

Conference: Citizenship, Conscience and Political Education

This conference was held in the Palais des Congrès, Quebec, Canada, on July 29-31, 2000. It was sponsored by the Conference for the Study of Political Thought in association with the Canadian Political Science Association, with generous support by the Department of Canadian Heritage (Multiculturalism Program), the Privy Council Office of the Government of Canada, Concordia University and Université Laval. Opening remarks were delivered by James Moore (Concordia), Convenor of the Conference; Martyn Thompson (Tulane) CSPT Chairman.

Citizenship
Session I: Montesquieu: Citizenship in Comparative Perspective <i>Chair: E.J. Hundert (UBC)</i>
Rebecca Kingston (Saint Francis College), Montesquieu, Rousseau and the genesis of a modern theory of education for citizenship.
<p>It can be argued that in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries a major shift in writings on political education occurred in which the focus moved away from the task of educating princes for leadership to that of the techniques necessary for educating citizens. Modern theorists of natural law had reflected on the nature and duties of citizenship. However, it was not until the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century in France that any sustained reflection on the techniques of pedagogy and the forming of political actors for the role of citizen was developed. While such arguments can be seen initially as functional to the workings of absolutist government and its Catholic identity, this shift also would bring to light other possibilities. The objective of this paper is to examine the writings of Montesquieu and Rousseau against the background of seventeenth century writings on political education, including the work of Fenelon and Bossuet, to discuss the nature of this shift in the literature on political education and the directions in which it was developed.</p>
Cecil P. Courtney (Christ's College, Cambridge), Montesquieu, Bolingbroke, Hume: laws, history and the English constitution.
<p>In the <i>Esprit des lois</i> Montesquieu devotes two long chapters to the English system of government. The first is a somewhat idealised description which has become known (somewhat inaccurately) as the separation of powers. The second, which is usually neglected by modern readers, is an analysis of how this system works in practice. To understand the significance of these different descriptions one must take into account a certain dual perspective inherent in Montesquieu's approach to history and politics. It is also necessary to situate them in the context of the intellectual debate of the period, with particular reference to the writings of Bolingbroke and Hume.</p>
Session II: Rousseau: Citizenship and Foundation Myths <i>Chair: Pamela Jensen (Kenyon)</i>
Diane Lamoureux (Laval), La distance entre l'homme et le citoyen chez Rousseau
Bonnie Honig (Northwestern), Foundation myths in the writings of Rousseau and Freud
<p>In this period of high population mobility and immigration, movements have arisen demanding, in the name of tolerance, that we tell new public stories about the role of immigrants and aliens in the national histories of Canada and the U.S. But does the national promotion of xenophilia by way of new civic education actually combat, effectively, the forces of xenophobia? What kinds of interventions into the national or transnational imagination might effectively open up opportunities for greater magnanimity to strangers? One mechanism of civic education is the stories we tell about our origins. In my paper, I look at two origin stories that give prominence to an alien or a foreign founder: Rousseau's Social Contract and Freud's Moses and Monotheism. Rousseau's democratic ideal depends upon the fortuitous arrival of a foreign lawgiver who is fundamentally beneficent and whose foreignness models objectivity, impartiality and perspicacity. Freud's Moses, also a foreign founder, is, by contrast, the vehicle of the imposition of an unwelcome and overly abstract and demanding law. Why does Freud rewrite the Moses story? And which of these origin stories better serves the needs of multicultural democracies and why?</p>
Session III: De Tocqueville and Democratic Citizenship <i>Chair: Percy Lehning (Erasmus)</i>
James Schleifer (New Rochelle), Alexis de Tocqueville on challenges for citizens in a democratic society.

One of the reasons for the resurgence of interest in Tocqueville during the past twenty years is his analysis of citizenship and civic life in modern democratic society. My paper will examine: (1) Tocqueville's concept of citizenship; (2) his catalogue of dangers to citizenship in democratic society, especially materialism, individualism and the new democratic despotism; and (3) his suggested remedies, including local liberties, associations, the idea of rights and religion. The paper will also discuss Tocqueville's commitment to liberty, his sense of its fragility in democratic times, and his concept of the "art" and "habits" of liberty. Finally the paper will address the complexity and subtlety of Tocqueville's analysis and the timeliness of his warnings and prescriptions.

Stephane Dion (Government of Canada), Tocqueville et le nationalisme

Conscience

Session IV: Conscience in Early Modern Political Thought *Chair: James Moore (Concordia)*

Knud Haakonssen (Boston), Conscience and Natural Law

This paper falls into four parts. First I gave a brief survey of the development of the notions of conscience that derived from the Reformers with special emphasis on the role of these notions in toleration debates in the seventeenth century. Secondly, I explain how the main secularists of natural law, namely the Lutherans Samuel Pufendorf and Christian Thomasius, dispensed with any significant role for conscience; and I indicate how their main followers in this regard were David Hume and Adam Smith. Thirdly, I analyze how the main commentator on Pufendorf, Jean Barbeyrac, reintroduced conscience into natural law theory in a manner that proved to be of the greatest consequence. Fourthly, I pursue these consequences in the formation of theories of rights of conscience, partly in Swiss, partly in Scottish and American natural law theory.

Edward Andrew (Toronto), Conscience and the Tradition of Liberal Political Thought

Session V: The Politics of Conscience, Idealism, and Scepticism *Chair: M.M. Goldsmith (Victoria U, New Zealand)*

John Roberts (Toronto), Thomas Hill Green and the ideal citizen

Martyn Thompson (Tulane), Oakeshott revisited: the idealist and the sceptic

Session VI: Conscience in North American Political Thought *Chair: Anthony Parel (Calgary)*

Douglas Long (Western Ontario), Conscience, Propriety and Property: a study in conceptual change from Hobbes to C.B. Macpherson

C.B. Macpherson first rose to prominence among Anglo-American political theorists as the author of *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*. This was a study in the tradition of R.H. Tawney's *The Acquisitive Society*, an indictment of the moral and political theories of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke for entrenching in the political and civic societies of the Anglo-American world a mode of homo sapiens as an inveterate acquirer and accumulator of property rather than a cultivator and celebrator of 'uniquely human capacities'. As a democratic individualist Macpherson set out to reverse the priorities of mainstream liberal-democratic thought by putting property to work in the service of humanity. He attempted to tame the urge for proprietorship by cultivating the sense of propriety - of what is an appropriate expression of the "human essence". Only in this way, he felt, could commodity fetishism finally give way to genuine human development. Macpherson's essentialism was distinctively modern. Nonetheless, it owed something to Aristotle in its confidence that, unless obstructed by oppressive systems of power, human nature would tend to follow a positive natural path of development toward an end such as the one sketched in J.S. Mill's famous quotation from Wilhelm von Humboldt: "... the highest and most harmonious development of his powers to a complete and consistent whole". The Hobbesian / Lockian conception of individuals as 'infinite appropriators' was just such an obstructive political construct. Macpherson's theory also shows interesting affinities with the Thomistic view of human proprietorship of the world's resources as a kind of stewardship rather than absolute ownership, a matter of participation in a moral order within which property must be allocated its appropriate place. St. Thomas Aquinas had argued that no man had absolute ownership of anything by right, and that the rich were obliged under natural law to share their superabundance with the poor. *Mutatis mutandis*, Macpherson revived these claims that the control and distribution of property must be made to serve the fundamental goal of democratic human development. That St. Thomas's goals and values were Catholic while Macpherson's were humanistic does not alter the important congruencies in their arguments. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the period stretching (for this paper's purposes) from the time of Thomas Hobbes to the time of Adam Smith, the Aristotelian - Thomistic essentialist view of property was decisively eclipsed by an alternative view which

emphasized the legality and expediency, not the moral propriety, of property. This paper will illustrate this important change in the conceptualization of property by reference to the works of Hobbes, Grotius, Locke, Pufendorf, David Hume, and finally Adam Smith. Not one of these seminal theorists of commercial - later-capitalist - society produced a moral defense of property that satisfied Macpherson. It has been wrongly assumed by many of Macpherson's critics that he attacked these because he was a Marxist. Macpherson took every available opportunity to deny this. He wrote, he said, not as a committed Marxist but as the conscience of liberalism, alarmed by the deficiencies of liberal-democratic conceptualizations of the individual and of democracy under capitalism. He sought to restore the idea of positive human development, in a moral sense, to its rightful place as the first priority for all true democrats. To this end he sought to recall to the minds of his readers the forgotten Thomistic insight, shorn of its theological carapace, that the creative, productive and humane use of property, not exclusive possession of it, was the key to the optimization of the human condition. In our world of globalizing development and environmental crises, we ignore at our peril Macpherson's attempt to subject the urge to appropriate to limitations dictated by a sense of what constitutes an appropriately humane mode of existence for our species.

John Christian Laursen (UC Riverside), George Armstrong Kelly and the Politics of Conscience

George Armstrong Kelly (1932-1987) was "one of the most distinguished scholars of our time" (D.R. Kelley). His work ranged from military strategy to intellectual history to the philosophy of religion in America, and it is still influential today. One of the most striking features of his work is the high level of intellectual and moral integrity it reveals. This paper will explore what may be called Kelly's "Politics of the Scholarly Conscience". Kelly's *Politics and Religious Consciousness in America* (Transaction Press, 1984) was dedicated "To Faith and to Loyalty in a time when they are made difficult but not impossible". We can unpack what that means by ranging through other works such as *Victims. Authority, and Terror* (North Carolina, 1982), *Mortal Politics in Eighteenth-Century France* (University of Waterloo Press, 1986), and two posthumous pieces: *The Humane Comedy: Constant, Tocqueville and French Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1992) and "Veils: The Poetics of John Rawls", *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1996). It will emerge that the scholarly conscience is closely bound to the special responsibilities created by learning, knowledge, and self-reflection.

Session VII: Multiculturalism and the Politics of Inclusion *Chair: Guy Laforest (Laval)*

Joint plenary session with the Canadian Political Science Association. Contributors: Charles Taylor (McGill); Iris Young (Chicago); Bhikhu Parekh (Hull); and Benjamin Barber (Rutgers)

Political Education

Session VIII: Political Education I *Chair: Lyman Tower Sargent (Missouri, Saint Louis)*

F.L. van Holthoon (Groningen), *Der Begriff des Politischen*: modernization and political education

Bernard Crick (Edinburgh), *Elements of Citizenship in Schools*

Political philosophers and political scientists have become too internalised and deliberately over-complicated to be much intellectual help to education in schools. So difficult now to be basic and simple. In most countries Citizenship is taught in schools. But it may be formal, called Civics, say learning about institutions and the constitution; it may be indoctrinatory, love thy leader as thyself or super-patriotism, as in autocracies; or aspire to perpetuate and extend the tradition of civic republicanism - the active and interactive free citizen. To learn to question from an early age whether laws and rules are just, not simply to be the rule of law or to be the 'good citizen' or 'the good subject'. To be effective this implies pupils learning values, skills and knowledge. All three elements in the trinity are needed to deliver participative free citizenship. What is meant by learning values? Learning to develop a sense of values ("fairness" figures high in children's discourse) is also to recognise a plurality of values: is this indoctrination? Perhaps, and so what? Depends what one means by indoctrination and on careful balance of formal teaching and experiential learning. To maintain that the aim of an education for citizenship is wider. Not to aim for a substantive consensus, rather a procedural consensus.

Session IX: Political Education II *Chair: Fred Rosen (London)*

Geraint Parry (Manchester), *Political Education in a tradition of civility*

The regularity with which political thinkers from Plato to Oakeshott and Dewey have written on education indicates a constant concern that children be brought up to live according to the conceptions of governance and citizenship which such theorists have advanced. Often the errors of the past are to be overcome by remedial education directed at the new generation. The paper proposes to examine some of the tensions within the enterprise of

political education by focusing in particular on writings from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Many educational thinkers in this period made use of notions of social reputation and emulation in order to instill a respect for civility in the younger generation. However, contemporaneous critics questioned the compatibility of certain appeals to criteria of civility with respect for such values as virtue, liberty or autonomy. The influence of the Enlightenment, as an Age of Pedagogy, on subsequent liberal education has ensured that these debates continue to have a resonance in the intensive discussions of modern civic education which are currently taking place in many societies.

David Kettler (Trent), Political Education for a Polity of Dissensus: Karl Mannheim, Albert Salomon and the Legacy of Max Weber

The purpose of this paper is to compare the approaches to political education of two social theorists who take their departure in their time from Max Weber's widely debated lectures on the callings of science and politics. It is argued that the central topic must be understood, first, against the background of persistent German debates about the conflict between education in Wilhelm von Humboldt's sense of Bildung [civilization] and specialized training in the sciences, and, second, against the background of early republican educational policy in favor of sociology as a fit vehicle for education to republican citizenship. Mannheim's familiar Ideology and Utopia takes on a less familiar but freshly interesting shape against this background: and Albert Salomon's unfamiliar writings, notably in connection with his work in the Hochschule fur Politik, an institution founded for political education, make for an instructive contrast. The study draws on recently discovered sources for Mannheim as teacher, as well as on a monograph by Colin Loader and David Kettler written to accompany the publication of these new sources in translation. Mannheim and Salomon are then traced to their respective places of exiles, where the small differences in their Weimar writings expand into a sharp contrast, with implications for an understanding of both the Weberian legacy and the problems themselves. A prime theoretical bearing of the comparative study is on the development of realist alternatives to communitarian idealizations of citizenship.

Session X: History, Citizenship, and Political Education *Chair: Preston King (Lancaster)*

J.G.A. Pocock (Johns Hopkins), The Historian and the Political Theorist

I shall discuss the relation between the history of political thought and the theory of politics. This will not entail much discussion of the philosophy of history, but will entail some allusion to the political theory of history, an enquiry into which I attempted to launch myself and others at the 1996 conference of the CSPT, "The Politics of History". While I shall seek to avoid any unwise historicism, I shall suggest that history's chief contribution to theory may consist in raising questions about the historicity of the latter; questions to which theory is capable of responding.

Melvin Richter (CUNY), Conceptual History and Political Theory

One of the great scholarly achievements of the past half century has been the completion by Reinhart Koselleck and his colleagues of the eight-volume history of political and social concepts, the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (Stuttgart, 1972-1993). Unlike earlier historians of ideas, the contributors to this project utilized the work of social historians and historians of collective mentalities to determine the manner in which conceptual change is related to structural changes and continuities in societies and political systems. It is history which makes available to citizens and political actors categories of thought and patterns of action previously unidentified and unavailable. Among the most signal achievements of this historical exercise has been the retrieval of the concept of civil society which has proved to be so valuable to those who have emerged from the repressive setting of the former Soviet bloc. Over a comparable period of time (the past thirty years) much of the finest work on the history of political thought in the English-speaking world has been accomplished by scholars sensitive to changing structures of language or discourse (Pocock) and conventions and techniques of linguistic use, of redescription and reevaluation (Skinner). My paper will attempt to demonstrate that these different approaches to the history of political thought are not only compatible but mutually reinforcing and interdependent.