

## READING LIST FOR COMPREHENSIVE EXAMINATION IN POLITICAL THEORY

Department of Political Science  
Columbia University

### Requirements

*Majors* should prepare for questions based on reading from the entire reading list.

*Minors* should prepare for questions based on reading from the core list and any **one** of the satellite lists.

### **Core List**

Plato, The Republic

Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics Books I, II, V, VIII, X; Politics

Polybius, Rise of the Roman Empire, Book I paragraphs 1-10 (“Introduction”) and Book VI

Cicero, The Republic

Augustine, City of God, Books I, VIII (chs. 4-11), XII, XIV, XIX, XXII (chs. 23-24, 29-30)

Aquinas, Summa Theologica, Questions 42, 66, 90-92, 94-97, 105

Niccolò Machiavelli, The Prince, Discourses (as selected in Selected Political Writings, ed. David Wootton)

Jean Bodin, On Sovereignty (ed. Julian Franklin)

Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (as selected in Norton Critical Edition, ed. David Johnston)

James Harrington, Oceana (ed. J.G.A. Pocock), pp. 63-70 (from Introduction), 161-87, 413-19

John Locke, Second Treatise of Government, “A Letter Concerning Toleration”

David Hume, “Of the Original Contract,” “The Independency of Parliament”

Montesquieu, Spirit of the Laws (as selected in Selected Political Writings, ed. Melvin Richter)

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Discourse on . . . Inequality, The Social Contract

Thomas Jefferson, Declaration of Independence; Letter to James Madison, Sept. 6, 1789 (in Papers of Thomas Jefferson 15:392-397, ed. Julian P. Boyd)

Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations (as selected in World’s Classics Edition, ed. Kathryn Sutherland)

James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, The Federalist Papers, nos. 1, 9, 10, 37, 39, 40, 48, 49, 51, 62, 78

Jeremy Bentham, An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation, chs. 1-5, 7, 14-15

Immanuel Kant, The Metaphysics of Morals, Part I (“Metaphysical First Principles of the Doctrine of Right”) and “Perpetual Peace”

Edmund Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France; “Speech to the Electors of Bristol”

Thomas Paine, The Rights of Man (Part II)

Sieyes, What is the Third Estate?

G.W.F Hegel, Philosophy of Right Preface and Part 3, sections 2 and 3 (“Civil Society” and “The State”)

Benjamin Constant, “The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns”

Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, vol. 1: Author’s Introduction; Part I chs. 3-4; Part II chs. 1-9; vol. 2: Part I chs. 7, 15-17; Part II chs. 1-13; Part III chs. 8-13, 21; Part IV chs. 1-8

Karl Marx, “On the Jewish Question”; German Ideology, Part I; Manifesto of the Communist Party; The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte; Capital vol.1, chs. 1, 10, 14, 15, 26-33; “Critique of the Gotha Program”

John Stuart Mill, On Liberty; Utilitarianism

Friedrich Nietzsche, On the Genealogy of Morals, Essays I and II

Max Weber, “Politics as a Vocation”; Economy and Society, vol. 1, Part One, chs. 1, 3, 4

Carl Schmitt, The Concept of the Political

Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation

T. H. Marshall, “Citizenship and Social Class,” in Class, Citizenship, and Social Development: Essays by T. H. Marshall

Hannah Arendt, The Human Condition

Isaiah Berlin, “Two Concepts of Liberty”

Friedrich Hayek, The Constitution of Liberty, Part One

John Rawls, A Theory of Justice

Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, pp. 3-132, 195-308

Jürgen Habermas, Between Facts and Norms, chs. 3, 7, 8

### **Satellite 1: Justice, Rights, and Law**

Austin, The Province of Jurisprudence Determined, Lecture 1 and Lecture 6, pp. 191-267

Hohfeld, Fundamental Legal Conceptions as Applied in Legal Reasoning

Hans Kelsen, General Theory of Law and the State, Part I, chs. 1-3

Franz Neumann, “The Change of Function of Law in Modern Society,” in B. Scheuerman, ed., The Rule of Law Under Siege

H. L. A. Hart, The Concept of Law

Lon Fuller, The Morality of Law

Robert Nozick, Anarchy, State and Utopia, chs. 1, 4, 7

Ronald Dworkin, Taking Rights Seriously, chs. 2, 7

Jürgen Habermas, "Paradigms of Law," in Between Facts and Norms; "On the Relation between the Nation, the Rule of Law, and Democracy," in The Inclusion of the Other

Hannah Arendt, "What is Liberty?" and "What is Authority?"

Gerald C. MacCallum, Jr., "Negative and Positive Freedom," in Philosophy, Politics and Society, Fourth Series, ed. Peter Laslett, W. G. Runciman and Quentin Skinner

Quentin Skinner, "The Paradoxes of Political Liberty," in Liberty, ed. David Miller

Philip Pettit, Republicanism, ch. 1

Ronald Dworkin, Sovereign Virtue, chs. 1-2

Amartya Sen, "Equality of What?"

Michael Walzer, Spheres of Justice, chs. 1, 3, 4, 5

Charles Beitz, "Justice and International Relations," Philosophy and Public Affairs 4 (1975)

Michael Walzer, "The Moral Standing of States," Philosophy and Public Affairs 9 (1980)

John Rawls, The Law of Peoples

David Miller, "Against Global Egalitarianism," Journal of Ethics 9:1-2 (2005):55-79

Thomas Pogge, "What is Global Justice," in Real World Justice, ed. Andreas Follesdal and Thomas Pogge (Berlin: Springer, 2005)

Claude Lefort, "Politics and Human Rights," in The Political Reforms of Modern Society: Bureaucracy, Democracy, Totalitarianism

Charles Beitz, The Idea of Human Rights, chs. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7

Rainer Forst, "The Justification of Human Rights and the Basic Right to Justification," Ethics 120

## **Satellite 2: Constitutionalism and Democracy**

Bentham, Essays on Political Tactics, chapter 2 ("On Publicity")

Benjamin Constant, "Principles of Politics Applicable to all Representative Governments," in Political Writings, ed. Biancamaria Fontana

J. S. Mill, Considerations on Representative Government

Joseph Schumpeter, Capitalism, Social and Democracy, Part IV, pp. 235-302

Robert Michels, Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy, Introduction and Parts One and Six

Carl Schmitt, The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy

Hans Kelsen, General Theory of Law and the State, chs. IX-X, pp. 110-128, 258-269 (Transaction Books ed., 2008)

Carl Schmitt, Constitutional Theory, Part I, Part II chs. 16-19

Edmund Morgan, Inventing the People, chs. 4, 5, 6

Ronald Dworkin, Freedom's Law, Introduction ("The Moral Reading and the Majoritarian Premise")

Robert Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory

Hannah Arendt, On Revolution

Bruce Ackerman, We the People: Foundations, chs. 1, 7, 9-11

Dieter Grimm, "The Achievement of Constitutionalism and Its Prospects in a Changed World," in The Twilight of Constitutionalism, ed. Petra Dobner and Martin Loughlin

William Riker, "Social Choice Theory and Constitutional Democracy," in T. Christiano, ed., Philosophy and Democracy: An Anthology

Bernard Manin, "On Legitimacy and Political Deliberation." Political Theory 15 (1987)

Stephen Holmes, "Precommitment and the Paradox of Democracy," in Jon Elster and Rune Slagstad, eds., Constitutionalism and Democracy

Jeremy Waldron, "Precommitment and Disagreement," in Law and Disagreement

Cornelius Castoriadis, "Power, Politics and Autonomy," in Philosophy, Politics, Autonomy: Essays in Political Philosophy

Jürgen Habermas, "Three Normative Models of Democracy," in Seyla Benhabib, Democracy and Difference

Joshua Cohen, "Democracy and Liberty," in Jon Elster, ed., Deliberative Democracy

David Estlund, "Beyond Fairness and Deliberation," in T. Christiano, ed., Philosophy and Democracy: An Anthology

Claude Lefort, Democracy and Political Theory, Introduction, ch. 1

Hanna F. Pitkin, The Concept of Representation, chs. 3, 4, 5, 6, 10

Bernard Manin, The Principles of Representative Government, Introduction and chs. 1, 4, 6

Russell Hardin, "Why a Constitution?," in Bernard Grofman and Donald Wittman, eds., The Federalist Papers and the New Institutionalism

James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, "The Calculus of Consent," selections in T. Christiano, ed., Philosophy and Democracy: An Anthology

Adam Przeworski, Democracy and the Market, ch. 1

Adam Przeworski, "Minimalist Conception of Democracy," in Ian Shapiro and Hacker-Cordon, eds., Democracy's Values

### **Satellite 3: Ideology and Identity**

Ludwig Feuerbach, The Essence of Christianity

Antonio Gramsci, The Modern Prince

Max Horkheimer, "Traditional and Critical Theory," in Critical Theory (1972)

Jürgen Habermas, "Technology and Science as Ideology," in Theory and Practice

Louis Althusser, "Ideological State Apparatuses," in Lenin and Philosophy

M. Foucault, The History of Sexuality, Part One

G. Cohen, "Images of History in Hegel and Marx" (ch. 1 of Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defense)

C. Lefort, "Marx: From One Vision of History to Another," in The Political Forms of Modern Society, pp. 139-180

Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman, "The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology of Choice," Science 211:30 (January 1981)

Emile Durkheim, Elementary Forms of Religious Life, Introduction and Conclusion

Max Weber, "Religious Rejections of the World and Their Direction," in From Max Weber, ed. Gerth and Mills

José Casanova, "Secularization, Enlightenment and Modern Religion" and "Private and Public Religion," in Public Religions in the Modern World

John Rawls, "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited"

Jürgen Habermas, "Religion in the Public Sphere"

Rainer Forst, "The Limits of Toleration," Constellations 11

Elisabeth Galeotti, Toleration as Recognition, Introduction and chs. 2, 3, 4, 7

Ernst Renan, "What is a Nation?"

Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities

Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism

Ronald Beiner, ed., Theorizing Nationalism, essays by Yack, Walzer, Taylor, Barry

Yael Tamir, Liberal Nationalism, Introduction and chs. 1, 4

Iris Marion Young, "Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship," Ethics 99 (1989)

Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition," in Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition, ed. Amy Gutmann

Will Kymlicka, Multicultural Citizenship, chs. 2, 3, 4, 6

Chandran Kukathas, "Are There Any Cultural Rights?" Political Theory 20 (1992)

Susan M. Okin, "Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?" in Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?, ed. Joshua Cohen and Matthew Howard

Brian Barry, Culture and Equality, chs. 1-5, 7, 8