

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

POLITICAL SCIENCE 485Y/2027Y, LEC0101 and 0901

TOPICS IN POLITICAL THOUGHT II

WINTER SESSION 2020-2021

Professor C. Orwin (clifford.orwin@utoronto.ca)

Our theme this year will be the politics of struggle both external and internal. We will explore it through a careful reading of Hobbes's *De Cive or On the Citizen* and Thucydides' *War of the Athenians and the Peloponnesians*. My plan is to spend six to eight weeks on Hobbes (including part of the opening session) and 18 to 20 on Thucydides. If you were to point out helpfully that there are but 24 weeks in the academic year, not 26, I would retort that there is a specified make up day at the end of each semester, and I will not scruple to use them, because let's face it, we all have things to make up for.

So 26 weeks it is. As Hobbes and Thucydides agree, the world is a rough place, where the strong do what they can and the weak do what they must, so live with it.

A WARNING: CLASS SESSIONS WILL BE GRUELING AS THEY WILL RUN FOR THREE HOURS OR MORE. ALTHOUGH LISTED AS A 400-LEVEL COURSE, THIS COURSE IS A GRADUATE SEMINAR AND WILL BE CONDUCTED AT THE GRADUATE LEVEL.

OUR CLASS MOTTO IS THAT OF THE OREGON TRAIL: THE COWARDS NEVER STARTED, THE WEAK DIED ALONG THE WAY

COURSE ATTENDANCE (AND NON-ATTENDANCE). Due to the unprecedented situation of the ongoing COVID pandemic, only students in SEC of the course will be expected to attend the course lectures in person, *and only they will be permitted to do so*. We deeply regret excluding the students in SEC 9101 (a majority of the class) from attending the lectures. Unfortunately there is no other way of enforcing physical distancing in the lecture hall, as both Provincial and University policy require us to do. Those students who attend the lectures remotely will enjoy the same opportunities for participating in class discussion as those present in person. Those unable to attend remotely, whether due to time zone incompatibility or because they lack reliable internet access during class hours, will be able to follow the course through recordings of the lectures, which will be posted on the course web site on Quercus after each session. They will also enjoy alternative opportunities for participation, TBA. **UNFORTUNATELY AUDITORS WILL ENJOY ELECTRONIC ACCESS ONLY, HAPLESS VICTIMS OF PHYSICAL DISTANCING POLICIES.**

NOTICE OF VIDEO RECORDING AND SHARING

This course, including your participation, will be recorded on video and will be available to students in the course for viewing remotely and after each session.

Course videos and materials belong to your instructor, the University, and/or other sources depending on the specific facts of each situation, and are protected by copyright. Do not download, copy, or share any course or student materials or videos without the explicit permission of the instructor.

For questions about recording and use of videos in which you appear please contact your instructor.

Recommended Editions (available at the University Textbook Store at the Koffler Centre at College and St. George)

Thomas Hobbes, *Man and Citizen. De Homine and De Cive*. Edited by Bernard Gert. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1991 [1972]. **Also available from Hackett as an e-book.** *De Cive* was composed in Latin; the anonymous English translation adopted by Gert was long thought to be by Hobbes himself. Recent scholarship (cf. the article by Noel Malcolm below) has questioned that attribution, not least because there are errors in it such as Hobbes is unlikely to have committed. Unfortunately the only more recent translation is also ridden with errors, so we may as well stick with the one in Gert; I will note significant errors as we come to them.

Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*. The Complete Thomas Hobbes Translation with Notes and a New Introduction by David Grene. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989 [1959]. **Also available from the Press as an e-book.**

Hobbes's translation, in its original version, minus Grene's introduction, notes, and corrections, is available on line through our library as it is from the Liberty Fund:

<https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/thucydides-the-english-works-vol-viii-the-peloponnesian-war-part-i>

Recommended Secondary Reading

Due to the Covid 19 epidemic, the Library's Course Reserve system has been suspended. It remains possible to obtain specific items from the Robarts collection on demand, to be

collected to be read elsewhere. Electronic resources remain available through the course's Website on Quercus, as also through the Library Web Site. This year of all years, with our libraries shuttered by the epidemic, we should be thankful that so many of these sources are available on line.

Readings on Thucydidies

Ahrens Dorf, Peter J. "Thucydides' realist critique of realism." *Polity* 2.2 (1997): 231-265. (ER)

————— and Thomas L. Pangle. *Justice among nations: on the moral basis of power and peace*. Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 1999. JZ1306 .P36 1999X

Balot, Ryan K. *Greed and injustice in classical Athens*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001. B187 .A85 B35 2001X

----. *Courage in the Democratic Polis: ideology and critique in classical Athens*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. (ER)

_____, Sara Forsdyke, and Edith Foster, ed. *The Oxford Handbook on Thucydides*. Oxford: Oxfrpd U.P., 2017. (ER) I contributed a chapter "Nature and Human Conduct in Thucydides."

Bolotin, David. "Thucydides." In Leo Strauss and Joseph Cropsey, ed., *History of political philosophy*, 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986: 7-31. JA81 .S75 1987 (also available in the 2d. ed.)

Bruell, Christopher. "Thucydides' view of Athenian imperialism." *American Political Science Review* 68.1 (1974): 11-17. (ER)

Burns, Timothy W., ed. *Brill's Companion to Leo Strauss' Writings on Classical Political Thought*. Leiden: Brill, 2015. (ER) **I contributed the chapter on Thucydides.**

Coby, Patrick. "Enlightened self-interest in the Peloponnesian War. Thucydidean speakers on the right of the stronger and interstate peace." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 24.1 (1991):67-90. (ER)

Connor, W.R. *Thucydides*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984. (ER)

Edmunds, Lowell. *Chance and intelligence in Thucydides*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975. DF229 .T6 E35 1975

Forde, Steven P. *The ambition to rule: Alcibiades and the politics of imperialism in Thucydides*. Ithaca: Cornell U.P., 1989. DF230 .A4 F67 1989 **This book originated in a dissertation that I supervised.**

_____. "Varieties of realism: Thucydides and Machiavelli." *Journal of Politics*, 54 (1992): 372-393. (ER)

_____. "Thucydides on ripeness and conflict resolution." *International Studies Quarterly* 48.1 (2004): 177-96. (ER)

Gomme, A.W. *A historical commentary on Thucydides*. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956 . PA4461 .G6

Grene, David. *Man in his pride. A study in the political philosophy of Thucydides and Plato*. Chicago, U. of C. Press, 1950. JC73 .G85

Gustafson, Lowell S., ed. *Thucydides' theory of international relations: a lasting possession*. Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2000 . JZ1305 .T48 2000X

Hanson, Victor Davis. *A war like no other: how the Athenians and Spartans fought the Peloponnesian War*. New York: Random House, 2005. DF229 .H36 2005X

Hornblower, Simon. *A commentary on Thucydides*. 3 vols. New York: Oxford U.P., 1991-2008. DF229 .T6 H65 1991 ROBA

Jaffe, Seth N. *Thucydides on the Outbreak of War: Character and Contest*. Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2017. ER **This book originated in a dissertation that I supervised.**

Johnson, Laurie M. *Thucydides, Hobbes, and the interpretation of realism*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois U.P., 1993. ER

Kagan, Donald. *New History of the Peloponnesian War*. Ithaca: Cornell U.P., 2012. (ER)

_____. *Thucydides. The reinvention of history*. New York: Viking, 2009. DF229 .T6 K28 2009X

Lendon, J.E. *Song of Wrath: The Peloponnesian War Begins*. New York: Basic Books, 2010. DF229 .L46 2010X

Macleod, Colin (C.W.). *Collected Essays*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983 PA3003 .M32 1983

Mara, Gerald M. *The civic conversations of Thucydides and Plato: classical political philosophy and the limits of democracy*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2008 JA71 .M26415 2008X

Monoson, S. Sara. "Citizen as *erastes*: erotic imagery and the idea of reciprocity in the Periclean Funeral Oration." *Political Theory* 22.2 (1994): 253-76 JA1 .A1 P64 (ER)

———. and Michael Loriaux. "The illusion of power and the disruption of moral norms: Thucydides' critique of Periclean policy." *American Political Science Review* 92.2 (1998): 285-97 JA1 .A6 (ER)

Nichols, Mary P. *Thucydides and the pursuit of freedom*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015 (ER)

Orwin, Clifford. *The humanity of Thucydides*, 2nd. ed. rev. Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1997. DF229 .T6 O76 1994

———. "Thucydides' contest: Thucydides 1.1-22 in context." *Review of Politics* 51 (1989): 345-64. (ER)

Palmer, Michael. *Love of glory and the common good: aspects of the political thought of Thucydides*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1992. JC71 .T482 P35 1992 **This book originated in a senior honors thesis that I supervised.**

Price, Jonathan J. *Thucydides and internal war*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2001. (ER)

Radasanu, Andrea, ed. *In Search of Humanity: Essays in Honor of Clifford Orwin*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015. (ER) **This volume contains 4 excellent essays on Thucydides by former students of mine, plus one by Professor Balot.**

Rengakos, Antonios and Antonios Tsakmakis, eds. *Brill's Companion to Thucydides*. Leiden: Brill, 2006. (ER)

Romilly, Jacqueline de. *Thucydides and Athenian imperialism*, tr. Philip Thody. Oxford: Blackwell, 1963. PA4461 .R733 1963

Rood, Tim. *Thucydides: narrative and explanation*. Oxford and New York: the Clarendon Press, 1998. (ER)

Rusten, Jeffrey S., ed. *Thucydides. Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. DF229 .T6 T52 2009X

Stahl, Hans-Peter. *Thucydides: man's place in history*. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2003. (English translation by Stahl himself of an original German version of 1966). DF229 .T6 S7213 2003

Strauss, Leo. *The City and Man*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978 [1964] JC73 .S8 1978

Thauer, Christian R., and Christian Wendt, ed. *Thucydides and Political Order: Concepts of Order and the History of the Peloponnesian War*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016 (ER)
_____. *Thucydides and Political Order: Lessons of Governance and the History of the Peloponnesian War*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016 (ER)

These two volumes were the first fruits of the new Berlin/Bochum Thucydides Center (founded 2013) of which both Professor Balot and I are senior fellows. Each of us contributed a chapter to the first of the volumes.

Thomas, Charlotte C.S., ed. *Power and the People: Thucydides' History and the American Founding*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2019. **I contributed a chapter "The Impossible Synthesis? A Thucydidean Perspective on Liberal Democracy."**

Welch, David. "Why international relations theorists should stop reading Thucydides." *Review of International Studies* 29.3 (2003): 301-19 D839 .B772 (ER)

Readings on Hobbes

Baumgold, Deborah, ed. *Three Text Edition of Hobbes's Political Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P. 2017. (ER) **Baumgold collates Hobbes's treatments of similar subjects in the three major expositions of his thought, including *De Cive*.**

Douglass, Robin, and Johan Olsthoorn, ed. *Hobbes's On the Citizen. A Critical Guide*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P. 2020. (ER) **A collection of studies of various aspects of the work.**

Evrigenis, Ioannis D. *Images of Anarchy: the Rhetoric and Science in Hobbes's State of Nature*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. (ER) **E., a leading younger scholar of Hobbes, devotes a chapter to *De Cive*.**

Malcolm, Noel. "Charles Cotton, Translator of Hobbes's *De Cive*." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 61, No. 2 (1998), 259-287. https://www-jstor-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/3817801?noAccessModalRRLoggedIn%3Dtrue=&seq=29#metadata_info_tab_contents

Stauffer, Devin. *Hobbes's Kingdom of Light. A Study of the Foundations of Modern Political Philosophy*. Chicago: U of C Press, 2018. (ER) **An outstanding new interpretation of Hobbes's system as a whole.**

Tuck, Richard. *The Sleeping Sovereign: the Invention of Modern Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2015. (ER) **Tuck's discussion of Hobbes makes extensive use of *De Cive*.**

Course Assignments and Marking Scheme

POL 485Y (the undergraduate course). Three essays of 2750 words each, due October 21, January 6, and March 17; a take-home exam (to be distributed the afternoon of Friday, March 19; due at 11 AM on Monday, March 22). The first assignment will be worth 20% of the final mark, each of the following two will be worth 25%, the take-home exam will be worth 25%, and there will be 5% for participation.

POL 2027Y (the graduate course). Three essays, on topics of the student's own devising, due October 28, January 13, and April 14; a take-home exam (to be distributed the afternoon of Friday, March 19; due at 11 AM on Monday, March 22); each assignment worth a fourth of the final mark. Essays must not exceed 5500 words and will not be read beyond the 5500th word. (There will be a much lower word limit for the take-home exam.)

PLEASE SUBMIT YOUR ESSAYS ELECTRONICALLY, THEREBY SPARING CANADA'S FORESTS.

N.B. In the graduate course as in the undergraduate one, no extensions will be granted on written work except for good cause. In keeping with Nietzsche's theory of punishment, however, according to which every crime has its price and punishment was originally nothing more than an exaction of that price (cf. *On the Genealogy of Morals*, Second Essay), extensions will be readily available to those willing to purchase them. The price will be 3 points, plus 2 additional points per day beginning with the first, off your mark for that assignment. (If you are one day late you will lose 5 points; two days late, 7; etc.). This proviso does not apply to the take-home exam, which will not be accepted if late.

You are responsible for informing yourself of and abiding by the University's policies on plagiarism and other academic offenses. These are available on line at

Mr. Orwin's Office Hours

TBA at Carr Hall 309 (926-1300, ext. 3277): I will hold "dual delivery" (i.e. simultaneously in person and on line) office hours, with privacy guaranteed both to actual visitors and virtual ones.