

**HSPS TRIPOS PART IIB: POL 11**  
**HISTORICAL TRIPOS PART II: PAPER 5**

**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY & THE HISTORY OF  
POLITICAL THOUGHT SINCE C.1890**

**COURSE GUIDE AND READING LIST 2022 – 2023**

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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.

T.R. Baldwin (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Philosophy 1870-1945* (Cambridge, 2003) [available at [www.histories.cambridge.org](http://www.histories.cambridge.org)].

T. Ball and R. Bellamy (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2003) [available at [www.histories.cambridge.org](http://www.histories.cambridge.org)].

D. Estlund, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Philosophy* (Oxford, 2012).

W. Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* 2nd ed. (Oxford 2001).

R. Goodin, P. Pettit, and T. Pogge (eds.), *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007).

P. Pettit and R. Goodin (eds.) *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology* (Malden, MA, 2006).

J. S. Dryzek, B. Honig and A. Phillips (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory* (Oxford, 2006).

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:

J. Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Oxford, 1971).

R. Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (Oxford, 1974).

M. Sandel, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (Cambridge, 1982).

M. Walzer, *Spheres of Justice* (Oxford, 1983).

J. Shklar, *Ordinary Vices* (Harvard, 1984).

S. Moller Okin, *Justice, Gender and the Family* (New York, 1989).

C. Mills, *The Racial Contract* (Cornell, 1997).

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

P. Owens and K. Rietzler (eds.) *Women's International Thought – A New History* (Cambridge, 2020).

P. Owens, K. Hutchings, K. Rietzler, S. Dunstan (eds.) *Women's international Thought – Towards a New Canon* (Cambridge, 2021).

M. Rogers and J. Turner (eds.) *African-American Political Thought – A Collected History* (Chicago, 2020).

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

*Beyond Good and Evil*, ed. R.P. Horstmann and J. Norman [1886] (Cambridge, 2001).

*On the Genealogy of Morality* [1887] and 'The Greek State', [1871] in *On the Genealogy of Morality and Other Writings*, ed. K. Ansell-Pearson (Cambridge, 1994).

*On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*, [1873-8] in *Untimely Meditations*, ed. D. Breazeale (Cambridge, 1997).

'A Glance at the State' in Nietzsche, *Human, All Too Human* [1876] (Cambridge, 1996).

### Additional primary texts

'On the New Idol' in Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (Cambridge, 2001).

'What the Germans Lack', 4, in Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols* (Cambridge, 2005).

'Discipline and Breeding' in Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, ed. Kaufmann (Vintage, 1968).

### 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).

\*Hugo Drochon, *Nietzsche's Great Politics* (Princeton, 2016). T.

Shaw, *Nietzsche's Political Skepticism* (Princeton, 2007).

A. Nehamas, *Nietzsche: Life as Literature* (Cambridge, MA, 1985).

R. Safranski, *Nietzsche: A Philosophical Biography* (New York, 2001).

R. Lanier-Anderson, 'Nietzsche', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/nietzsche/>

### Method / Specific Interpretations in the History of Political Thought

T. Brobjer, 'Nietzsche's View of the Value of Historical Studies and Methods', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65:2 (2004), pp. 301-22.

\*T. Brobjer, 'The Absence of Political Ideals in Nietzsche's Writings: The Case of the Laws of Manu and the Associated Caste-Society', *Nietzsche-Studien* 27 (1998), pp. 300-318.

\*D. Dombowsky, 'A Response to Thomas Brobjer's "The Absence of Political Ideals in Nietzsche's Writings"' and Brobjer's reply, *Nietzsche-Studien* 30 (2001), pp. 387–396.

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

B. Williams, 'Nietzsche's Minimal Moral Psychology', in his *Making Sense of Humanity* (Cambridge, 1995); see also ch. 1 of his *Truth and Truthfulness* (Princeton, 2002).

M. Lane, 'Honesty as the best policy?: Nietzsche on *Redlichkeit* and the contrast between Stoic and Epicurean strategies of the self', in M. Bevir, J. Hargis and S. Rushing (eds) *Histories of Postmodernism* (London, 2007), pp. 25-51.

\*C.J. Emden, *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Politics of History* (Cambridge, 2008). P.

Bergmann, *Nietzsche, 'The Last Antipolitical German'* (Bloomington, 1987).

### **Politics and State theory**

T. Strong, *Politics without Vision: Thinking without a Bannister in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago, 2012), ch. 2.

H. Drochon, 'Nietzsche Theorist of the State?', *History of Political Thought*, 38:2 (2017), pp. 323-344.

— "An Old Carriage with New Horses": Nietzsche's Critique of Democracy', *History of European Ideas*, 42: 8 (2016), pp. 1055-1068.

\*M.A. Ruehl, 'Politeia 1871: Young Nietzsche on the Greek State', in Paul Bishop (ed.), *Nietzsche and Antiquity: His Reaction and Response to the Classical Tradition* (Rochester, 2004), pp. 79-97.

### **Political Theory**

B. Detwiler, *Nietzsche and the Politics of Aristocratic Radicalism* (Chicago, 1990).

\*F. Appel, *Nietzsche contra Democracy* (Ithaca and London, 1999).

\*R. Abbey and F. Appel, 'Nietzsche and the Will to Politics', *The Review of Politics* 60:1 (1998), pp. 83-114.

J.F. Dienstag, 'Nietzsche's Dionysian Pessimism', *American Political Science Review* 95:4 (2001), pp. 923-937; see also his *Pessimism* (Princeton, 2006). D. Conway, *Nietzsche and the Political* (London, 1997).

T. L. Pangle, 'The "Warrior Spirit" as an Inlet to the Political Philosophy of Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*', *Nietzsche-Studien* 15 (1986), pp. 140–179.

B. Reginster, *The Affirmation of Life: Nietzsche on Overcoming Nihilism* (Cambridge, MA, 2006).



## Reception and Cultural History

T. B. Strong, 'Nietzsche's Political Misappropriation', in *The Cambridge Companion to Nietzsche*, eds. B. Magnus and K.M. Higgins (Cambridge, 1996), available [here](#).

W. Sokel, 'Political Uses and Abuses in Walter Kaufmann's Image of Nietzsche', *NietzscheStudien* 12 (1983), pp. 429–435.

J. Golomb and R. S. Wistrich, 'Nietzsche's Politics, Fascism and Jews', *Nietzsche-Studien* 30 (2001), pp. 305–321.

J. Ratner-Rosenhagen, *American Nietzsche: A History of an Icon and His Ideas* (Chicago, 2012).

L. Gossman, *Basel in the Age of Burckhardt: A Study in Unseasonable Ideas* (Chicago, 2000).

S. Aschheim, *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany, 1890–1990* (Berkeley, 1992).

## A2 BRITISH THEORISTS OF THE STATE

### Set texts

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

H. Sidgwick, *The Elements of Politics*, 2nd edn (London, 1897) or later, chs. 1-2, 10, 14-18. Full text [here](#).

B. Bosanquet, *The Philosophical Theory of the State* 2nd edn (London, 1910) or later, Introduction, chs. 1, 8-11. Full text [here](#).

E. Barker, 'The Discredited State', *The Political Quarterly* 5 (1915) pp. 101-21; reprinted in Barker, *Church, State and study: essays* (London, 1930).

D. Runciman and M. Ryan (eds.), *F. W. Maitland, State, Trust and Corporation* (Cambridge, 2003). Full text [here](#).

L.T. Hobhouse, *The Metaphysical Theory of the State* (London, 1918). Full text [here](#).

H. Laski, *Authority in the Modern State* (New Haven, 1919). Full text [here](#).

### Additional primary texts

T.H. Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation* [1895], eds. P. Harris and J. Morrow (Cambridge, 1986).

E. Barker, *Political Thought in England, 1848 to 1914*, 2nd edn (London, 1928). Full text [here](#).

H. Sidgwick, *Practical Ethics* [1898] (New York, 1998). Full text [here](#).

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](#).

P. Q. Hirst (ed.), *The Political Theory of the State: Selected Writings of G. D. H. Cole, J. N. Figgis, and H. J. Laski* (London, 1989).

J. H. Muirhead (ed.), *B. Bosanquet and H. Bosanquet: works on economics & social welfare: the philosophy of the state and the practice of welfare*, with new intro. by D. Gladstone (London, 1996).

### **Intellectual histories of the period**

S. Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850–1930* (Oxford, 1991).

C. Harvie, *The Lights of Liberalism: Academic Liberals and the Challenge of Democracy, 1860–1886* (London, 1976).

M. Stears, *Progressives, pluralists, and the problems of the state: ideologies of reform in the United States and Britain, 1909–26* (Oxford, 2002).

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

\*M. Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age* (Cambridge, MA, 1964).

\*D. J. Kelly, 'Idealism and Revolution: T.H. Green's *Four Lectures on the English Commonwealth*', *History of Political Thought* 27 (2006), pp. 505–42.

\*P.F. Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats* (Aldershot, 1993; originally published Cambridge, 1978).

\*J.A. Hobson and M. Ginsberg, *L.T. Hobhouse: his life and works* (London, 2002; facsimile of 1924 edn).

### **On Sidgwick**

R. Harrison, 'Cambridge Philosophers VI: Henry Sidgwick', *Philosophy* 71: 277 (1996), pp. 423–38.

\*S. Collini, 'The Ordinary Experience of Civilized Life: Sidgwick's Politics and the Method of Reflective Analysis', in B. Schultz (ed), *Essays on Henry Sidgwick* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 333–368.

J. Rawls, *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy*, ed. S. Freeman (Cambridge, MA, 2007), Lectures on Sidgwick.

B. Blanshard, 'Sidgwick the Man', *Monist* 58 (1974), pp. 349–70.

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

W.C. Havard, *Henry Sidgwick and Later Utilitarian Political Philosophy* (Gainesville, FL, 1959).

C.D. Broad, *Five Types of Ethical Theory* (London, 1930), ch. 5.

J. B. Schneewind, *Sidgwick's Ethics and Victorian Moral Philosophy* (Oxford, 1977), pts I and II.

B. Williams, *Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy* (London, 1985), ch. 6.

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

G.R. Elton, *F.W. Maitland* (London, 1985).

J. Kirby, 'History, Law and Freedom: F. W. Maitland in Context', *Modern Intellectual History* (2017).

\*J. Stapleton, *Englishness and the Study of Politics: The Social and Political Thought of Ernest Barker* (Cambridge, 1994).

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

\*I. Kramnick and B. Sheerman, *Harold Laski: a life on the left* (London, 1993).

M. Newman, *Harold Laski: A Political Biography* (Basingstoke, 1993).

J. Stapleton, 'The national character of Ernest Barker's political science', *Political Studies* 37 (1989), pp. 171-87.

M. Stears, *Progressives, Pluralists, and the Problem of the State: Ideologies of Reform in the United States and Britain, 1909-1926* (Oxford, 2002), esp. chs. 4-5.

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

T. Parasher, 'Federalism, Representation, and Direct Democracy in 1920s India', *Modern Intellectual History* (2021): doi:10.1017/S1479244320000578

N. Sultan, 'Between the Many and the One - Anticolonial Federalism and Popular Sovereignty', *Political Theory* (2021), pp. 1-28: DOI: 10.1177/00905917211018534

S. Kapila, *Violent Fraternity: Indian Political Thought in the Global Age* (Princeton, 2021), esp. chs. 2, 6.

H. Ramesh, 'B.R. Ambedkar on Caste, Democracy, and State Action', *Political Theory* (2022): DOI: 10.1177/00905917211069607

## **A3 THE RISE OF MARXISM**

### **Set texts**

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

F. Engels, 'On Authority' [1874]. Full text [here](#). Reprinted in R. C. Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd edn (New York, 1978).

F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* [1880]. Full text [here](#). Reprinted in Marx-Engels, *Selected Works* (New York, 1968).

E. Bernstein, *The Preconditions of Socialism*, ed. H. Tudor [1899] (Cambridge, 1993). Full text [here](#). Translated earlier as *Evolutionary Socialism*, but the later Cambridge edition is greatly to be preferred.

K. Kautsky, *The Class Struggle (The Erfurt Programme)* [1892] (New York, 1971) Full text [here](#).

V. I. Lenin, *What is to be Done?* [1902] Full text [here](#). Reprinted in R.C. Tucker (ed.), *The Lenin Anthology* (New York, 1975) and *Essential Works of Lenin: 'What is to be Done?' and Other Writings*, ed. H. M. Christman (New York, 1987).

R. Luxemburg, 'Organizational Questions of the Russian Social Democracy' [1904]. Full text [here](#). Also known as 'Leninism or Marxism?'. Reprinted in *Selected Political Writings of Rosa Luxemburg*, ed. D. Howard (New York, 1989).

G. Sorel, *Reflections on Violence* [1908] (Cambridge, 1999).

### Further reading suggestions

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

\*G. Stedman Jones, 'Introduction', in Marx-Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, ed. G. Stedman Jones (Harmondsworth, 2002).

T. Carver, *Friedrich Engels: His Life and Thought* (London, 1989); see also his *Engels: A Very Short Introduction* (2003).

T. Carver, 'Art and Ambiguity: The Politics of Friedrich Engels', *International Political Science Review* 12:1 (1991), pp. 5-14.

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

\*G. Stedman Jones, 'Engels and the History of Marxism', in E. Hobsbawm (ed.), *The History of Marxism, Volume I: Marxism in Marx's Day* (Brighton, 1982), pp. 290–326.

L. Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism: Its Origins, Growth and Dissolution*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1978), vol. I, ch. 15.

R. Adamiak, 'The "Withering Away" of the State: A Reconsideration,' *Journal of Politics* 32 (1970), pp. 3–18.

L. Krieger, 'Marx and Engels as Historians', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 14 (1953), pp. 381–403.

\*R. Weikart, 'Marx, Engels and the Abolition of the Family', *History of European Ideas* 18.5 (1994), pp. 657–72.

\*J. L. Stanley, 'Marx, Engels and the Administration of Nature', *History of Political Thought* 12.4 (1991), pp. 647–70.

T. Carver, 'Engels' Feminism', *History of Political Thought* 6 (1985), pp. 479–90.

J. D. Hunley, *The Life and Thought of Frederick Engels* (New Haven, 1991).

F. Nova, *Friedrich Engels: His Contributions to Political Theory* (New York, 1967).

I. Fetscher, *Marx and Marxism* (New York, 1971), pp. 148–181.

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

### **For background**

J. Sperber, *Karl Marx: A Nineteenth-Century Life* (New York: Lineright, 2014).

G. Stedman-Jones, *Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion* (London: Penguin, 2016).

### **On the revisionist debates**

\*S. E. Bronner, 'Karl Kautsky and the Twilight of Orthodoxy', *Political Theory* 10, 4 (1982), pp. 580-605.

\*M. Donald, *Marxism and Revolution: Karl Kautsky and the Russian Marxists, 1900-1924* (New Haven and London, 1993).

\*H. K. Rogers, *Before the Revisionist Controversy: Kautsky, Bernstein, and the meaning of Marxism, 1895-1898* (London, 1992).

\*L. T. Lih, *Lenin Rediscovered: 'What Is To Be Done?' in context* (Leiden, 2005).

R. Mayer, 'Lenin and the Concept of the Professional Revolutionary', *History of Political Thought* 14 (1993), pp. 249–263.

D. B. Reynolds, 'Rediscovering Western Marxism's Heritage: Rosa Luxemburg and the Role of the Party', *Research and Society* 3 (1990), pp. 1–34.

R. Lekhi, *The Pluralisms of Rosa Luxemburg* (Manchester, 1996).

J. C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (New Haven, 1998), ch.5 'The Revolutionary Party: A Plan and a Diagnosis', pp. 147-179.

T. Strong, *Politics without Vision: Thinking without a Bannister in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago, 2012), ch. 5. 'Lenin and the Calling of the Party', pp. 184-217.

G. P. Steenson, *Karl Kautsky, 1854-1938: Marxism in the Classical Years* (Pittsburgh and London, 1978).

M. Salvadori, *Karl Kautsky and the Socialist Revolution, 1880-1938*, trans. J. Rothschild (London, 1979).

J. H. Kautsky, *Karl Kautsky: Marxism, Revolution and Democracy* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1994).

### **On revolutionary syndicalism**

\*J. Jennings, *Georges Sorel: The Character and Development of his Thought* (London, 1985).

K.S. Vincent, 'Interpreting Georges Sorel: Defender of Virtue or Apostle of Violence', *History of European Ideas* 12 (1990), pp. 239–257.

L. Wilde, 'Sorel and the French Right', *History of Political Thought* 7 (1986), pp. 361–74.

I. Berlin, 'Georges Sorel', in I. Berlin, *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas*, ed. H. Hardy (Oxford, 1981), pp. 296–332.

D. Beetham, 'Sorel and the Left', *Government and Opposition* 4 (1969), pp. 308–23.

## **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**

From *The Vocation Lectures*, ed. T. Strong and D. Owen (Hackett, 2004): 'Science as a Vocation' [1917].

From *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (London, 1998), ch. 9 ('The Sociology of Charismatic Authority') [variously, from 1913-1919].

From *Economy and Society*, ed. G. Roth and C. Wittich, 2 vols (Berkeley, 1978): pt I, ch. 3; pt II, chs 10–11, 13–14.

### **Biographical/Interpretative - general**

F. Ringer, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Biography* (Chicago, 2004).

G. Poggi, *Max Weber* (Polity, 2005).

\*J. Radkau, *Max Weber* (Polity, 2015).

\*D. Kaesler, *Max Weber* (Polity, 2004).

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'.

\*P. Ghosh, *Max Weber and the Protestant Ethic: Twin Histories* (Oxford, 2016), complex but v. original intellectual history of Weber's work, seen through the prismatic influence of his 1904-5 essays on the 'Protestant Ethic' (for a brief review, see D. Kelly, 'Why Max Weber Matters', <https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/public/why-max-weber-matters/>)

### **Synthetic Political Interpretations**

\*W. J. Mommsen, *Max Weber and German Politics* (Chicago, 1994), esp. chs. on wartime.

\*D. Beetham, *Max Weber and the Theory of Politics* 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1985), esp. chs. on Russia and Germany.

\*W. Hennis, *Max Weber's Central Question*, trans. K. Tribe (Newbury, 2000) esp. ch. 'Max Weber's Central Question'.

\_\_\_, *Max Weber's Science of Man*, trans. K. Tribe (Aldershot, 2003).

\*L. Scaff, *Fleeing the Iron Cage* (California, 1989).

\*P. Breiner, *Max Weber and Democratic Politics* (Ithaca, 1996).

### **Weber and State Theory/Political Theory**

\*D. J. Kelly, *The State of the Political: Conceptions of Politics and the State in the Thought of Max Weber, Carl Schmitt and Franz Neumann* (Oxford, 2003), esp. ch. 3.

D. J. Kelly, 'Max Weber and the Rights of Citizens', *Max Weber Studies*, 4:1 (2004), pp. 2349; rpt. in P. Lassman (ed.) *Max Weber: International Library of Essays in the History of Social and Political Thought* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 591-617.

T. Strong, *Politics without Vision: Thinking without a Bannister in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago, 2012), ch. 3

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

K. Palonen, 'Weber's Reconceptualization of Freedom', *Political Theory* 27:4 (1999), pp. 523-44.

\*W.J. Mommsen, *The Political and Social Theory of Max Weber: Collected Essays* (Cambridge, 1992).

R. Aron, 'Max Weber and Power-Politics', in O. Stammer (ed.), *Max Weber and Sociology Today* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 83–132.

\*R. Slagstad, 'Liberal Constitutionalism and its Critics: Carl Schmitt and Max Weber', in J. Elster and R. Slagstad (eds.), *Constitutionalism and Democracy* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 103–30.

\*M. Warren, 'Max Weber's Liberalism for a Nietzschean World', *American Political Science Review* 82 (1988), pp. 31–50.

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

\* L. Scaff, *Max Weber in America* (Princeton, 2011).

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

K. Löwith, *Max Weber and Karl Marx*, ed. T. Bottomore and W. Outhwaite (London, 1993), a classic interpretative essay.

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

A. Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, The German Empire and the Globalization of the New South* (Princeton, 2012 [attempt to show wider African/imperial contours behind the work of Weber/Du Bois/Washington in combination]).

For briefer consideration, see their essay, 'Decolonizing Weber', *Postcolonial Studies* 9 (2006), pp. 53-79, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13668250500488827>.

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]

Hollyamber Kennedy, 'Infrastructures of "Legitimate Violence"- The Prussian Settlement Commission, Internal Colonization, and the Migrant Remainder,' *Grey Room* 76 (Summer 2019), pp. 58-97

### **Specific areas of interpretation**

P. Baehr, 'The "Iron Cage" and the "Shell Hard as Steel": Parsons, Weber, and the *Stahlhartes Gehäuse* Metaphor in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*', *History and Theory* 40:2 (2001), pp. 153-69 [wider reflection on an infamous metaphor].

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].



B. Turner, 'Nietzsche, Weber and the Devaluation of Politics', *Sociological Review* 30 (1982), pp. 367–91, or B. Turner, *For Weber* (Routledge, 1996), Part I [the pessimism/tragic view filtered through Weber].

D. Sayer, *Capitalism and Modernity: An Excursus on Marx and Weber* (London, 1991).

A. Ryan, 'Mill and Weber on History, Freedom and Reason', in W.J. Mommsen and J. Osterhammel (eds.), *Max Weber and His Contemporaries* (London, 1987), pp. 170–81.

\* L. Scaff, 'Max Weber and Robert Michels,' *American Journal of Sociology* 86,6 (1981), pp. 1269–1285 [Weber's proximity to radical socialist then latterly fascist Michels, interesting on study of political parties].

## **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.)]

V. I. Lenin, *State and Revolution* (1917), R.C. Tucker (ed.), *The Lenin Anthology* (New York, 1975).

V. I. Lenin, *Left-wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder* (1920).

R.C. Tucker (ed.), *The Lenin Anthology* (New York, 1975).

R. Luxemburg, *The Russian Revolution* (1918).

*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](https://www.versobooks.com/series_collections/20-the-complete-works-of-rosa-luxemburg)]

K. Kautsky, *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (1918), trans. H. J. Stenning (Ann Arbor, 1964).

James Connolly, 'What is a Free Nation'; *Proclamation of the Republic*; Patrick Pearse, 'The Sovereign People', all selections from 1916 in R. Bourke and N. Gallagher (eds.) *The Political Thought of the Irish Revolution* (Cambridge, 2022), pp. 225-244, and the selections from 1917 by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, 'State of Ireland', and Alice Stopford Green, 'Loyalty and Disloyalty: What it means in Ireland', pp. 257-261, and 285-293.

### **Further reading suggestions**

S. A. Smith, *Russia in Revolution* (Oxford, 2019).

China Miéville, *October: The Story of the Russian Revolution* (London, 2018).

S. Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution* (Oxford, 1917).

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**

C. Read, *Lenin: A Revolutionary Life* (London, 2005).

\*N. Harding, *Lenin's Political Thought*, 2 vols (London, 1977 and 1981).

A. Evans, 'Rereading Lenin's *State and Revolution*', *The Slavic Review* 46 (1987), pp. 1–19.

N. Levine, 'Lukács on Lenin', *Studies in Soviet Thought* 18 (1978), pp. 17–31.

T. Krausz, *Reconstructing Lenin* (New York, 2017).

C. Merridale, *Lenin on the Train* (London, 2017).

### **On Luxemburg's Political Thinking**

\*G. Lukács, 'Critical Observations on Rosa Luxemburg's "Critique of the Russian Revolution"', in Lukács, *Political Writings 1919–29: The Question of Parliamentarism and Other Essays*, ed. R. Livingstone (London, 1972).

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

F.L. Carsten, 'Freedom and Revolution: Rosa Luxemburg', in L. Labeledz (ed.), *Revisionism: Essays on the History of Marxist Ideas*, 2nd edn (London, 1974).

\*N. Geras, 'Democracy and the Ends of Marxism', *New Left Review* 203 (January-February 1994), pp. 92–107.

N. Geras, *The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg* (London, 1976).

L. Ypi, 'Rosa Luxemburg', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/luxemburg/>

### **On Kautsky's Political Thinking**

M. Donald, *Marxism and Revolution: Karl Kautsky and the Russian Marxists, 1900-1924* (New Haven and London, 1993).

J.H. Kautsky, *Karl Kautsky: Marxism, Revolution and Democracy* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1994).

G.P. Steenson, *Karl Kautsky, 1854-1938: Marxism in the Classical Years* (Pittsburgh and London, 1978).

M. Salvadori, *Karl Kautsky and the Socialist Revolution, 1880-1938*, trans. J. Rothschild (London, 1979).

## **On the Political Thought of the Irish Revolution**

R. Bourke, 'Reflections on the Political Thought of the Irish Revolution', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27 (2017), pp. 175-191.

C. Reid, 'Democracy, Sovereignty, and Unionist Political Thought during the Revolutionary Period', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27 (2017), pp. 211-232.

F. McGarry, 'Revolution, 1916-1923', in T. Bartlett (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Ireland vol. 4, 1800-Present* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 258-295.

R. Fanning, *Fatal Path: British Government and Irish Revolution* (London, 2013).

P. Bew, *Ideology and the Irish Question* (Oxford, 1994).

S. Paseta, *Irish Nationalist Women, 1900-1918* (Cambridge, 2013); 'Feminist Political Thought and Activism in Revolutionary Ireland, c. 1880-1918', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 27 (2017), pp. 193-209.

R. Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1923* (London, 2014).

N. Gallagher, *Ireland and the Great War: A Social and Political History* (London, 2019).

## **A6 LUKÁCS, GRAMSCI, AND THE ORIGINS OF WESTERN MARXISM**

### **Set texts**

From *Political Writings 1919–29: The Question of Parliamentarism and Other Essays*, ed. R. Livingstone (London, 1972): 'Tactics and Ethics', 'The Question of Parliamentarism'; [for context, cf. 'Bolshevism as Moral Problem' [1918], *Social Research*, 44:3 (1977), pp. 416-424, here: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/40970293.pdf>]

From *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, trans. R. Livingstone (London, 1971), esp. Chapters on 'What is Orthodox Marxism', 'Class Consciousness', 'Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat'.

*Lenin: A Study in the Unity of his Thought* (London, 1970).

K. Korsch, *Marxism and Philosophy* (1923), trans. F. Halliday (London, 1972).

A. Gramsci, 'The Modern Prince', (c. 1929-1935) in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, trans. Q. Hoare (New York, 1971).

### **Further Lukács reading suggestions**

G. Lukács, *A Defence of History and Class Consciousness: Tailism and the Dialectic*, trans. E. Leslie (London, 2000), including S. Zizek, 'Georg Lukács as the Philosopher of Leninism', pp. 151-82.

## Intellectual Context

\*É. Karádi, 'Ernst Bloch and Georg Lukács in Max Weber's Heidelberg', in W.J. Mommsen and J. Osterhammel (eds), *Max Weber and His Contemporaries* (London, 1987), pp. 499–514.

\*M. Gluck, *Georg Lukács and His Generation, 1900–1918* (Cambridge/Mass., 1985).

F. Fehér, 'The Last Phase of Romantic Anticapitalism: Lukács's Response to the War', *New German Critique* 10 (Winter 1977), pp. 139–154.

A. Kadarkay, *Georg Lukács: Life, Thought and Politics* (Oxford, 1991).

G.H.R. Parkinson, *Georg Lukács*, 2nd edn (London, 1985).

## On Lukács and the origins of Western Marxism

A. Arato and P. Breines, *The Young Lukács and the Origins of Western Marxism* (New York, 1979).

\*M. Löwy, *Georg Lukács – From Romanticism to Bolshevism*, trans. P. Camiller (London, 1979).

\*G. Stedman Jones, 'The Marxism of the Early Lukács', in P. Anderson (ed.), *Western Marxism: A Critical Reader* (London, 1977), pp. 11–60.

\*M. Jay, 'Georg Lukács and the Origins of the Western Marxist Paradigm', in M. Jay, *Marxism and Totality – The Adventures of a Concept from Lukács to Habermas* (Berkeley, 1984).

E. L. Corredor, *Lukács after Communism: Interviews with Contemporary Intellectuals* (Durham, 1997).

P. Breines, 'Young Lukács, Old Lukács, New Lukács', *Journal of Modern History* 51 (1979), pp. 533–546.

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

H.F. Pitkin, 'Rethinking Reification', *Theory and Society* 16:2 (1987), pp. 263–93.

V. Zitta, *Georg Lukács' Marxism: Alienation, Dialectics, Revolution: A Study in Utopia and Ideology* (The Hague, 1964).

R. Lanning, 'Ethics and self-mastery: revolution and the fully developed person in the work of Georg Lukács', *Science and Society* 65:3 (2001) 327–49.

L. Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism*, 3 vols (Oxford 1978), ch. 7.

N. Levine, 'Lukács on Lenin', *Studies in Soviet Thought* 18 (1978), pp. 17–31.

R. Lanning, 'Ethics and self-mastery: revolution and the fully developed person in the work of Georg Lukács', *Science and Society* 65:3 (2001) pp. 327–49.

\*I. Nakhimovsky, 'Georg Lukács and Revolutionary Realpolitik, 1918-1919: An Essay on Ethical Action, Historical Judgment, and the History of Political Thought', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 83.1 (2022), pp. 63-85.

### **On Gramsci's Political Thinking**

\*Perry Anderson, 'The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci', *New Left Review* 100 (1976); this has been re-issued with a new preface as a short book with the same title. See too Perry Anderson, *The H-Word: The Peripeteia of Hegemony* (London, 2017).

M. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci and the revolution that failed* (New Haven, 1977).

\*D. Germino, *Antonio Gramsci: architect of a new politics* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1990). G.

Fiori, *Antonio Gramsci: Life of a Revolutionary*, trans. T. Nairn (London, 1990).

J. Joll, *Antonio Gramsci* (Harmondsworth, 1978).

P. Spriano, *Antonio Gramsci and the party: the prison years*, trans. J. Fraser (London, 1979).

M.A. Finocchiaro, *Antonio Gramsci and the history of dialectical thought* (Cambridge, 2002).

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

P. Togliatti, 'On Gramsci', in *On Gramsci, and other writings*, trans. and ed. D. Sassoon (London, 1979).

Peter Ghosh, 'Gramscian Hegemony: An absolutely historicist approach', *History of European Ideas*, 27 (2001), pp. 1-43.

P. D. Thomas, 'Toward the Modern Prince', in Dainotto, R. and Jameson, F. (eds.) *Gramsci in the World* (Durham : Duke University Press, 2020), pp. 17-37.

P. D. Thomas, '[Gramsci's Revolutions: Passive and Permanent](#)', *Modern Intellectual History*, 17.1 (2018) pp. 117 - 146.

### **Karl Korsch's Marxist Philosophy**

\*P. Goode, *Karl Korsch: a study in Western Marxism* (London, 1979).

D. Kellner (ed.), *Karl Korsch: revolutionary theory* (Austin, Texas, 1977).

N. Devlin, 'Karl Korsch and Marxism's Interwar Moment, 1917-1935', *History of European Ideas* 48.5 (2022), pp. 574-593.

### **The transition to 'Western Marxism'**

P. Anderson, *Considerations on Western Marxism* (London, 1976).

R. Jacoby, *Dialectic of defeat: contours of Western Marxism* (Cambridge, 1981).

*Western Marxism: A Critical Reader* (London/New Left Books, 1977)

## A7 THEORISTS AND CRITICS OF IMPERIALISM

### Set texts

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

J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism* [1902] (Cambridge, 1911). Full text [here](#).

W.E.B. DuBois, 'The African Roots of War', *The Atlantic Monthly*, May 1915. Full text [here](#).

V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* [1917] (London, 2010). Full text [here](#).

W.E.B. DuBois, 'Colour and Democracy', in *The World and Africa and Colour and Democracy* (ed.) H. Louis-Gates et al (Oxford 2007).

J. Schumpeter, *Imperialism and Social Classes* [1919] ed. P. Sweezy (New York, 1990). Full text [here](#).

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

F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* [1961] (London, 1967).

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

T. Veblen, 'An Enquiry into the Nature of Peace and the Terms of its Perpetuation' in *Collected Works of Thorstein Veblen* (London, 1994)

N. Bukharin, *Imperialism and World Economy* (New York, 1930/1972; London, 1973).

Chad Williams, 'World War 1 in the Historical Imagination of W E B Du Bois', *Modern American History* 1.1 (2018), pp. 3-22

R. Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, trans. A. Schwarzschild, with introd. by J. Robinson (London, 1951).

See also with reply by Bakunin in *Imperialism and the Accumulation of Capital*, trans. R. Wichmann, ed. with introd. by K.J. Tarbuck (London, 1972).

C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins* (Revised Ed., New York, 1989 [1963; orig. pub. 1937])

W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (Boston, 1999 [first pub. 1935])

*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*

\*M. Freeden, 'J. A. Hobson as a Political Theorist', in J. Pheby (ed.) *J. A. Hobson After 50 Years* (New York, 1994), pp. 19-33; rpt. in M. Freeden, *Liberal Languages: ideological imaginations and twentieth-century progressive thought* (Princeton, 2005), pp. 94-108.

D. Long, *Towards a New Liberal Internationalism: The International Theory of J.A. Hobson* (Cambridge, 1996).

A. M. Eckstein, 'Is There a "Hobson-Lenin Thesis" on Late Nineteenth-Century Colonial Expansion?' *Economic History Review*, new series, 44:2 (1991), pp. 297-318.

\*D.H. Krueger, 'Hobson, Lenin, and Schumpeter on Imperialism', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 16 (1955), pp. 252-59.

\*A. Brewer, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*, 2nd ed (London, 1990).

E. Stokes, 'Late Nineteenth-Century Colonial Expansion and the Attack on the Theory of Economic Imperialism: A Case of Mistaken Identity?', *The Historical Journal*, 12 (1969), pp. 285-301.

\*N. Etherington, 'Reconsidering Theories of Imperialism', *History and Theory* 21 (1982), pp. 1-36.

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

G. Horne, *Black and Red: W.E.B. DuBois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963* (SUNY, 1985).

C. Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955* (Cambridge, 2003), especially for portions on DuBois and reply to Horne.

C. Anderson, *Bourgeois Radicals: The NAACP and the Struggle for Colonial Liberation, 1941-1960* (Cambridge 2014).

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

D. Macey, *Frantz Fanon: A Life* (New York, 2000).

E. Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

A. Shatz, 'Where Life is Seized: Review of *Écrits sur l'aliénation et la liberté* by Frantz Fanon, eds. Robert Young and Jean Khalfa', *London Review of Books*, 39:2 (2017). Full text [here](#).

A. Shatz, 'No Direction Home: The Journey of Franz Fanon', *Raritan* 37:2 (2017).

G. Wilder, *Freedom time: Negritude, decolonization, and the future of the world* (Durham, NC, 2015).

P. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* (London: Verso, 2003).

A. Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire* (Princeton, NJ, 2019).

A. Getachew and K. Mantena, 'Anticolonialism and the Decolonization of Political Theory', *Critical Times* 4.3 (2021), pp. 359-388: <https://doi.org/10.1215/26410478-9355193>

P. von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Cornell 1997).

D. Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

F. Cooper, *Africa in the World: Capitalism, Empire, Nation-State* (Cambridge, MA, 2015).

\_\_\_, *Citizenship between Empire and Nation: Rethinking France and French Africa* (Princeton, NJ, 2015).

V. Prashad, *The Poorer Nations* (London, 2011).

H. Adi, *Pan-Africanism - A History* (London, 2018).

Kehinde Andrews, *Back to Black: Retelling Black Radicalism* (London: Zed Books, 2018).

M. Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917-1939* (UNC Press, 2011).

W. James, *Claude McKay: The Making of a Black Bolshevik* (Columbia, 2022).

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

## **A8 CRISIS OF WEIMAR**

### **Set texts**

#### **Hans Kelsen**

H. Kelsen, *Pure Theory of Law*, [1934] trans. M. Knight from the second (rev. and enl.) German edn (Berkeley, 1970), selections, esp. Part I, §§1-5, Parts 6-7, 'Law and State'; [this is updated and amended slightly in Kelsen's *General Theory of Law and the State* (1945), trans. A. Wedberg, in Part I Ch. 9, 'The Legal Person', Ch. 10, 'The Legal Order'; Part II, 'The State' (approx. 100pp); Part IV, B, 'Democracy'.]

*The Nature and Essence of Democracy* (1920, rev. Ed. 1929) (selection available in B. Schlink ed., *Weimar: A Jurisprudence of Crisis* (University of California Press, 2004), and also more fully in a new translation, (ed.) N. Urbinati (New York, 2013).

#### **Carl Schmitt**

C. Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, [1927] expanded edn, ed. G. Schwab (Chicago, 2007).

C. Schmitt, *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy*, ed. E. Kennedy (Cambridge, MA, 1985).

C. Schmitt, 'The Age of Neutralizations and Depoliticizations', [1929] *Telos*, no. 96 (1993), pp. 130- 142.



See also: M. Weber, 'The President of the Reich', in *Political Writings*, ed. P. Lassmann and R. Speirs (Cambridge, 1994).

### **Further reading suggestions**

#### **Additional Primary Texts**

C. Schmitt, *Political Theology*, ed. G. Schwab (Cambridge, MA, 1985).

C. Schmitt, *Legality and Legitimacy*, trans and ed. J. Seitzer (Durham, NC, 2004).

C. Schmitt, *Constitutional Theory* [1927]

H. Kelsen and C. Schmitt, *The Guardian of the Constitution*, ed. L. Vinx (Cambridge, 2015).

#### **For political background**

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

H. Mommsen, *The Rise and Fall of Weimar Democracy* (UNC Press, 2001).

#### **For the legal background**

B. Schlink (ed.) *Weimar: A Jurisprudence of Crisis* (UC Berkeley Press, 1999)

L. Vinx and S. Zeitlin, *Carl Schmitt's Early Legal-Theoretical Writings* (Cambridge, 2021)

N. Wheatley, 'Central Europe as Ground Zero of the New International Order', *Slavic Review* 78.4 (2019), pp. 901-911.

N. Wheatley, 'Making Nations into Legal Persons Between Imperial and International Law', *Duke Journal of Comparative and International Law* 28 (2018), pp. 481-494.

#### **Weimar constitutionalism and its legacy**

\*Udi Greenberg, *The Weimar Century* (Princeton, 2015).

H. Kraus, *The crisis of German democracy: a study of the spirit of the constitution of Weimar*, ed. W.S. Myers, with English translation of the German Constitution by M. Wolff (Princeton, 1932).

Rupert Emerson, *State and Sovereignty in Modern Germany* (New Haven, CT, 1929).

\*Jean-Michel Palmier, *Weimar in Exile – The Antifascist Imagination in Europe and America*, trans. D. Fernbach (London: Verso, 2017).

## 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's Critique of Liberal Constitutionalism', *Review of Politics* 58: 2 (1996), pp. 299-322.

\*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).

\*J-W. Müller, *A Dangerous Mind: Carl Schmitt in Post-War European Thought* (New Haven, 2003).

S. Zeitlin, *The Tyranny of Values* (Telos Press, 2019), for a sense of Schmitt's post-WW2 political theory, alongside Müller's interpretation.

\*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 [review article]: 'Controversies over Carl Schmitt: a review of recent literature', *Journal of Modern History* 77 (2005), pp.357-87.

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

J. Bendersky, *Carl Schmitt: Theorist for the Reich* (Princeton, 1983).

\*R. Mehring, *Carl Schmitt: A Biography* (Oxford: Polity, 2014).

D. Dyzenhaus (ed.) *Law as Politics: Carl Schmitt's Critique of Liberalism* (Durham, 1998).

\*D. Dyzenhaus, *Legality and Legitimacy: Carl Schmitt, Hans Kelsen, and Hermann Heller in Weimar* (Oxford, 1997).

J. P. McCormick, *Carl Schmitt's Critique of Liberalism: Against Politics as Technology* (Cambridge, 1997).

C. Mouffe (ed.), *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt* (London, 1999).

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

G. Balakrishnan, *The Enemy: an intellectual portrait of Carl Schmitt* (London, 2000).

\*D. Bates, 'Political Theology and the Nazi State: Carl Schmitt's Conception of the Institution', *Modern Intellectual History*, vol. 3, no. 3 (2006), pp. 415-442.

\*W. Scheuerman, 'The Rule of Law under Siege: Carl Schmitt and the Death of the Weimar Republic', *History of Political Thought*, 14 (1993), pp. 265–280.

D. Diner, 'Constitutional Theory and the State of Emergency in the "Weimarer Republik": The Case of Carl Schmitt', *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 17 (1988), pp. 303–322.

\*D. Kelly, 'Carl Schmitt's Political Theory of Representation', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65:1 (2004), pp. 113–34.

### **On Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss**

\*J. P. McCormick, 'Fear, Technology and the State: Carl Schmitt, Leo Strauss, and the Revival of Hobbes in Weimar and National Socialist Germany', *Political Theory* 22, 4 (1994), pp. 619-52.

H. Meier, *Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss* (Chicago, 1995); also: *The Lesson of Carl Schmitt: Four Chapters on the Distinction between Political Theology & Political Philosophy*, trans. M. Brainard (Chicago, 1995).

L. Strauss, 'German Nihilism', *Interpretation: A Journal of Political Philosophy*, vol. 26 (1999), pp. 353- 78.

### **On Weimar notions of crisis**

P. Gordon, *Continental Divide* (Harvard, 2010) [around philosophy, Cassirer, Heidegger].

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

P. C. Caldwell and W. E. Scheuerman, *From Liberal Democracy to Fascism: Legal and Political Thought in the Weimar Republic* (Boston, 2000).

### **On Kelsen's Legal/Political Theory**

\*D. Diner and M. Stolleis (eds) *Hans Kelsen and Carl Schmitt: a juxtaposition* (Gerlingen, 1989).

\*L. Vinx, *Hans Kelsen's pure theory of law: legality and legitimacy* (Oxford, 2007).

\*U. Preuss, 'Political order and democracy: Carl Schmitt and his influence', in C. Mouffe (ed.) *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt* (London, 1999), pp. 155-79.

Various chapters in J. Meierhenrich and O. Simons (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Carl Schmitt* (Oxford, 2016), esp. Paulson.

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

Sandrine Baum, 'On Political Theology: A controversy between Carl Schmitt and Hans Kelsen', *History of European Ideas*, 35 (2009), pp. 369-381.

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

Gabriele de Angelis, 'Ideals and Institutions: Hans Kelsen's Political Theory', *History of Political Thought*, 30/3 (2009).

\*Peter Langford and Ian Bryan, 'Hans Kelsen's Theory of Legal Monism: A Critical Engagement with the Emerging Legal Order of the 1920s', *Journal of the History of International Law*, 14 (2012), pp. 51-86. [useful context for Kelsen's debates about state/sovereignty in 1920s amid treaty reforms under Weimar era].

F. Filafer, 'Imperial Diversity, Fractured Sovereignty, and Legal Universals: Hans Kelsen and Eugen Ehrlich in their Imperial Contexts', *Modern Intellectual History* (2021)

## 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)].

F. Neumann, *Behemoth: the structure and practice of National Socialism* (London, 1942/New York, 1967), 'Introduction', Pt. I chs. 1, 6, Pt. II chs. 1, 3, 'Behemoth'.

### Additional primary reading

Max Horkheimer, 'The End of Reason' [1941] repr. In *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*.

F. Neumann, '*Rechtsstaat*, The Division of Powers and Socialism' [1934]; 'On the Marxist Theory of the State' [1935], in *Social Democracy and the Rule of Law*, ed. K. Tribe (London, 1987):

O. Kirchheimer, 'Legality and Legitimacy' [1932]; 'Remarks on Carl Schmitt's '*Legalität und Legimität*' [1933], in *Social Democracy and the Rule of Law*, ed. K. Tribe (London, 1987):

W. E. Scheuerman (ed.) *The Rule of Law under Siege: Selected Essays of Franz L. Neumann and Otto Kirchheimer* (California, 1996).

E. Fraenkel, *The Dual State* [1941] (ed.) J. Meierhenrich (Oxford, 2017).

### Secondary Readings

## General Studies of the 'Frankfurt School' and its history

\*R. Wiggershaus, *The Frankfurt School: Its History, Theories, and Political Significance*, trans. M. Robertson (Cambridge, MA, 1994).

\*M. Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute for Social Research, 1923–1950* (Boston, 1973).

## Early Critical Theory as Political Theory

### (i) In Context

\*W. E. Scheuerman, *Between the Norm and the Exception: the Frankfurt School and the rule of law* (Cambridge, MA, 1994).

\*D. J. Kelly, 'Rethinking Franz Neumann's route to *Behemoth*', *History of Political Thought* 23: 3 (2002), pp. 458-96.

\*B. M. Katz, 'The Criticism of Arms: The Frankfurt School Goes to War', *Journal of Modern History* 59 (1987), pp. 439–478.

\*H. Liebersohn, *Fate and Utopia in German Sociology, 1870-1923* (Cambridge MA, 1988).

R. Cotterell, 'The Rule of Law in Corporate Society: Neumann, Kirchheimer and the Lessons of Weimar' [review article], *Modern Law Review* 51 (1988), pp. 126-40.

J. Meierhenrich, *Remnants of the Rechtsstaat: An Ethnography of Nazi Law* (Oxford, 2018).

### (ii) In General

W. E. Scheuerman, 'Neumann vs. Habermas: the Frankfurt School and the Case of the Rule of Law,' *Praxis International* 13,1 (1993), pp. 50-67.

P. Stirk, *Max Horkheimer: A New Interpretation* (London, 1992).

R. Wolin, *The Frankfurt School Revisited: and other essays on politics and society* (London, 2006), ch. on 'The disoriented left: a critique of left Schmittianism', also *Labyrinths* (Amherst, MA, 1995).

E. Bahr, 'The Anti-Semitism Studies of the Frankfurt School', in J. Marcus and Z. Tar (eds), *Foundations of the Frankfurt School of Social Research* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1984).

\*C. Offe, 'The Problem of Social Power in Franz L. Neumann's Thought', *Constellations* 10 (2003), pp. 211-27.

H. Buchstein, 'A Heroic Reconciliation of Freedom and Power: On the Tension between Democratic and Social Theory in the Late Works of Franz L. Neumann', *Constellations* 10 (2003), pp. 228-46.

## A10 THE LATER FRANKFURT SCHOOL

### Set texts

T. Adorno, 'Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda' [1951], in *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, ed. A. Arato and E. Gebhardt (New York, 1982).

H. Marcuse, *Technology, War and Fascism: Collected Papers of Herbert Marcuse*, vol 1, ed. Douglas Kellner (London, 1998).

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

J. Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action* [1981].

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

### Further reading suggestions

N.B. that *The Cambridge Companion to Critical Theory*, ed. F. Rush (Cambridge, 2004) is accessible online [here](#).

### Additional primary texts

\*T. W. Adorno and M. Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* [1947] (London, 1972).

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

\*R. Wiggershaus, *The Frankfurt School: Its History, Theories, and Political Significance*, trans. M. Robertson (Cambridge, MA, 1994).

\*M. Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute for Social Research, 1923–1950* (Boston, 1973).

P. Stirk, *Critical Theory, Politics and Society* (London, 2000).

G. Friedman, *The Political Philosophy of the Frankfurt School* (Ithaca, 1981).

\*P. Connerton, *Tragedy of the Enlightenment: An Essay on the Frankfurt School* (Cambridge, 1981).

D. Held, *Introduction to Critical Theory: Horkheimer to Habermas* (London, 1980).

\*R. Wolin, *The Frankfurt School Revisited: and other essays on politics and society* (London, 2006), chs. on 'The Frankfurt School Revisited', 'The Adorno Centennial: the apotheosis of negative dialectics', and 'Critical Reflections on Marcuse's Theory of Revolution'.

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

\*Stuart Jefferies, *Grand Hotel Abyss – The Lives of the Frankfurt School* (Verso, 2017).

\*A. D. Moses, *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past* (Cambridge, 2007).

D. Gusejnova, 'Concepts of culture and technology in Germany, 1916-1933', *Journal of European Studies* 36:1 (2006) pp. 5-30.

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

R. Geuss, 'Dialectics and the revolutionary impulse', in *The Cambridge Companion to Critical Theory*, ed. F. Rush (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 103-138.

\*A. Honneth, 'A Social Pathology of Reason', in F. Rush (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Critical Theory* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 336-360.

\*S. Chambers, 'The Politics of Critical Theory', in F. Rush (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Critical Theory* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 219-247

S. Benhabib, *Critique, Norm and Utopia* (Columbia University Press, 2006).

\*R. Geuss, *The Idea of a Critical Theory: Habermas and the Frankfurt School* (Cambridge, 1981).

### **On Theodor Adorno**

S. Jarvis, *Adorno: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge, 1998).

S. Jarvis, 'Adorno, Marx, Materialism', in T. Huhn (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Adorno* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 79-100. Full text [here](#).

### **On Herbert Marcuse**

\*D. Kellner, *Herbert Marcuse and the Crisis of Marxism* (London, 1984).

A. Macintyre, *Marcuse* (London, 1970).

### **On Jürgen Habermas**

R. Coles, 'Identity and difference in the ethical positions of Adorno and Habermas', in S.K. White (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 19-45. Full text [here](#).

\*M. Specter, *Habermas: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge, 2010).

R. von Schomberg and K. Baynes (eds), *Discourse and Democracy: essays on Habermas' Between Facts and Norms* (Albany, NY, 2002).

\*K. Baynes, 'Democracy and the *Rechtsstaat*: Habermas' *Faktizität und Geltung* [Beyond Facts and Norms]', in S.K. White (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 201-232. Full text [here](#).

\*S. Mueller-Doohm, *Habermas: A Biography* (Polity, 2016).

## 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].

H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* [1951] numerous editions, chs. 9-13.

I. Berlin, 'Two Concepts of Liberty' [1958].

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](#).

J. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* [1951].

N.B.: Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* [1944] may be found in *The Collected Works of F.A. Hayek*, vol. II (London, 2007). Orwell, 'The Lion and the Unicorn', may be found in P. Davison (ed.) *Complete Works of George Orwell*, vol.12, or in S. Orwell and I. Angus (eds) *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, vol.2: 'My Country Right or Left' (Harmondsworth, 1970). Berlin may be found in I. Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford, 1969).

### Further reading suggestions

#### On theories of totalitarianism and 'Cold War liberalism'

\*A. Gleason, *Totalitarianism: The Inner History of the Cold War* (Oxford, 1997).

B. L Alpers, *Dictators, Democracy, and American Public Culture: Envisioning the Totalitarian Enemy, 1920s-1950s* (University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 2003).

S. Wolin, *Democracy, Inc.* (Princeton University Press, 2010) [an interesting contemporary use of totalitarianism theory].

J-W Müller, 'Fear and Freedom – On 'Cold War Liberalism'', *European Journal of Political Theory* 7.1 (2008), pp. 45-64.

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

F. Furet, *The Passing of an Illusion*, trans. D. Furet (Chicago, 1999), esp. chs. On 'The Revolutionary Passion' and 'Cold War Communism'



## **On Karl Popper**

A. O'Hear (ed.), *Karl Popper: critical assessments* (London, 2004), vols. 1 [biography /background] and 4 [politics and social science].

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

J. Shearmur, *The political thought of Karl Popper* (Routledge, 1996).

\*R. Pezzimenti, *The Open Society and its Friends: with letters from Isaiah Berlin and the late Karl R. Popper* (Leominster, 1997).

## **On Friedrich Hayek**

\*E. Feser (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Hayek* (Cambridge, 2006), esp. chs. By Caldwell ('Hayek and the Austrian Tradition'), Boettke ('Hayek and Market Socialism'), Gamble ('Hayek on Knowledge, Economics, and Society'), O'Hear ('Hayek and Popper'), Shearmur ('Hayek's Politics'), and Skoble ('Hayek the Philosopher of Law'). Full text [here](#).

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

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

J. Gray, *Hayek on Liberty* (Oxford, 1984).

\*A. Gamble, *Hayek. The Iron Cage of Liberty* (Westview, 1996).

C. Kukathas, *Hayek and Modern Liberalism* (Oxford, 1989).

B. Caldwell and H. Klausinger, *Hayek: A Life, 1899-1950* (Chicago, 2022).

## **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).

B. Crick, *George Orwell. A Life* (London, 1980).

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

B. Clarke, 'Orwell and Englishness', *The Review of English Studies* 57 (2006), pp.83- 105.

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

## **On Isaiah Berlin**

I. Berlin, *Freedom and its Betrayal: six enemies of human liberty* (Princeton, 2002).

M. Ignatieff, *Isaiah Berlin: A life* (London, 1998).

J. Gray, *Isaiah Berlin* (London, 1995).

M. Lilla, R. Dworkin, and R. Silvers, eds, *The Legacy of Isaiah Berlin* (New York, 2001).

D. Kelly, 'The Political Thought of Isaiah Berlin', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 4:1 (2002), pp. 25-48.

J. Cherniss, *A Mind and its Time: The Development of Isaiah Berlin's Political Thought* (Oxford, 2013).

### **On Jacob Talmon**

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

Z. Sternhell (ed.), *The intellectual revolt against liberal democracy 1870-1945: international conference in memory of Jacob L. Talmon* (Jerusalem, 1996).

### **On Raymond Aron**

F. Draus (ed.), *History, Truth, Liberty: selected writings of Raymond Aron, with a memoir by Edward Shils* (Chicago, 1985).

R. Colquhoun, *Raymond Aron*, 2 vols. [esp. vol.1: 'The philosopher in history, 1905-1955'] (London, 1986).

P. Manent *et al.*, *European liberty: Raymond Aron, Isaiah Berlin, Leszek Kolakowski, Marguerite Yourcenar: four essays on the 25th anniversary of the Erasmus Prize Foundation* (The Hague, 1983).

Iain Stewart, *Raymond Aron and Liberal Thought in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 2021).

### **On Arendt**

R. King, *Arendt in America* (Chicago University Press, 2016).

W. Yaqoob, 'Reconciliation and Violence: Hannah Arendt on Historical Understanding', *Modern Intellectual History* 11, 2 (2014), pp. 385-416.

W. Selinger, "The Politics of Arendtian Historiography: European Federation and the Origins of Totalitarianism", *Modern Intellectual History* 13, 2 (2016): 417-46.

## **A12 HAYEK**

### **Set texts**

[See where possible *The Collected Works of F.A. Hayek*, founding editor W.W. Bartley III; editor Stephen Kresge (London: Routledge, 1988- [ongoing]) = CW]

From *Collectivist Economic Planning* (New York, 1977 = CW X): *Socialism and War*: 'The Nature and History of the Problem', 'The Present State of the Debate'.

*The Road to Serfdom* [1944] (London, 2007 = CW II), Introduction & chs. 1-7.

\*From *Individualism and Economic Order* (Chicago, 1980): 'Individualism: True and False' [1945], 'Economics and Knowledge' [delivered 1936; published 1937], 'The Use of Knowledge in Society' [1945].

*The Constitution of Liberty* (London, 1976), esp. Part II and Postscript 'Why I am not a Conservative'.

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

Vol. 1 – *Rules and Order* (1973), chs. 3, 6.

Vol. 2 – *The Mirage of Social Justice* (1976), esp. chs. 7, 9, 10.

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. Gamble, *Hayek. The Iron Cage of Liberty* (Westview, 1996).

C. Kukathas, *Hayek and Modern Liberalism* (Oxford, 1989).

A. Ebenstein, *Friedrich Hayek: a biography* (Chicago, 2003).

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

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

J. Gray, *Hayek on Liberty* (Oxford, 1984).

S. Fleetwood, *Hayek's Political Economy: The Socio-Economics of Order* (London, 1995).

\*E. Feser (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Hayek* (Cambridge, 2006), esp. chs. By Caldwell ('Hayek and the Austrian Tradition'), Boettke ('Hayek and Market Socialism'), Gamble ('Hayek on Knowledge, Economics, and Society'), O'Hear ('Hayek and Popper'), Shearmur ('Hayek's Politics'), and Skoble ('Hayek the Philosopher of Law'). All chapters available [here](#).

B. Caldwell, *Hayek's Challenge: An Intellectual Biography of F.A. Hayek* (Chicago, 2004).

B. Caldwell and H. Klausinger, *Hayek: A Life, 1899-1950* (Chicago, 2022).

### **Hayek on knowledge**

L. von Mises, 'Economic Calculation in the Socialist Commonwealth,' in F. A. Hayek (ed.), *Collectivist Economic Planning: Critical Studies on the Possibilities of Socialism* (London, 1935).

\*D. Shapiro, 'Reviving the Socialist Calculation Debate: A Defense of Hayek against Lange', in E.F. Paul et al. (eds), *Socialism* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 139–59.

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

\*J. O'Neill, 'Who Won the Socialist Calculation Debate?' *History of Political Thought* 17,3 (1996), pp. 431–442.

### **Liberalism and neoliberalism**

J.C. Nyiri, 'Intellectual Foundations of Austrian Liberalism,' in W. Grassl and B. Smith (eds.), *Austrian Economics* (New York, 1986), pp. 102–38.

R. Walther, 'Economic Liberalism', *Economy and Society* 13 (1984), pp. 178–207.

J. Gray, *Liberalism* (Oxford, 1986).

\*J. Shearmur, 'The Austrian Connection: Hayek's Liberalism and the Thought of Carl Menger', in W. Grassl and B. Smith (eds.), *Austrian Economics* (New York, 1986), pp. 210–24.

R. Holton and B. Turner, 'Max Weber, Austrian Economics and the New Right,' in R. Holton and B. Turner, *Max Weber on Economy and Society* (London, 1989).

\*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**

J. Dewey, *The Public and its Problems* [1927], esp. chs. 1, 4, 5. Full text [here](#).

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

J. Schumpeter, 'The crisis of the tax state', [1917-18], repr. *International Economic Papers* 4 (1954), pp. 5–38. (also [here](#)).

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

R. Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory* [1956].

### **The Lippman-Dewey debate**

W. Lippmann, *Public opinion* (New York, 1922). Full text [here](#)

R. B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American democracy* (Ithaca, NY, 2001).

\*A. Ryan, *John Dewey and the high tide of American liberalism* (New York, 1995).

J.E. Tiles (ed.), *John Dewey: critical assessments* (London, 1992), vol. 2: *Political theory and social practice*.

Tom Arnold-Forster, 'Democracy and Expertise in the Lippmann-Terman Controversy', *Modern Intellectual History* (2017): <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1479244317000385>

### **Joseph Schumpeter**

\*J. Medearis, 'Schumpeter, the New Deal and Democracy', *American Political Science Review* 91 (1997), pp. 819–32.

\*R. Bellamy, 'Schumpeter and the Transformation of Capitalism, Liberalism and Democracy', *Government and Opposition* 26 (Autumn 1991), pp. 500–19.

\*J. Dunn, 'Capitalism, Socialism, Democracy: Compatibilities and Contradictions', in J. Dunn (ed.), *The Economic Limits to Modern Politics* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 195–219.

E. Marz, *Joseph Schumpeter: Scholar, Teacher and Politician* (New Haven, 1991).

J. C. Wood (ed.), *J. A. Schumpeter: Critical Assessments* (New York, 1991).

\*R. Swedberg, *Schumpeter: A Biography* (Princeton, 1991).

### **Robert Dahl and democratic theory**

\*R.A. Dahl, *Pluralist democracy in the United States: conflict and consent* (Chicago, 1967).

\*T. Ball, "An Ambivalent Alliance: Political Science and American Democracy", in J. Farr, J. S. Dryzek, and S. T. Leonard (eds) *Political Science in History: Research Programs and Political Traditions* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 41-65.

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

E. Purcell, *The Crisis of Democratic Theory in America* (Kentucky, 1973).

### **Welfarist theories of democracy - including Cold War 'human science' contexts**

J. Isaac, 'The Human Sciences in Cold War America', *Historical Journal* 50 (September 2007), pp. 725- 46.

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

\*Egle Rindzeviciute, *The Power of Systems: How Policy Sciences opened up the Cold War World* (Cornell UP, 2016).

A. Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York, 1957).

M. Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action: public goods and the logic of groups* (Cambridge, MA, 1965).

\*S. M. Amadae, *Rationalizing capitalist democracy: the Cold War origins of rational choice liberalism* (Chicago, 2003).

\*S. M. Amadae, *Prisoners of Reason* (Cambridge, 2016).

\*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]

J. Isaac, *Working Knowledge: Making the Human Sciences from Parsons to Kuhn* (Cambridge, MA, 2012).

J. Cohen-Cole, *The Open Mind: Cold War Politics and the Sciences of Human Nature* (Chicago, 2014).

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

D. Runciman, *How Democracy Ends* (London, 2018) (esp. the critique of 'epistocracy')

\*T. Scivotsky, 'The State of Welfare Economics', *The American Economic Review* Vol. 41, No. 3 (Jun., 1951), pp. 303-315 [a helpful critical appraisal/overview of what mid-century welfare economics meant to leading practitioners]

T. Piketty, *Capital and Ideology*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Harvard, 2020), for overlapping discussions of inequality/welfare in long-run perspective.

## **A14 RAWLS**

### **Set texts**

*A Theory of Justice*, revised edn. (Oxford, 1999).

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

### **Further reading suggestions**

[See Rawls, *Collected Papers*, ed. S. Freeman (Cambridge, MA, 1999) = CP]

### ***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.

- \*T. Pogge, *John Rawls: his life and theory of justice*, trans. M. Kosch (Oxford, 2007).
- \*P. M. Bok, 'To the Mountaintop Again: The Early Rawls and Post-Protestant Ethics in Post War America', *Modern Intellectual History* 14:1 (2017), pp. 153-185.
- \*Symposium on "John Rawls in the Light of the Archive", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 78:2 (2017), esp. articles by Bok and Galisanka.
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- K. Forrester, *In the Shadow of Justice: Postwar Liberalism and the Remaking of Political Philosophy* (Princeton, NJ, 2019).
- S. Freeman, *Rawls* (London, 2007).
- R. M. Hare, 'Rawls's Theory of Justice – I and II', *Philosophical Quarterly* 23 (1973), pp. 144-155 and 241-252
- C. Kukathas and P. Pettit, *Rawls: A Theory of Justice and its Critics* (Cambridge, 1990).
- T. Brooks and F. Freyenhagen (eds.) *The Legacy of John Rawls* (New York, 2005): articles by Wenar\*, Laden\*, Mahoney, and Talisse. [Laden originally published as: 'Taking the Distinction between Persons Seriously', *Journal of Moral Philosophy* 1 (2004) pp. 277-292.]
- C. Kukathas (ed.) *John Rawls: critical assessments of leading political philosophers*, 4 vols. (New York, 2003): Vol. I, *Foundations and Method*: articles by Nagel\*, Dworkin\*, Lyons, Kymlicka; Vol. II, *Principles of Justice I*: articles by Pettit, Barry, Altham, Waldron, Fishkin, Sabl; Vol. III, *Principles of Justice II*: articles by Okin, Feder Kittay, Sandel\*, Walzer\*, Habermas\*.
- C. Audard, *John Rawls* (Stocksfield, 2007).

### Later developments

- J. Rawls, *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement* (Cambridge, MA, 2001)
- J. Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (Cambridge, MA, 1999).
- J. Rawls, 'Justice as Fairness: Political not Metaphysical', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 14:3 (1985), pp. 223–51, repr. in CP.
- C. Kukathas (ed.) *John Rawls: critical assessments of leading political philosophers*, 4 vols. (New York, 2003): Vol. IV, *Political Liberalism and The Law of Peoples*: articles by Scheffler, Estlund, Kelly & McPherson, Raz\*, Hampton\*.
- \*B. Barry, 'Review: John Rawls and the Search for Stability', *Ethics*, 105 (1995), pp. 874-915.
- \*R. Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (New York, 1974), Part I and ch.7.
- \*C. Taylor, 'Cross-Purposes: the Liberal-Communitarian Debate', in N. Rosenblum (ed.) *Liberalism and the Moral Life* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 159-82.

## Commentaries

S. Freeman (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls* (Cambridge, UK, 2003): articles by Scanlon, Dreben\*, O'Neill, Larmore, Scheffler. Chapters available [here](#).

R. Geuss, *Outside Ethics* (Princeton, 2005), ch. 2 'Neither History nor Praxis', pp. 29-39.

M. Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), esp. ch. 1.

E. F. Kittay, 'Human Dependency and Rawlsian Equality', in D.T. Meyers (ed.) *Feminists Rethink the Self* (Westview, 1997).

Leif Wenar 'The Unity of Rawls's Work', *Journal of Moral Philosophy*, 1:3 (2004), pp. 265-275.

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C. Beitz, 'Justice and International Relations', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 4 (1975), pp. 360-89.

T. Pogge, 'An Egalitarian Law of Peoples', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 23 (1994), pp. 195-224.

M. Blake, 'International Justice', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, available online at: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/international-justice/#3>.

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

Charles Beitz, 'Rawls's Law of Peoples', *Ethics* 110:4 (2000), pp. 669-696.

Allen Buchanan, 'Rawls's Law of Peoples: Rules for a Vanished Westphalian World,' *Ethics* 110:4 (2000), pp. 697-721.

# 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)

\*Weber, Max, 1919, "Politics as a Vocation", in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977, pp. 77–128; or in the Lassmann and Spiers (eds.) *Political Writings*.

\*Hans Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations* (New York: Knopf, 1968 – many editions available).



M. Oakeshott, *On Human Conduct* (Oxford, 1975), Parts I & II.

S. Hampshire, *Justice is Conflict* (London, 1999) [or his earlier, *Innocence and Experience*, (London: Penguin, 1988)]

M. Walzer, *Spheres of Justice* (New York, 1983); for a recent re-assessment, see Charles Beitz, 'The Moral Standing of States Revisited', *Ethics and International Affairs* (2010), pp. 325-347.

\*A. Camus, *Camus at Combat: Writing 1944-1947*, ed. J. Levi-Valensi, trans. A. Goldhammer (Princeton, 2017).

J. Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (Cambridge, MA, 1999).

I. Berlin, *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas*, ed. H. Hardy (Princeton, 2001).

I. Murdoch, *The Sovereignty of Good* (London, 2001 [1971]).

J. Haslam, *No Reason Like Necessity: A History of Realist Thought in International Relations Since Machiavelli* (Yale, 2002).

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

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

### **Morality and the constraints upon politics**

\*J. Rawls, 'The domain of the political and overlapping consensus' in Rawls, *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, MA, 1999).

\*A. MacIntyre, *After Virtue: a study in moral theory*, 25th anniv. edn (London, 2007) and *Ethics and Politics: Selected Essays*, (Cambridge, 2006) Vol. 2, esp. 5, 6, 7, 11 and 12. \*S. Mendus, *Politics and Morality* (Polity, 2009).

F. Kamm, *Intricate Ethics* (Oxford, 2007), ch. 10.

\*Gert, Bernard, "The Definition of Morality", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2012 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.)

<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2012/entries/morality-definition/>

### **Dirty Hands**

\*C. A. J. Coady, "The Problem of Dirty Hands", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/dirty-hands/>

C. A. J. Coady, *Morality and Political Violence* (Oxford, 2008).

\*Michael Walzer, "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands", *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 2 (Winter 1973), 160-180

\*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

and the Substance of Ethical Life', in his *In the Beginning Was the Deed*, ed. G. Hawthorn (Princeton, 2005), pp.1–17, 18–28, and 40–51.

\*Wijze, Stephen de, 2007, "Dirty Hands: Doing Wrong to do Right", in Igor Primoratz (ed.), *Politics and Morality*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 3–19.

Yeo, Michael, 2000, "Dirty Hands in Politics: On the One Hand, and On the Other", in Paul Rynard and David P. Shugarman (eds.), *Cruelty and Deception: The Controversy over Dirty Hands in Politics*, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press; Australia: Pluto Press, pp. 157–173.

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

\*E. Rossi and M. Sleat, 'Realism in Normative Political Theory', *Philosophy Compass* 9/10 (2014), pp. 689-701: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/phc3.12148> \*John Bew, *Realpolitik* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

Duncan Kelly, 'August Ludwig von Rochau and Realpolitik as historical political theory', *Global Intellectual History* 3 (2017), pp. 301-330: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/23801883.2017.1387331>

\*John Dunn, *Political Obligation in Its Historical Context: Essays in Political Theory* (Cambridge, 1980), esp. introduction and conclusion.

\*R. Geuss, *Public Goods, Private Goods*, Princeton University Press, 2001.

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

R. Geuss, *History and Illusion in Politics* (Cambridge, 2001).

\*U. Greenberg, *The Weimar Century* (Princeton University Press, 2015).

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).

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

P. Sagar, 'From Scepticism to Liberalism? Bernard Williams, the Foundations of Liberalism and Political Realism', *Political Studies* (2014), [here](#).

K. Forrester, 'Judith Shklar, Bernard Williams and Political Realism', *European Journal of Political Theory* 11:3 (2012), 247-72.

## **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)

\*B. Bosanquet, *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, 4th edn. (Aldershot, 1993).

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

M. Oakeshott, *On Human Conduct* (Oxford, 1975), Part III.

O. Hintze, 'The Formation of States and Constitutional Development: A Study in History and Politics', and 'Military Organisation and the Organisation of the State', in *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*, ed. F. Gilbert (New York, 1975), pp. 157–77 and pp. 178–215.

## **In Rawls**

\*J. Rawls, 'Legal Obligation and the Duty of Fair Play' in Rawls, *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, MA, 1999).

J. Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, rev. edition (Cambridge/Mass., 1999), ch. 6 'Duty and Obligation', secs. 55–9.

## **Classic Issues and Interpretations**

\*John Dunn, *Political Obligation in Its Historical Context: Essays in Political Theory* (Cambridge, 1980), esp. introduction and conclusion.

R. Aron, 'Macht, Power, Puissance', in S. Lukes (ed.), *Power* (Oxford, 1986).

R. Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (Oxford, 1984).

\*Q. Skinner, 'The State', in T. Ball et al. (eds.), *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change* (Cambridge, 1989).

\*C. Pateman, *The Problem of Political Obligation* (Chichester, 1979).

\*H. Pitkin, 'Obligation and Consent,' *Philosophy, Politics and Society* (4th series), P. Laslett and W. G. Runciman (eds.) (Oxford, 1972).

R.P. Wolff, *In Defense of Anarchism* (New York, 1970).

\*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*

(Cambridge, 2003), Part I: chs.1–3 (by Q. Skinner, 'States and the freedom of citizens', pp. 11–27; D. Runciman, 'The concept of the state: the sovereignty of a fiction', pp. 28–38, and G. Poggi, 'Citizens and the state: retrospect and prospect', pp. 39–48).

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.

Steinberger, *The Idea of the State* (Cambridge, 2005).

\*R. Geuss, *History and Illusion in Politics* (Princeton, 2001), ch.1 'The State', pp. 14-68.

D. Runciman, 'Is the State a Corporation?' *Government and Opposition* 35 (2000), pp. 901-104.

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

\_\_\_, 'On the Territorial Rights of States', *Philosophical Issues* 11 (2001), pp. 300-326. D.

McDermott, 'Fair Play Obligations', *Political Studies* 52:2 (2004), pp. 216-232.

P. Singer, *Democracy and Disobedience* (Oxford, 1973).

J. L. Cohen, *Globalization and Sovereignty: Rethinking Legality, Legitimacy, and Constitutionalism* (Cambridge, 2012)

T. Fazal, *State Death: The Politics and Geography of Conquest, Annexation, and Occupation* (Princeton, 2007)

J. Raz (ed.), *Authority* (Oxford, 1990).

\*J. Raz, 'The Obligation to Obey: Revision and Tradition' and 'Government by Consent' in Raz, *Ethics in the Public Domain* (Oxford, 1994).

\*W. Edmundson, *Three Anarchical Fallacies* (Cambridge, 1998).

T. R. Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law*, 2nd edn (Princeton, 2006).

D. Grimm, *Sovereignty: The Origin and Future of a Political Concept* (Columbia UP, 2015).

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

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

J. C. Scott, *Seeing like a State* (New Haven, 2020).

J. C. Scott, *The Art of Not being Governed* (New Haven, 2011).

J. C. Scott, *Against the Grain: A Deep History of the Earliest States* (New Haven, 2018). (cf S. Moyn, 'Barbarian Virtues', *The Nation*, October 2017)

S. Moyn, 'Of Savagery and Civil Society: Pierre Clastres and the Transformation of French Political Thought', *Modern Intellectual History* 1.1 (2004), pp. 55-80.

N. Wheatley, 'Spectral Personality in Interwar International Law: On New Ways of Not being a State', *Law and History Review* (2017), pp. 1-35.

Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics* (lectures on neoliberalism) (Basingstoke, 2015); cf. D. Zamora and M. Dean, *The Last Man takes LSD* (Verso, 2019).

Mark Anderson, *From Boas to Black Power: Racism, Liberalism, and American Anthropology* (Stanford, 2019).

## **B17 RIGHTS AND UTILITARIANISM**

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

H.L.A. Hart, *Essays on Bentham* (Oxford, 1982).

\*H.L.A. Hart, 'Between Utility and Rights' in A. Ryan (ed.) *The Idea of Freedom* (Oxford, 1979).

\*H.L.A. Hart, 'Are There Any Natural Rights?'; D. Lyons, 'Utility and Rights'; T. M. Scanlon, 'Rights, Goals, and Fairness'; and R. Dworkin, 'Rights as Trumps', all rpt. in J. Waldron (ed.), *Theories of Rights* (Oxford, 1984).

On Hart, see the biography by Nicola Lacey, *A Life of H. L. A. Hart* (Oxford, 2006), and the shorter analytical treatment in M. Kramer, *H. L. A. Hart* (Polity, 2018).

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

R. Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (Oxford, 1974), Part I.

\*R. Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (London, 1978).

\*J. Waldron, 'Rights and Majorities: Rousseau Revisited,' and 'When Justice Replaces Affection,' in Waldron, *Liberal Rights* (Cambridge, 1993).

J. Waldron, 'The Role of Rights in Practical Reasoning: Rights versus Needs', *The Journal of Ethics* 4 (2000), pp. 115-35.

\*J. Dunn, 'Rights and Political Conflict' in Dunn, *Interpreting Political Responsibility* (Cambridge, 1990).

T. Scanlon, 'Rights, Goals and Fairness'; and B. Williams, 'Consequentialism and Integrity' in S. Scheffler (ed.) *Consequentialism and its Critics* (Oxford, 1988), esp. articles by Nagel, Sen, Williams, and Scheffler's introduction.

### **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.

\*S. James, 'Rights as Enforceable Claims', in A. Kuper (ed.) *Global Responsibilities: Who Must Deliver on Human Rights?* (London, 2005).

\*R. Geuss, *History and Illusion in Politics* (Princeton, 2001), ch.3 'Democracy and rights', pp. 110- 152.

A. Pagden, 'Human Rights, Natural Rights, and Europe's Imperial Legacy', *Political Theory* 31: 2 (2003), pp. 171-99.

\**Race, Capitalism, Justice* - special issue of *Boston Review* (2017) (<http://bostonreview.net/race/race-capitalism-justice>), with many relevant essays

L. Wenar, 'The Nature of Claim Rights', *Ethics*, 123:2 (2013), pp. 202-229.

## Human Rights

\*H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (various editions, 1949/1951); on which, see Stephanie De Gooyer et al (eds.) *The Right to have Rights* (London, Verso, 2018). Also A. Gündogdu, *Rightlessness in an Age of Rights* (Oxford, 2015), especially chapters 1 and 2.

M. Siegelberg, *Statelessness – A History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2019).

J. Ingram, 'What is a "Right to have Rights"? Three Images of the Politics of Human Rights', *American Political Science Review*, 102:4 (2008), pp. 401-416.

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

\_\_\_, *Not Enough* (Cambridge, MA, 2018).

E. MacKinnon, 'Declaration as Disavowal: Race and Empire in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights', *Political Theory* 47, no. 1 (2019) <https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591718780697>

G. Claeys, 'Socialism and the Language of Rights: The Origins and Implications of Economic Rights', in P. Slotte and M. H-Tuomisaari (Eds.) *Revisiting the Origins of Human Rights* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 206-236: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316228074>

M. Duranti, *The Conservative Origins of Human Rights* (Oxford, 2017).

S. Jensen, *The Making of International Human Rights* (Cambridge 2016)

C. Beitz, *The Idea of Human Rights* (Oxford, 2015).

J. Griffin, *On Human Rights* (Oxford, 2010).

\*A. Sen, 'Elements of a Theory of Human Rights', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 32:4 (2004), pp. 315-56.

Charles Beitz, 'Human Dignity in the Theory of Human Rights - Nothing but a Phrase?' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 41: 3 (2013), pp. 259-290.

## **Criticisms of Utilitarianism**

\*A. Sen and B. Williams, 'Introduction'; T. Scanlon, 'Contractualism and Utilitarianism'; and J. Elster, 'Sour Grapes: Utilitarianism and the Genesis of Wants,' in A. Sen and B. Williams (eds.) *Utilitarianism and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1982).

J. J. C. Smart and B. Williams, *Utilitarianism: For and Against* (Cambridge, 1973).

P. Kelly, *Utilitarianism and Distributive Justice: Jeremy Bentham and the Civil Law* (Oxford, 1990).

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

\*J. Rawls, 'Two Concepts of Rules', rpt. in *The Collected Papers of John Rawls*, ed. S. Freeman (Cambridge, MA, 1999).

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**

\*I. Berlin, 'Two Concepts of Liberty' in *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 118–72.

\*C. Taylor, 'What's Wrong with Negative Liberty?' in A. Ryan (ed.) *The Idea of Freedom* (Oxford, 1979).

J. Feinberg, 'The Idea of a Free Man' in *Rights, Justice, and the Bounds of Liberty* (Princeton, 1980).

\*G. MacCallum, 'Negative and Positive Freedom', *Philosophical Review* 76 (1967) pp. 312–34.

\*J. Raz, *The Morality of Freedom* (Oxford, 1986), esp. chapters 10, 14, 15.

\*E. Nelson, 'Liberty – one concept too many?', *Political Theory* 33:1 (2005), pp.58-78; also the response by J. Christman, 'Saving positive freedom', *Political Theory* 33 (2005), pp. 7988.

B. Williams, 'From Freedom to Liberty: The Construction of a Political Value' and 'Conflicts of Liberty and Equality', in his *In the Beginning Was the Deed*, ed. G. Hawthorn (Princeton, 2005), pp. 75–96 and 115–127.

### **Criticism/Emendation of liberal debates about liberty**

R. Nozick, 'Coercion', in P. Laslett, W.G. Runciman, and Q. Skinner, eds., *Philosophy, Politics and Society* 4th Series (Oxford, 1972).

Q. Skinner, 'The Idea of Negative Liberty' in *Philosophy in History*, eds. R. Rorty, J.B. Schneewind, and Q.R.D. Skinner (Cambridge, 1984).

Q. Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1998).

\*G.A. Cohen, 'The Structure of Proletarian Unfreedom', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 12 (1983), pp. 3-33.

R. Flathman, *The Philosophy and Politics of Freedom* (Chicago & London, 1987), ch.7.

R. Geuss, *History and Illusion in Politics* (Cambridge, 2001), ch.2 'Liberalism'.

\*G. A. Cohen, *Self-ownership, Freedom and Equality* (Cambridge, 1996).

D. Kelly, *The Propriety of Liberty: Persons, Passions and Judgement in Modern Political Thought* (Princeton, NJ, 2010), esp. Introduction and Conclusion.

### **Measuring Freedom and Markets**

S. Olsaretti, *Liberty, Desert and the Market: a philosophical study* (Cambridge, 2004).

M.H. Kramer, *The Quality of Freedom* (Oxford, 2003), chs. 1-2 (ch. 1: *Introduction*, pp. 1-13; ch. 2: *Fine Distinctions*, pp. 14-149).

P. Pettit, *A Theory of Freedom: from the psychology to the politics of agency* (Oxford, 2001).

[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).]

H. Steiner, *An Essay on Rights* (Oxford, 1984).

## **B19 PUNISHMENT**

### **Classic Texts**

\*Nietzsche, *Writings from the Late Notebooks*, Rudiger Bittner ed., Cambridge, 2003, esp. pp. 50, 54, 73, 83-4, 99, 168, 172-179, 183 and 265.

\*Hans Kelsen, *General Theory of Law and State* (1949).

\*Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer, *Punishment and Social Structure* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1939).

\*M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York, 1977), ch.1.

\*John Rawls, 'Two Concepts of Rules', *The Philosophical Review*, Vol. 64 (1955).

\*H.L.A. Hart, *Punishment and Responsibility* (Oxford, 1968/88).

H.L.A. Hart, 'Bentham and Beccaria' in his *Essays on Bentham* (Oxford, 1982).



\*J. Feinberg, 'The Expressive Function of Punishment,' in Feinberg, *Doing and Deserving: Essays in the Theory of Responsibility* (Princeton, 1970).

\*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

T. Scanlon, *Moral Dimensions* (Cambridge, MA, 2010)

M. Nussbaum, *Anger and Forgiveness: Resentment, Generosity and Justice* (Oxford, 2016).

Ashraf Rushdy, *After Injury: A Historical Anatomy of Forgiveness, Resentment and Apology* (Oxford, 2018), esp. discussion of post-war analytical philosophy on resentment.

### **Modern Interpretations - Legal/Political Philosophy**

\*Bedau, Hugo Adam and Kelly, Erin, "Punishment", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2015 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.)

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

\*N. Walker, *Why Punish?* (Oxford, 1991).

\*J. Braithwaite and P. Pettit, *Not Just Deserts: A Republican Theory of Criminal Justice* (Oxford, 1990).

Dilts, Andrew. *Punishment and Inclusion: Race, Membership, and the Limits of American Liberalism* (Fordham, 2014).

\* Duff, Antony and Hoskins, Zachary, "Legal Punishment", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2017 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.)

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\*A. Duff, *Punishment, Communication, and Community*, (Oxford, 2001) M. Matravers, *Justice and Punishment* (Oxford, 2000).

\*Walen, Alec, "Retributive Justice", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2016 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.)

<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/justiceretributive/>

T. Honderich, *Punishment: The Supposed Justifications* (Cambridge, 1984).

C. L. Ten, *Crime, Guilt and Punishment* (Oxford, 1987).

N. Lacey, *State Punishment: Political Principles and Community Values* (London, 1988).

H. B. Acton (ed.) *The Philosophy of Punishment* (London, 1969).

D. S. Allen, *The World of Prometheus: Politics and Punishing in Democratic Athens*

(Princeton, 2000). [For a different take on the origins of political thinking about punishment]

J. Glover, *Responsibility*, ch.8 (London, 1970).

F. Schoeman (ed.) *Responsibility, Character and the Emotions* (Cambridge, 1987). See Part II, esp. essays by Moore, Burgh, and Dworkin.

\*Leo Zaibert, *Rethinking Punishment* (Cambridge, 2018). PDF available [here](#).

R. Jay Wallace, 'The Argument from Resentment', *Proceedings of the Royal Aristotelian Society*, vol. CVII, Part 3 (2007), available online.

A. Dilts, "Crisis, Critique, and Abolition", in B. Harcourt and D. Fassin, eds, *A Time For Critique* (Columbia, 2019).

A. Davis, *Are Prisons Obsolete?* (Seven Stories, 2011).

A. Davis, *The Meaning of Freedom* (City Lights, 2012).

## **B20 DEMOCRACY AND REPRESENTATION**

### **Based around classic 20th century texts**

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

M. Weber, 'Suffrage and Democracy in Germany', in Weber, *Political Writings* (Cambridge, 1994) [see A6, Weber].

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

R. Michels, *Political Parties* (various editions, 1909).

### **Relating Classical Democracy to Modern Democratic Theory**

J. Ober and C. Hendrick (eds.), *The Birth of Democracy* (Princeton 1993).

J. Dunn (ed.), *Democracy: The Unfinished Journey* (Oxford, 1992).

\*R. Harrison, *Democracy* (London, 1993).

\*J. Dunn, *Setting the People Free: The Story of Democracy* (London, 2005). R.

A. Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics* (New Haven and London, 1989).

P. Rosanvallon, *Democracy Past and Future* (New York, 2008).

N. Urbinati, *Democracy Disfigured* (Harvard, 2016).

J. Ober, *Democracy and Knowledge: Innovation and Learning in Classical Athens* (Princeton, 2008).

I. Shapiro, *The State of Democratic Theory* (Princeton, 2006).

### **Liberalism and Democracy/Critics**

C. Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge, 1976).

N. Bobbio, *Liberalism and Democracy*, trs. M. Ryle and K. Soper (London, 1990).

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\*J. Waldron, *Law and Disagreement* (Oxford, 1999).

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P. Pettit and C. List, *Group Agency: The Possibility, Design, and Status of Corporate Agents* (Oxford, 2011).

\*R. Geuss, *History and Illusion in Politics* (Princeton, 2001), ch. 3 'Democracy and rights', pp. 110-152.

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B. Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government* (Cambridge, 1997)

F. Prochaska, *Eminent Victorians on American Democracy: The View from Albion* (Oxford, 2011)

N. Urbinati, *Representative Democracy* (Chicago, 2008).

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## **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]

\*S. Knott and B. Taylor (eds.) *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (Palgrave, 2005), esp. K. Soper, 'Feminism and Enlightenment Legacies', pp. 705–15.

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S. M. Okin, *Justice, Gender and the Family* (New York, 1989).

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\*E. F. Kittay, 'Human Dependency and Rawlsian Equality', in D.T. Meyers (ed.) *Feminists Rethink the Self* (Westview, 1997).

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

\*C. Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Polity, 1988).

N. Hartsock, 'The Feminist Standpoint Revisited,' in *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited and Other Essays* (Basic Books 1999)

N. Hartsock, *Money, Sex, and Power: Toward a Feminist Historical Materialism* (Northeastern, 1985).

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b. hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (South End, 1994/2nd edn 2000), esp. chs.1–2.

G. Anzaldúa and C. Moraga, eds, *This Bridge Called My Back* (SUNY, 2015 4<sup>th</sup> ed / originally published 1981); see especially pieces by Anzaldúa, Yamada, Lorde, Combahee River Collective.

K. Crenshaw, (1989) '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), Article 8.

K. Lennon, 'Feminist Perspectives on the Body', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/feminist-body/>

M. Nussbaum, *Sex and Social Justice* (Oxford, 1999), esp. ch.1, 'Women and Cultural Universals', pp. 29–54; ch. 2, 'The Feminist Critique of Liberalism', pp. 55–80; ch. 3, 'Religion and Women's Human Rights', pp. 81–117.

\*M. Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development: the Capabilities Approach* (Cambridge, 2000), ch. 2, 'Adaptive Preferences and Women's Options', pp. 111–166.

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

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

R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd edn (Berkeley, 2005).

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

D. T. Meyers, *Gender in the Mirror: cultural imagery and women's agency* (Oxford, 2002), ch.1.

D. Bubeck, 'Feminism in Political Philosophy: Women's Difference', in M. Fricker and J. Hornsby (eds.) *The Cambridge Companion to Feminism in Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 185–204. Full text [here](#).

A. Dworkin, *Pornography: men possessing women* (New York, 1981).

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

C. Chambers, *Against Marriage* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

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).

Claudia Leeb, *Power and Feminist Agency in Capitalism: toward a new theory of the political subject* (Oxford, 2017).

Amy R. Baehr, 'Liberal Feminism', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminism-liberal/>

Amy R. Baehr, 'A Capacious Account of Liberal Feminism', *Feminist Philosophy Quarterly* 3.1 (2017): <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1062&context=fpq>

L. Zerilli, *Feminism and the Abyss of Freedom* (Chicago, 2005).

I. M. Young, *Throwing Like a Girl: On Female Body Experience* (Oxford, 2005)

I. M. Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton 1990; new edition, with introduction by D. Allen, 2022).

Ange-Marie Hancock, *Intersectionality – An Intellectual History* (Oxford, 2017).

P. Owens and K. Rietzler (eds.) *Women's International Thought – A New History* (Cambridge, 2020).

P. Owens and K. Rietzler (eds.) *Women's international Thought – Towards a New Canon* (Cambridge, 2021).

K. Blain, *Set the World on Fire – Black Nationalist Women and the Global Struggle for Freedom* (Penn Press, 2017).

Ashley Farmer, *Remaking Black Power: How Black Women Transformed an Era* (UNC Press, 2017).

C. Chambers, *Intact: A Defence of the Unmodified Body* (London, 2022).

## **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**

Lord Acton, 'Nationality', rpt. as in *Essays on Freedom and Power*, ed. G. Himmelfarb (London, 1956).

C. H. Alexandrowicz, *The Law of Nations in Global History*, eds. D. Armitage and J. Pitts (Oxford, 2017).

A. Margalit and J. Raz, 'National Self-Determination', *Journal of Philosophy* 87 (1990), pp. 439-61; rpt. in Raz, *Ethics in the Public Domain* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 125-45.

\*D. Miller, *On Nationality* (Oxford, 1995).

Y. Tamir, *Liberal Nationalism* (Princeton, 1993).

\*A. Abizadeh, 'Historical Truth, National Myths and Liberal Democracy: On the Coherence of Liberal Nationalism', *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 12.3 (2004), pp. 291-313.

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

\*C. Taylor, 'Nationalism and Modernity'; S. Scheffler, 'Liberalism, Nationalism, Egalitarianism', both in R. McKim & J. McMahan, eds., *The Morality of Nationalism* (Oxford, 1997).

\*B. Yack, 'Popular Sovereignty and Nationalism', *Political Theory* 29, 4 (2001), pp. 517–536.

\*J-W. Müller, *Constitutional Patriotism* (Princeton, 2007).

\*P. Markell, 'Making Affect Safe for Democracy? On 'Constitutional Patriotism'', *Political Theory* 28 (2000), pp. 38-63.

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

D. J. Kelly, 'From Moralism to Modernism: Robert Michels on the History, Theory and Sociology of Patriotism', *History of European Ideas*, 29 (2003), pp. 339-363.

A. Buchanan, 'What's So Special About Nations', in J. Couture et.al. (eds.) *Rethinking Nationalism* (Alberta, 1998), pp.283-309.

O. O'Neill, 'Identities, Boundaries and States', in her *Bounds of Justice* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 168- 185.

\*J. Habermas, *The Post-national Constellation: political essays*, ed. M. Pensky (Cambridge [Polity], 2001).

M. Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton, NJ, 2013).

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

Stuart Hall, *The Fateful Triangle: Race, Ethnicity, Nation*, ed. K. Mercer (Harvard, 2017) esp. Lecture 2, 'Ethnicity and Difference in Global Times', Lecture 2, in, pp. 81-124.

M. Rogers and J. Turner (eds.) *African-American Political Thought – A Collected History* (Chicago, 2020).

D. P. Aldrige et al, *The Black Intellectual Tradition* (University of Illinois Press, 2021).

F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London, 1965). Also, "The Lived Experience of the Black Man", ch. 5 of *Black Skin, White Masks* trans. R Philcox (Grove Press 2008).

R. Gooding-Williams, "Look, a Negro!", ch.1 of *Look, A Negro!* (Routledge 2006); also his *In the Shadow of Du Bois* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

- \*F. Cooper, *Citizenship between Empire and Nation: Remaking France and French Africa, 1945-1960* (Princeton, 2014).
- \*R. Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Cornell UP, 2017).
- Davis, Thakur, and Vale, *Imperial Discipline* (London, 2018).
- \*G. Wilder, *Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization, and the Future of the World* (Duke University Press, 2015).
- \*A. Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire* (Princeton, NJ, 2019), esp. chs. on political theory, and on the New International Economic Order.
- \*B. Byrd, 'The Rise of African-American Intellectual History', [Modern Intellectual History](#) (2020).
- A. Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge, 2008).
- S. Besson and J. Tasioulas (eds.) *The Philosophy of International Law* (Oxford, 2010).
- \*T. Todorov, *On Human Diversity. Nationalism, Racism and Exoticism in French Thought*, trans. C. Porter (Cambridge, MA and London, 1993), Chs. 1–3.
- I. Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Baltimore, 1996).
- E. Said, *Orientalism* (London, 2003).
- A. Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (Routledge, 2015).
- R. J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism* (Oxford, 2003).
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- T. Shelby, *We Who Are Dark: The Philosophical Foundations of Black Solidarity* (Cambridge, MA, 2005).
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- James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (1963).
- T. Shelby and B. Terry (eds.) *To Shape a New World: Essays on the Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King* (Harvard, 2018).
- K. Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism* (London, 1965), available at: <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/nkrumah/neo-colonialism>
- Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York, 1950), available [here](#).
- Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (London, 1993)
- \_\_\_, *The Black Atlantic* (Verso, 1997).
- C. Mills, *Black Rights White Wrongs* (Oxford, 2017).
- T. Stoval, *White Freedom: The Racial History of an Idea* (Princeton, 2021).



- T. Stoval, *Paris, Noir: African Americans in the City of Light* (New York, 1996).
- A. Getachew and K. Mantena, 'Anticolonialism and the Decolonization of Political Theory', *Critical Times* 4.3 (2021), pp. 359-388: <https://doi.org/10.1215/26410478-9355193>
- R. Shilliam, *Decolonizing Politics* (Polity, 2021).
- R. Emerson, *From Empire to Nation* (Cambridge, MA: 1960).
- T. Harper, *Underground Asia: Global Revolutionaries and the Assault on Empire* (London, 2021).
- M. Mamdani, *Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity* (Cambridge, MA: 2012).
- M. Matera, *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (California, 2015).
- W. James, *Holding aloft the Banner of Ethiopia* (London, 1998).

## **B23 MULTICULTURALISM, TOLERATION, AND RECOGNITION**

- J. Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (New York, 1993), Lectures II, III, IV and VI.
- C. Laborde, *Religion in Liberal Political Philosophy* (Oxford, 2017), for a critique of Rawlsian toleration/religion from a 'critical republican' perspective.
- P. Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton, 2003).
- R. P. Wolff, B. Moore, Jr., and H. Marcuse, *A Critique of Pure Tolerance* (Boston, 1969).
- G. Harrison, 'Relativism and Tolerance', in Laslett and Fishkin (eds.), *Philosophy, Politics & Society*, 5th series (Oxford, 1979), pp. 273–290.
- B. Williams, 'Subjectivism and Toleration,' in A. Phillips Griffiths (ed.) *A.J. Ayer: Memorial Essays* (Cambridge and New York, 1991).
- \*B. Williams, 'Toleration, a Political or Moral Question?' in his *In the Beginning Was the Deed*, ed. G. Hawthorn (Princeton, 2005), pp. 128–138.
- \*D. Heyd (ed.) *Toleration: An Elusive Virtue* (Princeton, 1996), articles by Williams, Fletcher and Scanlon.
- J. Raz, 'Autonomy, Toleration and the Harm Principle' in R. Gavison (ed.), *Issues in Contemporary Legal Philosophy* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 313–33.
- \*J. Raz, *The Morality of Freedom* (Oxford, 1986), chs. 5–6, 14–15.
- R. Dworkin, 'Why Liberals Should Care About Neutrality', in *A Matter of Principle* (Cambridge, 1985).
- \*J. Waldron, 'Legislation and Moral Neutrality' in A. Reeve and R. Goodin (eds.), *Liberal Neutrality* (London, 1989).

- \*J. Dunn, 'The Claim to Freedom of Conscience: Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Thought, Freedom of Worship?' in Dunn, *The History of Political Theory and Other Essays* (Cambridge, 1996).
- C. Larmore, *Patterns of Moral Complexity* (Cambridge, 1987).
- \*S. Mendus (ed.), *Justifying Toleration: Conceptual and Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge, 1988).
- S. Mendus, *Toleration and the Limits of Liberalism* (Palgrave, 1989).
- J. Carens, *Culture, Citizenship and Community* (Oxford, 2000).
- \*B. Barry, *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism* (Polity, 2000).
- A. S. Tuckness, *Locke and the Legislative Point of View: toleration, contested principles, and the law* (Princeton, 2002), Part I, pp. 1–114.
- A. E. Galeotti, *Toleration as Recognition* (Cambridge, 2002).
- \*J. Tully, *Strange multiplicity: constitutionalism in an age of diversity* (Cambridge, 1995).
- \*W. Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (Oxford, 1995).
- R. Tuck, 'Rights and Pluralism,' in J. Tully (ed) *Philosophy in an Age of Pluralism: The Philosophy of Charles Taylor in Question* (Cambridge, 1994).
- \*I. M. Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, 1990).
- \*C. Taylor and A. Gutmann, eds., *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton, 1992), esp. essay by Taylor, 'The Politics of Recognition'.
- \*A. Honneth, *The Struggle for Recognition: the moral grammar of social conflicts* (Cambridge [Polity], 1995).
- A. Honneth, *Reification* (Oxford, 2010).
- J. Raz, 'Multiculturalism: a Liberal Perspective', in his *Ethics in the Public Domain* (Oxford, 1995), chs. 5-6.
- M. Nussbaum, *Sex and Social Justice* (Oxford, 1999).
- A. Shachar, *Multicultural Jurisdictions: Cultural Differences and Women's Rights* (Cambridge, 2001).
- R. Forst, *Contexts of Justice: political philosophy beyond liberalism and communitarianism*, trans. J. M. M. Farrell (Berkeley, 2002).
- R. Forst, *Toleration in Conflict* (Cambridge, 2014).
- \*T. Asad, *Formations of the Secular* (Stanford, CA, 2003).
- \*P. Gilroy, 'Never Again – Refusing Race and Salvaging the Human', Holberg Prize Lecture (2017): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta6UkmlXtVo>

## **B24 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, LAW, AND WAR**

### **Classic Texts in Modern Political Theory - Liberalism and 'Just War' \*M.**

Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (London, 1978).

\*J.T. Johnson, *Just War Tradition and the Restraint of War: a moral and historical inquiry* (Princeton, 1981).

J.T. Johnson, *Can Modern War Be Just?* (Yale, 1984).

Michael Doyle, 'Liberalism and International Relations' in R. Beiner and W.J. Booth (eds.) *Kant and Political Philosophy* (New Haven and London, 1993).

### **International Egalitarianism/Imperialism and Just War**

\*S. Moyn, *Humane* (New York, Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2021).

R. Holmes, *On War and Morality* (Princeton 1989).

B. Barry, 'Can States Be Moral?' in A. Ellis (ed) *Ethics and International Relations* (Machester, 1986).

\*R. Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford, 1999).

\*J. Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (Harvard, 1999).

T. Pogge, 'An egalitarian law of peoples', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 23:3 (1994), pp. 195–224.

G. Myrdal, *Beyond the Welfare State* (New York, 1960). [see also the symposium on Myrdal's work and its themes, esp. by Isaac Nakhimovsky, *Humanity*, 8.1 (2017)]

\*P. Bobbitt, *The Shield of Achilles* (Penguin 2002), Book II.

N. Rengger, 'On the Just War Tradition in the Twenty-First Century', *International Affairs* 78:2 (2002), pp. 353-63.

J. B. Elshtain, *Just War Against Terror: Ethics and the Burden of American Power in a Violent World* (New York, 2003). Also response by N. Rengger, 'Just a War Against Terror? Jean Bethke Elshtain's Burden and American Power', *International Affairs* 80:1 (2004): pp. 107-116.

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

### **Humanitarianism**

M. Walzer, 'The Politics of Rescue', *Dissent*, Winter 1995, pp. 35-40, rept. In his *Arguing about War* (New Haven, 2004), ch. 5.

M. Walzer, 'The Argument about Humanitarian Intervention', *Dissent* Winter 2002, pp. 29-37; available at <http://them.polylog.org/5/awm-en.htm>

M. Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (Oxford, 2000).

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

E. Davey, *Idealism Beyond Borders* (Cambridge 2015).

D. Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason* (Univ of California Press 2012).

\*John Dunn, 'The Dilemma of Humanitarian Intervention: The Executive Power of the Law of Nature, After God', *Government and Opposition* 29, 2 (Spring 1994) 248–61.

\*G. Bass, *Freedom's Battle* (Vintage, 2009).

A. Orford, *International Authority and the Responsibility to Protect* (Cambridge, 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).

Egle Rindzeviciute, *The Power of Systems: How Policy Sciences opened up the Cold War World* (Cornell UP, 2016).

\*John Bew, *Realpolitik* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

T. Christov, *Before Anarchy: Hobbes and his Critics in Modern International Thought* (Cambridge, 2017).

D. Armitage, *Foundations of Modern International Thought* (Cambridge, 2012).

M. Koskeniemi, *The Gentle Civilizer of Nations* (Cambridge, 1994).

\*R. Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Cornell UP, 2017).

## **B25 EQUALITY, NEEDS AND WELFARE**

### **Equality - The Concept of and debates about**

\*A. Sen, 'Equality of What?' *Tanner Lectures* vol. I (Cambridge, 1980).

\*B. Williams, 'The Idea of Equality,' in *In the Beginning Was the Deed*, ed. G. Hawthorn (Princeton, 2005), pp.97–114.

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,

1997). This edition reprints the Sen and Williams articles, above; see also in this collection: M. Walzer, 'Complex Equality', and M. Minow, 'Justice Engendered'. L. Pojman and R. Westmoreland (eds.) *Equality: Selected Readings* (Oxford, 1997). This volume reprints the Williams article, above; see also in this collection Babeuf and Marechal, 'The Manifesto of Equality'; Nozick, 'Justice Does Not Imply Equality' and 'Life is Not a Race'; Lucas, 'Against Equality', and Frankfurt, 'Equality as a Moral Ideal'. T. Nagel, *Equality and Partiality* (Oxford, 1991).

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

\*R. Dworkin, 'What is Equality?' Parts I & II, *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 10, 3–4 (1981) pp. 185–246, 283–345.

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\*E.S. Anderson, 'What's the Point of Equality?', *Ethics*, 109 (1999), 287–337; see also E. Anderson, R. Arneson, T. Christiano and D. Sobel, Symposium on 'What's the Point of Equality?', BEARS:  
<http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Philosophy/bears/sympanderson.html>.

\*D. Parfit, 'Equality and priority', *Ratio*, vol. 10, no. 3 (December, 1997), pp. 202-221.

\*M. O'Neill, 'What Should Egalitarians Believe?', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 36:2 (2008), pp. 119- 156.

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M. Clayton and A. Williams, *The Ideal of Equality* (London, 2002).

\*J. Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, MA, 1971), chs. 2, 3, 5, 9.

T. Piketty, *Equality: A Brief History* (Cambridge, MA, 2021).

### **Welfare and (In)egalitarianism**

\*R. Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (Oxford, 1984), ch. 7.

\*G.A. Cohen, 'Self-Ownership, World-Ownership and Equality,' in F. Lucash (ed.) *Justice and Equality Here and Now* (Ithaca, 1986).

G.A. Cohen, *If You're an Egalitarian, How Come You're So Rich?* (Cambridge, MA, 2001).

G. A. Cohen, *On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice* (Princeton, 2011).

\*J. Wolff and A. de-Shalit, *Disadvantage* (Oxford, 2007).

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

\*M. O'Neill, 'What Should Egalitarians Believe?', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 36:2 (2008), pp. 119- 156.

S. Holmes, *Passions and Constraint: On The Theory of Liberal Democracy* (Chicago, 1995), ch. 8: 'Welfare and the liberal conscience'.

C. Pateman, 'The Patriarchal Welfare State,' in Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Feminism, Democracy and Political Theory* (Cambridge, 1989).

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

D. Dorling, *Do we need economic inequality?* (Oxford, 2017).

### **Needs/Capabilities**

A. Sen and M. Nussbaum (eds.) *The Quality of Life* (1993), articles by Cohen, Sen and Scanlon.

N. Fraser, 'Talking about Needs: Interpretive Contests as Political Conflicts in Welfare- State Societies', *Ethics* 99 (1989), pp. 291–313.

T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 2nd edn (London, 1994).

G. Brock (ed.) *Necessary Goods* (London, 1998).

D. Braybrook, *Meeting Needs* (Princeton, 1992).

M. Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach* (Cambridge, 2000), intro. and chs.1–2.

\*L. Hamilton, *The Political Philosophy of Needs* (Cambridge, 2003).

R. Kraut, *What is Good and Why: the Ethics of Well-Being* (Cambridge, MA, 2007).

## **B26 PROPERTY AND MARKETS**

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

Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (Oxford, 1984), chs. 1–3, 7–8.

A. Ryan, *Property and Political Theory* (Oxford, 1984).

J. Tully, 'The Framework of Natural Rights in Locke's Analysis of Property' in his *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts* (Cambridge, 1993).

\*J. Waldron, *The Right to Private Property* (Oxford, 1988)

H. Steiner, 'Slavery, Socialism, and Private Property', in J. Chapman and R. Pennock (eds.), *Property, Nomos*, XXII (1980), pp. 244–65.

C.R. Sunstein, 'Disrupting Voluntary Transactions', in *Markets and Justice*, ed. by J. W. Chapman and J. R. Pennock (New York, 1989), pp. 279-302.

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