasive mass media have played a crucial role in the development of popular democracy and that the new media technologies have the potential to dramatically transform our system of national government by building democratic institutions at a level never before achieved.

Gale Klappy, VITAL SPEECHES, April 1, 1985, p. 378

Thomas Jefferson said that if he had to choose between a free press and a democracy, he would choose a free press.

Thomas Jefferson to Colonel Edward Carrington,
Great thoughts, p. 208

The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate for a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers, and be capable of reading them.

Walter Lippman, Address to International Press Institute, May 27, 1965

A free press is not a privilege but an organized necessity in a great society. Without criticism and reliable and intelligent reporting, the government cannot govern.

Charles Evans Hughes, (Chief Justice US Supreme Court, 1985, p. 193

The greater the importance to safeguarding the community from incitements to the overthrow of our institutions by force and violence the more imperative is the need to preserve the constitutional rights of free speech, free press and free assembly in order to maintain the opportunity for free political discussion, to the end that government may be responsive to the will of the people and that changes, if desired, may be obtained by peaceful means. Therein lies the security of the Republic, the very foundation of constitutional government

Karl Marx, GREAT THOUGHTS, 1985, p. 272

Freedom of the press is the intellectual mirror in which a people sees itself, and self-viewing is the first condition of wisdom.

Leon Uris (Am. novelist) GREAT THOUGHTS, 1985 p. 428

To me a writer is one of the most important soldiers in the fight for the survival of the human race.

Mortimer Adler, SIX GREAT IDEAS, 1981, p/ 131

Some real goods are truly good only when limited.

Mortimer Adler, THE IDEA OF FREEDOM, 1958, p. 227

Law is coercive, and being a restriction of individual freedom, largely by the will of others, it is justified.

POSITIVE RIGHTS VS MORAL RIGHTS

Maurice Cranston, WHAT ARE HUMAN RIGHTS, 1973, p. 5

There is a considerable difference between a right in the sense of a positive right and a right in the sense of a moral right. First, a positive right is necessarily enforceable; if it is not enforced, it cannot be a positive right. A moral right is not necessarily enforced. Some moral rights are enforced and some are not.

Cranston, p. 7

One cannot speak for long about the rights of man without confronting this notion, for it is customary to say that just as positive rights are rooted in positive law, natural rights or human rights, are rooted in natural law. The validity of the one depends on the validity of the other.

Cranston, p. 6

Where human rights are upheld by positive law - where people have what they ought to have - human rights are both moral rights and positive rights.

Cranston p. 13

Clearly natural law is not law in the same sense in which positive law is law. Positive law is a collection of specific enactments with definite sanctions attached to many of them. Natural law is not written down and carries no specific sanctions. But this does not mean, as the positivist claim, that it is unreal, imaginary, fallacious, or meaningless.

Cranston p. 14

Each kind of law has its own authority; positive law the authority of force, natural law the authority of justice or morality; and when positive law coincides with natural law it has the authority both of force and of justice.

Positive law secures the enforcement of positive rights; natural law gives the justice to natural rights.

Cranston, p. 13

Bentham wrote in ANARCHICAL FALLACIES: "Right is a child of law, from real laws come real rights, but from imaginary law, from 'laws of nature', come imaginary rights. Natural rights is simply nonsense; natural and imprescriptible rights (an American phrase) rhetorical nonsense, nonsense upon stilts"

Cranston p. 16

Legal positivism pushes morality out of the domain of jurisprudence; it says that moral philosophy is no part of the particular professional concern of the lawyer; but it does not deny that it is part of the general concern of ordinary men.

Cranston, p. 17

For the more one studies the use of the word 'law' among English speaking peoples, the more one comes to realise that morality is, so to speak, built into its meaning.

For although we must agree with the positivist that enforcement rather than justice is the necessary condition of a positive law.

Cranston, p. 26

Man, it has been said, is 'a rule-following animal'. The only way human beings can live in societies is to live according to rules, indeed the very idea of a society can be understood only in terms of the recognition of rules.

Cranston p. 3

Some Idealist philosophers admitted a concept of rights, but went on to argue that rights belonged not to individuals but to societies or communities."

Cranston p. 19

The word 'right', in ordinary English usage, not only means a 'lawful entitlement', it also means a 'just entitlement'.

Just as a positive right belongs, by definition, to the realm of fact, of what IS, so a moral right belongs, by definition, to the category of what OUT TO BE.

Resolved: that a violent revolution is a just response to oppression.

Best of Samford - Novice Lab (L/D)

WDJ Thompson, "Martin Luther and the 'Two Kingdoms'," Political Ideas, 1966, p.38

"Rebellion was, in Luther's eye's, the worst of all possible sins, for it threatened the very foundation of civil society. If it was successful, it meant the destruction of government and the triumph of anarchy even if it failed, it could only be put down at the cost of much blood shed and disorder."

Thompson, 1966 p.39

"...it was better to have a tyrant than no government at all or a weak ruler; for it was preferable to be able to enjoy half one's possessions in peace than to have them all exposed to the plunder of the world at large."

Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, 1968, p.264

"If no group is ready and able to establish effective rule following the collapse of the old regime, many cliques and social forces struggle for power. This struggle for power. This struggle gives rise to the competitive mobilization of new groups into politics and makes the revolution revolutionary."

Carl Cohen, Civil Disobedience, p.44, 1971

"Revolution tears up the fabric of a nation's life; justified or not it is an awful thing."

Cohen, p.42

"Revolution seeks the overthrow of constituted governmental authority, or at least repudiates that authority in some sphere; civil disobedience does neither."

Cohen, p.44

"Revolution, on the other hand, seek to overthrow of a reasonable stable and generally decent government and advance chiefly the private interests of the revolutionaries. Governments long established should not be changed."

Cohen, p.44

"Revolutions are too serious to be taken lightly."

Russell Kirk, The Roots of American Order, 1974, p.7

"Much though I hated the Communists, I saw then that even the grim order of Communism is better than no order at all. Many might survive under Communism; no one could survive in general disorder."

Kirk, p.264

"A revolution begins with relatively moderate objectives...but as blood is shed and hatred increases, ... The old order dissolves in anarchy, but no tolerable new order emerges."

Kirk, p.244

"If a government is unjust or negligent the people have the right to petition and remonstrate, but to make a social revolution is extreme medicine."

Thomas Jefferson, The Jefferson Cyclopedia, 1969, p.500

"The freedom and happiness of men are the sole object of all legitimate government."

Thomas Jefferson, The Declaration of Independence, 1776

"Whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends (life, liberty; and the pursuit of happiness) it is right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Sir Isaiah Berlin, Four Essays on Liberty Political Ideas in the Twentieth Century,

"Injustice, poverty, slavery, ignorance - these may be cured by reform or revolution."

Best of Samford - Novice L/D

Robert J. Muller, Issues of Freedom, 1960, p.70

"Now as oppressive as the state may be, it is clearly a necessity in any large civilized society."

Lanya Del Vesto, Warriors of Peace, p.51

"It [justice] asserts itself through violence, holds sway through violence, and leads to the violence of revolt, which shows that if justice is the reason for peace, it is at the same time the cause of revolution and war, acts that always draw their justification from the defense or conquest of rights and the abolition or injustice."

Abraham Lincoln, Speech in the House of Representatives, 1848

"Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and from a new one that suits them better."

U.S. Grant, Personal Memoirs, 1885

"The right of revolution is an inherent one. When people are oppressed by their government, it is a natural right they enjoy to relieve themselves from the oppression, if they are strong enough, either by withdrawal from it, or by overthrowing it and substituting a government more acceptable."

Henry David Thoreau, An essay on Civil Disobedience, 1849

"All men recognize the right of revolution. That is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and endurable."

Rudolph Flesch, The New Book of Universal Quotations, 1966, p.326, quoting Frank Kafka

"Every revolution evaporates, and leaves behind only the slime of a new bureaucracy."

Rudolph Flesch, The New Book of Unusual Quotations, p.197, 1966, quoting Montesquieu

"When manners and customs care to be changed, it ought not be done by laws."

Rudolph Flesch, p.326, quoting Leon Blum

"A revolution is legality on a vacation."

Morton White, Philosophy of the American Revolution, 1978, p.235

"They are supported by peering into the idea of government and asserting that it is self-evident that a government which fails to attain the end of happiness for which it was, instituted may be altered or abolished."

Lawrence Dennis, Dynamics of War and Revolution, p. vii

"I say merely that any revolution big enough will end stagnation which is the essence of the social problem today."

Sun Yat-sen, The Three Principles of the People, 1981, p.119

"These four forms of social and economic development...are overthrowing old systems and giving rise to new systems. It is the constant emergence of new systems that makes constant progress possible."

Crane Britton, The Anatomy of a Revolution, 1952, p.266

"This achievement of governmental efficiency is really the most striking uniformity we can note in estimating the political changes effected by our revolutions."

Robert Tucker, Force, Order and Justice 1967, p.231

"...War merely decides 'issues of power' whereas revolution, or at any rate, may decide 'issues of justice as well.'"

David Thomson, Political Ideas, p.38, 1966, quoting Martin Luther

"There can never be rebellion without the spilling of innocent blood and other atrocities."

Robert Payne, The Corrupt Society, 1975 p. 16

"A corrupt society is fixed, restricted mobility, all organisms filled by a closed elite."

Bowie and Simon, The Individual and the Political Order, 1986, p.172

"Human nature requires that a state have a system of coercive rules to insure that its citizens obey the rules & regulate"

Best of Samford - Novice L/D

Paul Ramsey, The Just War, 1986, p.150

"Those persons formally directing or participating in the military forces, or 'materially' yet closely cooperating in the force that should be repelled by, those persons are - as the theory states - legitimate objects of direct violent repression."

Richard Taylor, Freedom, Anarchy, and the Law, 1973, p.118

"The ultimate justification of the state if it has any, can only be its expansion and enhancement of freedom."

George Seldes, The Great Quotations, 1960, p.36 ,quoting Lord Acton

"It is bad to be oppressed by a minority but it is worse to be oppressed by a majority. For there is a reserve of latent power in the masses of which, if it is called into play, the minority can seldom resist."

Seldes, p.436, quoting John Locke

"But there is only one thing which gathers people into seditious commotions, and that is oppression."

Rhonda T. Tripp, The International Thesaurus of Quotations, 1970, p.412, Samuel Butler - quotee

"Morality is the custom of one's country and the current feeling of one's peers."

Lyof N. Tolstoy, Dictionary of Quotes, p.1034

"Every revolution by force only puts more violent means of enslavement into the hands of the persons in power."

Carl Cohen, Civil Disobedience, 1971, p. 105

"It has become a prominent element in the American political tradition and underlies the epigram Jefferson hoped would be inscribed on the great Seal of The United States: 'Rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God.'"

Kathleen Squadrito, John Locke, 1979, p.117

"All persons including legislators and the king, are subject to the law of nature. If government violates this fundamental law,=the people have a right to rebellion."

Squadrito, p.118

"Whenever the legislators attempt to take away or destroy the property of the people or to reduce them to slavery under Arbitrary Power, they put themselves into a state of war with the people, who are thereupon absolved from any further obedience, and are left to the common refuge, which God hath provided for all men against force and violence."

Squadrito, p.117

"Locke makes it perfectly clear that if government does not meet the ends for which it was created, the people must use force to oppose it."

Squadrito, p.117 (quoting Locke)

"For no man, or society of men, having a power to deliver up their Preservation, or consequently the means of it, to the Absolute Will and arbitrary Dominion of another; whenever anyone shall go about to bring them into such a slavish condition, they will always have a right to preserve what they have not a power to part with; and to rid themselves of those who invade this fundamental, sacred, and unalterable Law of self-preservation, for which they entered into society."

Squadrito, p.117

"He [Locke] grants the right of revolution against any unjust executive and against an unjust government of any kind."

Squadrito, p.117

"Both the legislative and executive branches of the government may exceed their power and may consequently be overthrown by the people."

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J.G. Davies (Prof. of Theology, U of B'ham, England) Christians, Politics, and Violent Revolution, 1976, p.88

"But it cannot be denied that a revolution could be achieved by peaceful means; insurrection and violence may accompany revolutionary movement but they are not essential to it."

Donald Livingston, Hume's Philosophy of Human Life, 1984, p.335

"Revolutionary activity, then, is not something about which one can be moderate; it is simply something one ought not to do."

David Thompson, Political Ideas, 1966, p.38

"Rebellion was, in Luther's eyes, the worst of all possible sins, for it threatened the very foundations of civil society. If it was successful, it meant the destruction of government and the triumph of anarchy."

Thompson, p.114

"The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man.

These rights are Liberty, Property, Security, and the right to resist oppression." [2nd Clause-Declaration of rights of Man & Citizens]

Carl Cohen, Civil Disobedience, Conscience Tactics, and the Law, p.105

"It has become a prominent element in the American political tradition and underlies the epigram Jefferson hoped would be inscribed on the Great Seal of the United States: 'Rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God.'"

Henry Clay, Speech in the House of Representatives, 1848

"An oppressed people are authorized whenever they can to rise and break their fetters."

Blaise Pascal, Pensees, 1670, p.iv

"The art of revolutionizing and overturning states is to undermine established customs by going back to their origin, in order to mark their want of justice."

Wendell Phillips, Speech in Boston, Jan. 28, 1852

"Revolutions are not made: they come. A revolution is as natural a growth as an oak. It comes out of the past. Its foundation are laid for back."

George Seldes, The Great Quotations, 1960, p.36 quoting Lord Acton

"It is bad to be oppressed by a minority, but it is worse to be oppressed by a majority. For there is a reserve of latent power in the masses of which, if it is called into play, the minority can seldom resist."

Thomas Paine, The Rights of Man, Part II, 1792

"A great part of that order which reigns mankind is not the effect of government. It had its origin in the principles of society, and the natural constitution of man. 'It existed prior to government, and would exist if the formality of government was abolished.'"

Charles H. Hinnant (Prof of 17/18th century at the Univ. of Missouri) Thomas Hobbes, 1979, p.85

"Hobbes then goes on to formulate his famous view that the state of nature is the state of War."

Mortimer Adler, Dir. of Isti. for philisophical Research, Aristotle for Everybody, 1978, p. 85.

Now if a good life as a whole is one that involves having all the things that are really good for us, then we ought to desire to live well - to achieve happiness or a good life.

Kurt Goldstein, Motivation and Personality, p. 1970, p. 46.

A man's desire for selffulfillment, namesly to the tendency for him to become actualized in what he is potentially.

Russel Kirk, pf of politics and literature, The Roots of American Order, 1974, p. 7.

Without order, there is no living in public society because the want there of is the mother of confusion.

Eric Fromm, psychologist, Escape from Freedom, 1969, p. 288.

It also seems that this general tendency to grow- which is the psychological equivelent of the identical biological tendency - results in such specific tendencies as the desire for freedom and hatred against oppression, since freedom is the fundamental for any growth.

Charles Hinnant, pf of 17th and 18th century philosophy, Thomas Hobbes, 1979, p. 85.

Hobbes then goes on [in Chapter 14] to formulate his famous view that the state of nature is war.

Eric Severied, Vital Speeches of the Day, 12-4-76, pp. 251-53.

It is that any people left with no other choices will always choose order, even tyranny if it comes to that over anarchy, because anarchy in many ways is the worst tyranny there is, every-one is lost.

Clifford Paynton & Robert Blackley, Why Revolution Theories and Analyses, p. 38.

No revolution can actually occur unless the state has become a barrier to change, and the state cannot become a barrier to change unless its own form is in some way out of adjustment to the society it is supposed to serve. As Aristotle said, a state does not generally fall unless it is misrepresentative of the society under it and is preserving some injustice.

Frederick Mayer, U of Redlands, A History of Modern Philosophy, 1951, p. 269.

Rousseau sited the example of Sparta and Rome, those nations perished and he believed modern nations would experience the same fate.

Edmund Burke, philosopher, The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, 1953, p. 103.

Nothing is progression can rest on its original plan. We may as well think of rocking a grown man in the cradle of an infant.

Rudolf Flesch, The New Book of Unusual Quotations, 1966, p. 326.

Every revolution evaporates, and leaves Behind only the slime of a new Bureaucracy.

Tom Beauchamp, William Blackstone, Joel Feinberg, Philosophy of the Human Condition 1980, p. 465.

As Hobbes pointed out, without laws which bind everyone in society, life would not only be intolerable, but probably rather short.

M. Gandhi, Congressman Paul Simon, 1984, p. 24.

Bad means corrupt good ends.

William Henry Seward, Philosopher, The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, 1953, p. 422.

I know and all the world knows that revolutions never go backward.

Immanuel Kant, German philosopher, Perpetual Peace, 1795, A new Dictionary of Quotations, 1942, p. 1248.

It is far more convenient to commit an act of violence, and afterwards excuse it, than laboriously to consider convincing arguments, and lost time in listening to objections.

H.D. Thoreau, An Essay on Civil Disobedience, in A New Dictionary of Quotations, 1942, p. 1033.

All men recognize the right to revolution: that is the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable.

Lanra Del Vasto, Warriors of Peace 1974, p. 50.

And the more just it [revolution] is, the more atrocities it justifies.

Lawrence Dennis, Dynamics of War and Revolution, 1940, p. 12.

possibly men would be happier living in more static and less dynamic societies.

Plato, The Republic, trans, Sterling and Scott, 1985, p. 15.

Socrates rejoinder is that all men desire justice, but like honor, its attainment requires effort, discipline, and risk. The price of justice is high, and many are unwilling to pay it.

Rudolph Flesch, The New Book of Unusual Quotations, 1986, p. 326.

A revolution is legality on vacations.

E.L. Allen, From Plato to Nietzsche, Ideas that Shape our lives, 1959, p. 44.

Aristotle thinks there will be general agreement as to what the supreme good is, It is happiness.

George Kennan, Morality and Foreign Policy, Winter, 1985/86, p. 206.

They (government responsibilities) are the unavoidable necessities of national existence and therefore not subject to 'good' or 'bad.'

Abraham Kaplan, pf. philosophy at UCLA, The New World of Philosophy, 1960, p. 162.

The idea that communism is loathed by all or even a significant part of those who live under it is, I'm afraid, not much more than a wish fulfilling fantasy, and not a harmless one either. Whatever force dictatorships employ, they do not rule by naked power alone, but in the perspectives of legitimacy.

Eric Severied, Vital Speeches of the Day, 12-4-76, pp. 251-53.

This country was founded by dissenters and dissent is in our collective bloodshed.

Eric Severied, Vital Speeches of the Day, 12-4-76, pp. 251-53.

And if historical measurement are of value, we might remember that most of the social violence in our past - the Civil War excepted - has not been directed at government; it has occurred between private groups.

Eric Severied, Vital Speeches of the Day, 12-4-76, p. 251-53.

...both successful and unsuccessful revolutions always increase the power of the state, the thing they hate the most, not the power of the individual, the thing they cherish.

Mark N. Hapopian, Regimes, Movements, and Ideologies, 1978, p. 214.

Revolution is both the result and the promoter of change.

Lanra Del Vasto, Warriors of Peace, 1974, p. 56.

Murder is not only permissible, but a duty when a common welfare requires it.

Lochus J. Barker, University Pf. of Public Affairs at Washington Univ. Civil Liberties and the Constitution 1882, p. 123.

Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, who delivered the opinion that the court, said that civil liberties, as guaranteed by the constitution imply the existence of an organized society maintaining public order without which liberty itself would be lost in the excess of unrestrained abuses.

Bentham, philosopher, A comment on the Commentaries and a Fragment on Government, 1777, p. 484.

It is then, we may say, and not until then, allowable to, if not incumbent on, every man, as well on the score of duty as of interest, to enter into measures of resistance.

Berger, Pf. Sociology, Princeton U. Freedom and the Control in Modern society, 1764, p. 277.

The pursuit of our natural interest can never fail to be conducive to a better world.

Robert Ardrey, Univeristy of Chicago grad., The Social Contract, 1970, p. 295.

Violence proposes present success, ultimate failure. The warring subgroup, denying the social need of all others, denies in the end its own.

Russel Kirk, Pf of political literature, The Roots of the American Order, 1974, p. 6.

The good society is marked by a high degree of order, justice, and freedom. Among these, order has primacy: for justice cannot be enforced until a tolerable civil social order is attained, nor can freedom be anything better than violence until order gives us laws.

Reinhold Neiburr, philosopher, Moral Man and Immoral Society, 1932, p. 170.

... but [moralists] are wrong in their assumptions that violence is intrinsically immoral. Nothing is intrinsically immoral except ill-will...

Reinhold Neiburr, philosopher, Moral Man and Immoral Society, 1932, p. 23.

Whatever increases in social intelligence and moral goodwill may be achieved in human history, may serve to mitigate the brutalities of social conflict, but they cannot abolish the conflict itself.

John Locke, philosopher, Second Treatise of Government, 1660, p. 119.

...every man that has any possession or enjoyment of any part of the dominions of a government does thereby give his tacit consent and us a far forth obliged to the laws of that government during such enjoyment...

Russel Kirk, Pf. politics and literature, The Roots of American Order, 1974, p. 6

Order is the first need of the commonwealth. It is not possible for us to live in peace with one another, unless we recognize some principles of order, by which to do justice.

Abraham Maslow, philosopher, Motivation and Personality, 1970, p. 46.

What a man can be, he must be. He must be true to his own nature, This need we may call self-actualization.

Pulszky, philosopher, The Theory of Law and Civil Society, 1888, p. 101.

Man has never lived, nor can ever live, isolated and alone either can any period of humanity be conceived in which man stood outside society.

Philip Kurland, law pf at Chicago, Politics, the Constitution, and the Warren Court, 1970, p. 203.

Human society keeps changing.

Louis Brandeis, Supreme Court Justice, White vs. California, 1927, p. 375.

Those who won our independence. . . believed liberty to be the secret of happiness.

Morton White, pf Princeton, philosophy, Philosophy of American Revolution, 1978, p. 242.

The second part of the passage shows that when a government tries to do or command everything and in consequence invades the people's unalienable rights the people have either a perfect or an external right to resist.

Morton White, pf. Princeton, philosophy, Philosophy of American Revolution, 1978, p. 235.

If a government is made by men with the purpose of promoting their happiness, when it fails to promote that end, it violates its duty just as an individual violates his life and liberty or when he fails to pursue his own happiness. And when government fails to do its duty of promoting happiness, then those who have made it may alter it, or they may abolish it altogether.

John Stuart Mill, ; H.B. actor - editor Utilitarianism, Liberty, and Representative Government, 1972, p. 3.

the principle of utility, or as Bentham latterly called it, the greatest happiness principle. . .

John Stuart Mill, Utilitarianism, ed 1972, p. 12.

Utility includes not solely the pursuit of happiness but, the prevention or mitigation of unhappiness.

Benjamin Tucker, Instead of a Book, in A New Dictionary of Quotations, 1942, p. 1248.

The right to resist oppression by violence is beyond doubt. But its . . . hopeless.

Michel De Maigne, French philosopher, Essays, 1958.

There is no course of life so weak and gottish as that which is managed by order, method, and discipline.

Robert Nozick, pf Philosophy, Stanford, Anarchy, State and Utopia, 1974, p. 6.

This state of nature situation is the the best anarchis situation one could reasonably hope for.

Jean Jacques Rousseau, French philosopher, Social Contract, PUB IN 1952, p. 398.

Every man has a right to risk his own life in order to preserve it.

Calvin Hoy, pf. economics, history and gov't 1984, p. 9.

Freedom can be achieved only relatively because the state must possess coercive powers to prevent individuals from exercising coercion.

Clifford Paynton & Robert Blackley, Why Revolution Theories and Analyses, p. 42.

But as Trotsky says, "The fundamental pre-mist of a revolution is that the existing social structure has become incapable of solving the urgent problems of development of the nations." The collapse does not occur until the old system has exhausted all its possibilities.

Clifford Paynton & Robert Blachley, Why Revolution Theories and Analyses, p. 233.

our own Declaration of Independence asserts "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends (i.e., life, liberty, and the pursuit of happines) it is the right of the people to alter or to albolish it, and to organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Henry Caly, in A New Dictionary of Quotations, H.L. Mencken, 1942, p. 1033.

An oppressed people are authorized whenever they can to rise and break their fetters.

L. onard Read, prof. philo., GOVT.: AN IDEAL CONCEPT, 1954, p.47, "Any person has the natural and moral right to use repellent force against any other person who would aggress him."

Clifford Paynton, WHY REVOLUTION, 1971, p.42, "Mere temporary disorder suffices to eliminate cumulative maladjustments."

Crane Brinton, THE ANATOMY OF REVOLUTION, 1965, p.239, "The machinery of govt. works more smoothly after than immediately before the revolution."

Ernest Barker, PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, 1952, p.220, "It is that law may be disobeyed and that it is possible, in the name of justice, to disobey a law which does not express, as all law should, the idea justice."

Justice William Douglas, POINTS OF REBELLION, 1969, p.9, "The goal of their revolution is not to destroy the regime of technology. It is to make the existing system more human, to make the machine subservient to man, to allow for the flowering of a society where all the ideosyncracies of man can be honored and respected"

Chalmers Johnson, REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE, 1966, p.1, "And revolution, concerns the most basic level of man's communal existence, its constitution, in an Aristotlean sense of the principles of political authority and distributive justice prevailing in a particular society."

Robert Simon and Norman Bowie, THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE POLITICAL ORDER, 1977, p.60, "Natural rights were appealed to in defense of human liberty and autonomy against what came to be perceived as the potentially, and often actually oppressive power of the state."

Robert Nozick, prof. philo. Harvard, ANARCHY, STATE, AND UTOPIA, 1974, p.52, "Monopolizing the use of force then, on this view, is itself immoral."

Charles Ellwood, WHY REVOLUTION, 152, "No revolution is of course complete, it is never more than a partial destruction of old habits and institutions."

IBID., p.151, "Too often the revolutionary party is unified in nothing except its opposition to the old regime. It can find no principle or interest upon which a new social order can be reconstructed."

John Locke, LOCKE, p.183, "The people generally ill-treated, and contrary to right, will be ready upon any occasion to ease themselves of a burden that sits heavy upon them."

Ernest Lefever, HUMAN RIGHTS AND US FOR POL, Feb, 9, 1982 speech, "But there are no human rights without security. Order is the necessary but not sufficient precondition for justice and respect for human dignity."

IBID., "There is no fundamental contradiction between human rights and security, if both of these concerns are properly understood. And neither can be advanced or fulfilled without freedom."

LIVING ISSUES IN ETHICS, Nolan and Kirkpatrick, 1982, p.234, "The more power is dispersed among many people, the more chaotic and uncertain become the rules by which order and justice are preserved/"

Michael Sandel, prof. philo Harvard, liberalism and the limits of justice, "Justice is the first virtue of social orders... law and institutions no matter how efficient and well-arranged must be reformed or abolished if they are unjust."

John Gunn, VIOLENCE, 1973, p.88, "violence or the threat of violence, has been a factor in proclaiming group cohesion. Hence, the very real and cogent feeling that some forms of violence are just, freedom, necessary, good."

David Miller, SOCIAL JUSTICE, 1976, p.159, "Hume describes justice as an artificial virtue. He means by this that there is no natural motive to perform acts of justice as there is for acts of benevolence, such as helping a man who is in pain."

David Lyons, IN THE INTEREST OF THE GOVERNED, 1973, p.7, "Bentham has a still more basic principle which could be glossed as the idea that govt. should serve the interests of those who are governed."

Lawrence Dennis, THE DYNAMICS OF REVOL., 1940, p.4, "The end of growth is the beginning of death."

IBID., p.4, "Continuous and revolutionary social change is the prime requisite of a highly organized industrial society."

J.C. Duvies, CHRISTIANS, POLITICS, AND VIOLENT REVOLUTIONS, 1976, p.86, "But if a government or social system is unworthy of support... loyalty to such a system and its laws is not a moral obligation."

IBID., p.72, "The law knows nothing of the right, and it may be the duty to rebel."

Laurence Denis, THE DYNAMICS OF WAR AND REVOLUTION, 1940, p.5 "The function of a revolution is simply to keep them moving on with a purpose and a hope which will change as they move."

IBID., p.6, "It is not said that stagnation is good or bad or that stagnation is worse than change. It is morally said that revolutionary change is the only alternatives to stagnation."

IBID., p.5, "Actually, there is quite one thing a revolution has consistently to maintain in order to survive, and that is change."

THE REBEL, 1951, p.6, "All modern revolutions have ended in a reinforcement of the power of the state." French author Albert Camus

THE ENCYC. OF PHILO., 1967, p.487, "Progress in its most, important aspect is itself a regulative moral ideal, not simply a belief about history."

Mortimer J. Adler, THE IDEA OF FREEDOM, 1956, p.240, "The functions of govt. and law should be minimized to secure maximum freedom for the individual."

IBID., p.240, "Liberty must always be conceived, if its philosophy is to be an adequate one, as related to the law."

J. Mill, ON LIBERTY, 1980, p.476, "Mankind are greater by suffering each other to live as seems good to themselves, than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest..."

ENCYC. OF PHILO., 1967, p.317, "Such moral actions have the distinguishing feature that they are undertaken not for some ulterior end, but simply because of the principle they embody."

Louis Brandeis, Justice of US Sup. Ct., WHITT V. CALIFORNIA, 1927, p.375, "Those who won our independence... believed liberty to be the secret of happiness."

Ronald Dworkin, TAKING RIGHTS SERIOUSLY, 1977, p.188, "There is a clear difference between saying someone has the right to do something in this sense and saying that it is the right thing for him to do or that he does no wrong in doing it."

Norman Cousins, THEREFORE CHOOSE LIFE, p.6, "If these natural rights should die, though human flesh in some form remain, then the survivors will not be the lucky ones."

IBID., p. "Nothing about human life is more precious than that we can define our own purpose and shape our own destiny."

Paul Ramsey, CHRISTIANS, POLITICS, AND REVOLUTION, p.137, "Injustice is a far worse thing than violence, and a far better justifying reason for an answering of violence if a justifying of revolution were wanted."

IBID., 1976, p.137, "HA, HA!"

"Violence is an excessive use of force greater than that required to reach acceptable objectives. Finally, violence as excessive force cannot be justified, while the possibility remains that force itself maybe held to be morally right in certain situations."

Laurence Dennis, DYNAMICS OF WAR AND REVOLUTION, p.7, "I say merely that any revolution big enough will end stagnation which is the essence of the problem today."

Edmund Burk, "Liberty, too must be limited in order to be possessed."

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Adrian Moulyn, THE MEANING OF SUFFERING, 1982, p.5, "The question why we suffer always starts from the premise that it is against the natural state of affairs, which is happiness. This premise is grounded on the belief that suffering is a sign of evil."

IBID., p.3, "The intrinsic value of suffering lies in its propensity to clear a path toward mature, inalienable happiness. Going through the crucible of suffering, we reach a state of bliss."

Robert Muller, ISSUES OF FREEDOM, p.71, 1960, "Now oppressive as the state may be it is clearly a necessity in any large, civilized society."

Adler, SIX GREAT IDEAS, p.242, "Plato himself was persuaded that the choice should always be to suffer injustice rather than to do it."