

## 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 (ch.s 4-11), XII, XIV, XIX, XXII (ch.s 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 (Cambridge U. Press, ed. J.G.A. Pocock), pp. 63-70 (from Introduction), pp. 161-87; 413-19

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

David Hume, “Of the Original Contract,” “The Independence of Parliament,” “That Politics May Be Reduced to A Science,” “Of the First Principle of Government,” “Of Parties in General”

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

Adam Smith, The Theory of Moral Sentiments, Part I ("On the propriety of action"); Part II, Section II ("Of justice and beneficence"); Part IV ("On the effect of utility on the sentiment of approbation")

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Discourse on the Origins of Inequality; On The Social Contract

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

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

James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, The Federalist Papers, no.s 1, 9, 10, 37, 39, 40, 48, 49, 51, 62, 78

Sieyes, What Is The Third Estate?

Immanuel Kant, The Metaphysics of Morals, Part I ("Metaphysical First Principles of the Doctrine of Right"); *Perpetual Peace*; "What is the Enlightenment?"

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

Thomas Paine, The Rights of Man (Part II)

Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Men; A Vindication of The Rights of Woman

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

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

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

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

Max Weber, Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism

Edward Bernstein, Evolutionary Socialism

M.K. Gandhi, “Hind Swaraj” or Indian Home Rule

L.T. Hobhouse, Liberalism

Carl Schmitt, The Concept of the Political

M.K. Gandhi, “Hind Swaraj” or Indian Home Rule

Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation

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

Isaiah Berlin, “Two Concepts of Liberty”

Friedrich Hayek, The Constitution of Liberty, Part One

Hannah Arendt, On Revolution

John Rawls, A Theory of Justice

Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, Part I: "Torture" (3-69); Part II: "Punishment" (73-131); Part III, ch. 3 on "Panopticism" (195-228); Part IV: "Prison" (231-308).

Jürgen Habermas, Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (Parts 1-3, 5,6)

Jürgen Habermas, Between Facts and Norms, ch.s 3, 7, 8

Judith Shklar, “The Liberalism of Fear”

## **SATELLITE 1: JUSTICE, RIGHTS, AND CONSTITUTIONALISM**

Lord Bingham, The Rule of Law, Part I, ch. 1 (“The Importance of the Rule of Law”); Part II, ch. 3 (“The Accessibility of the Law”); ch. 4 (“Law Not Discretion”); ch.5 (“Equality before the Law”)

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

Wesley Newcomb Hohfeld, Fundamental Legal Conceptions as Applied in Judicial Reasoning

Hans Kelsen, General Theory of Law and the State, Part I, ch. 1, The Law (par. A,B,C,D, pp.3-49), ch. 10, The Legal Order (pp. 110-122); ch. 11, The Hierarchy of the Norms (pp. 123-161) .

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

Carl Schmitt, Constitutional Theory, ch.s 1-11, 18.

Bruce Ackerman, We the People: Foundations, ch.s. 1, 7, 9-11 [JS]

Dieter Grimm, “The Achievement of Constitutionalism and Its Prospects in a Changed World,” in The Twilight of Constitutionalism, eds. Petra Dobner and Martin Loughlin, pp. 1-50, 67-75.

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

Martha Nussbaum, Women and Human Development: Introduction and ch.2

Alasdair MacIntyre, After Virtue, ch.s 3-6, 10-12, 17

Susan Moller Okin, Justice, Gender, and the Family, ch.s 1, 3, 5, 7

G.A. Cohen, “The currency of egalitarian justice” *Ethics* 99 (4): 906-944

Elizabeth Anderson (1999) “What is the point of equality?” *Ethics* 109 (2): 312-337.

Joseph H. Carens (1987), "Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders", *Review of Politics* 49 (2) 251-73

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

Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from a Birmingham Jail"

Claude Lefort, "Politics and Human Rights," in The Political Forms of Modern Society

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

Will Kymlicka, "Territorial Boundaries: A Liberal-Egalitarian Perspective," in David Miller and Sohail H. Hashmi, eds., *Boundaries and Justice: Diverse Ethical Perspectives*

Philip Pettit, Republicanism, ch. 1

Michael Walzer, Spheres of Justice, ch.s 1, 3, 4, 5

John Rawls, The Law of Peoples

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

Antony Anghie, Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law ch.s 2-5

Thomas Christiano, "The Legitimacy of International Institutions," Routledge Companion to the Philosophy of Law

Thomas Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 33 (2005):113-147

Dani Rodrik, The Globalization Paradox. Democracy and the Future of the World Economy, pp. ix-xxii and pp.184-206.

## **SATELLITE 2: DEMOCRACY AND ITS ALTERNATIVES**

Jeremy Bentham, Essays on Political Tactics, ch. 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 Preface, ch.s1-18

Carl Schmitt, The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy

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

Edmund Morgan, Inventing the People, ch.s 4, 5, 6

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

Robert Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory

Robert Dahl, Democracy and Its Critics, ch. 8

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

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

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

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

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

Adam Przeworski, Democracy and the Market, ch. 1

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

Giovanni Sartori, "What Democracy is Not", in The Theory of Democracy Revisited, ch. 7

Gerald Mackie, Democracy Defended, ch. 4.

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

Johan Caspar Bluntschli "What Is a Political Party?" in Perspectives on Political Parties, ed. Susan E. Scarrow pp. 75-81

Max Weber, "Class, status, party" in Gerth & Mills, From Max Weber, Part II, ch. VII

Robert Michels, Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy, Introduction, Parts 1 & 6

Antonio Gramsci, The Modern Prince

Otto Kirchheimer, "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems," in Political Parties and Political Development, ed. Joseph La Palombara, pp. 177–200

Giovanni Sartori, Parties and Party System, ch. 1: "The party as part"

Adam Przeworski, "Consensus, Conflict and Compromise in Western Thought on Representative Government," in *Procedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences 2* (2010): 7042–7055

Pierre Rosanvallon, Counter-democracy: Politics in an age of distrust, pp. 1-57, 121-123, 191-193, 249-273

Claus Offe, "Political Legitimation Through Majority Rule," *Social Research* 50 (1983), n. 4

Frederick Whelan, "Democratic theory and the boundary problem" in Pennock and Chapman ed., Liberal Democracy (NOMOS XXV, 1983), pp. 13-42

C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite, ch.s 1, 11, and 12

Hannah Arendt, Origins of Totalitarianism, ch.s 4 (pp 89–120), ch.6 and ch. 9 (pp. 267–302)

Robert Paxton, "Five Stages of Fascism" *The Journal of Modern History*, 70 (1): 1-23

Clinton Rossiter, Constitutional Dictatorship [1949], Transaction Publishers, 2009, ch.s 1 and 2

Juan Linz, "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes" in Greenstein & Polsby (eds), Handbook of Political Science Vol.3, ch.3 (1975)

Andrew Arato, "Dictatorship Before and After Totalitarianism," *Social Research* 69/2 (2002): 472-502

Leszek Kołakowski, Main Currents of Marxism, book III, ch. 3 ("Marxism as the Ideology of the Soviet State")

Margaret Canovan, The People (2005)

Cas Mudde, "The Populist Zeitgeist," in *Government and Opposition* 39, no. 3 (2004): 541–563

Mahmood Mamdani, Citizen and Subject, pp. 16-27, 48-61, 72-82, 90-102

### **SATELLITE 3: POWER, IDEOLOGY AND IDENTITY**

Max Weber, Economy and Society Vol.1, Part I, ch.3: "The Types of Legitimate Domination"

Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, ch.s, 1, 2 and 4

Sally Haslanger, Resisting Reality, ch.17

Bhikhu Parekh, Superior People: The Narrowness of Liberalism from Mill to Rawls

Uday Mehta, "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion," in Tensions of Empire, eds. Fred Cooper and Ann Stoler

Judith Butler, Gender Trouble

Edward Said, Orientalism

Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, vol. I, "Introduction" (3-20) and ch. 1: "Biological Data" (21-48); vol. II, chapter 10 "Women's Situation and Character" (638-666); and ch. 14 "The Independent Woman" (721-752)

Carole Pateman, The Sexual Contract, ch. 1, 3 and 5.

Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* (1989): 139-167

Charles W. Mills, "Rawls on Race/Race in Rawls", *The Southern Journal on Philosophy* 47 (2009): 181-194

Habermas, Legitimation Crisis, pp. 10-94

Dale T. Miller, "The Norm of Self-Interest", *American Psychologist* 54, n. 12 (December 1999):1053-1060

Catherine MacKinnon, Toward a Feminist Theory of the State (Harvard U. Press, 1989), ch. 1 ("The Problem of Marxism and Feminism", pp. 3-12); ch. 3 (A Marxist Critique of Feminism" pp. 37-59) and ch. 8 ("The Liberal State" pp. 157-170)

Steven Lukes (ed.), Power (NYU Press, 1986)

Alvin Goldman, "Toward a theory of social power", *Philosophical Studies* 1972



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

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

Franz L. Neumann, Anxiety and Politics

Michael Foucault, The History of Sexuality, Part One

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

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

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, chapter 8 and conclusion, pp. 211-235

John Rawls, "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited"

Jürgen Habermas, "Religion in the Public Sphere"

Rainer Forst, "The Limits of Toleration," *Constellations* 11 (2004):312-325

Charles Taylor, The Secular Age, Introduction, ch.s 15 and 20

Ernst Renan, "What is a Nation?"

Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities

Ronald Beiner, ed., Theorizing Nationalism, essays by, Taylor and Barry

Yael Tamir, Liberal Nationalism, Introduction and ch.s 1, 4

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

Iris Marion Young, Justice and the Politics of Difference, ch. 2 ("Five Faces of Oppression")

W.E.B. Du Bois, The Soul of Black Folk; Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil, ch. 2  
("The Souls of White Folk")

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, ch.s 1-3; The Fact of Blackness; Black Skin, White Masks

Hannah Arendt, "On Violence"

Will Kymlicka, Multicultural Citizenship, ch.s 2, 3, 4, 6

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

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