

**NEW YORK UNIVERSITY**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS**

Bernard Manin

Fall 2005

**INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL THEORY:**

**THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY**

**G.53.3100**

**Wed. 4:00-6:00**

**726 Broadway, Room: 700**

**I. Reading list**

- Aristotle, *Politics*, transl. Barker, Oxford U.P., World's Classics, 1995  
 Barber, B., *Strong democracy*, The U. of California Press, 1984  
 Berlin, I., *Four Essays on Liberty*, Oxford U.P., 1969  
 Bock, G., Skinner, Q., Viroli, M., (eds.), *Machiavelli and republicanism*, Cambridge U.P., 1990  
 Bohman, J., Rehg, W., (eds.), *Deliberative Democracy*, MIT Press, 1997  
 Constant, B. *Political Writings*, ed. B. Fontana, Cambridge U.P., 1988  
 Copp, D., Hampton, J., Roemer J., (eds.), *The Idea of democracy*, Cambridge U.P., 1993  
 Dahl, R., *A preface to democratic theory*, The U. of Chicago Press, 1956  
 Dahl, R., *Democracy and its critics*, Yale U.P., 1985  
 Dryzek, J., *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Oxford U.P., 2000  
 Dunn, J., *The Political thought of John Locke*, Cambridge U.P., 1969  
 Dworkin, R., *Freedom's Law*, Harvard U.P., 1996  
 Elster, J. (ed.), *Deliberative Democracy*, Cambridge U.P., 1998  
 Finley, M., *Democracy Ancient and Modern*, 1973  
 Fishkin, J., *Democracy and deliberation: New directions for democratic reform*, Yale U.P., 1991  
 Fontana, B. (ed.), *The Invention of the Modern Republic*, Cambridge U.P., 1994  
 Gagarin, P., Woodruff, (eds.), *Early Greek Political Thought from Homer to the Sophists*, Cambridge U.P., 1995  
 Guinier, L., *The Tyranny of the Majority*, Free Press, 1995  
 Habermas, J., *Between Facts and Norms*, MIT Press, 1996  
 Habermas, J., *The Inclusion of the other*, MIT Press, 1999  
 Hamilton, A., Madison, J., Jay, J., *The Federalist Papers*, ed. by C. Rossiter, Penguin, 1961  
 Hansen, M. H., *The Athenian democracy in the age of Demosthenes*, Blackwell, 1991  
 Hobbes, T., *Leviathan*, ed. by C.B. Macpherson, Penguin, 1981

- Jacobson, A., Schlink, B. (eds.), *Weimar. A Jurisprudence of Crisis*, U. of California Press, 2000
- Kant, I., *Political Writings*, ed. by H. Reiss, Cambridge U.P., 1970
- Levinson, S. (ed.), *Responding to Imperfection*, Princeton U.P., 1995
- Locke, J., *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. by P. Laslett, Cambridge U.P., 1988
- Machiavelli, *The Discourses*, ed. by B. Crick, Penguin, 1970
- Machiavelli, *The Prince*, transl. H. Mansfield, The U. of Chicago Press, 1985
- Manin, B., *The principles of representative government*, Cambridge U.P., 1997
- Mill, J.S., *Three Essays*, Oxford U.P., 1975
- Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, transl. A. Cohler, Cambridge U.P., 1989
- Nicolet, C., *The world of the citizen in republican Rome*, U. of California Press, 1980
- Pateman, C., *Participation and democratic theory*, Cambridge U.P., 1970
- Pettit, P., *Republicanism, A theory of freedom and government*, Oxford U.P., 1997
- Phillips, A., *The Politics of Presence*, Oxford U.P., 1995
- Pitkin, H., *The Concept of representation*, U. of California Press, 1967
- Plato, *The Republic*, transl. A. Bloom, Basic Books, 1968
- Pocock, J.G.A., *The Machiavellian Moment*, Princeton U.P., 1975
- Polybius, *The Histories*, vol. III, Loeb Classical Library, 1979
- Przeworski, A., *Democracy and the Market*, Cambridge U.P., 1991
- Przeworski, A., Stokes, S., Manin, B., (eds.), *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*, Cambridge U.P., 1999
- Rawls, J., *Political Liberalism*, Columbia U.P., 1993
- Rousseau, J.J., *The Social Contract and other later political writings*, transl. V. Gourevitch, Cambridge U.P., 1997
- Schmitt, C., *The crisis of parliamentary democracy*, transl. E. Kennedy, MIT Press, 1988
- Schumpeter, J., *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, Harper, 1975
- Shapiro, I., *The State of Democratic Theory*, Princeton U.P., 2003
- Shapiro, I., Hacker-Gordon, C., (eds.), *Democracy's Value*, Cambridge U.P., 1999
- Shklar, J., *Montesquieu*, Oxford U.P., 1991
- Shklar, J., *Men and Citizens*, Cambridge U.P., 1969
- Skinner, Q., *Liberty before liberalism*, Cambridge U.P., 1998
- Sunstein, C., *Republic.com*, Princeton U.P., 2002
- Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, transl. Warner, Penguin, 1972
- Tocqueville, A., *Democracy in America*, transl. G. Lawrence, Perennial Library, 1988
- Tuck, R., *Natural Right, Theories*, Cambridge U.P., 1979
- Tuck, R., *Philosophy and Government 1572-1651*, Cambridge U.P., 1993
- Urbinate, N., *Mill on democracy*, The U. of Chicago Press, 2002
- Vile, M.J.C., *Constitutionalism and the Separation of Powers*, Oxford U.P., 1967
- Waldron, J., *Law and Disagreement*, Oxford U.P., 1999

## II. Schedule of classes

### 7 Sept.: Introduction. Preview.

#### 14 Sept.: Democracy Ancient and Modern I: liberty

Reading: M.H. Hansen, *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*, chs. 4, 13; Aristotle, *Politics*, Bk. VI, ch. 2; Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Bk. II, §§ 34-46 ["The Funeral Oration"]; B. Constant, "The liberty of the Ancients compared with that of the Moderns", in *Political Writings*, pp. 309-328

Further reading: Aristotle, *Politics*, Bk.III, chs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, Bk. IV, chs. 3, 4, Herodotus, *History*, III, §§ 80-82, in *Early Greek Political thought from Homer to the Sophists*, pp. 82-85; Pseudo-Xenophon, *The constitution of the Athenians*, in *Early Greek Political thought...* pp. 133-144; Plato, *Republic*, Bk. VIII, 555b-559d; M. Finley, *Democracy Ancient and Modern*

#### 21 Sept.: Democracy Ancient and Modern II: equality

Reading: B. Manin, *The Principles of representative government*, chs. 1, 2; Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. I, Author's introduction, Part I, chs.2-4, part II, chs. 1-9

Further reading: M.H. Hansen, *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*, chs.. 6-11; Plato, *Statesman*, 292a-305a, *Protagoras*, 319a-328c (selection in *Early Greek Political thought...*) pp. 176-184); Aristotle, *Politics*, Bk. III, chs. 9, 11

#### 28 Sept.: Popular government and republicanism: the republic as a mixed constitution; the republican idea of liberty

Reading: N. Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, Bk.I, chs. 2-7, 58; P. Pettit, *Republicanism*, chs 1, 2.

Further reading: Q. Skinner, *Liberty before liberalism*; Polybius, *Histories*, Bk. VI, §§ 11-18; J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, chs. 7, 11, M. Viroli, "Machiavelli and the republican idea of politics", in Bock, G., Skinner, Q., and Viroli, M., *Machiavelli and Republicanism*; C. Nicolet, *The world of the citizen in republican Rome*, ch.8.

#### 5 Oct.: Democracy and liberal rights. The liberal idea of liberty

Reading: I. Berlin, *Two concepts of liberty* (in its entirety), Hobbes, *Leviathan*, chs. 13, 14, 21; Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, chs. 2-5, 7-9, 11; Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, Bk. XI, chs. 2-6.

Further reading: R. Tuck, *Natural right theories*; J. Dunn, *The political thought of John Locke*; J. Shklar, *Montesquieu*

#### 12 Oct.: Limited government: separation of powers, checks and balances

Reading: Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, Bk. XI, ch. 6; Hamilton, Madison, Jay, *The Federalist papers*, 47-51, 57, 78; B. Manin, "Checks, balances and boundaries: the separation of powers in the constitutional debate of 1787", in B. Fontana, (ed.), *The Invention of the Modern Republic*, pp. 27-62.

Further reading: M.J.C. Vile, *Constitutionalism and the Separation of Powers*; P. Pasquino, "The constitutional republicanism of Emmanuel Sieyès", in B. Fontana, (ed.), *The Invention of the Modern Republic*, pp. 107-117.

### **19 Oct.: Democracy and representative government: accountability vs. descriptive representation**

Reading: H. Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, chs. 4, 6, 7, 10; B. Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government*, chs. 3, 5; J. Fearon, "Electoral accountability and the control of politicians: selecting good types versus sanctioning poor performance", in A. Przeworski, S. Stokes, B. Manin, (eds.), *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*,

Further reading; A. Przeworski, S. Stokes, B. Manin, (eds.), *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*, Introduction, chs. 1, 4, 7; A. Phillips, *The Politics of Presence*, chs. 1,2

### **26 Oct.: Democracy as autonomy: implementing autonomy from Rousseau to Kelsen**

Reading: Rousseau, *On the Social Contract*, Bk. I, ch.6, 7, 8, Bk. II, chs.1-4, 6, 7, Bk. III, chs.1, 3, 4 - 6, 13 - 15, Bk. IV, chs. 1-3; H. Kelsen, "On the essence and value of democracy", in A. Jacobson, B. Schlink (eds.), *Weimar. A Jurisprudence of Crisis*,

Further reading: ; Kant, "On the common saying: "This may be true in theory, but it does not apply in practice"" Section 2; "Perpetual peace. A philosophical sketch", Section 2, art.1, Appendix, section 2; "The Metaphysics of Morals", Introduction to the theory of right, The theory of right, Part II, §§ 43-48 in Kant, *Political Writings* pp. 79-86, 99-102, 125-126, 132-143.J. Shklar, *Men and citizens*; P. Riley, *Will and political legitimacy*; P. Riley, *The General Will before Rousseau*

### **2 Nov.: Theories of participatory democracy. The value of participation: J.S. Mill on representation**

Reading: J.S. Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, chs. 1-3, 5, 7-10; N. Urbinati, *Mill on democracy*, chs. 2, 3

Further reading: C. Pateman, *Participation and democratic theory* ; B. Barber, *Strong democracy* , chs.6-10

### **9 Nov.: Democracy as polyarchy: R. Dahl**

Reading: R. Dahl, *A preface to democratic theory* (in its entirety);

Further reading: *Democracy and its critics*, chs. 6, 8, 9, 10, 16, 20; G. Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy revisited*, vol. I

### **16 Nov.: Minimalist conceptions of democracy**

Reading: J. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, socialism and democracy*, chs. 21, 22; K. Popper, *The Open Society and its enemies*, vol. I, pp. 124 ff.; A. Przeworski, *Democracy and the market* ch.1; A. Przeworski, "Minimalist conception of democracy: a defense", in I. Shapiro, C. Hacker-Cordón, (eds.), *Democracy's value*

Further reading: W. Riker, *Liberalism against Populism*

### **23 Nov.: No classes**

### **30 Nov. : Deliberative democracy: theories and experiments**

Reading: J. Cohen, "Deliberation and democratic legitimacy"; J. Cohen, "Procedure and substance in deliberative democracy", J. Elster, "The market and the forum: three varieties of political theory", in J. Bohman and W. Rehg (eds.), *Deliberative democracy*; S. Benhabib, " Toward a deliberative model of democratic legitimacy", in S. Benhabib (ed.), *Democracy and Difference: contesting the Boundaries of the Political*; B. Manin, "On Legitimacy and Political deliberation", *Political Theory*, 15, 3, Aug. 1987.

Further reading: J. Fishkin, *Democracy and deliberation: New directions for democratic reform*, chs.2, 3, 5, 6, 8. C. Sunstein, *Republic.com*,

### **7 Dec.: Majoritarian vs. non majoritarian views of democracy**

Reading: R. Dworkin, *Freedom's Law*, "Introduction: The moral reading and the majoritarian premise"; J. Waldron, *Law and Disagreement*, chs. 2,5, 11-13

Further reading: S. Holmes, "Precommitment and the paradox of democracy", in J.Elster, R. Slagstad, (eds.), *Constitutionalism and Democracy* ; B.Ackerman, "Higher lawmaking", A.A. Amar, "Popular sovereignty and constitutional amendment", in S. Levinson (ed.), *Responding to Imperfection*

### **14 Dec. : The discourse theory of democracy: J. Habermas**

Reading: "Three normative models of democracy", and "On the internal relation between the rule of law and democracy", in J. Habermas, *The Inclusion of the Other*; J. Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, Appendix I "Popular sovereignty as procedure"

Further reading: J. Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, chs. 3, 4, 7