

**Human, Social, and Political Sciences Tripos  
2018-19**

**POL 1: The modern state and its alternatives**

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## CONTENT

This paper seeks to understand the practical and imaginative foundations of modern politics and the reaction and resistance to them. It is structured around set texts. These texts are not there to be analysed as texts per se but to be considered for the arguments they contain. We have chosen these texts for this paper not because they represent a canon but because they engage with some of the fundamental questions of modern politics.

The paper begins with the modern state. The modern state is a historically contingent political phenomenon but it has become the predominant basis on which political authority and power are constructed across the world today. Where there is no modern state, there tends to be civil war or occupation by other states. Where modern states are ineffective, politics is unstable and sometimes violent, and governments struggle to manage the economy. But the modern state also is a site of violence and an instrument of power that has been used at times to inflict vast suffering on those subject to its coercive capacity at home and imperial reach abroad. The question of how the exercise of power by the modern state over its subjects can be legitimated is a perpetual one in modern politics, and the answers to it have been deeply politically contested.

The first modern states were monarchies. From the late 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, there was in Europe and the United States a move towards what we now call representative democracy. Representative democracies have been more historically precarious than modern states and there remain alternatives to this form of government. The idea that the modern state under conditions of modern commerce leads necessarily to representative democracy has been disproved by historical experience of, especially that outside Europe and North America. As an idea representative democracy appears to offer equality, liberty and self-rule. But representative democracy also frequently disappoints in practice as it rarely does realise these values and the goods it promises frequently clash with each other. The second part of the paper looks at the contingent historical origins in the United States and the political implications of representative democracy as it spread as a form of government. It seeks to unpack the paradoxes of representative democracy as a form of government that rhetorically invokes the 'rule of the people' and the pursuit of the common good and yet gives power to those who are elected to office by seeking votes, and to consider its relationship to the conditions of material prosperity and the distribution of wealth.

The final part of the paper examines the coherence and persuasiveness of a number of political critiques of the modern state and representative democracy and the nature of disagreement in politics. It considers the critique made by Marx of the democratic modern state as the product of capitalism, Gandhi's rejection of the violence and alienated sovereignty of modern politics in search of a return to a soul-based civilisation, and Arendt's desire to return politics to its place as a meaningful sphere of free human action. It concludes by contemplating the nature of political disagreement itself in relation to human nature and the problems of modern politics.

## TEACHING

### *LECTURES*

**Michaelmas 2018** (Thursdays and Tuesdays at 10 with a second lecture at 4 on Tuesday 9 October)

Introduction

1 Hobbes and the problem of order I  
Helen Thompson

2. Hobbes and the problem of order II  
Helen Thompson

3. Constant and modern liberty I  
Helen Thompson
4. Constant and modern liberty II  
Helen Thompson
- 5 Weber and political leadership I  
Michael Kenny
- 6 Weber and political leadership II  
Michael Kenny
- 7 Schmitt and the nature of the political I  
Glen Rangwala
- 8 Schmitt and the nature of the political II  
Glen Rangwala
9. Hayek and economic liberty I  
Michael Kenny
10. Hayek and economic liberty II  
Michael Kenny
11. Fanon and the imperial modern state I  
Glen Rangwala
12. Fanon and the imperial modern state II  
Glen Rangwala
13. The creation of the American federal republic I  
Helen Thompson
14. The creation of the American federal republic II  
Helen Thompson
15. Democratic society and democratic adaptability I  
Helen Thompson
16. Democratic society and democratic adaptability II  
Helen Thompson

### **Lent 2019**

17. Representative democracy and the competitive struggle for power I  
Helen Thompson
18. Representative democracy and the competitive struggle for power II  
Helen Thompson
19. Parties and voters: democracy's bads or the democratic political solution? I  
Helen Thompson
- 20 Parties and voters II: democracy's bads or the democratic political solution?  
Helen Thompson
- 21 Representative democracy and material prosperity I

Helen Thompson

22 Representative democracy and material prosperity II

Helen Thompson

23 Representative democracy and the class distribution of wealth I

Helen Thompson

24 Representative democracy and the class distribution of wealth II

Helen Thompson

25: Communism I

Glen Rangwala

26 Communism II

Glen Rangwala

27 Self-rule

Glen Rangwala

28 Self-rule II

Glen Rangwala

29 Human agency and political freedom I

Michael Kenny

30 Human agency and political freedom II

Michael Kenny

31 The persistence of politics I

Michael Kenny

32 The persistence of politics II

Michael Kenny

### *SUPERVISIONS*

Director of Studies will organise supervisions. The paper organiser will provide a list of supervisors for them to use. Students should have three supervisions in each of the Michaelmas and Lent terms. They should complete a piece of work for each supervision, at least four of these pieces of work should be essays. For two of the supervisions supervisors can set alternative written work, which could be, for example, an exercise based on the reading. An example of what such an exercise could be is given under the Hobbes reading.

Students should have 1 or 2 revision supervisions in the Easter term. Students should write at least one essay from each section of the papers and supervisors are asked to offer supervisions on at least two of the books published since 1960.

### *CLASSES*

There will be classes in the Easter Term to help students to see the connections between the different ideas and arguments examined in the paper. The classes run for two weeks. Students will be divided into five groups.

## ASSESSMENT

There will be one three-hour examination. The examination paper will be divided into **three** sections. Candidates must answer three questions taking them from at least two sections.

### SAMPLE EXAMINATION PAPER

Candidates must answer **three** questions, taking one from **at least two** sections.

#### Section 1

1. Why for Hobbes was the freedom the same whether a commonwealth be monarchical or popular?
2. Was Constant right that the circumstances of modern politics prescribe the limits of modern politics?
3. Why for Weber is political leadership mired in tragedy?
4. Why did Schmitt believe that politics was defined by decision-making in exceptional circumstances?
5. Why for Hayek is the individual prior to the state?
6. Why for Fanon should colonized people abandon the European model of the state?

#### Section 2

7. How far is the separation of powers in the American constitution an effective remedy for the problems of republican government?
8. If Tocqueville was right and democratic success rests on adaptability, is democracy now failing?
9. What, if anything, is democratic about the electoral competition for power in modern states?
10. Are political parties good for politics?
11. Does representative democracy sustain economic development?
12. Who materially benefits from representative democracy?

#### Section 3

13. How far was Marx's vision of politics anti-political?
14. Can politics exist without violence?
15. What, for Arendt, are the limitations of philosophical approaches to politics?
16. Why is politics so contested?

## READING AND SUPERVISION ESSAY QUESTIONS

The paper is organised around set texts. For any topic you study, you are expected to read and know the set text/s and the reading marked with a bullet point. The supervision essay questions are suggested with those readings in mind. The reading below the marked reading is for those interested in deepening their knowledge in particular areas. There is no expectation that this reading is to be pursued anything other than selectively in relation to individual interest.

### 1-2: Hobbes and the problem of order

SET TEXT: Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), parts I and II.

- Richard Tuck, *Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- John Dunn, 'Political obligation,' in *The history of political theory and other essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- David Runciman, 'The sovereign in the Oxford handbook of Hobbes', Oxford University Press, 2013.
- David Runciman, 'Hobbes' theory of representation: proto-democratic or anti-democratic?' in Ian Shapiro (ed.) *Political representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Ross Harrison, *Democracy* (London: Routledge, 1993), ch.3.

Quentin Skinner, 'What is the state? The question that will not go away',

<http://vimeo.com/14979551>

Richard Tuck, 'Introduction' in *Leviathan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Richard Tuck, *The sleeping sovereign: the invention of modern democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), ch 2.

Philip Pettit, *Made with words: Hobbes on language, mind and politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), chs 4-8.

Robin Bunce and John Meadowcroft, *Thomas Hobbes* (London: Continuum, 2009).

Alan Ryan, "Hobbes' political philosophy," in *The Cambridge companion to Hobbes*, ed. T. Sorrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Quentin Skinner, 'The state,' in *Political innovation and conceptual change*, ed. Terence Ball, James Farr, and Russell Hanson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Quentin Skinner, *Hobbes and republican liberty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Noel Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), chs 1, 7 and 13.

Johann P. Sommerville, *Thomas Hobbes: political ideas in historical context*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992).

Kinch Hoekstra 'A lion in the house: Hobbes and democracy' in Annabel Brett and James Tully (eds.) *Rethinking the foundations of modern political thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

### *Suggested essay question*

Why, according to Hobbes, should subjects obey the sovereign?

### *Exercise*

Answer each question briefly using a sentence for the definitions in question 1 and several sentences for each of questions 2-6.

1. What did Hobbes mean by each of these terms: the right of nature; the state of nature; the laws of nature; the sovereign; liberty; covenant; commonwealth; a representative; law; mixed government?

2. How did Hobbes distinguish between natural and artificial persons?
3. What for Hobbes is the only distinction between a commonwealth by acquisition and a commonwealth by institution?
4. In what circumstances, according to Hobbes, can subjects disobey the sovereign?
5. What six reasons does Hobbes give for saying that humankind cannot live socially with one another like bees and ants?
6. Why for Hobbes 'was there never anything so dearly bought, as these Western parts have bought the learning of the Greek and Latin tongues'?

### 3-4: Constant and modern liberty

SET TEXTS: Benjamin Constant, 'On the liberty of the ancients and the liberty of the moderns,' AND 'Principles of politics applicable to all representative governments' in *Constant: political writings*, ed. Biancamaria Fontana (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

- John Dunn, 'Conclusions,' in *Democracy: the unfinished journey 508 BC to AD 1993*, ed. John Dunn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 239-266.
- Biancamaria Fontana, "Introduction," in *Constant: political writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 307-28.
- Stephen Holmes, 'The liberty to denounce: ancient and modern' in Helena Rosenblatt (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Constant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Jeremy Jennings, 'Constant's idea of modern liberty' in Helena Rosenblatt (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Constant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- John Dunn, "Liberty as a substantive political value," in *Interpreting political responsibility* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), 61-84.

Helena Rosenblatt, *Liberal values: Benjamin Constant and the politics of religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Stefano da Luca, 'Benjamin Constant and the terror' in Helena Rosenblatt (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Constant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Biancamaria Fontana, "Democracy and the French Revolution," in *Democracy: the unfinished journey*, ed. John Dunn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 107-124.

Catrine Carpenter, "Benjamin Constant's religious politics," *History of European Ideas*, 35,4 (2009), 503–509.

Jeremy Jennings, *Revolution and the republic: a history of political thought in France since the 18<sup>th</sup> century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

### Background to the French Revolution

William Doyle, *The French Revolution: A very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

### Constant's novel exploring the perils of modern liberty

Benjamin Constant, *Adolphe* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964).

### Athenian democracy in practice

Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (London: Penguin, 1972).

*Suggested essay question*

What challenge did Constant think that modern liberty posed to representative government?

### 5-6: Weber and political leadership

SET TEXT: Max Weber, "The profession and vocation of politics," in *Weber: political writings*, ed. Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 309-369.

- Raymond Geuss, *History and illusion in politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), ch 1 (sections 3, 6).
- David Runciman, 'Tony Blair and the politics of good intentions' in *The politics of good intentions: history, fear and hypocrisy in the new world order*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp, 31-53.
- Peter Lassman, 'The rule of man over man: politics, power and legitimation,' in S. Turner, *The Cambridge companion to Weber* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Jan-Werner Müller, *Contesting democracy: political ideas in twentieth century Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), ch 1.

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

Max Weber, 'Science as a vocation' in Max Weber, *The vocation lectures*, (London: Hackett Publishing, 2004).

Geoffrey Hawthorn, "Max Weber," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 101 (1999): 191-207.

David Beetham, *Max Weber and the theory of politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Tracy Strong, *Politics without vision: thinking without a banister in the twentieth century* (Chicago: Chicago University Press), chapter 3 and interlude.

Robert Eden, *Nihilism and leadership: study of Weber and Nietzsche* (University of Florida Press, 1989).

Raymond Aron, "Max Weber and power politics," in *Max Weber and sociology today*, ed. O. Stammer (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 83-100.

Wolfgang Mommsen, *Max Weber and German politics 1890-1920* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), chs. 3 and 10.

Rune Slagstad, "Liberal constitutionalism and its critics: Carl Schmitt and Max Weber," in *Constitutionalism and democracy*, ed. Jon Elster and Rune Slagstad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Peter Breiner, *Max Weber and democratic politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

B. Starr, 'The structure of Max Weber's ethic of responsibility', *Journal of Religious Ethics*, 1999, vol.27 no.3.

Tom McClean, Jason Xidias and William Brett, *Max Weber's Politics as a Vocation* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2017).

Sam Whimster and Scott Lash, *Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2006).

### Suggested essay question

Why, according to Weber, does politics pose specific ethical difficulties?

### 7-8 Schmitt and the nature of the political

SET TEXT: Carl Schmitt, *The concept of the political*, trans. George Schwab, with a foreword by Tracy B. Strong (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996).

- George Schwab 'Introduction' in Carl Schmitt, *The concept of the political*, trans. George Schwab, with a foreword by Tracy B. Strong (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996).
- Giovanni Sartori, 'The essence of the political in Carl Schmitt,' *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1989), pp. 63- 75.
- William Scheuerman, 'Carl Schmitt's critique of liberal constitutionalism', *Review of Politics* 58: 2 (1996), pp. 299-322.



- Duncan Kelly, *The state of the political: conceptions of politics and the state in the thought of Max Weber, Carl Schmitt and Franz Neumann* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), ch 4.

#### Further writings by Schmitt

- Carl Schmitt, *Political theology*, trans. George Schwab, with a foreword by Tracey B. Strong (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006).
- Carl Schmitt, *The crisis of parliamentary democracy*, edited by Ellen Kennedy (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985).

#### Secondary reading on Schmitt

- Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, *Constitutional and political theory: selected writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), ch. 2.
- Andreas Kalyvas, *Democracy and the politics of the extraordinary: Max Weber, Carl Schmitt and Hannah Arendt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), chapter 5.
- Ellen Kennedy, *Constitutional failure: Carl Schmitt in Weimar* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).
- John P. McCormick, *Carl Schmitt's critique of liberalism: against politics as technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Ulrich Preuss, 'Political order and democracy: Carl Schmitt and his influence', in C. Mouffe (ed.) *The challenge of Carl Schmitt* (London, 1999), pp. 155-79.
- William 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.
- Rune Slagstad, "Liberal constitutionalism and its critics: Carl Schmitt and Max Weber," in *Constitutionalism and democracy*, ed. Jon Elster and Rune Slagstad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

#### *Suggested essay question*

How did Schmitt distinguish the political from other spheres of human activity?

#### **9-10 Hayek and economic liberty**

SET TEXT: Friedrich Hayek, *The road to serfdom* (London: Routledge, 1986).

- Andrew Gamble, *Hayek: The iron cage of liberty* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996)
- John Gray, *Hayek on liberty*, third edition (London: Routledge, 1998).

- Jeremy Shearmur, 'Hayek's politics' in J. Feser (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Hayek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Robert Skidelsky, 'Hayek and Keynes: the road to reconciliation' in J. Feser (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Hayek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Roland Kley, *Hayek's social and political thought* (Oxford, Oxford University Press 1995)
- R Walther, 'Economic liberalism', *Economy and Society* 13 (1984), pp. 178-207.
- John Maynard Keynes, 'The end of laissez-faire' in *Essays in Persuasion, the Collected Works of John Maynard Keynes*, vol 9, ed D. Moggridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Matt Ridley, *The rational optimist: how prosperity evolves* (London: Fourth Estate 2011).
- David Linden and Nick Broten, *Friedrich Hayek's The Road to Serfdom* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2017)
- Sandra Peart and David Levy, *F.A. Hayek and the modern economy: economic organization and activity*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Norman Barry, *Hayek's Serfdom Revisited: Essays by Economists, Philosophers and Political Scientists on The Road to Serfdom after 40 years* (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1984).
- Steve Fleetwood, *Hayek's Political Economy: The Socio-Economics of Order* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1995).
- Peter Boettke, 'Hayek's Road to Serfdom Revisited: Government Failure in the Argument against Socialism', *Eastern Economic Journal* 21:1 (1995): pp. 7–26

### *Suggested essay question*

Why for Hayek was state planning the road to serfdom?

### **11-12: Fanon and the imperial modern state**

SET TEXT: Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the earth*, new edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 2001).

- Jean-Paul Sartre, 'Preface', in Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the earth* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 2001).
- Michael Azar, 'In the name of Algeria: Frantz Fanon and the Algerian Revolution', in *Frantz Fanon: critical perspectives*, ed. Anthony C. Alessandrini (London: Routledge, 1999), pp.21-33.
- Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: a very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
- Lawrence Freedman, *Strategy*, ch 25, 'Black power and white anger' (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

#### Further writings by Fanon

Frantz Fanon, *Black skin, white masks* (New York: Grove Press, 2008).

Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African revolution: political essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967), part IV.

Frantz Fanon, *Alienation and freedom* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), part IV.

#### The colonialist state and the subject of politics

Gillo Pontecorvo, *The Battle of Algiers* [film] (1966), via: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6vgoH5IPK-c>

Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972)

Albert Memmi, *The colonizer and the colonized* (London: Earthscan, 2003).

Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Vintage, 1979), chapter 3.

Basil Davidson, *The black man's burden: Africa & the curse of the nation state* (Oxford: James Currey, 1992).

Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and subject: contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism* (Princeton University Press, 1996).

Robert Vitalis, *White world order, Black power politics: the birth of American international relations* (Cornell University Press, 2015)

### *Suggested essay question*

How for Fanon do our existing political institutions embody illicit forms of domination?

### **13-14: Representative democracy and the creation of the American republic**

SET TEXT: James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist with letters of 'Brutus'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 1, 10, 14, 37-39, 47-48 51, 57-58, 63, 78 and Brutus, "Letters" in James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist with letters of 'Brutus'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) I-VII and XI.

- Terence Ball, 'Introduction,' in James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay *The federalist with letters of 'Brutus'*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Ross Harrison, *Democracy* (London: Routledge, 1993), chapter 5.
- Gordon Wood, "The American revolution," in *Democracy: the unfinished journey 508AD to 1993*, ed. John Dunn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 91-105.

Gordon Wood, *The American revolution: a history* (Modern Library, 2002).

Bernard Bailyn, *The ideological origins of the American revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap of Harvard University Press, 1971).

- Gordon Wood, *The creation of the American republic 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969).
- Jacob T. Levy, 'Beyond Publius: Montesquieu, liberal republicanism and the small-republic thesis', *History of Political Thought*, 2006, vol 27, no 1: 50-90.
- David Runciman, 'Two revolutions, one revolutionary' in *The politics of good intentions: history, fear and hypocrisy in the new world order*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006) pp, 155-74.
- H. Storing, *What the anti-Federalists were for: the political thought of the opponents of the constitution* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981).
- David Waldstreicher, *Slavery's constitution from revolution to ratification* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010).
- George William van Cleve, *A slaveholders' union: slavery, politics and the constitution in the early American republic* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2010).
- Paul Finkelman, *Slavery and the founders: race and liberty in the age of Jefferson* (London: Routledge 2014).
- Carl van Doren, *The great rehearsal: the story of the making and ratifying of the American constitution*, (Greenwood Press, 1982).
- Richard Tuck, *The sleeping sovereign: the invention of modern democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), chapter 4.
- Russell Hanson, *The democratic imagination in America: conversations with our past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).
- Bernard Manin, "Checks, balances and boundaries: the separation of powers in the constitutional debate of 1787," in *The invention of the modern republic*, ed. Biancamaria Fontana (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 27-62.
- Robert A. Dahl, *How democratic is the constitution?* second edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).
- Bernard Manin, *The principles of representative government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 102-131.
- Pauline Maier, *Ratification: the people debate the constitution, 1787-88* (New York: Simon Schuster, 2011).
- Sean Wilentz, *The rise of American democracy, Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York: W. W Norton, 2007).

#### The continuing constitutional debate

- Francis Fukuyama, *Political order and political decay: from the industrial revolution to the globalization of democracy*, (London: Profile, 2014), chapters 33-44.
- Francis Fukuyama, 'America in decay: the sources of political dysfunction,' *Foreign Affairs*, 93, 5, 2014, 5-26.
- Alan Brinkley, Nelson W. Polsby, and Kathleen S. Sullivan, eds., *New federalist papers: essays in defence of the constitution* (London: W.W. Norton, 1997), chs. 3 4,13, 15, and 19.
- E. Corrin, *The constitution and what it means today*, fourth ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).
- James MacGregor Burns, *Government by the people* (London: Prentice Hall, 1995).
- J. Zvesper, "The separation of powers in American politics: why we fail to accentuate the positive," *Government and Opposition* 34, no. 1 (1999).
- Akhil Reed Amar, *America's constitution: a biography* (New York: Random House, 2006).
- Colin Campbell, 'Clinton's encounter with the separation of powers' *Government and Opposition* vol 36 no 2, 2001.

#### Representation

- Hanna Pitkin, *The concept of representation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).
- David Runciman, 'The paradox of political representation,' *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 2007, vol 15 no 1, pp. 93-114.
- Monica Brito Vieira and David Runciman, *Representation* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).
- Susan Mendus, 'Losing the faith: feminism and democracy', in John Dunn (ed.) *Democracy: the unfinished journey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Anne Phillips, 'Democracy and representation: or, why should it matter who our representatives are?' in *Feminism and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 224-240.

#### *Suggested essay question*

Are representation and the separation of powers the 'republican remedy for the diseases most incident to republican government' that Madison supposed?

### 15-16 Democratic society and democratic adaptability

SET TEXT: Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (London: Fontana Press, 1994). vol 1, part I, chs 3-6; part II, chs. 1, 4, 6-10: vol. 2, part II, chs. 1, 5-9, 13; part III, 21-26; part IV, chs. 1-8.

(Note (i) Tocqueville's chapter on 'the probable future of the three races that inhabit the territory of the United States' has been added to the set text; (ii) this initial reading is set in relation to looking at Tocqueville's arguments about the claim that democracy is a singularly adaptable form of politics. In answering students can draw on Tocqueville's arguments about American racial politics and democracy.)

- David Runciman, *The confidence trap: a history of democracy in crisis from the First World War to the present*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press), introduction and epilogue.
- Natham Glazer, 'Race and ethnicity in America,' *Journal of Democracy*, 2000, vol 11, no 1.
- Stephen Holmes, 'Tocqueville and democracy' in David Copp, Jean Hampton and John E. Roemer (eds.), *The idea of democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- John Dunn, *Setting the people free: the story of democracy* (London: Atlantic, 2005), ch. 4.
- John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, *The fourth revolution: the global race to invent the state* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2014), Parts 2 and 3.

Jon Elster, *Tocqueville: the first social scientist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), chapter 8.

David Runciman, 'Can democracy cope?' *Political Quarterly*, vol 82, no 4, 2011, pp. 536-545.

David Runciman, *How democracy ends* (London: Profile 2018).

John Dunn, 'Conclusion' in *Democracy: the unfinished journey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

The Economist, 'What's gone wrong with democracy?' *The Economist*, 2014

Available at <http://www.economist.com/news/essays/21596796-democracy-was-most-successful-political-idea-20th-century-why-has-it-run-trouble-and-what-can-be-do>

Joshua Kurlantzick, *Democracy in retreat: the revolt of the middle class and the worldwide decline of representative government* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

Larry Siedentop, *Democracy in Europe* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000), chapter 3.

Adam Przeworski et al, 'What makes democracies endure', *Journal of Democracy*, 7: 1 (1996), 39-55

Francis Fukuyama, *The end of history and the last man* (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1993).

Francis Fukuyama, 'The future of history: can liberal democracy survive the decline of the middle class?' *Foreign Affairs*, 2012, vol.91, no. 1.

Charles Kupchan, 'The democratic malaise: globalisation and the threat to the west,' *Foreign Affairs*, 2012, vol.91, no. 1.

Matthew Flinders, *Defending politics: why democracy matters in the twenty-first century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

### Slavery and race

Gustave de Beaumont, *Marie, or slavery in the United States: a novel of Jacksonian America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Laura Janara, 'Brothers and others: Tocqueville and Beaumont: US genealogy, democracy and racism,' *Political Theory*, 2004, vol 32, no 6, 773-800.

### Secondary reading on Tocqueville

Harvey Mansfield, *Tocqueville: a very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Larry Siedentop, *Tocqueville* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Cheryl Welch (ed) *De Tocqueville* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Jon Elster, "Consequences of constitutional choice: reflections on Tocqueville," in *Constitutionalism and democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Alan Ryan, *On politics: a history of political thought from Herodotus to the present* (London: Allen Lane 2012), chapter 20

Debra Satz 'Tocqueville, commerce and democracy' in David Copp, Jean Hampton and John E. Roemer (eds.), *The idea of democracy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Sheldon Wolin, *Tocqueville between two worlds: the making of a theoretical life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

Cheryl Welch (ed.) *The Cambridge companion to Alexis de Tocqueville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

A.S. Kahan, *Aristocratic liberalism: the social and political thought of Jacob Burckhardt, John Stuart Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Jack Lively, *The social and political thought of Alexis de Tocqueville* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

Larry Siedentop, "Two liberal traditions," in *The idea of freedom: essays in honour of Isaiah Berlin*, ed. Alan Ryan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

Hugh Brogan, *Alexis de Tocqueville: prophet of democracy in the age of revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

Aurelian Craitu, *Tocqueville on America after 1840: Letters and other writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

### *Suggested essay question*

Is democracy adaptable to change?

### **17- 18: Representative democracy and the competitive struggle for power**

SET TEXT: Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, socialism and democracy* (London: Routledge, 1994), part iv.

- Adam Przeworski 'The minimalist conception of democracy: a defence' in Ian Shapiro, *Democracy's value* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Christopher H. Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for realists: why elections do not produce responsive government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), chapters 1-2.
- Peter Mair, *Ruling the void: the hollowing out of western democracy* (London: Verso, 2013), chapters 1-3.

Elmer Schattschneider, *The semi-sovereign people: a realist's view of democracy in America* (New York: Wadsworth, 1960).

Ian Shapiro, *The state of democratic theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005) chapters 3.

John Dunn, *Western political theory in the face of the future*, second ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), chapter 1.

Hanna Pitkin, *The concept of representation* (Berkeley: CA: University of California Press, 1967).

Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the limits of self-government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Bernard Manin, *The principles of representative government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), chapters 5-6.

R. Collins, 'Weber and Schumpeter,' in *Weberian sociological theory*, ed. R Collins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

John Medearis, *Joseph Schumpeter's two theories of democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Gerry Mackie, 'Schumpeter's leadership democracy,' *Political Theory* vol. 37, no 1, 2009, pp. 128-153.

Carole Pateman, *Participation and democratic theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Robert Michels, *Political parties: a sociological study of the oligarchical tendencies of modern democracy* (New York: The Free Press, 1962).

Jürgen Habermas, 'Popular sovereignty as procedure,' in James Bohman and William Rehg, eds. *Deliberative democracy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997).

Gerry Mackie, 'All men are liars: is democracy meaningless?', in Jon Elster, ed., *Deliberative Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Alan Ryan, *On politics: a history of political thought from Herodotus to the present* (London: Allen Lane 2012), chapter 26.

Max Weber, 'Suffrage and democracy in Germany' in *Weber: political writings*, edited by Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

### Inside democratic politics

Jonathan Powell, *The new Machiavelli: how to wield power in the modern world*, London: Bodley Head, 2010, chs 7-8.

George Stephanopoulos, *All too human: a political education* (London: Hutchinson, 1999).

Michael Ignatieff, *Fire and ashes: success and failure in politics* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

### *Suggested essay question*

What follows if representative democracy is the rule of professional politicians?

### **19-20 Parties and voters: democracy's bads or the democratic solution to politics?**

SET TEXTS: Nancy Rosenblum, *On the side of angels: an appreciation of parties and partisanship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), chapters 3, 7-9 and conclusion AND

Bryan Caplan, *The myth of the rational voter: why democracies choose bad policies*, new edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2008), introduction, and chapters 1-2, 4-7.

- John Ferejohn, 'Must preferences be respected in a democracy?' in David Copp, Jean Hampton and John E. Roemer (eds.), *The idea of democracy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- Russell Hardin 'Democracy and collective bads' in Ian Shapiro (ed) *Democracy's edges* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999).
- Seymour Martin Lipset, 'What are parties for?' *Journal of Democracy*, 1996, vol. 7, no. 1.
- David Hume, 'Of parties in general' in David Hume, *Political essays*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp 33-34.

Susan Stokes, 'What do policy switches tell us about democracy?' in Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes and Bernard Manin, *Democracy, accountability and representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999).

Russell Hardin, 'Public choice versus democracy' in David Copp, Jean Hampton and John E. Roemer (eds.), *The idea of democracy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Harvey Mansfield, 'Whether party government is inevitable' *Political Science Quarterly*, 1965, vol 80 no 4.

Paul J. Quirk and Joseph Hinchcliffe, 'The rising hegemony of mass opinion,' *Journal of Policy History* vol 10 no 1, 1998.

Giovanni Sartori, *Parties and party systems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Cass Sunstein 'Democracy and shifting preferences' in David Copp, Jean Hampton and John E. Roemer (eds.), *The idea of democracy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Lawrence Jacobs and Robert Schapiro, *Politicians don't pander: political manipulation and the loss of democratic responsiveness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

Kenneth J. Arrow, *Social choice and individual values* third edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, *The calculus of consent: logical foundations of constitutional democracy* (Liberty Fund, 2004).

James Surowiecki *The wisdom of crowds* (London: Anchor 2005) ch. 12.

Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee, *Voting: a study of opinion formation in a presidential campaign* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

Philip Converse, 'The nature of belief systems in mass publics' in David E. Apter (ed.) *Ideology and discontent* (New York: Free Press, 1964).

Michael Carpini Delli and Scott Keeter, *What Americans know about politics and why it matters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

Martin Gilens, 'Political ignorance and collective policy preferences' *American Political Science Review* vol 95, no 2, 2001, pp. 379-96.

*Suggested essay question*

Do voters choose bad policies?

**21-22 Representative democracy and material prosperity**

SET TEXT: Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, *Why nations fail: the origins of power, prosperity and poverty* (London: Profile 2013).

- Robert C. Allen, *Global economic history: a very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- C.A. Bayly, *The birth of the modern world 1780-1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), chs 1-3.
- John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, *The fourth revolution: the global race to invent the state* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2014), parts 2 and 3.

Francis Fukuyama, *The origins of political order: from prehuman times to the French Revolution* (London: Profile Books, 2011), parts IV and V.

Kenneth Pomeranz, *The great divergence: China, Europe, and making of the modern world economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Robert Kaplan, *The revenge of geography: what the map tells us about coming conflicts and the battle against fate* (New York: Random House, 2012).

Lee Yuan Yew, *From third world to first: Singapore and the Asian economic boom* (London: Harper Business, 2011).

Prassanan Parthasarathi, *Why Europe grew rich and Asia did not* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Niall Ferguson, *The cash nexus: money and power in the modern world 1700-2000*, new edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin 2002), introduction and conclusion.

Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, 'Democracy what is it good for'. Available at:

<http://whynationsfail.com/blog/2014/3/25/democracy-what-is-it-good-for.html>

Adam Przeworski, 'Democracy and economic development' in E. D. Mansfield and R. Sisson (eds), *The evolution of political knowledge* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2004).

Samuel Huntington, *Political order in changing society*, with an introduction by Francis Fukuyama (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

Seymour Lipset *Political man: the social bases of politics* (New York: Doubleday, 1960).

M. Mandelbaum, *The Ideas that conquered the world: peace, democracy, and free markets in the twenty-first Century* (New York: Public Affairs, 2002)

Mancur C. Olson, *The rise and decline of nations: economic growth, stagflation, and social rigidities* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

Jared Diamond, *Guns, germs and steel* (London: Vintage 1998), chapter 18 and epilogue.

Eric L. Jones, *The European miracle: environments, economies and geo-politics in the history of Europe and Asia*, third edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

David Landes, *The wealth and poverty of nations: why some are so rich and some so poor* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).

Max Weber, 'On the situation of constitutional democracy in Russia' in *Weber: Political writings*, edited by Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 29-74.

Max Weber, *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin 2002).

*Suggested essay question*

Does representative democracy explain the historical divergence in the prosperity of countries?

## 23-24: Representative democracy and the class distribution of wealth

SET TEXT: Martin Gilens, *Affluence and influence: economic inequality and political power in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2012)

- Jeffrey Winters and Benjamin Page 'Oligarchy in the United States?' *Perspectives on Politics*, 2009, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 731-751.
- Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson 'Winner-take-all politics: public policy, political organisation and the precipitous rise of top incomes in the United States,' *Politics and Society*, vol 3 no 2, 2010, pp. 152-204.
- John Ferejohn and Frances Rosenbluth, 'Electoral representation and the aristocratic thesis' in Ian Shapiro et al ed. *Political representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- J. Soss and L.R. Jacobs 'The place of inequality: non-participation in the American polity', *Political Science Quarterly*, 2009, vol 124: 95-125.
- Peter K. Enns, 'Relative policy support and co-incidental representation,' *Perspectives on Politics*, 2015, vol 13, no 4, 1053-1064.

Lee Drutman, *The business of America is lobbying: how corporations became politicized and politics became more corporate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Jeffrey A. Winters, *Oligarchy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Thomas Hayes, 'Responsiveness in an era of inequality: the case of the U.S. Senate', *Political Research Quarterly*, 66:3 (2013): 585-99.

A. Bonica et al., "Why hasn't democracy slowed rising inequality?," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 27:3 (2013)

C. Wright Mills, *The power elite* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956).

Martin Gilens, 'Affluence and influence'

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HhCatZYsAqI>

Martin Gilens, 'The insufficiency of 'democracy by coincidence: a response to Peter Enns,' *Perspectives on Politics*, 2015, vol 13, no 4, 1065-1071.

Jeffrey A. Winters, *Oligarchy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), ch.5.

Adam Przeworski 'Democracy, equality and redistribution' in Richard Bourke and Raymond Geuss (eds.) *Political judgement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Francis Fukuyama, 'The future of history: can democracy survive the decline of the middle class?' *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2012.

Gary W. Cox, 'Swing voters, core voters, and distributive politics' in Ian Shapiro et al ed. *Political representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Daron Acemoglu et al, 'Democracy, redistribution and inequality,' NBER Working Paper Series 19746, 2013. Available at:

<[http://www.nber.org/papers/w19746.pdf?new\\_window=1](http://www.nber.org/papers/w19746.pdf?new_window=1)>

Noam Lupu and Jonas Pontusson, 'The structure of inequality and the politics of redistribution,' *American Political Science Review* vol 105 no 2, 2011, pp. 316-36.

Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the twenty-first century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

Ferdinand Mount, *The new few: or a very British oligarchy* (London: Simon and Schuster 2012)

Larry Bartels, *Unequal democracy: the political economy of the new gilded age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

Michael J. Graetz and Ian Shapiro, *Death by a thousand cuts: the fight over taxing inherited wealth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

Sheldon Wolin *Politics and vision: continuity and innovation in western political thought*, new edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006) ch. 17.

J. Hopkins, J. and K. A. Shaw (2016), 'Organized combat or structural advantage: the politics of inequality and the winner-take-all economy in the United Kingdom', *Politics & Society* 44 (3): 345-371.

*Suggested essay question*



Is representative democracy now the rule of the rich?

## 25-26: Communism

SET TEXTS: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The communist manifesto*, edited by Gareth Stedman-Jones (Harmondsworth: Penguin 2004).

- Gareth Stedman-Jones 'Introduction' in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The communist manifesto*, edited by Gareth Stedman-Jones (Harmondsworth: Penguin 2004).
- Jonathan Wolff, *Why read Marx today?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), ch 3.
- Hannah Arendt, *The promise of politics* (Schocken Books, 2003), pp. 70-80.
- Neil Harding. 'The Marxist-Leninist detour' in John Dunn (ed.) *Democracy: the unfinished journey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Isaiah Berlin, 'The pursuit of the ideal' in Isaiah Berlin, *The proper study of mankind*, edited by Henry Hardy and Roger Hausheer (London: Pimlico, 1998).

### Further Marx writings

Karl Marx, 'The eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' in *Marx: later political writings*, edited by Terrell Carver (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Karl Marx, 'The civil war in France' in *Marx: later political writings*, edited by Terrell Carver (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German ideology* (London: Prometheus Books, 1998).

### On Marx

Gareth Stedman-Jones, *Karl Marx: greatness and illusion* (London: Allen Lane, 2016).

Peter Singer, *Marx: a very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Jon Elster, *Making sense of Marx* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

### Socialism after Marx

F. Hayek, *The fatal conceit: the errors of socialism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988).

Donald Sassoon, *One hundred years of socialism: the west European left in the twentieth century* (London: Fontana, 1997).

Janos Kornai, *The socialist system: the political economy of communism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

Terry Eagleton, *Why Marx was right* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

Alec Nove, *The economics of feasible socialism* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983).

G.A. Cohen, *Why not socialism?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Alex Callinicos, 'Contradictions of austerity', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, vol. 36/1 (2012), pp.65-77.

Emile Perreau-Saussine, 'What remains of socialism', in Patrick Riordan (ed.), *Values in Public life: Aspects of Common Goods* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007).

### *Suggested essay question*

Does socialism rest upon an illusory optimism about the possibilities of politics?

## 27-28: Self-rule

SET TEXT: M.K. Gandhi, 'Hind swaraj' in *Hind swaraj and other writings*, ed. by Anthony Parel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

- Anthony Parel, 'Introduction' in *Gandhi, Hind swaraj and other writings*, ed. Anthony Parel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
  - Gandhi and Nehru, 'Letters Gandhi to Nehru and Nehru to Gandhi', in *Gandhi, Hind Swaraj and other writings*, ed. Anthony Parel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). 149-156.
  - Gandhi and Tolstoy, 'Letters' in *Gandhi, Hind Swaraj and other writings*, ed. Anthony Parel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
  - Gandhi, 'Gandhi's political vision: the pyramid versus the oceanic circle' in *Gandhi, Hind Swaraj and other writings*, ed. Anthony Parel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
  - Lawrence Freedman, *Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), ch. 23.
  - Karuna Mantena, 'Another realism: the politics of Gandhian non-violence,' *American Political Science Review*, vol. 106, no 2. pp 45-70.
  - Sunil Khilnani 'Introduction' to M.K. Gandhi, *An autobiography: or the story with my experiments of truth*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2001).
  - George Orwell, 'Reflections on Gandhi' in George Orwell, *Essays* (Harmondsworth: Penguin 2000).
- Also at: [http://www.orwell.ru/library/reviews/gandhi/english/e\\_gandhi](http://www.orwell.ru/library/reviews/gandhi/english/e_gandhi)

B.R. Ambedkar, *Annihilation of caste*, (London: Verso, 2016).

Bhikhu Parekh, *Gandhi: A very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Bhikhu Parekh, *Gandhi's political philosophy: a critical examination* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991).

M.K. Gandhi, *An autobiography: or the story with my experiments of truth*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2001).

Judith M. Brown, 'Gandhi and civil resistance in India, 1917-47: key issues' in Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash (eds.) *Civil resistance and power politics: the experience of non-violent action from Gandhi to the present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Joseph Kip Kosek, 'Richard Gregg, Mohandas Gandhi and the strategy of non-violence,' *The Journal of American History*, 2005, vol. 91, no. 4.

### *Suggested essay question*

If 'self-rule' is impossible in the modern world, what price is paid?

## **29-30: Human agency and political freedom**

SET TEXT: Hannah Arendt, *The human condition*, second edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998)

- Margaret Canovan, 'Introduction' to Hannah Arendt, *The human condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
- Patricia Owens, 'Hannah Arendt: violence and the inescapable fact of humanity', in Anthony F. Lang and John Williams (eds), *Hannah Arendt and international relations*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 41-65.
- Patricia Owens, *Between war and politics: international relations and the thought of Hannah Arendt*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Jürgen Habermas, 'Hannah Arendt's communications concept of power', *Social Research*, 1977, vol. 44, no 1, pp.3-24.

Craig Calhoun and John McGowan (eds), *Hannah Arendt and the meaning of politics*, (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 263-296.

Philip Baehr and Philip Walsh (eds), *The Anthem companion to Hannah Arendt* (London: Anthem Press).

Nicholas Xenos (ed) and Sheldon S. Wolin, *Fugitive democracy: and other essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, *Why Arendt matters* (London: Yale University Press, 2006).

Andrew Norris, 'On Public Action: Rhetoric, Opinion and Glory in Hannah Arendt's: The Human Condition', *Critical Horizons*, 14:2 (2013): pp. 200–224.

Mary Dietz, *Turning Operations: Feminism, Arendt, and Politics*. (New York: Routledge, 2002)

Sahar Aurore Saeidnia and Anthony Lang, *Hannah Arendt's the Human Condition*. (London: Macat Library 2017).

Jerome Kohn (ed), *Thinking Without A Bannister: Essays in Understanding 1953–1975 by Hannah Arendt*. New York: Schocken Books, 2018.  
2017.

#### *Suggested essay question*

What, in Arendt's judgement, are the conditions that make politics possible, and what are its distinctive properties?

### **31-32 The persistence of politics**

SET TEXT: Jonathan Haidt, *Why good people are divided by politics and religion* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2013).

This text covers two themes: partisanship and democratic politics and the intractability of political disagreement. There are two suggested essay questions.

#### On partisanship and democratic politics

- Christopher H. Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for realists: why elections do not produce responsive government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), chs 8-10.
- Cass Sunstein, 'Deliberative trouble: why groups go to extremes.' *Yale Law Journal*, 2001, vol 110, 71-120.
- Nancy Rosenblum, *On the side of the angels: an appreciation of parties and partisanship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), chs 7-8.
- Jonathan Haidt, 'Why Concepts Creep to the Left', *Psychological Inquiry*, 27:1 (2016): pp. 40–45.

Geoffrey C. Layman, Thomas Carsey and Juliane Menasce Horowitz, 'Party polarisation in American politics: characteristics, causes and consequences', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2005, vol 9, pp. 83-110.

Cass R. Sunstein, *#Republic: divided democracy in the age of social media*. Princeton University Press, 2017.

Ronald Dworkin, *Is democracy possible here? Principles for a new political debate* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2008).

Thomas Mann and Norman Ornstein, *It's even worse than it looks: how the American constitutional system collided with the new politics of extremism* (New York: Basic Books, 2012).

Nancy R. Rosenblum, 'Religious parties, religious political identity and the cold shoulder of liberal democratic thought,' *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice: an International Forum*, 2003, vol 6, no 1, pp. 23-53.

#### On the intractability of political disagreement

• Carl Schmitt, *The concept of the political* (Chicago: Chicago University Press).

• John Dunn, *The cunning of unreason: making sense of politics* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000) chapter 1.

• Andrew Gamble, *Politics and fate*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000) chapter 6.

• Bernard Crick, *In defence of politics*, fifth edition, (London: Continuum, 2000) chapter 1.

Isaiah Berlin, 'The romantic revolution: a crisis in the history of modern thought' in Isaiah Berlin, *The sense of reality*, London: Pimlico, 1996.

Colin Hay, *Why we hate politics* (Cambridge: Polity 2007).

Adrian Leftwich, *What is politics?* new edition (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004).

- James Hoggan and Grania Litwin, *I'm right and you're an idiot: the toxic state of public discourse and how to clean it up* (Gabriola Island, BC, Canada: New Society Publishers, 2016).
- Margery Lucas, 'Jonathan Haidt, *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion*', *Society*, 50:1 (2013): pp. 86–88.
- Steve Clarke, 'Straight out of Durkheim? Haidt's Neo-Durkheimian Account of Religion and the Cognitive Science of Religion', *Sophia: International Journal of Philosophy and Traditions*, available online (2018).
- Hanno Sauer, 'Can't We All Disagree More Constructively? Moral Foundations, Moral Reasoning, and Political Disagreement', *Neuroethics*, 8:2 (2015): pp. 153–169.

### *Suggested essay question*

Either:

Is partisanship an inevitable feature of democratic politics?

Or:

Why is political disagreement so intractable?

### **Further reflections and reading**

We can learn about politics in different ways and we encourage you to read beyond the academic literature. To start your thinking, we suggest you might try: Gore Vidal's novel about the beginnings of the American republic, *Burr*; Joe Klein's novel about Bill Clinton's first election campaign, *Primary Colours*; Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa's novel, *The Leopard*, about the collision of the new Italian state of the Risorgimento and the insistent particularities of Sicily; Chinua Achebe's novel, *Things Fall Apart*, about a Nigerian village subject to western imperialism; Joseph Conrad's novel about political idealism and terrorism at the beginning of the twentieth century, and Ursula La Guin's very different kind of critique of the aspiration to utopian politics in *The Lathe of Heaven*.