Hunter College
Department of Political Science

PolSci. 373.98
Section 051
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Office Hours TBA

Classics of Conflict and Cooperation

Overview: This course will examine the modern concepts, issues, and problems of international relations, especially American hegemony, through close readings of classical texts. To assess the abiding relevance or irrelevance of these texts, we will examine each author individually and relate them to current events and the other works. Those wishing a more detailed account of how the class is organized and the themes covered may turn directly to the reading and lecture schedule found below.

Texts: We will be using six main texts during the semester: Niccolo Machiavelli's *Prince* and *Discourses on Livy*, Francesco Guicciardini's *Maxims and Reflections (Ricordi)*, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, and Carl von Clausewitz's *On War*. Copies have been ordered at the Hunter Bookstore and are also on reserve at the library. It is preferable that we all use the same editions, but not imperative. I understand students face financial constraints and am sympathetic to those who already own copies or find a good deal on a used, alternate edition. That said, please make an effort to get the following editions: *The Prince*, 2nd ed. Mansfield trans. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), *The Discourses*, Mansfield and Tarcov trans. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), *Maxims and Reflections (Ricordi)*, Domandi trans. (Philadelphia: Upenn Press, 1992), and *On War*, Howard and Paret trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). Any edition of Smith will do; the Chicago and Liberty Fund editions tend to be good buys. Some of the secondary readings are journal articles that can be found in the economics and political science archives at www.jstor.org.

Policies: It is mandatory for all students to read the domestic and international sections of a major daily newspaper. Collaboration and discussion outside class is encouraged, however, academic dishonesty is not taken lightly in this course. Any student(s) arousing suspicion of cheating will be immediately referred to the Departmental Chair and the Dean will be notified. If you have any questions about what constitutes an appropriate major daily newspaper or academic dishonesty, please ask me.

The workload consists chiefly of reading, participation, two short midterms, and an in-class final. Students are expected to do all the required readings and come to class

prepared to discuss that day's topic. Readings listed as secondary are not required. They are suggested works that illuminate different facets of that day's topic and are for interested students who want to learn more. Be forewarned: The required reading is occasionally very heavy. Students who do not do the required readings and/or do not participate will see their final grade suffer. If by some unlucky accident you miss a class, you are responsible for getting the notes from a classmate. The midterms will include conceptual questions and short essays. The final will be long essays. Half your grade will be the midterms; half your grade will be the final and participation. Consideration will be given to those who improve. Students may miss one midterm and have the other count as double. But any student who misses both midterms and/or the final exam without a death certificate, medical note, or consent of the instructor will automatically fail the course.

Class Schedule

(Readings should be completed by the day they are listed.)

Key: *P = Prince, D = Dicourses on Livy, R = Maxims and Reflections (Ricordi), WN = Wealth of Nations, TMS = Theory of Moral Sentiments, OW = On War*, Req. = required readings, Sec. = secondary readings, RQ = reading questions.

I. Niccolo Machiavelli

Sept. 4: Introduction and logistics; a genealogy of political realism; the life and times of Niccolo Machiavelli. Req.: *P* dedicatory letter, ch. 1-13.

Sec.: See Thucydides *The Peloponnesian War*, Tacitus *Complete Works*, Hobbes *Leviathan*, E.H. Carr *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, H.J. Morgenthau *Politics Among Nations*, Reinhold Niebuhr *The Essential Niebuhr*, Ken Waltz *Theory of International Politics*, and any work by Henry Kissinger.

RQ: What makes political writings realist?

Sept. 9: Fortune and virtue, structure of *P* and *D*, intentions of author. Req.: *P* ch. 14-26, *D* dedicatory letter, table of contents, Book III, ch. 48, letter to Luigi Guicciardini (handout), letter to Francesco Vettori (in Mansfield's *Prince* appendix).

Sec.: See Petrarch *Canzoniere* #53, Mansfield *Machivelli's Virtue*, Leo Strauss *Thoughts on Machiavelli*, Quentin Skinner "Machiavelli" in *Great Political Thinkers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), Bertrand Russell "Machiavelli" in his *History of Western Philosophy*, and Isaiah Berlin "The Originality of Machiavelli" in his *Proper Study of Mankind.*

RQ: Why does Machiavelli write and to whom? Are *P* and *D* incongruent? What are fortune and virtue? How powerful is each? What does it depend on? Can you name someone with great virtue in a Machiavellian sense?

Sept. 11: Conspiracies and strategy. Req.: *D* Book III, ch. 1-49.

Sec.: See Machiavelli *Art of War* and *Florentine Histories*. Also Felix Gilbert "Machiavelli: The Renaissance of the Art of War" in Paret ed. *Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), Sallust *The Conspiracy of Catiline*, Herodotus *The History*, Timur Kuran *Private Truths, Public Lies*, Erving Goffman *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Karl Marx "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", and Alexis de Tocqueville *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*.

RQ: Whom is NM advising here? Why? Who has the stronger hand, conspirators or princes? Has technology fundamentally outmoded NM's military strategy? Students should come prepared to plan or foil a coup.

Sept. 17: Nationalism. Req.: *D* Book II, ch. 1-33, *P* ch. 26.

Sec.: See Petrarch *Canzoniere* #53, 128, John Breuilly *Nationalism and the State*, Eugen Weber *Peasants into Frenchmen*, Eric J. Hobsbawm The Age *of Nationalism* and *The Invention of Tradition*, Benedict Anderson *Imagined Communities*, Ernst Renan "What is a Nation?", and Fyodor Dostoevsky *Demons.*

RQ: Is NM's call for Italian nationalism sincere? Is this idealistic appeal out of place in a realist book? Vice versa? How important is nationalism in the formation of the modern world?

Sept. 18: Ethics of Statecraft. Req.: *P* ch. 14, 17, 18, 21, and *D* Book II, ch. 13, 22.

Sec.: See Anton Chekhov "At Home", W.T. Sherman "Siege of Atlanta: exchange with General Hood" in his *Memoirs* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 486-497. Also Hannah Arendt *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, Rafael Sabatini *The Life of Cesare Borgia*, Ron Chernow *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.*, and Thucydides *The Peloponnesian War*, speech of Diodotus, Book III, ch. 41-49. On more explicit statements of why politicians say the darndest things, see Max Weber "Politics as a Vocation", and Eric Posner *Law and Social Norms*, ch. 11, also Carl Schmitt *The Concept of the Political*. On ethical theory see, for example, John Rawls *A Theory of Justice*, ch. 1, W.D. Ross *The Right and the Good*, J.S.Mill *Utilitarianism*, and Henry Sidgwick *Methods of Ethics*.

RQ: Does NM have bad ethics, good ethics, or no ethics? What are some problems with his view of moral statecraft and reasons of state? What is a just war? Does the United States fight just wars?

Sept. 23: Founding, faction, religion, necessity, and propaganda. Req.: *D* Book I, ch. 1-60.

Sec.: See Walter Lippmann *Public Opinion*, Noam Chomsky, *Understanding Power*, Bernard Bailyn *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, Jonathan Haslam *No Virtue Like Necessity*, Polybius *The Rise of the Roman Empire*, J. Patrick Coby *Machiavelli's Romans*, Antonio Gramsci "The Modern Prince" in his *Prison Notebooks*, James Scott *Weapons of the Weak*, William James *Pragmatism*, [Madison] *The Federalist Papers* #10, and Albert O. Hirschman *The Rhetoric of Reaction*.

RQ: What would NM say about the founding of the United States and the way the government currently functions? If Christianity is so infantilizing, how did it conquer Machiavelli's beloved paganism? What is necessity? Can you fool most of the people most of the time?

Sept. 25: Machiavelli's economics. Req.: *P* 7, 14-16, *D* Book I, ch. 24, 51, 54-55, 58, Book II, ch. 10, 30.

Sec.: Here is as good a place as any to strongly recommend all of Livy's extant books. Penguin and Oxford publish editions. **Note:** the impending Smith readings are very heavy, it behooves you to prepare for the flood while the weather is as pleasant as it will ever be.

RQ: Are Machiavelli's economics relevant today? What would a state with the economy that Machiavelli advocates look like?

Sept. 30: The Machiavellian worldview: people, progress, power. Req.: *P* all.

Sec.: Cf. Montesquieu *The Greatness of the Romans and their Decline*.

RQ: What essentially defines NM's worldview? What is realist about it?

Oct. 2: History, philosophy, and the politics of science. Req.: Guicciardini, *The History of Italy* Sidney Alexander trans. and abridged (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), book 1 pp. 1-8, book 6 pp. 165-189.

Sec.: Friedrich Nietzsche *On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life*, Thomas Kuhn *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, and Adam Smith "The History of Astronomy" in his *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* W. Wightman ed. (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1980), pp. 33-105.

RQ: What is history good for? How are we to reconstruct it? To what end?

II. Francesco Guicciardini

Oct. 7: Background and biography, worldview and the science of politics. Req.: *R* series C.

Sec.: Ronald Coase "How Should Economists Choose?" in his *Essays on Economics and Economists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) and Milton Friedman "The Methodology of Positive Economics" in his *Essays in Positive Economics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953). See also Richard Posner "Ronald Coase and Methodology" in his *Overcoming Law* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1996).

RQ: How does the world work for FG? What is the scope for human action and intended effects? Is there progress? How do we know causes?

Oct. 9: Guicciardini versus Machiavelli. Req.: *R* series B, *TMS* parts 1-2, pp. 9-108.

Sec.: See Felix Gilbert's classic *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, and Guicciardini's *Dialogue on the Government of Florence*. Also Guicciardini's *History of Italy* book 1, 3 and Jacob Burckhardt *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*.

RQ: The old familiar – compare and contrast.

Oct. 16: Review Machiavelli and Guicciardini

Oct. 21: FIRST MIDTERM

III. Adam Smith

Oct. 23: A Genealogy of political economy and liberalism. Req.: *TMS* parts 3-5, pp. 109-211.

Sec.: The liberal tradition is quite large and a good list would include Locke, Mandeville, Hume, Ricardo, Bentham, the Mills, Marshall, Menger, Mises, and more. Students seeking a fuller list may inquire with the instructor. To see some of the modern work in this tradition, see, for example, Milton Friedman *Capitalism and Freedom* and (with his wife, a veritable liberal tradition. See also Mill's *On Liberty* and Becker's *Economics of Life*) *Free to Choose*, and Gary Becker *Accounting for Tastes*. For a classic juxtaposition, see F.A. von Hayek *Constitution of Liberty*, postscript, and J.M. Keynes, *General Theory*, ch. 24, concluding notes.

RQ: What makes a liberal? Is Adam Smith one of them?

Oct. 28: The life and times of Adam Smith, his political impact and legacy. Req.: *TMS* parts 6-7, pp. 212-342.

Sec.: Jack Hirschleifer *The Dark Side of the Force*, intro and ch. 1, Edward Said *Representations of the Intellectual*.

RQ: How different is Smith's view of the world from NM's? Is that reflected in the modern perception of them? Are their reputations deserved? What consequences do their similarities and differences have in the study of international relations?

Oct. 30: The invisible hand(s). Req.: *WN* book 4, ch. 1-2, *TMS* pp. 184-5, and Adam Smith "The History of Astronomy" in his *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* W. Wightman ed. (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1980), pp. 33-105.

Sec.: William D. Grampp, "What Did Smith Mean by the Invisible Hand?" *Journal of Political Economy* (2000) 108: 441-465, Elias L. Khalil "Making Sense of Adam Smith's Invisible Hand" http://home.uchicago.edu/~elkhalil/IH-2.html, and Adam Smith *Lectures on Jurisprudence*.

RQ: What is the invisible hand? How important is it in economics?

Nov. 4: Some –isms: mercantilism, nationalism, and colonialism. Req: *WN* book 4, ch. 3-9.

Sec.: George Orwell "Shooting an Elephant" in vol. 1 of his collected works, V.I. Lenin *Imperialism*, J.A. Hobson *Imperialism*, Frantz Fanon *The Wretched of the Earth*, and Edward M. Earle "Adam Smith, Alexander Hamilton,

and Friedrich List: The Economic Foundations of Military Power" in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, Paret ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

RQ: How nationalist is Smith? How much of mercantilism does he leave intact? Is he the patron saint of colonial liberation movements?

Nov. 6: The Smithian view of humanity – the Adam Smith Problem. Req.: *WN* book 1, ch. 1-10.

Sec.: Ron Coase *Essays on Economics and Economists*, ch. 6-7, Thaler *Quasi Rational Economics*, ch. 4, Schelling *Choice and Consequence*, ch. 3-4, [Hamilton] *The Federalist Papers* #71.

RQ: Are *WN* and *TMS* incongruent? Are we sympathetic, ethical beings or myopic, solipsistic creatures? Does Smith hold out hope that there is another way to organize society than the outline he draws? Why or why not?

Nov. 11: Ultimate ends: religion, progress, etc. Req.: *WN* book 2.

Sec.: On the consequences of economic systems, see Amartya Sen *On Ethics and Economics*, Thorstein Veblen *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Joseph Schumpeter *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, and Richard Posner "Postmodern Medieval Iceland" in his *Overcoming Law*, ch. 14. To compare to classical perspectives, see Plato *Republic*, the myth of Er, book 10, section 614b-end, and *The Epic of Gligamesh* (anonymous). On the intersection of economics and religion, see Max Weber *The Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, introduction and conclusion, and Robert Fogel *The Fourth Great Awakening and the Future of Egalitarianism*.

RQ: Does Smith believe in progress? What kind? Where does religion fit in to people's lives and political discourse?

Nov. 13: Globalization 1. Req.: *WN* book 3.

Sec.: For different takes on the origins of modern capitalism, see Karl Polanyi *The Great Transformation*, E.J. Hobsbawm *The Age of Capital*, Albert Hirschman *The Passions and the Interests*, and Alan Macfarlane *The Origins of English Individualism*.

RQ: Globalization, what is it? Is it new? Is it progress? Who benefits? What is the alternative?

Nov. 18: Globalization 2. Req.: *WN* book 5, ch. 1.

Sec.: Held et al eds. *Global Transformations*, Berger and Dore *National Diversity and Global Capitalism*, ch. 1-2, and F.H. Knight "The Ethics of Competition" in the book by the same title. Also Tom Friedman's *Lexus and the Olive Tree* (though I add this last book more out of a sense of duty than any feeling of positive recommendation).

RQ: What is the role of anti-globalization protesters? How do they speak to Smith's theories? How do we decide where to go from here?

Nov. 20: Economics and ecology / population and pollution. Req.: *WN* book 5, ch. 2.

Sec.: Thomas Malthus *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, Elinor Ostrom *Governing the Commons*. **Note:** the impending Clausewitz readings are very heavy, you are well advised to get an early start on them.

RQ: What effect does trade have on the environment, population growth, and the potential for war? What are the consequences of NAFTA?

Nov. 25: Review Smith, compare to Machiavelli and Guicciardini.

Nov. 27: SECOND MIDTERM

IV. Carl von Clausewitz

Dec. 2: Bargaining, war, and statecraft, the life and times of Clausewitz. Req.: *OW*, books 1-3.

Sec.: Leon Trotsky *Military Writings*, Schelling *The Strategy of Conflict*, *Arms and Influence*, James Fearon "Rationalist Explanations for War" *International Organization* (Summer 1995).

RQ: How do we know when the use of force is irrational? How helpful is Clausewitz's trinity? What might it help us to explain? What does it miss? What is the proper relationship between civil and military authorities in wartime?

Dec. 4: The art and science of strategy. Req.: *OW*, books 4-5.

Sec.: See Michael Handel *Masters of War* 2nd edition, Xenophon *The Persian Expedition*, Caesar *The Conquest of Gaul*, Thucydides *The Peloponnesian War*, Sun Tzu *Art of War*, and Paul Kecskemeti *Strategic Surrender* (Santa Monica: RAND, 1958).

RQ: If all conquerors are peace loving, why does war happen? What would Clausewitz say about the American experience in Vietnam and nuclear weapons? What is an art versus a science? Which is strategy?

Dec. 9: Offense. Defense. Balance? Req.: *OW*, books 6-8.

Sec.: John Mearsheimer *Conventional Deterrence*, Barry Posen *Sources of Military Doctrine* and Beth Keir *Imagining War*. Also Miller, Lynn-Jones, and Van Evera eds. *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, chapters by Howard, Snyder, Sagan, Shimshoni, and Herwig.

RQ: Is it more pacific to have two equal powers facing each other or two unequal powers? What does it depend on? Is there such a thing as an offense-defense balance? Can Clausewitz explain the territorial boundaries of the modern state system?

Dec. 11: Review Clausewitz, compare to foregoing, wrap up course.

Dec. 18: FINAL EXAM, 7:30-9:30 p.m., location TBA.