



Instructor: Nick Buccola --- **Class Meetings:** Monday / Wednesday, 11:00am-12:30pm, Walker 220
Office: Walker 125 --- **Phone:** 503-883-2246 --- **E-Mail:** nbuccol@linfield.edu
Office Hours: Thursdays, 12:00 to 3:00pm and By Appointment

Course Description

In this course, we will explore 20th century Western political theory through an examination of the works of several prominent thinkers. Our focus will be on the concept of power. *How* do human beings exercise power over one another? *When* is it legitimate for some human beings to exercise power over others? Under what circumstances is the exercise of power consistent with human *liberty*? How can the exercise of power be used to advance human *equality* and in what ways does power threaten human equality? We will attempt to determine how several 20th century thinkers responded to these and other ultimate questions in politics. Throughout the course, we will be confronted with many different visions of how power operates and how power might be resisted. In Part I of the class, we will examine how the ideas of Friedrich Nietzsche and Sigmund Freud might be seen as “setting the stage” for understanding power in the 20th century. In Part II of the class, we will examine some of the major ideological movements of the early 20th century, including socialism, fascism, and anarchism. In Part III of the class, we will examine three important post-totalitarian thinkers: the democratic theorist Hannah Arendt, the Freudian socialist Erich Fromm, and the conservative Michael Oakeshott. In Part IV of the class, we will consider questions of cultural difference and political power by examining the ideas of the post-colonialist theorist Frantz Fanon and by exploring the ongoing debate about the relationship between feminism and multiculturalism. During this journey through the ideas of many great political thinkers, I hope each of us will achieve greater wisdom about how to ask and answer ultimate political questions.

Course Objectives (LC Designation: UQ)

In this course, students will:

- articulate and evaluate ideas about power and its relationship to other concepts discussed by the thinkers we study.
- analyze critically fundamental beliefs and competing truth claims in the political philosophies of the thinkers we study.
- develop the ability to think, discuss, and write with clarity and coherence about the central problems of 20th century political theory.

NOTE: In order to earn a UQ for this course, you must complete the electronic submission of exemplar work and supporting descriptions by the last day of finals week, as discussed in the Linfield College Course Catalog.

Required Texts (Please purchase the editions I have assigned)

Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Nietzsche Reader*, ISBN: 978-0-631-22654-3

Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, ISBN: 978-0-393-30451-0

Giovanni Gentile, *Origins and Doctrine of Fascism*, ISBN: 978-0765805775

Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, ISBN: 978-148416579

Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, ISBN: 978-0143039884

Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*, ISBN: 978-0805031492

Michael Oakeshott, *Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays*, ISBN: 9780865970955

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, ISBN: 978-0-8021-4132-3

Susan Moller Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* ISBN: 978-0-691-00432-3

Additional readings will be made available on blackboard.

Course Format

- Most class sessions will begin with a Quick Write that will provide you with an opportunity to reflect on the reading for that day. This exercise will serve multiple functions. First, it will get us “warmed up” by inviting us to return our focus to the reading material. Second, it will serve as a sort of “quiz” to make sure everyone is doing the reading. I will not return the quick writes, but will add them to your “participation file” for the class, which I will examine throughout the semester and I will consult when I assign your final participation grade. So be sure to hand your quick write in at the end of class. Third, these quick writes will serve as one piece of the foundation of our discussion for the day. You might be asked to chat a bit about what you wrote with your neighbor and to share your quick writes with the entire class.
- After the Quick Write, there may be occasions when I will provide brief introductory remarks about the thinker we are studying, but the bulk of our time will be spent engaging in “active learning exercises” (e.g., impromptu debates, simulations, etc.), small group discussions, and large group discussions that are deeply anti-authoritarian in nature. By this, I mean to say that our large group discussions of the reading material will be bottom-up, democratic, and freewheeling as opposed to top-down, authoritarian, and dictated by me. My primary function will be to guide the discussion and maintain a list of who would like to speak next and, of course, I will be an active participant in the conversation. This format gives each of you great power, but as Uncle Ben told Spiderman, “with great power comes great responsibility.” You must come to every class having read and thought about the material and I would strongly encourage you to take notes as you read with thoughts and questions that you would like to share with the rest of us.

Course Evaluation

PARTICIPATION: 20%

It is essential that you attend class and that you are prepared to discuss the readings. This is a reading intensive class. Many of the readings are long and difficult. Give yourself plenty of time to complete, think about, and prepare to discuss the readings prior to class. Participation is often a deciding factor for borderline grades (e.g. A- or B+ / C- or D+).

Your participation grade will be calculated based on the following components:

- **Quick Writes** which will be part of your Participation File (see details above).
- **Active and thoughtful participation** in class activities and discussions
- **Debate & End of the Semester Simulation Participation**: details forthcoming.
- **Outside of Class Activities**: there will be several opportunities to attend events outside of class (Pizza & Politics events, lectures by visiting scholars, etc.) that can boost your participation grade in the class. A couple of these activities are required, but some will be voluntary. For voluntary extra credit events, please hand in a 1-page response essay (reflecting on the event and, if possible, linking its themes to our class) within one week of the event.

ESSAYS: Four 5-7 page essays @ 20% Each = 80%: You will write four 5-7 page essays. Each of these essays will be written in a multi-stage process during which *you* will: generate your topic, generate your thesis, “workshop” your thesis with a small group of your classmates and your instructor, and present your paper to your classmates. (PROSEMINAR STUDENTS SHOULD MEET WITH ME DURING WEEK 2 TO DISCUSS THEIR REQUIREMENTS.)

Notes Regarding Evaluation

Paging Emily Post A Few Words on Manners: I wouldn’t say it, but past experience tells me I must. Please behave. Arrive to class on time, pay attention, and be respectful of one another.

“Facebooking,” “texting” and other such things are best done in the comfort of one’s dorm room.

Leave your laptops, iPads, etc. at home. Research indicates that the presence of electronics in the classroom detracts from your learning and the focus of those around you. I will try to give you a short break half way through class so we can minimize the disruptions of people getting up, leaving and coming back in the middle of class. Inappropriate behavior in class will result in a low participation grade.

Linfield Policy on Student Behavior: Every faculty member and student has the right to conditions favorable to teaching and learning both in and out of the classroom. To foster and maintain such conditions, students have the responsibility to conduct themselves individually and in groups in a manner that promotes an atmosphere conducive to teaching, studying, and learning. Students are expected to uphold academic and personal integrity, to respect the rights of others, to refrain from disruptive, threatening, intimidating, or harassing behavior, or behavior that is harmful to themselves, other persons, or property. Every faculty member has the right and responsibility to foster an environment conducive to teaching and learning.

A Culture of Mutual Respect: in this class, we will strive to live up to Linfield College’s mission of honoring human rights and academic freedom, celebrating diverse cultures, fostering a climate of mutual respect, and promoting an inclusive environment that affirms the value of all persons. Over the course of the semester, you may read ideas that you find to be objectionable and you may find yourself to be in disagreement with others in our

classroom. As we navigate these readings and engage with one another, let us always keep this mission in mind.

Course Policy on Cell Phones: due to an outbreak of in-class texting, I am instilling a draconian policy on cell phones in class. If I see you using your cell phone in class (please note I see everything & you won't get away with texting under the desk why in the world would you spend so much time staring at your shoes?) you will receive an e-mail from me with the subject "Your Penance for Violating Universal Standards of Taste & Decency." In the body of the e-mail, you will receive an assignment to write a 5 page essay on why using your cell phone in class is an affront to universal standards of taste & decency. Your failure to turn in this essay by the next class meeting will result in an automatic deduction of 5% from your participation grade. A second offense will result in an automatic deduction of 5% from your participation grade. If you have a special reason for staring at your cell phone during class time (e.g., you are waiting to hear news about the success of an operation on a close relative), please alert me before the start of class so we can discuss the merits of your case.

A Word on Grading: grades in the "A range" are earned for work that demonstrates a mastery of course material, grades in the "B range" are earned for work that demonstrates a good understanding of course material, grades in the "C range" are earned for work that demonstrates a basic understanding of course material, and grades in the "D & F range" for work that demonstrates you have an inadequate understanding of course material. My hope is that each of you will achieve excellence in this class. Also, please be patient when waiting for assignments to be returned. I put a lot of time and energy into grading in order to be sure everyone is treated fairly.

Late Papers will be marked down 1/3 of a grade per day late (One day = B to B -).

No Cheating: You are expected to live up to the standards of **ACADEMIC INTEGRITY** that govern Linfield College. Plagiarism will not be tolerated. Cheaters will be reported to the Dean.

Note Regarding Disabilities: Students with disabilities are protected by the Americans with Disabilities Act and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act. If you are a student with a disability and feel you may require academic accommodations please contact Learning Support Services (LSS), as early as possible to request accommodation for your disability. The timeliness of your request will allow LSS to promptly arrange the details of your support. LSS is located in Melrose Hall 020 ([503-883-2562](tel:503-883-2562)). We also encourage students to communicate with faculty about their accommodations.

Semester Schedule

Part I. Nietzsche & Freud on the "Raw Material" of Politics

Monday, February 6th: Introduction to the class, one another; assessment exercise
In-Class Discussion of: Nietzsche, *Human, All Too Human*, #57, #92, #96, #208, #224

Wednesday, February 8th: Getting to Know Nietzsche

Nietzsche, *Nietzsche Reader*, Excerpts - *Human, All Too Human, Daybreak, & Gay Science*, pg. 183-237

Monday, February 13th: Nietzsche Beyond Good & Evil

Nietzsche, *Nietzsche Reader*, Excerpts from *Beyond Good & Evil, The Gay Science*, page 311-383

Wednesday, February 15th: Nietzsche before the Dawn of the 20th Century

Nietzsche, *Nietzsche Reader*, Excerpts from *Twilight of the Idols*, page 456-485

Nietzsche, Excerpts from *The Will to Power*, on Blackboard

Monday, February 20th: Freud on Human Nature & Happiness

Sigmund Freud, *Civilization & Its Discontents*, Chapters 1, 2, 3, & 4

Tuesday, February 21st - REQUIRED SPECIAL EVENT: you are required to attend a lecture by Leonard Pitts in Ice Auditorium at 7:00pm on Tuesday, February 21st.

Wednesday, February 22nd: Freud on Society & Politics

Sigmund Freud, *Civilization & Its Discontents*, Chapters 5, 6, 7, & 8

Monday, February 27th: Debate & Peer Review Workshop

Debate #1 on Nietzsche & Freud

Please bring 4 copies of an outline for your Essay #1. The format of your outline is up to you, but it must include: a thesis statement, your major supporting arguments, the counter-arguments you plan to consider in the paper, some description / explanation of how the paper will be structured, and what textual evidence you will incorporate into the paper.

Wednesday, March 1st: Essay #1 Presentations

Please prepare a 5 to 7 minute presentation on your Essay #1. Your presentation should include a thesis statement, your major supporting arguments, the counter-arguments you plan to consider in the paper, some description / explanation of how the paper will be structured, and what textual evidence you will incorporate into the paper.

Friday, March 3rd your Essay #1 is due by 2:00pm on Friday, March 3rd. The essay should be sent via email to nbuccol@linfield.edu as a Word document (with the text pasted into the body of the email just in case there are any attachment issues.)

Part II. The Age of Ideology: Socialism, Fascism, & Anarchism

Monday, March 6th: The Moral Basis of Socialism

Sydney Olivier, "Moral," [The Moral Basis of Socialism] in *Fabian Essays*, page 95-127, on Blackboard

OFFICE HOURS THIS WEEK ARE ON TUESDAY, 12-3 INSTEAD OF THURSDAY

Wednesday, March 8th: The Transition to Social Democracy

George Bernard Shaw, "Transition" [The Transition to Social Democracy], in *Fabian Essays*, page 213-248, on Blackboard

Monday, March 13th: The Fascism of Giovanni Gentile

Giovanni Gentile, *The Origins and Doctrine of Fascism*, page 1-42

Wednesday, March 15th: The Fascism of Giovanni Gentile & the Nazism of Adolf Hitler

Giovanni Gentile, *The Origins and Doctrine of Fascism*, page 43-76

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, excerpts on Blackboard

In addition to the reading, please watch the film *Triumph of the Will* prior to Wednesday's class. The film is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GHS2coAzLJ8>

Monday, March 20th: The Anarchism of Emma Goldman

Emma Goldman, "Anarchism: What it Really Stands For," in *Anarchism and other Essays*

Emma Goldman, "Minorities versus Majorities" in *Anarchism and other Essays*

Emma Goldman, "The Psychology of Political Violence" in *Anarchism and other Essays*

Emma Goldman, "Prisons: A Social Crime & Failure" in *Anarchism and other Essays*

* In addition to the reading, please watch the film *Emma Goldman* prior to Monday's class. The film is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G-Qo5sHK-g>

OFFICE HOURS THIS WEEK ARE ON TUESDAY, 12-3 INSTEAD OF THURSDAY:
since we do not have a peer review workshop for Part II of the class, I'd like to go over your outline with you during my Tuesday office hours.

Wednesday, March 22nd: The Anarchism of Emma Goldman

Panel Discussion / Debate #2: A Socialist, A Fascist, and an Anarchist walk into a bar...

Emma Goldman, "The Hypocrisy of Puritanism" in *Anarchism and other Essays*

Emma Goldman, "The Traffic in Women" in *Anarchism and other Essays*

Emma Goldman, "Woman Suffrage" in *Anarchism and other Essays*

Emma Goldman, "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation" in *Anarchism and other Essays*

Emma Goldman, "Marriage and Love"

Friday, March 24th your Essay #2 is due by 2:00pm on Friday, March 24th. The essay should be sent via email to nbuccol@linfield.edu as a Word document (with the text pasted into the body of the email just in case there are any attachment issues.)

SPRING BREAK: March 27-31, 2017

Part III. In the Shadow of Totalitarianism

Monday, April, 3rd: A Report on the Banality of Evil

Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, page 3-150

* In addition to the reading, please watch the film *Conspiracy* (on reserve at the library) prior to Monday's class.

Wednesday, April, 5th: A Report on the Banality of Evil

Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, page 220-298 (skim chapters 8-13)

* In addition to the reading, please watch the film *Hannah Arendt* (on reserve at the library) prior to Wednesday's class.

Monday, April 10th: A Freudian Socialist's Reflections on Freedom

Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*, Chapters 1, 2, & 4

Wednesday, April 12th: Escape from Freedom

Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*, Chapters 5, 6, & 7

Monday, April 17th: A Conservative Critique of Rationalism in Politics

Michael Oakeshott, "Rationalism in Politics," p. 5-42 in *Rationalism in Politics*

Michael Oakeshott, "The Masses in Representative Democracy," p. 363-383 in *Rationalism in Politics*

Wednesday, April 19th: Conservatism as a Disposition

Michael Oakeshott, "On Being Conservative," page 407-437 in *Rationalism in Politics*

Michael Oakeshott, "Talking Politics," page 438-461 in *Rationalism in Politics*

Monday, April 24th: Debate #3 / Essay #3 Writing Workshop

Debate #3 on Post-Totalitarian Thinkers

Please bring 4 copies of an outline for your final paper. The format of your outline is up to you, but it must include: a thesis statement, your major supporting arguments, the counter-arguments you plan to consider in the paper, some description / explanation of how the paper will be structured, and what textual evidence you will incorporate into the paper.

Wednesday, April 26th: Essay #3 Presentations

Please prepare a 5 to 7 minute presentation on your Essay #3. Your presentation should include a thesis statement, your major supporting arguments, the counter-arguments you plan to consider in the paper, some description / explanation of how the paper will be structured, and what textual evidence you will incorporate into the paper.

Friday, April 28th your Essay #3 is due by 2:00pm on Friday, April 28th. The essay should be sent via email to nbuccol@linfield.edu as a Word document (with the text pasted into the body of the email just in case there are any attachment issues.)

Part IV. Difference & Power

Monday, May 1st: Postcolonial Theory

Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, "On Violence" & "Grandeur & Weakness....," page 1-96

Wednesday, May 3rd: Postcolonial Theory

Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, “The Trials & Tribulations...,” “On National Culture,” “Conclusion,” page 97-180, page 235-240 (skim chapter 5 as well)

Monday, May 8th: Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?

Susan Moller Okin, et al., *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* Page 3-64

Wednesday, May 10th: Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?

Susan Moller Okin, et al., *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* Page 65-132

Monday, May 15th: Debate #4 / Peer Review Workshop

Debate #4 on “Difference & Power”

Please bring 4 copies of an outline for your final paper. The format of your outline is up to you, but it must include: a thesis statement, your major supporting arguments, the counter-arguments you plan to consider in the paper, and some description / explanation of how the paper will be structured. After the peer review workshop, you will meet in our “Lost” groups to plan a bit for the upcoming scenario.

Wednesday, May 17th: Lost Scenario 2.0: A Vision for the 21st Century

Details to be distributed.

May 20th - FINAL ESSAY is Due via email to nbuccol@linfield.edu by 11:59pm on Saturday, May 20th. Please send it as a Word attachment AND with the text pasted within the body of the email.