WAR, PEACE AND THE SOVEREIGN STATE : POLITICAL THOUGHT FROM MACHIAVELLI TO KANT

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SÉANCES ET PROGRAMME

Session 1 : Machiavelli’s strategies
- The ideological background: Aristotelianism and Stoicism
- The Florentine context: the Medici, Savonarola and the Republic
- Machiavelli the diplomat
- Vice and virtù: Machiavelli’s subversion of humanist morality
- Armies and mercenaries
- Political leadership
- Religion
- Italy

Reading: Machiavelli, The Prince; The Art of War; Skinner 1978 I, 1981; Black 2013

Session 2 : Machiavelli’s republicanism
- The genesis of the Discourses
- The use of Roman history
- The parallels with the Prince
- The aristocracy and the middle classes
- Corruption and liberty
- Machiavelli and modernity

Reading: Machiavelli, Discourses on Livy ; Black 2013

Session 3 : Bodin and Grotius: sovereignty, rights and law
- Bodin and legislative absolutism
- Sovereign and magistrate
- The impossibility of mixed government
- Democracy and representation
- Grotius: self-preservation and respect for others
- Property
• Religion
• War and peace


**Session 4 : Hobbes I: context and method**

- Hobbes’s intellectual formation: from humanism to science
- Selden and Gentili on law and war
- The crisis of the Stuart monarchy
- The “Democraticall” parliamentarians
- The Engagement controversy
- “Civil science”


**Session 5 : Hobbes II: philosophical anthropology**

- The human mechanism
- The causal laws of thought
- The redefinition of the virtues: prudence
- The redefinition of the virtues: justice
- The Right of Nature: human misery
- The Laws of Nature: human salvation
- Authority and authorisation
- Human freedom and social freedom: Hobbes and Harrington


**Session 6 : Hobbes III: the state and states**

- The establishment of the state
- The prerogatives of the state
- Is the state the sovereign?
- Religion and psychology
- Religion and truth
- Religion and violence
- And end to faction and conflict?
- Beyond the sovereign state

**Readings:** Hobbes, *Leviathan; De Cive; Behemoth*; Malcolm 2002, chapter 13; Armitage 2013, chapter 4; Prokhovnik and Slomp 2011; Lloyd 2014, part III
Session 7: Pufendorf and Locke on human nature and society
- Pufendorf on agency and duties
- Pufendorf on contract and political authority
- Pufendorf on war and peace
- Locke: Calvinism, scepticism, science
- Locke on toleration: from the *Essays on the Law of Nature* to the *Epistola de tolerantia*
- Filmer, Bossuet and primogeniture
- Property and the individual

**Reading:** Pufendorf, *On the Duty of Man and Citizen*; Filmer, *Patriarcha*; Locke, *Political Writings*; Two Treatises of Government; Letter on Toleration; Dunn 1969a; Sommerville 1991; Tully 1980

Session 8: Locke on law, legitimacy and consent
- Explicit and tacit consent
- The politics of trust
- The constitution of government
- The conditions of political authority
- The right to rebellion and the removal of government
- International law in Locke
- Hume’s criticisms of the contract theory

**Readings:** Locke, *Second Treatise*; Armitage 2013 chapters 5-7; Hume, *Of the Original Contract*; Dunn 1969

Session 9: Rousseau, *The Discourse on the Origins of Inequality*
- Liberty and innocence
- Property and inequality and corruption
- Desire, self-love and *amour propre*
- Civilization and Enlightenment
- Was Rousseau opposed to progress?

**Readings:** Rousseau, Discourse on the origin and foundations of inequality

Session 10: Rousseau, *The Social Contract*
- The problem of the contract
- Slavery
- The General Will
- The paradox of political liberty
- Sovereignty
- International relations in Rousseau

**Readings:** *The Social Contract*; Riley 2013; Shklar 1969
Session 11: Rousseau and Kant on ethics and politics

- Rousseau, virtue and authenticity: the genesis of Kant’s ethics
- Enlightenment and independence
- Man’s unsocial sociability
- The will
- Law
- Evil in human nature
- Freedom and rationality
- The Categorical Imperative

Readings: Kant, What is Enlightenment?; Idea for a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View (both in Reiss, Political Writings); Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals; Riley 2013; O’Neill 1989, chapters 1-4

Session 12: Kant on politics, states and interstate relations

- Law within and without states
- Public right
- Theory and practice
- Perpetual peace
- Is human nature improving?

Readings: Kant, Political Writings, ed. Reiss; The Metaphysics of Morals, ed. Gregor; Perreau-Saussine 2010; Riley 2013

Bibliography

Classical texts referred to in the lectures (in roughly chronological order)

- Selected Political Writings, ed. and trans. D. Wootton, Hackett, 1994
- BODIN, On Sovereignty, ed. Franklin, Cambridge, 1992
- Leviathan (numerous editions)
- LOCKE, Two Treatises of Government, ed. Laslett, Cambridge, 1960
- Political Writings, ed. Goldie, Cambridge, 1997
- HUME, Of the Original Contract (http://www.pages.drexel.edu/~pa34/HUME.pdf)
- ROUSSEAU, Social Contract and Discourses (numerous editions)
  *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals* (various editions: Paton, Gregor, Wood, etc.)

**Secondary literature**

- BOCK, Gisela, SKINNER, Quentin and VIROLI, Maurizio, eds., *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, Cambridge, 1990
- BULL, Hedley, “The importance of Grotius in the study of International Relations” in Bull et al. 1990
- BURKE, Peter, “Tacitism, scepticism and reason of state” in Burns and Goldie 1991
- BURNS, J.H. and GOLDIE, Mark, eds., *The Cambridge History of Modern Political Thought*
- The History of Political Theory and Other Essays, Cambridge, 1996
- FRANKLIN, Julian H., “Sovereignty and the mixed constitution: Bodin and his critics” in Burns and Goldie 1991
- GOLDIE, Mark, “Absolutism” in Klosko 2011
- GRAFTON, Anthony, “Humanism and political theory” in Burns and Goldie 1991
- KELLY, Duncan, ed., *Lineages of Empire. The Historical Roots of British Imperial Thought*, British Academy/Oxford, 2009
The Propriety of Liberty: Persons, Passions, and Judgement in Modern Political Thought, Princeton, 2011

- KINGSBURY, Benedict and STRAUMANN, Benjamin, “State of Nature versus Commercial Sociability as the Basis of International Law” in Besson and Tasioulas 2010
- MANSFIELD, Harvey C., Machiavelli’s Virtue, Chicago, 1988
- OAKESHOTT, Michael, Hobbes on Civil Association, Blackwell, 1975
- O’NEILL, Onora, Constructions of Reason. Explorations of Kant’s Practical Philosophy, Cambridge, 1989
- PARKER, Geoffrey, Europe in Crisis, 1598-1648, Blackwell, 2001
- PERREAU-SAUSSINE, Amanda, “Immanuel Kant on International Law” in Besson and Tasioulas 2010
- PHILLIPSON, Nicholas and SKINNER, Quentin, eds., Political discourse in early modern Britain, Cambridge, 1993