

Capitalism

University of Virginia
 Fall 2019
 New Cabell Hall 332
 Tu & Th 3:30-4:45pm

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OVERVIEW

In this course, we will look at capitalism through the lens of political philosophy. Can a system of wide-ranging private property ownership, open markets, and a limited state be philosophically justified? If so, how? If not, which alternatives should we pursue?

We will analyse various attempts to justify capitalism (e.g., on the basis of natural rights, freedom, efficiency, and desert) as well as various objections to it (e.g., stemming from distributive justice, inequality and culture). We will also in passing discuss varieties of, and alternatives to, capitalism, such as property-owning democracy, ordoliberalism, and the social welfare state. Given student interest, we might also delve into some applied issues (e.g., financial crisis, austerity, and the proliferation of public and private debt).

Note that this is not a course in the history of political thought; we will only deal with contemporary justifications of capitalism since (roughly) 1945.

COMPONENTS

There are two ways how you can decide to have your contributions to this course weighted (see table).

	Standard Track	Research Track
Attendance continuous	10% participation OR 10% book report (“shy option”)	
First Submission	25% literature essay (1500 words, due: October 10)	15% survey of research literature (due: November 1)
Second Submission November 14	30% take-home exam	
Final Submission December 12	35% research essay (3000 words)	45% research essay (5000 words)
Reflections continuous	graded pass/fail, excellent reflections can earn extra credit	

The standard track is geared towards the “normal” course participant. The research track is aimed towards students who want to dig deeper into a particular research topic. This system puts a bigger emphasis on the final research essay.

Capitalism – Syllabus

You need to decide by which system you wish to be graded by UVA's course add/drop deadline, which is *September 12*.

“Shy Option”

I offer a “shy” option to a limited number of students who do not feel comfortable participating in class, or who do not wish to be graded on that component. The 10% of participation grade can be substituted with a book report, due at the end of term. Students who wish to take this option should contact me before *September 12*.

GRADING SCALE

I will compute a grade average which, when rounded, will be translated into a grade according to the following key:

A	A-	B+	B	B-	C+	C	C-	D+	D	F
93+	90-92	87-89	83-86	80-82	77-79	73-76	70-72	67-69	60-66	0-59

I might sometimes award extra credit where I see fit (especially for excellent reflections or course participation), but I do *not* offer extra credit opportunities.

ATTENDANCE & CLASS CONTRIBUTION (10%)

Attendance is mandatory. Students with three or more unexcused absences will fail the course. If you cannot make it to a session, please tell me as soon as you know.

Rules

Participation. I expect regular and active participation from all students, and I might start to cold-call you if you don't regularly participate. Some seminar sessions might include group work, or other types of group activities.

Preparation. Enjoying this course will be hard for you (and everyone else) if you do not adequately prepare the readings; so please do.

Gadgets. Please never use your mobile phones in class. You are permitted to use laptops or tablets, but only to take notes and to check the texts we're reading. If students are regularly distracted by electronic devices, I will ban them entirely.

Openness and Respect. This is a philosophy class, so (i) there is nothing that cannot be questioned, (ii) you must offer reasons for what you believe, and (iii) be willing to accept rational criticism—sometimes harsh—from others, all the while (iv) staying within the boundaries of respect for, and kindness to, others.

Grading

This component of the course is graded generously on the basis of your preparation and engagement, as the aim is to encourage you to participate, not to judge your contributions harshly. I will make deductions, however, if I find your preparation lacking or your attention elsewhere.

REFLECTIONS (UNGRADED)

Throughout the course, there are required readings which are marked with two asterisks (**). Before each session with such a reading, you need to write a reflection on them. Their point is to (i) ensure that you've done the readings, and (ii) to form the basis for discussion in seminar. Each reflection should offer an opinion or critical remark regarding the topic of that week.

Formalities

Reflections should be around 100 words, but can be longer. Post them on the forum in Collab *two hours before the course starts*. This allows me and others to read them in advance.

You can fail to write up to five reflections, no questions asked. However, every reflection you fail to do afterwards automatically leads to a deduction from your *final* grade of 4 points. Please note that not writing a reflection does not excuse you from doing the readings.

Grading

Reflections are graded on a pass/fail basis. I will normally fail a reflection only if there is no or little evidence that the assigned text has been read. Consistently excellent reflections can earn extra credit.

TAKE-HOME EXAM (30%)

There will be a take-home exam. Questions will be announced in the seminar on *November 5*, and answers are due nine days later, on *November 14*. Please bring a printed copy to class.

Format

The exam will consist of ten questions, of which you have to answer three. Questions focus on your ability to critically evaluate and make arguments. The expected length for each answer is around 800 words (but once again, answers can be shorter or longer if you think doing so is appropriate for a good answer).

ESSAYS

You will have to write two essays: a research essay, and, depending on which system of grading you have chosen, a literature essay based on a prompt or a literature survey.

Literature Essay

In the standard track, you will write a *literature essay* (~2,000 words) which will focus on your ability to critically analyse secondary texts. There are three prompts from which you can choose (see Appendix). Each will come with some primary texts you should engage with. The literature essay is due *October 10*.

Topic Proposal

For the research essay—whichever track you are on—you need to write a *topic proposal*, outlining (i) the question you wish to tackle, (ii) a brief sketch of how you will approach it, and (iii) a list of articles or books you aim to use for that purpose. Topic proposals are ungraded, but need to be approved by me. For the standard track, they are due on *November 26*; for the research track, they are due on *October 10*.

Literature Survey

Students on the research track should spend October starting to read literature relevant to their research project. They will have to write a literature survey (~2,000 words), critically summarising the main literature in the field relevant to their chosen research question. The survey should be more than a summary, discussing where potential gaps and problems lie in the literature, and giving some pointers towards the research essay. The literature survey is due on *November 5*.

Research Essay

In your research essay (~3,000 words for standard track, ~5,000 words for research track), I expect you to engage with a substantive philosophical question of your choice in an independent way. All research essays are due by *December 12*.

Drafts

If you wish to discuss a draft of your paper, you should come to my office hours, or make an appointment to meet with me; I'm more than happy to discuss any issue which comes up. I recommend that you discuss a draft of your research essay with me, at least a week before the paper deadline.

Details

There are no set word limits, either minimum or maximum; all word counts given express expected lengths. What matters is that you argue your point convincingly and succinctly, not how long it takes you to argue it.

Please send finished papers to me by email in a Word-compatible format (.DOC, .DOCX, .RTF).

We will discuss the features of a good philosophical essay together. My expectations for a good essay are outlined at length in a guide you can obtain at www.matthiasbrinkmann.de/slides/guide.pdf. If you need help with your writing, I am happy to meet with you individually or in groups throughout term.

POLICIES

Disabilities

If you are in need of accommodation for an impairment or disability, contact me as soon as possible. You should also contact the Student Disability Access Center (SDAC) to document your needs and determine a reasonable accommodation. They can be reached at sdac@virginia.edu.

Feedback

If, at any point, you have a suggestion or complaint to make about the course, its contents, my teaching methods, or another student, you should raise any such issue with me at the earliest possible point so that I can resolve it. You can also post anonymous feedback on Collab at any time.

Capitalism – Syllabus

TIMETABLE

August		What is Capitalism?		
	27	Tu	Introductory Meeting	
	29	Th	Overview of Main Arguments	
September	3	Tu	Brief History & Definitions	
			Non-consequentialist Arguments	
	5	Th	Capitalism and Freedom	
	10	Tu	Socialism and Freedom	
	12	Th	▶■ Deadline for Deciding on Grading System Nozick’s Theory of Rights	
	17	Tu	Problems for Nozick’s Theory of Rights	
	19	Th	Nozick’s Argument against Patterned Theories	
	24	Tu	Debate: <i>Liberty, Rights, and Capitalism</i>	
			Consequentialist Arguments: Efficiency and Welfare	
	26	Th	The Ethics of Growth	
October	1	Tu	Basic Theorems of Welfare Economics	
	3	Th	Market Failures	
			Reading Days	
	10	Th	▶ Deadline for Literature Essay (Standard Track only) ■ Deadline for Research Essay Proposal (Research Track only) Ordoliberalism and Neoliberalism	
			Consequentialist Arguments: Inequality and Justice	
	15	Tu	Rawls’s Theory of Justice	
	17	Th	Rawls and Property-Owning Democracy	
	22	Tu	The Philosophy of Equality	
	24	Th	The Economics of Inequality	
	29	Tu	Debate: <i>what should be done about inequality?</i>	
			Capitalism and Society	
	31	Th	Capitalism and Culture	
	November	5	Tu	■ Deadline for Research Literature Survey (Research Track only) Neomarxist Cultural Pessimism
		7	Th	Neoliberal Cultural Optimism
		12	Tu	Debate: <i>Capitalism and Society</i>
			Other Aspects of Capitalism	
14		Th	▶■ Deadline for Take-Home Exam (topic by student demand)	
19		Tu	(topic by student demand)	
21		Th	(topic by student demand)	
26		Tu	▶ Deadline for Research Essay Proposal (Standard Track only) (topic by student demand)	
		Thanksgiving Recess		
December	3	Tu	Debate: The Future of Capitalism	
	5	Th	Wrapping Up	
	12	Th	▶■ Deadline for Research Essay Deadline for Book Report (Shy Option only)	

Explanation

**Readings marked with two stars are required. All other readings are recommended.

Readings in blue are links to articles on websites of newspapers, journals, or magazines. These tend to have a more “journalistic” bent.

Readings in red are academic articles or books.

1 WHAT IS CAPITALISM?

We will start by taking our headings. Why is capitalism an interesting topic? How can we classify different philosophical positions one might take with respect to it? Conceptually speaking, what is capitalism? Is it a fruitful category to think about modern society?

1. INTRODUCTORY MEETING

I will introduce the syllabus and the main themes of the seminar in this introductory meeting.

Haidt, “Three Stories About Capitalism” (2014).

Einstein, “Why Socialism?”, *Monthly Review* (1949).

Nozick, “Why Do Intellectuals Oppose Capitalism?” (1986).

Cohen, *Why not socialism?* (2009)

Brennan, *Why not capitalism?* (2014)

2. OVERVIEW OF THE MAIN ARGUMENTS

As you can see from the syllabus, we can distinguish two broad classes of arguments: consequentialist and non-consequentialist. In this session, we will distinguish major arguments that could be made for or against capitalism, and plan the rest of the seminar.

**Sen, “The Moral Standing of the Market”, *Social Philosophy & Policy* (1985). (Useful overview that sketches intrinsic and consequence-oriented approaches, arguing for the latter. Also continues a good discussion of the limits of welfare economics.)

Buchanan, *Ethics, Efficiency, and the Market* (1985). (A relatively short book which runs through some of the main arguments for and against markets. Useful as an overview; if you want any book accompanying the course, I would recommend this one.)

Miller, *Market, State, and Community* (1989). (Miller’s overall aim is to argue for “market socialism”, but in the process he sheds light on major arguments for and against capitalism.)

3. BRIEF HISTORY AND DEFINITIONS

Before we can discuss capitalism at any depth, we must be clear on some basics. We will sketch a *very* brief history of capitalism, and discuss what one might understand by the term.

**Fulcher, *Capitalism: A Very Short Introduction*, ch. 1. (Usefully distinguishes three historical models of capitalism.)

**Kocka, *Capitalism: A Short History*, ch. 1. (Discusses some of the main definitions of capitalism.)

Frieden/Rogowski, “Modern capitalism: enthusiasts, opponents, and reformers”, in Neal/Williamson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Capitalism*, vol. 2, 384–425. (Even-handed overview of the history of capitalism from 1770 to the present.)

Allen, *Global Economic History: A Very Short Introduction* (2011). (For a dense but comprehensive broad-brush history of economic development.)

2 NON-CONSEQUENTIALIST ARGUMENTS

In this part of the course, we will briefly look at a couple of mostly non-consequentialist arguments for and against capitalism. These, very roughly, try to defend capitalism on the basis of the superior freedom capitalism grants, the natural right to appropriate property, and the supposed exploitation inherent in the relationship between capitalist and worker. A recurring theme will be that it is hard to make purely non-consequentialist arguments.

4. CAPITALISM AND FREEDOM

We start with pro-capitalist arguments that capitalism is the system which leads to the greatest amount of human freedom. We will also discuss to what degree these arguments are best understood as consequentialist or non-consequentialist.

**Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962), chs. 1-2.

*Schmidtz/Brennan, *A Brief History of Liberty* (2010), ch. 4: “Freedom of Commerce: 1776”.

Friedman/Friedman, *Free to Choose* (1980), ch. 1.

Tomasi, *Free Market Fairness* (2012).

Miller, *Market, State, and Community*, ch. 1.

5. SOCIALISM AND FREEDOM

G. A. Cohen has a clever counterargument to claims like Friedman’s: capitalism actually has its own costs in terms of unfreedom. Thus, we must first decide what we mean by “freedom”.

**Cohen, “Capitalism, freedom and the proletariat”, in *On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice, and Other Essays in Political Philosophy* (2011).

Cohen, “Freedom and Money”, in *On the Currency ...* (2011).

van Parijs, *Real Freedom for All: What (If Anything) Can Justify Capitalism?* (1995).

Wolff, Jonathan. ‘Freedom, Liberty, and Property’. *Critical Review* 11 (1997): 345–57.

MacPherson, C. B. ‘Elegant Tombstones: A Note on Friedman’s Freedom’. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 1 (1968): 95–106.

6. NOZICK'S THEORY OF RIGHTS

Robert Nozick offers a theory of rights which, if true, would severely restrict what political institutions can do in terms of social redistribution. In this section, we will discuss and outline Nozick's theory of rights, and connect it to how it will affect the justification of capitalism.

**Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974). Chapter 3, "Moral Constraints and the State".

Bader, *Robert Nozick* (2010).

Bader/Meadowcroft (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Nozick's Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (2011).

Brennan, "Libertarianism after Nozick", *Philosophy Compass* (2018).

7. PROBLEMS FOR NOZICK'S THEORY OF RIGHTS

In this follow-up, we will discuss various objections to Nozick's theory.

**Scheffler, Samuel. "Natural Rights, Equality, and the Minimal State". *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 6 (1976): 59–76.

Nagel, Thomas. "Libertarianism without Foundations". *Yale Law Journal* 85 (1975): 136–49.

Railton, Peter. "Locke, Stock, and Peril: Natural Property Rights, Pollution, and Risk". *To Breathe Freely* 92 (1985).

Brennan, Jason. "Libertarianism after Nozick." *Philosophy Compass* 13 (2018).

8. NOZICK AGAINST PATTERNED THEORIES

We turn to Nozick's "entitlement theory" of justice. Similar to Locke, this theory aims to justify a fundamental right to trade property freely; it also opposes so-called "patterned" theories of justice. In passing, we will also discuss Hayek's objections to the idea of distributive justice.

**Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974). Chapter 7, "Distributive Justice". Hayek, *Law, Legislation and Liberty* (1976), vol. 2: "The Mirage of Social Justice", ch. 9, "'Social' or Distributive Justice".

Tebble, Adam James. "Hayek and Social Justice: A Critique". *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 12 (2009).

Miller, *Market, State, and Community*, ch. 6.

Cohen, *Self-ownership, Freedom, and Equality* (1995), chs. 1 and 2 (excerpts).

Wolff, *Nozick: Property, Justice, and the Minimal State* (1991), ch. 4: "The Entitlement Theory of Justice".

Mack, Eric. "Self-Ownership, Marxism, and Egalitarianism: Part I: Challenges to Historical Entitlement". *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 1, (2002): 75–108.

9. DEBATE: LIBERTY, RIGHTS, AND CAPITALISM

Students will be set up in debating teams to discuss the arguments we have discussed so far. Is there a convincing argument for (or against) capitalism on the basis of individual rights and liberties? If so, how can it be made?

3 CONSEQUENTIALIST ARGUMENTS: EFFICIENCY AND WELFARE

We will now turn to the first set of consequentialist arguments. These broadly turn on the claim that capitalism, and the free markets associated with it, is the most powerful societal engine for growth, innovation, and the eradication of poverty. Evaluating this argument leads us into basic economic theory, and difficult empirical comparisons between different forms of economic organisation.

10. THE ETHICS OF GROWTH

A first argument is that capitalism “lifts all the boats”, and is thus morally preferable to other ways of organising society. We will discuss the empirical evidence, and how economic efficiency has been used as an argument in favour of capitalism.

**<https://ourworldindata.org/extreme-poverty> (expansive collection and discussion of data on global poverty)

Robert Lucas, “The Industrial Revolution: Past and Future”

**Zwolinski, Matt and John Tomasi. *A Brief History of Libertarianism* (manuscript). Chapter 5, “Cold Hearts and Spontaneous Orders: The Problem of Poverty”.

Dollar/Kraay, “Growth is Good for the Poor”, *Journal of Economic Growth* (2002).

Ravallion, *The Economics of Poverty* (2016).

Chartier/Johnson, *Markets not Capitalism* (2011).

11. BASIC ECONOMIC THEOREMS

Why would capitalism be the system that maximises welfare? One standard set of argument comes from two famous axioms in welfare economics. In this section, we will discuss the content and limitations of these axioms.

**Blaug, Mark. “The Fundamental Theorems of Modern Welfare Economics, Historically Contemplated”. *History of Political Economy* 39 (2007): 185–207.

Stiglitz, “The Invisible Hand and Modern Welfare Economics”, NBER Working Paper 3641 (1991).

Hausman, Daniel M., and Michael S. McPherson. “Preference Satisfaction and Welfare Economics.” *Economics & Philosophy* 25, no. 1 (2009): 1–25.

Cooter, Robert, and Peter Rappoport. “Were the Ordinalists Wrong about Welfare Economics?” *Journal of Economic Literature* 22, no. 2 (1984): 507–530.

12. MARKET FAILURES

Real-world markets often do not adhere to the assumptions which figure in economic theorems. In this session, we will discuss the various

ways in which real-world markets can deviate from the ideal, and what, if any, response this requires.

**Crouch, *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism* (2011), ch. 2: “The market and its limitations”.

Lipsey, R. G., and Kelvin Lancaster. “The General Theory of Second Best”. *Review of Economic Studies* 24 (1956): 11–32.

Datta-Chaudhuri, Mrinal. “Market Failure and Government Failure”. *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 4 (1990): 25–39.

13. ORDOLIBERALISM AND NEOLIBERALISM

In this session, we will contrast ordoliberalism, which stresses the importance of states actively creating markets, with neoliberalism, which emphasises the harmful effects of state intervention. Neoliberalism is often seen as the dominant doctrine these days; what explains ordoliberalism’s decline?

Dani Rodrik, “Rescuing Economics from Neoliberalism”

**Hayek, “The Transmission of the Ideals of Economic Freedom”.

Biebricher/Vogelmann (eds.), *The Birth of Austerity: German Ordoliberalism and Contemporary Neoliberalism* (2017).

Prak, “Neoliberalism in Germany”, in Mirowski/Plehwe (eds.): *The Road from Mont Pèlerin: The Making of the Neoliberal Thought Collective* (2009).

Steger/Roy, *Neoliberalism: A Very Short Introduction* (2010), chs. 1–2.

Foucault, *Birth of Biopolitics*. (Foucault, interestingly enough, is one of the few thinkers who takes ordoliberalism seriously.)

Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005).

4 CONSEQUENTIALIST ARGUMENTS: INEQUALITY AND JUSTICE

Even if you accept that capitalism successfully creates growth, you might wonder about how its gains are distributed. A classic objection is that capitalism leads to an unequal, or otherwise objectionably unjust, distribution of resources, opportunities, and welfare. In this section, we will trace the philosophical foundations of such objections, and whether they are borne out by the empirical evidence.

14. RAWLS’S THEORY OF JUSTICE: THE BASICS

In this session, we will learn some of the basic moral principles, and the argument for them, of Rawls’s famous *Theory of Justice*.

**Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (1972), excerpts.

Freeman, *Rawls* (2007).

Freeman, “Capitalism in the classical and high liberal traditions”, *Social Philosophy & Policy* (2011). (Extensive account of how “high liberals” like Mill and Rawls think about capitalism.)

15. RAWLS AND PROPERTY-OWNING DEMOCRACY

Rawls's book is a relatively abstract treatise of philosophy. But what social system would actually be favoured by Rawls's principles? There is a surprising amount of disagreement over this question amongst philosophers, to which we will turn in this session.

**Rawls, *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement* (2001), excerpts.

**Shapiro, "Why Rawlsian Liberals Should Support Free Market Capitalism", *Journal of Political Philosophy* 3 (1995), 58–85.

O'Neill/Williamson (eds.), *Property-Owning Democracy: Rawls and Beyond* (2012). (An edited volume of philosophers exploring Rawlsian implications for property-owning democracy.)

Edmundson, William. *John Rawls: Reticent Socialist*. (Argues that, on the best reconstruction, Rawls is deeply opposed to capitalism even if he was often "reticent" about it.)

Vallier, Kevin. "A Moral and Economic Critique of the New Property-Owning Democrats: On Behalf of a Rawlsian Welfare State." *Philosophical Studies* 172 (2014): 283–304.

16. THE PHILOSOPHY OF EQUALITY

There was a huge debate, starting in the 1990s, amongst philosophers about how equality should best be understood. Here we read a famous contribution to the debate from Ronald Dworkin.

**Dworkin, *Sovereign Virtue: The Theory and Practice of Equality* (2002), ch. 2: "Equality of Resources".

Anderson, "What Is the Point of Equality?", *Ethics* 109 (1999): 287–337.

Sen, *Inequality Reexamined* (1992).

Scanlon, *Why does Inequality Matter?* (2018).

Temkin, *Inequality* (1993).

17. PIKETTY'S LAWS OF CAPITALISM

One of the most prominent contributions to the economic debate about inequality in the last decade is Thomas Piketty's *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. We will survey Piketty's main findings about inequality, and how they are philosophically relevant.

Bill Gates, "Why Inequality Matters".

Marshall Steinbaum, "Why are economists giving Piketty the cold shoulder?".

**Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (2014), excerpts.

O'Neill, Martin. "Survey Article: Philosophy and Public Policy after Piketty." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 25 (2017): 343–75. (recommended)

Boushey/DeLong/Steinbaum (eds.), *After Piketty: The Agenda for Economics and Inequality* (2017).

Milanovic, "The return of 'patrimonial capitalism': review of Thomas Piketty's *Capital in the 21st century*" (2014).

Milanovic, *Global Inequality* (2016).

18. DEBATE: WHAT SHOULD BE DONE ABOUT INEQUALITY?

Piketty, famously, suggests a global wealth tax as a solution to the ever-increasing dominance of capital. Other solutions can be imagined, however. We will work out and debate different answers to the problem of inequality—Piketty’s, Atkinson’s, Meade’s, Rawls’s, and others’.

Jeff Stein, “How 12 experts would end inequality if they ran America”, *Washington Post*.

**Atkinson, “After Piketty”, *British Journal of Sociology* 65 (2014).

Atkinson, *Inequality: What can be done?* (2018). (A book-length treatment of the same issues.)

Meade, *Efficiency, Equality and the Ownership of Property* (1964).

Stiglitz, *The Price of Inequality* (2013), ch. 10.

5 CAPITALISM AND SOCIETY

So far, we have focussed on the relatively immediate effects that capitalism has as an *economic* system of organising social production. But a recurring theme in defenders and critics of capitalism is that it also has an impact on culture, society, and politics. In this section, we will discuss how capitalism interacts with these other systems, and whether it changes existing arguments.

19. CAPITALISM AND CULTURE

We start by outlining the general question. How do capitalism and culture (or more broadly speaking, society) interact? Does capitalism demean culture, and survives only by being a parasite on tradition? Or does capitalism have a civilising effect, making people more liberal, tolerant, and less likely to go to war?

**Hirschman, “Rival Interpretations of Market Society: Civilizing, Destructive, or Feeble?”, *Journal of Economic Literature* (1982). (Hirschman surveys three competing theories for the development of capitalism: what he calls the *doux-commerce*, self-destruction, and feudal-shackles theories.)

Bowles, “Is Liberal Society a Parasite on Tradition?”, *Philosophy & Public Affairs* (2011). (An elaborate model testing whether markets undermine trust and other social values in the long run. Ends with the intermediate result that liberal values which correlate with markets might counteract the negative consequences of the latter.)

20. NEOMARXIST CULTURAL PESSIMISM

The so-called Frankfurt School is well-known for a deep-seated pessimism about capitalism’s culture. Under the capitalist imperative of profit, so the argument goes, culture becomes homogenous, superficial, unchallenging, and aesthetically impoverished.

Alex Ross, “The Naysayers”, *New Yorker* (2014).

Owen Hualatt, “Against Popular Culture”

Samuel Freeman, “The Headquarters of Neomarxism”

**Horkheimer/Adorno, “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception”, in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944).

Jameson, Fredric. “Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism”, *New Left Review* 1984, 53-92.

Bell, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (1976).

Sennett, *The Culture of the New Capitalism* (2006).

21. NEOLIBERAL CULTURAL OPTIMISM

On the contrary, defenders of capitalism emphasise that capitalism can have an emancipating, civilising impact—that there is a kind of distinct virtue instilled and nurtured by markets.

**McCloskey, “Bourgeois Virtue”, *American Scholar* 63 (1994).

McCloskey, *Bourgeois Dignity: Why Economics Can't Explain the Modern World* (2010).

Buchanan, James. “Afraid to Be Free: Dependency as Desideratum”, in Shughart/Tollison (eds.), *Policy Challenges and Political Responses: Public Choice Perspectives on the Post-9/11 World* (2005).

Boettke, “Fearing Freedom: The Intellectual and Spiritual Challenge to Liberalism”, *Independent Review* (2014).

22. DEBATE: CAPITALISM AND SOCIETY

There will be a debate about how the impact of capitalism is felt in society, and whether its impact is good or bad. We will look for ways to narrow down the debate to concrete issues (e.g., capitalism’s impact on the nature of higher education) before this session.

6 OTHER ASPECTS OF CAPITALISM

The topics of these four sections are determined after discussion with students. We can either expand on existing topics, use some of the optional topics (below), or look at other issues altogether.

23. [TO BE DETERMINED WITH STUDENTS]

24. [TO BE DETERMINED WITH STUDENTS]

25. [TO BE DETERMINED WITH STUDENTS]

26. [TO BE DETERMINED WITH STUDENTS]

7 THE FUTURE OF CAPITALISM

We will close out the course by surveying the course contents, and debating the future of capitalism.

27.DEBATE: THE FUTURE OF CAPITALISM

28.WRAPPING UP

OPTIONAL TOPICS

29.CAPITALISM AND DEMOCRACY

- Elster, “The market and the forum: three varieties of political theory” (1986).
Christiano, “The Uneasy Relationship between Democracy and Capital”, *Social Philosophy & Policy* (2010).
Przeworski/Wallerstein, “Structural Dependence of the State on Capital”, *American Political Science Review* (1988).
Barry, “Capitalists Rule OK? Some Puzzles about Power”, *Politics, Philosophy, and Economics* (2002).
Bowles/Gintis, “Power and Wealth in a Competitive Capitalist Economy”, *Philosophy & Public Affairs* (1992).
Bartely, *Unequal Democracy*

30.SOCIAL WELFARE STATE

- Schmidtz/Goodin, *Social Welfare and Individual Responsibility* (1998).
Shapiro, *Is the Welfare State Justified?* (2007).
Goodin et al., *The Real Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1999).
Hall/Soskice, *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage* (2001).
Kenworthy, *Egalitarian Capitalism: Jobs, Incomes, and Growth in Affluent Countries* (2004).

31.EXPLOITATION

- Cohen, G. A. ‘The Labor Theory of Value and the Concept of Exploitation’. *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 8 (1979): 338–60.
Wolff, J., 1999, “Marx and Exploitation”, *Journal of Ethics*, 3: 105–120.
Wolff, R. P., 1981, “A Critique and Reinterpretation of Marx’s Labor Theory of Value”, *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 10: 89–120.
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