Power and Justice 13D

Political Science 13D  
University of California, San Diego  
Prof. Gerry Mackie, Fall 2016  
Mon Wed 10:00-10:50 AM, Warren Lecture Hall 2005  
+ Discussion Sections  
Mon Wed 12:00-12:50 PM, Peterson Hall 108

PURPOSE

This course is an introduction to political theory, the subfield of political science that deals with moral and conceptual questions and the history of political thought (the rest of political science is empirical, it studies what is, not what should be). It is not a course on moral philosophy, or a survey of the history of political thought. It is an introductory sampling of political theory, with a focus on central concepts of power and justice.

A student completing this course would know better how to conduct moral argumentation (what is right for me to do, for us to do) and how to clarify her political values. She would briefly be introduced to some of the giants of political thought, and would begin to learn how to read an esteemed text from the past. She would learn how contemporary political philosophers conduct argumentation and analysis. She would know a variety of ways to understand the ideas of power, justice, and liberty.

PREVIEW

Is justice simply the interest of the stronger, as the ancient Athenians inform the Melians they conquer and destroy; or as Thrasymachus rudely proclaims at the dinner party in Plato’s Republic written 2400 years ago? Is liberty Thrasymachus’ goal of having the maximum power, including power over others that deprives them of their liberties? If justice is something other than arbitrary, self-serving power, is it only something that people in a group happen to agree upon? Or could a group’s idea of justice be mistaken in some ways? If so, how would we decide that there is a mistake?

The course is about politics, not personal morality, and to understand political justice we have to consider the central problem of politics: the problem of order. Why government? Is any government at all better than the war of all against all? Government is established, John Locke said metaphorically, to guard us against foxes and polecats, but absolute government is a fearsome lion. What distinguishes a just government from an unjust government that would devour us like a lion? The power of government, and of other forces in society, is not just
visible, but in senses to be made precise, is also hidden and invisible. To control the evil that power can do, or to use power for good, we should understand its three faces. Government power and social power can properly uphold our liberties or deny them, according to John Stuart Mill’s classic defense of the liberty to do as one chooses unless it harms others. Indeed, equality and liberty are the central values in our political tradition; we favor a society and a government that enables equal liberty for all rather than the maximal liberty of one or a few to harm, enslave, and deny the liberties of others as was advocated by Thrasymachus.

Human liberty and equality are the central values in our political culture. These common ideas and other shared judgments, intuitions, and sentiments about political morality are synthesized in one or another theory of distributive justice. Tradition, monarchical succession, and divine command once justified government. In the early 19th century the utilitarians Bentham and J.S. Mill offered a new way to decide among alternative institutions and public policies: the greatest happiness of the greatest number. This method inspired thousands of political reforms around the world into the middle of the 20th century, but eventually its difficulties in justifying the protection of basic individual rights motivated a search for alternatives.

20th century political theorist Michael Walzer warns us that a single method will not do: the institutions that would develop, protect, and advance liberty and equality should differ across various spheres of justice; for example, whether a good should be distributed by free exchange, desert, or need, depends on the particular good and the particular circumstances of a society.

Moral and political theory was discredited in the mid-20th century by the doctrine of logical positivism, which held that all evaluative statements are meaningless. The American John Rawls revived political philosophy with his Theory of Justice (1971), opening the way for Walzer and other theorists of distributive justice. Although Rawls is not perfect, and there are many useful advances beyond his work; still it is an intellectual masterpiece and remains the most influential theory, well worth our study for three weeks. Rawls justifies the basic liberties and roughly speaking the modern welfare state. Libertarian philosophers differ from Rawls on the latter point and we will study some their thinkers. Meanwhile, logical positivism collapsed in logical contradiction and moral and political philosophy have thrived. Finally, the single state was once considered the domain of distributive justice. With increasing economic, political, and personal interdependencies across states in the 21st century, the question of global justice arises, which we consider in the final week of the course.

**COURSE CONDUCT**

*You won’t be graded on the basis of your political views.* In this course we will study and discuss personal and public values, conceptions of justice, and people’s political and moral beliefs. You are encouraged to state and defend your beliefs forthrightly (or you may discuss the issues hypothetically and impersonally, as you please). All viewpoints are welcome: anarchist, socialist, left-liberal, libertarian, conservative, religious, Green, Democrat, Republican, indifferent. Inside the course the professor and the teaching assistants are not political partisans or advocates, but are here to encourage considerations of all sides of any issue. Sometimes
instructors may take a position opposite to the one on the floor in order to ensure that many considerations are brought to bear on the question; it need not be and probably is not their own view. You will never in the course be graded on the basis of your political views; and the way to please instructors is not to echo what you imagine their views to be but rather to challenge them! In this course I do ask students to consider wide conceptions of the value of liberty; but there are good arguments against that wide understanding of liberty which you may find more persuasive. If you think any of us are being one-sided, please let us know.

*What we expect from you.* You are obliged to attend all lectures and discussion sessions unless you have a legitimate excuse; to do all course readings in advance, to be prepared for and participate in discussion sessions, and to complete and submit assignments on time. Different people legitimately have different reasons to take a course – some are strongly interested in a topic, some want to explore what it is and see whether they would be interested in more like it, some have a requirement to meet. Whatever your reasons for being here, make the best of it, and contribute to making the course a good learning experience for all.

*Academic Honesty.* We will abide strictly by standards of academic honesty. That means you must not cheat on exams, must not plagiarize on the writing assignments, and must provide proper citations for written work that you submit, among other things. If you have any questions about what is permitted, consult with us, as ambiguities will be construed against the violator. I do not have a forgiving attitude about academic misconduct.

*Norms of argument in this class.* All students and instructors and students will master Graham’s hierarchy of disagreements and will strive to conduct discussion at Graham level DH4 and above. Most discouraged to least discouraged: Name Calling, Ad Hominem, Responding to Tone, Mere Contradiction. Encouraged: Counter-Argument, Refutation, Refutation of Central Point:


*Use of laptops, tablets, smartphones.* A few instructors have begun to prohibit use of these devices. Why? Multi-tasking does not work. Here are some serious arguments about that:


**COURSE WEBSITE**

The course website is a Blackboard program called TritonED here at UCSD.

- Here it is: https://tritoned.ucsd.edu/
- Here’s how to set up your UCSD computing account:
  http://acms.ucsd.edu/students/accounts-and-passwords/index.html
• Ask TAs if you need help.
• You are responsible for regularly checking the course website for announcements; that helps us keep class emails to a minimum.

The syllabus, announcements, assignments, powerpoints and other material are listed in TritonED. If you haven’t used TritonED before, familiarize yourself with its nooks and crannies. I will post class powerpoints on TritonED, I will try to do so in advance, but sometimes will do so right before class or even a few days after. Hint: in class spend time thinking and writing – you don’t need to copy out the powerpoints as they will be available to you for download at TritonED.

CONTACTS

Please initiate inquiry about understanding course matters and other advice with your Teaching Assistant. After you have done that email or see Professor Mackie.

Teaching Assistants

• Benjamin H Brewer
  o bhbrewer@ucsd.edu
  o Wed 1-3
  o Soc Sci Bldg 348

• Sean T Morgan
  o stmorgan@ucsd.edu
  o x
  o Soc Sci Bldg

• Marcelo Goncalves
  o msilvaol@ucsd.edu
  o Wed 6 PM
  o Soc Sci Bldg 331

My office is at SDSC 153E, Center on Global Justice, San Diego Supercomputer Center, tel. 858 534-7015, email gmackie@ucsd.edu (please email and do not telephone). I guarantee that you will NOT be able to find my office unless you CAREFULLY follow directions. Office hours are Wed 2-4 or by appointment.

• The CENTRAL (WEST) entrance of the SDSC is on Ridge Walk, north of the Social Science Building and south of Rimac Arena. A path goes downhill to the east. Take the path, enter the main door, continue straight and to the east until you run into windows and can go no further. Then, look right, you will see a sign for UC San Diego Center on Global Justice. At the sign, turn left, and go to the end of the wing; CGJ offices are here.
• The EAST entrance of the SDSC is on Hopkins Drive, north of the Hopkins Parking structure and south of Rimac Arena. Walk west up the outside stairs to SDSC East Entrance. Enter, and go west up one more flight of stairs. At the top, turn 180 degrees and head east, and continue until you can go no further. Then, look right, you will see a sign for UC San Diego Center on Global Justice. At the sign, turn left, and go to the end of the wing; CGJ offices are here.

• BY CAR: From N. Torrey Pines Road, turn east on North Point Drive, follow the road right as it turns into Hopkins Drive, proceed, at the stop sign turn right and uphill on Voight Lane for a short way, then turn right onto floor 6 of the Hopkins Parking Structure. Walk up one flight to 7, take the bridge west to the Social Science Bldg, turn right at SSB and walk north along it, then as SDSC Bldg. becomes visible you will run into a path that goes east downhill to the Central (West) Entrance of SDSC.

Sometimes I will hold office hours at SS Research Building 322. NOT Social Science Building. If so, I will announce it in class and on TritonED.

ASSESSMENT

• Participation in discussion sessions, 20% of the grade
  o 5% session attendance
  o 10% discussion session one-pagers*
    o 5% T.A.’s assessment of quality of participation**
• Take-home midterm, 35% of the grade
• Take-home final, 45% of the grade

Discussion Sessions.

The discussion session is a place of learning. You are expected to attend, be prepared, and participate. The discussion session is important, it counts for 20% of your grade.

• Attendance: T.A.s will note it.
  o If you plan to miss a discussion session, let the TA know by email in advance with a legitimate UCSD-accepted excuse.
• *Discussion preparation: you will be provided in advance with a few questions to answer in at least one-half but never more than one single-spaced hard-copy page which you will bring to each session. This is to motivate you to attend lecture, read, study, and come into the session with active thoughts.
  o Randomly about four (3-5) times in your section the TA will collect your discussion paper and grade it. No paper is graded 0, an extremely weak paper is graded 1, and most papers will be graded 3.
  o This paper is not expected to be a final considered answer but rather tentative ideas for discussion.
• Oral participation: TAs will assess the quality (of arguments and insights, not viewpoints or positions) and quantity of your oral participation.
  o **If you find it difficult to speak in a small group, please try; this is your chance. TAs will be encouraging, not discouraging.
  o If you are extremely averse to speaking, arrange with the TA in advance to write down your own thoughts during the session and provide the notes to him or her at its end (that can satisfy the quality requirement).

*Take-Home Exams.*

You will also be assessed by two take-home exams, one at midterm and one due finals week.

• Content
  o At least one week in advance of the due date we will provide you with around three topics to write on. You choose one to answer. Here is an example that we may or may not use.
    ▪ Using Thucydides, Appiah, and at least one other text, provide an argument in favor of one of the following: Thrasymachus’, Glaucon’s, or Socrates’ view of justice in *The Republic*.

• Submission
  o We will use Turnitin.Com through the UCSD TritonED course website.
  o Exams are to be electronically submitted to TritonED by due dates stated below; any submitted after that time will be considered late.
    ▪ Late midterm exams will be penalized ½ grade for 5 minutes to 24 hours late, and another ½ grade for each additional week late (absent meeting *in advance* requirements for exceptions stated next). Lateness will be excused only if
      • a) the T.A. is notified by email at least 24 hours before the due date and time, AND
      • AND b) the student has a university-permitted
      • AND c) properly documented excuse.
  o The final exam cannot be submitted late except for explicit arrangements made with your TA more than three weeks in advance.
    ▪ If it emerges that you are unable to timely submit the final exam and can show a UCSD-legitimate excuse that would result in an Incomplete grade.

• Format
  o Use one cover page, with only title (if any), the prompt you are answering, your name, and student number.
  o **Only accepted format: ** Times New Roman, 12 point, 1 inch margins, double-spaced, with page numbers.
  o Five further pages for midterm, eight further pages for final.
Exceeding length, not complying with format: reduction of grade by half point, e.g., B turns in to B-.
- This provision is intended to reduce everyone’s workload by punishing rather than rewarding over-long submissions.
- One additional page for references cited (if any).

- Due dates
  - Mid-Term, five pages, due on **Wed Oct 26 before 10 AM**
    - TENTATIVE, check TritonED announcements to make sure.
  - Final, eight pages, due no later than **Fri Dec 9, before 11 AM**
    - Early submission encouraged.
    - There can be NO ad hoc excuses for late submission of the takehome final.
    - Notify TAs well in advance about any submission problem

Writing Skills. I encounter graduating students who are not able to write well, and I know from lifelong experience that lacking that skill will limit their career opportunities. In upper-level courses you won’t have a discussion session and a TA closely linked to you. Take advantage of this opportunity to get better at making good arguments and writing well. TAs grading your take-home exams will be providing you with advice about our expectations and how to fulfill them.

Additionally, take advantage of the UCSD Writing Center for undergraduates. They will welcome and assist you. [https://writingcenter.ucsd.edu/](https://writingcenter.ucsd.edu/)
Readings and Schedule

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STATUS OF SYLLABUS

As of September 20, 2015,

- course design complete through week 10; detailed readings need to be added to 6B, 7, 8, 9
- electronic reserves are complete through week 5
- except for week 6, weekly discussion questions are complete

REQUIRED TEXTS

- Books
  - For Week 2, Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism*, purchase at University Bookstore or elsewhere
  - For Week 8, John Rawls, *Theory of Justice*, Revised Edition, purchase at University Bookstore or elsewhere
  - Appiah and Rawls are on library reserve

- Most other readings will be on electronic reserve at UCSD library, both pdfs and urls (urls also listed in the schedule below), organized in folders by week
  - This course’s password for UCSD electronic reserve is gm13
  - If you notice any defects or any other problems with a reserve item, first double-check your assumptions, and next immediately email instructor gmackie@ucsd.edu with reserves and 13D in the subject line.

- Pay close attention to the reading instructions in the schedule below. I try to keep readings to a minimum so that students will actually do them. Thus, for some readings that you will open in pdf or by url, you are assigned only selected pages. Sometimes, but not always, I have indicated where to start and where to stop in the pdf itself – check the schedule. I have seen students neglect this and do twice the work they need to do. Save yourself work.

SCHEDULE
What is Justice?

- **Week 0.**
  - Fri Sep 23, NO MEETING
    - Start reading Plato, *Republic*, Ch. 1, 327A-339A, 17-31; Ch. 1, 350D-354C, 44-48; Ch. 2 357A-367E, 49-59; Justice
    - Any edition is fine, the best free version is Jowett (but 19th century prose). I strongly recommend the translation by Joe Sachs on ELECTRONIC RESERVE.

- **Week 1. Is Justice Might?**
  - Mon Sep 26, Course Introduction
    - Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian Wars*, Power
      - LINK: Read [http://www.shsu.edu/~his_ncp/Melian.html](http://www.shsu.edu/~his_ncp/Melian.html)
      - Abridged dramatization, LINK: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PNzHOqjMHwY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PNzHOqjMHwY)
    - Continue reading Plato, *Republic*, selections
      - Wed Sep 28
        - Plato continued

- **Week 2. Is Justice Relative?**
  - Mon Oct 3
    - Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism*, Intro., Ch. 1 (pp. 8-11 only)
    - Mary Ann Glendon, Knowing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, on ELECTRONIC RESERVE [http://scholarship.law.nd.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1810&context=ndlr](http://scholarship.law.nd.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1810&context=ndlr)
    - Appiah, Ch. 2
      - Wed Oct 5
        - Appiah, Ch. 3-7

  - Discussion Sections

- **PLAN AHEAD:** Arrange to watch Nolan’s *The Dark Night* for week 3
Power!

- **Week 3. Stability and Legitimacy; Dirty Hands of Power**
  - Mon Oct 10
    - Aristotle, *The Politics*; I.1-2 The Polis; III.6-10, Sixfold Regimes; IV.7-11, Polity; ELECTRONIC RESERVE
    - Weber on Legitimacy
    - Held on Legitimacy
  - Wed Oct 12
    - Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Chs. 7-9, 15-18, 19 (first 3 paragraphs), on ELECTRONIC RESERVE
  - Discussion Sections
    - Before the session, watch Nolan’s *The Dark Knight* (2008)
      - UCSD Library Reserve should be streamable; otherwise available on Netflix DVD, or Amazon Video for 3.99.
      - Or read the screenplay
        - [http://www.pages.drexel.edu/~ina22/splaylib/Screenplay-Dark_Knight.HTM](http://www.pages.drexel.edu/~ina22/splaylib/Screenplay-Dark_Knight.HTM) scrollable HTML
        - or other link

- **Week 4. The Problem of Political Order**
  - Mon Oct 17
  - Wed Oct 19
    - Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*, use any edition, many on internet, e.g., [https://www.gutenberg.org/files/7370/7370-h/7370-h.htm](https://www.gutenberg.org/files/7370/7370-h/7370-h.htm), Ch. 1- Ch.4, and Sec. 54
    - [http://petapixel.com/2016/08/02/26-photos-show-war-changed-syria/](http://petapixel.com/2016/08/02/26-photos-show-war-changed-syria/)

o Discussion Session

• Week 5. Four Kinds of Power

o Mon Oct 24, Powercube
  • LINK: www.powercube.net This is a simply written website on the topic of power. However, it is confusing to navigate. It will be easier for you to click the following links in the order provided (total reading is much more brief than it looks). If you become confused, the last link is a summary table.
    • http://www.powercube.net/analyse-power/what-is-the-powercube/
    • http://www.powercube.net/analyse-power/forms-of-power/visible-power/
    • http://www.powercube.net/analyse-power/forms-of-power/hidden-power/
    • http://www.powercube.net/analyse-power/forms-of-power/invisible-power/
    • http://www.powercube.net/other-forms-of-power/hayward-de-facing-power/
      • important for understanding the third face of power
    • http://www.powercube.net/other-forms-of-power/expressions-of-power/
    • http://www.powercube.net/other-forms-of-power/the-power-in-the-powercube/
      • summary table
    • Optional, or quick look
      • http://www.powercube.net/analyse-power/spaces-of-power/
      • http://www.powercube.net/analyse-power/levels-of-power/

o Wed Oct 26, before 10 AM, midterm exam due on TritonED

o Wed Oct 26, Kinds of Power Illustrated
  • Linder and Nygaard, Void Where Prohibited, 1-5, 44-49, ELECTRONIC RESERVE
  • Vollman, Poor People, 173-194, ELECTRONIC RESERVE:
- Scheper-Hughes, *Death Without Weeping*, 268-276, 316-326, ELECTRONIC RESERVE

- Discussion Sections
  - Richard Wright, *Black Boy*, Chs. 9-10, ELECTRONIC RESERVE

**Liberty**

- **Week 6. J.S. Mill *On Liberty***
  - **Mon Oct 31**
    - J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*, selections
      - Ch. 1, all; Ch. 2 240-244, 251-255, 258-top of 260, Ch. 4, 278-284; Ch. 5, 291-top of 294, first-paragraph 302-top of 304
  - **Wed Nov 2**
    - Tyranny of the Majority?
    - TO BE COMPLETED

- Discussion Sections

**Theories of Justice: Freedom and Well-Being**

- **Week 7. Theories of Justice**
  - **Mon Nov 7** Introduction
    - Walzer, Complex Equality, in *Spheres of Justice*
  - **Wed Nov 9** Utilitarianism
    - Bentham, selections from *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, scrollable e-book
      - J.S. Mill, *Utilitarianism*, selections from chs. 2, 5
  - 287-top296, 299-302

  - Discussion Sections

- **Week 8. Rawls, A Theory of Justice**
  - Mon Nov 14
    - TO BE COMPLETED
  - Wed Nov 16
    - TO BE COMPLETED
  - Discussion Sections
    - Richard Wright, *Black Boy*, Chs. 9-10, ELECTRONIC RESERVE

- **Week 9. Theories of Justice**
  - Mon Nov 21, Rawls continued
    - TO BE COMPLETED
  - Wed Nov 23, Libertarianism
    - TO BE COMPLETED
  - NO DISCUSSION SESSIONS THIS WEEK
  - Fri Nov 25, THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY

- **Week 10. Global Justice**
  - Mon Nov 28 Destitution
    - *Voices of the Poor, Crying out for Change*
    - pp. 21-43, 247-261
  - Wed Nov 30 Development Ethics
    - Drydyk
• Discussion Sessions
  ▪ Review

• Final Take-Home Exam Deadline
  o Fri Dec 12 11 AM

-- CONTINUED --
Discussion Session Preparation Questions

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Hint: “But I don’t know the answers to these questions. That’s what I’m here to learn!” A good way to learn is to start thinking about answers to a question and then to talk it over with others and pool perspectives. Your one-page paper won’t be graded on whether it’s “right.” Show us that you are learning and thinking and don’t worry about making mistakes (skipping the lectures and readings and faking answers won’t work though).

• **Week 1. Is Justice Might?**
  - Is justice only what power says it is?
    - If so, defend that view.
    - If not, what is justice and how can we know what it is?

• **Week 2. Is Justice Relative?**
  - Turiel studied young children across many cultures. He found that they quite clearly distinguish among moral norms (it would be wrong to pull someone’s hair during recess whether or not the school had a rule against it) and social norms and conventions (it’s only wrong to chew gum if your school has a rule against it or your clique makes fun of it). Think about moral norms common across many groups, and social norms particular to certain groups. How does their content differ? How does one feel upon violating a moral norm and how would others react? A social norm?
  - “All human beings have human rights simply because they are human.”
    - Name at least two important ways humans as agents are different from objects like rocks, trees, and clouds. What conditions do such agents require to develop and thrive?

• **Week 3. Dirty Hands; Stability and Legitimacy**
  - Who is most like Machiavelli’s Prince and why?
    - Batman
    - Harry Dent
    - the Joker
    - Commissioner Gordon
  - Name at least two ways the City of Gotham maintains political legitimacy (empirical or moral)
• **Week 4. Order: Legitimate and Not**
  - Interdependent action learning exercise
  - What human motivations might prompt and might support the formation and stable maintenance of a government? How and why?

• **Week 5. The Four Kinds of Power**
  - Find an instance of each of the first three kinds of power in Richard Wright’s *Black Boy*.
  - Identify one other instance of one of the four kinds of power outside of examples considered in the course.

**Liberty**

• **Week 6. J.S. Mill On Liberty**
  - Apply the ideas of J.S. Mill to the following question.
    - TO BE COMPLETED

• **Week 7. Utilitarianism**
  - For the utilitarian, the greatest happiness for the greatest number defines what is morally right. Consider the trolley problem. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bOpf6KcWYyw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bOpf6KcWYyw)
  - Would you pull the lever to save five? Would you push the large man to save five? How would a utilitarian answer these questions?
  - Can you think of an example other than the trolley story where the morally right action is one that decreases utility, or where the action that increases utility is morally wrong?

• **Week 8. Rawls’ Theory of Justice**
  - Consider Rawls’ two principles of justice. Find instances of violation or fulfillment of each principle in Richard Wright’s memoir, *Black Boy*.

**Global Justice**

• **Week 9. Theories of Justice**
  - Thanksgiving, no sessions

• **Week 10. Global Justice**
o Write down at least two ideas in the course that you still don't understand; half-page is good enough.

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