

POL320 Y1Y: Modern Political Thought, Summer 2022

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Lecture: Online via Zoom

Lecture time: Monday and Wednesday 6– 8pm

Tutorial: Online via Zoom

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### **Course Description:**

This course introduces the central ideas of the modern era through a close reading and analysis of the key political thinkers of the late-18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The central question this course addresses is whether the history of modernity and modern rationality moves toward human emancipation and freedom, or whether it constitutes a history of domination and oppression. We will endeavour to understand the theoretical foundations of modernity and its defining political values by exploring how political thinkers legitimate their interpretation of human nature, progress, and liberty. We will pay particular attention to how these thinkers manoeuvre these interpretations in the context of imperialism, colonialism, slavery, class, and gender-based domination that developed alongside the advancement of modern rationality and enlightenment. This exploration will hopefully push us to question whether a fulsome actualization of the principles of liberty and justice are attainable, or whether these principles are ultimately utopian.

The practice of studying classic texts in order to deepen our understanding of such questions itself is a kind tradition—the tradition of political philosophy or political theory. Like most traditions, the tradition of political philosophy evolves over time in response to changes in the social world. In this course, we will expand on this practice by putting texts from South American, Black Atlantic, and South Asian traditions into conversation with texts in the Euro-American “canon.”

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### **Teaching Assistant:**

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### **Readings:**

**This is a reading-intensive course.** Reading texts closely is the most important part of learning in political theory. The thinkers we’ve chosen to study have profoundly shaped political thought in the modern world. They are all brilliant, and if you enter into conversation with them, they challenge you to think differently about yourself and your political world. We encourage you to keep a reading journal of your notes on the various texts we will read and to take the time formulate questions each week. If you do this as part of

your regular study regimen, you'll be well prepared for essays and exams. Feel free to post your questions and brief reflections about the readings on the weekly Discussion Forums on Quercus.

The following required texts are available for purchase at the UofT Bookstore or from online booksellers. Some of them (as indicated) are available electronically through the UofT Libraries system. 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. I strongly encourage you to get your own copy of these texts so that you can mark them up as you read them, an important way of interacting with the text and making them your own. All other readings will be posted on the course portal (Quercus) the Module for the week in which they're assigned.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings*. Hackett 2012 edition translated by Cress (ISBN-10: 1603846735 / ISBN-13: 978-1603846738) (Available online through UofT Libraries: <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/lib/utoronto/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=1014682>).

Immanuel Kant, *Kant: Political Writings*. Edited by Hans Reiss. Translated by H.B. Nisbet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991 (ISBN-10: 0521398371, ISBN-13: 978- 0521398374).

Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women and A Vindication of the Rights of Man*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 (ISBN-10: 019955546X, ISBN-13: 978- 0199555468). (Available online through UofT Libraries: <https://oxfordworldsclassics-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/view/10.1093/owc/9780199555468.001.0001/isbn-9780199555468>).

Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Edited by L.G. Mitchell. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 (ISBN-10: 9780199539024, ISBN-13: 9780199539024)(Available online through UofT Libraries: <https://oxfordworldsclassics-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/view/10.1093/owc/9780199539024.001.0001/isbn-9780199539024>).

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 (ISBN-10: 0521348889, ISBN-13: 9780521348881).

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty, Utilitarianism, and Other Essays*. Edited by Mark Philp and Frederick Rosen. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015 (ISBN-10: 0199670803, ISBN-13: 978- 0199670802) (Available online through UofT Libraries: <https://oxfordworldsclassics-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/view/10.1093/owc/9780199670802.001.0001/isbn-9780199670802>).

Karl Marx, *Selected Writings*. Edited by Lawrence H. Simon. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1994 (ISBN-10: 0872202194, ISBN-13: 978-0872202191).

Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality and Ecce Homo*. Edited and translated by Walter Kaufmann. New York: Vintage Books, 1989 (ISBN 9780679724629) (ISBN-10 067972462,1 ISBN-13 978-0679724629).

Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*. Translated by Walter Kaufmann. New York: Vintage Books, 1989 (ISBN-10: 0679724656, ISBN-13: 978-0679724650).

W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, with a new Afterword by Cheryl Townsend Gilkes. New York: Signet Classics, 2012 (ISBN-10 0451532058, ISBN-13 978-0451532053).

Mohandas Gandhi, "*Hind Swaraj*" and *Other Writings*. Edited by Anthony J. Parel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009 (ISBN-10: 052114602X, ISBN-13:9780521146029)(Available online through UofT Libraries: <https://www-cambridge-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/core/books/gandhi-hind-swaraj-and-other-writings/79AA4643B302279F6B57AE5CF6493F02>).

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## **Lectures and Tutorials:**

The course combines lectures and tutorials to orient your reading of the texts and to deepen your understanding through class discussion. In lectures both Omar and Kavita will provide historical context for each text, outline its key arguments, identify some challenges for interpretation, and link back to the overarching themes of modernity and human freedom. Attending lectures is important for your success in the course, as they will help make the texts more accessible and prepare you for your tutorial discussions, essays, and exams. You should make time to do the readings and review the reading questions before lecture on a given text, every week.

Tutorials are also essential to your learning, and tutorial attendance is mandatory. See below for further details.

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## **Course requirement**

Tutorial participation 10%

First Term Essay 15%

- Final essay due by 11:59 PM on June 6 via Quercus

Mid-term Test 20%

- Take-home, due by 5:00 PM on June 24 via Quercus

Second Term Essay 25%

- Final essay due by 11:59PM on August 8 via Quercus

Final Exam (3 hours) 30%

- During Final Assessment Period

### **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 interpretations of the texts we are studying and your judgment about whether the vision of politics they offer are convincing or appealing.

## 2. Essays

The challenge of framing your own interpretations of the course texts come to a head in writing essays. You will hone your interpretative skills by writing two term essays.

2.1 First Term Essay: You will write an essay of 1200-1500 words on an assigned topic on Charles Mill and Rousseau. The essay is due by 11:59pm on Monday, June 6, through the Quercus portal. You must submit an Academic Integrity Checklist with essay.

2.2 Second Term Essay: You will write an essay of 2000-2500 words on an assigned topic. You will submit the essay via the Quercus portal, no later than 11:59 PM on Monday, August 8. You submit an Academic Integrity Checklist with your final essay.

2.3. Penalties:

2.3.1. Essays will be penalized for exceeding the maximum word limit at the rate of 2 points per 100 words over the limit.

2.3.2. Your essay will not be graded until you have submitted the Academic Integrity Statement.

2.3.3. Late essays will be penalized at the rate of 2 percent per day of lateness, 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 and tests

3.1. Mid-term Test: A take-home test to be completed within a 2-hour period, covering material from the first term, June 24, @ 5PM via Quercus

3.2. Final Exam: A 3-hour examination covering material from the entire course, during the August exam period.

3.3. 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 your TA 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: <http://calendar.artsci.utoronto.ca/Rules & Regulations.html>.

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](#). It is the rulebook for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules.

For further guidance, see "[How Not to Plagiarize](#)".

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 course assignments to the University's plagiarism detection tool website for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their material to be included as source documents in the University's plagiarism detection tool 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 University's plagiarism detection tool service are described on the company web site.

We treat 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.

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## **Quercus, Emails, and Communications**

All students should ensure that they are registered on the course on Quercus, as reading materials and course announcements will be posted electronically. If you would like to change your Quercus profile (e.g., to make sure that your preferred name appears correctly), follow the instructions [here](#). You should regularly check your utoronto email account to make sure that you receive important email notices.

Please use the Quercus Inbox tool for all course-related email communication. We will endeavour to respond to emails within 72 hours, but please be patient if we are slow to respond, and please do not expect responses on evenings or weekends. Email is for short clarification questions only. If you have concerns or questions that cannot be answered in a short response, please see us during office hours.

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## **Regrade Policy**

Should you wish to challenge a grade you were given for an assignment or test, please observe the following steps. **Note that an assignment regrade can result either in a grade decrease, increase, or in no grade change at all.**

- 1) Wait a minimum of **twenty-four (24) hours** before contacting either the TA who graded your assignment or the course instructors.
- 2) If you are still unsatisfied with your grade after digesting the feedback you were given, you may compose a one-page regrade request in which you address the comments and feedback the assignment received, indicating the **specific** ways in which these comments do not capture the quality of your assignment. Write the TA who graded your assignment with this request attached. The TA will then decide whether a regrade is warranted.
- 3) If you are unsatisfied with the outcome of step 2, you can direct your request to the course instructors.

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## Course Accessibility and Supports for Students

*You are not alone: To be human is to need the support of others. Please get help if you're experiencing difficulties and are in distress about personal or academic matters.*

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 your Instructor or your TA and/or the Accessibility Service Office (<https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/department/accessibility-services/>) as soon as possible.

Accessibility Services staff 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](mailto:accessibility.services@utoronto.ca)). The sooner you let them know your needs, the more quickly they can assist you in achieving your learning goals in this course.

If you have preferences regarding your gender pronouns, please inform the Instructors or your TA.

## Other Supports for Students

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

### *Mental Health & Safety*

- Navi: Your mental health wayfinder (<https://www.viceprovoststudents.utoronto.ca/navi/>)
- Guide to available resources (<https://safety.utoronto.ca/>).
- Health & Wellness Centre (<https://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/hwc>).
- Crisis Support: Students in distress can access a range of free crisis lines available from the University of Toronto and the City of Toronto, as listed below:
  - University of Toronto: <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/task/support-when-you-feel-distressed/>

- City of Toronto: <https://www.toronto.ca/311/knowledgebase/kb/docs/articles/311-toronto/information-and-business-development/crisis-lines-suicide-depression-telephone-support-lines-non-crisis-mental-health-services.html>.

Most of these crisis lines are available 24 hours a day and some address specific problems that students may be experiencing. Immediate assistance is available as follows:

- My SSP for University of Toronto Students: 1-844-451-9700.
- Good 2 Talk Student Helpline: 1-866-925-5454
- Gerstein Crisis Centre: 416-929-5200
- Distress Centres of Greater Toronto: 416-408-HELP (4357)
- The Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH): 250 College Street (walk-in)

### *Research & Writing*

- Research and writing guide (<https://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/>).
- Chicago Manual of Style citation guide ([https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools\\_citationguide/citation-guide-2.html](https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide/citation-guide-2.html)).
- Writing Centres (<http://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/>).

## **Schedules of lectures and reading**

### **Module 1: (Monday, May 9): Introduction**

After opening the course with an acknowledgement of the land on which we are meeting to learn together, we will read the UofT Land Acknowledgement as a text in political theory:

We would like to acknowledge this sacred land on which the University of Toronto operates. It has been a site of human activity for 15,000 years. This land is the territory of the Huron-Wendat and Petun First Nations, the Seneca, and most recently, the Mississaugas of the Credit River. The territory was the subject of the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant, an agreement between the Iroquois Confederacy and Confederacy of the Ojibwe and allied nations to peaceably share and care for the resources around the Great Lakes. Today, the meeting place of Toronto is still the home to many Indigenous people from across Turtle Island and we are grateful to have the opportunity to work in the community, on this territory.

- Revised by the Elders Circle (Council of Aboriginal Initiatives) on November 6, 2014.

Suggested background readings:

Victor P. Lytwyn, "A Dish With One Spoon: The Shared Hunting Grounds Agreement in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Valley Region," in *Papers of the 28<sup>th</sup> Algonquin Conference*, pp. 210-227 (1997).

### **Module 2: (Wednesday, May 11): Charles Mills**

*The Racial Contract* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, [1997] 2014), Introduction, Chapters 1 (pp.1-40)

**Module 3:** (Monday, May 16): **Rousseau I**

*Discourse on the Origins of Inequality*, Preface, and Part I

**Module 4:** (Wednesday, May 18) **Rousseau II**

*Discourse on the Origins of Inequality, Part II*

**Monday, May 23 – NO CLASS**

**Module 5:** (Wednesday, May 25) **Rousseau III**

*On Social Contract*, Books 1, II, III, IV  
*The State of War*

**Module 6:** (Monday, May 30) **Kant I**

“What is Enlightenment?”

“On the Common Saying: “This May be True in Theory, but it does not Apply in Practice”

**Module 7:** (Wednesday, June 1) **Kant II**

“Perpetual Peace”

**Module 8:** (Monday, June 6) **Simon Bolivar**

“Oath taken in Rome,” pp.3-4; “Manifesto to the Nations of the World,” pp. 21-33; “The Jamaica Letter,” pp. 40-64; “Decree for the Emancipation of Slaves,” pp. 65-66; “Decree on Indian Labour” and “Decree on the Civil Rights of Indians,” pp. 117-124; “Inviting Governments to a Congress in Panama,” pp. 164-168

*First Term Essay Due @ 11:59pm via Quercus*

**Module 9:** (Wednesday, June 8): **Burke**

*Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* (1789)  
*Reflections on the Revolution in France*, pp. 3-63, 75-97, 245-50

**Module 10:** (Monday, June 13): **Wollstonecraft**

*A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Prefatory Letter, Introduction, chs. 1-4, 6, 9 &12

**Module 11:** (Wednesday, June 15): **Mill I**

Required reading:



*On Liberty*, chs. 1-4 (pp 5-90)

Recommended Reading:

On the Subjection of Women, chs.1, 2 ,& 4 (pp. 409-454, 484-505)

**Module 12:** (Monday, June 20): **Mill II**

*Considerations on Representative Government*, chs. 1-5, 18 (pp. 181-248, 388-405)

**June 22 - 24 - Midterm Due on June 24 @ 5:00pm via Quercus**

**Module 13:** (Monday, July 4) – **Hegel I**

- a) “Lordship and Bondage,” from G.W.F. Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A.V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 111-119 (available on Quercus).
- b) Frederick Douglass, “The Battle with Covey,” from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, ch. X (pp. 58-73) (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1849), available at: [https://heinonline-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/HOL/Page?collection=slavery&handle=hein.slavery/nafred0001&id=2&men\\_tab=srchresults](https://heinonline-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/HOL/Page?collection=slavery&handle=hein.slavery/nafred0001&id=2&men_tab=srchresults)
- c) *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, Preface and Introduction (pp. 9-64)

**Module 14:** (Wednesday, July 6) – **Hegel II**

- a) *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, Part I, §41-51; 72-77; Part II, §105-114; Part III, §142-169, 181-190, 231-49 (pp. 73-82, 104-108, 135-142, 189-208, 219-229, 260-270)

**Module 15:** (Monday, July 11) – **Hegel III**

- a) *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, Part III, §255-86, 330-360 (pp. 272-328, 366-380)

**Module 16:** (Wednesday, July 13) – **Marx I**

- a) “Theses on Feuerbach” (pp. 99-101)
- b) “On The Jewish Question,” (pp. 2-26)
- c) “Toward a Critique of Hegel’s *Philosophy of Right*,” (pp. 29-39)

**Module 17:** (Monday, July 18) – **Marx II**

- a) *The Germany Ideology*, Part I (pp. 103-153)

**Module 18:** (Wednesday, July 20) – **Marx III**

- a) *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*, “Alienated Labor” (pp. 58-68)

b) *Capital*, Volume I, excerpts from Chapter 1 (pp. 220-243)

**Module 19:** (Monday, July 25) – **Nietzsche I**

- a) *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, “Zarathustra’s Prologue” and “Of the Three Metamorphoses” (pp. 39-56)
- b) *Beyond Good and Evil*, Preface and “On the Prejudice of Philosophers” (pp. 1-32)

**Module 20:** (Wednesday, July 27) – **Nietzsche II**

- a) *The Genealogy of Morals*, Preface and Essay I (pp. 15-56)

**Monday, August 1, 2022 - NO CLASS**

**Module 21:** (Wednesday, August 3) – **Nietzsche III**

- a) *The Genealogy of Morals* Essay III (pp. 97-163)
- b) *Ecce Homo*, Preface and “Why I am so Wise” (217-235)

**Module 22:** (Monday, August 8) – **WEB Du Bois**

- a) “The Forethought” (pp. 5-6)
- b) “Of Our Spiritual Strivings” (pp. 7-16)
- c) “On the Meaning of Progress” (pp. 56-67)
- d) “Of the Passing of the First-Born” (pp. 176-182)
- e) “The Afterthought” (pp. 225-226)

***Second Term Essay Due @ 11:59m via Quercus***

**Module 23:** (Wednesday, August 10) – **Weber**

- a) *The Vocation Lectures*, “Politics as a Vocation” (pp. 32-94)

**Module 24:** (Monday, August 15): **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)

**August 17-24 - Final Assessment period**