"All knowledge is a footnote to Plato and Aristotle."
Alfred North Whitehead

Everything has been said before but since nobody listens we have to keep going back and begin all over again.
André Gide

This course is structured to review some of the writings of the more prominent political theorists of ancient western civilization. The course is culturally chauvinistic because political theory is basically man thinking about his relationship to authority within his immediate environment; more specifically, it is organized man within any contemporary political setting.

At the conclusion of the course the student should be able to discuss intelligently the following:
1) The origin and classical development of western democracy.
2) The origin and classical development of "politics."
3) The culturally political contributions of the Greeks, Romans, Hebrews and Christians to western civilization.
The extent of successful appreciation of any of these goals will be assessed through classroom examination.

Central to the course will be a discussion of the development of thought on such concepts as authority, government, and the relationship between society and its rulers. The approach towards these notions will be normative within a western cultural framework. The basic elements of government, as established in western civilization, represent the case which is then elaborated upon in the follow-up course which deals with modern western political theory.

My idea of political theory coincides most closely with that of Professor Sheldon Wolin. Political theories are [Kuhnian] paradigmatic; they are time and culture relevant to people who are seeking to understand significance and relevance in the world. I would like you, therefore, to read one of Wolin's essays, "Paradigms and Political Theories" in P.King and B.C. Parkh (eds.). Politics and Experience: Essays Presented to Professor Michael Oakeshott on the Occasion of his Retirement. (On Reserve).

For a useful, if general, statement read: Mark E. Warren. "What is Political Theory/Philosophy," PS, 12(September 1989), 606-612.

If there is any single book that would help explain to the novice political philosopher, political theorist, or student what western civilization is about I would have to argue for Jakob Burkhardt's The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy. The book is readily available in the library and a number of inexpensive paperback editions. I strongly urge all to at least browse through it at some time during the semester. See also: John R. Huide. "The Development
of Jacob Burkhardt's Early Political Thought." *J. of the Hist. of Ideas*, 53 (July–Sept. 1992): 425–436. Lectures will be given to supplement the textual materials. Class participation is both encouraged and desired. While this course will focus on western political theory, students should abstain strenuously from the belief that what is Good for the West is Good for the world. There is, indeed, an eastern tradition as well. To begin a study of the political East, you might try to look at: A Guide to Oriental Classics. 2d ed. Edited by Wm. Theodore de Barry and Ainslie T. Embree (NY: Columbia University Press, 1975).

Required texts include:

Grading will be done by traditional testing as well as requiring a number of different types of efforts. There will be several "think pieces," three tests, and a final exam; their combined worth will be weighted approximately as follows:


Think Pieces: 35%
Tests: 35%
Final Exam: 30%

There will be no make-ups for tests for any reason. The instructor will, however, substitute the final exam grade for each test missed when compiling final grades.

While attendance is not required, if absences accrued reach the level of a quarter of the semester, i.e. 11 classes, the student will be invited to withdraw and receive an earned grade of F.

INTRODUCTORY READINGS

The extent of the reading listings throughout the syllabus is intended to satisfy varying degrees of enthusiasm and academic acumen. The citations do not represent required readings. It is anticipated that you will read as much of the suggested materials as you have the need and the time.

N.B. APSR = *American Political Science Review*

Arlene W. Saxonhouse. "From Tragedy to Hierarchy and Back Again: Women in Greek Political Thought." APSR, 80 (June 1986).
For a general source on political theory see:
http://www.apsanet.org/~theory

For the study of ancient Greece, Perseus is a useful database; its URL is:
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/
"Electronic Resources for the Classicists" (on reserve)

Lecture Topics as Sequentially Offered
The Study of Political Theory
Pre-Political Greece and the Heroic Tradition
The Development of a Political Community and Vocabulary
The Polis
Thucydides
Thucydides: Politics and Political Action
Read for the above: Text, Parts I-III
http://classics.rutgers.edu/thuc.html
Homer
Thucydides
Test #1

The Emergence of the Idea of Theory
Socrates and the Socratic Method
Plato

Plato: The Nature of Political Knowledge
Plato: The Problem of Desire and the Structure of the Community
Plato: The Analysis of Political Change
Plato: The Relations Between Theory and Action

Aristotle: Knowledge and its Presuppositions
Aristotle: Political Science and Political Action
Aristotle: The Nature of the Polis
Aristotle: Constitutions and Revolutions
Aristotle: The Best Practicable Polity
Aristotle: The Ideal Polity
Aristotle: The Theoretical Life

Read for the above: Text, pp. 166-442

For a discussion of the origins of Plato's mss. see: Harold Chemmiss. The Riddle of the Early Academy (1945) and Wincentz Lutoslawski. The Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic (1905). Consult also the books and articles of Robert Brunbaugh.

For materials on Plato's Academy, look at:
http://php.iupui.edu/~cplaneau/plato_05.html

For material(s) on Plato see:
http://www.dar.cam.ac.uk/~csp23
http://iupui.edu/~cplaneau
http://callimac.vjf.inserm.fr
http://eawc.evansville.edu/~bfsuzan/plato.htm
http://eawc.evansville.edu/essays/suzanne.htm


Curtis Johnson. "Socrates on Obedience and Justice." Western Political Quarterly, 43(December 1990), 719-761.
Harold L. Levy. "Does Aristotle Exclude Women from Politics?" Rev. of Politics, 52(Summer 1990), 397-416.
Stephen B. Smith. "Goodness, Nobility & Virtue in Aristotle's Political Science." Polity, 19(Fall 1986), 5-26

Test #2

Political Theory in the Age of Empire
Eclipse of the Polis and Decline of Classical Political Theory
Politics and the Alexandrine Empire
Epicureans and Cynics
Stoics
Read for the above:
Economic Growth in Ancient Times, Especially at the Period of Alexander
http://www.geocities.com/grzorzos
Polybius
Cicero
Seneca
Read for the above: Text, Part VII
Test #3

The Early Hebrews
The Early Christians
Augustine
Thomas Aquinas
Marsilius of Padua

Read for the above: Text, Part IX


Final Exam

Think Pieces

Think pieces are products of original scholarship accompanied by perceptive reasoning and extra fine style. Written in the form of an essay, it is not to be a synopsis of the textual handling of either the theorist or the problem. Research, on the other hand, is required to the degree the student finds necessary. Do not, please, use either the text or class notes/lecture material for support. In any case, there is to be a minimum of footnoting. Length is to be limited to a maximum of the equivalent of 10 double-spaced, typewritten pages; the minimum is to cover the topic thoroughly which should be about 5 pages (without wide margins please). Remember also that this is a class in political theory not political philosophy.

There will be a 24-hour grace period following the due date during which the assigned think piece may be submitted at the cost of one letter grade. Please note, however, that unless the instructor is notified prior to the due date of an acceptable and reasonable cause for tardiness the cost for failure to submit entirely will be an F with the assigned value of -10. Please note further that the lack of planning on your part does not constitute an emergency on my part.

Due dates to be announced.

Think Piece #1

Do one.
(a) In Thucydides' account of the History of the Peloponnesian War, Bk 5, there are two debates held at Sparta and attended by that city's allies from Corinth and some Athenian travellers. The subject of debate is Athenian power and expansion. The point at issue in the debates is what should the Spartan strategy be to this perceived threat.

To what degree does Thucydides introduce "rational choice" (expected utility) theory in his discussion of Athenian strategy?

A review of some of the literature on "rational" decision-making is, of course, in order. You may have to read Thucydides' historical account to the extent that is required to answer the question.

You may care to look at:
http://www.nygale.org/~sdelille (Peloponnesian War)
Mark V. Kaupi. "Contemporary International Relations Theory and the Peloponnesian War" in Hegemonic Rivalry: From Thucydides to the Nuclear Age edited by Richard N. Lebow and Barry S. Strauss.
Jacqueline De Romilly. Thucydides and Athenian Imperialism (Basil Blackwell, 1963)
Donald Kagan. The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (Cornell University Press, 1989)
Mark V. Kauppi. "Thucydides and the New World Order." (on reserve)

(b) Oliver Stone as Thucydides.

For some sources, look at:

(c) Compare and relate the Christian [Bible] concept of to koinon to the Greek idea of to plethos (and, perhaps, the Arabic notion of jumhur or jumhuriyya).

(d) Is Thucydides to be considered a Morgenthalauer realist or a Waltzian neo-realist?

(e) Look at Homer's use of the word anarchos in the Iliad (2.703) where it refers to soldiers whose captain (Philoctetes) has been wounded but who are not leaderless because Medon reorganizes them. Anarchos appears twice in Euripides (Hecuba and Iphigenia Aulidensis), in Aristotle's writings on biology, and in Aeschylus' Eumenides. The Greeks use anarchia to mean lawlessness except Herodotus' writings about barbarians. Briefly connect anarchia to what appears to be disjointed, the notion of community.

(f) Assume the role of a spokesperson for Emerson and/or Thoreau. Tell an ancient Greek how and why their political thought was relevant to the world about us.

Think Piece #2

Do one.

(a) Imagine a mythical Greek City-State Supreme Court in a mythical Greek Polis. Sitting on the bench are the following justices: Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Assume the role and personality of any one of the justices and write an extended opinion on one of the following situations or topics:

1) The role of the press in a free society.
2) On the Challenge of Democracy (Order v. Freedom)
3) The role of elitism in an announced egalitarian democracy.

(b) Plato on Gandhi as a Philosopher-King.

(c) How would Plato respond to the student academician who participates in civil disobedience on campus over an issue of current national importance?


(e) Would Aristotle have had a problem with a professional athlete being supported by a city-franchise at a higher monetary level than that city's civil
servants?

(f) In what American political party would Aristotle be most comfortable intellectually, and why?

(g) An essay on: "Aristotle on legal assistance to the poor." or "Aristotle on racism."

(h) Could Aristotle's final cause include evil as a humanly bad quality? If so, could a person with that profile be eliminated? Would that response be a morally correct act? Your response must take Aristotle's notion of the polity into consideration. Look at Aristotle's Ethics, Bk. 10.

(i) Is rational self-interest a factor in Aristotle's megalopsychic god-beast? See his Politics, III.6, VII.14.1333a3-4 on rational self interest and the purpose of ruling.

(j) Compare Plato's or Aristotle's concept of "a stranger" with that of Albert Camus' The Stranger.

(k) Plato sought the ultimate ruler, the philosopher-king; it was not to be, however, at least in his lifetime. But the philosopher Michel de Montaigne was the equivalent of the mayor of Bordeaux from 1581 to 1585. In 1714, the philosopher Montesquieu was appointed to the deputy president of the Bordeaux city council. What common features were there there that may be absent elsewhere and at other times?

(l) How would Aristotle argue before the NC Legislature when asked to approve a Piedmont Natural Gas rate increase request which included in its argument that the rates for home owners had to go up in order to keep the rate for the "best customers" low?

(m) Interpret the first para. of the Politics in a coherent, logical fashion, and plausible manner. Politics, I.1.1252a1-7.

(n) How does Aristotle distinguish or differentiate from between the following: polis, politics, political.

(o) What would Aristotle say about the election of a hero to public office?

Think Piece #3
Do one:

(a) To what extent/degree would Augustine employ diplomacy to prevent war and insure peace?

To assist, you may want to consult:
George R. Edwards. Jesus and the Politics of Violence (1972) (On reserve)
(b) How do you think Augustine would have responded to the Abbot of Citeaux who in 1209, and in the context of the Albigensian Crusade, was reported to have said: "Kill 'em all; Let God sort 'em out."

See the following for assistance:

(c) The following is an excerpt from the book, The Best of Sydney J. Harris. Harris, by the way, was a syndicated columnist.

"I couldn't answer the Hindu. Maybe you can.
'Since traveling in the Christian West," he said, 'I have been puzzled. How do you interpret the words of Jesus? How do you reconcile His doctrine of nonresistance with your guns and planes and war? How can people who share in the good news of His message kill one another, while both sides pray to Him?
'That's the doctrine of perfection," I stammered. 'Mortal men can't always live up to it.'
'But it should be your goal,' he said, 'and it seems that you act in the opposite direction. Gandhi wasn't a Christian, yet he seemed to practice the New Testament more than westerners do.'
'But Gandhi was a saint,' I protested. 'Surely, Indian people are not better.'
'Perhaps not,' he said. 'But we do not claim to have a special revelation. We do not insist we follow a Prince of Peace then follow the Prince of War.'
'Not everybody agrees Jesus was a pacifist.' I objected. 'Some point to his scourging the money changers out of the temple.'
'Ah, but there is a difference between scourging as you might be a disobedient child, out of love and wantonly killing millions in the name of God. You are commanded to love your neighbors. Today in this shrunken world, everybody is a neighbor." I had one defense left.
'Don't we have an obligation to fight against injustice and wickedness and tyranny?'
'Yes," he said. 'You must but in your own minds and souls, where it begins, not in some foreign land. When you have purified yourselves, the example of your goodness will be the most effective weapon in the world.'
'Maybe you can answer the Hindu. I could not.'

(d) Read "One Man's Meat" [A speech by the Iranian Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini on December 12, 1984], Harper's Magazine, 270(April–May 1985), 17–18. Write a reply/response or a critique of the speech as if you were Augustine.
Optional Final Exam Questions (to be handed in at exam time).

The following are optional questions. (25 pts.) You may elect to answer any one question your answer may be substituted for any question of the final exam. If, in fact, you choose to complete any of the questions it is to be turned in at the time of the final exam. Because of the increased worth of these questions and the fact that they are take-home questions, I expect a great deal of perception in a well-written and well-structured essay.

1) Compare Homer's version of the State and the means for creating it with that of Hobbes.


2) Write an essay on: "Form and Substance: The Classical Formulation of Political Debate."

In order to complete this essay you must/should consult Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. See especially Book I, Chap. 9; Book II, Chap. 10; and Book V, chap. 8.

3) Critique Plato's or Aristotle's concern for rational self-interest in the *Republic* or the *Politics*, respectively.

4) Provide a profile of Aristotle's *megalopsychia*, whom most scholars believe was meant to be a reference to Alcibiades and/or Alexander.

5) Compare Plato's suggestion that democracy contains a multiplicity of *paradeigmata* to Pericles' suggestion in the funeral oration that Athens is a *paradeigma* for all Greece.


6) What in "classical political theory" explains the current role of myth in political culture?


7) How has the concept of the "[political] hero" changed since the time of ancient Greece?

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URL Sources on the 'Net
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu
http://rome.classics.Isa.umich.edu/welcome.html
http://circe.unh.edu/classics/resources.html
http://indiana.edu/~classics/Internet/Internet.html
A selective bibliography for those energetic enough to be interested in further study of classical western political theory

Greece and Morality
Greece and Women
*Early Christian Morality*