

David R. Mapel

Home	Vitae	Courses	Publications	Links
------	-------	---------	--------------	-------

Fall 2009

Political Science 2004

Survey of Western Political Thought

Prof. David Mapel

Contact Information: 492-6662 or
mapel@colorado.edu

x

Course Description

This course introduces students to the history of Western political philosophy through selected readings from a few canonical authors. Part One deals with ancient Greek thought. Part I begins with Plato's *Apology*, which is a dialogue about the trial of Socrates, and with a companion dialogue *Crito*, which discusses whether citizens have an obligation to obey the law. We will also read some selections from Plato's *Republic*, which emphasizes the importance of personal and civic virtue in rulers. The course then very briefly touches on Aristotle's view of the nature of politics and types of government (we will revisit these topics several times, especially in discussing the *Federalist* papers). We then turn to Machiavelli's challenge to the classical Greek and Christian emphasis on virtue. Machiavelli argues that although people are not political by nature, politics nevertheless represents the earthly salvation of sinful human beings. Yet to be politically effective, a ruler must know how to use violence and cruelty when necessary. Finally, we examine Thomas More's attempt to steer a course between Platonic disengagement from politics and Machiavellian realpolitik. We also briefly consider More's Christian reworking of Plato's ideal state or utopia. Some of the topics to be discussed in Part One include the problem of political obligation, the relationship between justice and self-interest, ancient ideas of communism, the idea of the philosopher-king, and the problem of "dirty hands" in politics.

Part II of the course shifts focus from the ancient problem of "taming the Prince" to the early modern problem of establishing or founding a strong, unified modern state. This part of the course concentrates on the development of the modern "social contract" tradition in the writings of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau. In particular, we consider the philosophical problem of finding a form of government that can reconcile the conflicting demands of freedom and authority. Among other topics, we will discuss natural rights, government by consent, the distinction between express and tacit consent, Hume's attack on consent theory, and Rousseau's attack on representative government. We will then look at how social contract themes (together with older notions of virtue) are deployed in early American political thought. More specifically, we will consider what Hamilton, Madison, Thoreau, and Lincoln thought about the dangers posed to freedom and to the legitimacy of republican government by majoritarian tyranny, slavery and secession.

Part III examines the ideas of historical progress and of liberty in a modern mass society. We will be particularly interested in how these themes are worked out in marxism and utilitarianism, two major, 19th century alternatives to the social contract tradition. We will focus on some early writings of Marx, as well as *The Communist Manifesto*, as well as on J.S. Mill's *On Liberty*, which presents a classic defense of

individuality against the dangers of social conformity. Mill argues that there should be an area of individual thought and conduct absolutely protected from formal political control and informal social pressure. At the end of this course, we come back to the theme with which we started when we discussed the trial of Socrates, namely, the uneasy relationship between philosophy and politics.

Political philosophy is a branch of moral philosophy dealing with arguments about the proper goals and limits of government. By the end of this course, students should have some familiarity with a few of the major historical figures in the history of political thought and should also have a deeper appreciation of what it means to construct, criticize and defend philosophical arguments about topics such as political authority, obligation and justice.

Course Requirements: Students must finish **ALL** requirements on time to pass this course. In other words, failure to finish any one of these assignments results in failure of the course.

- 1st in-class exam: 15%
- 2nd in-class exam: 15%.
- Final exam: 15%. Not cumulative.

All exams will be a combination of multiple-choice, short answer and short essay.

- Two short 5 -7 page papers: 25% (10%, first paper; 15%, second paper). Papers must be double-spaced, 12 point, standard margins, and follow the Chicago manual of style. TAs assign paper topics, deadlines, and may require outlines or rewrites.

A helpful guide to writing papers will be found at [ThesisDefense.pdf](#). TA's will discuss paper requirements at length.

- Recitation: 30%. The breakdown of this 30% of the final grade is provided immediately below.

Additional information about recitation requirements

As noted above, recitation is worth 30% of your overall course grade. This 30% is broken down as follows:

Attendance: 35%

Participation: 15%

Study Questions: 50%

This grade based on regular attendance, completing the reading for class, active and helpful participation in section discussion, study questions, and possibly quizzes and class presentations (at the discretion of each TA). Your regular and active participation in section is crucial to your final grade.

Attendance in recitation each week is **mandatory**. For each recitation you will be required to submit a summary of the week's readings (1 or 2 paragraphs of concise summary, typed, single spaced). This will be collected at the beginning of class. TAs will NOT accept summaries outside of class (except in the case of an excused absence). Participation and thoughtful contribution to class discussion is essential. Sleeping, listening to music, excessive tardiness or any other disruptive behavior will result in a 0 for both attendance

and participation credit on that day.

Each week a set of study questions will be distributed *in class* (which means that you *must* attend to receive the questions; only one copy of the questions will be given to each student). These questions are designed to help you focus on significant aspects of the week's readings and prepare you for discussion the following week. Only 6 sets of questions will be graded (the lowest score will be dropped). Please note that although questions will not be graded each week, it is to your advantage to complete them each week, as they will ultimately serve as useful study tools for exams. Answers may be typed or hand-written (legibly) and will be collected at the beginning of class. Late assignments will NOT be accepted (this means that students *may not* turn in their questions at the end of recitation).

Graduate Teaching Assistants:

Brian Bernhardt (Brian.Bernhardt@colorado.edu)

David Cox (dvd.cox@gmail.com)

Eamon Aloyo (Eamon.Aloyo@colorado.edu)

Martin DeNicolo (Martin.DeNicolo@colorado.edu)

Grading Policy

If there is any disagreement about a grade, the student will first discuss the issue with her or his TA. If the issue cannot be resolved, I am willing to regrade the material, although the student should be aware that she or he may end up with a grade lower than the original.

Dates of exams given in reading schedule below.

Make-up exams will be permitted only if a student can provide documentation for an excused absence (e.g. doctor's letter or documentation for other kinds of absences allowed under University policy).

Note that the instructor may **change** the assignments, as well as their relative weight for the final grade, e.g., add or delete quizzes, exams, papers, as deemed fit. There are **no** extra-credit assignments.

Classroom Policy

Mutual respect among and between students and instructor and TAs is expected at all times. If a student is disruptive of the educational atmosphere of the lecture hall or classroom, he or she will be asked to leave and will be referred to the Dean's Office if disruptions continue. No beverages or food in lecture, as these have a tendency to bother other students and make a mess.

Disabilities

If you have a specific physical, psychiatric or learning disability that needs to be accommodated, please submit a letter to your TA from Disability Services by the end of the second week of the course so that your needs may be appropriately met. You will need to provide documentation of your disability to the Disability Services Office, Willard 322 (303-492-8671), so that such accommodation may be arranged. Contact: 303-492-8671, Willard 322, and <http://www.Colorado.EDU/disabilityservices>. Frequently Asked Questions can be found at <http://www.colorado.edu/disabilityservices>

Religious Observances

Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to reasonably and fairly deal with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. In this class, contact your TA during the first two weeks to arrange accommodations. For more details at http://www.colorado.edu/policies/fac_relig.html

Discrimination and Harassment

The University of Colorado at Boulder policy on Discrimination and Harassment, the University of Colorado policy on Sexual Harassment and the University of Colorado policy on Amorous Relationships apply to all students, staff and faculty. Any student, staff or faculty member who believes s/he has been the subject of discrimination or harassment based upon race, color, national origin, sex, age, disability, religion, sexual orientation, or veteran status should contact the Office of Discrimination and Harassment (ODH) at 303-492-2127 or the Office of Judicial Affairs at 303-492-5550. Information about the ODH, the above referenced policies and the campus resources available to assist individuals regarding discrimination or harassment can be obtained at <http://www.colorado.edu/odh>

Cheating and Plagiarism

Cheating (using unauthorized materials or giving unauthorized assistance during an exam or other academic exercise) and plagiarism (using another person's words or ideas without appropriate citation) are serious offenses. At a minimum, they will result in an 'F' for the assignment and may result in an 'F' for the course, depending on the instructor's judgment of the severity of the offense. Cheating and plagiarism will also be reported to the Honor Council, which will decide upon additional sanctions. If you have any question about proper citations or acknowledgment of source material, ask the instructor or visit the Honor Council website.

Honor Code

All students of the University of Colorado at Boulder are responsible for knowing and adhering to the academic integrity policy of this institution.

Violations of this policy may include: cheating, plagiarism, aid of academic dishonesty, fabrication, lying, bribery, and threatening behavior. All incidents of academic misconduct shall be reported to the Honor Code Council (honor@colorado.edu; 303-725-2273). Students who are found to be in violation of the academic integrity policy will be subject to both academic sanctions from the faculty member and non-academic sanctions (including but not limited to university probation, suspension, or expulsion). Other information on the Honor Code can be found at <http://www.colorado.edu/policies/honor.html> and at <http://www.colorado.edu/academics/honorcode/>

Office Hours

My office is Ketchum 105A and my office hours are Monday 11:30 -2:30 pm; otherwise, by appointment.

Required Readings

All books have been ordered at the University Books Store in the UMC and at the book store on the Hill. They are:

Plato, *Euthyphro*, *Apology*, *Crito*, *Phaedo*

Machiavelli, *The Prince*

Thomas More, *Utopia*

John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*

Jéan Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*
 Henry David Thoreau, *Civil Disobedience and Other Essays*
 John Stuart Mill, *Basic Writings: On Liberty and Utilitarianism*

There are also a number of excerpts and articles that are required reading for the course and that will be available on the web. The password will be distributed in class. You are required to bring books to lecture and section and strongly encouraged to make copies of articles and bring them to lecture and section as well. The specific readings are listed below in the reading schedule. Click to download them in pdf version. Websites are also listed below in the reading schedule for some of the texts in the class. I do not include websites for all texts for several reasons: 1) translations in the public domain for some of these texts are of poor quality; 2) excerpts are difficult to identify for some texts on line; 3) unless you download and print these texts, it is preferable to have books that you can mark up and bring to class.

Articles (listed below on reading schedule and on the web).

All the articles below are linked, but if you want to get them another way, go to <http://sobek.colorado.edu/~mapel/PROTECTED> Then go to folder History of Political Thought and then look for articles inside folder. Username and Password will be provided in class.

Reading Schedule

NB: All assignments, exam dates and other information contained in the reading schedule are provisional and **subject to change** by the instructor. Books and selections may be added or deleted. Students are responsible for knowing about announced changes in the required readings and schedule.

Reading Schedule (to be done by date listed)

Total pages and difficulty of reading indicated at the end of each assignment; plan accordingly.

Read the material below in the order listed.

August

Mon. 24 Introduction to Course: What is Political Philosophy?

Weds. 26 Philosophy versus Democracy

Study Questions for *Apology* and *Crito* ("[Apology?s.pdf](#)"), 1 page

Plato, *Apology*, 28 pages, deceptively easy, read carefully

I.F. Stone, "When Free Speech Was First Condemned," ("[Stone.pdf](#)"), 6 page interview, easy

Total: 35 pages

Mon. 31 Why Obey the Law? The Problem of Political Obligation

Reading Questions for *Crito, Phaedo*, 1 page, see above ("[Apology?s.pdf](#)")

Plato, *Crito, Phaedo*, 18 pages, deceptively easy, read carefully

Total: 18 pages

September

Weds. 2 Justice and Self- Interest

Plato, *Republic*, Bk 1, lines 327-354c ("[Republic1.pdf](#)"), 27 pages

Plato, *Republic*, Bk 2, lines 357-369b, ("[Republic2A.pdf](#)"), 9 pages (stop at top of p. 44 in on-line copy)

Total: 36 pages, tells a story, but Plato's arguments are not easy; read carefully

Mon. 7 Labor Day; no class

Weds. 9 Justice in the City and the Soul

Plato, *Republic*, Bk. 2 , lines 369b-376d, ("[Republic2B.pdf](#)"), 6 pages (stop at top of page 52 in on-line copy);

Plato, *Republic*, Bk. 3, lines 414b-436d; lines 439c-445e ("[Republic3&4.pdf](#)"), 24 pages

Total: 30 pages

First paper topic assigned

Mon. 14 The Three Waves of Criticism

Plato, *Republic*, Bk.5, lines 449-476d ("[Republic5.pdf](#)"), 22 pages

Reeve, "Naked Women in the Palestra," ("[Reeve.pdf](#)"), 4 pages , easy

Total: 26 pages

Weds. 16 Plato and Aristotle

Plato's Parable of the Cave

Plato, *Republic*, Bk 7, lines 514-521c, ("[TheCave.pdf](#)"), 5 pages

Plato's Critique of Democracy

Plato, *Republic* Bk 8, lines 557-567d, ("PlatoDemoc.pdf"), 7 pages

Aristotle: The Nature of Politics and Types of Government

Aristotle, *Politics*, Bk 1, Chapters 1 and 2 (PoliticsBk1.pdf), 5 pages

Aristotle, *Politics*, Bk 3, Chapters 7 -11, 13 (PoliticsBk3.pdf), 12 pages

Total: 29 pages

Mon. 21 Machiavelli's Critique of Classical Political Thought

Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Chapters 1-3, 5-6, 8-9, 15-18, 25-26, Appendix

Total: 47 short pages

Weds. 23 Thomas More: The Christian Humanist Reply to Machiavelli

FIRST PAPER DUE

More, *Utopia*, "More's Letter," "Gilles's Letter," and Bk. 1 of *Utopia*

Total: 39 pages, deceptively easy, read carefully

Ackroyd, *Life of Thomas More* excerpt ("More/Life.pdf"), 4 pages, easy

Total: 43 short pages

Mon. 28 **FIRST MID-TERM**

Part II: Early Modern Political Thought: Founding the State

Weds. 30 Thomas Hobbes: The State of Nature, "Solitary, Poor, Nasty, Brutish and Short"

Richard Tuck, "Thomas Hobbes: the sceptical state" ("Tuck/Hobbes.pdf"). Twelve short pages, easy

Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Chapt. 13, Chapt. 14 (paragraphs 1-8, 18-20, 23-33), Chapt. 15 (1-3, 35-41) ("Hobbes1.pdf"), 16 pages, difficult.

Total: 28 pages

Texts of *Leviathan* also available:

<http://search.oregonstate.edu/web/?query=Leviathan&Search=Search+OSU>

or <http://www.earlymoderntexts.com>

October

Mon. 5 Hobbes: The Social Contract and the Absolute State

Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Chapt. 17 (1-2, 6-7, 12-15); Chapt 18 (1-10, 16, 20); Chapt 19 (1-2, 4-7); Chapt. 20 (1-3); Chapt. 21 (1-18, 21-22); Chapt. 29 (1-10); Chapt. 30 (1-4).

All in "[Hobbes2.pdf](#)" and also can be found on website above. 24 pages, difficult

Total: 24 pages

Weds. 7 John Locke: A Kinder, Gentler State of Nature

Dunn, "John Locke: The Politics of Trust" ("[Dunn.pdf](#)"), 10 short pages, easy

Locke, *Second Treatise of Government* (note that Locke's work is organized by numbered sections and that the following are section, not page numbers. I repeat: are not page numbers.): Sections 4-24, 87-92, 95-100, 123-142, 211-228. 240-243 (28 pages, difficult). [Locke1.pdf](#).

Total: 38 pages

Also available: <http://www.constitution.org/jl/2ndtreat.htm>

Mon. 12 Locke on Property, Tacit Consent and the Right of Revolution

Second Treatise, Sections 25-37 (7 pages, read carefully) at [LockeProperty](#)

Robert Nozick, "The Lockean Theory of Acquisition," "The Proviso" ("[Nozick.pdf](#)"), 9 pages

Second Treatise, Sections 117-122 (4 pages, read carefully) at [LockeConsent](#)

Total: 20 pages

Weds. 14 Hume's Attack on Consent Theory, the Principle of Fairness, and Anarchism

Hume, excerpts from "Of the Original Contract" 3 pages ([Hume.pdf](#))

George Klosko, "The Fixed Content of Political Obligations" ([KloskoWebpage](#)), 14 pages, difficult

John Simmons, "Lockean Anarchism," 21 pages, difficult ([LAnarchism.pdf](#))

Total: 38

SECOND PAPER TOPIC ASSIGNED

Mon. 19 Rousseau: The General Will or How to Reconcile Freedom and Authority

Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Bks 1 and 2, p. 49 - 100

Total: 51 very small pages

Weds. 21 Rousseau: The Critique of Representative Government and the Civil Religion.

The Social Contract, Bk 3 (chapters 1-6, 10-18); Bk 4 (skip chapters 4 and 5); pages 101-122, 131 - 157, 170 - 188, Penguin, Cranston, ed.

Total: 64 very small pages

Mon. 26 Hamilton, Madison and the American Experiment

Federalist Papers, numbers 9, 10, 48-51 ("[Federalist.pdf](#)"). Scroll through pdf to find these numbered essays.

Optional: 1, 3, 6, 39

Total: 33 pages, difficult

Also available <http://www.law.ou.edu/hist/federalist>

Weds. 28 Thoreau, Lincoln and the Civil War

SECOND PAPER DUE

Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience" from *Civil Disobedience and Other Essays*, 18 pages, easy. Note this selection is not a pdf but in a required book of essays for the course.

Handout, "Compromises Concerning Slavery", which summarizes the next piece by Jaffa, so use them together;

Harry Jaffa, *Crisis of the House Divided*, "Appendices: Some Historical Background to the Lincoln-Douglas Debates," 12 pages, moderately difficult

Abraham Lincoln, "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions" 10 pages, very clear

Lincoln, "This Question of Slavery Extension" 11 pages, very clear

All of these readings are at "[Lincoln.pdf](#)" The next set of readings is also at this link. The Lincoln excerpts in between are optional.

Total: 41

Thoreau also available at <http://eserver.org/thoreau/civil1.html>

November

Mon. 2 Lincoln and the Second American Founding

Lincoln, "The Right to Rise Up" (1 page)

"Secession or Rebellion?" (10 pages)

"My Paramount Object" (1 page)

"Ours is A Case of Rebellion" (10 pages)

"It is for Us the Living" (1 page)

"With Malice Toward None" (2 pages)

Total: 25 pages

("Lincoln.pdf" see above)

Optional:

Lincoln readings in between these assignments

Weds. 4 **SECOND MID-TERM**

Part III: Modern Political Thought: History and Freedom

Mon. 9 Marx: The Theory of History and Class Struggle

Terrell Carver, "Karl Marx: Gravedigger of the Capitalist Class," 12 short pages
([Carver.pdf](#))

Marx, "Preface to the Critique of Political Economy" 1 page ([Preface](#))

Marx, "The Communist Manifesto, Part I., 9 pages, more difficult ([Manifesto](#))

Fukayama, "The End of History," 24, more difficult ([Fukyama](#))

Total: 36 pages

Weds. 11 Marx: Alienation and Species Being

Marx, "On the Jewish Question", 12 pages, difficult ([Jewish.pdf](#))

Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program," 2 pages ([Gotha.pdf](#))

Marx, "The Power of Money in Bourgeois Society," 4 pages ([Money.pdf](#))

Total: 29 pages

Mon. 16 **The Concept of Freedom**

Isaiah Berlin, "Two Concepts of Freedom"([Berlin2CS.pdf](#)) Read p. 118 - 141 and 162 - 172. To put it another way, only sections 1,2,3, 7 and 8 are required (sections 4,5,6 optional).

Total: 33 pages

Weds. 18 The History of Liberty, Social Tyranny, and the Harm Principle

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, Chapter 1

Individuality and Well-Being or Utility

On Liberty, Chapter 3, approx. 35 pages, difficult

Total: 35 pages

Mill also available <http://www.constitution.org/jsm/liberty.html>

Mon. 23 -
27 Fall Break

Mon. 30 Freedom of Thought and Expression

Mill, *On Liberty*, Book 2, approx. 40 pages, difficult

Total: 40

December

Weds. 2 Liberty of Action

Mill, *On Liberty*, Book 4

Total: 20 pages

Mon. 7 Liberty of Action: more applications

Mill, *On Liberty*, Book 5, 22 pages

Feinberg, "A Ride on the Bus" ("[Ride.pdf](#)"), 2 pages, easy

Total: 24 pages

Weds. 9 Class Summary: Democracy versus(?) Philosophy

Michael Walzer, "Philosophy and Democracy", clearly written ([PhilAndDem.pdf](#))

Total: 20 pages

Final Exam: For the date, check the University's schedule for final exam dates on the Registrar's webpage

Optional Readings

Here are some suggested readings for for students who develop a deeper interest in particular authors or in political theory more generally. Feel free to ask the instructor or TA's for additional suggestions.

Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, "Pericles' Funeral Oration," ("[Pericles.pdf](#)"), 9 short pages, relatively easy. Famous speech about the glory of Athens.

David Held, "Athenian Democracy," ("[Held.pdf](#)"), 23 pages. Historical background on Athenian democracy, plus a little bit on Plato's criticisms of democracy.

John Simmons, selections from *Moral Principles and Political Obligation*, ("[Simmons.pdf](#)"), 18 short pages, moderately difficult. Discusses the problem of political obligation and criteria for an adequate solution to that problem.

Harvey Mansfield, "Introduction" to *The Prince*. Just what it says.

Michael Walzer, "The Problem of Dirty Hands," ("[Hands.pdf](#)"), 20 pages. A contemporary philosopher discusses modern views of Machiavelli's emphasis on dirty hands.

Paul Turner, Chronology and Introduction to *Utopia*, 15 short pages

Utopia, Bk., II. 64 pages. How does this differ from Plato's ideal state (hint: Think of the monastery as the model of an ideal society).

Michael Walzer, "Political Alienation and Military Service" (20 pages)

WalzerService.pdf (An attempt to apply Locke's ideas about different kinds of consent to contemporary military service).

Maurice Cranston's Introduction to *The Social Contract*, 9 -25. Offers a biographical sketch of Rousseau and discusses some of the main elements of the social contract.

Benjamin Barber, "Political Participation and the Creation of Res Publica" ("[Barber.pdf](#)"), 15 pages, easy. A somewhat Rousseauist vision of modern democracy, albeit one that departs radically from Rousseau by emphasizing participation.

John Scharr, "The Case for Patriotism" ("[Scharr.pdf](#)"). Compares Rousseau and Lincoln on the civil religion and on civic virtue patriotism (among other things).

Robert Booth Fowler, "Gone Fishing: Making Sense of Marx's Concept of Communism" 11 pages ("[Fishing.pdf](#)")

Will Kymlicka, "Utilitarianism" ("[Kymlicka.pdf](#)"), 40 pages, moderately difficult. Discusses the moral theory underlying Mill's argument in *On Liberty*.

John Gray, "John Stuart Mill: the crisis of liberalism" ("[Gray.pdf](#)"), 10 pages, easy

David Lewis, "Mill and Milquetoast" ("[Lewis.pdf](#)"), 27 pages, moderately difficult. A very interesting, if somewhat misleading critique of a supposedly Millian or "neutral" defense of toleration.

Joel Feinberg, "Grounds for Coercion: Hard Cases for the Harm Principle" ("[Grounds.pdf](#)"), 14 lengthy pages, difficult

Joel Feinberg, "Profound Offense" ("[Profound.pdf](#)"), 30 pages, difficult. Why Mill's harm principle may need to be supplemented not only by principles for regulating ordinary offensive nuisances, but by principles for regulating deep moral and religious offenses as well.

