Spring 2-1-1999

PSC 534.01: Political Theory Seminar - Negative and Positive Freedom

Ramona Grey
University of Montana - Missoula, ramona.grey@umontana.edu

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"The world freedom is incompletely descriptive. To understand what freedom means, we must know what it is —freedom from or freedom for." Maurice Cranston.

Course Description:
Classical and contemporary political philosophers often speak of freedom, (some even make a distinction between liberty and freedom.) But what exactly does freedom mean? There is considerable debate among theorists, and especially among the writers we will examine this semester over whether freedom or "liberty" should be treated as an end (good for its own sake) or a means (to other human ends or values.) This seminar we will examine both forms of freedom, considering how the embrace of negative or positive freedom can influence a thinker's position on what properly belongs to the public verses the private sphere, the relationship between society's good and the individual's interests, as well as what he/she believes are the sources of oppression and its remedy.

Course Objectives: after successfully completing the course work, the student should be able to:

1. Distinguish between negative and positive freedom, and recognize how this analytical framework influences contemporary political discourse.

2. Develop concise, analytic essays on the assigned readings in contemporary theory. Specifically with regards to an analytic perspective, the student will consider their own position with respect to different approaches to studying political theory (i.e. what consequences follow when one emphasizes text over context when studying political theory.)

3. Evaluate a political theory in terms of its analytic, empirical, and normative strengths and/or weaknesses.

Course Grading:
PS 534 will be taught as a seminar. Short essays (6-7 per student) will be assigned and critiqued in class (55% of course grade.) Class participation (20% of course grade) will evaluated according to each student's contribution to discussions on reading assignments. In addition, students will be expected to assess the merits and weaknesses of their colleague's essays. (To give us time to prepare questions, copies of your essay must be distributed the Friday before you are scheduled to orally present it.) Late essays will not be accepted. The final (25% of course grade) will be a take-home essay examination.
Required Tests:

Hayek, *Road to Serfdom*; selections from *The Constitution of Liberty* (on reserve)
T.H. Green, "Liberal Legislation & Freedom of Contract" (handout)
Lippmann, *The Public Philosophy*
Krutch, *The Modern Temper*
Leo Strauss, *Natural Right & History*
Erich Fromm, *Escape From Freedom*
Arendt, *The Human Condition*
Berlin, *Essays on Liberty*
Selected readings on Arendt, post-modern feminism (on reserve)

January 26th
Introduction to the Course: Negative v. Positive Freedom

February 2nd
*Liberalism & The Two Concepts of Liberty*

*Read:* Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*;

*Essays* (*due 2/1 by 5pm*): What form of liberty, positive or negative, does Hayek embrace and why? What are the problems, if any, do you find in Hayek's conception of liberty?

**Recommended Readings:**


Macfarlane, "On Two Concepts of Liberty, *Political Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1 Fall 1966

Cranston, M. *Freedom*


February 9th

*Theories of Liberty & Public Policy/Law*

*Read:* Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty* (on reserve)

*Colorado v. Connelly* (1986)

*Essays* (due 2/5 by 2pm): What role(s) for the state would Hayek's theory of freedom support? Why?

*Essays:* How do the opinions in *Colorado v. Connelly* (1986) illustrate the tensions between negative and positive freedom? How would you have ruled in the case, and why?
February 16th

**Positive Freedom**

**Read:** T.H. Green, "Liberal Legislation," (handout);

**Essays (due 2/12 by 2pm):** Is private property truly "private"?
If so, why? If not why not?

**Essays ("):** "What T.H. Green understood, Hayek did not;
namely, personal liberty is dependent upon legal rights
and social obligations." Discuss

**Recommended Readings:**
- Bevir, M. "Welfarism, Socialism, and Religion...," *The Review of Politics*, Fall 1993
- Etzioni, A. **Rights \& the Common Good**
- Simhony, A. "What T.H. Green a Utilitarian?" Utilitas, May 1995

February 23rd

**The Public Philosophy \& Liberty**

**Read:** Lippmann, *The Public Philosophy*

**Essays (due 2/19 by 2pm):** Clearly, for Lippmann the "public interest" and "the people's will" are not the same. Why not? What problems does this distinction pose for democratic theory?

**Essays ("):** To cure our ailing democracy, Lippmann recommends that we repair the rupture in "the continuity of the traditions of civility." What does he mean by "traditions of civility?" Would his political prescription take us forward, backward? Is this good or bad?

**Recommended Readings:**
- John Diggins, "From Pragmatism to Natural Law; Walter Lippmann's Quest for the Foundations of Legitimacy," *Political Theory*, vol. 19, Nov. 1991
- W. Lippmann, *A Preface to Politics* (1914)
  *Public Opinion* (1922); *A Preface to Morals* (1929)
March 2th

*Freedom, Individualism, & "the Modern Temper"

Read: Krutch *The Modern Temper*

Essays (due 2/26): What does Krutch's account of modern art, modern science and modern knowledge suggest about human dignity? Does it make sense to speak of individual "freedom" and "rights" in the *modern* world?

**Recommended Readings:**
- Cowley, *Exile's Return*, 1959
- Diggins, *Up From Communism: Conservative Odyssey In American Intellectual History*, 1975
- Frankel, *The Case for Modern Man*, 1955
- Perry, "The Modern Distemper," *Saturday Review of Literature*, June 1929
- Kateb, *Utopia & Its Enemies*, 1963

March 9th

*Negative Freedom v. Classical Political Philosophy*

Read: Strauss, *Natural Right & History*

Essays (due 3/5 by 2pm): There is always a villain in every political philosophy. Who (or what), for Strauss is the villain(s)?

Essays: Critically examine what Strauss means by "natural right." In what sense, can we say its a positive right?

**Recommended Readings:**
- John Gunnell, *Political Theory, Tradition & Interpretation*
- Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*
- J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*
- Herbert Storing (ed.) *Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics*
- A. MacIntyre, *After Virtue*
- Gadamer, *Truth and Method*

March 15-20 Spring Break
March 23rd

Strauss cont.

Essays (due 3/22 by 5pm): In defending his conservative political principles, Jeffery Hart lists one variety of conservative thought "Natural law conservatism," which deduces principles of behavior from the fact of 'human' nature as distinct from other kinds of nature, and on that account resists moral change based on fashion, historical accident, or false analogies between human nature and other kinds. Conservatism of this kind, he thinks, "is found in Aristotle, Aquinas, Burke, and today in Leo Strauss (italics added.) In light of your reading, discuss this statement.

Essays: How does Strauss extricate himself from the commonplace notion that we are all historical beings? Is the idea of the tradition of political thought based on history?

Recommended Readings:
Allen Bloom, The Closing of the American Mind
John Diggins, The Promise of Pragmatism, 1994
C.S. Lewis, The Screwtape Letter
Niebuhr, Children of Light/Children of Darkness
Oakeshott, Religion, Politics, and the Moral Life

March 30th

Freedom & Critical Theory

Read: Fromm, Escape From Freedom

Essays (due 3/29): "What is good or bad for man is not a metaphysical question, but an empirical one that can be answered on the basis of an analysis of man's nature and the effect which certain conditions have on him." (266 -Escape From Freedom) What difficulties are involved in making an "empirical" view of human nature the basis of a political theory?

Essays: Fromm, in common with other writers on the left, has a concept of alienation. What is it? Has the concept of alienation become outdated, too blunt for an analytical tool?
Recommended Readings:
Birnback, *Neo-Freudian Social Philosophy*, 1961
Fromm, *Man For Himself*
  *Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*
Tucker, *The Marxian Revolutionary Idea*
Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*
Schaar, *Escape From Authority: The Perspectives of Erich Fromm*, 1961
Wells, *The Failure of Psychoanalysis: From Freud to Fromm*, 1963

April 6th

*Fromm's Humanist Vision of Freedom*

Read: Fromm, *Escape From Freedom*

Essays (due 4/2 by 2pm): Does it make sense to you to distinguish between interests and real interests? Would you join with Fromm in establishing a rational political system? {Or is the separation of interests from real interests elitist, and therefore unacceptable? Explain.}

Essays: "Freud's relativist position...assumes that psychology can help us to understand (what's behind) value judgments but cannot help in establishing the validity of value judgments themselves." In observing as much, Fromm seems to have put his finger on our modern predicament. What problems does this "modern relativism" pose for the social critic (including Fromm) who wishes to defend positive freedom?

Recommended Reading:
Briggs, "From Slaves to Robots," *New Statesman and Nation*, 23 June 1956
Ellul, *The Political Illusion*
  *The Technological Society*
Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*
April 13th

*Freedom, The Public and The Private*

**Read:** Arendt, The Human Condition, pp. 1-175

**Essays (due 4/9 by 2pm):** Arendt is critical of Marxism, yet how does her indictment of modern society parallel Fromm's? Is her diagnosis of modern alienation prone to the same analytic &/or empirical weaknesses?

**Essays:** Arendt argues that in the beginning of the modern period, work had displaced both contemplation and action in the hierarchy of men's activities; but by the nineteenth century labour had replaced work as the supreme activity. How did this triumph of animal laborans come about according to Arendt?

**Recommended Reading:**
- Special Issue on Hannah Arendt, *Social Research*, 1977
- Kateb, *Hannah Arendt*
- Arendt, *On Revolution*  
  *Between Past and Future*  
  *The Life of the Mind*
- Wolin, *Politics and Vision*

April 20

**Arendt cont.**

**Read:** *The Human Condition*, pp. 175-325

**Essays (due 4/16):** How does Arendt's distinction between public and private relate to her distinction between work and labor... or does it?

**Essays:** How does Arendt's distinction between public and private related to her indictment of negative freedom... or does it?

**Recommended Readings:**
- Whitfield, *Into The Dark: Arendt and Totalitarianism*
April 27th  

**Post-Modern Feminism & End of Political Philosophy?**


**Essays** (due 4/23) How might a "post-modern" feminist critique Arendt? What, if anything, would they find useful in Arendt's analysis?

**Essays:** Can feminist political theory avoid assuming "a privileged epistemological perspective" or a generalizable "female" freedom in society? Explain. If not, what are the consequences?

**Recommended Readings:**

- Michele Barrett, *Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis*
- Ann Bookmann & Sandra Morgan, *Women & the Politics of Empowerment*
- Nancy Chodrow, *The Reproduction of Mothering*
- Zillah Eisenstein, *The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism*
- *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*
- Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*
- Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature*
- Susan Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought*
Recommended Readings:
Crowder, G. "Negative and Positive Liberty, Political Science, Dec. 1988
Kristjansson, K. "What Is Wrong with Positive Liberty?," Social Theory and Practice, Fall 1992

May 11th Berlin cont. Final due by 5 p.m.