

PS/PHIL 412 W
Modern Political Theory
Spring 2004 Semester

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Office Hours: Tuesday/Thursday 3:30-4:30, and by Appointment

This course continues a survey of writings from some of the most highly regarded political theorists in the history of Western civilization. We begin with Niccolo Machiavelli, who shifted the focus of study from normative values to a bold and stark analysis of power relations. Drawing a parallel with Columbus, Leo Strauss argues that Machiavelli discovers a new moral continent of self-interest and political hedonism on which others will construct their political theories. We will next read Thomas Hobbes, whose great project of a science of politics, *Leviathan*, argues that an all-powerful sovereign authority is required to protect individuals from predation by their fellow citizens. We will then turn our attention to a study of the democratic political theory of John Locke, paying close attention to his ideas on the origin of civil society, the idea of majority rule, and the right of revolution. We will next focus on the curious ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, another social contract theorist, studying his views on the conditions needed to create and sustain a general will in political society. Lastly, we will briefly study the political ideas of Edmund Burke on the organic nature of society and Karl Marx on the future of bourgeois capitalism.

Our goal for the semester is to better understand some of the ideas the major four theorists—Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau—offer to explain the politics of the modern age, which began with the writings of Machiavelli nearly five hundred years ago in Renaissance Italy. The course will focus on the ideas themselves and on their historical context. The first will be accomplished by a close reading of the arguments constructed in the assigned readings. I want you to confront the writings of these theorists by comparing and contrasting their political theories. To better understand the historical context of their ideas, we will read volume two of the *History of Political Theory* by Klosko. The instructor will also offer some comments on the biographies of the theorists to cast some more light on their political ideas.

The purpose of the course is to assist students to think, read, write and speak in more precise and clear ways. To this end, students will write papers with an introduction, body, and conclusion and will use headings and subheadings. This analytical approach should help students to think and reason with greater clarity and force. You should leave the course with a better understanding of the political ideas of four major theorists, but the larger goal is to teach you how to analyze problems. It is not so much what Machiavelli says as the way he sets up a frame of analysis to study a problem that I wish you to learn. If in the future you remember little about the majority rule idea of Locke or the general will of Rousseau, my hope is that you will have gained a thought process that enhances your capacity for critical analysis.

Required Books

Klosko, George. 1993. *History of Political Theory: An Introduction. Volume II: Modern Political Theory*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace.

Machiavelli, Niccolo. 1950. *The Prince and the Discourses*. New York: Random House.

Hobbes, Thomas. 1985. *Leviathan*. Middlesex, England: Penguin Classics.

Locke, John. 1988. *Two Treatises of Government*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1973. *The Social Contract and Discourses*. London: Everyman.

Course Requirements

PS411/PHIL 412 W is writing (W) intensive and the requirements to complete the course reflect these components. The final grade is based on three (3) evaluations: class attendance and participation (10%), four analytical essays (80%); and a final examination at the end of the semester (10%).

Attendance and Participation

To collect the full 10% for attendance and participation, students are expected to complete the assigned readings on time, attend classes, and be prepared to discuss ideas and ask questions. This is an upper division elective course, and the instructor assumes that students who are enrolled are in fact interested in the subject matter. If you do not attend class regularly, make an honest effort to engage the readings, and come prepared to discuss ideas you will forfeit much of what the course can offer you.

Analytical Essays

The four analytical essays are worth 80% of the final grade, or 20% for each paper. Students are required to write essays on Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. Students will not write essays on Burke and Marx, but questions about their political theories may surface on the final examination.

Organize each analytical essay into three distinct parts in the form of explicit headings: introduction, body, and conclusion. The opening paragraph must state your thesis and the supporting points you will develop in the body of the essay. The thesis should be a direct response to the question you have chosen to write on. Your supporting points should be stated in a succinct manner, and the introductory paragraph should be no more than a half-page in length.

The body composes the major portion of the analytical essay; it must develop the major points or arguments introduced in the opening paragraph. Each point should be developed and expanded in ways that support the main idea, or guiding thesis of your paper. Although not required, I urge you to consider using subheadings in the body of the essay as you shift from one argument to the next in support of your thesis. The use of subheadings will clearly mark a shift in your work.

Your essay must have a minimum of five (5) references to passages in the primary text to support the thesis you argue for. Beyond this, you are free to cite passages in George Klosko when writing your paper. Use the author-date reference style of parenthetical citations. For example, to cite a passage in *Two Treatises of Government*, refer to the passage by page number(s) directly after citing it, e.g., (Locke 1988, 102). Avoid quotations longer than two lines; where possible paraphrase and cite the relevant passage. At the end of your essay, provide a complete reference to the text(s) you are citing, ordering the facts of publication (author, date, title, place, publisher) found in the syllabus. Do not use a separate page for the reference(s) cited, but you must add it (them) at the end of the essay.

The conclusion, like the introduction, should be no more than one paragraph, or a half page in length. You need to restate the thesis and the main points you have argued to support it. Use headings to identify the three major parts of the essay, and I strongly encourage you to use subheadings in the body of the essay to clarify breaks in your major points. Be sure to paginate, or provide page numbers for each page of your essay.

Each analytical essay should each be double-space, with standard margins for written comments by the instructor. It is to be no more than 1200 words, or about four pages in length. Use a 12-font letter size, and the paper requires the use of headings (and preferably subheadings) to organize the parts of the essay. The letter must include a separate cover page in which you provide a title for the essay, identify the course number, the instructor, your name and the date of submission. Late papers will be penalized one letter grade (10%) for each day late, unless prior arrangements have been made with the instructor. I will strictly enforce this rule to be fair with other students who make the effort to submit their essays on time.

Students will do an ungraded writing sample during the first week of class to help the instructor assess their writing ability. You will also receive comments from me on a draft of your first essay assignment on Machiavelli. I will meet individually with each student at this time to discuss the draft of the paper and how it may be improved. This should help you to write with more precision and greater economy of phrase.

I have provided a choice of essay questions for Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau. Please choose one question for each theorist and submit a polished draft on the due date in class. I suggest you write drafts a week before the essays are due and revise them before handing in the final copy for a grade. Revising a draft essay is also a good way to squeeze out needless word and pare down rambling sentences to get within the four-page limit. Be fastidious in weeding out misspellings and grammatical errors.

Essay One: Machiavelli (due February 12)

Does Machiavelli think virtue (skill) or fortune (luck) plays a greater role in the political and military success of the prince?

What is the view of Machiavelli on the proper role of religion in the political affairs of the prince and his use of state authority?

Essay Two: Hobbes (due March 04)

What does Hobbes have to teach students of *Leviathan* about the writing method a political theorist can best employ to exercise her craft?

Do you agree with Hobbes that a sovereign ruler who holds absolute power is the only way to prevent civil war and anarchic chaos?

Essay Three: Locke (due April 01)

How committed is Locke to the democratic or popular control of government by the people in his doctrine of majority rule?

How does the natural law doctrine of Locke relate to his idea of property and the origin, extent and end of civil society?

Essay Four: Rousseau (due April 22)

How does the claim by Rousseau that the state is greater than the sum of its parts relate to his idea of the General Will?

Is Rousseau an anti-democratic theorist who is an enemy of the freedom of the individual citizen in a civil society?

Final Examination

The last major written requirement for PS/PHIL 412 W is to write a final examination. It will be given in class during examination week on May 6, Thursday at 1-3 p.m. The examination will be essay in format, and will test the ability of students to compare and contrast the ideas of the four major political theorists. The final exam is worth 10% of the course grade.

Summary of Course Requirements

Attendance and participation	10%
Four (4) analytical essays	80%
Final comprehensive exam	10%

Class Schedule/Assigned Readings/Due Dates

15 Jan. Introduction to course.

Niccolo Machiavelli

20 Jan. Klosko, Ch. 1, Machiavelli; Lerner's Preface.

22 Jan. *Prince*, pp. 1-53.

27 Jan. *Prince*, pp. 53-98.

29 Jan. *Discourses*, pp. 99-182.

03 Feb. *Discourses*, pp. 182-242. (Draft Machiavelli Essay Due in Class)

05 Feb. *Discourses*, pp. 243-320.

10 Feb. *Discourses*, pp. 321-402.

12 Feb. Final Machiavelli Essay Due in Class (Discussion).

Thomas Hobbes

17 Feb. Klosko, Ch. 2, Hobbes; Macpherson's Introduction.

19 Feb. *Leviathan*, pp. 75-149.

24 Feb. *Leviathan*, pp. 150-228.

26 Feb. *Leviathan*, pp. 228-311.

02 Mar. *Leviathan*, pp. 311-408.

04 Mar. Final Hobbes Essay Due in Class (Discussion).

John Locke

09 Mar. Klosko, Ch 3, Locke; Laslett's Introduction.

11 Mar. *First Treatise*, entire work.

SPRING BREAK (March 15-21).

23 Mar. *Second Treatise*, pp. 265-318.

25 Mar. *Second Treatise*, pp. 318-374.

30 Mar. *Second Treatise*, pp. 374-428.

01 Apr. Final Locke Essay Due in Class (Discussion).

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

06 Apr. Klosko, Chapter 6, Rousseau.

08 Apr. Cole's Introduction, *Political Economy*, pp. 128-168.

13 Apr. *Discourse on Arts & Sciences*, pp. 1-48.

15 Apr. *Social Contract*, pp. 181-243.

20 Apr. *Social Contract*, pp. 243-309.

22 Apr. Final Rousseau Essay Due in Class (Discussion).

27 Apr. Klosko, Chapter 7, Edmund Burke.

29 Apr. Klosko, Chapter 10, Karl Marx.

06 May, Thursday, 1-3 p.m., Final Examination.

**PS/PHIL 412W,O: Modern Political Theory
Final Comprehensive Examination
Spring 2004 Semester**

**Professor Gladden
Department of Political Science**

Instructions: Write essays on both questions. Be sure to answer each of the parts of the questions with enough detail to develop your answers. Each question is worth 50% of the final exam grade, and the final exam is weighted as 10% of the final course grade.

Question One

In what sense are Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau social contract theorists? Describe the idea of the state of nature for each theorist and how it reflects his view of human nature. Why and how do individuals leave a state of nature and enter into civil society for Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau? How much political authority is each theorist willing to grant the state over the lives of its citizens. Lastly, which one of the three civil societies would you prefer to live in, and why?

Question Two

Write an essay explaining the views of Machiavelli, Hobbes and Locke on the relation between politics and religion. Why does Machiavelli claim that political leaders need religion to found and maintain a state? Why does Hobbes argue that religion, although unreal, is a powerful force in the hands of political rulers? What do Marx and Engels mean when they assert that religion is the opiate of the masses? Identify one idea about politics and religion that is shared by the theorists.

Intro: PS412W
Writing Intensive

Modern Political Theory (continues Classical)
Ancient/medieval/modern.

Classical (fall of Rome, last emperor deposed in 476 AD)
Texts of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and St. Augustine (an early church father)
(also treated St. Thomas Aquinas, in the George Klosko Reader—tries to synthesize
Aristotle (a growing intellectual rock star) with Christian theology.

The middle ages (in history of ideas, in shifts in economic and political affairs) is
HAMMERED APART, first, by

Renaissance (starts in Italy; recovery of ancient texts of old Greek and Roman writers)
Reformation (Christendom rent in two by Martin Luther, read a chapter in Klosko)
Enlightenment (Hobbes and Locke our exemplars for this)
Rousseau tries to import anti-liberal ideas into the intellectual climate of his times (focus
on community, not individuals) (also, his famous Discourse on Arts and Sciences)

Edmund Burke (1790, Reflections on Revol in France, stands for tradition as a
conservative against “new social experiments” where old social and religious institutions
are destroyed.

Marx (1848)(we’ll read about in Klosko) challenges the liberal paradigm with a post-
modern age analysis of the collapse of the ruling bourgeois class and the rise of a
stateless and classless society. (utopia, the end of history, a human paradise).

Start at the beginning—

Machiavelli (an Italian Renaissance man. A close reader of many classics. Especially
likes Livy, who writes a history of Rome in the republican era of its history.

Leo Strauss, on Machiavelli. Calls him the “greater Columbus” (as, he makes a more
important discovery than Columbus in 1492—landfall in Western Hemisphere.

VIZ., Machiavelli discovers a “new moral continent” upon which Hobbes and others will
construct their political theories.

What is this new moral continent? One of self-interest (individualism, liberalism) ---
what Strauss calls the political doctrine of political hedonism.

VIZ. the “good” is identical with the “pleasant” not with moral virtue. There are no
moral truths in politics; what counts is gaining and holding onto power. Cf. the ‘prince’
and the great run of power old Rome has...how it does this.

Locke. What is the goal of CS? First, self-preservation. Second, building your own pile of cash and living your life in safety, plenty, and ease.” (the good identical with the pleasant)

SHIFT

Here are the books, p. 2 of the PS412W syllabus

HOLD UP THE BOOKS FOR STUDENTS TO SEE!

Klosko, go to table of contents (chapters)

Klosko (and intros to primary texts we'll study give:

Biographical details

Historical Context

Exegesis of ideas (explain, interpret Locke's SN, SW, SC, CS ideas!

Machiavelli. The prince, most of discourses

Hobbes, two of four parts: Of Man, Of Commonwealth

Locke, Treatise I and Treatise II (poor Robert Filmer!)

Rousseau. Discourse on Arts and Sciences. Then, The Social Contract.

Note: pp. 5-6.

Class schedule and assigned readings.

Next: work by which I will evaluate your effort in the course.

Attendance (p. 2) 10%

Read, attend, participate (a small class so a big gap if not here)

Note: my goal in the course is to help promote your ability to think in critical terms of analysis, understand the nature of political theory and use it to dissect questions.

Brain— (very Hobbesian! An essay question you may choose to write on!)

Read

Write

Speak

(THINK!)

at end of day,

don't care if you recall the distinction Machiavelli. posits between fortune and virtue.

do care that you learn how to approach and understand a problem by positing a distinction to get analytical leverage.

4 papers, required, 80%, each.

p. 4

READ each question and make a brief commentary!

As to guidelines to write instructions? **READ** the SYLLABUS!

Let me lay out a few points, but you are responsible to read and follow instructions.

Cover page, with title

4 pages, limit

Paginate! (even if by hand)

Organize by INTRO, BODY, CONCLS Headings like this required!

Intro---here's my thesis and what I'll argue

Body---develop each argt to support thesis in detail, and refer to passages in text

Concls—restate thesis and major points.

Grammar, Spelling, etc. I assume in a 400 level course you can use the language properly. (spell-check) proof your work! Pay attention to a style. Two general rules

1st: precision is the mark of a scholar (be clear, direct in your style. Get to the point of the thesis, and develop your supporting arguments with a passion for directness.

2nd: economy of phrase is the mark of a scholar (better to use smaller and fewer words in a sentence, generally. This economy 'promotes' clear writing and rigorous thought.

Penalty for unexcused late papers.

For Tuesday

At start of class I will have you write on a topic for a few minutes.

Now, go to p. 5-6, note the layout of assigned readings.

Cf. Feb 3 a draft of Mach essay is due!

Any questions?

Any syllabus needs?

Syllabus questions?

Klosko On reserve. 2 hours, or take out overnight and return ½ hr in morning.

A writing diagnostic.

Where are you at as a writer, in terms of the goals of this course?

Q: What do you wish to learn about political theory from the course?

15 minutes.

Today:

Klosko, ch 1. Machiavelli

Max Lerner's intro to the Prince and Discourses

Klosko.

Machiavelli

1469-1527 (58 years old) (gentry class, born into, well educ, reads Latin)

1498-1512 administrator/diplomat for Florence (city state, republic)

(merchant prince family, Medici, driven out in 1494 by French, re-conquer with Spanish allies, M. loses job, is "exiled" to his suburban farm.

Read. Lerner, p. xxix (a glimpse of M as he sees himself)

Two things M has going

1. he has time to re-read Latin classics, etc.
2. he reflects back over the power politics of his admin career.
3. (his enforced leisure throws him back on himself. Tenor of life on farm)

(note in 1527 the Medici again driven out, and Republic comes back in. But they refuse to reinstate him, he never learns this because on his deathbed.

1513 The Prince (sent to Lorenzo; 1532 first published, circulated)

1532 The Discourses

Prince, a short handbook on what a prince needs to know to get power, hold onto it, and to expand his control over neighboring city-states, etc.

Discourses. Livy (59BC to 19AD—From the Founding of Rome) Discourses a larger frame for same ideas in Prince. Livy, less empirically accurate chrono of political history, more to capture the great soul of the Roman people, etc. This excites Mach, who sees Italy as a new Rome, or at least free of the foreign occupying armies.

Note: Mach also attracted to Plutarch, (45AD-120AAD) the biographer. Focus on individual qualities of heroic characters. Parallel Lives. E.g., Theseus and Romulus.

Italy circa 1500AD

1st, a surge of relinking present with past intellectual traditions

2nd, Italy a jumbled mass of city-states (Germany, France, Spain, Papacy)

(chessboard politics, where Florence must maneuver for Medici to stay in control, etc.)

Note: last chapter of Prince burns with patriotic fervor. He calls Lorenzo to the task Caesar Borgia, Duke of Valentine, fails in, to unite Italy as a single nation state. (Borgia has great virtue, but fortune turns against him. He takes Romagna, but his father, Pope Alexander VI, dies, then his own health fails.

Klosko mentions, what M. writes about

Three great glories of a person

1. found a religion (Moses, Numa)
2. found a state (Romulus, Lycurgus—sparta)
3. reform (a corrupt) state (Cleomenes—sparta---kills the ephors, seizes power)

Mach---klosko, black reput, Klosko in Richard III. An “underground” classic.

Why?

Mach “unlinks” politics from morals

(fact—power politics played every day of the week)

(M’s contribution---sets down the mechanics of power in a formal written product)

(as Voltaire says, Lerner, xli)

so, M digs a new intellectual channel.

e.g., Instrumental rationality. Any means justifies the ends. Once people have helped you into power, stab in back, etc.

Mach on HN. It is constant. If we study events, we know in these situations men tend to behave in the same way. To build a “science” of politics. Study past to guide present actions (old Latin writers). Cf. Thucydides)

Major analytical distinction

Virtu—qualities that make for political and military success (intelligent, cunning, knows when to be bold, to be cautious, also in good physical condition (ride one’s domain, etc.)

Fortuna—chance/fate/luck (but, note, with reason we can see deeper into future events, and not the river arno analogy. Impetuous river, prepare for in good times.

Cf. Caesar Borgia

Roughly equal in parts?

Questions?

anyone need a syllabus?
 diagnostic essay---not graded, simply
 essay writing guidelines---content, organization, style

Machiaveilli

The Prince 1513, appx 95 pages of text. pp. 3-53. Intro/dedication, chs 1-13.

Intro

What does M propose to give to Lorenzo? (manual of power politics for princes)

What qualifies M to discuss his topic

What does M hope in return from Lorenzo?

What is the point of the landscape painter analogy?

Ch 1 two types of govts: monarchies/republics

Ch2 monarchies as hereditary (easy for a ruler of hereditary monarchy to hold onto power. (habits, customs, weight of traditon)

Ch3: "of mixed monarchies" Def. a prince who takes over another state/people/territory.

Two situations:

One: a king and advisors (centralized rule; hard to conquer, easy to rule) e.g., Alexander and Persian empire. Today, Turkey, hard to take, as a single ruler.

Two: a king and barons (decentralized rule; easier to conquer, harder to rule). As, prince can find disaffected barons and use them as allies to break power of king and take over his state. (France and king must contend with nobles)

How to hold a state once you have conquered?

1st: despoil it

2nd: go and live there

3rd: set up puppet rulers, men dependent on, and loyal to you. don't take too much property, and don't change form of laws.

p. 11 "hectic fevers"

hard to detect, easy to cure

easy to detect, hard to sure

(wise prince detects problems early, deals with them. "observing disorders, while yet remote")

ESTABLISH

Ability/fortune/treachery/election

a kingdom more by virtue than by fortune. p. 20: the big four, in terms of establishing new dominions

moses, cyrus, romulus, theseus.

Beholden only to fortune in sense of oppty, their valor, virtue shapes the world

Hard to initiate a new order of things (as, Caesar Borgia tries to do)

p. 22 Savonarola. Can persuade, but can't compel if persuasion fails. Unarmed prophet (importance for a political ruler to have an army at his back)

by FORTUNE Cyrus and city state rulers in Asia Minor. Easy to get, hard to keep, unless have skills, etc.

Caesar Borgia. Has great luck (father is Alexander VI, pope of church. But great skill to capitalize on luck. But, even preparing for death of father, himself gets ill, dies, plans still in the air.

Treachery.

Agathocles of Sicily

Oliver of Ferma

Election:

Either by populus (protect against elites)

Or by elites (protect against masses)

Of two, if choice, go with masses.

1st, masses only want to avoid being oppressed

2nd: rulers have an arrogance to oppress (plus think they are your equal)

chapter 10 how to measure the strength of a state

ride out to meet enemies

stay inside and wait out a seize (this is fine, if well supplied, loyal subjects, etc)

different kinds of soldiers

militia__native troops

mercenaries__bought troops

auxiliaries__troops of foreign rulers

mixed...two or all three.

Mercenaries less risky than auxiliaries. More cowardly, reluctant to fight.

Tale of david, saul, goliath. P. 51. use own arms!

A prince should be a soldier as well as a statesman (and a scholar who reads political and military history) ride over country, etc. ask questions of tactics. Have a tough body, etc.