

PHILOSOPHY 166 **CLASSICS OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY**
INTRODUCTORY HANDOUT **Revised 10/02/2012**
Fall, 2012 Professor Richard Arneson
Class meets MWF 11:00-11:50 a.m. in Solis 111.

For further information about the course, which will change throughout the quarter, consult the course web page at TED.

This course is an introduction to the issue of political legitimacy: What is required in order that a government's coercion of its citizens to obey the law should count as morally legitimate? Under what conditions does a government act rightly in issuing commands to its subjects backed by force? Under what conditions are those who receive such commands morally obligated to obey? What are the legitimate functions of the state? We explore these questions by studying some classic texts of political theory. The authors of these texts radically disagree in their answers. Our working assumption is that these differences are instructive, partly because in modern democracies today these questions remain unsettled. The goals of the course are to improve our understanding of these core texts in political theory, to assess their arguments, and to reflect on our own political values. We will get practice in reading hard texts and developing arguments to support our moral and political convictions.

Course Texts: Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*; John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (both of these Rousseau texts are included in Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings*); John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*; John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*. All of these books except Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, are available at the UCSD bookstore. Note: The Mill writings are also available on the web at <http://www.utilitarian.net/jsmill/>. The Locke writing is available on the web at <http://www.constitution.org/jl/2ndtreat.htm>.

Course Requirements: There is a class participation course requirement (described in the next paragraph). The other course requirements are a midterm exam in class, an analytical writing assignment (about five to seven pages in length), and a regular final exam. The writing assignment will not require extra reading, but will ask you to interpret and assess some course texts. On the writing assignment you will have a choice among topics assigned in class. The writing assignment has two components: (1) write a draft or outline of your paper and discuss it with me and (2) complete and turn in a final draft of your paper. The final exam will comprehend all course materials (readings, lectures, and handouts). The final exam will consist of one and a half hours of essay questions (these will somewhat emphasize material covered after the midterm) and one and a half hours of short "paragraph essay" questions testing reading comprehension (these will range over all course readings).

To encourage keeping up with the reading class by class and week by week, there will be a class participation component of your grade. On most class days, there will be class discussion for a few minutes at the start of the class, usually on questions posed in advance of class (and relating to the readings assigned for that class), before the instructor's lecture starts. On any class day, even if we start with lecturing, you are encouraged to interject questions and comment. I will take notes after every class on the class discussion, and the quality and frequency of your contributions to discussion will be the basis of your class participation grade, along with two other components. (1) You may also participate in class discussion by sending me email questions or comments before class regarding some significant aspect of the assigned reading for that day. I will keep a file of these email messages for each student. (2) Also, there may be a few short quizzes given throughout the quarter on the assigned readings for that class (or maybe also on recent readings prior to that class).

The final exam for this class is scheduled to take place at 11:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. on Tuesday, December 11. You should be sure that you can attend this final exam (i.e., that you do not have too many other finals on this same day) before you enroll in this class.

Grading: Class participation counts for 10 per cent of your final grade, The midterm exam counts for 25 per cent of your final grade, the writing assignment for 30 per cent, and the final exam counts for 35 per cent.

Course grading for those enrolled on a Pass/Not Pass basis: If you are taking the course on a Pass/Not Pass basis, you must both (1) get a C- or better on the final exam and (2) earn a C- or better overall average on all course work in order to earn a Pass grade in the course, with one exception: If you have an A-average or better on all class work up to the final, you will be excused from the final exam.

Academic Honesty. Students are expected to understand and follow the University policy on academic honesty (Integrity of Scholarship). You can read this at <http://students.ucsd.edu/academics/academic-integrity/policy.html>
Integrity of scholarship--the basic idea is simple: be honest. Don't cheat.

SCHEDULE OF REQUIRED READINGS AND LECTURE/DISCUSSION TOPICS

Week 1. September 24-30.

FRI: Introduction. Reading: none.

Week 2. October 1-7.

MON: Hobbes on human psychology. Reading: Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part I, chapters VI-X, along with the Editor Edwin Curley's "Introduction," pp. viii-xxi. Recommended reading: *Leviathan*, Part I, chapters I-V.

WED: Hobbes on conflict in the state of nature. Reading: Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part I, chapters XI-XIII; also Gregory Kavka, "Hobbes's War of All against All" (available at TED course page); also Curley, "Introduction," pp. xxi-xxviii.

FRI: Hobbes on morality and obligation, the laws of nature and the reply to the Fool. Reading: Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part I, chapters 14-16; also Curley, "Introduction," pp. xxviii-xxiii.

Week 3. October 8-14.

MON: Can people as Hobbes describes them form a state? Reading: Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part II, chapters XVII-XX; also Curley, "Introduction," pp. xxxiii-xxxv.

WED: Hobbes on the necessity of absolute government. Reading: Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part II, chapters XXI-XXV; also Curley, "Introduction," pp. xxxvi-xxlvii.

FRI: Hobbes's account of sovereignty; assessment of Hobbes's argument. Reading: Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part II, chapters XXVI-XXX. Recommended reading: Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part II, chapter XXXI.

Week 4. October 15-21.

MON: **MIDTERM EXAM IN CLASS.**

WED: Locke on natural rights; the state of nature, the right to property. Reading: Locke, *Second Treatise*, chapters 1-5.

FRI: Same topic continued. Reading: same as for Wednesday.

Week 5. October 22-28.

MON: Consent and tacit consent; Locke on the family. Reading: Locke, *Second Treatise*, chapters 6-8; also John Simmons, "Tacit Consent and Political Obligation," at course TEDCT page.

WED: Limited government. Reading: Locke, *Second Treatise*, chapters 9-14.

FRI: Tyranny and the right of revolution. Reading: Locke, *Second Treatise*, chapters 15-19.

Week 6. October 29-November 4.

MON: Conclusion of Locke discussion. Reading: no extra reading.

WED: Natural man. Reading: Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, Part I (pages 29-69 in *The Basic Political Writings*), plus Rousseau's notes to Part I.

FRI: The founding of civil society. Reading: Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, Part II (pages 69-92 in *The Basic Political Writings*), plus Rousseau's notes to Part II.

Week 7. November 5-11.

MON: **[No class. Veterans Day holiday.]**

WED: The Social Contract. Reading: Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Book I. Recommended reading: Joshua Cohen, *Rousseau: A Free Community of Equals*, chapters 1 & 2.

FRI: The general will. Reading: Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Book II; also Frederick Neuhaus, "Freedom, Dependence, and the General Will," available at course TEDCT page.

Week 8. November 12-18.

MON: Government and direct democracy. Reading: Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Book III.

WED: Rousseau: liberal, radical democrat, or totalitarian? Reading: Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Book IV.

FRI: **[Please note: This class must be rescheduled.]** Mill's utilitarianism. Reading: handout excerpt from Mill, *Utilitarianism*, chapter 2. Recommended: Mill, *On Liberty*, chapter 1.

Week 9. November 19-25.

MON: Utilitarian liberalism; the liberty principle; Mill versus paternalism. Reading: Mill, *On Liberty*, chapter 1. Available at <http://www.utilitarian.net/jsmill/>

WED: **[Please note: This class must be rescheduled.]** Freedom of speech. Reading: Mill, *On Liberty*, chapter 2; also David Lewis, "Mill and Milquetoast."

FRI: **[No class. Thanksgiving holiday.]**

Week 10. November 26-December 2.

MON: Individuality and liberty. Reading: Mill, *On Liberty*, chapter 3.

WED: Direct and indirect harm to others. Reading: Mill, *On Liberty*, chapters 4 and 5.

FRI: **WRITING ASSIGNMENT DUE IN CLASS.** Mill on the limits of laissez-faire. Reading: Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Book V, ch. 11. At <http://www.utilitarian.net/jsmill/>

Week 11. December 3-9.

MON: Mill on the stationary state and the future of capitalist wage labor. Reading: Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Book IV, ch. 7, sections 1-6 (but skip all of the details Mill reports about contemporary coops; in sections 5 and 6). Further recommended BUT NOT required reading: Mill, Chapters on Socialism, chapter 4, "The Difficulties of Socialism," pp. 1-9—stop at the subheading, "The Idea of Private Property not Fixed but Variable." At Mill web site listed for last Monday. Further recommended reading: G. A. Cohen, "Why Not Socialism?" (available at TED course page).

WED: Mill on representative government. Reading: Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, chapters 2-3. At Mill web site.

FRI: Mill on democracy and plural votes. Reading: Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, chapters 6, and 8. At Mill web site.

Arneson's office hours: Wednesdays 3-4 and Tuesdays 2-3 in HSS 8057.

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