

PHIL 3330A TOPICS IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

CRN: 15599

Academic Term: Winter 2013

Schedule: Mondays 6:05-8:55pm

Classroom: Southam Hall 409

WebCT: <http://lms.carleton.ca>

Instructor: Michael Kocsis

Office: Room 329B, Floor 3A Paterson Hall

Email: Michael_Kocsis@carleton.ca

Phone: 613-520-2600 (Philosophy office)

Office Hours: Wednesday 4-5pm (by appointment also)

Course Description

In this course, we will examine some of the seminal texts in the history of political philosophy. We will begin with classical and medieval thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, Augustine and Aquinas, and then we will trace the writings of major political philosophers from the early modern period into the late 19th century, focusing on Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Mill, Hegel, Marx and Nietzsche. Nearly all of these writings discuss the timeless questions of political philosophy; What is justice? What is a political community? What are liberties and obligations? Our first objective is to get a clear sense of how major figures in political philosophy have tried to answer the timeless questions. Our second objective is to interrogate the major thinkers in order to ask if anything was lost as political philosophy developed over the centuries.

Evaluation

Evaluation includes four (4) critical summaries and a take-home final examination which is due at the end of exams. A portion of your grade will be determined by lecture attendance. Details will be given in our first lecture.

- 10% - Grade for Attendance (9/12 = 10%)
- 60% - 4 Critical Summaries (10% each)
- 30% - Take-Home Exam

Textbooks and Resources

Log in to our WebCT webpage (login: <http://lms.carleton.ca>) to access our reading schedule, announcements, assignments, a more detailed reading schedule with focus areas and supplementary readings, and weekly review questions. There is one required textbook, available at Haven Books (Seneca St @ Sunnyside):

- **Andrew Bailey, Samantha Brennan, Will Kymlicka, Jacob Levy & Clark Wolf (Editors) (2008) *From Plato to Nietzsche: Broadview Anthology of Social and Political Thought Volume 3* (Broadview Press).**

Accessibility

Carleton is committed to ensuring that information and resources are fully accessible. Services for students with specific accessibility needs are co-ordinated by the *Paul Menton Centre*. Students should contact the centre in order to receive assistance and accommodations. (501 University Centre; tel: 520-6608; email: pmc@carleton.ca; web: <http://www.carleton.ca/pmc>).

Statement on Academic Dishonesty

All course work deemed to be in violation of Carleton's policies on academic dishonesty will be dealt with according to the procedures affirmed by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. It is the responsibility of each student to understand the meaning of "academic dishonesty" as defined in the Calendar and to avoid committing academic dishonesty and aiding dishonesty by others. For information go to:

<http://www4.carleton.ca/calendars//ugrad/current/regulations/acadregsuniv14.html#14.3>

Writing Tutorial Service

Those with questions about how to write effective essays might consider working with the *Writing Tutorial Service*. They provide tutorials and workshops throughout the term.

WEEKLY SCHEDULE & PRIMARY READINGS

Mon. January 9th **Introduction to Political Philosophy**

The Classical Period

Mon. January 14th **Thucydides**

- *Pericles' Funeral Oration* p 3
- *Melian Dialogue* p 7

Mon. January 21st **Plato**

- *Apology* p 17
- *Crito* p 29
- *Phaedo* p 35
- *The Republic* p 37

Mon. January 28th **Aristotle**

- *Nicomachean Ethics* p 130
- *Politics* p 177

✓ **Due Date: Critical Summary #1**

The Medieval Period

Mon. February 4th **St. Augustine**

- *City of God* (413-427) p 267

Mon. February 4th **St. Thomas Aquinas**

- *Summa Contra Gentiles* (1258-1264) p 305
- *Summa Theologiae* (1265-1274) p 309

The Early Modern Period

Mon. February 11th **Hobbes**

- *Leviathan* (1660) p 413

Mon. February 18th **Locke**

- *Second Treatise on Civil Government* (1690) p 496
- *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689) p 561

✓ **Due Date: Critical Summary #2**

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Mon. February 25th **Rousseau**

- *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1755) p 615
- *On the Social Contract* (1762) p 662

The Nineteenth Century

Mon. March 4th **Hegel**

- *The Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807) p 850
- *Philosophy of Right* (1821) p 855

Mon. March 11th **J.S. Mill**

- *On Liberty* (1859) p 900
- *Considerations on Rep. Gov.* (1861) p 925
- *Utilitarianism* (1863) p 931

✓ **Due Date: Critical Summary #3**

Mon. March 18th **Marx & Engels**

- *Econ. & Philo. Manuscripts* (1844) p 1006
- *The German Ideology* (1845) p 1019
- *Theses on Feuerbach* (1845) p 1029
- *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) p 1031

Mon. March 25th **Nietzsche**

- *Beyond Good and Evil* p 1063
- *On the Genealogy of Morals* p 1075

Mon. April 8th **Final Lecture**

- The History of Social and Political Philosophy: Conclusions and Open Questions
- Distribution of Take-Home Exam

✓ **Due Date: Critical Summary #4**

Carleton Exam Period → December 8th-21st

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DETAILED READING LIST

[REQUIRED READINGS + FOCUS AREAS + SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS]

Weeks 1-3: Classical Period

Week 1: Thucydides

Required:

- *Pericles' Funeral Oration* p 3
- *Melian Dialogue* p 7

Week 2: Plato

Required:

- *Apology* p 17
- *Crito* p 29
- *Phaedo* p 35
- *The Republic* p 37

Focus:

- *Crito* p 17
- *Republic* Bk 2 (53), Bk 4 (70), Bk 5 (83), Bk 8 (p 101)

Week 3: Aristotle

Required:

- *Nicomachean Ethics* p 130
- *Politics* p 177

Focus:

- *NE* Bk 5 (p 150), Bk 10 (p 171)
- *Politics* Bk 1 (p 187), Bk 2 (p 204)

Supplementary:

Marcus Tullius Cicero

- *On Duties* (44 BCE) p 252

Week 4: Medieval Period

Week 4: St. Augustine & St. Thomas Aquinas

Required:

- *City of God* (413-427) p 267
- *Summa Contra Gentiles* (1258-1264) p 305
- *Summa Theologiae* (1265-1274) p 309

Focus:

- *City of God* Bk 19:1 (p 271, Bk 19:24 (p 281), 2:21 - "Cicero's Opinion of the Roman Republic" (p 269)
- *Summa Contra Gentiles* Bk 3 (p 308)
- *Summa Theologiae* Questions 90, 94, 95 (p 309-322)

Supplementary:

Week 7: Rousseau

Required:

- *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1755) p 615
- *On the Social Contract* (1762) p 662

Focus:

- *Discourse* App. 3 (p 660), Part 1 (p 624) (State of Nature)
- *Social Contract* Bk 1 (p 664)

Supplementary:

Montesquieu

- *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748) 578

Tocqueville

- *Democracy in America* (1835) Ch 5 (p 966), Ch 7 (p 970), Ch 8 (p 972)

Benjamin Constant

- *The Liberty of Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns* (1816) p 838

Edmund Burke

- *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) 830
- *On "Geographical Morality"* p 834

Mary Wollstonecraft

- *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792) Introduction (p 792), Ch 1-3 (p 794), Ch 12 (p 821)

Weeks 8-11: Nineteenth Century

Week 8: Hegel

Required:

- *The Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807) p 850
- *Philosophy of Right* (1821) p 855

Focus:

- *Philosophy of Right* Part 1 (Abstract Right) p 867
- *Philosophy of Right* Part 3 (Ethical Life) p 871

Supplementary:

Marx & Engels

- *The German Ideology* (1845) p 1019
- *Theses on Feuerbach* (1845) p 1029

Week 9: J.S. Mill

Required:

- **Al-Farabi**
- *The Political Regime* (p 283)
- **Marsilius of Padua**
- *The Defender of the Peace* (1324) p 323
- **Christine de Pizan**
- *City of the Ladies* (c1405) p 331
- *The Book of the Body Politic* (1406-1407) p 332
- *The Book of Deeds of Arms and Chivalry* (1410) p 337
- **Niccolo Machiavelli**
- *The Prince* (1513/1532) Ch 8-13 p 351-360

Weeks 5-7: Early Modern Period

Week 5: Hobbes

- **Required:**
- *Leviathan* (1660) p 413
- **Focus:**
- *Leviathan* Ch 13 (p423), 14 (p 426), 17 (p 441), 21 (p 458), 26 (p 464).
- **Supplementary:**
- **Niccolo Machiavelli**
- *The Prince* (1513/1532) Ch 14-22 p 360-371
- **Martin Luther**
- *Temporal Authority: To What Extent Should It Be Obeyed?* (1523) p 391
- **John Calvin**
- *On Civil Government* (1534) p 401

Week 6: Locke

- **Required:**
- *Second Treatise on Civil Government* (1690) p 496
- *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689) p 561
- **Focus:**
- *2nd Treatise* Ch. 4 Property (p 503), Ch 5 Of Property (p 503), Ch. 7 Social Contract (p 517)
- **Supplementary:**
- **Thomas Jefferson**
- *Declaration of Independence* (1776) p 763
- **Mary Astell**
- *Some Reflections on Marriage* (1700) p 567
- **David Hume**
- *Of the Original Contract* (1748) p 602

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- *On Liberty* (1859) p 900
- *Considerations on Rep. Gov.* (1861) p 925
- *Utilitarianism* (1863) p 931
- **Focus:**
- *On Liberty* Ch 2 (p 902), 4 (916), 16 (p 927)
- *Consideration on Rep. Government* Ch 16 (p 927)
- **Supplementary:**
- **Jeremy Bentham**
- *Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1780/1789) Ch 1 (p 877), Ch 4 (p 880).
- **Harriet Taylor Mill**
- *The Enfranchisement of Women* (1851) p 956

Week 10: Marx & Engels

- **Required:**
- *Econ. & Philo. Manuscripts* (1844) p 1006
- *The German Ideology* (1845) p 1019
- *Theses on Feuerbach* (1845) p 1029
- *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) p 1031
- **Focus:**
- *Theses on Feuerbach* (p 1029)
- *Econ. & Philo. Manuscripts* Estranged Labour (p 1031)
- *Communist Manifesto* (p 1031)

Week 11: Nietzsche

- **Required:**
- *Beyond Good and Evil* p 1063
- *On the Genealogy of Morals* p 1075
- **Focus:**
- *Good and Evil* Part 5 Natural History of Morals (p 1063)
- *Genealogy of Morals* Part 9 What is Noble? (p 1072), Section 21 Guilt and Obligation (p 1095)
- **Supplementary:**
- **Henry David Thoreau**
- *Civil Disobedience* (1849) p 975

Week 12: Final Lecture

- Political Philosophy: Conclusions & Open Questions
- Distribution of Take-Home Exam

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READING + STUDY QUESTIONS

○ *Introduction to Political Philosophy*

Do you consider the history of political philosophy a worthwhile topic to study? What are some perennial questions in the history of political philosophy?

Classical Period

○ *Thucydides* (Week 1)

Why is Thucydides (the great historian) a valid place to begin our study of historical political philosophy? What is Thucydides' view of human nature? What is 'political realism' and how does Thucydides argue for it?

○ *Socrates & Plato* (Week 2)

What is the *elenchus*? Why is the *elenchus* important for understanding the philosophy of Socrates? What is Socrates' *diamon*? Is Socrates guilty of the offences he was executed for? Does he refute the accusations against him? What are the enduring issues for political philosophy raised by the trial of Socrates? Briefly explain Plato's 'ideal city'. What can be said for and against the *kallipolis*? Who are the 'philosopher-kings'? What is the nature of the challenge Thrasymachus poses to Socrates? Would Thrasymachus agree with Thucydides? What is the argument for the tripartite soul in *Republic* book 4? Does that argument suggest an acceptable account of social classes?

○ *Aristotle* (Week 3)

What is the point of Aristotle's famous assertion that we are *zoon politikon* ('political animals')? Is it correct to say that human beings 'naturally' construct city-states? In what sense is Aristotle an advocate of 'virtue ethics'? Do Aristotle's views have relevance in our world of globalization and world-wide communication? What is Aristotle's position on slavery? Briefly describe how Aristotle's political philosophy emerges from, and how it is shaped by, his overall philosophical project(s)? What is the significance of Aristotle's concept '*telos*'?

○ *Marcus Tullius Cicero*

What is 'Stoicism'? What are the intellectual roots of Stoicism? What is Cicero's conception of 'natural law'? How does Cicero characterize a 'just war'?

Medieval Period

○ *St. Augustine* (Week 4)

Explain Augustine's distinction between 'city of God' and 'city of man'. Is this like our modern-day separation of church and state, and if so how would Augustine likely approach secularism? Explain Augustine's argument for just war. What is a 'just cause'? Does Augustine believe that war is justifiable to turn pagans into Christians?

○ *St. Thomas Aquinas* (Week 4)

How is Aquinas's political philosophy similar to Aristotle's? What does Aquinas mean by 'natural law'? How does natural law differ from legal positivism? Explain the significance of Aquinas's distinction between *ius gentium* and *ius civile*. Explain Aquinas's argument for a just war. What grounds for a just war does Aquinas put forward? How do they differ from, and add to, the arguments of Augustine?

○ *Al Farabi*

How does Al Farabi carry forward Aristotle's philosophical project(s)? Does Al Farabi's picture of the political community foreshadow later discussions in the European/Western tradition?

○ *Marsilius of Padua*

Is Marsilius the first democrat? Explain Marsilius' account of the ideal form of political community.

○ **Christine de Pizan**

What questions are discussed in the *'Book of Deeds and Chivalry'*?

Early Modern Period

○ **Hobbes** (Week 5)

In your own words, explain Hobbes's social contract argument. What is the *'Leviathan'*? Why is Hobbes's state of nature a state of war? In what way is Hobbes an 'egoist'? Does egoism provide a convincing explanation of the human condition? What are Hobbes's definitions of 'sovereignty' and 'absolutism'? What are some of the similarities and continuities between Hobbes and Machiavelli, Cicero and Thucydides?

○ **Machiavelli**

What virtue or virtues of political leadership does Machiavelli advocate in *The Prince*? What does Machiavelli mean by 'reason of state'? Is Machiavelli's view in *The Prince* accurate given the way people generally use the term 'Machiavellian'?

○ **Martin Luther**

Was Martin Luther a revolutionary theologian? What is Luther's argument against centralized political authority?

○ **Calvin**

What is Calvin's argument against centralized political government? Is Calvinism a foundation for later forms of civil libertarianism?

○ **Locke** (Week 6)

Is Locke a 'liberal' political philosopher? Does he give an adequate account of the natural equality of human beings? Explain Locke's social contract argument. What is Locke's concept of 'tacit consent' and how is it important? What is Locke's argument for the legitimate ownership of private property? Does Locke offer us a convincing account of natural rights? What is Locke's position on the right of revolution? What stand does Locke take on religious toleration?

○ **Thomas Jefferson**

Jefferson's *Declaration of Independence* is believed to be inspired by the writings of Locke and Rousseau. Can you find any phrases or claims, in Locke, Rousseau or the *Declaration*, which validate this belief?

○ **Mary Astell**

What is Astell's critique of Locke? Why do you think Astell advocated a philosophical college to be established for women only?

○ **David Hume**

How does Hume explain and justify political and social institutions? How does Hume challenge the social contract of Hobbes and Locke?

○ **Rousseau** (Week 7)

What is Rousseau's argument for the social contract? How does it differ from those of Locke and Hobbes? What is the 'general will'? Is Rousseau democratic? What is different about Rousseau's state of nature? Explain how Rousseau's personal life and character give possible insights into his philosophy. What is the 'noble savage'? Does Rousseau have a positive or a negative view of human nature?

○ **Edmund Burke**

What stand does Burke take on individual rights? Is it accurate to describe Burke as an anti-revolutionary? Is Burke a 'communitarian'? How does Burke conceive of the relationship between individuals and societies? What is Burke suggesting when he describes society as a "contract between citizens of the past, present and future"?

Nineteenth Century

○ **Hegel** (Week 8)

In your own words, explain the distinctive way Hegel defines terms like 'dialectic', 'freedom', 'history', 'spirit', and 'will'. Why has Hegel's account of spirit been misunderstood? Do you agree with those who consider Hegel a state-worshipper and a militarist? What distinguishes Hegel's conception of freedom?

○ **Montesquieu**

What does Montesquieu mean by his phrase ‘spirit of the age’? Why, according to Montesquieu, is democracy the most desirable type of constitution?

○ **Tocqueville**

What type of democracy does Tocqueville advocate? Is this type of democracy a precursor to what’s now called ‘deliberative democracy’?

○ **J.S. Mill** (Week 9)

Is the state justified in censoring the opinions of individual citizens? Why or why not? How does Mill connect liberty with individuality? Explain the role of the ‘harm principle’ in Mill’s political philosophy. What is Mill’s ‘central principle of morality’?

○ **Jeremy Bentham**

What are hedonism and utilitarianism? Is Bentham a supporter, or a detractor, of natural rights?

○ **Benjamin Constant**

Explain Constant’s distinction between the ‘liberty of the ancients’ and that of the ‘liberty of the moderns’.

○ **Harriett Mill**

Explain Harriett Mill’s two basic feminist claims. Would she be proud or disappointed at the current state of the ‘enfranchisement of women’?

○ **Mary Wollstonecraft**

What is the significance of Wollstonecraft’s discussion of public and private spheres? How does Wollstonecraft associate individual rights with patriarchy? What views does Wollstonecraft adopt on the institution of marriage and the importance of human reason? Why do you think political philosophy once neglected Wollstonecraft’s writings?

○ **Marx & Engels** (Week 10)

Explain Marx’s concepts of ‘alienation’, ‘communism’ and ‘proletarian’. What is the difference between human and political emancipation? Explain Marx’s views about Hegel’s conception of the modern state. How does Marx’s alienation thesis differ from the position of Feuerbach? Explain Marx’s terminology of ‘relations of production’, ‘commodity’, ‘fetishism’, and ‘ideology’. What is ‘utopian socialism’? How does Marx blend the major threads in German philosophy? How does Marx modify Hegel’s philosophy? Explain Marx’s central principle; “from each according to ability, to each according to need”. How does this principle of Marxist justice connect with the project(s) of Marx’s communism? Explain Marx’s argument for the theory of ‘historical materialism’. What are the core ideas in Marx and Engel’s theory of ideology? How would you characterize the differences between early Marx and later Marx?

○ **Nietzsche** (Week 11)

Do you see any difference(s) between the writings of Nietzsche and those of all other political philosophers on our reading list? What is the ‘will to power’? Is the will to power similar to, or a departure from, the egoism of Thucydides and Hobbes? What is ‘slave morality’? How is slave morality linked to Judeo-Christianity? How should we characterize Nietzsche’s political philosophy? Is he an anarchist? A nihilist? A relativist?

○ **Henry David Thoreau**

Is Thoreau’s opposition to civil government morally defensible? Is his failure to pay the poll tax defensible? What is the substantive basis of Thoreau’s civil disobedience argument? For example, is it a commitment to freedom, against injustice, against the state, etc...

Department of Philosophy and Carleton University Policies (2012-13)

Assignments:

Unless specifically told otherwise by their instructors, students:

- must not use a plastic or cardboard cover or paper clips
- must staple the paper (there is a stapler on the essay box)
- must include the following in the lower right corner of the cover sheet:
 - student name
 - student number
 - course number and section
 - instructor's name
- The Philosophy Department does not accept assignments by FAX. You may send them by courier, if necessary.
- No assignments will be accepted after the last day for handing in term work – see dates in next column.
- Assignments handed in through the essay box (just inside the glass doors, Paterson Hall, Floor 3A) must be dropped into the box by **4:15** on a regular business day in order to be date-stamped with that day's date. Assignments handed in after 4:15 or on a non-business day will be stamped as having been handed in on the next business day.
- Students are required to keep copies of their assignments. If your paper is lost at any point, you will be considered not to have submitted it if you cannot produce a copy immediately on request.

Deferrals for Term Work:

If you miss a final examination and/or fail to submit a final assignment by the due date because of circumstances beyond your control, you may apply for a deferral of examination/assignment. For deferred examinations, you must apply within 5 working days after the scheduled date of your exam. To apply for deferral of a final assignment, you must apply within 5 working days of the last scheduled day of classes. Visit the Registrar's Office for more information.

Plagiarism:

It is the responsibility of each student to understand the meaning of 'plagiarism' as defined in the Undergraduate or Graduate Calendars, and to avoid both committing plagiarism and aiding or abetting plagiarism by other students. (Undergraduate Calendar Academic Regulations, section 14.3, or <http://www4.carleton.ca/calendars//ugrad/current/regulations/acadre/suniv14.html#14.3>)

Academic Accommodation for Students with Disabilities:

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

You can visit the Equity Services website to view the policies and to obtain more detailed information on academic accommodation at <http://carleton.ca/equity/accommodation>.

Important Dates:

Sept. 6	Classes start (after Orientation events).
Sept. 19	Last day for registration and course changes in Fall and Fall/Winter courses.
Sept. 30	Last day for entire fee adjustment when withdrawing from Fall term or two-term courses.
Oct. 5	University Day – no classes.
Oct. 8	Thanksgiving Day – university closed.
Nov. 19	Last day for tests or examinations in courses below 4000-level before the Final Examination period.
Dec. 3	Last day of classes, Fall term. Last day for handing in term work and the last day that can be specified by a course instructor as a due date for Fall term courses.
Dec. 3	Last day to withdraw from Fall term courses (academic purposes only).
Dec. 4-5	No classes take place. Review classes may be held, but no new material may be introduced.
Dec. 6-19	Final examinations for Fall courses, mid-terms for Fall/Winter courses.
Dec. 20	Take-home exams are due.
Jan. 7	Winter term classes begin.
Jan. 18	Last day for registration and course changes in Winter term classes.
Jan. 31	Last day for entire fee adjustment when withdrawing from winter courses or winter portion of two-term courses.
Feb. 18	Family Day – university closed
Feb. 18-22	Winter Break, classes suspended.
Mar. 27	Last day for tests or examinations in courses below 4000-level before the Final Examination period.
Mar. 29	Good Friday – university closed
Apr. 10	Last day of Fall/Winter and Winter term classes. Last day for handing in term work and the last day that can be specified by a course instructor as a due date for term work for Fall/Winter and Winter term courses. NOTE: On this day all classes follow a Friday schedule.
Apr. 10	Last day to withdraw from Fall/Winter and Winter term courses (academic purposes only).
Apr. 11-12	No classes take place. Review classes may be held, but no new material may be introduced.
Apr. 13-27	Final Examinations.
Apr. 27	Take-home exams are due.

Addresses:

Department of Philosophy:	3A46 Paterson Hall www.carleton.ca/philosophy 520-2110
Registrar's Office:	300 Tory www.carleton.ca/registrar 520-3500
Student Academic Success Centre:	302 Tory www.carleton.ca/sasc 520-7850
Paul Menton Centre:	500 University Centre www.carleton.ca/pmc 520-6608
Writing Tutorial Service:	4 th Floor, Library www.carleton.ca/wts 520-6632
MacOdrum Library	http://www.library.carleton.ca/ 520-2735