This paper explores some of the central texts and key ideas of twentieth and twenty-first century political thought, looking at both analytical concepts and their historical contexts and evolution. It provides the opportunity to trace the development of political ideas into the twentieth century and further into contemporary political philosophy. This includes many ideas that students will have encountered in other contexts – freedom, democracy, revolution, equality, international relations and global justice – as well as some that may be new or less familiar – for instance, ecology, punishment or welfare. It also provides an opportunity to explore the history of political thought and political philosophy more generally, and to consider what studying politics historically or theoretically brings to our understanding of politics in practice.

The paper is divided into two parts. **Section A** covers a number of historical topics, **Section B** a variety of themes in contemporary political philosophy that have some historical, and some purely normative, elements. It is possible to concentrate on one side or other of the paper, but students will be required to **answer at least one question from each section**. Like the earlier History of Political Thought papers, Section A encourages the contextual study of key political texts and debates. It introduces you to important thinkers such as Nietzsche, Weber, Hayek or Rawls; to developments in the Marxist and liberal traditions of political thought; and to significant political debates, such as those accompanying the crisis of the Weimar Republic, or the emergence of American political science. Section B introduces students to themes in contemporary political philosophy. Through the study of such themes such as, for example, post-colonialism, property, sovereignty and obligation, students can explore how modern philosophical arguments can be engaged both as a normative dialogue with a range of contemporary and classic texts, as well as being seen to emerge as historically-specific claims about politics and political ideas in their own idea.

Overall then, this is a varied paper that offers a chance to explore some familiar ideas in more detail or in more contemporary contexts; to encounter new ideas; and to reflect on what political philosophy means for the study of politics in the round.
Approaches

There are many different ways of approaching this paper. One is to find topics in section A and section B that complement each other. For instance, the historical study of Marxist thought in section A (A3, A5, A6 or A9) links up well with the philosophical study of equality, needs and welfare in section B (B25). Liberal critics of totalitarianism (A11) can be connected up with concepts of liberty (B18) and democracy and representation (B20). Hayek (A12) makes a good link with property and markets (B26). Rawls (A14) ties in directly with recent arguments about global justice (B27) as well as to longer-running arguments about rights and utilitarianism (B17). Theorists and critics of imperialism (A7) complement philosophical arguments about post-colonialism (B22). It is also possible to find links between topics within the two sections. Nietzsche (A1) was a significant influence on Weber (A4) and also on many of the critics of Weimar (A8). Lukács (A6) provided inspiration for the thought of the earlier Frankfurt School (A9). Hayek (A12), as well as being one of the liberal critics of totalitarianism (A13), was engaged with many of the ideas that also concerned Rawls (A14). The study of patriotism (B22) complements the study of multiculturalism (B23). Ideas of sovereignty (B16) are closely connected to ideas of war (B24). These are just some examples. There are many more ways to find interesting links between the different parts of the paper.

It is not always necessary, however, to study these topics in connection with each other. They can also make sense on their own, and you should feel free to explore topics and ideas that do not necessarily connect up. Nietzsche, for instance, was not a feminist but that is no reason not to study Nietzsche alongside feminism (and many feminists have been interested in Nietzsche). Hayek can be studied alongside the Marxists as well as alongside the critics of Marxism with whom he belongs. Some topics are sufficiently broad that they connect with most of the paper: politics and morality (B15) for example, or political philosophy and the history of political thought (B29). These topics can be useful as a way of grounding study for the paper as a whole.

The best way for you to decide what to study is in conjunction with your supervisor, who can give more detailed advice on what goes with what. Not all supervisors will feel able to teach on all topics. If you have a particular topic you wish to study that your supervisor cannot cover, you should contact the course organiser, who will try where possible to set up one-off supervisions on those topics with another supervisor.

Topics

Section A
A1 Nietzsche
A2 British Theorists of the State
A3 The Rise of Marxism
A4 Weber
A5 Marxism and the Revolutionary Crisis of WWI
A6 Lukács, Gramsci, and the Origins of Western Marxism
A7 Theorists and Critics of Imperialism
A8 The Crisis of Weimar
A9 The Earlier Frankfurt School
A10 The Later Frankfurt School
A11 Liberal Critics of Totalitarianism
A12 Hayek
A13 Theorists of Welfare and Democracy
A14 Rawls

Section B
B15 Politics and Morality
B16 State, Sovereignty and Political Obligation
B17 Rights and Utilitarianism
B18 Concepts of Liberty
B19 Punishment
B20 Democracy and Representation
B21 Feminism
B22 Patriotism, Nationalism, Post-colonialism
B23 Multiculturalism, Toleration and Recognition
B24 International Relations, Law, and War
B25 Equality Needs and Welfare
B26 Property and Markets
B27 Global Justice
B28 Ecology and the Future of Humanity
B29 Political Philosophy and the History of Political Thought

In the examination students will be asked to answer three questions, including at least one from each section. At least one question will be asked on each topic. Overlap between answers must be avoided.

The examination rubric will read: Candidates must answer three questions, at least ONE from Section A and at least ONE from Section B.

Sample exam paper
Candidates must answer three questions, at least ONE from Section A and at least ONE from Section B.

Section A
1. Why was Nietzsche so concerned to refute the work of earlier philosophers when making claims about politics?
2. How effective was the pluralist critique of the state?
3. Did Bernstein win the revisionist debate?
4. What did Max Weber hope for from ordinary Germans in a democratic state?
5. Did Marxism meet the challenges posed to revolutionary strategy by WWI?
6. Why did Lukács think that Lenin had resolved the problem of theory and practice in Marxism?
7. Were theorists of imperialism necessarily also theorists of capitalism, and if so, with what consequences? Answer with reference to at least two of the following: Hobson, Fanon, Lenin, Schumpeter, Césaire.
8. Why was the concept of sovereignty so crucial to debates about the Weimar Constitution?
9. To what extent did the earlier Frankfurt School share an understanding of the Nazi state?

10. Consider the importance of either technology or language to the critique of capitalism made by the late Frankfurt School. Answer with reference to two or more of its members.

11. ‘The only thing liberal critics of totalitarianism had in common was a suspicion of planning.’ Discuss with reference to two or more critics.

12. Is Hayek best understood politically as a libertarian or a skeptic?

13. Were American empirical theories of democracy necessarily conservative?

14. Did Rawls think a “property-owning democracy” was the best way to achieve justice in a liberal society?

Section B

15. In what sense, if any, must political theories be practically feasible?

16. Why are so many idealist political philosophers concerned with the problem of political obligation?

17. Either (a) If rights are enforceable claims, why is it so difficult to enforce claims about human rights or economic justice?
   Or (b) Is utilitarianism more concerned with the rules governing our actions, or the consequences of those actions?

18. ‘The attempt to quantify concepts of liberty was always a waste of time.’ Discuss.

19. What, if anything, does the state express when it punishes?

20. Why are so many political theorists committed to the view that democratic representation has paradoxical qualities?

21. Is feminist political theory too concerned with the category of ‘woman’?

22. Either (a) Is liberal nationalism a contradiction in terms?
   Or (b) What is the main challenge posed by postcolonialism for twentieth century political theory?

23. Why are debates about toleration often so intolerant?

24. Why has ‘realism’ been so contested in international relations theory since the Cold War?

25. Is inequality always morally bad?

26. Either (a) How does inequality of property threaten modern political stability?
   Or (b) Can one be both economically libertarian and politically egalitarian?

27. How solid a foundation is cosmopolitanism for claims about global justice?

28. How might the history of ecological thought guide political understanding in the present?

29. Do debates within the history of political thought have consequences for political theory?

Exam papers and examiners reports
Past exams and examiners reports are available via the History Faculty website: https://www.hist.cam.ac.uk/undergraduate/cam-only/past-papers/part2. Students are encouraged to consult these for guidance and examples of essay questions.
**Introductory reading**

There are a number of collections and anthologies that give introductions to many of the authors and philosophical topics covered by this paper. The first two listed are primarily useful for section A; the remainder are primarily useful for section B of the paper.


Students may also find it useful to begin reading with some of the classic recent texts in political philosophy, which provide the basis for many later arguments. These include:


Recent histories of political thought that challenge mainstream canons and narrations show how vibrant the field remains for reconstruction. For example:


K. Blain and T. Gill (eds.) *To Turn the Whole World Over: Black Women and Internationalism* (Illinois, 2019).
Lectures

Lectures will not cover every author and topic for this paper. Instead, they are there to give some grounding in various themes of the paper and to introduce the ideas of different authors and topics. They provide the basis for supervision work and should be helpful in deciding which authors and topics to study, but are not a substitute for direct engagement with the texts. The lectures provided for Paper 5/POL 11 would normally take place in the History Faculty unless stated otherwise. They are listed on the Moodle website and on the faculty-wide lecture lists.

Lectures put on by Faculties other than POLIS and History that may be of interest, but which are not core lectures for this paper, are cross-listed where possible, and noted on the Moodle Web site as appropriate. Please note that these lectures are not formally part of the course, and the paper organisers are not informed of changes that might be made to their scheduling. We only point them out as they may be of interest.

Reading List

The full reading list for this paper is given below. In Section A, the main readings are listed under ‘Set texts’. Asterisked entries under ‘Further reading suggestions’ provide useful starting points for developing your argument. Where additional primary texts are listed under further reading they are not normally starred but are often helpful to read. In Section B there are no primary set texts but a mixture of classic and particularly useful contemporary readings are listed with an asterisk. The subdivisions for each topic are simply there to help navigate what is a rather large reading list.

The normal expectation is that you would read 2-3 primary texts (for Section A) or asterisked readings (for Section B), as well as 2-3 secondary readings when preparing supervision essays. But as with most reading lists, while large, this list is far from exhaustive, and is designed to try and open up various ways of seeing and interpreting the political thought of particular periods, and particular conceptual configurations.
SECTION A

A1 NIETZSCHE

Set texts


Additional primary texts


Biography / Overall Interpretation

J. Young, _Friedrich Nietzsche: A Philosophical Biography_ (Cambridge, 2010).

*K. Ansell-Pearson, _An Introduction to Nietzsche as Political Thinker: The Perfect Nihilist_ (Cambridge, 1994).


Shaw, _Nietzsche’s Political Skepticism_ (Princeton, 2007).

A. Nehamas, _Nietzsche: Life as Literature_ (Cambridge, MA, 1985).


Method / Specific Interpretations in the History of Political Thought


*R. Geuss, ‘Nietzsche and Genealogy’ (pp. 1-28) and ‘Nietzsche and Morality’ (pp. 167-198) in his *Morality, Culture and History* (Cambridge, 1999).


**Politics and State theory**


**Political Theory**


Reception and Cultural History


A2 BRITISH THEORISTS OF THE STATE

Set texts
[It is advisable to cover several of the thinkers from the set texts]


Additional primary texts


E. Barker et al., *Why we are at war: Great Britain’s case*, by members of the Oxford Faculty of Modern History (Oxford, 1914). Full text [here](#).


**Intellectual histories of the period**


**On some of the Idealists and New Liberals as political thinkers**


**On Sidgwick**


*B. Schultz, Henry Sidgwick, Eye of the Universe* (New York, 2004) [biography].


**Works concerned with various of the so-called political pluralists**


*D. Runciman, *Pluralism and the personality of the state* (Cambridge, 1997).


**Indian Anti-Imperial Federalism and British Political Pluralism**


**A3 THE RISE OF MARXISM**

**Set texts**

[It is advisable to cover several of the thinkers from the set texts]


**Further reading suggestions**

**On Marx, Engels and the Second International**


M. B. Steger and T. Carver (eds), *Engels after Marx* (Manchester, 1999).


**For background**


**On the revisionist debates**


**On revolutionary syndicalism**


**A4 WEBER**

**Set texts**

[All from *Political Writings*, ed. P. Lassmann and R. Speirs (Cambridge, 1994)]:

**Pre-WW1 Writings**

‘The Nation State and Economic Policy’ (Inaugural Lecture) [1895].

**Wartime Considerations**

‘Suffrage and Democracy in Germany’ [1916].

‘Parliament and Government in Germany under a New Political Order’ [1916].

‘Socialism’ [1917].

‘The President of the Reich’ [1918].

‘The Profession and Vocation of Politics’ [1919].

**Wider writings of relevance, but not from the Political Writings**


**Biographical/Interpretative - general**


S. Turner (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Weber* (Cambridge 2000), chs. 4 (Lassman) and 7 (Eliaeson)

B. S. Turner (ed.), *Max Weber: Critical Responses* (Routledge, 1999); browse, esp. vol. I: 'Man, Context and Politics'.


**Synthetic Political Interpretations**


**Weber and State Theory/Political Theory**


J. Werner-Müller, *Contesting Democracy: Political Ideas in Twentieth-Century Europe* (New Haven, CT, 2011), ch. 1


**Weber and wider intellectual/cultural/global history**


K. Tribe (ed.) Reading Weber (Routledge, 1989) (selection of classic essays in interpretation, plus translation of some important 1890s texts, esp. ‘Developmental Tendencies’).


J. Breuilly (ed.) Nineteenth-century Germany: Politics, Culture and Society 1780-1918, chs. 8, 10 by K. A. Lerman (for background context).


S. Conrad, Globalization and the Nation in Imperial Germany (Cambridge, 2006) or German Colonialism: A Short History (Cambridge, 2012) [give wider sense of the global and imperial dimensions of German political-economic thinking into which Weber can be discussed].

C. A. McAuley, The Spirit vs. the Souls – Max Weber, W. E. B. Du Bois, and the Politics of Scholarship (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2019) [Interesting attempt to show what follows from acknowledging Weber’s engagement with Du Bois, in terms of how both connect politics to scholarship]


**Specific areas of interpretation**


S. P. Turner and R. Factor, Max Weber: The Lawyer as Social Thinker (Routledge, 1994) [traces the lineaments of Weber’s schooling in legal history/theory for his sociology].


### A5 MARXISM AND THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS OF WWI

**Set texts**

[It is advisable to cover several of the thinkers from the set texts. Many of these texts are also available online at http://www.marxists.org/archive (search by author, then by work).]


*Selected Political Writings of Rosa Luxemburg*, ed. D. Howard (New York, 1989). [These collections are in the process of being superseded, in English, by the publication of the Collected Writings of Rosa Luxemburg, by Verso; so far, a volume of letters, two volumes of economic writings, and one volume of ‘political writings’ from the 1890s up to the 1905 Russian revolution, have been published; if you wish to look, see the notes here: https://www.versobooks.com/series_collections/20-the-complete-works-of-rosa-luxemburg]


**Further reading suggestions**


R. G. Suny (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Russia 4: The Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 2018), numerous chapter on the revolution(s) from 1905, to 1917.

**On Lenin’s Political Thinking**


**On Luxemburg’s Political Thinking**


*S. Bronner, A Revolutionary for our Times: Rosa Luxemburg*, 3rd edn (University Park, 1997).


**On Kautsky’s Political Thinking**


On the Political Thought of the Irish Revolution


A6 LUKÁCS, GRAMSCI, AND THE ORIGINS OF WESTERN MARXISM

Set texts


Further Lukács reading suggestions

**Intellectual Context**


**On Lukács and the origins of Western Marxism**


**Conceptual Issues (Reification, Revolution, Leninism, Political Judgment)**


**On Gramsci’s Political Thinking**


*M.A. Finocchiaro, Beyond right and left: democratic elitism in Mosca and Gramsci* (New Haven and London, 1999).


**Karl Korsch’s Marxist Philosophy**


**The transition to ‘Western Marxism’**


A7 THEORISTS AND CRITICS OF IMPERIALISM

Set texts
[It is advisable to cover several of the thinkers from the set texts]


A. Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York, 1950). Full text [here](#).


Additional primary texts of particular interest and context, from c. WW1-1930s


*W. E. B. Du Bois: International Thought* (eds.) A. Getachew and J. Pitts (Cambridge, 2022), an important new collection that includes the ‘African Roots of War’ essay, and has a good selection of his international writings spanning several decades, along with a useful introductory essay.

On liberal and Marxist theories of imperialism

*P. Cain, *Hobson and Imperialism: Radicalism, New Liberalism, and Finance 1887-1938*


*B. Semmel, *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin* (Baltimore, 1993).


**Anti-colonial theorists and critiques of the state/imperialism**


W. James, Holding aloft the Banner of Ethiopia (London, 1999).

A8 CRISIS OF WEIMAR

Set texts

Hans Kelsen


Carl Schmitt


Further reading suggestions

Additional Primary Texts
C. Schmitt, Constitutional Theory [1927]

For political background
J. Breuilly (ed.) Nineteenth-century Germany: Politics, Culture and Society 1780-1918, chs. 8, 10 by K. A. Lerman

For the legal background
L. Vinx and S. Zeitlin, Carl Schmitt’s Early Legal-Theoretical Writings (Cambridge, 2021)

Weimar constitutionalism and its legacy
Rupert Emerson, State and Sovereignty in Modern Germany (New Haven, CT, 1929).
On Schmitt's Political Theory

J. Meierhenrich and O. Simons (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Carl Schmitt (various chapters relating to all aspects of Schmitt’s work)


*W. Scheuerman, Carl Schmitt: The End of Law (Lanham, MD, 1999)

*J. Werner-Müller, Contesting Democracy: Political Ideas in Twentieth-Century Europe (New Haven, CT, 2011), ch. 3.

T. Strong, Politics without Vision: Thinking without a Bannister in the Twentieth Century (Chicago, 2012), ch. 6

J. Seitzer, Comparative History and Legal Theory: Carl Schmitt in the First German Democracy (Westport, CT, 2001).


*E. Kennedy, Constitutional Failure: Carl Schmitt in Weimar (Durham, NC, 2004)

P.M. Stirk, Carl Schmitt, crown jurist of the Third Reich: on preemptive war, military occupation, and world empire (Lewiston, NY, 2005).


*P. C. Caldwell, Popular Sovereignty and the Crisis of German Constitutional Law (Durham NC, 1997).


R. Cristi, Carl Schmitt and Authoritarian Liberalism (Cardiff, 1997).


**On Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss**


**On Weimar notions of crisis**


B. Lazier, *God Interrupted* (Princeton, 2008) [around theology, history, exception].


**On Kelsen’s Legal/Political Theory**


F. Rigaux, ‘Hans Kelsen on International Law’, *European Journal of International Law* 9 (1998), pp. 325-343, on Kelsen’s 1920 text on sovereignty/international law as part of the ‘pure’ theory of law he would develop

Hans Kelsen and the case for democracy (Routledge, 2012).


A9 THE EARLIER FRANKFURT SCHOOL

Set texts

O. Kirchheimer, ‘Changes in the Structure of Political Compromise’ [1941]

F. Pollock, ‘State Capitalism: its Possibilities and Limitations’ [1941]

M. Horkheimer, ‘The Authoritarian State’ [1940]

[All available in The Essential Frankfurt School Reader, ed. A. Arato and E. Gebhardt (New York, 1982)].


Additional primary reading


Secondary Readings
General Studies of the ‘Frankfurt School’ and its history


Early Critical Theory as Political Theory

(i) In Context


(ii) In General


A10 THE LATER FRANKFURT SCHOOL

Set texts


H. Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man [1964].


J. Habermas, Between Facts and Norms [1992].

Further reading suggestions


Additional primary texts


H. Marcuse, Heideggerian Marxism, eds. R. Wolin and J. Abromeit (Lincoln, Nebraska, 2005) [texts written 1928-1932].

General Studies of the ‘Frankfurt School’ and its history


*M. Jay, Reason after its Eclipse: On Late Critical Theory (University of Wisconsin Press, 2016), ch. on Habermas especially.


**Later Frankfurt School Critical Theory as Political/Ideology Critique**


**On Theodor Adorno**


**On Herbert Marcuse**


**On Jürgen Habermas**


A11 CRITICS OF TOTALITARIANISM

Set texts
[It is advisable to cover at least three of the thinkers from the set texts.]

K. Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies* [1945].
F. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* [1944].
R. Aron, *Democracy and Totalitarianism* [from lectures given 1957-1958].
G. Orwell, ‘The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius’ [1941]. Full text available [here](https://example.com).
J. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* [1951].


Further reading suggestions

**On theories of totalitarianism** and ‘Cold War liberalism’

Judith Shklar, *After Utopia* (Princeton University Press, 2020) [this edition has a new intro by Sam Moyn]

On Karl Popper


*M. Hacohen, Karl Popper: the formative years, 1902-1945: politics and philosophy in interwar Vienna (Cambridge, 2000).


On Friedrich Hayek


A. Ebenstein, Hayek’s Journey: the mind of Friedrich Hayek (Basingstoke, 2003).

R. Kley, Hayek’s Social and Political Thought (Oxford, 1994).


On George Orwell

P. Davison (ed.), Orwell and Politics: Animal Farm in the context of essays, reviews and letters selected from the complete works of George Orwell (London, 2001).


*J. Newsinger, Orwell’s Politics (Basingstoke, 1999; republished 2001).


*D. Runciman, Political Hypocrisy: The Mask of Power from Hobbes to Orwell and Beyond (Princeton, 2008), ch. on Orwell.

On Isaiah Berlin


**On Jacob Talmon**

*Totalitarian democracy and after: international colloquium in memory of Jacob L. Talmon* (Jerusalem, 1984).


**On Raymond Aron**


**On Arendt**


**A12 HAYEK**

**Set texts**


Law. Legislation and Liberty: A new statement of the liberal principles of justice and political economy, single vol. edn (London, 1982), alternatively:


Vol. 3 – The Political Order of a Free People (1979), esp. chs. 12, 13, 17, 18.

Further reading suggestions

General commentaries on Hayek’s thought


*A. Ebenstein, Hayek’s Journey: the mind of Friedrich Hayek (Basingstoke, 2003).

R. Kley, Hayek’s Social and Political Thought (Oxford, 1994).


Hayek on knowledge


D.R. Steele, From Marx to von Mises: Post-Capitalist Society and the Challenge of Economic Calculation (La Salle, IL, 1992).


**Liberalism and neoliberalism**


*M. Desai, Marx’s Revenge: the resurgence of capitalism and the death of statist socialism (Verso, 2002).

*Q. Slobodian, Globalists (Harvard, 2019).

*W. Brown, Undoing the Demos (Zone, 2017).

M. Cooper, Family Values (Zone, 2017).

**A13 THEORISTS OF WELFARE AND DEMOCRACY**

**Set texts**


K. Arrow, Social Choice and Individual Values, 1st edn [1951].


J. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy [1942], Parts II-IV.

The Lippman-Dewey debate


Joseph Schumpeter


Robert Dahl and democratic theory


*B. Crick, *The American science of politics: its origins and conditions* (Berkeley, 1959).*


Welfarist theories of democracy - including Cold War ‘human science’ contexts


*G. Slomp and M. LaManna, *Hobbes, Arrow and Absolutism* (Glasgow, 1997).*


*R. Tuck, *Free Riding* (Cambridge, MA, 2008) [a critique of the incorporation of Olson’s collective action problem into theories of modern voting and cooperation]


L. Hamilton, *Amartya Sen* (Polity, 2019), is particularly helpful on Sen’s political theory (see also B25 topics).


### A14 RAWLS

**Set texts**


*Political Liberalism*, paperback edition (New York, 1996) [this edn has new ‘Introduction’ and includes the ‘Reply to Habermas’]

**Further reading suggestions**


**A Theory of Justice and its background / implications**

*FORUM – ‘The Historical Rawls’, *Modern Intellectual History* (2021), a major series of essays on Rawls in context, using political theory/intellectual history, to recover Rawls in history/as an historical figure.


R. M. Hare, ‘Rawls’s Theory of Justice – I and II’, *Philosophical Quarterly* 23 (1973), pp. 144155 and 241-252


C. Audard, *John Rawls* (Stocksfield, 2007).

**Later developments**


Commentaries


**Rawls and international justice**


[Some of the above articles, or similar pieces by the same authors, originally appeared in N. Daniels (ed.) *Reading Rawls* (New York, 1973)].


**SECTION B**

**B15 POLITICS AND MORALITY**

Some classic texts on ideas of political morality and states/politics

*C. Schmitt, The Concept of the Political* (various editions)


M. Specter, *The Atlantic Realists* (California, 2022)

**Morality and the constraints upon politics**


**Dirty Hands**


*B. Williams, ‘Politics and Moral Character’ in his *Moral Luck* (Cambridge, 1981), and ‘Realism and Moralism in Political Theory, ‘In the Beginning Was the Deed’, and ‘Modernity


**Realism, Realpolitik and the Purpose(s) of Political Theory**


*M. Philp, Political Conduct (Cambridge, MA, 2007).


J. Floyd, What’s the Point of Political Philosophy? (Polity, 2019) [useful to set against the earlier classic readings in methodological approaches to the study of political theory, from the perspective of modern debates in political theory; different account of the purpose of political philosophy in R. Beiner, Political Philosophy: What it is and why it matters (Cambridge, 2014).]


**B16 STATE, SOVEREIGNTY AND POLITICAL OBLIGATION**
Classic Texts - Pluralists, Anti-Pluralists/Marxists, Anti-Marxists (cf. British State Theory)

*T.H. Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation* (numerous editions – Cambridge)

V. I. Lenin, *State and Revolution* (on Marxists.org)


M. Horkheimer, ‘The Authoritarian State’ (see earlier entry on Frankfurt School).


**In Rawls**


**Classic Issues and Interpretations**


*L. Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty* (Cambridge, 2013), showing the historical problems of unitary approaches to the problem of sovereignty.

**Modern Political Theory on the Subject**

*Q. Skinner and B. Stråth (eds.), *States and Citizens: History, Theory, Prospects*

P. Bobbitt, The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace and the Course of History (Penguin, 2002), Book I.

*J. Bartelson, The Critique of the State (Cambridge 2001) P.


A. J. Simmons, Justification and Legitimacy (Cambridge, 2001).


A. Stilz, Territorial Sovereignty: A Philosophical Exploration (Oxford, 2019).

C. Maier, Once Within Borders (Cambridge, MA, 2016).


**B17 RIGHTS AND UTILITARIANISM**

**H. L. A. Hart’s Interpretations of Bentham for Modern Utilitarianism and Rights**


**Late Modern Legal/Political Theory on Rights and Conflict**


**Rights and Claims/Duties - Historical and Contemporary**

W. Hohfeld, ‘Fundamental Legal Conceptions as Applied in Legal Reasoning’, *Yale Law Journal, 26*: 8 (1917), pp. 710-770, which formed part of a later essay collection/book - the essay has been hugely influential for contemporary political philosophers of/on rights.


**Human Rights**


*S. Moyn, *The Last Utopia* (Cambridge, MA, 2011)

__*, Not Enough* (Cambridge, MA, 2018).


Criticisms of Utilitarianism


*R. Goodin, Utilitarianism as a Public Philosophy (Cambridge, 1995).


W. Kymlicka, Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction (Oxford, 1990), ch. 2 ‘Utilitarianism'.

R. Tuck, Free Riding, Part II.

*D. S. Lyons, Forms and Limits of Utilitarianism (Oxford, 1965).

B18 CONCEPTS OF LIBERTY

Modern Foundations


Criticism/Emendation of liberal debates about liberty


**Measuring Freedom and Markets**


[Two collections which include a number of the pieces listed above are R. E. Goodin and P. Pettit, eds., *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology* (Oxford, 1997); and D. Miller, *The Liberty Reader* (Edinburgh, 2006). Excerpts are presented in I. Carter, M. H. Kramer, and H. Steiner (eds.) *Freedom: A Philosophical Anthology* (Malden, MA, 2006).]


**B19 PUNISHMENT**

**Classic Texts**


*P. Strawson, ‘Freedom and Resentment,’ in *Strawson, Studies of the Philosophy of Thought and Action* (London, 1968). See the updated engagements with questions of guilt/resentment etc., in


**Modern Interpretations - Legal/Political Philosophy**


https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2015/entries/punishment/


### B20 DEMOCRACY AND REPRESENTATION

**Based around classic 20th century texts**

C. Schmitt, *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy* [see A10, Schmitt].


*J. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1942), chapter on democracy.


**Relating Classical Democracy to Modern Democratic Theory**


Liberalism and Democracy/Critics


*N. Urbinati, *Me, the People* (Harvard, 2019)


Democratic Theory/Political Philosophy


Modern Representation and Political Theory


**B21 FEMINISM**

[There is no false attempt at completeness here, and the list simply hints at some of the ways in which feminist political theory over the last fifty years has engaged with mainstream liberal political philosophy since Rawls, and criticised it; obviously many more approaches and angles of vision can be pursued – and are encouraged in this topic: radical, Marxist, intersectional and trans-feminisms, to name a few]


*Women in Western Political Thought* (Princeton, 1979), was a pioneering attempt in contemporary Anglophone political theory to show the gendered structure of the ‘canon’ of Western political theory.


*C. Mackinnon, Toward a Feminist Theory of the State* (Cambridge, MA, 1989).


From D.T. Meyers (ed.) *Feminist Social Thought: A Reader* (Routledge, 1997), which includes Spelman, ‘Woman: The One and the Many (pp. 161–179); Calhoun, ‘Separating Lesbian Theory from Feminist Theory’ (pp. 200–218); Babbitt, ‘Feminism and Objective Interests: The Role of Transformation Experiences in Rational Deliberation’ (pp. 369–84); Ruddick, ‘Maternal Thinking’ (pp. 584–603; and Benhabib, ‘The Generalized and the Concrete Other: The Kohlberg-Gilligan Controversy and Moral Theory’ (pp. 736–756).


*J. Butler, Undoing Gender (Routledge, 2005), chs.1, 2, and 4.

*J. Butler, Bodies that Matter (Routledge, 1996)


*D. Cornell, At the Heart of Freedom: Feminism, Sex, and Equality (Princeton, 1998), esp. chs.1, 3, 6, 7.


*C. Chambers, Sex, Culture, and Justice: the limits of choice (University Park, PA, 2008).


C. Mackinnon, Are Women Human? And Other International Dialogues (Cambridge, MA, 2006).

N. Fraser, S. Benhabib, J. Butler, D. Cornell, Feminist contentions: a philosophical exchange (New York, 1995).

N. Fraser, Fortunes of Feminism: From State-Managed Capitalism to Neoliberal Crisis essays written from 1985 to 2010 (2013).


**B22 PATRIOTISM/NATIONALISM; POSTCOLONIALISM**

[The exam will offer two questions; one relating to each of the two headings below; again, though, there is no pretence towards completeness here]

**Patriotism and Nationalism**


M. Canovan, Nationhood and political theory (Cheltenham, 1996).


M. Nussbaum et.al. For Love of Country? (Boston, 2002).


Postcolonialism, imperialism and race [cf. earlier reading guide on anti-colonial political theory]


A. Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (Routledge, 2015).


T. Shelby and B. Terry (eds.) *To Shape a New World: Essays on the Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King* (Harvard, 2018).


Paul Gilroy, *There Ain’t No Black in the Union Jack* (London, 1993)

___, *The Black Atlantic* (Verso, 1997).


M. Matera, *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (California, 2015).


**B23 MULTICULTURALISM, TOLERATION, AND RECOGNITION**


S. Mendus, Toleration and the Limits of Liberalism (Palgrave, 1989).


*B. Barry, Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism (Polity, 2000).


A. E. Galeotti, Toleration as Recognition (Cambridge, 2002).


*T. Asad, Formations of the Secular (Stanford, CA, 2003).

B24 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, LAW, AND WAR

Classic Texts in Modern Political Theory - Liberalism and ‘Just War’ *M.


International Egalitarianism/Imperialism and Just War


N. Mulder, *The Economic Weapon* (Yale 2022)

Humanitarianism


M. Barnett, Empire of Humanity (Cornell 2011).


War and International Law/Theory as Discipline and Politics

*N. Guilhot, After the Enlightenment: Political Realism and International Relations in the Mid Twentieth Century (Cambridge, 2017).


B25 EQUALITY, NEEDS AND WELFARE

Equality - The Concept of and debates about


L. Hamilton, Amartya Sen (Polity, 2019), is particularly helpful on Sen’s political theory (see also A13 topics)

R.E. Goodin & P. Pettit, eds., Contemporary Political Theory: An Anthology (Blackwell,

M. Walzer, Spheres of Justice (New York, 1983).


Welfare and (In)egalitarianism


D. Miller, Principles of Social Justice (Harvard, 1999)


T. Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, MA, 2014), esp. Introduction and conclusions, along with the analysis of what follows from $r\geq g$ foundation; numerous critiques now available, but among the best, see the Harvard collection *After Piketty*.


**Needs/Capabilities**


**B26 PROPERTY AND MARKETS**

**Contemporary Political Theory and Historical Trajectories** R.


*P. Garnsey, Thinking about Property: from antiquity to the age of revolution (Cambridge, 2007).


B. Christophers, Who Owns Britain (Verso, 2022).


Classic 20th Century Texts


*F.A. Hayek, 'Economics and Knowledge' [delivered 1936; published 1937], and 'The Use of Knowledge in Society' [1945], in Hayek, Individualism and Economic Order (Chicago, 1980).


J.M. Keynes, ‘The End of Laissez Faire,’ ‘Economic Possibilities for our Grandchildren,’ ‘Can Lloyd George Do It?’ ‘The Means to Prosperity,’ all in his Essays in Persuasion, rpt. in Collected Works of J.M. Keynes, vol.9 (and see, e.g. Robert Skidelsky, Keynes - The Return of the Master, for a very short precis of his biographical claims)

Modern Political Theory/Left Libertarianism Related


B27 GLOBAL JUSTICE
Contexts - Internationalizing Rawls & updating welfare states [The issues of statism and internationalism, as well as ‘practice-dependence’ claims, regularly overlap in many of the essays below]


M. Risse, ‘How Do We Harm the Global Poor?’ *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 33 (2005), pp. 349-76.


D. Bell (ed.) Empire, Race, and Global Justice (Oxford, 2019).

B28 ECOLOGY AND THE FUTURE OF HUMANITY

R. Carson, Silent Spring (originally in the New Yorker, but various editions available, incl. online)


A. Light and A. de-Shalit (eds), Moral and Political Reasoning in Environmental Practice (Cambridge, MA [MIT], 2003).


A. Malm, Fossil Capital (Verso, 2018).

A. Battistoni et al, Why we need a Green New Deal (Verso, 2019).


A. Terzi, Growth for Good: Reshaping Capitalism to Save Humanity from Climate Catastrophe (Cambridge, MA: 2022).


M. Bookchin, Ecology of freedom (Palo Alto, 1982).


S. Vanderheiven (ed.) *Political Theory and Climate Change* (Cambridge, MA [MIT], 2008).


**Some wider discussion pertaining to the Anthropocene**


K. Yusoff, *A Billion Black Anthropocenes or None* (University of Minnesota Press, 2018), pp. 65-85, esp. ‘The Inhumanities’


___, *The Climate of History in a Planetary Age* (Chicago, 2021).


*A. Ghosh, *The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable* (Chicago, 2016).


___, *This Land is Our Land* (Princeton University Press, 2019).


*S. Gardiner and S. Caney (eds.) *Climate Ethics* (Oxford, 2010).


E. Benson, *Surroundings* (Chicago, 2018), esp. chapters on ‘biosphere at war’.


J. Dryzek, *Politics in the Anthropocene* (Oxford University Press, 2017) [esp. ch. on democracy]


B29 POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT


A. S. Brett and J. Tully, with H. Hamilton-Bleakley (eds), Rethinking the Foundations of Modern Political Thought (Cambridge, 2006) [esp. the discussions of how to understand Hobbes]


M. Rogers and J. Turner (eds.), African American Political Thought (Chicago, 2022); see especially introduction by Rogers and Turner and chapters by Rogers, Allen, Carretta, Shulman, Bromell.


R. Geuss, *Not thinking like a liberal* (Cambridge, MA: 2022)