***Late Modern Political Theory: On Power and Freedom***

UCLA

Department of Political Science: 111C

2019 Fall

Instructor: Dr. Kye Barker kyebarker@ucla.edu

Classroom: Haines 220 Office: Bunche 4258

Class time: MW 5pm-6:15pm Office Hours: W 2pm-4pm

**Course Description**

Late modern political theory is concerned with how the forms of political power which emerged from the revolutions of the eighteenth century both made possible the realization of freedom as well as allowed, and in some cases even encouraged, the persistence of unfreedom. In this course, we will analyze this tension through reading a selection of major texts of political theory from the end of the eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. The problems produced by this tension which we will consider include the unfreedoms embedded in the new economic order, the entanglement of Enlightenment and domination, the persistence of sexual oppression after political liberation, and the use of morality as an expression of power. Other recurring themes will include the possibility of education to lead to freedom, the socially determined development of consciousness, the psychological constraints of civilization, and, more generally, the role of political theory in late modern politics. In sum, all these tensions come back to the question of power: How is one to organize political life in accordance with freedom when the task of organization is only accomplished through the instruments of power? Although this course does not promise to solve this dilemma, we hope to make more apparent the dialectical relationship between freedom and power in late modern political life.

**Required Texts**

*The following texts are required for this course and are available at the UCLA bookstore. While you are free to seek out cheaper options for purchase, make sure that they are the exact same editions as those assigned below. If in doubt, use the ISBN. The readings for the first two weeks are posted on CCLE as PDFs.*

* Hannah Arendt, *The Promise of Politics*, New York: Schocken, 2005. ISBN: 9780805212136
* Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. Borde and Malovany-Chevallier, New York: Vintage, 2011. ISBN: 9780307277787.
* W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk,* Critical Edition,New York: Norton, 1999. ISBN: 9780393973938.
* Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, New York: Norton, 2010. ISBN: 9780393304510.
* Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, ed. Noerr, Stanford: Stanford, 2002. ISBN: 9780804736336.
* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd edition, ed. Tucker, New York: Norton, 1978. ISBN: 9780393090406
* Friedrich Nietzsche, *On The Genealogy of Morals & Ecce Homo*, ed. Kaufmann, New York: Vintage, 1989. ISBN: 9780679724629.
* Max Weber, *The Vocation Lectures*, eds. Owen and Strong, Indianapolis: Hackett, 2004. ISBN: 9780872206656.

**Course Overview and Reading Assignments**

***Introduction***

**Week 1. Kant: Enlightenment and Freedom**

* Immanuel Kant, “Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Intent” in *Kant’s Political Writings* (CCLE)
* Immanuel Kant, “What is Enlightenment?” in *Kant’s Political Writings* (CCLE)
* Immanuel Kant, selection from *The Contest of the Faculties* in *Kant’s Political Writings* (CCLE)
* Immanuel Kant, “Theory and Practice” in *Kant’s Political Writings* (CCLE)

***Part I. The Institutions of Power***

**Week 2. Hegel: Freedom Made Real**

* G.W.F. Hegel, selections from *Phenomenology of Spirit* (CCLE)
* G.W.F. Hegel, selections from *Philosophy of Right* (CCLE)
  + *Note on* Philosophy of Right *selection– You are not required to read the indented sections of the text, although they are recommended. Hegel added them to the text as explanatory remarks.*

**Week 3. Marx: Social Unfreedom and Revolution**

* Karl Marx, “Theses on Feuerbach” and “German Ideology: Part 1” selections in *The Marx-Engels Reader*
* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, “Manifesto of the Communist Party” in *The Marx-Engels Reader*

**Week 4. Nietzsche: The Descents of Power**

* Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals* (Kaufmann ed.)*,* all

*\*\*\*First papers due on Turnitin Friday at 5pm and the following Monday in hard copy\*\*\**

***Part II. Social Formation of Consciousness and Freedom***

**Week 5. Du Bois: Power, Freedom, and Race**

* W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk,* all

**Week 6. Freud: The Internal Constraints of Civilization**

* Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, all

**Week 7. De Beauvoir: Sex and Liberation**

* Simone De Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, pgs. 3-17, 126-156, 266-279, 638-664, 721-766

*\*\*\*No class on Monday for Veteran’s Day\*\*\**

*\*\*\*Second paper due on Turnitin on Friday at 5pm and the following Monday in hard copy\*\*\**

***Part III. Power and Freedom***

**Week 8. Weber: Power without Enchantment**

* Max Weber, “Science as a Vocation” and “Politics as a Vocation” in *The Vocation Lectures*

**Week 9. The Frankfurt School: Enlightenment and Domination**

* Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*, xi-34, 63-136

**Week 10. Arendt: Power as Freedom**

* Hannah Arendt, “Introduction into Politics” and “Epilogue” in *The Promise of Politics*

*\*\*\*Third papers due on Turnitin on Thursday, December 12th at 6pm\*\*\**

**Course Expectation and Goals**

Simply put, the primary goal of this course will be to attempt to understand the assigned readings, which is no simple goal. Reading these books will be difficult, but immensely rewarding. *It will be absolutely essential that you complete all the week’s readings before the Monday meeting of class.* You should then bring the assigned readings and your notes to every class.Although the classes will primarily be organized around lectures, it is important that you still actively participate in class through taking notes, responding to the questions that I pose, and asking questions yourself. This means that you should come to class prepared with a few written questions. Additionally, and this is crucial, it will be paramount that you treat other participants in discussions with respect. We are dealing with controversial themes and texts, the meanings of which are essentially contestable. You will be encouraged to take a reasoned position on these texts beyond merely having an opinion.

**Assignments and Evaluation**

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| --- | --- |
| A+ | 97-100 |
| A | 93-96.99 |
| A- | 90-92.99 |
| B+ | 87-89.99 |
| B | 83-86.99 |
| B- | 80-82.99 |
| C+ | 77-79.99 |
| C | 73-76.99 |
| C- | 70-72.99 |
| D+ | 67-69.99 |
| D | 63-66.99 |
| D- | 60-62.99 |

Evaluation for the course will be based on quizzes and essays. I use the standard UCLA grading scale for all assignments and for the course as a whole (see right).

*Quizzes – 25% of Final Grade*

There will be six randomly assigned in-class quizzes throughout the quarter. Your lowest grade will be dropped, meaning that each quiz will be worth 5% of your final grade. These quizzes are meant to check that you are keeping up with the reading and attending class. The material covered in the quizzes will primarily include the reading assignment for the week in which they occur. You may use your own hand-written notes for these quizzes. Quizzes cannot be made up, except in the case of emergencies.

*Three Papers – 75% of Final Grade*

The main assessment for this course will be in the form of three short argumentative essays of 3-4 pages due at the ends of the fourth, seventh and exam weeks. Respectively, the papers will be worth 20%, 25%, and 30% of your final grade, so that improvement will be weighed in your favor. For each essay, you will be tested on your ability to demonstrate the knowledge you have acquired about the ideas and theories of the course in the shape of a reasoned argument that draws upon the evidence of the texts themselves. More information will be provided when the assignment prompts are distributed.

**Additional Information and Campus Resources**

**Availability:** The best way to contact me is by email. I will return your emails as soon as possible, but if I have not responded within 24 hours, please contact me again. I usually only respond to emails during normal work hours, so it will take longer for me to respond to you if you write me during the evening or weekend. If you have a question that you expect will take a few paragraphs or more to answer, the best time to ask it will be during my office hours. I am always available to talk during office hours on a first come, first served basis. Students may also make appointments to meet one-on-one via email, although I cannot guarantee that I will always be available. If you are struggling with the readings, assignments, or with lecture, please come talk to me.

**Electronic Devices:** Your cell phones must be turned off and out of sight during class. Only use laptops or other electronic devices for course related material. I strongly recommend that you bring hard copies of all the course reading to class and takes hand-written notes, not only because studies show that both re more effective for learning, but also because you will only be able to use handwritten notes on quizzes.

**Accommodations for Students:** If you wish to request an accommodation due to a disability, please contact the Center for Accessible Education (formerly called the Office for Students with Disabilities) as soon as possible at A255 Murphy Hall, (310) 825-1501 / TDD: (310) 206-6083. Website: <http://www.cae.ucla.edu/>

**Academic Integrity:** Academic integrity is taken seriously at UCLA and by me. The Dean of Students Office is charged with responding when students are accused of committing a violation of policy, which includes cheating, plagiarism, multiple submissions, and facilitating academic dishonesty. These violations can result in failing the assignment or even the course. If you are unsure if something goes against University policy, contact me.<http://www.deanofstudents.ucla.edu/Portals/16/Documents/Syllabus.pdf>

**The Undergraduate Writing Center** offers UCLA undergraduates one-on-one sessions on their writing. The Center is staffed by writing consultants who are trained to help at any stage in the writing process and with writing assignments from across the curriculum. PLFs tailor appointments to the concerns of each writer. To schedule an appointment, visit <http://www.wp.ucla.edu>. UCLA’s Student Writing Center is located in A61 Humanities. Telephone: 310-206-1320. Email: [wcenter@ucla.edu](mailto:wcenter@ucla.edu).