SPS Seminar Second Term 2012-2013

Introduction to Republican Political Theory

Organised by Matthew Hoye, Max Weber Fellow

Monday 11:00 – 13:00

Seminar Room 2, Badia Fiesolana

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This course is an introduction to republican political theory. Broadly, it is set up in three sections. The first section (weeks 1-4) will address the foundational texts in the republican tradition (Greek and Roman, Italian and Atlantic, respectively). The purpose here is to establish a solid philosophical and theoretical foundation atop of which we can approach the modern variants of this topic. The second section (weeks 5-7) will introduce the neo-republican debate and its various critiques. Quentin Skinner and Philip Pettit dominate the neo-republican debate and in week 5 we will focus exclusively on their work and the works which contextualize their critique. In weeks 6 & 7 we will situate the neo-republican project within the current debates on democracy (week 6) and in regards to more recent debates on representation (week 7). The concluding section (weeks 8-10) will take a critical and institutional perspective on the topic focusing on the modern state (week 8), cosmopolitanism (week 9), and the city (week 10).

In regards to how we will be approaching the texts three themes will be recurrent, the first and foremost of which is the concept of freedom. The concept of freedom attendant to republican thought is the essential animating principle to the whole project. For this reason it will be subject to the most scrutiny. Second, we will look at the institutional forms (mixed regimes, critiques of the monarchy, constitutions, cities, states, cosmopolis, law) which have been used and proposed to realize the republican ideal of freedom. Finally, we will consider morals, ethics, virtues, i.e. those civic traits which republicans routinely assert must be practiced in order to animate republican institutions.

Requirements: Researchers should attend every class and do all the reading. Each researcher will do one significant report on one or two of the assigned texts. The report will characterize the author, situate the author in relation to the republican debate as it unfolds, summarize the text, explicate the major argument relevant to the class topic, and raise criticisms to that text. The researcher should be prepared to lead a class discussion should the class discussion stall. It is strongly recommended that researchers ask one of their peers to copy-edit their work. At the end of the semester these notes will be compiled, reformatted

and redistributed to the class. The goal of this course—and the measure of whether we have succeeded or not—will be that the researcher is prepared to teach an introduction to republican political theory to undergraduate students in the prospective academic careers. The compiled reports should provide a good basis from which to do so.

Researchers who choose to write a term paper are urged to approach me early with a plan and are urged as well to focus on one of the immediate seminar topics (although other topics can be discussed with me). Researchers who write a term paper will be given the opportunity to present a first draft of their paper to the class and circulate it as part of that week's readings should they choose to and should their paper work well with that class's topic (not a requirement, but encouraged). If researchers do choose to write a term paper a final draft **must be submitted on the last day of classes**. I will provide comments on it and return it to you as soon as possible, after which the final copy will be due **by May 31st 2013**.

Everyone needs to have the texts ready for discussion in class (get the books, print texts out, or have them downloaded on your computer). Though people's opinions are surely welcome, our focus will be primarily on the opinions of Cicero, Machiavelli, Kant and Weber (etc.) for which we will need the texts in front of us.

Two final notes. Although the syllabus is generally fixed, I welcome recommendations. Perhaps if there is a critical mass of researchers interested in another suitable concern, we could switch out one of the later classes. If so we need to decide on this very early in the semester, otherwise things will remain as is. Second, there is a problem with the syllabus that I have not been able to figure out and which we could spend a moment discussing. Namely, that of the 40+ people who we will be reading only 4 are women. If people have any recommendations, please let me know. As we will see throughout this semester, one of the major faults with republican political theory is its peculiar acuteness (in both senses of the term) at proclaiming certain values while ignoring the deeply exclusionary elements (slavery, for example) or celebrating them (Machiavelli's characterization of virtù, for example). There is no good reason to replicate such practices in our own class.

Schedule:

Week One: Greece and Rome: The Classical Foundations **4**

Week Two and Three: The Northern Italian City-State Republicans: Restarting the Tradition **5**

Week Four: England and the United States: The Practical Problem of New Beginnings **6**

Week Five: The Neo-Republican Debate –Hobbes, Berlin, Skinner and Pettit **7**

Week Six: The Critique of the Neo-Republican –Republicanism with and against Democracy **8**

Week Seven: Republicanism and Representation –Hobbes, Pitkin, Pettit, and Plotke: Framing the Normative/Institutional Problem **9**

Week Eight: The State against Republicanism –Weber, Foucault, Agamben and Abizadeh **10**

Week Nine: Republicanism and Cosmopolitanism **11**

Week Ten: Republicanism, the City, and the Federation **12**

Week One: Greece and Rome: The Classical Foundations

Required Readings

Aristotle. *Politics*. (selections)

Polybius. *Histories*: volume 3, Book 6,

Thucydides. *Pericles' Funeral Oration*.

Cicero. *On the Commonwealth* & *On the Laws*

Secondary Reading

Plato. *Republic*.

Hansen, Mogens Herman. *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*.

Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*.

Discussion Topics

Freedom (as security and non-domination); authority; civic virtue; mixed constitution; *vita activa* v. *vita contemplativa*; regimes and mixed regimes; the status of laws *qua* domination; competing claims; fortune - virtue; Scipio as exemplary figure; exemplary figures more generally; Cicero on slavery; Cicero on empire; regime cyclicality

Week Two and Three: The Northern Italian City-State Republicans: Restarting the Tradition

Even more humiliatingly, Machiavelli discovered that his native city's sense of its own importance seemed to the French to be ludicrously out of line with the realities of its military position and its wealth. The French, he had to tell the *signoria*, 'only value those who are well-armed or willing to pay' and had come to believe that 'both these qualities are lacking in our case'. Although he tried making a speech 'about the security your greatness could bring to the possessions held by his majesty in Italy', he found that 'the whole thing was superfluous', for the French merely laughed at him. (Skinner 2001)

Required Readings

Contareno, Gasper 1599. *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice.* (Selections)

Lorenzetti, Ambrogio. Take a look at the Allegories of Governments paintings online: http://www.casasantapia.com/art/ambrogiolorenzetti/goodandbadovernment.htm

Bruni, Leonardo (1403-3). *Laudatio Florentinae Urbis* or *Panegyric to the City of Florence.* (Selections)

Guicciardini, Francesco. *On Bringing Order to Popular Government.* (Selections)

Machiavelli, Niccolò. *Discourses on Livy* (Book I: 1-12, 17-21 55, 58; Book II: 12-13, 29-30, Book III: 9, 49)

Skinner, Quentin. Machiavelli (Philosophy of Liberty?)

Secondary Readings

Pocock, John Greville Agard. *The Machiavellian Moment*

Stacey, Peter. *Roman Monarchy and the Renaissance Prince*

Skinner, Quentin. *Machiavelli; Foundations of Modern Political Thought*

Arendt, Hannah. *On Authority*

Discussion Topics

What is the role of virtue and *fortuna* in the establishment in Contareno? What does Lorenzetti tell us about early modern civic humanism? Why are questions of temporality so important (Pocock)? What is the civic humanist critique of the church?

Week Four: England and the United States: The Practical Problem of New Beginnings

Required Readings

Machiavelli, Niccolò. *The Prince*: 6,7,9.

Harrington, James. *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (selections)

Paine, Tom. *The Rights of Man Part I and Part II* (Selections)

Publius. *The Federalist Papers* (Selections)

Jefferson, Thomas. *Letter to James Madison*, 09/06/1789; *Letter to John Wayles Eppes*, 06/24/1813; *Letter to Major John Cartwright*, 06/05/1824

Arendt, Hannah. *On Revolutions* (Selections)

Secondary Readings

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *On the Social Contract* and the *Manuscript of Geneva*; *The Government of Poland*.

Montesquieu, *Considerations on the Causes of The Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline*; The *Spirit of the Laws*. (Selections)

Nedham, Marchemont. *The Excellencies of a Free State (1656): An Introduction to the Following Discourse & The Right Constitution of a Commonwealth*.

Discussion Topics

Republican thought at the start of the Westphalian age; Republicanism and the problem of new-beginnings (Arendt); Publius against democracy? Was Paine a republican or a democrat? Commercial republicanism and the mutation of virtue? Compare and contrast Cicero with Madison; To what extent has Hobbes subverted the republican project? American republicanism and the problem of slavery? Constitutionalism and authority? What is the problem of absolutes for Arendt? What does Arendt tell us about the question of temporality?

Week Five: The Neo-Republican Debate –Hobbes, Berlin, Skinner and Pettit

Required Readings

Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*, 1651 (selections)

Montesquieu, Charles. *Spirit of the Laws* Part 2. Book 11. Ch. 3-6

Berlin, Isaiah. *Two Concepts of Liberty*, 1958

Skinner, Quentin. *A Third Concept of Liberty*, 2002:

http://www.law.uvic.ca/demcon/victoria_colloquium/documents/SkinnerAThirdConceptofLiberty.pdf

Pettit, Philip. *Republicanism* (1996) (Introduction)

Wood, Ellen Meiksins. *Why It Matters*. London Review of Books.

Secondary Readings

Skinner, Quentin. *Liberty Before Liberalism,* 1998

Pettit, Philip. *Neo-Republicanism as a Research Project*.

Discussion Topics

What is Hobbes's contribution to the theory of freedom? What is the relationship between Hobbes's theory of freedom and Hobbes's theory of the state? Of sovereignty? Where does Montesquieu stand in this tradition? How does Pettit deviate from the republican tradition? Which aspects of the tradition does Pettit pick up? And which does he forgo? How do Pettit and Skinner depart from each other? What are the methodological underpinnings of their respective arguments? Can the neo-republican project be successful if it remains on the level of concepts?

Week Six: The Critique of the Neo-Republican –Republicanism with and against Democracy

Required Readings:

McCormick, John. *Machiavellian Democracy*. Chapters 1-3, 6

Urbinati, Nadia. *Republicanism: Democratic of Popular*.

Secondary Reading

Kalyvas, Andreas and Katznelson. *Liberal Beginnings*.

Discussion Topics

What is McCormick's critique of Pettit? Does it stand up to scrutiny? What is McCormick's Critique of Pocock? How do institutions promote specific practices? What is McCormick's argument regarding class interests and Machiavelli? What is appealing about McCormick's argument? Is his plan a tenable one? Why, why not? What is McCormick's definition of democracy? Does McCormick adequately parry Hobbes's challenge? Is his a fair reading of Cicero?

Week Seven: Republicanism and Representation –Hobbes, Pitkin, Pettit, and Plotke: Framing the Normative/Institutional Problem

Required Reading

Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan* (Chapter 16)

Pitkin, Hanna. *Representation* (Introduction and Chapter 1)

Pettit, Philip. *Representation, Responsive and Indicative*, Constellations, Vol. 17, No. 3, 2010

Plotke, David. *Democracy is Representation*. Constellations, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1997

Secondary Readings:

Urbinati and Warren. *The Concept of Representation in Contemporary Democratic Theory*. Annual Review of Political Science. 2008. 11: 387-412

Runciman, David. *The Paradox of Political Representation*. The Journal of Political Philosophy: Vol. 15, Num. 1, 2007, pp. 93-114

Vieira, Monica Brito. *The Elements of Representation in Hobbes: Aesthetics, Theatre, Law, and Theology in the Construction of Hobbes's Theory of the State*

Skinner, Quentin. *Hobbes on Representation*. European Journal of Philosophy 2005.

Discussion Topics

What does Pitkin tell us about the hegemony of Liberalism against Republicanism? Why does Pettit's theory of representation appear so jarring? What are the critiques of Pettit's program? What is the potential of Pettit's program? What is the "Radical Democratic" critique of Pettit? Where would Plotke stand on the question of republicanism? More generally, what does the question of republican representation tell us about the potentials and limits of the republican project as it is framed by Skinner and Pettit?

Week Eight: The State against Republicanism –Weber, Foucault, Agamben and Abizadeh

We have seen how the development of the modern liberal state has shaped the republican project, and we have discussed two broad ideological points of conflict,

Required Readings

Machiavelli, Niccolò. *The Prince* (Concluding two chapters).

Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*, Chapter 17

Foucault, Michel. *Society Must Be Defended*: September 17th 1976 Lecture.

Agamben, Giorgio. *State of Exception* (selections).

Weber, Max. *Politics as a Vocation.*

Abizadeh, Arash. *Democratic Theory and Border Coercion: No Right to Unilaterally Control Your Own Borders*. Political Theory, 2008.

Discussion Topics

How does the state recast the republican project? What of virtue theory? Of mixed constitutions? Of non-domination? Is the legalistic understanding of domination sufficient for addressing modern forms of domination? How would Pettit address Foucault? How would Agamben address Pettit? How does the transformation of sovereignty from the Hobbesian model to the model of "making live and letting die" disrupt the traditional republican understanding of the threat of centralized state power? Contrastingly, how does the Weberian definition of state power problematize the republican project? Can the Machiavellian and American-revolutionary concept of arming the citizenship against the state be reconciled with the modern state apparatus?

Week Nine: Republicanism and Cosmopolitanism

Required Readings

Kant, Immanuel. *Political Writings* (Cambridge Blue Book): Idea For a Universal History With a Cosmopolitan Purpose; On the Relationship of Theory to Practice in Political Right; On the Relationship of Theory to Practice in International Right; Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch –Appendix: On the Disagreement between Morals and Politics in Relation to Perpetual Peace; On the Agreement between Politics and Morality according to the Transcendental Concept of Public Right.

Laborde, Cécile. *Republicanism and Global Justice A Sketch*

Bohman, James. *Nondomination and Transnational Democracy*. In 'Republicanism and Political Theory'.

Jürgen Habermas. "Kant's Idea of Perpetual Peace, with the Benefit of Two Hundred Years" Hindsight," Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal.

Secondary Readings

Nussbaum, Marth., "Kant and Cosmopolitanism," Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal, James Bohman and Matthias Lutz-Bachmann (eds.), The MIT Press, 1997, 25-57.

James Tully. "The Kantian idea of Europe: Critical and Cosmopolitan Perspectives," Public Philosophy in a New Key. Vol. 2: Imperialism and Civic Freedom, Cambridge University Press, 2009, 15-42.

Pauline Kleingeld. "Approaching Perpetual Peace: Kant's Defense of a League of States and his Ideal of a World Federation," European Journal of Philosophy 12 (2004), 304 – 325.

Discussion Topics

Kant's critiques perpetually accuse Kant of taking a deeply ideal stance regarding the question of cosmopolitanism, can this critique be substantiated? What is the relationship between the republic and the cosmopolis? What is Kant's understanding of the state? Consider Kant's conception of the state in relation to our previous discussion on the city and on the state? What is the relationship between rationality and republicanism for Kant?

Week Ten: Republicanism, the City, and the Federation

Required Readings

Hobbes, Thomas. *Elements* and *Leviathan* (Presentation, Hoye)

Constant, Benjamin , "The Liberty of the Ancients compared with that of the Moderns" in *Political Writings*.

Madison, James. *Virginia resolution 1798*

Skinner, Quentin. *Visions of Politics II: Renaissance Virtues*. Chapters 2-4

Bellamy, Richard. *Republicanism, Democracy, and Constitutionalism*. In 'Republicanism and Political Theory'

Bauböck, Rainer. (Guest Lecture). *Reinventing Urban Citizenship*. Citizenship Studies, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2003

Secondary Reading

Held, David. *Democracy: from city-states to a cosmopolitan order*?

Herreros, Francisco. *Size and Virtue*. European Journal of Political Theory, 6, 2007.

Ferejohn, John. *Two Views of the City: Republicanism and Law* (unpublished) 2009.

Discussion Topics

What was the relationship between republicanism and the city? What could it be? Is the modern European federation a republican federation? The Herreros piece reintroduces the question of virtue, is this an antiquated topic? Or are republican virtues integral to the neo-republican project?