

POL 484/POL 2026: TOPICS IN POLITICAL THOUGHT I

TOLERATION AND ITS LIMITS

University of Toronto
Fall 2014
Thursdays, 2-4pm
TBA

Instructor: Teresa Bejan
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N.B. When contacting the professor by email, students should use an official University of Toronto email address (ending with utoronto.ca) and include an appropriate subject heading.

Office Hours: By appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

This seminar will provide an in-depth, interdisciplinary look at toleration as an issue in the history of political thought and contemporary political theory. The question of toleration—how much difference a society can bear, how much its members must have in common to make that difference bearable, and where to draw the line—arises whenever and wherever human beings have sought to live “unmurderously” together under conditions of fundamental disagreement. Modern liberals trace their intellectual origins to early modern Europe in particular, and to arguments for “liberty of conscience” that developed during the Reformation and decades of religious warfare that brought the question of religious toleration to the forefront of political theory and practice.

In this course, we begin with traditional “Whig” narratives about the rise of toleration in the West and their continued importance for political theorists today. Over the course of the semester, we will read primary source material, contemporary theory, and revisionist historiography in a critical investigation of “toleration” as a concept in political theory *and* as a set of social practices. Along with the works of seminal defenders of toleration like Sebastian Castellio, Roger Williams, and John Locke, we will consider, among other things, the difference between “toleration,” “tolerance,” and “liberty of conscience,” the case for *intolerance*, the variety of possible regimes of toleration, and whether toleration remains a worthwhile concept for thinking about difference and coexistence today.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND DUE DATES:

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| Class Attendance and Participation | 20% |
| Reading Response #1 (submitted on or before Oct. 23rd) | 10% |
| Reading Response #2 OR In-Class Presentation | 10% |
| Final Paper (due Dec. 2nd) | 60% |

ATTENDANCE AND PARTICIPATION:

This is a seminar organized around discussion; hence participation can make or break your grade. You **MUST** do the reading and come to class weekly prepared to talk about it. Regular attendance is mandatory. If you must be absent for personal reasons you are expected to inform me in advance. It is the policy of the University to arrange reasonable accommodation around the needs of students who observe religious holy days in addition to those already accommodated by ordinary scheduling and statutory holidays. If you must miss class or hand in an assignment late for medical reasons, you **must** submit a **U of T Verification of Illness or Injury Form**: www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca.

Each student is allowed **one** absence during the course of the semester without prejudice, but additional unexcused absences will seriously depress your participation grade. Enrolled students who accumulate more than three (3) unexcused absences will automatically receive a 5% deduction on the final course grade as a penalty.

Your participation grade will also depend on the *quality* of your participation in discussion. Read actively: underline, take notes, ask questions, and find ways of relating the text with others we have read. Try to understand—and be able to summarize—the arguments a particular text or author is making. In your comments in class, I want to see not only that you've done, and thought about, the reading, but also that you can engage thoughtfully and respectfully with the contributions of your peers.

READING RESPONSES AND PRESENTATIONS:

Over the course of the semester, all students formally enrolled in the course must complete either **(A)** two Reading Responses [one of which must be submitted on or before **Oct. 23rd**] OR **(B)** one Reading Response [before **Oct. 23rd**] and one In-Class Presentation. Graduate students formally enrolled in the course will be required to take **Option B**. Undergraduates must inform me of which option they will take in **Week 2**. A sign-up sheet for in-class presentations will be circulated at the beginning of class that week.

Reading responses should be **1-3 pages** double-spaced and submitted to me by email. The first response paper must be submitted **on or before Oct. 23rd**. The second must be submitted **on or before Nov. 27th** (our last session).

Class presentations should last **6 minutes for Undergraduates and 10 minutes for Graduate Students**. These presentations should consist of the presenter's critical reflections on the reading for that week. There is no set form for a good presentation, but in general it should provide an overview of some of the main points and arguments of the readings and highlight any themes, passages, or complications the student thinks will provide particularly interesting fodder for discussion. Bear in mind that speaking for 10 minutes is roughly equivalent to 5 double-spaced pages of text, but students should not simply read out a paper. During and after the presentation, students should be prepared to field questions from their colleagues and the professor.

PAPERS:

Students will be required to write a final paper on **a topic to be approved by me no later than Nov. 20th**. Undergraduate papers should be 15-17 pp. double-spaced. Graduate papers should be 20-25 pp. These papers must draw mainly on the assigned texts, but you are encouraged to pursue their implications outside of the syllabus. I **strongly encourage** you to meet with me to discuss your ideas or outline in advance of the due date. These should reflect your best and most polished work; the ideas developed should be entirely your own. The preferred citation style for Political Science courses is the in-text (or parenthetical) style of author-date references from the *Chicago Manual of Style*.

Papers will be due on **Dec. 2nd**. They should be submitted **electronically** to Turnitin.com and in **hard copy** along with a signed copy of the **Academic Integrity Checklist** (available for download through Blackboard) to my office (Sidney Smith 3052) by 4pm on the day they are due. Late papers will lose 5% for each day late, including weekends. Extensions will not be granted except in extremely adverse circumstances. Please consult me **well in advance** if you require extensions on your assignments. Last-minute requests are unlikely to be granted.

The University policy on Turnitin.com states:

“Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.”

For alternative arrangements regarding submission of written assignments, please consult me. Alternatives may include submission of all drafts, notes, and rough work and submission of photocopies of sources, including call numbers and web site addresses. **Students are required to keep their rough and draft work and copies of their assignments until the end of the course when grades are posted on ROSI.**

ACADEMIC HONESTY

I take an *extremely* dim view of plagiarism, as does the University. Any material copied word-for-word from another source (including lecture and study group notes) must be placed in **quotation marks** and accompanied by a **citation**. Indeed, whenever you draw on or allude to ideas other than your own, you *must* **reference** the original source, whatever it may be (a book, a website, a lecture, an introductory essay, etc.). This rule applies not only to formally assessed work, but to **all** of your contributions in this class. Nor is it exclusively applicable in the case of quotations; *all* distinctive ideas you borrow from others, even where you paraphrase them in your own words, should be referenced. If you have any questions about this while writing your papers, please come and see me.

University of Toronto's policy regarding plagiarism as outlined in the *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* will be strictly enforced: www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm.

Many students mistakenly believe that the sole purpose of proper citations and referencing is to safeguard against suspicion of academic dishonesty. In actual fact, a reader may wish simply to learn more about the issue in question, and citations make that possible.

- **Why Proper Citations are Necessary**

1. Academic inquiry is an ongoing ‘conversation’ within a scholarly community. Proper references are the ‘record’ of that conversation.
2. The advance of knowledge presupposes such a record. Proper references enable scholars to do research that builds upon, complements, or challenges views reached by other members of the community.
3. A reference or a citation is therefore a claim that the author has read the material, understood it, and proposes either to build upon it or to contest its validity. An author who offers a citation is therefore claiming familiarity with the material cited or referenced.

- **When Citations and References are Required**

The idea of a continuous ‘conversation’ is especially appropriate for political science, which rarely settles on definitive conclusions. For students to participate in the conversation, they must understand that while references always involve judgments, there are commonly accepted reasons to cite source material:

1. To indicate the source of every direct quotation;
2. To indicate the source of material that is being paraphrased or summarized;
3. To acknowledge indebtedness to other authors for opinions, data and ideas that are not generally regarded as common knowledge;
4. To lend authority to a claim that the reader may reasonably be expected to question;
5. To support a statement for which there is either a single authority or about which there are conflicting perspectives;
6. To inform the reader of where to find alternative perspectives, corroborative authorities, or more extensive discussion of the topic.

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. For a good overview of the forms of misconduct and how to avoid them, see <http://life.utoronto.ca/get-smarter/academic-honesty/> and <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>.

ACCESSIBILITY

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 course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: accessibility.services@utoronto.ca or <http://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca/>

USE OF COURSE MATERIALS:

For reasons of privacy as well as protection of copyright, unauthorized video or audio recording in classrooms is generally prohibited.

NOTICE OF COLLECTION

The University of Toronto respects your privacy. The information on medical certificates is collected pursuant to section 2(14) of the University of Toronto Act, 1971. It is collected for the purpose of administering accommodations for academic purposes based on medical grounds. The department will maintain a record of all medical certificates received. At all times it will be protected in accordance with the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act.

If you have questions, please refer to www.utoronto.ca/privacy or contact the University's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Office at 416-946-5835. Address: Room 201, McMurrich Bldg., 12 Queen's Park Crescent, Toronto, ON, M5S 1A1.

REQUIRED TEXTS:

The following texts and a **required coursepack** will be available at the U of T bookstore and on reserve at Robarts. I've provided the publisher in case you want to order them online. However, please ensure that you order the specified edition; there can be crucial differences between translations and pagination. **You must bring the assigned texts with you to class every session** (if the readings are online, you should bring a printout).

Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith* (Belknap) ISBN: 0674034732

John Rawls, *Political Liberalism: Expanded Edition* 2nd edition 2005 (Columbia) ISBN: 0231130899

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Hackett) ISBN: 0872201775

Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Mark Goldie (Liberty Fund) ISBN: 0865977917

Voltaire, *A Treatise on Tolerance* (Cambridge) ISBN: 0521649692

Walzer, *On Toleration* (Yale) ISBN: 0300076002

Williams, *On Religious Liberty* (Belknap) ISBN: 0674026853

J.S. Mill, *On Liberty* (Dover Thrift) ISBN: 0486421309

Readings marked by an asterisk (*) are included in the coursepack on sale at the U of T bookstore. Other recommended readings are available for download through Blackboard or on reserve at Robarts.

COURSE SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS*

Sept. 11 Introduction

Sept. 18 Whig History (sign up for in-class presentations)

1. Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, Vol. 1 ch. VI (pp. 502-523) and Vol. 2 ch. X (pp. 370-381) and ch. XI (pp. 435-467)*
2. John Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (Introduction)

Recommended:

3. Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West*, chs. 1 & 8 (Blackboard)

Sept. 25 Tolerance or Toleration?

1. Andrew Murphy, "Tolerance, Toleration, and the Liberal Tradition" *
2. Rainer Forst, *Toleration in Conflict*, Introduction and ch. 1 *
3. Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, Introduction

Recommended:

4. Herbert Butterfield, "Tolerance in Early Modern Times" (Blackboard)

Oct. 2 The Case for Intolerance

1. Bible, Proverbs 23, 29; Luke 14; Matthew 13; Romans 13; I Corinthians 1, 3; Titus 3 *
2. Augustine, "Concerning the Correction of the Donatists" *
3. Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Bk III.19, IV.20

Recommended:

4. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, chs. 1-4

Oct. 9 Toleration or Concord?

1. Desiderius Erasmus, "The Complaint of Peace" (Blackboard)
2. Sebastian Castellio, *Concerning Heretics*, "Dedication to Duke Christoph of Wuerttemberg" and "Dedication to William of Hesse" (pp. 118-140), and "Reply to Calvin" (pp. 265-287) *
3. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, ch. 5

Recommended:

1. Istvan Bejczy, "Tolerantia: A Medieval Concept," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 58, No. 3. (Jul., 1997), pp. 365-384. (Blackboard)
2. Nadia Urbinati, "Half-Toleration: Concordia and the Limits of Dialogue" in *Boundaries of Toleration*, eds. Stepan and Taylor (Blackboard)

Oct. 16 Liberty of Conscience

1. Roger Williams, *On Religious Liberty*, "Mr. Cotton's Letter Lately Printed, Examined and Answered" (pp. 46-72), "The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience" (pp.

* N.B. All assignments are subject to change.

85-156), “Christenings Make not Christians” (157-167), and “Letter to the Town of Providence, 31 August 1648” (pp. 270-1)

Recommended:

2. Martha Nussbaum, *Liberty of Conscience*, ch. 2 “Living Together: The Roots of Respect” (on reserve)

Oct. 23 A More Tolerant Hobbes?

1. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Dedication, Introduction, I.12, II.18 and 31, III.32-3, 36-43, IV.45-7, “A Review and Conclusion,” and 1668 Latin Appendix
2. Alan Ryan, “A More Tolerant Hobbes?” *
3. Kaplan, chs. 6-7

Recommended:

1. Richard Tuck, “Hobbes and Locke on Toleration” (Blackboard)
2. Arash Abizadeh, “Publicity, Privacy, and Religious Toleration in Hobbes’s *Leviathan*,” *Modern Intellectual History* (Blackboard)

Oct. 30 Locke’s Turn

1. John Locke, “First Tract on Government” in *Political Essays* (pp. 3-53) *
2. John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*

Nov. 6 Toleration and Enlightenment

1. Voltaire, *Treatise on Tolerance*
2. Pierre Bayle, *Philosophical Commentary*, “Preliminary Discourse” (pp. 27-45) *

Recommended:

1. Kaplan, *Divided By Faith*, ch. 12
2. Forst, *Toleration in Conflict*, ch. 5, pp. 237-265 (Blackboard)

Nov. 13 Toleration and Liberalism

1. J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*
2. John Rawls, *Political Liberalism*, “The Idea of an Overlapping Consensus” and “The Idea of Public Reason”

Nov. 20 Regimes of Toleration (Paper topics must be approved)

1. Michael Walzer, *On Toleration*
2. Selected Toleration Statutes (Blackboard and handout)

Recommended:

3. Kaplan, *Divided By Faith*, chs. 8 & 11

Nov. 27

Toleration and its Discontents

1. Stanley Fish, "Mission Impossible: Settling the Just Bounds Between Church and State," *Columbia Law Review* *
2. Wendy Brown, "Toleration as/in Civilizational Discourse" in *Toleration and its Limits* *

Recommended:

3. Herbert Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance" (Blackboard)

Dec. 2nd

Final Papers Due