

Democratic Theory

Kennedy School of Government, **PAL 216**
FAS Dept of Government, **Gov 1039**

Faculty: Jane Mansbridge, Adams Professor, KSG
Semester: Spring 2009
Days: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 1:10 – 2:30 p.m.
Room: RG60 (KSG)

Office hours: Taubman 468 (KSG), Wednesdays 3:00-4:30 or by appointment
Assistant: Andra Hibbert, Taubman 485 (5-3919)

COURSE DESCRIPTION: This course traces the evolution of western democratic theory from the ancient Greeks to the present, with particular emphasis on the institutions that influenced and were in turn influenced by these evolving theories. The readings run from Aristotle and Hobbes through Habermas and Foucault, with one foray into Islamic thought. The course has two aims: to foster an appreciation of the history behind the ideas that shaped today's democracies and to pose critical normative questions for today.

CLASS SCHEDULE:

Thursday Jan. 29: Introduction to theories of democracy.
No reading.

Tuesday Feb. 3: The *demos* of Ancient Greece
Reading:

***Aristotle, *Politics*, Bk I:** *ch 1- 2, 12-13*; **Bk II:** *ch 1- 3, ch 5 ¶ 1-5* (to 1263b15); *ch 7, ch 9 ¶1* (to 1269a37), ¶4 (1270b18-22); **Bk III:** *ch 1, 4-7, 9-13, 15, ch 16 ¶1* (to 1287a33); *ch 17-18*; **Bk IV:** *ch 1; ch 2 ¶1-5* (to 1289b5); *ch 4, 8-11, 14*; **Bk V:** *ch 1, 8-11*; **Bk VI:** *ch 2-5*; **Bk VII:** *ch 1 ¶1* (to 1323a22); *ch 2 ¶2* (1324a23-25); *ch 4 ¶2* (1326a26-b8). [c. 100 pages] Note: In the Dover edition, chapters, which are often only 3-4 paragraphs long, are indicated by the boldface Arabic numeral in the margin. **I.4** means “Book I, chap. 4.” Be sure to get an edition with the Bekker numbers (e.g. 1260a30), which allow you to identify specific lines of text. [Everson’s edition (Cambridge University Press 1988) and Lord’s (Chicago University Press 1984) are excellent.]

Thursday Feb. 5: The social contract and theories of tyranny
Bring to class:

- i. Manegold of Lautenbach, *Ad Gebhardum Liber* (c. 1085), selection [In course pack].
- ii. Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum* (“On Kingship”) (1266), selection [In course pack] Book 1, ch 1-4, 7.

Tuesday Feb. 10: Theories of virtue and corruption, resistance and legitimacy

Bring to class:

- i. Niccoli Machiavelli, *Discourses* ([1513-17] 1531), selections on course webpage [boldface by JM].
- ii. “Junius Brutus,” *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* (1579) [<http://www.constitution.org/vct/vindiciae.htm>]: webpage vidiciae ¶4 (“Accordingly”), ¶8 (“Now if we consider”); **1a** ¶1 (“When King Joash”); **2** ¶22 (“But this raises”), ¶29 (“But if the king”); **2a** ¶1 (“It remains”); **2b** ¶5 (“Although the church” only first 2 sentences); **3a** ¶s 1, 5, 6 plus last 2 sentences of section; **3b** ¶1 only last 2 sentences, ¶2; **3c** ¶1; **3e** ¶2, ¶7 (“When therefore”), ¶8, ¶17 (“Seeing then”), ¶18, ¶19, ¶20; **3f** last ¶; **3j** ¶10 (“It is certain”), ¶16 (“And those”), ¶17, ¶19 (“Finally”), ¶51 (“First the law”), ¶64 (“There is ever”), ¶65.

Thursday Feb. 12: The mid-seventeenth century acceptance of conflict

Reading:

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan (1651): **Pt 1, ch 1** ¶1 sent 1; ¶2; **ch 2** ¶1, ¶2 sent 1; **ch 6** ¶1 sents 1-2, last sent; ¶2 sents 1-2; ¶3, ¶5, ¶7 (“But whatsoever”), next to last ¶ (“Continuall successe”) sents 1-2; **ch 10** ¶1 -5, ¶15 (“The value”), ¶16; **ch 11** ¶1 -5; **ch 13** all; **ch 14** ¶1-9, ¶18 (“If a covenant”) -19, ¶27 (“Covenants entered”); **ch 15** ¶1-3, ¶7 (“And for”) last sentence, ¶8, ¶20 (“And because”), ¶21-¶26 (“But some things”), ¶31 (“And seeing”), ¶34 (“These are the Lawes”) – end; **ch 16** ¶1-2, ¶4-6, ¶13 (“A multitude”) -15; **Pt 2 ch 17** all; **ch 18** ¶1 – 3 (first half), ¶5 -6; **ch 19** ¶1-4; **ch 21** ¶1-7 (first half), ¶8, ¶10 (“To come now”) - ¶18, ¶21 (“The obligation”); ch 26 ¶8 (“The law of nature”), next to last ¶ (“I find”); **ch 29** ¶9 (“A fourth opinion”) -11; **ch 30** ¶21 (“For the use”).

Tuesday Feb. 17: The social contract as a basis for revolution

Reading:

John Locke, *Second Treatise (1679-1689): ch 1 § 3; ch 2 §4, 6, 7, 13-15; ch. 3 §19 – 21; ch 4 §22-23; ch 5 §25-28; 31-33, 36, 37, 49 – 50; ch 6 §54, 63, 73; ch 7 §77, 82, 85, 87 – 90; ch 8 §95 – 99, 119, 121, 122; ch 9 §123 – 131; ch 11 §135, 137 – 142; ch 13 §155, 157 – 158; ch 19 §210; ch 19 §212- 217, 219-221, 225, 241-242.

Thursday Feb. 19: Exam #1; at least two reading responses due by today: The social contract further radicalized

Reading:

*Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Social Contract* (1762), **Bk 1** *pref; ch 1*; ch 2 ¶1 -2; ch 3 ¶1, 4; ch 4 ¶1, ¶6 sent 1, ¶8 (“But it is clear”); ch 5 ¶3; *ch 6-8* all; ch 9 ¶2; last ¶. **Bk 2** ch 1 ¶1; *ch 3*; ch 4 ¶5, ¶10 (“When these distinctions”); ch 6 last ¶; ch 7 ¶1, 3, 9 (“There is a further difficulty”); ch 8 ¶1, 4; ch 9 ¶1 – 3; ch 10 ¶5 – 6; ch 11 ¶1 – 2; ch 12 ¶5. **Bk 3** ch 1 ¶2, 4-5, 11 (“Suppose the state”), 19 (“There is between”); *ch 4-5*; ch 8 ¶1, 5 (“It follows that”), 6; ch 10 ¶ 6(First, when the prince”); *ch 12*; ch 14 sent 1; *ch 15*. **Bk 4**, *ch 1-2*, ch 8 ¶14 (“I believe”)-17, 20-21, 28 (“But I am mistaken”), 31 (“But setting aside”) -33.

Tuesday Feb. 24: Rights

Reading:

- i. *Magna Carta (1215) [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/medieval/magframe.htm>]: 1, 7-10, 12-14, 15, 17-21, 25, 28-32, 35, 39-42, 45, 48, 54-55, 60-63.
- ii. *The English Bill of Rights (1689) [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/england.htm>]: after “declare” up to and not including “And they do claim.”
- iii. *Constitution of Virginia (June 1776): Bill of Rights; particulars against George III; 1st 2 paragraphs of constitution [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/va05.htm>].
- iv. *Declaration of Independence (July 1776) [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/declare.htm>].
- v. [Only recommended: Constitution of Pennsylvania (September 1776): Bill of Rights [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/pa08.htm#1>].]
- vi. [Only recommended: Constitution of Maryland (November 1776) [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/ma02.htm>]: Bill of Rights and article 25.]
- vii. * French Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen (August 1789) [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/rightsof.htm>].
- viii. *U.S. Bill of Rights (September 1789) [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/rights1.htm#2>].

Thursday Feb 26: The politics of interest and virtue

Reading:

- i. Machiavelli, *Discourses* ([1513-17] 1531) reprise from Feb. 13.
- ii. *James Madison: Federalist 10 (1787) [<http://www.constitution.org/fed/federa10.htm>];

Federalist 51 (1788) [<http://www.constitution.org/fed/federa51.htm>];
Federalist 57 (1788) [<http://www.constitution.org/fed/federa57.htm>].

Tuesday Mar. 3: The politics of reform

Reading:

- i. Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions (1848)
[<http://www.pinn.net/~sunshine/book-sum/seneca3.html>].
- ii. ***John Stuart Mill, *On Representative Government*** (1861), ch 3 all; ch 5 ¶14 (“Instead of”), ch 6 ¶12 (“We next proceed”) –end; ch 7 ¶1-9; ch 8, all; ch 10 ¶1-5, ch 15 ¶1-3.

Thursday Mar. 5: Politics as bloody struggle and as administration

Reading:

*Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Communist Manifesto* (1848), Preface, I, II and IV. [<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm>]

Tuesday Mar. 10: (Exam #2; at least 2 more reading responses due by today): Reaction to “mass man” and the recognition of the public sphere

Reading:

* Jürgen Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* ([1962] 1989), ch 1 §1, 3; ch 2 §4-5; §7¶1-4.

Thursday Mar. 12: “Deliberative democracy”

Reading:

* Jürgen Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* ([1962] 1989), §8 ¶10 sent 5 (“The minority”), ¶13 (“In 1792”); §9, §11, §12 ¶7 (“In English”)-9, 14 (“The physiocrats”)-16; §13 ¶8 (“The public of `human beings”)-9; §14 ¶8 (“Marx denounced”); §15 ¶1-8; §19; §20 ¶22 (“The resulting consensus”); §21 ¶3 (“What made it”)-5, 13 (“The parliament itself”); §22 ¶14 (“Thus, on the one hand”); §23 last 3 paras; ch 7 §24 last 2 paras.

Tuesday Mar. 17: “Elitist,” “pluralist,” and “participatory” democracy

Reading:

- i. Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* ([1942] 1962), pp. 250-252 (through “dust”; 254 (“I will therefore”) – 259 (through “action”); 260-263 (through “political process”); 269 (paragraph 2); 282 (“Voters”) - 283.

- ii. *Port Huron Statement* (1962), ¶1 through last ¶ in “values”; last sentence. (http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/SDS_Port_Huron.html)*
- iii. Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (1970), pp.1-35 [In course pack].

Thursday Mar. 19: The case for workplace democracy

Reading:

*Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory*, pp.49-50, 67-71 (through “both”), 98-100 (through “lower levels.”).

SATURDAY MARCH 21—SUNDAY MARCH 29: SPRING BREAK – NO CLASS

Tuesday March 31: A hypothetical contract

Reading:

- i. *John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* ([1971] revised ed. 1999), pp 3-15, and marked passages on pp. 37-8, 52-5, 57, 62-5, 67-8, 104, 109-10, 118-9, 123-4, 130-5, 155-6, 176-83, 214-5, 266-7. [In course pack]
- ii. Jane Mansbridge, “Notes on Rawls,” on course webpage.

Thursday Apr. 2: “Capillary power”

Reading:

*Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, pp. 78-108 (1976); 141-142 (1977) [In course pack.]

Tuesday Apr. 7: (By now total of seven reading responses due) Democracy in the context of Shariah law

Reading:

*Muhammad Asad, *The Principles of State and Government in Islam* (1961). [c. 100 pages].

Thursday Apr. 9:

No reading:

Concluding lecture.

Tuesday Apr. 14: (Exam #3)

Discussion: What is “democracy”?

Reading:

- i. Freedom House criteria

- ii. IDEA criteria
- iv. **Reprise** of reading from the course.

Thursday Apr. 16: Equal power as the basis for democracy. (Hand in paper topic proposal) Discussion: How important is it for democracy to make the power of each citizen equal? Apply to quotas for women in government assemblies.

Reading:

- i. One page from Mansbridge, *Beyond Adversary Democracy* (1980)
- ii. **Reprise** of Pateman and Foucault; also Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Mill, Habermas, Rawls. Reprise re meaning of “power.”

Tuesday Apr. 21: A free press as the basis of democracy

Reading:

- i. Singapore, “Freedom of Speech” (2005) and “Shared Values” (1991) [3 pages]
- ii. Harvard University Free Speech Policy, excerpt [1 page]
- iii. *Shenck v. US Holmes* dissent, excerpt [1 page]
- iv. J.S. Mill, *On Liberty* excerpt, [1 page]
- v. **Reprise** of medieval and modern social contract and rights readings, Hobbes, Locke, Marx and Engels, Habermas, Pateman, Rawls, Foucault.

Thursday Apr. 23: Rights as a basis of democracy

Discussion: 1) Do rights fall on a spectrum of importance, some being derogable and others non-derogable, or are rights indivisible? 2) Are rights “western”?

Reading:

- i. U.N. Declaration of Human Rights (1948) [on webpage OR <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html> -- 5 pages]
- ii. South African Constitution Bill of Rights (1996) [on webpage OR <http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/constitution/saconst02.html?rebookmark=1#7> -- 13 pages].
- iii. **Reprise** of rights reading: Magna Carta through Seneca Falls.

Tuesday Apr. 28: Is secularism essential to liberal democracy?

Reading:

- i. J.M., Note on the European wars of religion
- ii. Locke, *Letter on Toleration*, selection
- iii. J.M., Note on the 1st Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, establishment and free exercise clauses
- iv. **Reprise** of Asad.

Thursday Apr. 30 (last class): The constitution of Iraq

Discussion: What strengths and weaknesses do you see in the constitution of Iraq?

Reading:

- i. The constitution of Iraq: Preamble, Fundamental Principles, Rights and Liberties; plus articles 47, 58, 61, 64-67, 73, 89-90, 99-104, 106-111, 122. [23 pages]
- ii. **Reprise of Asad.**

Monday May 18: Papers due in office of Andra Hibbert, Taubman 485 by 5 PM sharp (with accompanying email attachment to me).