



University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

**POL 381H1S L0101/Topics in Political Theory:
Politics and the Idea of History**

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COURSE STATEMENT

In 1989 Francis Fukuyama infamously proclaimed “the end of history,” a global condition in which the collapse of the Soviet Union was taken to imply the absence of any “serious ideological competitors” to liberal democracy. Five years later, Samuel Huntington argued that “clashes of civilizations are the greatest threat to world peace” and that bloody conflict over fundamental principles would continue well into the future. These opposed claims have been the wellspring of extensive controversy; proponents of either view continue to dispute the “end” or “endurance” of history. These popular debates are not new, however — indeed, they have deep and substantial moorings in the history of political philosophy. In this course we will examine the foundations of this debate through the close reading of primary texts written by political philosophers for whom the intersection of history and politics was a chief concern: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche, Martin Heidegger, and Alexandre Kojève.

The class will operate in two sections: in the first, the course instructors will give a brief lecture examining the assigned readings and connecting them to readings covered so far; in the second, students responsible for recommended readings will bring discussion questions aimed at stimulating debate and discussion.

Course Evaluation

Type	Percentage	Details
Reflection paper	20%	1,000 words max
Participation and Attendance	20%	

Short Paper Option	Percentage	Details
First Short Paper (due July 23)	30%	4,000 words max
Second Short Paper (due August 13)	30%	4,000 words max

Major Paper Option	Percentage	Details
Paper Proposal (due July 23)	10%	1,000 words max
Major Paper (due August 13)	50%	8,000 words max

Reflection papers:

Each student is required to submit a reflection paper of no more than 1,000 words addressing a particular thinker, *due at 4:00 p.m. (1600h) on the same day we discuss that thinker*. Reflection papers should provide a critical analysis of important arguments drawn from the readings. Students writing reflection papers in a given week are also expected to discuss their ideas in class. We expect students to consult *at least one of the recommended readings* indicated in the syllabus for incorporation into their analyses. *Signups for reflection papers will take place during the first class.*

Seminar attendance and participation:

Seminar attendance is mandatory. Half of your participation grade will be determined by your attendance while the other half depends on your active participation in the seminar.

Course papers:

This class requires that you write *either*: (A) two short papers of no more than 4,000 words each exploring at least one thinker in the course (i.e. not the same thinker in both papers), due at 4 p.m. on July 23 and August 13, respectively; or (B) one major paper of no more

than 8,000 words comparing at least two thinkers in the course, due at 4 p.m. on August 13. Students choosing the major paper option must submit a paper proposal of no more than 1,000 words to the course instructors by 4:00 p.m. (1600h), July 23. Students are strongly recommended to consult the instructors well in advance of the final due date to discuss their ideas.

Required Readings

All the required readings are available in the University of Toronto Bookstore (NW corner of St. George and College), with the exceptions of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* and Hegel's *Lordship and Bondage*, which will be distributed in class, and the two articles assigned for the very last seminar, which are available online. Please consult the text list at the back of this syllabus for direction. We expect students to complete all the readings for a single thinker by the first class that thinker is discussed (i.e. students should read all the Kant readings for July 9). Students should consult the course instructors well in advance of their response paper date to coordinate access to the recommended readings.

Course Plan

Week 1: Introduction July 4

J.J. Rousseau Discourse on the Origin and Basis of Inequality Amongst Men*

**Note: because this is the introductory class, we will not be conducting a full seminar on Rousseau. However, we expect all students to review Rousseau's second discourse before coming to class, or read it in its entirety if they have not done so before.*

Weeks 2 & 3: July 9 & 11

Immanuel Kant Critique of Pure Reason, Introduction (1st & 2nd eds).
"An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?"
"Toward Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch."
Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View (selections).
"Idea for a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Perspective."
"Conjectural Beginning of Human History."

Additional: Review of Herder’s “Ideas on the Philosophy of Human History.”
“On the Common Saying: This May be True in Theory, But it Does Not Hold in Practice.”
“The Contest of the Faculties.”
Metaphysics of Morals, “Doctrine of Right.”

Recommended: Michael Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs.”
Michel Foucault, “Introduction to Kant’s Anthropology.”
Allan Wood, “Kant’s Philosophy of History.”
Jurgen Habermas, “Kant’s Perpetual Peace, with the Benefit of Two-Hundred Years’ Hindsight.”

Week 4, 5 & 6: July 16, 18 & 23

G.W.F. Hegel Introduction to the Philosophy of History.
The Phenomenology of Spirit, “Lordship and Bondage.”

Additional: The Phenomenology of Spirit, Preface, Self Consciousness, and Objective Spirit.

Recommended: Jean Hyppolite, Genesis and Structure of Hegel’s Phenomenology of Spirit (Introduction and Part I).
Stanley Rosen, G.W.F. Hegel (Chapters I-II).
Charles Taylor, Hegel (Part IV).
Shlomo Avineri, Hegel’s Theory of the Modern State (Chapter XII).
Robert Pippin, Hegel’s Idealism, (Chapters I-II).
Waller Newell, “Origins of Enchantment.”
Eric Voegelin, “On Hegel: A Study in Sorcery.”
Frederick C. Beiser, “Hegel and the Problem of Metaphysics.”
H.S. Harris, Hegel: Phenomenology and System.

Week 7: July 25

Karl Marx Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844 (selections).
“The 18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon” (selections).

Recommended: Hans-Georg Gadamer, “Heidegger and the Language of Metaphysics.”
Leo Strauss, “An Introduction to Heideggerian Existentialism.”
Stanley Rosen, The Question of Being, Introduction.
Richard Velkley, Heidegger, Strauss, and the Premises of Philosophy: On Original Forgetting.
Catherine Zuckert, Postmodern Platos (Chapter II).
Michael Allen Gillespie, “Martin Heidegger.”
Tom Rockmore, “Heidegger’s French Connection and the Emperor’s New Clothes.”

Week 11: Conclusion

August 13

Alexandre Kojève Introduction to the Reading of Hegel (Chapter I; footnote V and note to the second edition from Chapter VI).

Francis Fukuyama “The End of History?”

Samuel Huntington “The Clash of Civilizations?”

Additional: Alexandre Kojève, Introduction to the Reading of Hegel (Chapters VI, II, IV, and V).
Alexandre Kojève, “Hegel, Marxism and Christianity.”
Alexandre Kojève, “Marx is God and Ford is his Prophet.”
Benjamin Barber, “Jihad vs. McWorld.”
Alexander Wendt, “Why a World State is Inevitable.”
Francis Fukuyama, The End of History and the Last Man.
Francis Fukuyama, Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution.
Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.

Recommended: Vincent Descombes, Modern French Philosophy (Chapter I).
James H. Nichols, Jr., Alexandre Kojève: Wisdom at the End of History.
Allan Bloom, “Alexandre Kojève.”
Tom Darby, “On Spiritual Crisis, Globalization, and Planetary Rule.”

Conditions of Participation

By registering for this course, you are agreeing to abide by the following conditions. These conditions are meant to ensure that this course fulfills its goals. If this seems to be very contractual, that is intentional. This syllabus constitutes an agreement between the instructor and the students about their respective rights and responsibilities pertaining to the course.

*Seminar attendance is mandatory. The only way that you can be excused is by reason of documented religious holiday, health problem, or personal emergency. Documentation of religious holidays must be submitted to the instructors within two weeks of the holiday. Documentation of health problems or personal emergencies must be submitted to the instructors within one week of the missed seminar. Excused absences will have the attendance and participation grade for that day dropped from their final total. Unexcused absences will be penalized with a grade of “0” for the day.

*Classes begin promptly at ten minutes after. Lateness will affect your participation grade. Breaks will occur at the discretion of the instructors.

* Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before handing in to the instructors. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned and the grades posted on ROSI.

*To ensure academic freedom of expression and the limitation of content to intended audiences, audio or video recording is not permitted without the express written permission of the instructor. If you have reason to need audio recording, you must discuss this with us.

*Use of cell phones, gaming devices, or computers for non-related web-surfing or chatting during class is not permitted.

*Readings are required and expected to be completed by the time of the seminar. The instructors reserve the right to change readings during the course.

*The **late policy** in this course for all assignments is a deduction of **5% per day** off the total worth of the assignment in question. If you require an extension on an assignment because of personal emergency or illness, please consult the instructors *well before the assignment is due*.

*You are also welcome to email the instructors regarding questions or issues pertaining to the course. We will attempt to answer emails sent on weekdays within 24 hours. Emails sent after business hours on Fridays will be treated as having arrived on Monday at 8:00

a.m. (0800h). Email sent to our utoronto addresses becomes property of the university and can be made public should the university deem this necessary or appropriate.

*The course instructors will hold informal office hours for one hour after each course session (i.e., Mondays and Wednesdays from 6:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m., or 1800h to 1900h); we can also be reached for additional meeting by appointment. The course instructors reserve the right to cancel scheduled office hours in any given week.

**THE FINAL GRADES IN THIS COURSE ARE FINAL.* The grades are not arbitrary; they reflect our assessment of your work as a demonstration of your progress towards the goals of this class. If you need to maintain a certain average, or get a specific minimum grade in this class, make sure that the quality of your work warrants this grade.

*Accessibility Needs: The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or the course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>

ACADEMIC HONESTY

- Using the words, content, or ideas of others in written work for which you will receive credit in this course requires citing that work. This includes ideas or articles found on the internet. Failure to properly cite other people's words or ideas constitutes plagiarism and is a **very serious** academic offence, as are other forms of academic dishonesty. *If you are uncertain whether citation is needed, or how to cite properly, please consult the instructors.* See also the information at Writing at the University of Toronto: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/>. Ignorance of citation requirements does not constitute an excuse.

We thank Professor Todd Hall for providing the format for this syllabus.

Course Texts

The texts below are divided into two categories: texts we have ordered in to the University of Toronto St. George Campus main bookstore which are inexpensive and from which we base the lectures and discussion in class. We have ordered sufficient numbers of these texts for maximum enrollment, and there is no need to purchase any other texts. Students seeking more comprehensive editions, however, either for future study or for the major paper option, should consult our other recommendations (these tend to be more expensive).

Rousseau's second discourse can be found in The Basic Political Writings, Second Edition, translated and edited by Donald A. Cress (Hackett).

Students looking for a more comprehensive account should consult The Discourses and Other Early Political Writings, edited by Victor Gourevich (Cambridge University Press).

Kant's assigned political writings are all contained in Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History, edited by Pauline Kleingeld and translated by David Colclasure (Yale University Press).

Students looking for the complete political and historical writings of Kant should consult two volumes in the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant: Practical Philosophy, edited by Mary J. Gregor; and Anthropology, History, and Education, edited by Günter Zöllner and Robert B. Loudon (both Cambridge University Press). Students who already own the older Political Writings, edited by H.S. Reiss (Cambridge University Press) can stick with this text, but should consult the course instructors because it is missing the selections from the Anthropology we will discuss in the third and fourth seminars.

The introductions to the first and second editions of the Critique of Pure Reason will be distributed to students, but we encourage anyone serious about the course topic to purchase (and read) the entire Critique. For this task we strongly recommend the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant volume, translated and edited by Paul Guyer and Allen W. Wood (Cambridge University Press).

Hegel: The Introduction to the Philosophy of History is available in the edition translated by Leo Rauch (Hackett).

Marx's assigned writings are contained in the Marx-Engels Reader, Second Edition, edited by Robert C. Tucker (Norton), as well as several places online (please consult the instructors if you are relying on an online source).

Nietzsche: On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life, translated by Peter Pruess (Hackett).

Heidegger: Being and Time, translated by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (Harper and Row/Harper Collins Canada).

Kojève: Introduction to the Reading of Hegel, assembled by Raymond Queneau, edited by Allan Bloom and translated by James H. Nichols, Jr. (Cornell University Press).