

PHILOSOPHY 166 CLASSICS OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY
INTRODUCTORY HANDOUT revised October 2
Fall, 2013 Professor Richard Arneson
Class meets MWF 12:00 noon to 12:50 p.m. in HSS 1128A.

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: John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*; John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*; 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* and *The Subjection of Women*. All of these books except Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, are available at the UCSD bookstore. Note: The Mill writings are also available on the web at http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/mill/john_stuart/ Locke's *A Letter Concerning Toleration* is available on the web at <http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/pdf/locktole.pdf> and also at the course TED page. Locke's *Second Treatise* is also available at <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/locke/john/>

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 (required 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 comprehension of course readings, handouts, lectures and so on (these will range over all course materials). Note: no merely recommended but not required will be covered on the final exam.

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 Thursday, December 12. 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 15 per cent of your final grade, The midterm exam counts for 20 per cent of your final grade, the writing assignment for 25 per cent, and the final exam counts for 40 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 23-29.

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

Week 2. September 30-October 6.

MON: Locke on property continued. Reading: Locke, *Second Treatise*, chapter 5, plus Robert Nozick, "Locke's Theory of Acquisition" and "The Proviso" excerpts from his *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (available at TED course page).

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

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

Week 3. October 7-13.

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

WED: Locke on toleration. Reading: Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, available at <http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/pdf/locktole.pdf>

FRI: Guest lecturer: Mr. Danny Weltman. Conclusion of Locke, *Second Treatise* discussion. Tyranny and the right of revolution. Reading: Locke, *Second Treatise*, chapters 15-19.

Week 4. October 14-20.

MON: 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.

WED: 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.

FRI: The Social Contract. Reading: Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Book I; also Joshua Cohen, *Rousseau: A Free Community of Equals*, chapters 1 & 2. (available at course TED page).

Week 5. October 21-27.

MON: MIDTERM EXAM IN CLASS.

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

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

Week 6. October 28-November 3.

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

WED: Guest Lecturer: Dr. Michael Tiboris. Karl Marx on alienated labor. Reading: Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," sections on "Estranged Labour" and "Private Property and Communism," in *Marx-Engels Reader*. Recommended reading: excerpt from "Hard Work," chapter 6 of his *Spheres of Justice*, available at course TED page.

FRI: Marx versus money and exchange. Reading: Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," sections on "The Meaning of Human Requirements" and "The Power of Money in Bourgeois Society," in *Marx-Engels Reader*. Recommended reading: Michael Walzer, excerpt from "Money and Commodities," chapter 4 of his *Spheres of Justice*, available at course TED page.

Week 7. November 4-10.

MON: Historical materialism. Reading: "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in *Marx-Engels Reader*; also Marx, "Preface" to the *Critique of Political Economy*, handout passed out in class and available at course TED page.

WED: Marx's amoralism. Reading: "Manifesto of the Communist Party"; also handout excerpt from "Preface" to the *Critique of Political Economy*; also Allen Wood, "The Marxian Critique of Justice," available at course TED page.

FRI: Exploitation. Reading: "Wage Labour and Capital," in *Marx-Engels Reader*.

Week 8. November 11-17.

MON: No Class. Veterans' Day Observed.

WED: Communist revolution; the stages of communism. Reading: Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program," in *Marx-Engels Reader*; also G. A. Cohen, "Why Not Socialism?," available at course TED page.

FRI: Communism and democracy. Reading: Introduction and Part III of "The Civil War in France," in *Marx-Engels Reader*.

Week 9. November 18-24.

MON: Mill's utilitarianism. Reading: handout excerpt from Mill, *Utilitarianism*, chapter 2. Recommended: Mill, *On Liberty*, chapter 1.

WED: Utilitarian liberalism; the liberty principle; Mill versus paternalism. Reading: Mill, *On Liberty*, chapter 1. Available at http://www.ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/mill/john_stuart/

FRI: Freedom of speech. Reading: Mill, *On Liberty*, chapter 2; also David Lewis, "Mill and Milquetoast" (the Lewis reading is available at the TED course page).

Week 10. November 25-December 1.

MON: **WRITING ASSIGNMENT DUE IN CLASS.** Individuality and liberty. Reading: Mill, *On Liberty*, chapter 3.

WED: Direct and indirect harm to others. Reading: Mill, *On Liberty*, chapters 4. Further recommended reading: Mill on the limits of laissez-faire—see Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Book V, ch. 11. At http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/mill/john_stuart

FRI: No class. Thanksgiving holiday.

Week 11. December 2-8.

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). Available at http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/mill/john_stuart.

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.". This is available at TED course page, under recommended readings.. See also: G. A. Cohen, "Why Not Socialism?" (also available at TED course page).

WED: Mill and women's liberation. Reading: Mill, *The Subjection of Women*, chapters 1 and 2.

FRI: Mill and women's liberation. Reading: Mill, *The Subjection of Women*, chapters 3 and 4.

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

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