

Phil 114: History of Political Philosophy

MWF, 10–11am, 155 Kroeber

Website: <http://sophos.berkeley.edu/kolodny/12SPhil114.htm>

Instructor:

Niko Kolodny, kolodny@berkeley.edu

Office hours: Wednesdays 1:30–3:30pm, 245 Moses Hall, or by appointment

Graduate Student Instructors:

Brian Berkey, <http://philosophy.berkeley.edu/people/detail/98>

Tobey Scharding, <http://philosophy.stanford.edu/profile/Tobey+Scharding/>

Catalog Description:

A survey of the major political philosophers, including some or all of: Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kant, Bentham, Mill, and Marx.

Longer Description:

Political *science* seeks to describe, explain, and predict political phenomena. (Why did Italy and Germany unify when they did? What impact will demographic shifts have on the next presidential election?) These questions must be settled empirically: by consulting history, observing differences between countries, taking polls, and so on. Political *philosophy* asks different questions, which it is less clear that we can settle empirically. Some of these questions are *conceptual*. What makes a particular form of human interaction political? Other questions are *normative*. What sort of government should we have? How should we, as individuals, relate to it?

This version of the course surveys the major works of political philosophy of the 17th–19th centuries, by Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, and Marx. To provide context and contrast, briefer readings will be drawn from Aristotle and Filmer (a critic of Hobbes in turn criticized by Locke).

The course will be more interpretive than many philosophy classes. Although we may hope to learn something about the questions that interest us, we will be discussing, in the first instance, the questions that interested the authors. Furthermore, our interpretations will have a different focus from courses on the same texts in other departments. There will be greater emphasis on normative foundations than on institutional design, and greater emphasis on the internal logical structure of the arguments than on their author's rhetoric or immediate political aims. For this reason, some experience with philosophical reasoning is essential.

Prerequisites:

One course offered by a philosophy department. Phil 2 or Phil 104, in particular, will be helpful. This course will complement Phil 115 and 116.

Readings:

All readings are online. They fall into two categories.

1. Those with no public link, but instead “(bSpace).” These are available in the “Resources” section of the bSpace site for the course.
2. Those with a public link: “http://...” Just click and read. Note that all of the readings in this second category have *also* been assembled as a single (very large) PDF, entitled “SPhil114OnlineReadings.pdf,” which is available in the “Resources” section of the bSpace site for the course. So bSpace has everything you need.

If you would like a paper copy for convenience, but don’t have access to an inexpensive printer, you may purchase a reader with everything at Copy Central, 2560 Bancroft Way.

Requirements:

1. Attendance at lecture and section.
2. Reading: there will be a lot at times, especially toward the end, as we pick up momentum, so please plan accordingly.
3. For each lecture, download the handout from the course website, and bring either a paper copy or a laptop to lecture. (If you would like to have a paper copy for lecture, but find it a hardship to print one out beforehand, let us know.) Each handout will end with a set of “Review Questions.” Listening to the lecture and doing the assigned reading should be enough to enable you to answer these. (However, simply reading the handout will *not* be enough.)
4. Section participation: 15%.
5. Four 4-page papers: 17% each.
6. Final exam: 17%. Open book, open note, etc. Every question on the final will be a “Review Question.” So, if you come to lecture, do the reading, and make a habit of writing out the answers to these questions, you will be fully prepared for the final.

Notes:

- GSI’s will not comment on the final exam, but will be available to discuss it.
- Requirements may be **reduced** if enrollment is high.
- Since Brian will be leaving for Australia in March, the GSI’s will divide the work for the course in a somewhat unusual way. Brian will do all the discussion sections and grading on the material in the first half of the course, and Tobey will do all the sections and grading on the material in the second half.

Syllabus:

1. Wednesday, January 18

Introduction

2. Friday, January 20

The Aristotelian background: the concept of nature, the good for man, the state as natural and prior, natural slavery

Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Bk I, Ch. 2, 4–7, 13

<http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/nicomachaen.html>

Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I, Ch. 1–6

<http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.html>

3. Monday, January 23

Hobbes: Man as mechanism, state as artifact

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Introduction, Ch. 6, 8, 10–11

<http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/phl302/texts/hobbes/leviathan-contents.html>

4. Wednesday, January 25

Hobbes: The state of nature as a state of war

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Ch. 13, 17

5. Friday, January 27

Hobbes: The state of nature as a state of war

6. Monday, January 30

Hobbes: The state of nature as a state of war

First Paper Topic Distributed

7. Wednesday, February 1

Hobbes: The law of nature and the role of consent

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Ch. 14–15, 20–21, 31 and 43

8. Friday, February 3

Hobbes: The law of nature and the role of consent

9. Monday, February 6

Hobbes: The sovereign

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Ch. 16, 17 (review), 18–19, 20–21 (review)

First Paper Due

10. Wednesday, February 8

Hobbes: The sovereign

11. Friday, February 10

Hobbes: The sovereign

12. Monday, February 13

Locke: Did God make us slaves?

Sir Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha*, Ch. 1, 3 §§1, 4–7

<http://www.constitution.org/eng/patriarcha.htm>

Sir Robert Filmer, *Observations Concerning the Originall of Government*, p. 187 (bSpace)

John Locke, *First Treatise of Government*, Ch. 1, Ch. 4 §§21–24, 29, 41–43, Ch. 6, Ch. 9

<http://www.lonang.com/exlibris/locke/>

John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, Ch. 1

13. Wednesday, February 15

Locke: Natural religion and the law of nature
John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, Ch. 2–4, 6

14. Friday, February 17
Locke: Natural religion and the law of nature
Registrar's Drop/Add Deadline

No class Monday, February 20
No class Wednesday, February 22
No class Friday, February 24

15. Monday, February 27
Locke: "Appeal to heaven" – consent and the right to revolution
John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, Ch. 7–9, 10–12, 14–19
The Declaration of Independence
http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html
Second Paper Topic Distributed

16. Wednesday, February 29
Locke: Property... and the class state?
Sir Robert Filmer, *Observations Concerning the Originall of Government*, p. 234 (bSpace)
John Locke, *First Treatise of Government*, Ch. 4 §§41–43 (review), Ch. 9 §§84–103 (review)
John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, Ch. 5, 13

17. Friday, March 2
Rousseau: Is society good for us?
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Second Discourse*
<http://records.viu.ca/~Johnstoi/rousseau/seconddiscourse.htm>

18. Monday, March 5
Rousseau: Is society good for us?
Second Paper Due

19. Wednesday, March 7
Rousseau: How might it be?
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Social Contract*
<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/RouSoci.html>

20. Friday, March 9
Rousseau: How might it be?

21. Monday, March 12
Kant: Morality as the law of freedom
Immanuel Kant, *Metaphysics of Morals: Introduction to the Metaphysics of Morals* (bSpace)

22. Wednesday, March 14

Kant: Right as equality of external freedom

Immanuel Kant, *Metaphysics of Morals: The Doctrine of Right, Introduction, Part I (Private Right)*, up through §18, §22–27 (bSpace)

23. Friday, March 16

24. Monday, March 19

Kant: The state as necessary for right, the social contract as idea

Immanuel Kant, *Metaphysics of Morals, The Doctrine of Right, Part I (Private Right)*, §§41–42 only; *Part II (Public Right), Sect. I (The Right of a State)* (bSpace)

Immanuel Kant, “On the Common Saying: That May Be Correct in Theory, but it is of no Use in Practice,” *Part II* (bSpace)

Third Paper Topic Distributed

25. Wednesday, March 21

26. Friday, March 23

Kant: Perpetual peace as a demand of reason

Immanuel Kant, *Metaphysics of Morals: The Doctrine of Right, Part II (Public Right), Sect. ii (The Right of Nations) Sect. iii (Cosmopolitan Right)*—skip the Appendix (bSpace)

Immanuel Kant, *Toward Perpetual Peace: First Definitive Article, Second Definitive Article, First Supplement* (bSpace)

Spring Break

27. Monday, April 2

Hegel: History as Spirit’s coming to self-consciousness of itself as free

Georg Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, §12, 18–25, 27–30, 33, 36–38, 40–50, 61–63, 72, 97–99

<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/hi/history3.htm> - III

Third Paper Topic Due

28. Wednesday, April 4

Hegel: Kant’s empty formalism and the free will as willing itself as free

Georg Hegel, *The Philosophy of Right*, §1–7, 10–12, 14–16, 22–23, 27–33, 135, 141

<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/pr/prconten.htm>

No class Friday, April 6

29. Monday, April 9

Hegel: Political philosophy as reconciliation

Georg Hegel, *The Philosophy of Right*, Preface (after first footnote, skip to the end of the second footnote), §142–58, 181–88, 199–209, 256–74, 321–28

30. Wednesday April 11

Hegel: Political philosophy as reconciliation

31. Friday, April 13

Hegel: Case studies in dialectic: Property and Recognition

Georg Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, §178–196

<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/ph/phba.htm>

Georg Hegel, *The Philosophy of Right*, §39–42, 44, 53, 56–57, 59, 65–67, 71

32. Monday, April 16

Marx: Historical Materialism: Productive forces, not Spirit, as the engine of history

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology*, selections from Tucker, *The Marx-Engels Reader*, pp. 147–50, 154–55, 159–66, 169, 172–75, 186–88, 193–200 (bSpace)

Also available in full here, but you'll have to read much, much more:

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01.htm>

Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Preface, third paragraph

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface-abs.htm>

Karl Marx, *Capital, Vol. 1*, Afterword to the Second German Edition, last four paragraphs

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/p3.htm>

Fourth Paper Topic Distributed

33. Wednesday, April 18

Marx: The labor theory of value and commodity fetishism

Karl Marx, *Capital, Vol. 1*, Ch. 1–3

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/index.htm>

34. Friday, April 20

Marx: Wage labor, proletarian “freedom,” and capitalism’s lust for surplus value

Karl Marx, *Capital, Vol. 1*, Ch. 4, 6–7, 10, 12, 14 (sect. 5), 15 (sect. 1 first paragraph, sect. 3 first four paragraphs, sect. 4), 16 (up to first footnote)

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/index.htm>

35. Monday, April 23

Marx: How did capitalism arise, and where is it headed?

Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, selections from Tucker, pp. 249, 254–56, 263–76, 291–92 (bSpace)

Also available in full here, but you'll have to read much, much more:

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1857/grundrisse/index.htm>

Karl Marx, *Capital, Vol. 1*, Ch. 25 (sect. 1, 3–4), 26, 27 (first two paragraphs), 32

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/index.htm>

Karl Marx, *Capital, Vol. 3*, Ch. 15 (Part IV: Supplementary Remarks)

Fourth Paper Due

36. Wednesday, April 25

Marx: What is wrong with capitalism? What comes after?

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology*, selections from Tucker, pp. 159–60, 190–193 (bSpace)

Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, selections from Tucker, pp. 252–54, 260–61, 278–81 (bSpace)

Karl Marx, *Capital, Vol. 3*, Ch. 48

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1894-c3/ch48.htm>

Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Part I (response to proposition 3, “The emancipation of labor demands...”), Part IV (response to proposition A, “The free basis of the state...”)

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1875/gotha/>

37. Friday, April 27

Parting thoughts

38. Monday, April 30: Reading and Recitation

39. Wednesday, May 2: Reading and Recitation

40. Final Exam, May 8: 3–6pm

Course Policies:

Extensions:

Plan ahead. You may request extensions from your GSI *up until 72 hours* before papers are due. After then, extensions will be granted *only for medical and family emergencies*.

Submitting Work:

Papers must be submitted, on paper, by you, to your GSI, in class, by 10:10am, before the lecture starts. Papers submitted later will lose *one step* (e.g., B+ to B) *immediately* and then an *additional step every 24 hours*. If you cannot come to lecture on the due date, you may request to make other arrangements with your GSI, so long as you do so well before the deadline. Whatever the circumstances, you are responsible for ensuring that your GSI gets your paper. Forgotten or unopenable attachments, bounced or lost emails, and so on, are your responsibility.

“Re-grading”:

You are strongly encouraged to discuss grades and comments on papers with your GSI or me. However, *grades on particular papers and exams will not be changed under any circumstances*. While there is no perfect system, selective “re-grading” at students’ request only makes things worse. “Second” grades are likely to be less accurate and less fair than “first” grades. This is because, among other things, the GSI does not have access to other papers for purposes of comparison, the student will inevitably supply additional input (clarifications, explanations, etc.) that the original paper did not, and there are certain biases of self-selection.

The only exception, to which none of these concerns apply, is a suspected arithmetical or recording error in your final course grade. Please do not hesitate to bring this to your GSI’s or my attention.

Academic Dishonesty:

Plagiarism and cheating will result in an “F” in the course as a whole and a report to Student Judicial Affairs.

“Any test, paper or report submitted by you and that bears your name is presumed to be your own original work that has not previously been submitted for credit in another course unless you obtain prior written approval to do so from your instructor.

“In all of your assignments, including your homework or drafts of papers, you may use words or ideas written by other individuals in publications, web sites, or other sources, but only with proper attribution. ‘Proper attribution’ means that you have fully identified the original source and extent of your use of the words or ideas of others that you reproduce in your work for this course, usually in the form of a footnote or parenthesis.”

—Report of the Academic Dishonesty and Plagiarism Subcommittee, June 18, 2004.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:

If you have an official accommodation letter that is relevant to this course, please notify both me and your GSI at a reasonable time. We will do whatever we can to help.