

**Human, Social, and Political Sciences Tripos  
History and Politics Tripos  
2024-25**

**POL1: 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 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, 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 and problems of representative democracy as a form of government that rhetorically invokes the 'rule of the people' and the pursuit of the common good while giving power to those who are elected to office by seeking votes via political parties that have in recent years in western democracies become hollowed out as vehicles of representation. It examines the historical relationship between representative democracy and economic development and, since everything in politics is mortal, Section B concludes by contemplating the question of whether representative democracy itself could end as a form of government and how its prospects seem through the lens of ancient democracy.

The final part of the paper examines the coherence and persuasiveness of some 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, Schmitt's distinctive understanding of the political, Fanon's argument about the liberation of colonial territories, and MacKinnon's exploration of the position of women under the liberal state.

## TEACHING

### LECTURES

#### **Michaelmas 2024**

##### 1. Hobbes and the problem of order I

Helen Thompson

##### 2. Hobbes and the problem of order II

Helen Thompson

##### 3 Weber and political leadership I

Demetra Kasimis

##### 4. Weber and political leadership II

Demetra Kasimis

##### 5 Constant and modern liberty I

Helen Thompson

##### 6 Constant and modern liberty II

Helen Thompson

7. Hayek and economic liberty I  
Christopher Brooke

8. Hayek and economic liberty II  
Christopher Brooke

9. Arendt and the nuclear age I  
Christopher Brooke

10. Arendt and the nuclear age II  
Christopher Brooke

11. The creation of the American federal republic I  
Helen Thompson

12. The creation of the American federal republic II  
Helen Thompson

13. Democratic society and democratic adaptability I  
Demetra Kasimis

14. Democratic society and democratic adaptability II  
Demetra Kasimis

15. Representative democracy and the competitive struggle for power I  
Christopher Brooke

16. Representative democracy and the competitive struggle for power II  
Christopher Brooke

### **Lent Term 2025**

17. The hollowing out of western representative democracy I  
Helen Thompson

18. The hollowing out of western representative democracy II  
Helen Thompson

19. Representative democracy and material prosperity II  
Helen Thompson

20. Representative democracy and material prosperity II

21. The end of representative democracy? I  
Demetra Kasimis

22. The end of representative democracy? II  
Demetra Kasimis

23. Communism I  
Christopher Brooke

24. Communism II  
Christopher Brooke

25. The sovereign soul I  
Helen Thompson

26. The sovereign soul II  
Helen Thompson

27. The nature of the political I  
Demetra Kasimis

28. The nature of the political II  
Demetra Kasimis

29. The modern imperial state I  
Chris Brooke

30. The modern imperial state II  
Chris Brooke

31. The modern state and women I  
Demetra Kasimis

32. The modern state and women II  
Demetra Kasimis

### *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, with at least four of these pieces of work being 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 revision classes in the Easter Term to help students prepare for the examination. The classes run for two weeks. Students will be divided into four or five groups (depending on the total number enrolled in the course).

## ASSESSMENT

There will be one three-hour written and invigilated 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 A

1. Why for Hobbes was the freedom the same whether a commonwealth be monarchical or popular?
2. Why for Weber is political leadership mired in tragedy?
3. Why for Constant did the material circumstances of modern politics prescribe the limits of modern politics?
4. Why for Hayek is the individual prior to the state?
5. Is Arendt right to think that human freedom is threatened by the mechanisation of the modern world?

#### Section B

6. How far is the separation of powers in the American constitution an effective remedy for the problems of republican government?
7. If Tocqueville was right and democratic success rests on adaptability, is democracy now failing?
8. What, if anything, is democratic about the electoral competition for power in modern states?
9. Does representative democracy sustain economic development?
10. Is there still a popular component to democracy in western countries?
11. Would an injection of direct democracy repair representative democracies?

#### Section C

12. How far was Marx's vision of politics anti-political?
13. Can there be politics without violence?
14. Why for Schmitt is it necessary for the state to make distinctions between friends and enemies?
15. Why for Fanon should colonized people abandon the European model of the state?
16. Why was MacKinnon so pessimistic about women's agency under the liberal state?

All past exam papers and the examiners' reports are available on Moodle for Pol 1.

## 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*, EITHER Richard Tuck ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) OR Christopher Brooke ed. (London: Penguin Classics, 2017), Parts I and II.

- Richard Tuck, *Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). (Later reissued as *Hobbes: a very short introduction*.)
- 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: 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).

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

Christopher Brooke, 'Introduction', in *Leviathan* (London: Penguin Classics, 2017).

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

Sophie Smith, 'The nature of politics', the 2017 Quentin Skinner lecture.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=si9iG-093aY>.

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

Alan Ryan, "Hobbes' political philosophy," in *The Cambridge companion to Hobbes*, Tom Sorell ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Gabriella Slomp, *Thomas Hobbes and the political philosophy of glory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

Quentin Skinner, 'What is the state? The question that will not go away', <http://vimeo.com/14979551>

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

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

Annabel Brett and James Tully eds. *Rethinking the foundations of modern political thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chs. by Richard Tuck and Kinch Hoekstra.

Nancy J. Hirschmann and Joanne H. Wright, eds, *Feminist interpretations of Thomas Hobbes* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2012).

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.

#### Further work by Hobbes

Thomas Hobbes, *Behemoth* edited by Paul Seaward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)

Thomas Hobbes, *On the citizen* edited by Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

#### *Suggested essay question*

Why according to Hobbes should subjects obey the sovereign?

### *Suggested non-essay-based 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; authority; power; good and evil; 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: Weber and political leadership**

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

- Raymond Geuss, *History and illusion in politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), ch. 1 (sections 3, 6).
- David Runciman, *Politics* (London: Profile, 2014), pp. 33-47.
- Peter Lassman, 'The rule of man over man: politics, power and legitimation,' in *The Cambridge companion to Weber*, Stephen Turner ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Jan-Werner Müller, *Contesting democracy: political ideas in twentieth century Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), ch. 1.

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, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 31-53.

Geoffrey Hawthorn, 'Max Weber', *Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. 101 (1999), pp. 191-207.

Mark E. Warren, 'Max Weber's liberalism for a Nietzschean World', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 82, no. 1 (1988), pp. 31-50.

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, IL: University of Chicago Press), ch. 3 and interlude.

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

Raymond Aron, 'Max Weber and power politics', in *Max Weber and sociology today*, O. Stammer ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), pp. 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*, Jon Elster and Rune Slagstad eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

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

Bradley E. Starr, 'The structure of Max Weber's ethic of responsibility', *Journal of Religious Ethics*, vol.27 no.3 (1999), pp. 407-434.

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).

#### Further work by Weber

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

Max Weber 'Between two laws' and 'On suffrage and democracy' in Weber, *Political writings*, Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994),

#### *Suggested essay question*

What for Weber are the political implications of the ethical irrationality of the world?

### **5-6: 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*, Biancamaria Fontana ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

- John Dunn, 'Conclusions', in *Democracy: the unfinished journey 508 BC to AD 1993*, Dunn ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 239-266.
- Biancamaria Fontana, 'Introduction', in *Constant: political writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- Stephen Holmes, 'The liberty to denounce: ancient and modern' in *The Cambridge companion to Constant*, Helena Rosenblatt ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Jeremy Jennings, 'Constant's idea of modern liberty', in *The Cambridge companion to Constant*, Helena Rosenblatt ed. (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, 'Re-evaluating Benjamin Constant's liberalism: industrialism, Saint-Simonianism and the Restoration years', *History of European Ideas*, vol. 30, no. 1 (2004), pp. 23-37.

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

Catrine Carpenter, 'Benjamin Constant's religious politics', *History of European Ideas*, vol. 35, no. 4 (2009), pp. 503-509 (a review of Rosenblatt, *Liberal values*).

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

Biancamaria Fontana, 'Democracy and the French Revolution', in *Democracy: the unfinished journey*, John Dunn ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

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 Classics, 1964).

Helena Rosenblatt, 'Reinterpreting *Adolphe*: the sexual politics of Benjamin Constant', *Historical Reflections-Réflexions Historiques*, vol. 28, no. 3 (2002), pp. 341-360.

#### Athenian democracy in practice

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

#### *Suggested essay question*

Why for Constant are the possibilities of modern politics circumscribed?



## 7-8 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*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: Routledge, 1998).

Jeremy Shearmur, 'Hayek's politics', in *The Cambridge companion to Hayek*, Edward Feser ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Robert Skidelsky, 'Hayek and Keynes: the road to reconciliation', in *The Cambridge companion to Hayek*, Edward Feser ed. (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*, vol. 13, no. 2 (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, Donald Moggridge ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

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, NY: 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 *The Road to Serfdom* revisited: Government Failure in the Argument against Socialism', *Eastern Economic Journal* vol. 21, no. 1 (1995), pp. 7–26.

### Suggested essay question

Why for Hayek was state planning the road to serfdom?

## 9-10: Arendt and the nuclear age

SET TEXT: Hannah Arendt, *The human condition*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

- Margaret Canovan, 'Introduction' to Hannah Arendt, *The human condition* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
- Richard J. Bernstein, *Why read Hannah Arendt now* (Cambridge: Polity, 2018), 'Plurality, politics and public freedom' and 'The American revolution and the revolutionary spirit'.
- Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, *Why Arendt matters* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), ch 2.
- Waseem Yaqoob, 'The Archimedean point: science and technology in the thought of Hannah Arendt, 1951–1963', *Journal of European Studies*, vol. 44, no. 3 (2014), pp. 199-214.

Sheldon S. Wolin, *Fugitive democracy: and other essays*, Nicholas Xenos ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), ch. 11.

Caroline Ashcroft, *Violence and power in the thought of Hannah Arendt* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021).

Margaret Canovan, *Hannah Arendt: A reinterpretation of her political thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Seyla Benhabib, *The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.

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

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

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

Sheldon S. Wolin, *Fugitive democracy: and other essays*, Nicholas Xenos ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), ch. 12.

Mary Dietz, *Turning operations: feminism, Arendt, and politics*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002).

Sahar Aurore Saeidnia and Anthony Lang, *Hannah Arendt's The human condition*. (London: Macat Library, 2017).

Patricia Owens, 'Hannah Arendt: violence and the inescapable fact of humanity', in *Hannah Arendt and international relations*, Anthony F. Lang and John Williams eds. (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 41-65.

Andrew Norris, 'On public action: rhetoric, opinion and glory in Hannah Arendt's *The human condition*', *Critical Horizons*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2013), pp. 200-224.

#### Further work by Arendt

Hannah Arendt, *Thinking without a bannister: essays in understanding 1953–1975*, Jerome Kohn ed. (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 2018).

Hannah Arendt 'What is authority' in *Between past and future: eight exercises in political thought*, Jerome Kohn ed. (London: Penguin, 2006).

Hannah Arendt, *On violence* (New York: Harvest, 1970).

#### Suggested essay question

To what extent does advanced technology transform politics?

### **11-12: Representative democracy and the creation of the American republic**

SET TEXT: James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *Federalist papers* nos. 1, 10, 14, 22, 37-39, 47-48, 51, 57-58, 63, 78 and Brutus, 'Letters', I-VII, and XI, in James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist with letters of 'Brutus'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

- 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), ch. 5.
- George William van Cleve, *A slaveholders' union: slavery, politics and the constitution in the early American republic* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010), part two.
- M.J. Klarman, *The Framers' Coup: The Making of the United States Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), chs. 3-5 and 8.

#### Slavery and the constitution

Simon Gilhooley, *The anti-bellum origins of the modern constitution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Sean Wilentz, *No property in man: slavery and anti-slavery at the nation's founding* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press), chs 2-3.

David Waldstreicher, *Slavery's constitution from revolution to ratification* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2010).

Paul Finkelman, *Slavery and the founders: race and liberty in the age of Jefferson* (London: Routledge 2014).

#### American republicanism

Gordon S. Wood, 'The American revolution', in *Democracy: the unfinished journey 508AD to 1993*, John Dunn ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 91-105.

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

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

Gordon S. Wood, *The creation of the American republic 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1969).

Jacob T. Levy, 'Beyond Publius: Montesquieu, liberal republicanism and the small-republic thesis', *History of Political Thought*, vol. 27, no. 1 (2006), pp. 50-90.

David Runciman, 'Two revolutions, one revolutionary' in *The politics of good intentions: history, fear and hypocrisy in the new world order*, (Princeton, NJ: 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, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

Carl van Doren, *The great rehearsal: the story of the making and ratifying of the American constitution*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982).  
 Russell Hanson, *The democratic imagination in America: conversations with our past* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).  
 Pauline Maier, *Ratification: the people debate the constitution, 1787-88* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2011).

### Representation

Hanna F. Pitkin, *The concept of representation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967).  
 David Runciman, 'The paradox of political representation', *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, vol 15, no. 1 (2007) pp. 93-114.  
 Monica Brito Vieira and David Runciman, *Representation* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).  
 Susan Mendus, 'Losing the faith: feminism and democracy', in *Democracy: the unfinished journey*, John Dunn ed. (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*

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

OR: Did the Federalists create a 'slaveholders Union' (van Cleve)?

## **13-14 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.

- David Runciman, *The confidence trap: a history of democracy in crisis from the First World War to the present* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), introduction and epilogue.
- Nathan Glazer, 'Race and ethnicity in America', *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2000), pp. 95-102.
- Stephen Holmes, 'Tocqueville and democracy' in *The idea of democracy*, David Copp, Jean Hampton and John E. Roemer eds. (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.

### Democratic adaptability

Jon Elster, *Tocqueville: the first social scientist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), ch. 8.  
 David Runciman, 'Can democracy cope?' *Political Quarterly*, vol 82, no 4 (2011), pp. 536-545.  
 John Dunn, 'Conclusion' in *Democracy: the unfinished journey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).  
 Larry Siedentop, *Democracy in Europe* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000), ch. 3.  
 Adam Przeworski et al, 'What makes democracies endure', *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 7, no. 1 (1996), pp. 39-55.  
 Charles Kupchan, 'The democratic malaise: globalisation and the threat to the west,' *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 91, no. 1 (2012).  
 Matthew Flinders, *Defending politics: why democracy matters in the twenty-first century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

### Slavery, race, and Native Americans

Gustave de Beaumont, *Marie, or slavery in the United States: a novel of Jacksonian America* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1998).  
 Margaret Kohn, 'The other America: Tocqueville and Beaumont on race and slavery', *Polity*, vol. 35, no. 2 (2002), pp. 169-193.  
 Laura Janara, 'Brothers and others: Tocqueville and Beaumont: US genealogy, democracy and racism,' *Political Theory*, vol 32, no. 6 (2004), pp. 773-800.

Alison McQueen and Burke Hendrix, 'Tocqueville in Jacksonian context: American expansionism and discourses of American Indian nomadism in *Democracy in America, Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 15, no. 3 (2017), pp. 663-677.

#### Secondary reading on Tocqueville

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

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

Cheryl Welch, *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).

Jennifer Pitts, 'Empire and democracy: Tocqueville and the Algeria question', *Journal of Political Philosophy*, vol. 8, no. 3 (2000), pp. 295-318.

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

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

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

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

Jill Locke and Eileen Hunt Botting eds., *Feminist interpretations of Alexis de Tocqueville* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009).

Alan 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*, Alan Ryan ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

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

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

#### *Suggested essay question*

Is the strength of American democracy its capacity to make 'repairable mistakes'?

#### **15-16: 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 *Democracy's value*, Ian Shapiro ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Christopher H. Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for realists: why elections do not produce responsive government* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), chs. 1-2.

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

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

John Dunn, *Western political theory in the face of the future*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), ch. 1.

Hanna F. 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), chs. 5-6.

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

John Medearis, *Joseph Schumpeter's two theories of democracy* (Cambridge, MA: 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, NY: The Free Press, 1962).

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

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

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

Max Weber, 'Suffrage and democracy in Germany' in Weber, *Political writings*, Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs eds. (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*

Can representative democracy be anything more than the rule of professional politicians?

### **17-18 The hollowing out of western representative democracies**

SET TEXT: Peter Maier, *Ruling the void: The hollowing out of western democracy* (London: Verso 2013).

- Christopher Bickerton and Carlo Invernizzi Accetti, 'Populism and technocracy: opposites or complements?' *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 2015, vol 20 no 2, pp. 186-206.
- Francis Fukuyama, F., 2014. *Political order and political decay from the industrial revolution to the globalization of democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, part IV
- Helen Thompson, *Disorder: Hard times in the 21<sup>st</sup> century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), chs. 8 and 9.
- John Dunn, *Breaking democracy's spell* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), chs. 3-4.

Kenneth Carty 'Into the void: the collapse of the Irish party democracy,' *Irish Political Studies*, 37 (2), 303-325.

Jeffrey Winters and Benjamin Page 'Oligarchy in the United States?' *Perspectives on Politics*, 2009, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 731-751.

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

#### *Suggested essay question*

Do western representative democracies still serve democratic ends?

### **19-20 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).
- Wei-wei Zhang, *China horizon: the glory and dream of a civilisational state* (World Century 2016), 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.

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

C.A. Bayly, *The birth of the modern world 1780-1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), chs. 1-3.

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

Jared Rubin, *Rulers, religion, and riches: Why the West got rich and the Middle East did not* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

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

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

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

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

### *Suggested essay question*

Was representative democracy the decisive cause of the relative economic success of North America and western Europe?

## **21-22 The crisis of representative democracy?**

SET TEXTS: Cornelius Castoriadis, 'Present issues for democracy' and 'What revolution is' in *A Society adrift: interviews and debates 1974-1997* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), pp. 125-129; pp. 144-150 AND

Dimitris Vardoulakis, 'Thesis 4: judgment is constitutive of democracy' in *Stasis before the state: nine theses on agonistic democracy* (New York: Fordham University Press 2018), pp. 55-60.

- Cynthia Farrar, 'Power to the People' in ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub, Josiah Ober, and Robert W. Wallace *The Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007: 170-195
- Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), chs. 1&6
- Cornelius Castoriadis, 'The Greek and the modern political imaginary', *Salmagundi* No. 100 (Fall 1993), pp. 102-129
- Chantal Mouffe, 'Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism,' *Social Research* vol. 66, no. 3 (1999): 745-758.
- Carole Pateman, 'Participatory Democracy Revisited', *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 10, no. 1 (2012): 7-19.

Sheldon Wolin, 'Fugitive Democracy', *Constellations* vol. 1, no. 1 (1994): 11-25

Nancy Bermeo, 'On Democratic Backsliding', *Journal of Democracy* vol. 27, no. 1 (2016), pp. 5-19.

Helen Thompson, *Disorder: Hard Times in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2022), part III.

Nadia Urbinati, 'Representative Democracy and Its Critics' in *The Future of Representative Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 23-49.

Nadia Urbinati, 'Reflections on the Meaning of the "Crisis of Democracy"', *Democratic Theory* vol. 13, no. 1 (2016): 6-32

### *Suggested essay question*

What can the meaning and practice of ancient democracy reveal about the terms of today's so-called crisis of representative democracy?

## **23-24: Communism**

SET TEXT: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The communist manifesto*, Gareth Stedman Jones ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin 2004).

- Gareth Stedman Jones 'Introduction' in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The communist manifesto*, Stedman Jones ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin 2004).
- Yannis Varoufakis 'Introduction' to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The communist manifesto* (London: Vintage 2018).
- Neil Harding. 'The Marxist-Leninist detour', in *Democracy: the unfinished journey*, John Dunn ed, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Isaiah Berlin, 'The pursuit of the ideal', in Berlin, *The proper study of mankind*, Henry Hardy and Roger Hausheer eds. (London: Pimlico, 1998).

### On Marx

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

Terrell Carver, *Marx* (Cambridge, Polity, 2017).

Gregory Claey's, *Marx and Marxism* (London: Pelican, 2018).

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

### Socialism after Marx

F. A. Hayek, *The fatal conceit: the errors of socialism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago 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, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

John Dunn, 'Understanding revolution' in *Revolution in the making of the modern world*, John Foran, David Lane, and Andreja Zivkovic eds. (London: Routledge, 2008).

Terry Eagleton, *Why Marx was right*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018).

Jeremy Gilbert, *Twenty-first century socialism* (Cambridge: Polity 2020).

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

Alex Callinicos, 'Contradictions of austerity', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, vol. 36, no. 1 (2012), pp. 65-77.

Emile Perreau-Saussine, 'What remains of socialism?', in *Values in public life: aspects of common goods*, Patrick Riordan ed. (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007).

### Further work by Marx

Karl Marx, 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' in Marx, *Later political writings*, Terrell Carver ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

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

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

### *Suggested essay question*

Why did the bourgeoisie win the class war?

## 25-26: The sovereign soul

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

- Gandhi and Nehru, 'Letters Gandhi to Nehru and Nehru to Gandhi', in Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and other writings*, Anthony Parel ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 149-156.
- Gandhi and Tolstoy, 'Letters' in Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and other writings*, 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*, Anthony Parel ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Karuna Mantena, 'Another realism: the politics of Gandhian non-violence,' *American Political Science Review*, vol. 106, no 2. pp 45-70.
- Lawrence Freedman, *Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), ch. 23.
- George Orwell, 'Reflections on Gandhi' in George Orwell, *Essays* (Harmondsworth: Penguin 2000).  
[http://www.orwell.ru/library/reviews/gandhi/english/e\\_gandhi](http://www.orwell.ru/library/reviews/gandhi/english/e_gandhi).
- Pankaj Mishra, *From the ruins of empire: the revolt against the West and the remaking of Asia* (London: Penguin, 2012), chs 5 and 6 and epilogue
- James Tully, 'On the significance of Gandhi today,' Perspectives on Gandhi's Significance Workshop  
<https://www.uvic.ca/socialsciences/politicalscience/assets/docs/faculty/tully/tully-gandhi-today.pdf>

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

Ajay Skaria, 'Gandhi's politics: liberalism and the question of the Ashram', *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 2002, 101/4, pp. 955-986.

Faisal Devji, *The impossible Indian: Gandhi and the temptation of Violence*, (London, 2012).

Anthony Parel, 'Introduction' in Gandhi, *Hind swaraj and other writings*, Anthony Parel ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

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 *Civil resistance and power politics: the experience of non-violent action from Gandhi to the present*, Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Joseph Kip Kosek, 'Richard Gregg, Mohandas Gandhi and the strategy of non-violence,' *The Journal of American History*, vol. 91, no. 4 (2005), pp. 1318-1348.

### *Suggested essay question*

What can an ideal of self-rule achieve in modern politics?

## 27-28: The nature of the political

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

- George Schwab 'Introduction' in Carl Schmitt, *The concept of the political*, George Schwab trans., with a foreword by Tracy B. Strong (Chicago, IL: 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*, George Schwab trans., with a foreword by Tracey B. Strong (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2006).

Carl Schmitt, *The crisis of parliamentary democracy*, Ellen Kennedy ed. (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), ch. 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 Chantal 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*, vol. 14, no. 2 (1993), pp. 265-280.

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

### Suggested essay question

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

## **29-30: The imperial modern state**

SET TEXT: Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the earth*, Richard Philcox trans., with commentary by Jean-Paul Sartre and Homi K. Bhabha (New York, NY: Grove Press, 2004).

- Jean-Paul Sartre, 'Preface', in Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the earth*, Richard Philcox trans., with commentary by Jean-Paul Sartre and Homi K. Bhabha (New York, NY: Grove Press, 2004).
- Alice Cherki, *Frantz Fanon: a portrait*, Nadia Benabid trans. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).
- Michael Azar, 'In the name of Algeria: Frantz Fanon and the Algerian Revolution', in *Frantz Fanon: critical perspectives*, Anthony C. Alessandrini ed. (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 21-33.
- Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: a very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Jeffrey Byrne, *Mecca of revolution: Algeria, decolonization, and the Third World order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Ato Sekyi-Out, *Fanon's dialectic of experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).

Denean T. Sharpley-Whiting, *Frantz Fanon: conflicts and feminisms* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997).

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

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

Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Vintage, 1979), ch. 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, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Lawrence Freedman, *Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), ch. 25, 'Black power and white anger'.

Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking after empire: the rise and fall of self-determination* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019).

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

#### Further work by Frantz Fanon

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

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

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

#### Further watching

Gillo Pontecorvo, *The Battle of Algiers* [film] (1966), via <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vRE3j8pDMds>.

#### *Suggested essay question*

Could decolonisation create new human beings as Fanon supposed?

### **31-32: The modern state and women**

SET TEXT: Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Toward a feminist theory of the state* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).

- Drucilla Cornell, 'Sexual difference, the feminine, and equivalency: a critique of MacKinnon's *Toward a feminist theory of the state*', *Yale Law Journal*, vol. 100, no. 7, article 12. <https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/yjl/vol100/iss7/12>.
- Denise Schaeffer, 'Feminism and liberalism reconsidered: the case of Catharine MacKinnon', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 95, no. 3 (2001), pp. 699-708. (Also MacKinnon's reply: "'The case' responds', pp. 709-711.)
- Michael L. Ferguson, 'Choice feminism and the fear of politics', *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2010), pp. 247-253.

*Feminist Philosophy Quarterly*, special issue on *Toward a feminist theory of the state* after 25 years: essays by Natalie Nenadic, Susan J. Brison, Elena Ruíz & Kristie Dotson, and Clare Chambers, together with a reply by Catharine A. MacKinnon: <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/fpg/vol3/iss2/>.

Wendy Brown, *States of injury: power and freedom in late modernity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), esp. chs. 3 and 4.

Clare Chambers, *Sex, culture, and justice: the limits of choice* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2008).

Kimberlé Crenshaw, 'Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: a black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics', *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, volume 1989, no. 1, article 8. <http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>.

Carole Pateman, *The sexual contract* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988).

Elizabeth Anderson, 'Recent thinking about sexual harassment: a review essay', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, vol. 34, no. 3 (2006), pp. 284-312.

#### Further work by Catharine A. MacKinnon

Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Sexual harassment of working women: a case of sex discrimination* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979).

Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Feminism unmodified: discourses on life and law* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Only words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

Catharine A. MacKinnon, 'Crimes of war, crimes of peace', in *On human rights: the Oxford Amnesty Lectures 1993*, Stephen Shute and Susan Hurley eds. (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1993), pp. 83-109.

Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Are women human? and other international dialogues* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

#### *Suggested essay question*

What for MacKinnon were the main challenges facing the development of a feminist theory of the state?