MODERN DEMOCRACY

Hobbes to Schumpeter

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21 January–25 February, 2–4 pm

King’s College, Room Y5

Course Description

This course looks at a selection of formative theories of democracy in the modern world. The aim of this overview is to explore historical controversies surrounding the relationship between key democratic institutions and values. The topics examined include: the state, the franchise, the popular will, revolution, contract, parliamentarism, parties, government, equality, liberty and representation. The course will investigate the clash between institutions and values as examined in influential arguments extending from seventeenth-century England to revolutionary France, and into the era of modern mass democracy. By the end of the course, you will have an advanced understanding of diverse debates about modern democracy, as well as a deeper understanding of the ideals that underpin this form of politics and its criticism.

The course comprises six set texts, one each week. These should be read before class, preferably in the specified editions so we can all easily find our way to the same page. Guiding questions are also provided below to give some sense of the range of issues covered. A list of secondary reading is also found below. Please feel free to find works listed in foreign languages in translation. Suggestions for further reading on specific topics will be made in class.

# Course Structure

Week 1: Thomas Hobbes, *Elements of Law*

Week 2: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *On the Social Contract*

Week 3: Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, *What is the Third Estate?*

Week 4: Alexis De Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the Revolution in France*

Week 5: Carl Schmitt, *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy*

Week 6: Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*

# Primary Reading List

Thomas Hobbes, *The* *Elements of Law* ed. J. C. A. Gaskin (Oxford: 1994)

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *On the Social Contract* trans. Donald A. Cress (Hackett: 1987)

Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, *What is the Third Estate?* ed. Michael Sonenscher (Hackett: 2003)

Alexis De Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the Revolution in France* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003)

Carl Schmitt, *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy* trans. Ellen Kennedy(MIT: 1988)

Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (Routledge: 1950)

**Seminar Questions**

I Hobbes:

1. What are the basic faculties of man according to Hobbes in the *Elements of Law*?

2. What is the relationship between reason and the passions?

3. What are the causes of conflict between human beings in the natural state?

4. What are the main laws of nature?

5. What is the nature of the body politic?

6. What is the relationship between a multitude and a political union?

7. What are the origins of the civil state?

8. What are the different forms of government?

9. What are the causes of rebellion?

II Rousseau:

1. What is natural right according to Rousseau?

2. How does this differ from the right of conquest?

3. Hoes does the social compact operate?

4. What are the rights of Sovereignty?

5. What is the relationship between the will of all and the general will?

6. What is the difference between the legislator and the sovereign?

7. What is the difference between sovereignty and government?

8. Is a democratic government possible for Rousseau?

III Sieyès:

1. What political situation in France is *What is the Third Estate* addressing?

2. What socio-economic orders compose the nation?

3. What has been the historical foundation of French politics prior to 1788?

4. What are the main epochs in the formation of political society?

5. What is the relationship between democracy and representation?

IV Tocqueville:

1. What is the relationship between revolution and religion?

2. Was the revolution a radical break?

3. What was the cause of divisions in France?

4. What was the passion of the revolution?

5. What was the role of men of letters?

V Schmitt:

1. What is the role of homogeneity and equality in modern democracy?

2. What are the characteristics of democracy?

3. What is the theory of parliamentarism?

4. What is the theory of dictatorship in Marxism?

VI Schumpeter:

1. What is the classical theory of democracy?

2. What is democracy in practical reality?

3. What is the role of opinion and leadership?

# Selected Secondary Reading

# Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Princeton, 1963).

Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, *Staat, Verfassung, Demokratie: Studien zur Verfassungstheorie und zum Verfassungsrecht* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991).

Richard Bourke, “Enlightenment, Revolution and Democracy”, *Constellations*, 15:1 (March 2008), pp. 10–32.

------------, “Rethinking Democracy”, *Modern Intellectual History* (April 2015), pp. 1–13.

------------, “Democracy as Ideal and Democracy as Struggle”, *Modern Intellectual History* (September, 2017).

------------, “Inventing Democracy”, Gerald Stourzh Lecture on Human Rights and Democracy, Online Publication (2018): <http://www.univie.ac.at/gerald-stourzh-lectures>.

------------, and Q. Skinner eds., *Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective,* (Cambridge, 2016).

James Bryce, *Modern Democracies* (New York, 1921), 2 vols.

Brunner, O., Conze, W. and Koselleck, R. *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: 1972–1997), 8 vols.

Paul Cartledge, *Democracy: A Life* (Oxford, 2016).

G. D. H. Cole, *Democracy in Industry* (Manchester, 1920).

Benjamin Constant, “De la liberté des Anciens comparée à celle des Modernes” in *Oeuvres politiques* (Charpentier, 1874).

Robert Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory* (Chicago, 1956).

------------, *Democracy and Its Critics (*New Haven, 1989).

John Dunn, *Democracy: The Unfinished Journey* (Oxford, 1992).

------------, *Setting the People Free: The Story of* *Democracy* (London, 2005).

Moses Finley, *Democracy Ancient and Modern* [1973] (London, 1985).

Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York, 1992).

François Furet, *Penser la Révolution française* (Paris, 1978).

Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner eds., *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage* (Cambridge, 2002), 2 vols.

Misha Glenny, *The Rebirth of History: Eastern Europe in the Age of* *Democracy* (Harmondsworth, 1990).

Jacques Léon Godechot, *France and the Atlantic Revolution of the Eighteenth Century, 1770-1799* (New York, 1965).

G. P. Gooch, *The History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth* *Century* (Cambridge, 1898).

Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main, 1962).

------------, “Die Klassische Lehre von der Politik in ihrem Verhältnis zur Sozialphilosophie” in *Theorie und Praxis* (Berlin, 1963).

Rachel Hammersley, *The English Republican Tradition and Eighteenth-Century France: Between the Ancients and the Moderns* (Manchester, 2010).

James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana* [1656] in J. G. A. Pocock ed., *The Political Works of James Harrington* (Cambridge, 1977).

Ross Harrison, *Democracy* (London, 1993).

G. W. F. Hegel, “Die Positivität der christlichen Religion” (1795–6) in Frühe Schriften (Frankfurt am Main, 1971).

------------, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986).

------------, “On the Scientific Ways of Teaching Natural Law” (1802–3) in *Political Writings* (Cambridge, 1999).

Wilhelm Hennis, *Die mißverstandene Demokratie* (Freiburg, 1973).

Patrice Higonnet, *Sister Republics: The Origin of French and American Republicanism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).

Thomas Hobbes, “On the Life and History of Thucydides” in *Thucydides: The Peloponnesian War,* ed. D. Grene (Chicago, 1989).

Istvan Hont, *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass, 2005).

Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth* *Century* (Oklahoma, 1991).

Joanna Innes and Mark Philp eds., *Re-Imagining Democracy in the Age of Revolutions: America, France, Britain, Ireland 1750–1850* (Oxford, 2013).

Jonathan Israel, “The Intellectual Origins of Modern Democratic Republicanism (1660–1720)”, *European Journal of Political Theory*, 3: 1 (2004), pp. 7–36.

Lucien Jaume, *Le discours Jacobin et la démocratie* (Paris, 1989).

Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe* (Ithaca, 1996).

John Keane, *The Life and Death of Democracy* (London, 2009).

## James T. Kloppenberg, *The Virtues of Liberalism* (New York, 1998).

## ------------, *Toward Democracy: The Struggle for Self-Rule in European and American Thought* (Oxford, 2016).

### Claude Lefort, *L’Invention démocratique: les limites de la domination totalitaire* (Paris, 1981).

### ------------, “La Question de la démocratie”, in D. Kambouchner et al. ed., *Le Retrait du politique* (Paris, 1983).

### Jörn Leonhard, *Liberalismus: Zur historischen Semantik eines europäischen Deutungsmusters* (Munich, 2001).

# Arend Lijphart, *The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands* (Berkley and Los Angeles, 1968).

### Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Democracy* (London, 1960).

Henry Maine, *Popular Government* [1885] (Indianapolis, 1976).

### Bernard Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government* (Cambridge, 1997).

Thomas Erskine May, *Democracy in Europe: A* *History* (London, 1877).

Robert Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (New York, 1968).

C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (Oxford, 1956).

Barrington Moore, Jr. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (*Harmondsworth, 1966).

Edmund S. Morgan, *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America* (New York, 1988).

Jan-Werner Müller, *Contesting Democracy: Political Ideas in Twentieth-Century Europe* (New Haven, 2011).

Eric Nelson, *The Greek Tradition in Republican Thought* (Cambridge, 2004).

Wilfried Nippel, *Mischverfassungstheorie und Verfassungsrealität in Antike and früher Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: 1980).

------------, *Antike oder moderne Freiheit? Die Begründung der Demokratie in Athen und in der Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 2008).

Franz L. Neumann, “The Concept of Political Freedom”, *Columbia Law Review*, 53: 7 (1953), pp. 901–35.

Paul Nolte, *Was ist Demokratie? Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Munich,2012).

Moisei Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organisation of Political Parties* (New York, 1902).

R. R. Palmer, “Reflections on the French Revolution”, *Political Science Quarterly*, 67: 1. (1952), pp. 64–80.

------------, “Notes on the Use of the Word ‘Democracy, 1789–1799”, *Political Science Quarterly*, 68: 2 (1953), pp. 203–26.

------------, “The World Revolution of the West: 1763-1801”, *Political Science Quarterly*, 69: 1. (1954), pp. 1–14.

------------, *The Age of Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800* (Princeton, 1959–64), 2 vols.

Henry Parker, *Observations on Some of His Majesties Late Answers and Expresses* (London, 1642).

Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge, 1970).

Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570–1640* (Cambridge, 1995).

Anne Phillips, *The Politics of Presence* (Oxford, 1995).

Hannah F. Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley, 1967).

J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, 1975).

------------, “Virtues, Rights and Manners: A Model for Historians of Political Thought” [1981] in *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985).

##### J. R. Pole, *Political* *Representation in England and the Origins of the American Republic* (London, 1966).

Paul Rahe, *Republics Ancient and Modern:* *Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1992).

# P. J. Rhodes, *Ancient Democracy and Modern* *Ideology* (London, 2003).

William H. Riker, *Liberalism Against Populism* (San Francisco, 1982).

Pierre Rosanvallon, “The History of the Word ‘Democracy’ in France”, *Journal of Democracy*, 6 (1995), pp. 140–54.

------------, *Le Sacre du citoyen: histoire du suffrage universel en France* (Paris, 2001).

Lorenzo Sabbadini, “Popular Sovereignty and Representation in the English Civil War” in R. Bourke and Q. Skinner eds., *Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, 2016).

Ruth Scurr, “Varieties of Democracy in the French Revolution” in J. Innes and M. Philp eds., *Re-Imagining Democracy in the Age of Revolutions: America, France, Britain, Ireland 1750–1850* (Oxford, 2013).

Quentin Skinner, “The Empirical Theorists of Democracy and their Critics: A Plague on Both Their Houses”, *Political Theory*, 1: 3 (1973), pp. 287–306.

Adam Smith, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, eds. R. L. Meek et al. (Oxford, 1978).

# Michael Sonenscher, *Before the Deluge: Public Debt, Inequality and the Intellectual Origins of the French Revolution* (Princeton, 2007).

Jacob L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy: Political Theory and Practice during the French Revolution and Beyond* (Harmondsworth, 1952).

Charles Tilly, *Democracy* (Cambridge, 2007).

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America: Historical-Critical Edition of De la démocratie en Amérique,* ed. E. Nolla (Indianapolis, 2010), 4 vols.

Richard Tuck, *The Sleeping Sovereign: The Invention of Modern Democracy* (Cambridge, 2016).

------------, *Natural Rights Theories: Their Origin and Development* (Cambridge, 1979).

Nadia Urbinati, *Representative Democracy: Principles and Genealogy* (Chicago, 2006).

Monica B. Vieira and D. Runciman, *Representation* (Cambridge, 2008).

Max Weber, “Politik als Beruf” in *Wissenschaft als Beruf* [1917/1919], *Politik als Beruf* [1919], ed. Wolfgang J. Mommsen und Wolfgang Schluchter (Tübingen, 1994).

Sheldon Wolin, *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought* (Princeton, 1960).

David Wootton, “Leveller Democracy and the Puritan Revolution” in J. H. Burns ed., *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700* (Cambridge, 1991).

------------, *Divine Right and Democracy* [1986] (Indianapolis, 2003).