

Texas A&M University
 Department of Political Science
 POLS 650—Normative Political Theory
 Fall 2006

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Class Hours: T 1:00-4:20
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For more than two thousand years, political “science” (in the sense of the systematic study of political phenomena) was wholly constituted by what we today call “political theory.” But as the modern scientific paradigm was extended to the study of human beings and societies, normative political thought has increasingly been marginalized. For the past half-century, the role of political theory within the discipline of political science has been a matter of considerable and thus-far unresolved debate. Some political scientists would gladly dismiss political theory altogether from a central role in the discipline, just as some theorists have rejected the value of “merely” empirical political inquiry. At the same time, there is little agreement amongst theorists themselves about how political theorizing ought to occur, whether there is a single proper method for the study of political thought, or even what the very purpose of theoretical investigation itself might be. The goal of this survey of political theory is two-fold. First, it aims to examine the range of frameworks and discourses (historical as well as contemporary) that currently contribute to the discussions within the field of political theory, especially (but not exclusively) in the English-speaking world. Second, the course attempts to examine the relationship between the study of political theory and the discipline of political science, and to evaluate the ways in which political theorists and political scientists may contribute more fruitfully and cooperatively to a joint enterprise as well as to one another’s research programs.

FORMAT The course is designed as a seminar. There will be no formal lectures, but rather the primary classroom work will be discussion of the assigned reading for the week. The professor will facilitate and direct discussion, and occasionally offer relevant background or conceptual information. Each student will be expected to contribute on a weekly basis to the debate and interchange within the class. To facilitate discussion of the material, students will be assigned on a rotating basis to present their interpretations of the primary required reading and to take charge of the discussion. Toward this end, students may decide to read secondary literature and criticism of the texts and expound on this supplementary material.

READING Students are expected to be current with the reading assignments. Most of the assigned reading will be drawn from the books listed below (which are all available in paperback editions and have been ordered from the bookstore). You must be sure to use the specified edition:

Plato, *The Republic* (Hackett)
 Cicero, *On the Commonwealth and On the Laws* (Cambridge)
 Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Hackett)
 John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government* (Hackett)
 Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* (Cambridge)

Karl Marx, *Selected Writings* (Hackett)
 Leo Strauss, *Natural Right and History* (Chicago)
 Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics, Vol. III: Hobbes and Civil Science* (Cambridge)
 John Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (Columbia)
 Jürgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms* (MIT)
 John Finnis, *Natural Law and Natural Rights* (Oxford)
 Michael Sandel, *Public Philosophy* (Harvard)
 Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women* (Stanford)

Some required reading is from article and book chapter literature on central issues of scholarly controversy. I will copy and distribute this material directly to students.

The syllabus also contains suggested but non-required reading. The purpose of this bibliography is to provide students with a starting-point for research into their essay topics as well as with collateral sources to aid them in expanding their knowledge of the weekly discussion topics. The suggested reading has not been placed on reserve.

ASSIGNMENTS The grade for the course will be assigned on the basis of a combination of oral and written tasks. The first essay should be roughly 2000 words in length; it will be worth 30% of the grade and will be due on October 31. No exceptions will be made to this deadline. Essay topics for the first essay will be assigned rather than selected by the students; I will pass out the topics in mid-September. The second essay, worth 50%, will be a more extensive paper demonstrating familiarity with secondary as well as primary literature; it may be on any topic of interest to the student (to be worked out in consultation with the professor) and should involve a critique of existing interpretations of texts or methods of theoretical inquiry. The second essay is expected to be about 5000 words in length and must be submitted by December 11. If the second essay is submitted after December 11, a course grade of “I” will automatically be assigned. Both essays **MUST** be submitted in double-spaced typed or word-processed form. A final 20% will be assigned for discussion leadership in conjunction with seminar contributions and participation. **THERE WILL NOT BE A FINAL EXAMINATION.**

ACADEMIC DISHONESTY It is a sign of the times that the professor feels the need to warn students regarding plagiarism. Plagiarism is understood to be the representation of the words or ideas of another person as one’s own in any academic writing, essay, thesis, research report, project or assignment submitted in a course or program of study, or the representation as one’s own of an entire essay or work of another, whether the material so represented constitutes a part or the entirety of the work submitted. In short, plagiarism is copying from any source whatsoever without proper acknowledgment or reference. Penalties for plagiarism are severe, so if you have any doubt whatsoever whether you have (even inadvertently) plagiarized, consult the professor prior to submitting your assignment.

Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) Policy Statement: The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is a federal antidiscrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. Among other things, this legislation requires that all students with disabilities be guaranteed a learning environment that provides for reasonable accommodation of their disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring an accommodation, please contact

the Department of Student Services for Students with Disabilities in, Cain Hall Room B118, phone 845-1637.

COURSE MATERIALS/COPYRIGHT STATEMENTS The handouts used in this course are copyrighted. By “handouts,” I mean all materials generated for this class, which include but are not limited to syllabi, quizzes, exams, lab problems, in-class materials review sheets, and additional problem sets. Because these are copyrighted, you do not have the right to copy the handouts, unless I expressly grant permission.

POLS 650—Fall 2006
Reading and Seminar Topics

August 29—Introductory: What can political theory be—past and present?

Reading: John Gunnell, “Telling the Story of Political Science”; Sheldon Wolin, “Paradigms and Political Theories”; Emily Hauptmann, “Defining ‘Theory’ in Postwar Political Science”; Sophia Mihic et al., “Making Sense In and Of Political Science” (all handouts)

Recommended:

Terence Ball, James Farr, and Russell Hanson, eds., *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change* (Cambridge, 1989)
 Terence Ball, *Transforming Political Discourse* (Blackwell, 1988)
 Terence Ball, ed., *Idioms of Inquiry* (SUNY, 1987)
 John Nelson, ed., *What Should Political Theory Be Now?* (SUNY, 1983)
 John Dunn, *Rethinking Modern Political Theory* (Cambridge, 1985)
 John Gunnell, *The Descent of Political Theory* (Chicago, 1995)
 James Farr and Raymond Seidelman, eds., *Discipline and History: Political Science in the United States* (Michigan, 1993)
 James W. Ceaser, *Liberal Democracy and Political Science* (John Hopkins, 1990)
 James Farr, John Dryzek and Stephen Leonard, eds., *Political Science and History* (Cambridge, 1995)
 Heinz Eulau, ed., *Behavioralism in Political Science* (Lieber-Atherton, 1969)
 William Bluhm, *Theories of the Political System* (Prentice-Hall, 1971)
 David Ricci, *The Tragedy of Political Science* (Yale, 1984)

I. THE HISTORICAL TRADITION

September 5—Plato’s Republic

Reading: Plato, *The Republic*

Recommended:

Julia Annas, *An Introduction to Plato’s Republic* (Oxford, 1980)
 Ellen Wood and Neal Wood, *Class Ideology and Ancient Political Theory* (Blackwell, 1978)
 John Wallach, *The Platonic Political Art* (Penn State, 2001)
 Francisco Gonzalez, *Dialectic and Dialogue* (Northwestern, 1998)
 Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, v. 1 (Princeton, 1971)
 Eric Havelock, *Preface to Plato* (Harvard, 1963)
 Leo Strauss, *The City and Man* (Chicago, 1964)
 Arlen Saxonhouse, *Fear of Diversity* (Chicago, 1992)
 Morag Buchan, *Women in Plato’s Political Theory* (Routledge, 1999)
 Terence Irwin, *Plato’s Moral Theory* (Oxford, 1977)
 Robert Hall, *Plato* (Allen & Unwin, 1981)
 Gregory Vlastos, *Platonic Studies* (Princeton, 1981)

Charles Griswold, *Platonic Writings, Platonic Readings* (Routledge, 1988)
 R.C. Cross and A.D. Woozley, *Plato's Republic* (Macmillan, 1964)

September 12—Cicero's Republicanism

Reading: Cicero, *On the Republic and On the Laws*

Recommended:

Neal Wood, *Cicero's Social and Political Thought: An Introduction* (California, 1988)
 F.R. Cowell, *Cicero and the Roman Republic* (Pitman, 1948)
 J.G.F. Powell, ed., *Cicero the Philosopher* (Oxford, 1995)
 Paul MacKendrick, *The Philosophical Books of Cicero* (Duckworth, 1989)
 Manfred Fuhrmann, *Cicero and the Roman Republic* (Blackwell, 1990)
 W.K. Lacey and B.W.J.G. Wilson, *Res Publica* (Oxford, 1970)
 Marcia Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, v. 1 (Brill, 1990)

September 19—Hobbes' Leviathan

Reading: Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, pp. 1-293, 333-410, 489-497

Recommended:

Arnold Green, *Hobbes and Human Nature* (Transaction, 1993)
 Gregory Kavka, *Hobbesian Moral and Political Theory* (Princeton, 1986)
 Deborah Baumgold, *Hobbes' Political Theory* (Cambridge, 1988)
 Gary Herbert, *Thomas Hobbes* (British Columbia, 1989)
 David Johnston, *The Rhetoric of Leviathan* (Princeton, 1986)
 Richard Flathman, *Thomas Hobbes* (Sage, 1993)
 Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge, 1996)
 Leo Strauss, *The Political Philosophy of Hobbes* (Chicago, 1952)
 Mary Dietz, ed. *Thomas Hobbes and Political Theory* (Kansas, 1990)
 C.B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Oxford, 1962)
 Maurice Goldsmith, *Hobbes's Science of Politics* (Columbia, 1966)
 Thomas Spragens, *The Politics of Motion* (Kentucky, 1973)
 Bernard Baumrin, ed., *Hobbes's Leviathan* (Wadsworth, 1969)
 F.S. McNeilly, *The Anatomy of Leviathan* (Macmillan, 1968)

September 26—Locke's Second Treatise

Reading: John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government*

Recommended:

Richard Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Princeton, 1986)

Kirstie McClure, *Judging Rights* (Cornell, 1996)
 Neal Wood, *John Locke and Agrarian Capitalism* (California, 1984)
 Jeremy Waldron, *God, Locke, and Equality* (Cambridge, 2002)
 John Dunn, *The Political Thought of John Locke* (Cambridge, 1965)
 James Tully, *A Discourse on Property: Locke and his Adversaries* (Cambridge, 1980)
 James Tully, *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts* (Cambridge, 1993)
 Edward Harpham, ed., *John Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Kansas, 1992)
 Julian Franklin, *John Locke and the Theory of Sovereignty* (Cambridge, 1978)
 John Simmons, *The Lockean Theory of Rights* (Princeton, 1992)
 John Simmons, *On the Edge of Anarchy* (Princeton, 1993)
 J.W. Gough, *John Locke's Political Philosophy* (Oxford, 1956)
 Michael Zuckert, *Natural Rights and the New Republicanism* (Princeton, 1994)

October 3—Hegel's Rechtstaat

Reading: Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, pp. 9-64, 189-380

Recommended:

Shlomo Avineri, *Hegel's Theory of the State* (Cambridge, 1972)
 Raymond Plant, *Hegel* (Indiana, 1973)
 Lewis Hinchman, *Hegel's Critique of the Enlightenment* (Florida, 1984)
 Paul Diesing, *Hegel's Dialectical Political Economy* (Westview, 1999)
 Mark Tunick, *Hegel's Political Philosophy* (Princeton, 1992)
 Patricia Mills, ed., *Feminist Interpretations of G.W.F. Hegel* (Penn State, 1996)
 Fred Dallmayr, *G.W.F. Hegel: Modernity and Politics* (Sage, 1993)
 Charles Taylor, *Hegel* (Cambridge, 1975)
 Alexandre Kojeve, *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel* (Basic, 1969)
 Laurence Dickey, *Hegel* (Cambridge, 1987)
 Z.A. Pelczynski, ed., *Hegel's Political Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1971)
 Robert Williams, *Hegel's Ethics of Recognition* (California, 1997)
 Michael Baur and John Russon, ed., *Hegel and the Tradition* (Toronto, 1997)
 Judith Shklar, *Freedom and Independence* (Cambridge, 1976)
 Bernard Cullen, *Hegel's Social and Political Thought* (Gill and Macmillan, 1979)
 Walter Kaufmann, ed., *Hegel's Political Philosophy* (Atherton, 1970)

October 10—Marx's Critique of the State

Reading: Karl Marx, *Selected Writings*, pp. 1-213, 301-338

Recommended:

Shlomo Avineri, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx* (Cambridge, 1968)
 Robert Tucker, *Philosophy and Myth in Marx* (Transaction, 2000)
 Jon Elster, *An Introduction to Karl Marx* (Cambridge, 1986)
 G.A. Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History*, expanded ed. (Princeton, 2000)

Bertell Ollman, *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1977)

Erica Sherover-Marcuse, *Emancipation and Consciousness* (Blackwell, 1986)

Allen Wood, *Karl Marx* (Routledge, 2004)

Robert Jessop, *Karl Marx* (Routledge, 1990)

David McLellan, *Karl Marx* (Palgrave, 1987)

II. INTERLUDE: READING THE CLASSICS

October 17—Leo Strauss: Does the Sphinx have a lesson?

Reading: Leo Strauss, *Natural Right and History*; Myles Burnyeat, "Sphinx Without a Secret" and replies (handout)

Recommended:

Steven B. Smith, *Reading Leo Strauss* (Chicago, 2006)

Catherine Zuckert and Michael Zuckert, *The Truth about Leo Strauss* (Chicago, 2006)

Kim Sorenson, *Discourses on Strauss* (Notre Dame, 2006)

Henrich Meier, *Leo Strauss and the Theologico-Political Problem* (Cambridge, 2006)

Leo Strauss, *The Rebirth of Classical Political Rationalism*, ed. Thomas Pangle (Chicago, 1989)

Shadia Drury, *The Political Ideas of Leo Strauss* (Macmillan, 1988)

Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (Simon & Schuster, 1987)

Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (Free Press, 1992)

Susan Orr, *Jerusalem and Athens: Reason and Revelation in the Work of Leo Strauss* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1995)

Kenneth Green, *Jew and Philosopher* (SUNY, 1993)

David Novack, ed., *Leo Strauss and Judaism* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1996)

Kenneth Deutsch and Walter Nicgorski, eds., *Leo Strauss* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1994)

Ted McAllister, *The Revolt Against Modernity* (Kansas, 1996)

Shadia Drury, *Leo Strauss and the American Right* (St. Martins, 1997)

Ann Norton, *Leo Strauss and the Politics of American Empire* (Yale, 2004)

Laurence Lampert, *Leo Strauss and Nietzsche* (Chicago, 1996)

October 24—The "new history" of political thought

Reading: Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics, III: Hobbes and Civil Science*, pp. 1-141, 177-301

Recommended:

James Tully, ed., *Meaning and Context* (Polity, 1987)

Kari Palonen, *Quentin Skinner* (Polity, 2003)

Lotte Mulligan, Judith Richards, and John Graham, "Intentions and Conventions," *Political Studies* 27 (1979), 84-98

Charles D. Tarlton, "Historicity, Meaning, and Revisionism in the Study of Political Thought," *History and Theory* 12 (1973), 307-328

- Cary J. Nederman, "Quentin Skinner's State: Historical Method and Traditions of Discourse," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 18 (1985), 339-352
- Neal Wood, "The Social History of Political Theory," *Political Theory* 6 (1978), 345-67
- Conal Condren, "Ideas and the Model of Political Events," *Political Science* 36 (1984), 53-66
- Gordon Schochet, "Why Should History Matter?" in J.G.A. Pocock et al, eds., *Varieties of British Political Thought, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1994)
- David Boucher, "New Histories of Political Thought for Old?," *Political Studies* 31 (1983), 112-121
- Ian Shapiro, "Realism in the Study of the History of Ideas," *History of Political Thought* 3 (1982), 535-578
- J.G.A. Pocock, *Politics, Language, and Time* (Atheneum, 1972)

III. CONTEMPORARY FRAMINGS

October 31--Resurgent liberalism

Reading: John Rawls, *Political Liberalism*, pp. xv-371

Recommended:

- John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, rev. ed (Harvard, 2000)
- John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (Harvard, 1999)
- Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (Basic, 1973)
- Ronald Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (Harvard, 1977)
- Richard Flathman, *Toward a Liberalism* (Cornell, 1989)
- Nancy Rosenblum, ed., *Liberalism and the Moral Life* (Harvard, 1989)
- Susan M. Okin, *Justice, Gender, and the Family* (Basic, 1989)

November 7-- Deliberative democracy and public reason

Reading: Jürgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, pp. 1-193, 287-515

Recommended:

- Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (MIT, 1991)
- Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, 2 vols.(Beacon, 1984-89)
- Michel Rosenfeld and Andrew Arato, eds., *Habermas of Law and Democracy: Critical Exchanges* (California, 1998)
- Michael J. Sandel, *Democracy's Discontent* (Harvard, 1996)
- Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy* (California, 1984)
- James S. Fishkin, *Democracy and Deliberation* (Yale, 1991)
- Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, *Democracy and Disagreement* (Harvard, 1996)
- James Bohman and William Rehg, eds., *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics* (MIT, 1997)
- Thomas Christiano, *The Rule of the Many: Fundamental Issues in Democratic Theory* (Westview, 1996)

Susan Bickford, *The Dissonance of Democracy* (Cornell, 1996)

November 14—Communitarian challenges

Reading: Michael Sandel, *Public Philosophy*

Recommended:

Michael Sandel, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (Cambridge, 1982)

Henry Tam, *Communitarianism* (NYU, 1998)

Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (Notre Dame, 1988)

Robert Bellah et al, *Habits of the Heart* (California, 1985)

Charles Taylor, *Philosophy and the Human Sciences* (Cambridge, 1985), sec. 2

Derek Phillips, *Looking Backward: A Critical Appraisal of Communitarian Thought* (Princeton, 1993)

Amitai Etzioni, ed., *Rights and the Common Good: The Communitarian Perspective* (St. Martin's, 1995)

Daniel Bell, *Communitarianism and Its Critics* (Oxford, 1993)

Steven Mulhall and Adam Swift, *Liberals and Communitarians*, 2nd ed. (Blackwell, 1996)

C.F. Delaney, *The Liberalism-Communitarian Debate* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1994)

November 21—The revival of natural law

Reading: John Finnis, *Natural Law and Natural Rights*

Recommended:

Robert George, *In Defense of Natural Law* (Oxford, 2001)

John Finnis, *Aquinas* (Oxford, 1997)

Robert George, *Making Men Moral* (Oxford, 1995)

A.P. D'Entreves, *Natural Law* (Transaction, 1995)

Robert George, ed., *Natural Law Theory* (Oxford, 1994)

William Galston, *Liberal Purposes* (Cambridge, 1991)

Joseph Raz, *The Morality of Freedom* (Oxford, 1988)

November 28—Feminist theory/theorizing women

Reading: Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women*

Recommended:

Judith Butler and Joan Scott, eds., *Feminists Theorize the Political* (Routledge, 1992)

Zillah Eisenstein, *The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism* (Northeastern, 1993)

Carole Pateman and Elizabeth Gross, eds., *Feminist Challenges: Social and Political Theory* (Northeastern, 1987)

Allison Jagger, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* (Rowman & Allenheld, 1983)

Sondra Farganis, *The Social Reconstruction of the Feminine Character* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1986)

Nannerl O. Keohane et al, eds., *Feminist Theory: A Critique of Ideology* (Chicago, 1982)

Kathy Ferguson, *The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy* (Temple, 1984)

Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices* (Minnesota, 1989)

Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (Routledge, 1990)

Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power* (Stanford, 1997)