# History of Political Thought III: Liberty, Democracy, and Revolution

Political Science 393/5093

Professor Frank Lovett

Spring 2022 Tuesday/Thursday 10:00 – 11:30 am Wrighton 301 flovett@wustl.edu Office Hours: Tuesdays and Wednesdays, 1:00 – 2:00 pm Seigle 282

This course is designed to be the third in a three-semester sequence on the history of political thought. The sequence offers a critical introduction to the main issues and debates in predominantly western political theory, including but not limited to the topics of justice, legitimacy, equality, democracy, liberty, sovereignty, and the role of history in the political and social world. Students are encouraged, but not required, to take the courses in chronological sequence. The third semester begins with the American and French Revolutions, and follows the development of political and social ideas up through the beginning of the twentieth century.

# Course Requirements

Both undergraduate and graduate students may take this course, and the requirements are different for each. The undergraduate requirements are as follows:

- 1. **Readings**. The course schedule below indicates the readings required prior to each lecture; these readings average about 100 pages per week. The "further readings" indicated for each section of the course are optional, but will add depth to the required readings.
- 2. Three (3) papers, 3–4 pages each. Four (4) paper assignments are indicated on the class schedule below, and you must write at least three of them. If you choose to write all four, your lowest grade will be dropped. *Everyone must write the first paper*. The papers will together count for 75% of your overall grade. Paper topics will be provided in advance, along with detailed instructions regarding grading, turning in late papers, and so on.
- 3. **Final exam**, on May 10th. This exam will count for 25% of your overall grade. No makeup exams will be offered, barring demonstrable emergencies.

Graduate students enrolled in this course are expected to attend the lectures and do all of the scheduled readings. The "further readings" are also strongly recommended. Graduate students must write either two shorter papers of at least 10 pages each, or one seminar paper of 20 or more pages in length.

# **Course Materials**

For this course you will need all the following books, which should be available for purchase at the Campus Bookstore:

Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Hackett) Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents* (Norton) Hamilton, et al., *The Federalist* (Cambridge) Hegel, *Philosophy of Right* (Oxford) Mill, *On Liberty and other Essays* (Oxford) Nietzsche, *Genealogy of Morals* (Hackett) Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Perennial) Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd ed. (Norton)

There are many good editions of these books, and if you happen to own some already, do not feel obligated to buy these particular editions. Additional readings are available online through the course Canvas website. Please contact me if you have any difficulty finding or accessing any of the readings.

# Schedule of Readings and Assignments

Jan 18 Introduction (no assignment)

# I. REVOLUTION AND REACTION

Jan 20	Paine, "Common Sense," entire (online) Paine, "Rights of Man, part two" selections (online) Hamilton, et al., <i>The Federalist:</i> "The Federalist," no. 1
Jan 25	Sieyès, "What Is the Third Estate?" selections (online) Hamilton, et al., <i>The Federalist:</i> "The Federalist," nos. 2, 11, 15–17, 27; "Letters of Brutus," no. 1
Jan 27	Hamilton, et al., <i>The Federalist:</i> "The Federalist," nos. 9–10, 48–49, 51, 78, 84–85; "Letters of Brutus," nos. 3, 15
Feb 1	Burke, <i>Reflections on the Revolution in France</i> , pp. 3–33, 43–46, 51–55, 59–68, 73–85, 217–218
Feb 3	Wollstonecraft, "Vindication of the Rights of Women," intro, chs. 1–3 and 9 (online)

<u>Further reading</u>: Paine, *Rights of Man*, part one; *The Federalist*, nos. 6–8, 39–46; Maistre, *Considerations on France*, chs. 1–2; Bentham, "Anarchical Fallacies;" Price, "A Discourse on the Love of Our Country."

### Feb 4 First paper due (at 12:00 noon)

#### II. HISTORY AND SOCIETY

- Feb 8 Rousseau, "On the Social Contract," bk. I, chs. 6–9; bk. II, ch. 1 (online)
   Constant, "The Spirit of Conquest," and "The Liberty of the Ancients
   Compared with that of the Moderns" (online)
- Feb 10 Hegel, Introduction to the Philosophy of History, selections (online) Hegel, Philosophy of Right, "Preface"
- Feb 15 Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, "Introduction," §§ 1–2, 4–24, 29–31; "Abstract Right," §§ 34–53, 90–103; "Morality," §§ 129–139, 141
- Feb 17 Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, "Ethical Life," §§ 142–157, 182–195, 230–249, 257–269, 275–286, 321–329, 314–360

<u>Further reading</u>: Herder, "Another Philosophy of History;" Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, §§ 196–229, 287–320; Mazzini, *The Duties of Man*, chs. 1, 4–5.

#### **III. TOCQUEVILLE**

- Feb 22 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America:* Volume One, Part I, p. 9–20, 31–57, 61–63, 87–98 Volume Two, Part III, 572–580
- Feb 24 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America:* Volume One, Part II, p. 180–199, 231–245, 340–363 Douglass, "The Inhumanity of Slavery" (online)
- Mar 1 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America:* Volume One, Part II, p. 246–276, 287–315 Volume Two, Part II, p. 503–513, 520–524
- Mar 3 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America:* Volume Two, Part I, p. 433–436 Volume Two, Part II, p. 530–546 Volume Two, Part III, p. 561–567, 600–605, 634–645 Volume Two, Part IV, p. 679–705

### Mar 4 Second paper due (at 12:00 noon)

<u>Further reading</u>: Calhoum, "A Disquisition on Government;" Emerson, "Self-Reliance;" Whitman, "Democratic Vistas;" Walker, "Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World;" Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience."

#### IV. J. S. MILL

- Mar 8 J. S. Mill, "On Liberty," chs. 1–2
- Mar 10 J. S. Mill, "On Liberty," chs. 3–4
- Mar 15, 17 Spring Break (no class)
- Mar 22 J. S. Mill, "Considerations on Representative Government," chs. 1, 3, 5, 8
- Mar 24 J. S. Mill, "Considerations on Representative Government," chs. 4, 16, 18 Fitche, *Addresses to the German Nation*, selections (online)

<u>Further reading</u>: von Humboldt, *The Limits of State Action*, chs. 2–3, 10–11, 13; Mazzini, "To the Italians;" Mill, "Utilitarianism," chs. 1–2; Mill, "The Subjection of Women," ch. 1; Spencer, *Social Statistics*, chs. 4, 6, 9–10, 22, 25.

### V. MARX

Mar 29	<i>The Marx-Engels Reader:</i> "On the Jewish Question," pp. 26–46 "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts," pp. 70–101
Mar 31	<i>The Marx-Engels Reader:</i> "Capital," pp. 302–329, 336–343, 376–384, 436–438
Apr 1	Third paper due (at 12:00 noon)
Apr 5	<i>The Marx-Engels Reader:</i> "A Contribution to the Critique," pp. 3–6 "The German Ideology," pp. 148–175, 186–193
Apr 7	The Marx-Engels Reader: "Communist Manifesto," pp. 473–500

<u>Further reading</u>: Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon;" Engels, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State;" Bakunin, *Statism and Anarchy*, chs. 1, 5–7.

### VI. THE CRISIS OF MODERNITY

Apr 12	Nietzsche, Genealogy of Morality, preface; first treatise, sect,
	1-17; second treatise, sect. $1-3$

- Apr 14 Nietzsche, *Genealogy of Morality*, second treatise, sect. 4–25; third treatise, sect. 1, 7–12
- Apr 19 Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, selections (online)
- Apr 21 From Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation"
- Apr 26 From Max Weber, "Bureaucracy"
- Apr 28 Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents, chs. 1, 3–5, 7–8
- Apr 29 **Fourth paper due** (at 12:00 noon)

<u>Further reading</u>: Weber, "Class, Status, Party;" Niebuhr, *Children of Light and Children of Darkness*; Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems*, chs. 1, 4, 6.

May 10 **Final Exam** (6:00 – 8:00 pm)

# Secondary Readings

The following are a small selection of the many excellent works by contemporary historians, philosophers, and political theorists discussing the authors and themes we study this class. They are an excellent place to begin if you wish the study any of these topics in greater depth.

Wood, Creation of the American Republic
Rakove, Original Meanings
Tocqueville, Old Regime and the French Revolution
Doyle, The French Revolution: A Very Short Introduction
Holmes, Benjamin Constant and the Making of Modern Liberalism
Singer, Hegel: A Very Short Introduction
Wood, Hegel's Ethical Thought
Neuhouser, Foundations of Hegel's Social Theory
Wilentz, The Rise of American Democracy

Welch, De Tocqueville Elster, Alexis de Tocqueville, the First Social Scientist Ryan, J.S. Mill Brink, Mill's Progressive Principles Cohen, Karl Marx's Theory of History Elster, Making Sense of Marx Polanyi, The Great Transformation Shaw, Nietzsche's Political Skepticism