This course will introduce you to some of the major books of political theory and some of the major problems of politics these books address. The goal of the course is to teach you how to read some of these famous texts and more significantly, how to think through and argue about some of the central questions of politics—among them what do we mean justice and equality and how should we distribute political goods; the relation of freedom and equality to democracy; what is property and who should own it; what is the difference between political ethics and ordinary morals; and what does it mean to exercise political power? In reading a variety of political theories you will learn to discern those arguments that hold a political theory together, the assumptions about human motivation that political thinkers make, how the logic of a political argument can lead to unexpected conclusions; and when a political argument is contradictory and when it is merely paradoxical.

**Political Theory and Political Science**

At this point you are probably asking yourself two questions: first, what is political theory and second, why do you have to study it as part of political science? The first part of this question does not have a simple answer. In general, most political theorists agree that political theory involves making sense of the meaning of and relations among such concepts like justice, equality, power, freedom, citizenship, and political ethics. But different thinkers differ on what we should do with these concepts. Some argue political theory is fundamentally the study of those political concepts and ideas so as to tell us something about the way the political world should be—a just political order, a genuinely democratic community, a fair distribution of property, an account of the moral duties of political actors. For those who hold this position, a political theorist can make us aware of the meaning and coherence of our political concepts—of, say, the relation of justice to equality of distribution or political freedom to political power, political equality to democracy. In doing this, they argue, political thinking can teach us to criticize a given political “reality” for its deficiencies.

Others argue political theory can do more than that. It can test our concepts of what the political world should be against the empirical reality of politics itself. And it can tell us whether we have overlooked certain desirable possibilities or alternatively whether we have asked more of political reality than it will allow. For example according to this view political theory can reveal opportunities for more citizen participation or fairer distribution of political resources than presently provided; or it can tell us that the desire to import our own constitution to other countries that understand politics differently may prove self-defeating.

Finally, some political theorists argue that political ideas and concepts have the potential to change the very understanding that ordinary political actors have of social and political institutions. According to this view, political theory can potentially change political reality itself—by designing new political orders, demonstrating to us the need for political changes, or make us more effective political actors. We will see this aim in such different theorists as Plato, Machiavelli, and Marx. In this course we will study political theory from all of these points of view, and it will be up to you to come up with a well-thought out idea of the relation of political thinking to political reality.
As for the second part of the question, the relation of political theory to political science, we will discover in this course that political science—the study of the ways political actors, institutions, and political communities engage with each other—cannot escape political theory questions. One very simple reason for this is that the concepts of political theory are used by political actors themselves. People rebel because of injustice. Political actors defend or decry inequality in the distribution of goods, both political and economic. And we are constantly trying to figure out ways to hold political actors accountable for their misdeeds or mistakes, and they in turn are relentlessly trying to escape such accountability. A more complicated reason is that even when political scientists claim they are merely studying the ways politics works and not how it should work, the very concepts political theorists use are part of—indeed constitutive of—the political reality they are studying. For example, some political scientists often claim it is impossible to study the different ways freedom is realized in politics because freedom cannot be measured; but they then claim it is possible to study the way power and domination are used because we can observe the degree to which political actors can get their way. But if political actors use forms of domination such as political parties, bureaucracies, and the state to get their way, they are most surely exercising a kind of freedom for themselves that is only possible because of the fact that others are being dominated. If power is a “fact” about politics so is freedom. Similarly, when ordinary citizens feel that power is being used “unfairly,” they are assuming—maybe not always explicitly—that their own membership in a political community depends on a proper understanding of justice. Thus the questions of political theory are all over the things political scientists study, even if political scientists don’t always make this clear. In short, political theory is political science by other means. I hope you will see this by the end of the course.

**Required Books**
Plato, *The Republic* (Hackett) trans. by Grube and Reeve
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings* (Hackett)
John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government* (Hackett)
Robert Dahl, *On Political Equality* (Yale)
Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince* (Chicago)

**Additional Readings on E-Reserve** (the password: pos103)
Jeremy Bentham, selected chapters from *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*
John Rawls, selections from *A Theory of Justice*
Joseph Schumpeter, “Another Theory of Democracy” from *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*
**Course Outline** (*means you should read with extra care.)

I. Introduction to the course and to political theory (Jan 21st)

II. Thinking about justice and equality

Does justice require rule by those who by nature have superior character and insight or is social and political inequality “unnatural”? What is a just distribution of political and social goods? What should be politically distributed? What should not? Is justice identical with the greatest happiness for the greatest number? Do we “deserve” the benefits of our natural and social endowments and what should justice look like if the answer is no? What should justice look like if the answer is yes?

a. Justice as Identity as Properly Ordered Soul. Plato, *The Republic*
   Jan. 26, Book I and Book II until (363). (Ordinary concepts of justice: paying debts; helping friends and harming enemies; right of the stronger; power vs. right—what does it mean to rule well?; the story of the Gyges Ring.)
   Jan. 28, Rest of Book II (Understanding justice as building most perfect polis in theory. Polities as forms of education. Political education and the need for fictions)

   Feb. 2, Book III (Completing the education of the guardians and selecting rulers)
   Feb. 4, Book IV* (A new definition of justice. A new definition of happiness.) (Isomorphism of just city/polis and just soul—inseparability of just human being and just city)

   Feb. 9, Book V (The completion of the kallipolis: communal ownership, the rule of philosophers, and the differences in genuine knowledge vs. opinion) (The superiority of theory to practice).
   Feb. 11, Book VI* (Justice as knowledge of the good and why only philosophers have access to it. Knowledge of forms vs. knowledge of appearances.). Book VII* (The double meaning of the allegory of the cave—political and philosophic. Is dialectic the only way to grasp justice? If justice can only be understood by philosophy can justice be “political”?)
   Recommended: Book VIII (If justice requires the polity replicate the soul is justice as equal political membership indefensible?).
   Feb. 16, No Class.

b. Justice as Utility–Greatest Good for the Greatest Number?
   First Essay on Plato and Justice due in class.

c. Justice as Fairness: John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (the problem of justice–dealing with deep inequalities; the original position and the social contract; the two principles of a just political society; justice and the fair value of political liberty). Why is it that deep inequalities in our life chances “cannot possibly be justified by an appeal to the notions of merit and desert” (TJ, p. 7)? How might Plato react to this? How might Bentham? Why would Rawls reject both of their arguments?
II. Thinking about democracy

Is democracy merely a means of protection through civil liberties or the enjoyment of full citizenship through participation in fundamental decisions affecting common life? What is the difference between negative vs. positive freedom? Should democracy realize only the former or also the latter? How should we combine equality with freedom? What does the realization of political equality require under modern conditions of politics?

a. Rousseau, *Social Contract*
March 4, Book I
March 9, Book II*
March 11, Book III, chs. 1, 7, 10-15, 18, Book IV, ch 1*.

b. The reconciliation of “democracy” with party competition and elitism

c. A synthesis of participatory and elitist democracy? How should we judge modern democracies?
March 18, 23, Dahl.chs. 1-3 Dahl, chs. 5-7.

**March 25, Midterm Bentham, Rawls, and Democratic Theory.**
**Break: March 29-April 4.**

III. Thinking about the relation of politics and property:

What is property and why do we not own it in common? What is the justification for private property? Why does Locke think private property and equal consent to produce government are compatible? Why does Rousseau think it is not? Why does Rousseau think the Lockean contract was a deception? Why did Marx in *The Manifesto* glorify the achievements of capitalism? Why is capitalist property not natural but merely necessary for a certain historical phases? Why can it be overcome for Marx? Why does Marx’s claim that socialism was an attempt to win the struggle for democracy? How would Marx view Locke’s theory of labor? How would he view Rousseau’s theory of the deceptive social contract?

a. Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*
April 6, chs. 1-5 (read chs 2, 3, 5 very carefully, especially ch. 5) (Property as self-ownership, property as labor)
April 8, chs. 7-10, 13, 19* (the contract to produce government–life, liberty, and property)

b. Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality*
April. 13, Preface and Part I Why can we never discover our natural state? An attack on Locke? April. 15, Part II ( A hypothetical history of the origins of social and political inequality. The political contract as deception–inequality of property and power in the modern state as the height of injustice. Restoring equality of political membership?)

April 20, 22, 27

**April 27, Second essay on Locke, Rousseau and Marx due in class.**

IV. Thinking about politics and moral life.

Can political actions accord with moral choices? What necessities in politics force political actors to violate accepted morals? What forces in politics allow them to act in accordance with morals? Why does Machiavelli argue we must learn “use” good and bad according to necessity and fortune if we want to be “effective” matters of state? Why does he think we cannot avoid using laws, force, and appearances in matters of state?

April 29, Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince* (entire)*.
May 4, Finish *The Prince* (re-read chs. 15-19, 25-26)

**Assignments and Course Obligations:**

First off, you will have two short essays (of approximately 6 pages) on some of the classical political thinkers we have read. These essays will be due on Thursday February 18th and Tuesday April 27th. Within a week from the time the paper was handed back you will have the option to rewrite the paper, though there is no guarantee that your grade will improve. The two grades will be averaged together. The option to rewrite does not mean the first paper can be a rough draft—it must be your best work at the moment. Rough drafts will be handed back without a grade and you will forego the rewrite option. These optional revisions must be handed in no later than a week from the time you received the paper back. Aside from these two essays, the teaching assistants will at their discretion assign short 1 page reaction papers to the reading as a way of helping you to clarify your thoughts on a particular topic and generating discussion. These papers will not be graded ABCDE but checked off, though you will be penalized for not turning these papers in.

There will also be an in-class midterm on Thursday, March 25th and a final exam on Monday May 10th, 3:30pm - 5:30pm in LC 24.

You are expected to attend every class and every section. If you are absent from section more than two times without a legitimate excuse, your grade will fall by a half.

**Grading:**

Grading will be as follows:
The two papers will each count 20% of your grade, the midterm will count 20% and the final 30% of the grade and 10% of your grade will consist of discussion section participation and reaction papers. Grading will take improvement into account.
**Plagiarism**
Plagiarism means to pass off someone else’s work as your own. Please be warned that should I find you have plagiarized, you will receive an immediate E in the course and further actions will be taken, including sending your case before a university committee. You should also be warned that taking text off internet sites such as Sparknotes or Wikipedia will also earn you an E along with further actions. It is your job to demonstrate to us that you have worked your essays out from the texts at hand through clear arguments and proper citations. It is not our job to demonstrate you haven’t!

**Teaching Assistants and Office Hours:**
The teaching assistants for this course are, Marcus Schulzke (ms155136@albany.edu), Onur Bilginer (ob888933@albany.edu) Christine Klunk (klunkaction@hotmail.com), and Daniel Kuchler dk582569@albany.edu You should feel free to see them in their office hours, talk to them after class, or write them e-mails. They will be happy to discuss the class material with you as well as help you with any problems you are having with the class. Since this is a class that deals with the “big” questions of politics you should not feel any hesitation in engaging either me or the TA’s in dialog on the course material. You are also welcome to see me during my office hours: Tu Th 10:30 to 11:30. I am also happy to meet with you in my downtown office Milne 204 on Monday or Wednesday afternoons or answer your question and comments through e-mail: breiner@albany.edu.

**E-Reserve:**
As mentioned above, a number of the readings are on E-reserve. E-reserve can be found by going to the SUNY Albany Library site and clicking on e-res. To find our course and then click the password: pos103 (lower case). Here you will find not just the additional readings but also a sheet on how to write political theory papers, the syllabus, an lecture outlines. You must download and print off the readings on e-reserve, for you will be expected to bring them to section and lecture. Reading them on line will simply not do!