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 Objectives:
1. Refine your capacity to analyze political concepts and political arguments for coherence and meaning.
2. Learn to interpret political theory texts— their strategy of argument, style, and levels of meaning.
3. Learn to understand differences between older political arguments and present ones.
4. Learn how abstract political arguments apply to day-to-day politics.
5. Learn to focus on 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.
6. Learn that genuine education is not about practical skills or vocational training—that learning cannot be technically operationalized in a set of measurable objectives, but involves a cumulative process of reading, thinking, and reading more.

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

I. Hobbes: A Scientific Foundation for Politics.? Contract or Despotic Authority? (Jan 26-Feb. 5)

Hobbes, *Leviathan*
(1/26) Epistle Dedicatory (pp. 75-84), chs. 1-7
(1/29) chs. 10-11
(1/31) chs. 13-17
(2/2) chs 18-22
(2/5) chs 24, 29, 30, Conclusion.
II. John Locke: property, consent, and the origins of liberalism (Feb. 7—12)
   Locke, Second Treatise of Government: chs 1-6, 7-12, 13-19
   Recommended:
   C. B. Macpherson, The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism, Ch.1, 5.*
   John Dunn, The Political Thought of John Locke
   Richard Ashcraft, The Two Treatises of John Locke

Essay on Hobbes and Locke due in contact office by 3 pm Tuesday, February 20 in Hu B16. Also send me attached file.

III. Jean Jacques Rousseau: Inequality, and the Recovery of Democratic Citizenship (Feb 21-28)

   A. (2/14-2/19) Discourse on the Origins of Inequality (entire)
   Both in Basic Political Writings
   Recommended:
   Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Discourse on the Arts and Sciences
   David Hume, “Of the Original Contract” (a conservative criticism of social contract theory) (on Blackboard)
   Joshua Cohen, Rousseau
   Louis Althusser, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Marx
   C. Possible short reading from Thomas Paine, Rights of Man (depending on time)

Essay on Rousseau due by 3 pm Thursday March 8 in Hu B16. Also send attached file.

IV. Alexis de Tocqueville: Revolution, Democracy, and Equality (Mar. 9-19: 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], ch 6,(224-226, 231-245) [self-correcting nature of democracies defects], 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 artistocracy of industry],
   D. Volume II: 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 12-18
V. John Stuart Mill: The Reconstitution of Liberalism (March 19-28) 
On Liberty (entire) 
Considerations on Representative Government, chs. 2, 3 7. 
Recommended: 
Subjection of Women 
C. B. MacPherson, The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy 
No class March 30.

VI. Karl Marx: Capitalism, Socialism, Labor—freedom finally achieved (April 4 -April 16).
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 
Marx Engels Reader, 

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 18-20)

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

Essay on de Tocqueville, Marx, and Mill due in HU B16 on Tuesday, April 24.

VIII. Revolution vs Social Necessity—Constituting political liberty (April 25-May 4)

Hannah Arendt, On Revolution
chs. 1-2
ch 3
ch. 4, ,
ch. 6 ** (**should be read with extra care).

IX. Catch up. (May 7-May 9)

Last day of class May 9.

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 three essays of approximately 6-8 pages: one on Hobbes and Locke due in HU B16 by 3 pm Tuesday, February 20; one on Rousseau, due in HU B16 by 3 pm Thursday, March 8; and an essay on de Tocqueville, Marx, and Mill due in HU B16 on Tuesday, April 24. The format of the final exam is yet to be determined but will probably be an in-class final. It will include questions on Weber and Arendt on professional politics versus freedom discovered in revolutionary politics and how these two arguments relate to the arguments of at least one other theorist in the course. 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 three essays and the final will count 25% apiece. You must hand in all assignments to get a grade in the class. More than two unexcused absences will diminish your grade by a half.

Reasonable accommodation
Reasonable accommodations will be provided for students with documented physical, sensory, systemic, cognitive, learning and psychiatric disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring accommodation in this class, please notify the Director of Disabled Student Services (Campus Center 137, 442-5490):
That office will provide the course instructor with verification of your disability, and will recommend appropriate accommodations. If you wish to discuss academic accommodations, for the above reasons or other cases including religious holidays, inform the instructor at the beginning of the term. Reasonable accommodations are generally established well in advance and rarely granted retroactively.

**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. Plagiarism is offering up someone else’s work as if it were your own.

**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, 12:30-1:30, in Hu B16 and Downtown Wednesdays 3:00 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 Ellenburg, 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
R. Aron, Main Currents in Sociological Thought, Vo. 1.
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 Regguiero, *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*

M. Cohen, T. Nagel, T. Scanlon, (ed.), *Marx, Justice, History*

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 Techné 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

Hannah Arendt
Hannah Arendt, The Human Condition
Hannah Arendt, Between Past and Future
Hannah Arendt, Eichmann in Jerusalem
Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism