

Modern Political Thought

Government 64.02
Dartmouth College Fall, 2012

Monday/Wednesday/Friday
1:45-2:50 P.M.
X-hour: Thursday, 1:00-1:50 P.M.

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Office Hours: Friday, 3:00-5:00 P.M.

Course Description

Students in this course read great works in political theory, chart the development of modern Western political thought, and undertake to examine fundamental problems of politics. The course covers political thinkers ranging from Thomas Hobbes to John Stuart Mill, identifying and analyzing profound issues that the theorists raise.

The objectives of Govt. 64.02 are threefold. First, the lectures and class discussions will work to foster an understanding of the ideas and arguments of each of the thinkers covered in the course. Second, the course prompts students to explore the historical contexts in which the respective authors produced their texts, and to consider the ways in which later authors may have built upon the ideas of their predecessors. Third, and most importantly, students will be invited to think carefully and seriously about the deep questions with which distinguished political philosophers were concerned. This is the most important objective of Govt. 64.02: to develop students' considered assessments of weighty political questions.

The rewards can be great for such endeavors, but beware: the risks are high! For, as a student in the course, you will need to devote your mental energies to the consideration of complex problems. You will have to be prepared both to ponder and to see where your deliberations lead. Govt. 64.02 demands exertion of its students, so it is not a course for the faint of heart. However, you will have a chance to engage the arguments and ideas of great political theorists, to discuss those ideas with colleagues, and possibly to make headway on questions at the heart of political theory. With this in view, you may find that Govt. 64.02 holds exciting prospects for you.

We will consider a series of questions raised in the readings, including the following: What is freedom? How can one determine the dictates of justice? What binds a person to the laws of a polity? What political offices and institutions should we have, and how should they be organized? What is the purpose of political institutions, anyway? Who should

occupy positions of political authority, and how should they rule? Is there something about the nature of law that should direct us in thinking about these matters? In Govt. 64.02, you will have a chance to pick out some of these questions (or identify others) and do some serious contemplation about them, in light of the texts that we examine.

Required Readings

There will be both books as well as other reading materials for Govt. 64.02. The required seven books for the course are as follows:

- (1) Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Edwin Curley (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994 [1651]). [ISBN: 0-87220-177-5]
- (2) John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. James Tully (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1983 [1689]). [ISBN: 0-915145-60-X]
- (3) John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, ed. C. B. Macpherson (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1980 [1690]). [ISBN: 0-915144-86-7]
- (4) Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings*, trans. Donald A. Cress, second edition (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2011). [ISBN: 978-1-60384-673-8]
- (5) G. W. F. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, ed. Allen Wood, trans. H. B. Nisbet (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991 [1821]). [ISBN: 0-521-34888-9]
- (6) Robert C. Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1972). [ISBN: 0-393-09040-X]
- (7) John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, ed. Elizabeth Rapaport (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1978 [1859]). [ISBN: 0-915144-43-3]

Each of these texts has been ordered and should be available for purchase at Wheelock Books. Required and recommended readings for the course are either contained within the books listed above, or they will be made available through Blackboard.

Format

Govt. 64.02 is not simply a lecture course, since lectures will be joined by in-class discussion in which you are invited to participate. Normally, there will be a period of lecturing at the outset of each class, following which the floor will be opened to discussion. Classes will focus on specific readings (described below in the course schedule), with different works examined in each successive week. There is a good deal of involved reading in the course, but it is crucial that you come prepared so that you can make use of the lectures and the discussions with your cohort. Please also bring the books and your other readings with you, when we discuss them, since we will frequently refer to passages in the texts. If there are changes to be made to the syllabus, or adjustments of other kinds, they will be announced in class.

Grading

Students' grades will be comprised of the following four components:

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|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Sixty-minute exam | 25% of total grade | (covers weeks 1 to 4) |
| 2. Seven-page paper | 30% | (covers weeks 5 to 7) |
| 3. Final Exam | 35% | (cumulative) |
| 4. Class participation | <u>10%</u> | |
| | 100% | |

Late papers will not be accepted, and make-up exams will not be granted, without sufficient reason and advance notice. Students are expected to understand and follow the Academic Honor Principle of Dartmouth College in pursuing studies for this course. Students with any disabilities requiring special arrangements are encouraged to see the instructor by September 19, in order to arrange appropriate accommodation.

Course Schedule

Week 1: Introduction, Hobbes's *Leviathan*: Part I (Total Reading: 106 pp.)

Sept. 10: • Introduction

Sept. 12: • Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part I, chapters 1-10 (57 pp.)

Sept. 14: • Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part I, chapters 11-16 (49 pp.)

Week 2: Hobbes's *Leviathan*: Parts II and III (Total Reading: 204 pp.)

Sept. 17: • Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part II, chapters 17-25 (67 pp.)

Sept. 19: • Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part II, chapters 26-31 (73 pp.)

Sept. 21: • Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part III, chapters 32, 33, 35, 36, 39, 40, 43 (64 pp.)
 Recommended: all of Part III of *Leviathan*

Week 3: From Hobbes's *Leviathan* to Locke's *Letter* (Total Reading: 147 pp.)

Sept. 24: • Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part IV, chapters 44, 46; Review and Conclusion (49 pp.)

- Thomas Hobbes, *Considerations Upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, and Religion, of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury* (30 pp.), in *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, vol. 4, ed. William Molesworth (London: John Bohn, 1840) (on Blackboard)
Recommended: all of Part IV of *Leviathan*

Sept. 26: • Thomas Hobbes, *Behemoth; Or, the Long Parliament*, ed. Ferdinand Tönnies, intro. Stephen Holmes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), Dialogue 1 (60 pp.) (on Blackboard)

Sept. 28: • John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (38 pp.)

Week 4: Locke (Total Reading: 117 pp.)

October 1: • John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, chapters 1-7 (45 pp.)

October 3: • John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, chapters 8-19 (72 pp.)

October 5: **In-class examination on topics in weeks 1-4**

Week 5: Rousseau (Total Reading: 117 pp.)

October 8: • Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts* (22 pp.), in Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings*
• Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "The State of War," (11 pp.), in Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings*

October 10: • Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (48 pp.), in Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings*

October 12: • Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Books I, II (36 pp.), in Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings*

Week 6: Rousseau and Hegel (Total Reading: 107 pp.)

October 15: • Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Book III (33 pp.), in Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings*
Paper topic announced; due Monday, October 29

October 17: • Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Book IV (29 pp.), in Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings*

October 19: • G. W. F. Hegel, "Inaugural Address, Delivered at the University of Berlin" (5 pp.)

- G. W. F. Hegel, "Address on the Tercentenary of the Submission of the Augsburg Confession" (11 pp.)
 - G. W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on The Philosophy of History*, Part IV, Section 3: "The New Age" (29 pp.)
- *Each selection in G. W. F. Hegel, *Political Writings*, ed. Laurence Dickey and H. B. Nisbet, trans. H. B. Nisbet (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) (on Blackboard)

Week 7: Hegel and Marx (Total Reading: 189 pp.)

- October 22: • G. W. F. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, Part III, section 2: Civil Society (§§ 182-256) (55 pp.)
- October 24: • G. W. F. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, Part III, section 3: The State, §§ 257-82, 321-60 (74 pp.)
- October 26: • Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" (60 pp.) in *The Marx-Engels Reader*

Week 8: Marx & Engels, Mill (Total Reading: 137 pp.)

- October 29: • Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question" (27 pp.) in *The Marx-Engels Reader*
 • Friedrich Engels, "On Morality" (3 pp.) in *The Marx-Engels Reader*
 Seven-page paper due
- October 31: • Karl Marx, *The German Ideology*, Part I (55 pp.), in *The Marx-Engels Reader*
 • Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (28 pp.) in *The Marx-Engels Reader*
- November 2: • John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, chapters 1, 2 (52 pp.)

Week 9: Mill (Total Reading: 144 pp.)

- November 5: • John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, chapters 3-5 (60 pp.)
- November 7: • John Stuart Mill, "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform," in *Essays on Politics and Culture*, ed. Gertrude Himmelfarb (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1973 [1859]) (30 pp.) (on Blackboard)
- November 9: • John Stuart Mill, "Utility of Religion," in Mill, *Three Essays on Religion* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1998 [1874]) (54 pp.) (on Blackboard)

Week 10: Course Completion

November 12: Final Class

November 16-21: Final exam period; final exam date TBA

Supplemental Readings:

Lord Acton, *Renaissance to Revolution: The Rise of the Free State*, intro. Hans Kohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1961 [1906]).

Lord Acton, *Essays on Freedom and Power* (New York: The Free Press, 1948).

Lord Acton, *Essays in the Liberal Interpretation of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967).

Frederick C. Beiser (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Hegel and Nineteenth-Century Philosophy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Isaiah Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

Isaiah Berlin, *Karl Marx: His Life and Environment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

Isaiah Berlin, *The Sense of Reality: Studies in Ideas and Their History*, ed. Henry Hardy (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1996).

Bernard Bosanquet, *The Philosophical Theory of the State* (New York: Macmillan, 1899).

Edmund Burke, *A Vindication of Natural Society*, ed. Frank N. Pagano (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1982 [1757]).

Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. J. G. A. Pocock (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987 [1790]).

William F. Church, *Richelieu and Reason of State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

Maurice Cranston, *The Romantic Movement* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1994).

John Dunn, *Locke* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

John Neville Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1997 [1914]).

David Gauthier, *Rousseau: The Sentiment of Existence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Otto von Gierke, *Natural Law and the Theory of Society, 1500-1800*, trans. Ernest Barker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934).

J. W. Gough, *John Locke's Political Philosophy: Eight Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).

Ronald Grimsley, *The Philosophy of Rousseau* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

Ross Harrison, *Hobbes, Locke, and Confusion's Masterpiece: An Examination of Seventeenth-Century Political Philosophy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Joseph Hamburger, *John Stuart Mill on Liberty and Control* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Wilhelm von Humboldt, *The Limits of State Action*, ed. J. W. Burrow (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1993 [1852]).

David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 2nd edition, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge and P. H.

Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978 [1739-40]).

David Hume, *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1987 [1777]).

Immanuel Kant, *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone*, trans. Theodore M. Greene and Hoyt H. Hudson (New York: Harper & Row, 1960 [1793]).

S. A. Lloyd, *Morality in the Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes: Cases in the Law of Nature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Frederika Macdonald, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: A New Criticism* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906).

C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).

Alasdair MacIntyre (ed.), *Hegel: A Collection of Critical Essays* (New York: Anchor Books, 1972).

Tomaz Mastnak (ed.), *Hobbes's Behemoth: Religion and Democracy* (Charlottesville: Imprint Academic, 2009).

Christie McDonald and Stanley Hoffman (eds.), *Rousseau and Freedom* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism*, ed. George Sher (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1979 [1861]).

John Stuart Mill, *Three Essays on Religion* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1998 [1874]).

John Stuart Mill, *Three Essays*, intro. Richard Wollheim (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, trans. C. J. Betts (New York: Penguin, 1993 [1721]).

Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, ed. and trans. A. M. Cohler, B. C. Miller, and H. S. Stone (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989 [1748]).

R. H. Parry (ed.), *The English Civil War and After, 1642-1658* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

Z. A. Pelczynski (ed.), *Hegel's Political Philosophy: Problems and Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957).

J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

Hans Reiss (ed.), *Kant's Political Writings*, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

Tom Rockmore, *Hegel, Idealism, and Analytic Philosophy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

Nancy L. Rosenblum, *Another Liberalism: Romanticism and the Reconstruction of Liberal Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Lawrence E. Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 [1711]).

Judith N. Shklar, *Men and Citizens: A Study of Rousseau's Social Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

Quentin Skinner, *Meaning and Context*, ed. James Tully (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Quentin Skinner, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

John Skorpuski, *John Stuart Mill* (New York: Routledge, 1989).

Steven B. Smith, *Hegel's Critique of Liberalism: Rights in Context* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

Baruch Spinoza, *Ethics, Treatise on the Emendation of the Intellect, and Selected Letters*, ed. Seymour Feldman, trans. Samuel Shirley (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1992).

Charles Taylor, *Hegel and Modern Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

Richard Tuck, *Natural Rights Theories: Their Origin and Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

Richard Tuck, *Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government 1572-1651* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Alex Tuckness, *Locke and the Legislative Point of View: Toleration, Contested Principles, and the Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

James Tully, *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

J. B. Schneewind, *The Invention of Autonomy: A History of Modern Moral Philosophy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

J. B. Schneewind (ed.), *Mill: A Collection of Critical Essays* (New York: Anchor Books, 1968).

Jeremy Waldron, *God, Locke, and Equality: Christian Foundations of John Locke's Political Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Jonathan Wolff, *Why Read Marx Today?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Allen W. Wood, *Hegel's Ethical Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Allen W. Wood, *Karl Marx*, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2004).

George Wright, *Religion, Politics and Thomas Hobbes* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006).

Perez Zagorin, *A History of Political Thought in the English Revolution* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954).

Perez Zagorin (ed.), *Culture and Politics from Puritanism to the Enlightenment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

Perez Zagorin, *Hobbes and the Law of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).¹¹