

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Philosophy 118

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University of California at Davis

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Syllabus

Course Description:

This course is designed to acquaint you with some of the leading issues in political philosophy.

We will begin our exploration of political philosophy by exploring the nature of liberty. We will examine three concepts of liberty (negative liberty, positive liberty, and republican liberty), and discuss whether and if so to what extent these might conflict with our concept of equality, the driver behind most ideas of distributive and economic justice, another important idea in political philosophy. We will then move on to a direct examination of distributive and economic justice, including liberal egalitarianism (in the form of prioritarianism and luck egalitarianism), right and left libertarianism, neo and ordo-liberalism (two politicized versions of economic liberalism), and liberal exploitation theory, and examine how these various theories would guide us with regard to two of the most pressing economic issues of the day: inequality and unemployment. Finally, we will examine some more general questions on the nature of liberalism itself, discuss how we distinguish liberalism from other forms of political organization, and consider some of the criticisms that have been raised against liberalism. Issues here include: is toleration a coherent concept? Should government be neutral between conceptions of the good, or should it seek to advance a perfectionist view of human flourishing? Which is more important, liberty or authority, the individual or the community, security or the rule of law? What is the role of public discourse, and what is the relationship between reason and faith? Is morality just a tool the politically weak use to dominate the strong?

Students are expected to read widely, and to have completed the relevant reading prior to the lecture to which that reading pertains.

Assessment:

Assessment will be based on a 2,500-word essay (excluding footnotes and bibliography), and a final exam, each worth 50% of your total final mark. The essay will be due on Monday May 16 at 12 noon. Penalties for unapproved late submission will apply. For those of you who wish to do so, you may submit a draft of the paper on May 2, which we will comment on, provide suggestions for improvement, and return to you by May 9. You can then use these comments to revise your paper before you the final submission date. Only the final version will be graded. The final will be given on Monday June 6 at 3:30 pm. Essay titles and further instructions will be distributed later in the term.

For advice on writing your essays, please see the video of my 2010 lecture on writing academic essays and papers, available at:

<https://vimeo.com/126752965>

I have also posted "Ten Mistakes to Avoid in Your Essays" on the course smartsite, and closer to the exam I will post some tips for taking exams as well. I will also hold a comprehensive review session of how to prepare for the exam near the end of the term.

Class participation: Those who attend lectures regularly and participate intelligently and who would not otherwise obtain an A based on their paper and exam alone can have their grades bumped up to reflect the quality of their participation. The bump will generally be one step (e.g. from an A- to an A) or two steps (e.g. from a B+ to an A) but, in rare cases for those whose participation is truly exceptional, could be as much as a full grade (e.g. from a B to an A).

Reading:

Most of the required reading is contained in the following books: my own *Exploitation and Economic Justice in the Liberal Capitalist State*, John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice*, Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, and my latest book, *On Unemployment*, which has two volumes. Volume I is called *A Micro-Theory of Economic Justice*, and Volume II is called *Achieving Economic Justice after the Great Recession*. Each of my books are available as ebooks and are accessible through though the University Library catalogue, and I have posted the required excerpts from the Rawls and Nozick books on the course smartsite. These books are also available in paperback and are reasonably priced so you also might consider simply purchasing them. Other reading is either available online by going to "e-journals" on the Library website, or copies are posted on the course smartsite, or they are available in hard copy in the reserve section of the library. Indications of where to find the reading are given in parentheses after each listing.

Note that there is both required and recommended reading for the lectures. Unless it says otherwise, you should assume the listed reading is **required**. The recommended reading is just that—recommended. You do not have to do any of it, but I think you will find it helpful to do at least some of it. I have also included some recommendations for further reading at the end of the syllabus for those of you who find yourselves especially interested in particular topics.

Please note that you will also need to watch two films. The first is called *Inside Job*, and you need to watch it prior to my lectures on exploitation. The film is about two hours long, but quite entertaining (Matt Damon narrates it). I will arrange for this to be shown at a time and date to be announced later or, if you prefer, you can watch it yourself if you want to buy it or stream it on Netflix or Amazon. I will make some comments about the issues discussed in the film at the showing I give, however, and so you might want to come to that if you can.

The second film you need to watch is called *The Power of Nightmares*. You will need to watch this prior to my lectures on the Attack on Liberalism. The film is in three episodes, and each is

an hour long. You will need to watch all three, but again, the film is very entertaining and my students have always seemed to enjoy watching it. I will hold a showing of this later in the term at which I shall also make some comments on the film, or you may watch it by yourself on the internet at <https://archive.org/details/ThePowerOfNightmares-Episode1BabyItsColdOutside>.

Handouts:

Please note that I do not distribute lecture notes or other handouts prior to my lectures. Instead, I distribute very detailed lecture notes after my lectures on that topic is completed. Even though my lecture notes are very detailed, they are designed to be a supplement not a substitute for your own. You should do your best to have done all the required reading for each topic prior to the lecture on that topic and take as detailed notes as you can during class. Once I have finished my lecture on each topic, I will post my notes on the course website.

Soundtrack:

There is a soundtrack for the course, and I shall play selections from this before each lecture starts. The full soundtrack, for those who are interested, is posted on the course smartsite. For those of you who would like to suggest additions to the soundtrack, please do so: the criteria are that each song should have something to do with one of the topics we will be discussing, even if only tangentially, and be musically interesting.

Lecture Topics:

The following is a list of topics we will cover, together with citations to the reading for each topic. On some topics we will spend a single lecture, but on others we may spend a week or two or even three. To give you an idea of how long we shall spend on each topic, I have noted the approximate number of lectures I will do on each topic after each topic heading. The specific reading required and recommended for each topic is listed below the topic heading.

1. Introduction: What is Political Philosophy? (1 lecture)

Jonathan Wolff, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy* (Oxford University Press, 3rd ed 2016), Introduction (required) (smartsite), ch. 2-5 (recommended)

David Miller, *Political Philosophy: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2003), ch. 4 and 5 (recommended)

Will Kymlicka, "Introduction," *Contemporary Political Philosophy* (OUP 2d ed. 2002), pp. 1-9 (recommended) (smartsite)

2. Three Theories of Liberty; Liberty v. Equality (3 lectures)

Isaiah Berlin, "Two Concepts of Liberty," in Isaiah Berlin, *Liberty* (Oxford University Press, 2002) pp. 168-217 (smartsite)

- Charles Taylor, "What's Wrong with Negative Liberty," in Charles Taylor, *Philosophy and the Human Sciences: Philosophical Papers Volume 2*, (1985), pp. 211-229 (smartsite)
- Ronald Dworkin, "What Rights Do We Have?" in *Taking Rights Seriously* (1977), pp. 266-278 (smartsite)
- Philip Pettit, "Liberty as Non-Domination," in *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 51-79 (smartsite)
- Frank Lovett, *A General Theory of Domination and Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 151-156 (smartsite)
- Robert Hale, "Coercion and Distribution in a Supposedly Non-Coercive State," *Political Science Quarterly* 38:3 (1923): 470-494 (recommended)
- C. B. MacPherson, "Berlin's Version of Liberty," in *Democratic Theory: Essays in Retrieval* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 95-119 (recommended) (reserve)
- Philip Pettit, "The Instability of Freedom as Noninterference: The Case of Isaiah Berlin," *Ethics* 121 (2011): 693-716 (recommended)
- Philip Pettit, "Freedom in the Market," *Politics, Philosophy, and Economics* 5 (2006): 131-149 (recommended)
- Quentin Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) (recommended)
- Quentin Skinner, "Classical Liberty and the Coming of the English Civil War," in *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage*, ed. Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), vol. 2, pp. 9-28 (recommended)

3. The Rise of Economic Inequality and Why We Should Care About This (1 lecture)

- Thomas Piketty and Emmanuel Saez, "Income and Wage Inequality in the United States, 1913-2002," in *Top Incomes over the Twentieth Century*, ed. A.B. Atkinson and T. Piketty (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 141-225 (please read just for a general sense of the argument: you need not focus on the details) (available as ebook through library catalogue)
- Thomas Piketty, "Introduction," *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 1-39 (smartsite)
- Mark R Reiff, *Exploitation and Economic Justice in the Liberal Capitalist State* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 1-12 (available as ebook)
- John Rawls, *Justice as Fairness* (Harvard, 2001), sec. 39, pp. 130-132 (reserve)
- Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett, *The Spirit Level: Why Greater Equality Makes Societies Stronger* (Bloomsbury, 2011) (you need not read the whole book; just try and dip into a selection of the various issues that are discussed) (recommended)

4. John Rawls on Distributive Justice (2 lectures)

- John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (1971, rev. ed. 1999), pp. 3-168 (smartsite) (also on reserve)
- John Rawls, *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement* (2001), pp. 1-132 (rerserve)
- John Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (Columbia University Press, 1980), introduction to the paperback edition (recommended) (smartsite)
- Mark Reiff, "The Difference Principle, Rising Inequality, and Supply-Side Economics: How Rawls Got Hijacked by the Right," *Revue de Philosophie Économique/Review of Economic Philosophy* 13:2 (2012): 119-173 (recommended) (smartsite)
- Mark Reiff, "The Politics of Masochism," *Inquiry* 46 (2003): 29-63 (recommended) (smartsite)

5. The Communitarian Critique of Rawls (1 lecture)

- Stephen Mulhall and Adam Swift, *Liberals and Communitarians* (2d ed. 1996), pp. 1-33 (required) (smartsite) and 40-69 (recommended)
- Michael Sandel, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (2d ed. 1998) (recommended)

6. Robert Nozick on Distributive Justice; Right Libertarianism; Economic Liberalism (3 lectures)

- Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974), pp. 26-35 and 149-231 (smartsite) (also on reserve)
- G. A. Cohen, *Self-Ownership, Freedom, and Equality*, Introduction, chap. 1-4 and 9-10, pp. 1-115, 209-244 (1995) (an extended attack on Nozick's position) (recommended) (reserve)
- Mark R. Reiff, "Two Theories of Economic Liberalism," *Adam Smith Review* 9 (2016) (smartsite)
- Mark R. Reiff, "The Libertarian Argument for Unions" (smartsite)

7. Luck Egalitarianism and the "Equality of What?" Debate (2 lectures)

- Ronald Dworkin, *Sovereign Virtue* (2000), chapters 1 and 2, pp. 11-119 (note: for those of you who do not wish to buy the book, the required chapters appear as "What is Equality? Part 1: Equality of Welfare," and "What is Equality? Part II: Equality of Resources," in *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 10:3 and 10:4 (1981): 185-246 and 283-345, which are available online through the ejournal database)
- G. A. Cohen, "On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice," *Ethics* 99 (1989): 906-944 (recommended)

- Richard Arneson, "Equality and Equality of Opportunity for Welfare" *Philosophical Studies* 56 (1989): 77-93 (recommended)
- Amartya Sen, *Inequality Reexamined* (1992), pp. 12-55, 73-87 (recommended) (reserve)
- Ronald Dworkin, *Sovereign Virtue* (2000), chapter 7, pp. 285-303 (Dworkin's response to Cohen and Sen) (recommended)
- Ronald Dworkin, "Sovereign Virtue Revisited," *Ethics* 113 (2002): 106-143 (Dworkin's response to other criticisms) (recommended)
- G. A. Cohen, "Expensive Taste Rides Again," in *Dworkin and His Critics*, ed. Justine Burley (2004), pp. 3-29 (Cohen's reply to Dworkin's response) (recommended)
- Ronald Dworkin, "Ronald Dworkin Replies," in *Dworkin and His Critics*, ed. Justine Burley (2004), pp. 339-350 (Dworkin's rebuttal to Cohen's reply) (recommended)

8. Inequality, Exploitation and Economic Justice; Left Libertarianism (6 lectures)

- Inside Job* (2010), dir. Charles Ferguson (documentary on the recent global financial crisis) (link on smartsite)
- Park Avenue: Money, Power & the American Dream* (2012), dir. Alex Gibney (documentary on economic inequality) (available to stream at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UZrRxIY0N_Y) (recommended) (link also on smartsite)
- Mark R Reiff, *Exploitation and Economic Justice in the Liberal Capitalist State* (Oxford University Press, 2013) (available as ebook through the University Library catalogue)
- Mark R Reiff, video introduction to *Exploitation and Economic Justice in the Liberal Capitalist State* (Oxford University Press, 2013) (available on Vimeo at <https://vimeo.com/76562180>) (link also on smartsite)
- Michael Robinson, "The Wealth Gap: Episode 1 and 2," *BBC News* (BBC World Service) (available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/p00mvfvb/The_Documentary_The_Wealth_Gap_The_View_From_London/) (recommended) (link also on smartsite)
- G. A. Cohen, "The Labor Theory of Value and the Concept of Exploitation," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 8 (1979): 338-360 (recommended)
- A. C. Pigou, *The Economics of Welfare* (London: Macmillan, 4th ed. 1932), ch. 14, pp. 549-571 (recommended) (reserve) (and smartsite)
- John Cassidy, "The Demand Doctor: What Would John Maynard Keynes Tell Us to Do Now—and Should We Listen," *The New Yorker* (October 10, 2011) <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2011/10/10/the-demand-doctor> (also on smartsite)
- BBC World Service, *The British Establishment: Who For? Episodes I and II* (at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00kqc5c>) (recommended) (link also on smartsite)

- Louise Story, "Why Prosecutor's Don't Go After Wall Street," *Fresh Air* (July 13, 2011) (available online at <http://www.npr.org/2011/07/13/137789065/why-prosecutors-dont-go-after-wall-street>) (recommended) (link also on smartsite)
- Martin Luther King, Jr, Speech to Striking Sanitation Workers, Memphis, Tennessee, March 18, 1968 (<http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/primarydocuments/680318-000.pdf>) (recommended)

9. The Politics of Unemployment (2 lectures)

- Mark R Reiff, *On Unemployment, Volume I: A Micro-Theory of Economic Justice* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 1-92 (available as ebook through the University Library)
- Mark R. Reiff, *On Unemployment, Volume II: Achieving Economic Justice after the Great Recession* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 109-130 (available as ebook through the University Library)
- Mark R Reiff, video introduction to *On Unemployment* (available on Vimeo at <https://vimeo.com/150211599>)
- Michał Kalecki, "Three Ways to Full Employment," in *The Economics of Full Employment: Six Studies in Applied Economics*, ed. The Oxford University Institute of Statistics (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1944), pp. 39-58, at pp. 53-57 (recommended)
- Michał Kalecki, "Political Aspects of Full Employment" (1943), in *Selected Essays on the Dynamics of the Capitalist Economy 1939-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 138-145 (recommended)
- John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (San Diego: Harvest/Harcourt edition, 1964) (this is a difficult book, but read as much as you can; alternatively, you can read Robert Skidelsky, *Keynes, A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2010)) (recommended) (reserve)
- Lionel Robbins, *An Essay on the Nature and Significance of Economic Science* (London: Macmillan, 1932), pp. 23-27 (recommended)
- Joan Robinson, "Obstacles to Full Employment," in *Contributions to Modern Economics* (New York: Academic Press, 1978), pp. 20-28 (recommended)
- A. C. Pigou, "The Classical View," in *Lapses from Full Employment* (London: Macmillan, 1961), pp. 20-25 (recommended)
- F. A. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), ch. 18 ("Labor Unions and Employment") (recommended)
- F. A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, pp. 125-126 (recommended)
- F. A. Hayek, "Economic Freedom and Representative Government," in *New Studies in Philosophy, Politics, Economics and the History of Ideas* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), pp. 105-118 (recommended)

10. The Attack on Liberalism: Machiavelli, Nietzsche, Carl Schmitt, and Leo Strauss (8 lectures)

a. Introduction

The Power of Nightmares (2004), Episodes 1-3, BBC Two, Adam Curtis, producer (<https://archive.org/details/ThePowerOfNightmares-Episode1BabyItsColdOutside>) (link also on smartsite)

Mark R. Reiff, "The Attack on Liberalism," in *Philosophy and Law*, ed. Michael Freeman and Ross Harrison (Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 173-191 (https://www.academia.edu/622952/The_Attack_on_Liberalism) (also on smartsite)

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (1971, rev. ed. 1999), pp. 190-194 (reserve)

Isaiah Berlin, "Joseph de Maistre and the Origins of Fascism," in *The Crooked Timber of Humanity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 91-174 (reserve) (recommended)

Fresh Air, "The Ideology and History of the New Apostolic Reformation," interview with Rachel Tabachnick broadcast 24 August 2011 (available at <http://www.npr.org/2011/08/24/139781021/the-evangelicals-engaged-in-spiritual-warfare>) (link also on smartsite) (recommended)

b. Machiavelli

Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. Quentin Skinner and Russell Price (Cambridge University Press, 1988), dedication and chapters 1-26, pp. 3-91 (you may also read any equivalent edition) (smartsite)

Isaiah Berlin, "The Originality of Machiavelli," in Isaiah Berlin, *Against the Current* (Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 25-79 (smartsite)

Leo Strauss, *Thoughts on Machiavelli* (1958), pp. 9-14 (smartsite)

Leo Strauss, "What is Political Philosophy?" in Leo Strauss, *What is Political Philosophy?* (1959), pp. 40-55, reprinted in *An Introduction to Political Philosophy: Ten Essays by Leo Strauss*, ed. Hilail Gildin (1989), pp. 39-57 (smartsite)

c. Nietzsche

Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, (Cambridge University Press, 1994 or any equivalent ed.) (the preface and the first two essays, pp. 3-71, are required; the third essay is recommended) (smartsite)

Friedrich Nietzsche, "The Greek State," reprinted in *On the Genealogy of Morality*, trans. C. Diethe (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 176-186 (you may read this in any equivalent edition) (smartsite)

d. Schmitt

Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, trans. George Schwab (University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 19-79 (there is an earlier 1996 edition that will also do) (reserve)

Leo Strauss, "Notes on Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*," trans. J. Harvey Lomax, included in Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, trans. George Schwab (University of Chicago Press, 2007 or 1996 ed.), at pp. 81-107 (reserve)

e. **Strauss**

Nathan Tarcov and Thomas L. Pangle, "Leo Strauss and the History of Political Philosophy," in *History of Political Philosophy*, ed. Leo Strauss and Joseph Cropsey, (3rd ed. 1987), pp. 907-934 (smartsite)

f. **Conclusion**

Mark R Reiff, "The Attack on Liberalism," in *Philosophy and Law*, ed. Michael Freeman and Ross Harrison (Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 191-210 (smartsite)

Selected further reading:**Liberty:**Classic Texts

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (any edition), chap. 14 and 21

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, I, chap. 6; II, chap. 3; and IV, chap. 2

Immanuel Kant, *Metaphysics of Morals*, Introduction to the Doctrine of Right

Benjamin Constant, "The Liberty of the Ancients Compared to the Liberty of the Moderns, *Political Writings* (Cambridge University Press), pp. 309-17

G.W.F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of Right* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), para. 5-7 and 15

Modern Texts

Isaiah Berlin, *Liberty* (Oxford University Press, (2002) (Berlin makes some important clarifications of his position in the introduction)

Matthew Kramer, *The Quality of Freedom* (Oxford University Press, 2003) (a comprehensive discussion and defense of negative liberty)

Ian Carter, *A Measure of Freedom* (Oxford University press, 1999)

Philip Pettit, *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government* (OUP 1997)

Philip Pettit, "The Instability of Freedom as Noninterference: The Case of Isaiah Berlin," *Ethics* 121:4 (2011)

John P. Gray, "On Negative and Positive Liberty," *Political Studies* 28 (1980): 507-26

J. P. Day, "On Liberty and the Real Will," *Philosophy* 45 (1970): 177-192

Gerald C. MacCallum, Jr. "Negative and Positive Freedom," *The Philosophical Review* 76 (1967): 312-334

John Christman, "Liberalism and Individual Positive Freedom," *Ethics* 101 (1991): 343-59

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Harvard University Press, 1971, rev. ed. 1999), chap 32

Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism*, trans. R. G. Collingwood (Oxford University Press, 1927), part 2, chap. 1, sec. 2, pp. 350-357

Philippe van Parijs, *Real Freedom for All* (Oxford University Press, 1995)

Note:

Each of the classic texts on liberty and excerpts from many of the modern texts are included in *Freedom: A Philosophical Anthology*, ed. Ian Carter, Matthew H. Kramer, and Hillel Steiner (Blackwell, 2006)

Rawls:Primary Text

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (1971, rev. ed. 1999)

Other Important Works by Rawls

- John Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (1980), introduction to the paperback edition (**note:** there is an introduction to the hardcover edition and a **separate** introduction to the paperback edition—the latter gives the most understandable description of what defects Rawls saw in *A Theory of Justice* and how he was trying to address them in *Political Liberalism*)
- John Rawls, *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement* (2001) (combines the arguments of *A Theory of Justice* and *Political Liberalism* and includes Rawls' most detailed reply to his various critics—essential reading for anyone who wants a deep understanding of the issues involved and Rawls's argument)
- John Rawls, *Collected Papers*, ed. Samuel Freeman (1999) (contains nearly all of Rawls' essays and other articles that were not published in *Political Liberalism*, including "Justice as Fairness," the 1958 article in which Rawls first set forth his theory of justice)

Secondary Sources:

- Nigel Simmonds, *Central Issues in Jurisprudence* (4th ed. 2013), chap. 2 (highly recommended summary of Rawls's argument and some of the criticisms leveled against him)
- Will Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy* (2d ed. 2001), chap 3, pp. 53-75, 88-97 (another good summary of Rawls and the criticisms that have been leveled against him)
- Chandran Kukathas and Phillip Pettit, *Rawls: A Theory of Justice and its Critics* (1990) (chap. 3 contains a summary of *A Theory of Justice* and there are separate chapters devoted to his libertarian and communitarian critics)

Critiques:

- Norman Daniels, *Reading Rawls* (1989 ed.) (all the essays in here are good, and they are neatly summarized in the introduction)
- Ronald Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (1977), chap 6 (Dworkin's critique of Rawls)
- Michael Sandel, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (1992, 2d ed. 1998) (an important communitarian critique, accurately summarized in Mulhall and Smith below)
- Stephen Mulhall and Adam Swift, *Liberals and Communitarians* (2d ed. 1996) (the introduction contains a good summary of the communitarian critique)
- The Cambridge Companion to Rawls*, ed. by Samuel Freeman (2003) (contains original essays by leading critics and an extensive 35-page bibliography of other books and articles on Rawls, usefully organized by subject-matter)
- Samuel Freeman, *Rawls* (Routledge, 2007) (a book-length exposition and explanation of Rawls's theory)
- Jeremy Waldron, "John Rawls and the Social Minimum," *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 3 (1986): 21-33 (an argument defending the principle of utility against the difference principle)

Nozick, Cohen, and Libertarianism:

On Libertarianism in general

Liberty for the Twenty-First Century, ed. Tibor Machan and Douglass Rasmussen (1995)
(a collection of recent libertarian thought)

The Libertarian Reader: Classic and Contemporary Writings for Lao-Tzu to Milton Friedman, ed. David Boaz (1997) (another good collection, which also contains an extensive annotated bibliography to libertarian thought)

Norman Barry, *Libertarianism in Politics and Philosophy* (1991) (an overview of contemporary libertarianism)

Alan Howarth, *Anti-Libertarianism: Markets, Philosophy. And Myth* (1994) (a comprehensive critique)

On Nozick

Reading Nozick, ed. Jeffrey Paul (1981) (a good collection of essays)

Jonathan Wolff, *Robert Nozick: Property, Justice, and the Minimal State* (1991)

Will Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy* (2d ed. 2001), chap 4, pp. 102-127 (a short but good summary of Nozick's theory and some leading objections)

N.E. Simmonds, *Central Issues in Jurisprudence* (4th ed. 2013), chap 3 (another good summary)

On Cohen's critique

Cohen's criticisms of Nozick have been the subject of (at least three) symposia: in *Critical Review* 12/3 (1998), *Journal of Ethics* 2/1 (1998), and *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, supplementary volume (1998)

Left-Libertarianism

Hillel Steiner, *An Essay on Rights* (1994) (a leading voice in left-libertarianism)

See also the two-volume set edited by Hillel Steiner and Peter Vallentyne (*The Origins of Left-Libertarianism: An Anthology of Historical Writings*, and *Left-Libertarianism: The Contemporary Debate*, both published in 2000)

Luck Egalitarianism

Elizabeth Anderson, "What is the Point of Equality?" *Ethics* 109 (1999): 287-337

Richard J. Arneson, "Luck Egalitarianism and Prioritarianism," *Ethics* 110 (2000): 339-349

Peter Vallentyne, "Brute Luck, Option Luck, and Equality of Initial Opportunities," *Ethics* 112 (2002): 529-557

Jonathan Wolff, "Fairness, Respect, and the Egalitarian Ethos," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 27 (1998): 97-122

Exploitation:

There is huge amount of material on exploitation that is relevant—please see the bibliography of my book *Exploitation and Economic Justice in the Liberal Capitalist State* for citations to relevant material, but for those of you who would like to know more about Hillel Steiner's or Karl Marx's theories of exploitation, see:

Hillel Steiner, *An Essay on Rights* (Blackwell, 1994), pp. 178-187

Jon Ester, *Making Sense of Marx* (Cambridge, 1985), ch. 4 (a good discussion of Marx's theory of exploitation)

Unemployment:

Again, please see the bibliography of my book *On Unemployment* for citations to relevant material, but of special interest are the following:

Alvin H. Hansen, *A Guide to Keynes* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953) (very good)

Lawrence R. Klein, *The Keynesian Revolution* (1966) (another good summary of Keynes's views)

Michael Stewart, *Keynes and After* (1986) (and another)

Nicholas Wapshott, *Keynes/Hayek* (2011) (a very accessible discussion of the differences between Keynes and Hayek)

William H. Beveridge, *Full Employment in a Free Society* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1945)

Alvin H. Hansen, *Economic Policy and Full Employment* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1947)

Michael Polanyi, *Full Employment and Free Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948)

Ludwig von Mises, *Interventionism: An Economic Analysis* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1998, 2011) (originally published 1940)

John Maynard Keynes, "The End of Laissez Faire," in *Essays in Persuasion*, pp. 272-294

Ludwig von Mises, *A Critique of Interventionism* (Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2011), p. 2 (originally published 1927)

Mark Blyth, *Austerity* (Oxford, 2013)