

Democratic Theory

Kennedy School of Government, **DPI 216**

Faculty: Jane Mansbridge, Adams Professor
Semester: Spring 2010
Days: Tuesdays and Tuesdays, 1:10 – 2:30 p.m.
Room: L332
Office hours: Taubman 468, Mondays 2:15 - 3:45 or by appointment (for either, it is best to phone – do not email – Matt Salesses)
Assistant: Matt Salesses, Taubman 402A (617-495-0868)

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.

ENROLLMENT, WRITTEN WORK, AND REQUIREMENTS: There are no formal prerequisites to this course. There are four requirements:

1. **Seven email responses, two in each third** of the course (by the exam time) on the longer starred readings and, in addition, one sometime before the third exam on one of the shorter readings. Please see “Guidelines for reading responses” on the class website. These responses should be no more than 500 words, and are due by 8 AM on the day of the class in which that reading will be discussed. They will be graded “check minus” (unsatisfactory), “check,” or “check plus.” Grading: 7 mail responses @ 2 points each = 14% of final grade. .
2. **Three written exams** throughout the semester. The exams will take 15 minutes and will ask you to summarize a point in and discuss the relevance to today of two of the authors read. These exams will be given in class on *Tuesday Feb. 16, Thursday March 4, and Tuesday April 6*. Please see “Guidelines for studying for exams” on the class website. The three exams will count for 36% of the final grade.
3. **A final paper**, 10 pages, submitted both as an attachment in an email to me and in hard copy format to Matt Salesses in Taubman 402A before 5:00 PM on Monday, **May 3**. Papers submitted after 5:00 (exactly) on the date due will have one grade point subtracted (e.g. A → A-, A- → B+, etc.) per day late. Extensions will be granted only if requested, with good reason, by April 30, or in a medical emergency. **Paper topics are due on April 12** (via email attachment by noon that day, with a copy to Matt Salesses), but it is important to have discussed topics with me and settled on one long before this date. Please make an appointment (by phoning Matt Salesses) to see me *before* deciding on a paper topic; I would also like to meet with you *after* you have chosen your topic and are working on the paper. My office hours are Monday 2:15 - 3:45, but I can also meet with you at other times. The papers should analyze one of the readings in the course (more with permission) in conjunction with a problem or issue in democracy or governance today, preferably regarding something you know well or

want to know well. Grades will depend on analytic rigor, subtlety, and care in the treatment of both the author(s) and the problem. Please see Guidelines for Paper topics, Papers, and Style on website. Paper = 40% of grade.

4. **Class participation**, in all the classes but particularly in the last three discussion-oriented weeks of the class. In those three weeks, each student will be part of a group leading the class in discussion on one of the topics (please see “Guidelines for presentations” on class website). Anyone who does not enjoy class participation is invited to submit, in lieu of participation, four more email responses to the reading throughout the course of the semester. (Please tell me of this choice by email early in the semester.) Class participation will be credited according to: a) contribution to other students’ learning, and b) the clarity and **concision** (particularly important), originality, rigorous analysis, and candor evident in the contribution. Grading: 10% of grade.

There will be a discussion and review section on Fridays, to go more deeply into the readings, clarify possible misunderstandings, and explore the ideas. These sections are recommended but not obligatory. Participation in them will not be counted toward the grade.

COURSE MATERIALS: With the six exceptions noted below, readings in the course are drawn from either from books that the student will be expected to buy or from sources on the web. Please buy the Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Mill, Habermas, and Asad. Many are available used. The books have been ordered both new and used in the textbooks section of the Harvard Coop. They are also available on Reserve at the Kennedy School library. I cannot mandate but would very much prefer that you buy a copy of assigned books (used is fine) rather than downloading them from the web. I am assigning only parts of each book but would like you to have an emotional and cognitive feel for the way the parts fit into the whole. I hope that many of you will want to keep some of these books (such as Aristotle’s *Politics* and Rousseau’s *Social Contract*) forever. If English is not your primary language and it helps to download translations in your primary language, that’s fine. But you should also have an English version. The six readings in the course packet, available in photocopy from the Course Materials Distribution Office (Kennedy School, Belfer Building Ground Floor), consist of selections from Manegold, Aquinas, Schumpeter, Pateman, Rawls, and Foucault. The books from which these readings are taken are available on Reserve in the Kennedy School library. George H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory* (on Reserve and available through Questia) provides more background if you want to go further.

Important: The reading load in this course will **not be spread evenly** throughout the course. Rather, the reading on some days (noted in **boldface**) will be **heavy** and that on other days will be relatively light or even non-existent. Although there will be less than 50 pages of required reading on average per class, at some points 100 or more pages will be required and some of it will be quite dense. Please go through the syllabus at the beginning of the semester, note the amount of reading indicated, and plan your time accordingly.

AUDITORS AND CROSS-REGISTERED STUDENTS: To get access to course website, please phone Matt Salesses at 617-495-0868

CLASS SCHEDULE:

Tuesday Jan. 26: Introduction to theories of democracy. This class will include a class exercise and no reading. It will thus not be typical of future classes.
No reading.

Thursday Jan 28: 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.]

Tuesday Feb. 2: The social contract and theories of tyranny

Reading:

- 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.

Thursday Feb. 4: Theories of virtue and corruption, resistance and legitimacy

Reading:

- i. Niccoli Machiavelli, *Discourses* (1513-17), selections on course webpage [boldface by JM].
- ii. “Junius Brutus,” *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* (1579) [<http://www.constitution.org/vct/vindiciae.htm>]: webpage **vidiciae1 ¶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** (“We have shown”), 5 (“But this was not enough”), 6 plus last 2 sentences of section; **3b ¶1** (“Now since”) only last 2 sentences, ¶2 (“In a commonwealth”); **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.

Tuesday Feb. 9: Acceptance of conflict in mid-seventeenth century England

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”).

Thursday Feb. 11: 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.

Tuesday Feb. 16: 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.

Thursday Feb. 18: 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. [Recommended: 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. [Recommended: Constitution of Pennsylvania (September 1776), Bill of Rights: [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/pa08.htm#1>]]
- vi. [Recommended: Constitution of Maryland (November 1776), Bill of Rights and article 25 [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/ma02.htm>]]
- 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>].

Tuesday Feb 23: The politics of virtue and interest

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>].

Thursday Feb 25: Expanding the vote

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.

Tuesday Mar. 2: Politics as possibly violent struggle or administration (plus democracy)

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>]

Thursday Mar. 4: 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.

Tuesday Mar. 9: 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.

Thursday Mar. 11: “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)*

SATURDAY MARCH 14—SUNDAY MARCH 21: SPRING BREAK – NO CLASS

Tuesday Mar. 23: The case for workplace democracy

Reading:

Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (1970), pp.49-50, 67-71 (through “both”), 98-100 (through “lower levels.”). [in course pack]

Thursday March 25: 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.

Tuesday March 30: “Capillary power”

Reading:

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

Thursday Apr. 1: Democracy in the context of Shariah law; **total of all seven reading responses due by today.**

Reading:

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

Tuesday Apr. 6:

Exam #3.

No reading:

Concluding lecture.

Thursday Apr. 8: NO CLASS

Tuesday Apr. 13: Discussion: What is “democracy”?

Reading:

- i. Freedom House Checklist and Country Ratings [c. 6 pages]
- ii. IDEA Democracy Assessment [c. 13 pages]
- iv. **Reprise** of reading from the course.

Thursday Apr. 15: Discussion: A free press as the basis of democracy

Reading:

- i. Singapore, “Freedom of Speech” (2006) and “Shared Values” (1991) [3 pages]
- ii. Harvard University Free Speech Guidelines, excerpt [1 page]
- iii. *Shenck v. U.S.*, 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.

Tuesday Apr. 20: Discussion: Rights as a basis of democracy

- 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.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96cons2.htm>] Note: This may take longer than you think. It’s 15 pages].
- iii. **Reprise** of rights reading: Magna Carta through Seneca Falls.

Thursday Apr. 22: Discussion: 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.

Tuesday Apr. 27 (last class): Discussion: The constitution of Iraq

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] http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/files/20704/11332732681iraqi_constitution_en.pdf/iraqi_constitution_en.pdf
- ii. **Reprise** of Asad.

Monday May 3: Papers due in office of Matt Salessas, Taubman 402A by **5 PM sharp** (with accompanying email attachment to me).