

PSCI 6300 F
POLITICAL THEORY I.

Wednesdays 2:35 pm - 5:25 pm
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Prof. Waller R. Newell

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Office hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays 10 am to 12:30 pm.

PURPOSE OF THE COURSE:

The core course in Political Theory has several aims. One is to prepare students specializing in Political Theory for the Comprehensive Exam in the field, a summation of what has gone before and a preparation for those planning dissertations in Political Theory. Another is to equip doctoral students, again in conjunction with the exam, with a credential for teaching Political Theory courses at the undergraduate level. Finally, the course is open to graduate students at any level with an interest in political theory.

To this end, the course will examine some primary texts from the history of political thought both for their intrinsic content and as avenues for understanding contemporary approaches to the field. These primary texts are the points of departure for understanding contemporary approaches including critical theory, phenomenology, hermeneutics, post-modernism, political ontology and the liberal/communitarian debate. For instance, figures as diverse as Foucault, Derrida, Taylor, Habermas, Arendt, Grant, Strauss, Voegelin, Nussbaum and Irigaray have all written about classical political thought as avenues into their own contributions to political theory. To take another case, the liberal/communitarian debate as represented by figures like Rawls, Sandel, Pateman, Beiner, Elshtain and Kymlicka is deeply grounded in the primary texts of modern political theory including those of Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu and Rousseau. Students will also be directed toward a list of representative scholarship covering, as relevant, these different contemporary schools and approaches. Sometimes these approaches are gathered under a more general contrast between, on the one hand, European or continental political and social theory and, on the other, the Anglo-American focus on the rights-bearing individual.

The theme of this semester's course is DEMOCRACY, TYRANNY AND WAR. We will consider how classical political philosophy and natural right first emerged against the back-drop of what has been described as the first super-power conflict, the war between democratic Athens and oligarchical Sparta. We will begin with a consideration of the *Realpolitik* classic, Thucydides' HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, and especially his insight into the fateful contradiction between the Athenians' desire for democratic self-government at home and their willingness to tyrannize over other peoples through conquest abroad. With this real-world backdrop in mind, we will turn to Sophocles' OEDIPUS TYRANNUS, a meditation on the permanent conflict between tyranny and freedom that is also a thinly-veiled moral critique of Athenian imperialism itself. That leads us to the emergence of Socrates and the Socratic school in Plato's dialogues GORGIAS, SYMPOSIUM and THE REPUBLIC, where the Peloponnesian War remains a powerful sub-text including a portrait of the leading Athenian imperialist, Alcibiades.

The Socratic search for a permanent standard for justice and the evaluation of regimes rises from the historical situation of the Athenian empire in decline toward trans-historical criteria that remain valid and influential today for students of political philosophy. The Platonic Socrates rejects both the Sophists' teaching identifying tyranny and self-interest with the natural life – influential, as Thucydides demonstrates, in Athenian imperial politics, and attributed to Socrates himself by Aristophanes in THE CLOUDS – and the tragic teaching evinced by Sophocles that man's hubristic desire for knowledge and political mastery invites the gods' punishment. Socrates argues instead that the natural life is precisely the life of knowledge culminating in the cultivation of civic virtue, justice, and an inward-looking politics of moderation that avoids the pursuit of empire. Whereas the Sophists identify the natural life with tyranny and disdain justice as merely conventional, and the tragedians adjure us to submit entirely to convention and avoid trying to live by nature independently of the gods, Socrates stakes out a new position whereby a certain *set* of conventions, those of the Best Regime of THE REPUBLIC, might *themselves* be natural and reasonable. In this way, Socrates literally invents "political science," *politike*. A concomitant of this new approach is that the life of knowledge, the philosophic life, entails the defense of justice and civic virtue – is indeed the chief model for virtuous citizenship.

REQUIREMENTS AND BASIS OF GRADING: 1) Weekly seminar presentations on the assigned readings, on an equally rotating basis. Worth 50% of grade. 2) A seminar research paper of 25 pages due December 7. Worth 50% of grade.

TEXTS (On order at Bookstore):

1. Sophocles. OEDIPUS TYRANNUS. Hackett.

2. Thucydides. ON JUSTICE, POWER AND HUMAN NATURE: THE ESSENCE OF THUCYDIDES' HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR. Woodruff ed. and trans. Hackett.

3. Aristophanes. THE CLOUDS. Mentor.

4. Plato. GORGIAS. Hackett.

5. Plato. SYMPOSIUM. Hackett.

6. Plato. THE REPUBLIC. Basic.

WEEKLY SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND READINGS:

Sept. 12. Introductory remarks. Nature v. Convention. The Poets, Pre-Socratics and Sophists.

Sept. 19. Sophocles. OEDIPUS TYRANNUS.

Sept. 26. Thucydides. From the Woodruff abridgement. Chapters 1, 2, 3.

Oct. 3. Thucydides. Chapters 4, 5, 6.

Oct. 10. Thucydides. Chapters 7, 8.

Oct. 17. Aristophanes. CLOUDS.

Oct. 24. Plato. GORGIAS.

Oct. 31. Plato. SYMPOSIUM.

Nov. 7. Plato. REPUBLIC. Bks. 1-2.

Nov. 14. Plato. REPUBLIC. Bks. 3-6.

Nov. 21. Plato. REPUBLIC. Bks. 7-10,

Nov. 28. Concluding Remarks.

SELECTED SECONDARY SOURCES for a general grounding in political theory:

Charles Taylor, SOURCES OF THE SELF.

Juergen Habermas, THEORY AND PRACTICE.

Michel Foucault, DISCIPLINE AND PUNISH.

Hannah Arendt, THE HUMAN CONDITION.

Jacques Derrida, DISSEMINATION.

Carol Pateman, PARTICIPATION AND DEMOCRATIC THEORY.

Stanley Rosen, HERMENEUTICS AS POLITICS.

George Grant, ENGLISH-SPEAKING JUSTICE.

Sheldon Wolin, POLITICS AND VISION.

Eric Voegelin, THE NEW SCIENCE OF POLITICS.

Leo Strauss, NATURAL RIGHT AND HISTORY.

Martha Nussbaum, THE FRAGILITY OF GOODNESS.

Jean Bethke Elshtain, DEMOCRACY ON TRIAL.

Hans-Georg Gadamer, REASON IN THE AGE OF SCIENCE.

J.G.A. Pocock, THE MACHIAVELLIAN MOMENT.

Hannah Pitkin, FORTUNE IS A WOMAN.

Quentin Skinner, THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT.

John Rawls, A THEORY OF JUSTICE.

Werner Marx, HEIDEGGER

Charles Taylor, HEGEL.

Jean Hyppolite, GENESIS AND STRUCTURE OF HEGEL'S PHENOMENOLOGY OF SPIRIT

John Rawls, A THEORY OF JUSTICE.

Catherine Zuckert, POSTMODERN PLATOS

Michael Sandel, LIBERALISM AND THE LIMITS OF JUSTICE

Ronald Beiner, POLITICAL JUDGEMENT.

WALLER R. NEWELL SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Waller R. Newell. *Tyranny: A New Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013 (forthcoming).

----- *Ruling Passion: The Erotics of Statecraft in Platonic Political Philosophy*.

New York: Roman and Littlefield, 2000.

----- *The Soul of a Leader: Character, Conviction and Ten Lessons in Political Greatness.* New York: Harper Collins, January 2009.

----- *The Code of Man: Love, Courage, Pride, Family, Country.* New York: Harper Collins, October 2003.

----- *What Is A Man? 3,000 Years of Wisdom on the Art of Manly Virtue.* Edited with an interpretive essay and commentary by Waller R. Newell. Revised and abridged for paperback. New York: Harper Collins, May 2001.

----- *Bankrupt Education: The Decline of Liberal Education in Canada.* With Peter C. Emberley. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, May 1994.

----- "Heidegger on Freedom and Community: Some Political Implications of His Early Thought." *The American Political Science Review.* September 1984.

----- "How Original is Machiavelli? A Consideration of Skinner's Interpretation of Virtue and Fortune." *Political Theory.* November 1987.

----- "Machiavelli and Xenophon on Princely Rule: A Double-Edged Encounter." *The Journal of Politics.* February 1988.

----- "Tyranny and the Science of Ruling in Xenophon's *Education of Cyrus.*" *The Journal of Politics.* February 1983.

----- "Superlative Virtue and the Problem of Monarchy in Aristotle's *Politics.*" *The Western Political Quarterly.* March 1987.

----- "Philosophy and the Perils of Commitment: A Comparison of Lukacs and Heidegger." *History of European Ideas* 9.3 (1988a).

----- "Redeeming Modernity: The Ascent of Eros and Wisdom in Hegel's Phenomenology." *Intepretation.* Fall 2009a.

----- "Did Plato Believe In His Own Metaphysics?" In Timothy Burns, ed.

Recovering Reason: Essays in Honor of Thomas L. Pangle. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, June 2010 .

----- “Machiavelli and Xenophon’s Cyrus: Searching for the Modern Conception of Monarchy.” In Lynette Mitchell, ed. *Every Inch A King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds.* Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2013 (forthcoming).

----- “Aristotle’s Ambivalent Assessment of Oligarchy.” In Toivo Koivukoski and David Tabachnick, eds. *On Oligarchy: Ancient Lessons for Global Politics.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

----- “Origins Of Enchantment: Conceptual Continuities In The Ontology Of Political Wholeness.” In Nalin Ranasinghe, ed. *Logos and Eros: Essays Honoring Stanley Rosen.* South Bend, IN: St. Augustine Press, November 2006.

----- “Is There An Ontology Of Tyranny?” In Toivo Koivukoski and David Tabachnick, eds. *Confronting Tyranny: Ancient Lessons for Global Politics.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006b.

----- “Machiavelli’s Model For A Liberal Empire: The Evolution Of Rome.” In David Tabachnick, ed. *Empire.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, September 2009.

----- “Eros and Revolution: On Flaubert’s *Sentimental Education.*” In Michael Palmer and Thomas L. Pangle, eds. *Political Philosophy and the Human Soul: Essays in Memory of Allan Bloom.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1995.

----- “Politics and Progress in Heidegger’s Philosophy of History.” In Richard Day and Ronald Beiner, eds. *Democratic Theory and Technological Society.* London: M.E. Sharpe, 1988b.

----- “The Distant Command of the Greeks: Thoughts on Heidegger’s Rectoral Address.” *Proceedings.* Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, September 1988c.

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students

are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by (*November 9th, 2012 for December examinations and March 8th, 2013 for April examinations*).

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Grades: Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.

