

Revolution and Reaction: Political Thought From Kant to Nietzsche

Political Science 110C -- 649506
University of California, San Diego
Prof. Gerry Mackie, Spring 2009
MWF 10:00-10:50 AM, Peterson Hall 108

PURPOSE

The course surveys European political thought from the French Revolution to the end of the 19th century. The student will be introduced to leading political thinkers in this period, will primarily study original texts, will learn how to interpret and evaluate conceptually difficult material, and will be able to apply concepts learned to today's political issues and controversies.

What are the rights of citizens? What is liberty, what is equality, what is justice? How are moral and political values defended and criticized? How might these values guide our political lives? These are some of the questions we'll consider.

The idea that individuals, citizens, have rights was proposed in the Enlightenment and declared in the English Revolution of 1689, the American Revolution of 1776, and the French Revolution of 1789. The French event was the most genuinely revolutionary and (although traversing democracy, terror, and empire) shaped all modern politics. At that time Paine was the voice of rights and progress, and Burke was the voice of hierarchy and tradition: the argument continues today. Rights challenged tradition, as did the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill (for whom any right was derived from the greatest good for the greatest number). Kant justified rights more directly, and contractarian justice, based on the autonomy of the subject. Meanwhile, industrialization and its stark inequalities gave rise to a working class movement, and, after the failed revolutions of 1848, Marx became its leading theorist (Marxism evolved into social democracy in Western Europe and into communism in the East). Towards the end of the century, liberalism split into classical liberalism and into today's social liberalism (in America traditionalism has fused with classical liberalism, and social democracy with social liberalism). Nietzsche rejected Enlightenment rationalism, morality, equality, democracy, and liberalism; and, in our day, as communism decayed, helped inspire postmodernism.

You are expected to attend and to be completely prepared for each session. You are expected to keep current or ahead of the readings as listed in the syllabus.

CONTACTS

My office (do **not** mail) is at: 322 Social Sciences *Research* Building (aka Chemistry Research Bldg., #393, **NOT** SSB); S. of Media Center, E. of Cog. Sci, N. of Peterson Hall; <http://maps.ucsd.edu>; elevator to 3rd floor, turn left, then right, to 322. Telephone

534-7015, email gmackie@ucsd.edu (please email rather than telephone). Office hours are 1-3 Wed, or by appointment. Instructor website: <http://polisci.ucsd.edu/~gmackie>

Teaching Assistant information: to be arranged. ~~The Teaching Assistant is Leigh Bradberry, lbradber@ucsd.edu. Her regular office hours are Mondays from 2-4 in SSB 322 (and otherwise by appointment) with the following exceptions—Monday April 16th, office hours 12-2, the week of May 14th by appointment only. As a courtesy, and if possible, please email Leigh a few hours before her regular office hours if you plan to stop by.~~

All course-related email must contain **110C** in the subject line. Otherwise, it may be neglected.

ASSESSMENT

An in-class exam on **Mon Apr 20**, 30% of the grade.

A 4-page paper is due on **Mon May 18**, 30% of grade.

A final exam on **Mon Jun 8**, 40% of grade.

The average final grade in the course will be at least a B. You won't learn anything unless you do the readings, attend lectures, and think about course topics. The readings are difficult to understand without the lectures, and the lectures are difficult to understand without the readings. Ideally, one does a reading, noting difficulties, attends lecture, and returns to the reading again. Course assessments are designed to reward those who do the work of learning.

The first closed-book, closed-note exam will cover everything up to that point. It will be one-half identifications and one-half essay questions. Identifications quote something in the readings or lectures, and ask you to identify the source of the quote and explain its meaning and context. It could be something from the readings that we never discussed, or something presented in the lectures but not in the readings. This is meant to assess how much effort you put into learning the content of course materials. The identifications will be neither obscure nor obvious (I'll provide examples well before the exam). The essay questions are meant to assess how much you have thought about themes of the course.

The 4-page paper should be between 800 to 1200 words (word-count determines). A paper above 1250 words is deducted one whole grade (e.g., from A- to B-). Papers are due no later than the beginning of class on the due date; any submitted after that time will be considered late. **We will use Turnitin.Com.** Late papers will be penalized ½ grade for 5 minutes to 24 hours late, one grade for anything later. Lateness will be excused only if a) the T.A. is notified by email at least 24 hours before the due date and time, AND b) the student has a university-permitted AND c) properly documented excuse. Papers must have complete and proper citations. Papers should be well-organized, well-considered, and well-written. Poor writing brings down the grade quickly. Solely at our

discretion, we may require rewrites, in which case the grade is an average of the original and the rewrite.

The final closed-book, closed-note exam will contain identification questions from the latter two-thirds of the course, Kant through Nietzsche, worth 20% of the total grade, a choice of essay questions on Mill and Nietzsche, worth 10% of the total grade; and a choice of essay questions on the whole course, worth 10% of the total grade. The essay questions on the whole course will be distributed in advance.

HONESTY

We will abide strictly by standards of academic honesty. That means you must not cheat on exams, must not plagiarize on the writing assignments, and must provide proper citations for written work that you submit, among other things. If you have any questions about what is permitted, consult with us, as ambiguities will be construed against the violator. I do not have a forgiving attitude about academic dishonesty.

REQUIRED TEXTS

Purchase at bookstore:

- Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Hackett)
- Kant, *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays* (Hackett)
- Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution* (Anchor)
- Marx, *Selected Writings* (Hackett)
- Bentham, J.S.Mill, *The Classical Utilitarians* (Hackett)
- Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals* (Vintage)

Download from internet:

- *English Bill of Rights*, 1689, <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/england.htm>
- *The Declaration of Independence*,
<http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/index.htm>
- Tom Paine, *Common Sense*, skip Introduction and Appendix,
<http://www.ushistory.org/paine/commonsense/>
- *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*,
<http://www.hrcr.org/docs/frenchdec.html>
- James Mill, "Government" <http://www.mdx.ac.uk/www/study/xmilgov.htm>

SCHEDULE

1. Introduction.....Mon Mar 30

- What is Political Theory?

2. Rights.....Wed Apr 1, Fri Apr 3

- *English Bill of Rights*
- Tom Paine, *Common Sense*
- *The Declaration of Independence*
- *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*

3. **Tradition**.....Mon Apr 6, Wed Apr 7, Fri Apr 10, Mon Apr 13
- Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 3-99, 124-125, 144-153, 160-163, 213-218
 - Mon Apr 13, class debate on rights and tradition
4. **Utility**.....Wed Apr 15, Fri Apr 17
- Jeremy Bentham, 8-12, 16-17 (XI-XVII), 19-20 (I-IV), 36-37 (XXVII)
 - James Mill, “Government”
 - J.S. Mill, “Utilitarianism,” 95-102(top), 115-119, 127-131, 136-138(top), 144(bottom)-145

*******IN CLASS EXAM, Mon Apr 20*******

5. **Autonomy**.....Wed Apr 22, Fri Apr 24, Mon Apr 27, Wed Apr 29
- Immanuel Kant, “An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?”
 - Kant, “Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Intent”
 - Kant, “To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch” (107-125)
6. **Revolution**.....Fri May 1, Mon May 4, Wed May 6, Fri May 8, Mon May 11, Wed May 13, Fri May 15
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*
 - Karl Marx, *The Communist Manifesto*
 - Marx, *On the Jewish Question* (1-21 only)
 - Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* (58-79)
 - Marx, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*
 - Marx, *Capital* (214-216, 297-300)

*******PAPER DUE, Mon May 18*******

7. **Liberalism**.....Mon May 18, Wed May 20, Fri May 22, ~~Mon May 25~~ **NO CLASS: MEMORIAL DAY**, Wed May 27
- J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*, Chs. 1-4, 5 (223-226)
 - Wed May 27, class debate, Mill’s harm principle
8. **The Will to Power**, Fri May 29, Mon Jun 1 Wed Jun 3, Fri Jun 5
- Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, Preface, Parts I, III (15-56, 97-163)

*******FINAL EXAM, Mon Jun 8, 8-11 AM*******

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