Required Reading
John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, (Hackett)
Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Basic Political Writings* (Hackett)
Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Harper and Row)
Max Weber, *The Vocation Lectures* (Hackett)
Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (Penguin)

Course Outline: (dates for each section are approximate.)

I. Hobbes: A Scientific Foundation for Politics. (Jan 21-Feb. 12)

Hobbes, *Leviathan*
(1/21) Epistle Dedicatory (pp. 75-84), chs. 1-7
(1/24) chs. 10-11
(1/26) chs. 13-17
(1/28) chs 18-22
(2/1) chs 24, 29, 30, Conclusion.

II. John Locke: property, consent, and the origins of liberalism (Feb 3--8)

Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*: chs 1-6, 7-12, 13-19
Recommended:
Peter Laslett, "Introduction" to the *Two Treatises* (Cambridge edition).
John Dunn, *The Political Thought of John Locke*
Richard Ashcraft, *The Two Treatises of John Locke*

Essay on Hobbes due in contact office by 3 pm Tuesday, February 16 in Hu B16.

III. Jean Jacques Rousseau: Inequality, and the Recovery of Democratic Citizenship (Feb 10-28)

A. (2/10-2/15) *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality* (entire)
Both in *Basic Political Writings*
Recommended:
*Discourse on the Arts and Sciences*

Essay on Locke and Rousseau due by 3 pm Tuesday March 8 in Hu B16.
IV. Alexis de Tocqueville: Revolution, Democracy, and Equality (Mar. 7-12)

*Democracy in America,*

A. Vol. I: Introduction (pp. 9-22), Vol I Part II (287, “Influence of Mores...”), Part I chs. 3-5 (pp. 50-98) [Townships and Democracy].

B. Part II, chs. 2 (174-179) [Political Parties], 4-5 (189-195) [Political Associations], 224-226, 231-245 [self-correcting nature of democracies defects], 6, 7-9 **(246-261) [Tyranny of Majority vs. “Political” Liberty] ;

C. Volume II: Part I: chs. 1-5 (429-449) [Equality leading to distrust of all authority and submission to most general ideas]. Part II, chs. 1-5** (503-517) [read II ch1 very carefully], 7-8 (520-528) [Equality and individualism and how its dangers are offset via associations and self-interest rightly understood], 20 **(555-558) [A new aristocracy of industry].

D. Part III, chs. 17, 21, (614-616, 634-645) [democracies—constant activity within monotony], Part IV, chs. 1-4, 6-8** (667-679) [tendencies of democratic nation leading to centralized power], 690-702) [Dangers of Democratic Despotism]. **Should be read with special care). Do read the assignment to the end. The last chapters are extremely important!

Spring Break: March 14-18

V. John Stuart Mill: The Reconstitution of Liberalism (March 21-23)

*On Liberty* (entire)

Recommended: *Considerations on Representative Government*, chs. 1-4, 6-8.

*Subjection of Women*

Sheldon Wolin, "Liberalism and the Decline of Political Philosophy" in *Politics and Vision*.

C. B. MacPherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*

No class March 25.

VI. Karl Marx: Capitalism, Socialism, Labor—freedom finally achieved (March 28-April 20)

A. The critique of alienation

*Marx Engels Reader*, pp. 40-46 (selection from "The Jewish Question")

pp. 66-109 ("The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts")

Recommended:

pp. 143-146 ("Theses on Feuerbach")

pp. 292-293 (selection from the *Grundrisse*)

B. the logic of capitalism and the logic of exploitation


C. Class conflict and the materialist concept of history: reform or revolution

*Marx Engels Reader*, pp. 3-6 (‘’Introduction’ to ‘A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy’’)

pp. 469-500 ("The Communist Manifesto")

Recommended:
pp. 218-219 ("The Poverty of Philosophy")
pp. 501-512 ("Address to the Communist League")

D. The criticism of the state and the problem of discovering forms of socialism
  pp. 629-642, 651-652 ("The Civil War in France")
  Recommended:
  pp. 81-92 ("Private Property and Communism")
  pp. 525-541 ("Critique of the Gotha Program")
  pp. 594-617 ("The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte")

VII. Bureaucracy, Professional Politics and the Responsibilities of the Vocational Politician
(April 22-25)

Max Weber, “Politics as a Vocation”  Recommended: “Science as a Vocation” in The
Vocation Lectures

VIII. Revolution vs Social Necessity—Constituting political liberty (April 27-May 4)

Hannah Arendt, On Revolution
  chs. 1-2)
  ch. 4, pp. 124-154,
  ch. 6 entire** (**should be read with extra care).
  Final— take-home.

Course Requirements

Attendance: Attendance at lectures is mandatory. There is a great deal of difficult reading in
this course and the course will be moving rather quickly, so your full engagement is required. I
will take attendance on a regular basis. Failure to attend will affect your grade.

Written Assignments: There will be two essays of approximately 6-7 pages: one on Hobbes
due in HU B16 by 3pm on Tuesday, February 16; one on Locke and Rousseau, due on March 8--
these dates may be slightly modified should we not be finished with the respective thinkers on
time. The format of the final exam is yet to be determined, but it probably will be a take-home
final. It will include questions on de Tocqueville, Mill, Marx, Weber and Arendt. For each of the
essays I will expect writing that is clear, coherent, and grammatically correct. You will be graded
down for poor or careless writing.

Grading: The two essays will count 25% apiece. The final since it covers a great deal will count
40%. The remaining 10% will consist of class participation (in general this last 10% should
count in your favor not against you).

Cheating and Plagiarism: Should I find that you have cheated on an exam or plagiarized a
piece of written work, you will immediately fail the course and your case will be handed on to a
university committee.

Reading Assignments: You will be expected to read the assigned texts closely and critically and
come prepared to discuss them.

Office Hours and Contact Information:
Monday and Wednesday, 11:30-12:30, in Hu B16 and Downtown Wednesdays 2:30 in Milne 204, Phone: 2-5277. I also will be able to meet with you before class by appointment.
E-mail: pbreiner@albany.edu You are always welcome to e-mail me with questions about the reading. I try to give extremely thorough answers.

ADDITIONAL SUGGESTED READING

**Hobbes**
Baumgold, D., 1988, *Hobbes's Political Thought*
Oakeshott, M., 1975. *Hobbes on Civil Association*

**Locke and the Liberal Tradition**
P. Laslett, "Introduction" to *Locke's Two Treatises of Government*
M. Cranston, *John Locke*
J. Yolton, *John Locke and the Way of Ideas*
L. Strauss, *Natural Right and History*, ch 5.
W. Kendall, *John Locke and the Doctrine of Majority Rule*
J. Dunn, "Consent in the Political Theory of John Locke" in *Political Obligation in its Historical Context*
J. Dunn, "Trust in the Political Theory of John Locke" in *Rethinking Modern Political Theory*
J. Dunn, *The Political Thought of John Locke*
R. Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and John Locke's Two Treatises of Government*
R. Ashcraft, *The Two Treatises of John Locke*
J. W. Gough, *John Locke's Political Philosophy*

**Rousseau**
Ernst Cassirer, *The Question of J. J. Rousseau*
Andrew Levine, *The Politics of Autonomy*
J. Shklar, *Men and Citizens*
R. Masters, *The Political Philosophy of Rousseau*
E. Durkheim, *Montesquieu and Rousseau*
L. Crocker, *Rousseau's Social Contract an Interpretive Essay*
L. Althusser, *Politics and History*
B. Barry, "The Public Interest" in *Political Philosophy*, ed. by A. Quinton
A. Cobban, *Rousseau and the Modern State*
L. Colletti, *From Rousseau to Lenin*
Stephen Ellenberg, *Rousseau's Political Philosophy*
James Miller, *Rousseau, Dreamer of Democracy*
Jean Starobinski, *Transparency and Obstruction*
Keith Ansell-Pearson, *Nietzsche Contra Rousseau*

**Alexis de Tocqueville**

A. de Tocqueville, *The Ancien Regime*  
*Selected Letters*

R. Boesche, *The Strange Liberalism Alexis de Tocqueville*  
J. Lively, *The Social and Political Thought of Alexis de Tocqueville*  
J. P. Mayer, *Alexis de Tocqueville*  
J. Schleifer, *The Making of de Tocqueville’s Democracy in America*  
I. Zeitlin, *Liberty, Equality, and Revolution in Alexis de Tocqueville*  
M. Zetterbaum, *Tocqueville and the Problem of Democracy*  
R. Herr, *De Tocqueville and the Old Regime*  
E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution,*  
Sheldon Wolin, *Alexis de Tocqueville Between Two Worlds*

**John Stuart Mill and Modern Liberalism**

G. Duncan, *Marx and Mill*  
J. H. Burns, *J. S. Mill and Democracy,* "*Political Studies,* (June, 1957)  
M. Cowling, *Mill and Liberalism*  
J. Hamburger, *Intellectuals in Politics*  
A. Ryan, *The Philosophy of J. S. Mill*  
N. Urbanati, *Mill on Democracy: from the Athenian Polis to Representative Government*  
C. B. Macpherson, *The Real World of Liberalism*  
A. Arblaster, *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism*  
G. de Reguieró, *the History European Liberalism*  
J. Robson, *The Improvement of Mankind*  
J. B. Schneewind, ed., *Mill*  
J. Bentham, *Principle of Legislation*  
E. Halevy, *The Rise of Philosophical Radicalism*  
H. Laski, *The Rise of Liberalism*

**Karl Marx and Socialism**

Shlomo Avineri, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*  
Ralph Miliband. *Marxism and Politics*  
J. Maguire, *Marx's Theory of Politics*  
Stanley Moore, *Three Tactics*  
G. A. Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History*  
William Shaw, *Marx's Theory of History*  
Alan Wood, *Karl Marx*  
Richard Miller, *Analyzing Marx*  
Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx*  
John Roemer, *Free to Lose*  
Bertell Ollman, *Alienation*  
Istvan Mezaros, *Marx’s Theory of Alienation*  
Kostas Axelos, *Alienation, Praxis, and Techne in the Thought of Karl Marx*  
Georg Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness*  
Karl Korsch, *Marxism and Philosophy*
Alfred Schmidt, Marx's Concept of Nature  
Norman Geras, Marx and Human Nature  
Steven Lukes, Marxism and Morality  
David McLellan Karl Marx  
G. A. Cohen, History Labour and Freedom  
G. A. Cohen, Self-Ownership, Freedom and Equality  
Allen Buchanan, Marx and Justice  
R. P. Wolff, Understanding Marx  
Duncan Foley, Understanding Capital  
E. Mandel, The Formation of the Economic Thought of Karl Marx  
Henri Lefebvre, The Sociology of Marx  
A. Rosenberg, Democracy and Socialism  

**Max Weber**  
Max Weber, Economy and Society  
David Beetham, Max Weber and the Theory of Modern Politics  
Peter Breiner, Max Weber and Democratic Politics  
Karl Löwith, Karl Marx and Max Weber  
Wolfgang Mommsen, The Age of Bureaucracy  
Wolfgang Mommsen, Max Weber and German Politics  
Lawrence Scaff, Fleeing the Iron Cage  
Wilhelm Hennis, Max Weber: Essays in Reconstruction  
Anthony Giddens, Capitalism and Modern Social Theory  
Anthony Giddens, Politics and Sociology in the Thought of Max Weber  
Reinhard Bendix, Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait  
Dirk, Kaesler, Max Weber: An Introduction to his Life and Work  
Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "The Crises of Understanding" in Adventures of the Dialectic  
W.G. Runciman, A Critique of Max Weber's Philosophy of Science  
W.G. Runciman, Social Science and Political Theory  
Herbert Marcuse, "Industrialization and Capitalism in the Work of Max Weber" in Negations  

**Elitism, Bureaucracy, Socialist Politics, Anarchism, Syndicalism**  
Elitism:  
James H. Meisel, The Myth of the Ruling Class  
Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class  
Vilfredo Pareto, Mind and Society  
Joseph Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy  
Peter Bachrach, The Theory of Democratic Elitism  
T. B. Bottomore, Elites and Society  
Lucio Colletti, "Lenin's State and Revolution," in From Rousseau to Lenin  
Neil Harding, Lenin's Political Thought  
A. J. Polan, Lenin and the End of Politics  
Leon Trotsky, History of the Russian Revolution  
Mosche Lewin, Lenin's Last Struggle  
M. Liebman, Leninism Under Lenin  
Arthur Rosenberg, A History of Bolshevism  
L. Basso, Rosa Luxemburg's Dialectical Method  
Norman Geras, The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg
J. P. Nettl, *Rosa Luxemburg*
Paul Frölich, *Rosa Luxemburg*
George Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*
George Woodcock, *Anarchism*
Irving Louis Horowitz, *The Anarchists*

**Hannah Arendt**
Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*
Hannah Arendt, *Between Past and Future*
Hannah Arendt, *Eichman in Jerusalem*