

**Pennsylvania State University
Department of Political Science
Political Theory Reading List
Revised Spring 2003**

The subfield reading list in political theory is divided into two parts. The first section covers core readings in the history of political theory (with an emphasis on democratic theory). The second section includes readings organized by area of specialization (Marxism and Critical Theory, Liberalism, American Political Thought, Feminist Political Theory, and any Special Topics). Minors in the subfield are responsible for section 1. Students majoring in political theory are expected to master the theorists in section 1, as well as material from *two* of the areas listed in section 2. In general, the morning portion of the written comprehensive exam will emphasize the core reading list (section 1). The afternoon session will emphasize more specialized material (section 2, along with any related readings from section 1). There will be a choice of questions within sections and, where possible, of theorists within questions.

Political theory differs from other subfields in distinguishing between primary and secondary texts. Political theory majors also often complete a substantial portion of their course work in other departments, e.g., philosophy, history, sociology, English, and women's studies. Acknowledging those differences, the common reading list stresses major primary sources in political theory.

Exam questions will be limited to the works that are listed. All students are encouraged—and majors are expected—to demonstrate familiarity with the secondary literature most relevant for their particular readings of these works. However, we recognize that interpretative approaches will vary with disciplinary context and research interests. For example, a question about Marxist theory might be answered with reference to interpretations by Judith Butler, Jon Elster, Nancy Hartsock, Frederic Jameson, and/or Ellen Meiskins-Wood.

Part 1: Core Readings in Political Theory

*** indicates a reading from the Proseminar on Democratic Theory**

Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*

Plato, *The Republic*; *Apology*; *Crito*

Aristotle, *Politics*; *Nicomachean Ethics*

Cicero, *The Republic*

Augustine, *City of God*

Aquinas, *On Law, Morality, and Politics*

Christine de Pisan, *The Book of the Body Politic*

Machiavelli, *The Prince*; *The Discourses*

More, *Utopia*

Hobbes, *Leviathan**

Locke, *Two Treatises of Government**; *Letter Concerning Toleration*

Rousseau, *The Social Contract**; *The Discourse on the Origin of Inequality**; *Emile*

Madison, Hamilton, Jay, *The Federalist Papers*

Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*

Paine, *The Rights of Man*

Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*

Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*

Bentham, *Principles of Morals and Legislation*

J.S. Mill, *On Liberty; Utilitarianism; Representative Government; The Subjection of Women*
 Hegel, *The Philosophy of Right; Introduction to The Philosophy of History*
 Marx, excerpts from *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Hackett): *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts**; *The Communist Manifesto**; *The German Ideology**, *Capital**, “On the Jewish Question”^{**}
 Nietzsche, *The Use and Abuse of History; The Genealogy of Morals**; *Beyond Good and Evil*
 Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*
 Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society; Suicide*
 Horkheimer and Adorno, *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*
 Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems; Freedom and Culture*
 Arendt, *The Human Condition; Origins of Totalitarianism*
 Robert Dahl, *On Democracy; How Democratic is the American Constitution?**
 C.B. MacPherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*
 Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory; The Sexual Contract*
 John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice; Political Liberalism; Justice as Fairness: A Restatement*
 Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*
 Sheldon Wolin, *Politics and Vision*
 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish**; *Power/Knowledge*; “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History”
 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere**, *Philosophical Discourse of Modernity; Between Facts and Norms*
 Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*
 Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*
 Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*
 Iris Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference; Inclusion and Democracy*
 Kathleen Jones, *Compassionate Authority: Democracy and the Representation of Women*
 Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, *Democracy and Disagreement*
 Thomas Dumm, *Michel Foucault and the Politics of Freedom*
 Simone Chambers, *Reasonable Democracy: Jurgen Habermas and the Politics of Discourse*
 Nancy Fraser, *Justice Interruptus: Critical Reflections on the 'Postsocialist' Condition**
 Ian Shapiro, *Democratic Justice*
 William Connolly, *Why I Am Not A Secularist**
 Jason A. Frank and John Tambornino, eds., *Vocations of Political Theory**
 Stephen K. White, *Political Theory and Postmodernism; Sustaining Affirmation: The Strengths of Weak Ontology in Political Theory*
 John Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations**

Part 2 Area Specialties

Marxism and Critical Theory

Theodor Adorno, *Critical Models*
The Authoritarian Personality
 Louis Althusser, *For Marx*
 Seyla Benhabib, *Democratic Equality and Cultural Diversity: Political Identity in the Global Era*
 Seyla Benhabib and Fred Dallmayr, eds., *The Communicative Ethics Controversy*
 Terrel Carver and Paul Thomas, eds., *Rational Choice Marxism*
 Wright, “What is Analytical Marxism?”
 Carling, “Rational Choice Marxism”
 Warren, “Marx and Methodological Individualism”
 Goldfield & Gilbert, “The Limits of Rational Choice Theory”

- Friedrich Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the Age of Classical German Philosophy*
Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State
 “Socialism: Utopian and Scientific”
- Ludwig Feuerbach, “Preliminary Theses for a Reform of Philosophy”
Essence of Christianity, introduction
- Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth, *Redistribution or Recognition: A Philosophical Exchange*
- Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*
Legitimation Crisis
The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays
- Max Horkheimer, *Critical Theory: Selected Essays*
- Nancy Hartsock, *Money, Sex, and Power: The Feminist Standpoint Revisited*, ch. 11
- Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*
- Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*
The Aesthetic Dimension
Eros and Civilization
- Karl Marx, “Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right”
 “Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844”
 “On the Jewish Question”
The German Ideology
 “Manifesto of the Communist Party”
 “Critique of the Gotha Program”
The Civil War in France
Grundrisse, introduction
Capital, vol. 1
- Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History After Genocide and Mass Violence*
- Anna Marie Smith, *Laclau and Mouffe: The Radical Democratic Imaginary*
- Max Weber, “The Meaning of ‘Ethical Neutrality’ in Sociology and Economics” in *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*

Liberalism

- Seyla Benhabib, *Situating the Self*, chs. 1, 2 and 5
- Wendy Brown, *States of Injury*, chs. 5 and 6
- Jürgen Habermas, *Moral Consciousness & Communicative Action*, pp. 43-194
Inclusion and the Other, Section II
 “Reconciliation Through the Use of Public Reason”
 “‘Reasonable’ vs. ‘True’, or the Morality of Worldviews”
- Will Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community and Culture*, chs. 2-5
- John Rawls, *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement*
 “Reply to Habermas”
- Richard Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*
- Michael Sandel, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*, 2nd ed.
- Charles Taylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity*
- Stephen White, *Political Theory and Post-Modernism*

American Political Thought

Perry Miller, ed., *The American Puritans: Their Prose and Poetry*
 Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography and Other Writings*
 Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*
 Madison, Hamilton, Jay, *The Federalist Papers*
 Morton Borden, ed., *The Antifederalist Papers*
 Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*
 Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*; “Fortnight in the Wilderness”
 Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Self-Reliance”, “Experience,” “The Divinity School Address,” “The Over-Soul”
 Henry David Thoreau, “Civil Disobedience,” *Walden*
 Margaret Fuller, “The Great Lawsuit: Man versus Men, Woman versus Women”
 Elizabeth Cady Stanton, “Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions,” “Address to the New York State Legislature”
 Sojourner Truth, “Ain’t I a Woman?” (both versions)
 Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*
 Frederick Douglass, “Speech at the Anti-Slavery Association”
 George Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*
 Abraham Lincoln, “Speech on the Dred Scott Decision,” “First Inaugural Address,” “Second Annual Message to Congress,” “The Gettysburg Address,” “Second Inaugural Address”
 Horatio Alger, *Ragged Dick*
 William Graham Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*
 Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics*
 Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*; “Atlanta Compromise Speech”
 W. E. B. Dubois, *The Souls of Black Folk*
Plessy v. Ferguson
 Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*
 Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*
 Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*
 John Dewey, *The Public and its Problems; Freedom and Culture*
 John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath*
 Franklin Delano Roosevelt, “The Commonwealth Club Address,” “Campaign Address,” “An Economic Bill of Rights”
 Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*
 Arthur Miller, *Death of a Salesman*
 Joseph McCarthy, “Speech Accusing Truman of Aiding Suspected Red Agents”
 Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*
 Martin Luther King, Jr. “Letter from Birmingham Jail”
 Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*
 Students for a Democratic Society, “Port Huron Statement”
Roe v. Wade
 Johnnie Tillmon, “Welfare”
 Combahee River Collective, “Statement”
 Marilyn Frye, “Oppression”
Romer v. Evans
 Michael Moore, *Roger and Me*
 Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*
 Independent Media Center, *This Is What Democracy Looks Like*

Feminist Political Theory

- Mary Lyndon Shanley and Carole Pateman, eds. *Feminist Interpretations and Political Theory*
 Mary Lyndon Shanley and Uma Narayan, eds. *Reconstructing Political Theory: Feminist Perspectives*
 Sandra Harding, ed. *Feminism and Methodology*
 Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*
 Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*
 Nancy Hartsock, *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited and Other Essays*
 Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought, 2nd ed.*
 Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back*
 Gloria Anzaldúa, ed., *Making Face, Making Soul: Haciendo Caras*
 Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres, eds., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*
 Uma Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures*
 Gayatri Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” and “Subaltern Talk [interview]”
 Elizabeth V. Spelman, *Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought*
 Diana Fuss, *Essentially Speaking*
 Shane Phelan, *Identity Politics; Getting Specific: Postmodern Lesbian Politics*
 Seyla Benhabib, Judith Butler, Drucilla Cornell, and Nancy Fraser, *Feminist Contentions*
 Linda Nicholson, ed. *Feminism/Postmodernism*
 Michèle Barrett and Anne Phillips, eds. *Destabilizing Theory*
 Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott, eds. *Feminists Theorize the Political*
 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble, 2nd ed.*
 Sandra Bartky, *Femininity and Domination*
 Susan Bordo, *Unbearable Weight*
 Joan Tronto, *Moral Boundaries*
 Kathy Ferguson, *The Man Question: Visions of Subjectivity in Feminist Theory*
 Iris M. Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*
 Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices; Justice Interruptus*
 Rosemary Hennessy, *Materialist Feminism and the Politics of Discourse*
 Jodi Dean, *The Solidarity of Strangers: Feminism After Identity Politics*
 Wendy Brown, *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*
 Nancy Hirschmann, *The Subject of Liberty: Toward a Feminist Theory of Freedom*
 Linda Gordon, ed, *Women, the State, and Welfare*
 J. K. Gibson-Graham, *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*

Special Topics: Rousseau

- Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts*
Discourse on Political Economy
Discourse on the Origins of Inequality
The Social Contract
Emile