# POL320Y1Y: Modern Political Thought 2019-20

Professor Melissa S. Williams 3040 Sidney Smith Hall Office hours: Mondays, 4-6 PM (or by appointment) melissa.williams@utoronto.ca

Lecture Location:

Fall Term: MP103 Winter Term: AH100

Time: Thursdays, 4-6 PM

# **Course description:**

What makes us "modern," and what are the possibilities and limits of political life for modern humans like us? Can politics be "enlightened" through the exercise of human reason, leading to the progressive realization of our capacities for freedom? Or does the loss of political traditions rooted in ancient custom or reverence for "patterns laid up in heaven" (Plato, *Republic*, Book 9) lead to moral decay and new forms of tyranny? If a politics of emancipation is possible, what sort of freedom should it aim at, and for whom? What sort of equality, if any, does the realization of freedom entail?

The practice of studying classic texts in order to deepen our understanding of such questions is itself a kind of tradition, the tradition of political philosophy or political theory. By joining this course you become a participant in this tradition. Like most traditions, the tradition of political philosophy evolves over time in response to changes in the social world. In this course, we embark on an exploratory amendment to the traditional study of modern political thought by reading texts from Islamic, East Asian, Afro-Caribbean, and South Asian traditions alongside texts in the classic Euro-American "canon." The core of the course centres on texts written in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, but in this respect, too, we will stretch the tradition's boundaries by including texts from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in our exploration of "modern political thought".

## **Teaching Assistants:**

Daniel Hutton-Ferris (Administrative TA) daniel.huttonferris@mail.utoronto.ca

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Timothy Berk tim.berk@mail.utoronto.ca

Kavita Reddy kavita.reddy@mail.utoronto.ca

## **Required Texts:**

The following texts are available for purchase at the UofT Bookstore (214 College Street). All other readings will be posted on the course portal (Quercus). There are many different translations and editions of many of these texts. Be sure to read these particular editions and use them in your course assignments.

Ibn Tufayl, *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan: A Philosophical Tale*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Rousseau's Political Writings*. Edited by Alan Ritter and by Julia Conaway Bondanella. Translated by Julia Conaway Bondanella. New York: W.W. Norton, 1987.

Immanuel Kant, *Kant: Political Writings*. Edited by Hans Reiss. Translated by H.B. Nisbet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Women and A Vindication of the Rights of Man. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Edited by L.G. Mitchell. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Nakae Chōmin, *A Discourse by Three Drunkards on Government*. Translated and edited by Noboku Tsukui; edited by Jeffrey Hammond. Boston: Weatherhill, 1984.

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*. Edited by Allen W. Wood. Translated by H.B. Nisbet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty, Utilitarianism, and Other Essays*. Edited by Mark Philp and Frederick Rosen. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Karl Marx, *Selected Writings*. Edited by Lawrence H. Simon. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1994.

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. Translated by Richard Philcox. New York: Grove Press, 2004.

Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*. Edited by Keith Ansell-Pearson. Translated by Carol Diethe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Mohandas Gandhi, "*Hind Swaraj*" and *Other Writings*. Edited by Anthony J. Parel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

### **Course requirements:**

Tutorial participation	10%
First Term Essay	15%
<ul> <li>Draft due 9:00 AM on Monday, October 21</li> </ul>	
• Final essay due 5:00 PM on Friday, November 1	
Mid-term Exam (3 hours)	20%
Second Term Essay	25%
<ul> <li>Draft due 9:00 AM on Monday, February 10</li> </ul>	
<ul> <li>Final essay due 5:00 PM on Friday, February 28</li> </ul>	
Final Exam (3 hours)	30%

## 1. Tutorials

Regularly scheduled tutorials are crucial for your learning experience in this course, and tutorial participation is therefore a course requirement. Tutorials will be led by skilled doctoral candidates who are deeply knowledgeable about the history of political thought. Through tutorial discussion, you will refine your interpretation of the texts we are studying and your judgment about whether the visions of politics they offer are convincing or appealing.

### 2. Essays

The challenge of framing your own interpretation of the course texts comes to a head in writing essays. You will hone your interpretive skills by writing two term essays, for each of which you will submit a draft prior to the final due date. You will participate in a peer review process with your class colleagues, offering one another advice as to how to improve your essays before you finalize your revisions.

- 2.1. <u>First Term Essay</u>: You will write an essay of 6-8 pages (1500-2000 words) on an assigned topic. Essay topics will cover Ibn Tufayl, Rousseau, and Kant. You will submit your draft of the essay via the Quercus portal, no later than <u>9:00 AM on Monday</u>, <u>October 21</u>. Tutorials during the week of October 21 will be dedicated to a peer review session in which you will provide feedback to a colleague on her or his essay, and receive feedback in turn. The final essay is due at <u>5:00 PM on Friday</u>, <u>November 1</u>, via Turnitin.com through the Quercus portal. You must submit an <u>Academic Integrity Checklist</u> and your <u>Peer Review Comment Sheet</u> along with your final essay.
- 2.2. <u>Second Term Essay</u>: You will write an essay of 10-12 pages (2500-3000 words) on an assigned topic. Essay topics will cover Nakae Chōmin, Hegel, and the readings on Emancipation and World History. You will submit your draft of the essay via the Quercus portal, no later than 9:00 AM on Monday, February 10. Tutorials during the

week of February 10 will be dedicated to another peer review session. The final essay is due at 5:00 PM on Friday, February 28 via Turnitin.com through the Quercus portal. You must submit an <u>Academic Integrity Checklist</u> and your <u>Peer Review Comment Sheet</u> along with your final essay.

# 2.3. Penalties:

- 2.3.1. Failure to submit your Academic Integrity Statement with your final essay: Your essay will not be graded until you have submitted this statement.
- 2.3.2. Non-participation in the Peer Review process: Students who fail to submit a draft on time, or who do not participate in the peer review process, will lose two percent from their grade for the essay.
- 2.3.3. Late essays will be penalized at the rate of <u>1 percent per day of lateness</u>, including weekends. Extensions will be granted only with a valid medical excuse, and only if your TA has given express written permission for late submission before the final essay deadline.

#### 3. Exams:

- 3.1. Mid-term Exam: A 3-hour examination covering material from the first term, during the December exam period
- 3.2. Final Exam: A 3-hour examination covering material from the entire course, during the April exam period.
- 3.3. <u>Don't forget to bring your T-Card to exams</u>. Students without a valid University of Toronto ID will not be permitted to sit exams.
- 3.4. Make-up exams: Only students with documented medical problems or family emergencies may be permitted to take a make-up exam. Students who miss an exam for a valid reason should contact TA Daniel Hutton-Ferris (<a href="mailto:daniel.huttonferris@mail.utoronto.ca">daniel.huttonferris@mail.utoronto.ca</a>) as soon as possible, and must express your request to take a make-up exam within *one week* of the missed exam. Further details on Arts and Science regulations concerning exams (and many other matters) are available at: <a href="http://calendar.artsci.utoronto.ca/Rules & Regulations.html">http://calendar.artsci.utoronto.ca/Rules & Regulations.html</a>.

## **Academic Integrity**

Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and scholarship. Participating honestly, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that the University of Toronto degree that you earn will be valued as a true indication of your individual academic achievement, and will continue to receive the respect and recognition it deserves. Familiarize yourself with the University's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* (<a href="https://writing.utoronto.ca/">https://writing.utoronto.ca/</a>). It is the rulebook for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

## *In papers and assignments*

• Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.

- Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Including references to sources that you did not use.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including:
  - o working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work;
  - o having someone rewrite or add material to your work while "editing."
- Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own without your permission.

## On tests and exams

- Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- Looking at someone else's answers
- Letting someone else look at your answers.
- Misrepresenting your identity.
- Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

### Misrepresentation

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor's notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

For further guidance, see "How Not to Plagiarize" (<a href="https://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize/">https://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize/</a>).

To remind you of these expectations, and help you avoid accidental offences, we will ask you to include a signed Academic Integrity Checklist with every assignment (downloadable from Quercus). If you do not include the statement, your work will not be graded.

Normally, students will be required to submit their essays to Turnitin (via Quercus) for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database where they are used solely for detecting plagiarism. Terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com website.

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the *Code*. The consequences for academic misconduct can be severe, including a failure in the course and a notation on your transcript. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact your TA. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, seek out additional information from your TA, or from other available campus resources like the University of Toronto's *Writing* website. If you are experiencing personal challenges that are having an impact on your academic work, please speak to your TA or seek the advice of your college registrar.

# **Course Accessibility and Supports for Students**

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach TA Danny Hutton-Ferris (<a href="mailto:daniel.huttonferris@mail.utoronto.ca">daniel.huttonferris@mail.utoronto.ca</a>) and/or the Accessibility Services Office as soon as possible.

Accessibility Services staff (located at 455 Spadina Ave., 4th floor, Suite 400) are available by appointment to assess specific needs, provide referrals, and arrange appropriate accommodations. Information on these services can be found on their website (http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as). Accessibility Services can also be reached by phone (416-978-8060) or email (accessibility.services@utoronto.ca). The sooner you let them know your needs, the quicker they can assist you in achieving your learning goals in this course.

# **Other Supports for Students**

Students also have access to mental health and safety, and research and writing resources:

### *Mental Health & Safety*

- Guide to available resources (<a href="https://safety.utoronto.ca/">https://safety.utoronto.ca/</a>).
- Health & Wellness Centre (<a href="https://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/hwc">https://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/hwc</a>).

#### Research & Writing

- Research and writing guide (https://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/).
- Chicago Manual of Style citation guide (<a href="https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools-citationguide/citation-guide-2.html">https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools-citationguide/citation-guide-2.html</a>).
- Writing Centres (<a href="http://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/">http://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/</a>).

#### Schedule of lectures and readings

## Fall Term

**September 5: Introduction** 

September 12: Ibn Tufayl

Hayy Ibn Yaqzan. Read the text in its entirety, but focus on pp. 103-26, 133-49, 156-66.

## September 16-20: Tutorials begin

## September 19: Rousseau I

Discourse on the Origins of Inequality, pp. 3-57.

# September 26: Rousseau II

*On Social Contract*, Books I and II (entire); Book III, chs. 1,2,8, 15; Book IV, chs. 1, 2, 8 and 9 (pp. 84-124, 133-36, 142-45, 148-52, 166-73).

#### October 3: Rousseau III

On Social Contract (cont'd)

## October 10: Kant I

"What is Enlightenment?" (pp. 54-60)
"On the Common Saying: 'This May be True in Theory, but it does not Apply in Practice,'" (pp. 61-92)

## October 17: Kant II

"Perpetual Peace," (pp. 93-130)

# \*\*Monday, October 21, 9:00 AM: First Term Essay Draft Due on Quercus\*\* (Tutorials this week will be dedicated to essay peer review)

#### October 24: Wollstonecraft

A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, Prefatory Letter, Introduction, chs. 1-4, 12 (pp. 65-68, 71-149, 241-65)

## October 31: Burke

Reflections on the Revolution in France, pp. 3-53, 75-82, 95-97, 245-50.

# \*\*Friday, November 1, 5:00 PM: Final First Term Essay due on Quercus\*\*

**November 7: Reading Week (no class)** 

## **November 14: Mill I**

*On Liberty*, chs. 1-3 (pp. 5-72)

#### **November 21: Mill II**

On Liberty, chs. 4-5 (pp. 73-112)

#### November 28: Mill III

On the Subjection of Women, chs. 1 & 2 (pp. 409-454)

Considerations on Representative Government, chs. 1-4 (pp. 181-234)

# Midterm Exam: December exam period

## **Winter Term**

# January 9: Nakae Chōmin

A Discourse by Three Drunkards on Government (entire) (pp. 47-137)

## January 16: Hegel I

"Lordship and Bondage" (aka "Master-Slave Dialectic") from G.W.F. Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A.V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 111-119 (available on Quercus).

Elements of the Philosophy of Right, Preface and Introduction

## January 23: Hegel II

Elements of the Philosophy of Right, Part I, sections 41-51; 72-77; Part II, sections 105-114; Part III, ss. 142-169, 181-188, 231-49.

# January 30: Hegel III

Elements of the Philosophy of Right, Part II, ss. 255-56; Part III, ss. 257-86, 330-360.

# February 6: Emancipation and World History

The American Declaration of Independence (1776), available at:

https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript

The Haitian Declaration of Independence (1804), available at:

https://today.duke.edu/showcase/haitideclaration/declarationstext.html

Frederick Douglass, "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" (1852), available at:

 $\underline{https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/what-to-the-slave-is-the-fourth-of-july/}$ 

# \*\*Monday, February 10, 9:00 AM: Second Term Essay Draft Due on Quercus\*\* (Tutorials this week will be dedicated to essay peer review)

## February 13: Marx I

"On the Jewish Question" (pp. 1-26)

"Toward a Critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*" (Introduction) (pp. 27-39) *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*, "Alienated Labor" (pp. 58-68)

## February 20: Reading Week (no class)

# February 27: Marx II

Theses on Feuerbach (pp. 98-101) The Germany Ideology, Part I (pp. 102-156)

\*\*Friday, February 28, 5:00 PM: Final Second Term Essay Due\*\*

#### March 5: Marx III

The Communist Manifesto (pp. 157-186)

## March 12: Fanon

"On Violence" in *The Wretched of the Earth* (pp. 1-62)

## March 19: Nietzsche I

On the Genealogy of Morality, Preface & Essay I

## March 26: Nietzsche II

On the Genealogy of Morality, Essays II and III

# April 2: Gandhi

*Hind Swaraj*, Preface to the English edition; Foreword; chs. 1-9, 13-14, 16-17, 20 (pp. 5-48, 64-72, 77-97, 110-117)

Final Exam: April exam period