

POLITICAL SCIENCE 312
HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT II:
POLITICAL THOUGHT FROM THE PROTESTANT
REFORMATION THROUGH THE 19th CENTURY

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Pre-requisites: POSC 311 or permission of the instructor.

<u>Session</u>	<u>Topics and Required Readings</u>
1	a) Introduction to the Course b) Introduction to the Protestant Reformation - predominance of commercial interests - corruption of the Church of Rome - north-south resentments
2	The Protestant Reformation: Institutions and Knowledge - the heterogeneity of the Protestant reaction - commerce, nation-state and church government - private morality and public space - voluntarism - the appearance of the individual - the institutional foundations of moral knowledge - Protestantism and secularism - Protestantism and capitalism

Required Reading:

- Martin Luther, "Christian Liberty" (on reserve, or Google "Concerning Christian Liberty" – Project Wittenberg – Part II)
- Roland H. Bainton, "The Reformation and The Political Sphere" from Bainton, The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (on reserve).
- Roland H. Bainton, "The Reformation and The Economic and Domestic Spheres" from Bainton, The Reformation of The Sixteenth Century (on reserve).

Session Topics and Required Readings

Recommended Reading:

- John Calvin, On God and Political Duty (Library of Liberal Arts: Bobbs-Merrill).
- Max Weber, "The Protestant Sects and The Spirit of Capitalism".
- Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.
- Sheldon Wolin, "Luther: The Theological and the Political" and "Calvin: The Political Education of Protestantism" from Wolin, Politics & Vision.

- 3 Hobbes: The Warre of All Against All
- review of decline of medieval society
 - power and fear
 - human nature vs. human condition
 - knowledge and shared symbols
 - knowledge and experience
 - sovereignty

Required Reading:

- Hobbes, Leviathan, Part I

- 4 Hobbes: Knowledge, Anxiety, and Political Order
- the sovereign definer
 - power and knowledge
 - sovereignty and democracy

Required Reading:

- Hobbes, Leviathan, Part II, Chapters 17, 18, 21, 24 through 30; Part IV, Chapter 46.
- Sheldon Wolin, "Political Society as a System of Rules" from Wolin, Politics and Vision (on Reserve).

- 5 John Locke: Classical Liberal Individualism and Liberal Democracy
- Locke's "First Treatise"; Locke the "Protestant"
 - the "State of Nature" and the "Household"
 - classical liberal natural law
 - the problem with "nature"
 - the political solution: representative government
 - the Social Contract

- Locke and Hobbes
- Liberal ethics: public contract and private morality
- empiricism and individualism

Required Reading:

- John Locke, The Second Treatise of Government (selections) (Porter).

Recommended Reading:

- Richard Litchman, "The Facade of Equality in Liberal Democratic Theory" (on reserve).

6 Jean-Jacques Rousseau I: The Political Economy of the Fall

- Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau
- Natural inequality vs. artificial inequality
- Rousseau's political economy
- the "golden age"
- interdependence and the politics of leverage
- the search for consensus in the "Warre of All Against All"
- the "priesthood of all believers" meets the new "church"
- the "general will" vs. the "will of all"
- social contract and democracy
- consensus in the absence of shared symbols
- the idea of constitutional democracy
- "Civil Religion"

Required Reading:

- J.J. Rousseau, Discourse on the Origins of Inequality (selections) (Porter).
- J.J. Rousseau, The Social Contract (selections) (Porter).

7 Liberal Constitutionalism

- federalism
- division of power
- checks and balances
- the idea of imbedded fundamental rights
- judicial independence
- presidential vs. parliamentary systems
- the problem of factions

Required Reading:

- Constitution of the United States
- James Madison, *The Federalist Papers*, #'s 10, 41 and 51 (www.foundingfathers.info/federalistpapers/)

Session **Topics and Required Readings**

8 Adam Smith & Jeremy Bentham: Capitalism, Science & Progress

- The mechanisms of the market as opposed to Locke's "natural" order
- Smith, Hegel, Marx, and the Science of progress
- the triumph of civil society and the "household"
- the "place" of "Moral Sentiments"
- a "negative" conception of government
- "rational choice" and "self-interest"
- the science of the subjective
- self-interest, pleasure and morality
- "pushpin" and "poetry"
- the "moral science" of legislation

Required Reading:

- Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations (selections) (on reserve).
- Jeremy Bentham, Principles of Legislation (selections) (on reserve).

9 John Stuart Mill

- Mill's departure: "soft-core" utilitarianism
- The principle of "liberty"
- tyranny of the majority
- "liberty" and "utility"
- representative government and the virtues of democracy

Required Reading:

- John Stuart Mill, Utilitarianism (selections) (Porter).
- John Stuart Mill, On Liberty (selections) (Porter).
- Bhikhu Parekh, "Liberalism and Morality" (on reserve).

Recommended Reading:

- Richard Litchman, "The Facade of Equality in Liberal Democratic Theory" (on reserve).

Session **Topics and Required Readings**

10 G.W.F. Hegel: Reason and History

- Hegel and Christian thought
- phenomenology and history
- historical idealism
- history as "purpose"; history as "progress"
- The state, civilization and progress

Required Reading:

- G.W.F. Hegel, Introduction to the Philosophy of History (selections) (Porter).
- G.W.F. Hegel, The Philosophy of Right (selections) (Porter)
- G.W.F. Hegel, Phenomenology of Spirit (selections) (Porter)

Recommended Reading:

- M.B. Foster, The Political Philosophies of Plato and Hegel.
- Herbert Marcuse, Reason and Revolution.

11 Marx & Hegel: Materialism as Theory and Method

- The political economy of fate
- materialism
- historical materialism
- materialism and idealism
- Marx and Hegel

Required Reading:

- Engles, "Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx" (Tucker, p. 681)
- Marx, from "Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (Tucker, p.3)
- Marx, "Discovering Hegel" (Tucker, p.7)
- Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right" (Tucker, p. 16)
- Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right" (Tucker, p. 53)
- Marx, "Society and Economy in History" (Tucker, p. 136)
- Marx, "Theses on Feuerback" (Tucker, p. 143)

Session **Topics and Required Readings**

12 Karl Marx: The Rise and Fall of Capitalist Society

- the revolution of the bourgeoisie
- capitalism and technology
- the crisis of overproduction
- the revolution of the proletariat

Required Reading:

Marx, The German Ideology:Part I (Tucker, p146)
Engles, Socialism:Utopian and Scientific (Tucker, p 638)
Marx, Grundrisse (Tucker, p. 221)

13 Marx , Materialism, and the Theory of the State

- Marx's critics and his theory of the state
- the theory of class and the theory of the state
- state, government, and administration
- the role of the state in capitalist society
- Marx and Hobbes

Required Reading:

- Engles, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (Tucker, p. 734).
- Marx, "After the Revolution" (Tucker, p. 542).

Required texts for purchase:

- Porter (Ed.), Classics in Political Philosophy (3rd Edition).
- Hobbes, Leviathan.
- Robert Tucker (ed), The Marx-Engles Reader (2-Ed) (Norton; 1978).

Written Assignments & Evaluation

You will be evaluated on the basis of two written assignments, each worth 45% of your mark, plus 10% for class participation. Written assignments are not only (or principally) a method of evaluation, but also designated activities which are designed to develop specific aspects of your intellectual capabilities and your understanding of political theory. Thus, each of the written assignments call upon you to approach different subject matter from the history of political thought, and to approach it as well in different ways. Look carefully at my somewhat different expectations for each assignment.

Political Science 312 focuses on the reading and interpretation of primary sources. Nevertheless, scholarly treatments of classical works are included as part of the required and recommended readings listed in the course outline, and, of course, can also be found in the UCFV Library holdings. I strongly recommend that you discuss your proposed choice of essay topics with me in advance, and we consider the range, suitability and availability of secondary source materials appropriate to your particular approach to your chosen topic. Do make appointments to see me; I am here to help.

A. First Written Assignment: Due Class Meeting #8

- Ten to fifteen typed pages. 3500 words maximum.
 - Proper footnotes and bibliography.
 - Select one of the following questions.
1. Compare and contrast the term "contract" as it is employed by Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau in their political theories. Which of these versions of a contract do you find most useful? Why? Do you find the notion of "contract" useful at all?
 2. As liberals, we might well consider the Communist Manifesto a golden example of ideological propaganda. C.B. Macpherson, in his introduction to Leviathan, respectfully but earnestly implies that Hobbes is both a victim and carrier of bourgeois ideology. Many modern scholars proudly hold up Locke's Second Treatise of Government as the solid cornerstone of liberalism, whereas others (e.g., Litchman and Parekh) see it as blatant political polemic. What is the difference between ideology and political theory? Elaborate your argument in terms of the principle work of Hobbes and Locke.
 3. Hobbes considers the covenant of language, the agreement about the meaning of things, crucial to society. The Protestant reformation is, perhaps, primarily a breach of this covenant. Discuss this devaluation in a consensus of language, the potential for the privation of meaning, and its implications and political, economic and social existence.
 4. For both Rousseau and Madison, concern regarding the management of "factions" is central to their political theorizing. How does each thinker propose to deal with factions? Which approach do you prefer? Why?

5. Luther insists that our "religion and freedom, and moreover, [our] sinfulness and servitude, are neither bodily nor outward." Calvin would confirm this theme of the separation of the realm of the soul from the realm of the body in that we have within us, as it were "a law without the law." Yet Hobbes would suggest that our knowledge is a function of our experience of this world and of the political order which governs that experience. And Plato tells us in Gorgias that "the art of the soul I call the political art." What are the essential differences between Protestant theologies (as represented by Luther and Calvin) and classical political philosophy (as represented by Hobbes and Plato) with respect to the nature and life of the soul? Are these views necessarily antagonistic? Which of these views, if any, is correct? Why?
6. Compare and contrast "the state of nature" as it is employed by Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau. Is there an ideological significance to their use of this term? Do you find the notion of a "state of nature" useful in any way as you consider the meaning of the words "individual," "society," and "the state?"
7. "Fear" plays an important role in the political theories of Plato, Machiavelli & Hobbes. Extract, elucidate, and then critically compare and contrast each of their analyses of fear. Should the true statesman seek to eliminate fear, or must he use it constructively?

B. Final written Assignment: Due Last Day of Final Exams

- Ten to fifteen typed pages. 3500 words maximum.
 - Proper footnotes and bibliography.
 - Select one of the following questions.
1. Liberal capitalism and Marxism, despite their vital antagonisms over aspects of political theory from the nature of the individual to the comprehension of history to the conception of the just political-economic order, seem to share a faith in the liberating possibilities of advanced industrial technology. Yet industrial technology seems to necessitate the social, bureaucratic, and political complexities of an urban, highly regulated, highly specialized, and basically centralized way of life which many thinkers, including Rousseau and Marx, see as threatening to freedom, sanity, democracy, community, morality, and self-realization.

Is the spectre of advanced industrial society as monolithic as some of these critics would have us believe, or does our modernity offer us a significant variety of real possibilities? Or are we, in heralding the liberating potential of technology, only exchanging one realm of necessity for another? How adequately have liberalism and Marxism dealt with this question? Consider questions of both power and knowledge in your answer.

2. What might we mean by "progress"? According to what criteria can we judge the human condition to be getting better or worse? If our systems of thought are also subject to historical movement (be it advancement or decay), how can we employ them to objectively evaluate the course of history? How do Hegel and Marx deal with this problem? How do Liberal capitalists answer this question? Who is correct? How can you tell?
3. Both J.S. Mill and James Madison have concerns regarding the "tyranny of the majority," that is the real possibility that majorities in a democracy can use the numbers to pass laws that oppress minorities. In what way are their considerations and proposals similar and in what ways are they different? What is your opinion of the approaches they take, and why.
4. Rousseau begins with the individual and analyses the historical conditions which repress the individual's coming-to-be. Marx begins with a historical analysis of the material conditions in which we find ourselves, with a view to the meaning and possibility of "the individual." Are these two concepts of the "individual" the same, necessarily antagonistic, or as hostile to one another as Locke's "state of nature" and Hobbes' "state of warre?"
5. "We live then in the most realised technological society which has yet been; one which is, moreover, the chief imperial centre from which technique is spread around the world. It might seem then that because we are destined so to be, we might also be the people best able to comprehend what it is to be so. Because we are first and most fully there, the need might seem to press upon us to try to know where we are in this new found land which is so obviously a 'terra incognita.' Yet the very substance of our existing which has made us the leaders in technique, stands as a barrier to any thinking which might be able to comprehend techniques from beyond its own dynamism." (George Grant, "In Defense of North America") Discuss.
6. We are repeatedly told that our "values" are necessarily subjective, matters of personal opinion, taste, or socialization. Upon what grounds can we claim an act to be "moral" when there is so much disagreement as to the meanings of these words? Is the political task to rescue morality from the anxious subjectivity of moral privatism, or should politics seek to protect the individual from an imposed, artificial consensus? Do we have a choice?
7. Plato, Machiavelli, and Hobbes each argue (although differently) that powerful political leadership makes "freedom" possible. Yet we observe authoritarian regimes to employ power to seemingly make "freedom" impossible. Elucidate and resolve this "conflict" between the hope that political power rightly employed can create human possibilities and the fear that political power badly employed will destroy them.