

Primary Sources

Pluralism

James Madison (1751-1836). Although aspects of pluralist public philosophy can be traced back to the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 BCE), Madison's contributions to the *Federalist Papers*, written to urge ratification of the American Constitution, are now regarded as an initial anticipation and contribution to pluralist public philosophy. Madison was one of the principal authors of the American Constitution, including the Bill of Rights, and the fourth President of the United States (1809-17).

The Federalist Papers with John Jay and Alexander Hamilton (1787-1788)

William James (1842-1910), a leading formulator of American pragmatism, was professor of psychology and philosophy at Harvard between 1873 and 1907. His philosophical work stressed the importance of a plurality of values as an intermediate ontological "kingdom" between monistic idealism and atomistic materialism. His *Varieties of Religious Experience*, written in 1902, is regarded as one of the most important works in non-fiction during the 10th century.

Pragmatism and Other Essays, edited by Giles Gunn (Penguin, 2000)

A Pluralistic Universe (Harvard University Press, 1975)

Robert Dahl (1915 -) is often described as "the Dean" of American Political Science. He was Sterling Professor of Politics at Yale University, and continues to publish prolifically on democracy since his retirement. His analysis of community power in New Haven (*Who Governs?*) and his widely adopted American government text (*Pluralist Democracy*) led to his being regarded as the chief (orthodox) pluralist, during the famous pluralist-elitist debates of the 1960s and 1970s. According to elite theorists, Dahl's pluralism was a naïve account of a politics that claimed that power was widely dispersed among many groups and thus democracy was approximated, at least in America. However, Dahl's subsequent work recognizes the limitations of such a pluralist theory and demonstrates his commitment to more robust democratic processes. Other works have made him a leading contributor to contemporary liberalism, as indicated later in this document.

Who Governs? (Yale University Press, 1961)

Pluralist Democracy in the United State: Conflict and Consensus

(Rand McNally, 1967)

Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy (Yale University Press, 1982)

John Rawls (1921-2001) taught at Harvard and is widely regarded as the most significant American political philosopher during the later part of the 20th century. He is also widely understood as a contemporary liberal, but is treated in our text as the chief formulator of an egalitarian strand within liberalism, as noted later in this document. Particularly at the end of his life, Rawls also made many important contributions to pluralist public philosophy.

Political Liberalism (Columbia University Press, 1993)

The Law of Peoples (Harvard University Press, 1999)

Michael Walzer (1935 -) is one of the leading political theorists in America. Among his affiliations are those with the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton and *Dissent* magazine, which he has edited. In addition to his pluralistic account of justice, Walzer is recognized as a civic communitarian, and his work in that tradition is listed later in this document.

Spheres of Justice: Pluralism and Complex Equality (Basic Books, 1983)

On Toleration (Yale University Press, 1999)

Politics and Passion (Yale University Press, 2004)

William Galston is Saul Stern Professor of Civic Engagement at the University of Maryland. He served as a senior advisor on domestic policy during the Clinton administration.

Justice and the Human Good (University of Chicago Press, 1980)

Liberal Pluralism (Cambridge University Press, 2002)

The Practice of Pluralism (Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Hannah Arendt (1906-1975) was a German Jewish political theorist who fled Nazi Germany and came to the United States in 1941. She had several academic appointments, including at the University of Chicago, the New School in New York City, and Princeton. Her work emphasizes politics as collective action undertaken by equals.

The Origins of Totalitarianism, 2nd ed. (Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich, 1973)

Crises of the Republic (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1972)

The Human Condition, new edition (University of Chicago, 1998)

Michael Oakeshott (1901-1990) was a professor of philosophy at Cambridge, Oxford, and the London School of Economics between 1947 and 1969, and is regarded as one of the leading conservative theorists of the 20th century. Oakeshott's philosophical work stresses the diversity of both theory and practice and the limitations of philosophical rationality as a means of comprehending such diversities.

Rationalism and Politics, revised ed. (Liberty Fund, 1991)

Religion, Politics, and Moral Life, edited by Timothy Fuller (Yale University Press, 1993)

The Politics of Faith and the Politics of Skepticism, edited by Timothy Fuller (Yale University Press, 1996)

Bernard Crick (1929 -) is a British political theorist who has long taught at Birkbeck College, in London, and who has served as an advisor to the Labour Party. His classic, *In Defence of Politics*, stresses many of the virtues that have become regarded as central to pluralism: reconciliation, compromise, adaptability, and variety. He is a democratic socialist and has stressed that politics is applied ethics.

In Defense of Politics, 2nd edition (Penguin, 1982)

Political Theory and Practice (1972)

John Kekes is Research Professor of Philosophy and Public Policy at State University of New York – Albany. His books have been critical of liberalism and egalitarianism, and appreciative of conservatism. The pluralism that he develops and defends is perhaps more an approach to a morality of the good life than to a politics of the good society, but is nevertheless relevant to political public philosophy.

The Morality of Pluralism (Princeton University Press, 1993)

Pluralism in Philosophy: Changing the Subject (Cornell University Press, 2000)

William E. Connolly is currently Krieger-Eisenhower Professor of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University. His interests include interpretations of Nietzsche and post-modernism. He brings a distinctly leftist orientation to pluralism, as indicated by his also being regarded as a significant contributor to poststructuralism; such contributions will be listed later in this document.

The Bias of Pluralism (ed.) (Atherton, 1969)

The Ethos of Pluralization (University of Minnesota Press, 1995)

Pluralism (Duke University Press, 2005)

Classical Liberalism

John Locke (1632-1704) was one of the most important contributors to the Enlightenment (and its stress on empirical accounts of the world) and his political writings were essential to the development of liberalism. He was the physician to Lord Shaftsbury, who founded the Whig Party and was Chancellor of England from 1672-75. His *Two Treatises* defended the Glorious Revolution, which brought William of Orange to the throne but subordinated much of his power to Parliament. Locke's ideas were well known among American colonists and were reflected in the *American Declaration of Independence*.

Letter Concerning Toleration (1689)

Two Treatises on Government (1690)

Essay on Human Understanding (1690)

Baron de Montesquieu (Charles-Louis de Secondat) (1689-1755) was a French political writer who developed the concept of "separation of powers" that is now widely accepted as a requirement of good government. Although he upheld the importance of hereditary aristocracy, his endorsement of liberty and constitutional limits on government made him an important precursor to classical liberalism and a widely quoted authority on government among the founders of the American system.

The Spirit of Laws (1750)

Voltaire (Francois-Marie Arquet) (1694-1778) was a French essayist who was a major participant in the French Enlightenment. His *Candide* is widely studied today as an example of Enlightenment thought. In politics, he defended civil liberties, religious freedom, and the right to a fair trial, but his distrust of the masses led to his preference for an enlightened monarch over democracy.

Lettres Philosophiques (1734)

Adam Smith (1723-1790) was a Scottish moral philosopher and political economist, who is often regarded as the founder of the discipline of economics and a major defender of capitalism. His study of industry and commerce in Europe led to his rejection of merchantalism and endorsement of market economics.

The Theory of Moral Sentiments (1759)

Wealth of Nations (1776)

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) was the principal author of the *American Declaration of Independence*, an influential advocate for democratic republicanism during America's formative years, and third President of the United States (1801-1809). Of all his accomplishments, he claimed to be most proud of his role in founding the University of Virginia.

American Declaration of Independence (1776)

First Inaugural Address (1801)

Political Writings, edited by Joyce Appleby and Terrance Ball (Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Thomas Paine (1737-1809) was born in Great Britain but moved to America to participate in its struggle for independence and then to France to participate in its revolution. His writings developed republican and liberal doctrines, but his firm deism and his advocacy of universal and free education, a guaranteed minimal income, and progressive taxes led many of his contemporaries to regard him as an often dangerous radical.

Common Sense (1776)

The Rights of Man (1791)

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) was a German philosopher of logic and metaphysics at the University of Königsberg, who is regarded as one of the greatest modern European thinkers. His contributions to political philosophy are modest compared to those in such areas as aesthetics, epistemology, and moral philosophy, but he advocated constitutional republics (rather than any strong form of democracy), because he thought they were necessary for a “perpetual peace.”

Critique of Pure Reason (1781)

Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals (1785)

Perpetual Peace (1795)

Georg Hegel (1770-1831) was a German scholar who held positions at the Universities of Jena, Heidelberg, and Berlin. He is often regarded as the most important German idealist and a leading philosopher of the nineteenth century. His emphasis on a higher reality (“Geist” or “Spirit”) than that of the material world makes him an unusual liberal, but central to his complex and perhaps obscure writings on moral and political development are emphases on liberty, equality, civil society, and a rational state.

Philosophy of Right (1820)

Jeremy Bentham (1748-1838) was an English philosopher and jurist who was known as a political radical and advocate of many governmental and social reforms. His conception of utilitarianism – that governmental policy should serve “the greatest good of the greatest number” - was initially applied to promote liberal reforms such as free trade laws, equal legal rights for women, the abolition of slavery, and the right to divorce. However, libertarians have come to see his utilitarianism as an opening to collectivism and the strong state.

Fragment on Government (1776)

Introduction to Principles of Morals and Legislation (1789)

James Mill (1773-1834) became Bentham’s close friend and ally. A precise thinker, Mill had great influence among Liberal members of Parliament, and was central to reformulating liberalism from a doctrine that emphasized the equal rights of man to one that stressed extending the franchise as a means of securing good government. Under his influence, The Reform Act of 1832 was passed, giving the franchise to many ordinary citizens and increasing representation in Parliament of urban areas heavily populated by the working class.

Essay on Government (1820)

Elements of Political Economy (1821)

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was James Mill’s son and Jeremy Bentham’s godson. Like his father, he worked for the British East India Company, but was most well known for his contributions to 19th century liberal theory. Though an advocate of utilitarianism, he reformulated it, making it more “enlightened.” Though an advocate of free markets, he accepted certain interventions and moved toward a more socialist political economy toward the end of his life. His “On Liberty” is still regarded as a founding liberal document, providing an important conception and set of defenses for liberalism’s most central value.

Principles of Political Economy (1848)

On Liberty (1859)

Considerations on Representative Government (1861)

Utilitarianism (1863)

Subjection of Women (1869) with Harriet Taylor

Herbert Spencer (1820-1888) was an English philosopher whose writings dealing with psychology, sociology, religion and evolution achieved enormous popularity during the 1870s and 1880s. He expounded a theory of the progressive development of the biological world, society, and the human mind. After reading Darwin's *Origin of the Species* (1859), he coined the term "survival of the fittest" and became known as an advocate of "Social Darwinism," a doctrine that claimed that humanitarian impulses had to be curbed, so that the strong could thrive and the weak could perish, producing progressive human development.

Principles of Biology (1864)

Man Versus State (1884)

William Graham Sumner (1840-1910) was a popular American professor of Political and Social Science at Yale who was influenced by Spencer and who advocated laissez-faire economic principles. He regarded most governmental reforms as useless. He was also a strong opponent of the emerging imperialist political economy, regarding it as a system that betrayed liberal principles of equal liberty and limited government, and that enriched and empowered a small group of "plutocrats" who depended on governmental subsidies.

What Social Classes Owe to Each Other (1883)

Social Darwinism: Selected Essays, edited by Stow Persons (Prentice-Hall, 1963)

Traditional Conservatism

Edmund Burke (1729-1797) was an Irish political theorist who became a member of the British Parliament. Although a long-time member of the Whig Party (with its opposition to an absolute Monarchy) and sympathetic to the grievances of American colonists against King George's oppressive rule, he rejected the pro-revolutionary tendencies of British Whigs during the French Revolution. His opposition to the "New Whigs" – and his many speeches and writings in defense of traditional practices - earned him a reputation as the principal founder of traditional conservatism.

Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790)

Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs (1791)

Burke's Politics: Selected Writings, edited by Ross J. Hoffman and Paul Levack (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967)

Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821) was a citizen of the Duchy of Savoy, an independent French-speaking region that was absorbed into France in 1860. When the French revolutionary army invaded the region in 1792, de Maistre fled to Switzerland and became an avid counter-revolutionary. His writings stress the importance of both papal and monarchical absolute authority. He is often seen as second only to Burke as an important source of traditional conservatism,

Considerations on France (1797)

Essays on the Generative Principles of Constitutions (1809)

John Adams (1735-1826), the second American President (1797-1801), is sometimes praised by conservatives as a kindred spirit, but this is less due to developing a conservative philosophy than to his rivalry with the liberal Thomas Jefferson (which abated as the two former presidents neared the end of their lives). Retention of much of Washington's cabinet during his term as president and siding with the British against the remnants of revolutionary forces in France are among the reasons for seeing Adams as being "conservative."

Works of John Adams, edited by C.F. Adams (Little, Brown, 1850-56)

Jose Ortega y Gasset (1883 – 1955) was a Spanish philosopher who sought to rejuvenate Spain from what he saw as its parochialism, ineffective leadership, and corrupt and impotent government. He stressed a sharp distinction between the mass and an elite, and the need for the masses to be dutiful to the elite – conservative ideas, in short, that had affinities to Italian elite theorists who supported fascism. But Ortega was too much an individualist and humanist to support the Falange during the Spanish Civil War.

The Revolt of the Masses (1930)

Michael Oakeshott (1901-1990) was, as previously noted, a contributor to pluralist public philosophy and a professor of philosophy at Cambridge, Oxford, and the London School of Economics between 1947 and 1969. He is regarded as one of the leading conservative theorists of the 20th century. Oakeshott rejected that conservatism could be formulated as a unified doctrine or ideology, stressing instead that it was a disposition to want experienced leaders and to prefer the present to utopian ideals.

Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays (Methuen, 1962)

Russell Kirk (1918 - 1994) was a deeply conservative political theorist who had little sympathy for the libertarian, economic-centered conservatism that emerged in the United States in the second half of the 20th century. In his many books, articles, and newspaper columns, he sought to steer the conservative moment toward more Burkean traditions.

Program for Conservatives (Regnery, 1954)

The Conservative Mind (Regnery, 1962)

Leo Strauss (1899-1973) was a German born political philosopher at the University of Chicago, Claremont College, and St. John's College in Annapolis. He rejected the Enlightenment faith in progress and science, and stressed the wisdoms to be discovered by a careful reading of the philosophers of the past, focusing on the esoteric knowledge that remained hidden from a mere surface reading of their texts. He argued that the true activity of a philosopher was to help relieve human suffering that occurs from misguided attempts to use political power in ways that assumed greater understandings and control than we actually can have.

Natural Right and History (University of Chicago Press, 1953)

What is Political Philosophy? And other Studies (University of Chicago Press, 1958)

The Rebirth of Classical Political Rationalism: Essays and Lectures by Leo Strauss,
edited by Thomas Pangle (University of Chicago Press, 1989)

Eric Voegelin (1901-1985) was a German born political philosopher at Louisiana State University. He developed a theory of history that stressed that the human pursuit for ethical and political knowledge reached its greatest heights when it embraced the consciousness achieved in Hellenistic and Christian thought. He argues that modern thought has assumed that man himself is God, which has resulted in the great errors of "gnosticism" and misguided allegiance to liberalism, fascism, communism, and other such political ideologies and theories.

The New Science of Politics (University of Chicago Press, 1952)

Science, Politics and Gnosticism (Regnery, 1968)

Anarchism

William Godwin (1756-1836) was a British novelist and political theorist who was prominent in London's radical circles during the French Revolution. Married to the feminist author Mary Wollstonecraft and the father of Mary Shelley (the author of *Frankeinstein*), Godwin was a critic of aristocratic privilege and the corrupt uses of governmental authority. His philosophical anarchism proposed that government, by its very nature, corrupts the development of human reason and moral understanding.

Enquiry Concerning Political Justice (1793)

Max Stirner (Johann Kaspar Schmidt) (1806-1856) was a German philosopher who regarded the state as an illegitimate intrusion on the individual. Although he rejected being labeled as an anarchist, his insistence that humans should refuse to submit to any authority, even to any external ideas, represents the extreme individualism and nihilism that characterized much subsequent anarchist thought.

The Ego and His Own (1843)

Pierre Proudhon (1809-1865) was a French journalist and political philosopher who was the first important theorist to pronounce himself an anarchist. His 1840 essay declaring that "property is theft" brought him to the attention of Marx and other radicals of the period, but a rift between he and Marx was important to the tensions between anarchists and Marxists throughout the rest of the century. Proudhon urged the creation of a society without any authority (of church, capitalists, and government), but he opposed both the collectivization of property and the use of violence to bring about revolutionary change.

What is Property? Or an Inquiry into the Principles of Right and Government (1840)

The General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century (1851)

Alexander Herzen (1812-1870) was a Russian philosopher and writer who was supportive of the westernization of Russia, socialism, and the emancipation of the serfs. He stressed individual liberty with minimal governmental intrusion.

From the Other Shore (1850)

Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876) was a Russian noble who became a prominent revolutionary, active in various European insurrections of the period, including those in Poland, Prussia, France, and Italy. He stressed a social conception of liberty, in which individuals developed their full capacities within society but without constraints imposed by any authority.

Statism and Anarchy (1874)

Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) was a great Russian philosopher and novelist who pronounced such masterpieces as *War and Peace* (1869). His political philosophy stressed nonviolent resistance to all authority. Based on the teachings of Jesus Christ, he opposed private property and many other institutions such as marriage.

The Kingdom of God is Within You (1905)

Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921) was a Russian noble who became famous as "The Anarchist Prince," widely admired for his "beautiful soul." He was an advocate of anarchist communism; a society with the collective ownership of productive property but without a central government. His interests included scientific investigation, and his investigations led him to propose that human evolution depended not on an egoistic struggle for survival but not suppressing the human instinct for mutual aid. Near the end of his life, he became an opponent of the Bolshevik Revolution

Law and Authority (1886)

Memoirs of a Revolutionist (1899)

Mutual Aid (1907)

Emma Goldman (1869-1940) was a Lithuanian born anarchist, known as “Red Emma.” She immigrated to the United States at age 17, where she urged and engaged in violent resurrection and was often imprisoned and eventually deported. She brought feminist concerns to the forms of anarchism that emerged during the first half of the 20th century.

Anarchism: What it Really Stands For (1911)

Marxism

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was a philosopher, political economist, and revolutionary, and is regarded as one of the most significant contributors to the history of political thought. Born and educated in Germany, he became a communist and radical activist in Paris and Brussels before seeking refuge from authorities in London in 1849. Although he wrote weekly articles as a correspondent for the *New York Daily Tribune*, he spent most of his time as an activist within the First Workingman International Movement and in the British Museum engaged in his seminal rendering of historical change and the political economy. He was largely dependent on Engels for financial support.

On the Jewish Question (1843)

Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (1844; published in 1927)

The German Ideology (1846)

The Manifesto of the Communist Party (with Engels, 1848)

The Grundrisse (1856-1857)

Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1859)

Das Kapital, Vol I (1867)

The Civil War in France (1871)

Critique of the Gotha Program (1875; formally published in 1891)

Das Kapital, Vol. 2 (1885; edited by Engels)

Das Kapital, Vol. 3 (1894; edited by Engels)

Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) was born and self-educated in Prussia. At age 22, he began work in a textile firm owned by his father in Manchester, England, but rather than serving to cure his radical beliefs, the experience only made him more aware of the horrible working conditions of the time. He returned to the European continent where he met Marx in 1844. He spent his adult life working in his father’s factory (which he hated), engaged in his own social scientific investigations, and supporting his friend Marx. He edited and interpreted the second and third volumes of Marx’s masterpiece, *Das Kapital*.

The Condition of the Working Class in England (1845)

Anti-Duehring (1878)

Socialism: Utopian and Scientific (1880)

The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State (1884)

Communism

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924) was a Russian lawyer, revolutionary, and communist theoretician who extended Marxism, applying it to less developed countries. He led the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 against the Provisional Government that had come to power after the abdication of the Russian Czar and was instrumental in the formation of the Soviet Union, which he led until his death.

What Is to Be Done? (1902)

Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism (1917)

The State and Revolution (1917)

Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder (1918)

Rosa Luxemburg (1879-1919) was a Polish-born revolutionary who moved to Germany in 1898 and participated in the left-wing of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Her advocacy and participation in uprisings against the newly founded Weimer Republic at the conclusion of World War I led to her execution.

The Accumulation of Capital (1913)

Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) was born in Georgia, but he abandoned Georgian nationalism in favor of Marxist internationalism and became a Bolshevik leader in 1912. After the Russian Revolution, he rose to power, emerging as de facto dictator of the Soviet Union by 1928. His programs stressed the industrialization of the Soviet Union and the political repression of all opposition. Under his leadership, the Soviet Union played a decisive role in defeating Nazi Germany in World War II and became a superpower in its aftermath.

Dialectical and Historical Materialism (1938)

Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR (1952)

Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) was a Ukrainian revolutionary and Marxist theorist who assumed a variety of leadership roles within the Bolshevik Party, including becoming commander of the Red Army. He became an opponent of Stalin's bureaucratization of the Soviet Union, leading to his being deported, and developing his own left-wing brand of Marxism.

On Revolution: Essays on the Working Class and International Revolution (1918)

The Defense of Terrorism (1920)

History of the Russian Revolution (1933)

The Permanent Revolution, translated by Brian Pearce (Pioneer Publishers, 1965)

Mao Zedong (1893-1976) was a Chinese political leader who led the Communist Party of China to victory in the long Chinese civil war that began in 1927 and involved over two decades of struggle against the Kuomintang (a Western-supported nationalist party). When the People's Republic of China was established in October, 1949, he became its leader. In that role Chairman Mao oversaw the execution of 700,000 to 800,000 opponents, massive land reform, collectivization, and the chaotic Cultural Revolution.

Selected Works (Beijing Foreign Language Press, 1971)

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) was an Italian political theorist and politician who helped form the Communist Party of Italy. He was arrested by Mussolini in 1926 and completed most of theoretical contributions to Marxism, focusing on the concept of cultural hegemony, while in prison

The Prison Notebooks (1929-1936)

Earnesto (Che) Guevara (1928-1967), an icon of socialist revolutionary movements to this day, was born and educated (as a doctor) in Argentina. He studied Marxism in search of a remedy to the vast social and economic inequalities throughout Latin America, and joined Fidel Castro's revolutionary movement in 1956. When it seized power in 1959, Che became a leader in his government – overseeing the executions of leaders of the previous Batista Regime and writing extensively on revolutionary strategies. He left Cuba in 1965 to foment revolutions in the Congo and then in Bolivia, where he was captured and executed in 1966.

Che Guevara Reader, edited by David Deutschmann (Ocean Press, 2003)

Fascism and Nazism

Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) was a charismatic Italian who initially was active in left-wing politics, editing various socialist newspapers. After World War I, he abandoned socialism and affiliated with a nationalist movement, the Blackshirts, who organized themselves as the National Fascist Party in 1921. In 1922, the fascists were part of a coalition that came to power and installed Mussolini as Prime Minister. By 1928, all other parties were outlawed, and Mussolini established a police state. In 1936, he entered into a “treaty of friendship” with Hitler, creating the “Axis Powers.” When Italian military forces were defeated on several fronts in 1943, he was removed from power, exiled, and ultimately executed.

The Doctrine of Fascism (1928)

Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944) was an Italian theorist and philosopher who ghost-wrote the *Doctrine of Fascism* for Mussolini. He produced an extensive set of philosophical writings during an academic career that preceded his roles in the fascist government, including that of Minister of Education. Interweaving ideas from Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, and others, he sought to produce a theoretical basis for fascism rivaling that which Marx produced for communism.

The Origins and Doctrine of Fascism: With Selections from Other Works by Giovanni Gentile, edited by A. James Gregor (Transaction Books, 2004)

Alfredo Rocco (1875-1935) was an Italian politician who served as President of the Italian Chamber of Deputies in 1924 and became Italy’s Minister of Justice for eight years (between 1925 and 1932).

The Political Doctrine of Fascism (1926)

Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera (1903-1936) was a Spanish politician who founded the Spanish Falange Party, which became the dominant force in a right-wing opposition movement (against the left-wing republican government) during the Spanish Civil War. Primo de Rivera was inspired by Italian fascism. He was captured by the communists and anarchists within the Popular Front in 1936, tried, and executed.

What the Falange Wants (1933)

Houston S. Chamberlain (1855-1927) was a British-born naturalized German, whose popularized scientific, philosophical, and racial theories reached wide audiences in the early 20th century. His anti-Semitic, nationalist writings helped create a culture receptive to Nazism.

Foundations of the Nineteenth Century (1899)

Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) was an Austrian born orphan who moved to Munich at the start of World War I and enlisted in Bavarian Army and became an avid German patriot who was shocked by its defeat in the War and the sanctions imposed on it by the Treaty of Versailles. Impressed by its anti-semitic rhetoric, he joined the German Worker’s Party, which he helped transform into National Socialist German Workers Party in 1921. He wrote *Mein Kampf*, an autobiography and statement of his ideology, which was widely sold during his rise to power and freely distributed after he became Chancellor in 1933 and absolute ruler in 1934. His efforts to exterminate the Jews in the Holocaust and to rule over much of Europe during World War II have made him a symbol of immorality to most people today.

The Twenty-Five Points (1920)

Mein Kampf (1925-1926)

Contemporary Liberalism

T.H. Green (1836-1882) was an English philosopher, holding a post of Whyte Professor of Moral Philosophy at Balliol College, Oxford. Although his neo-Hegelian theories were unpublished during his lifetime, they were disseminated by his followers and became incorporated into the thinking of many New Liberal politicians at the beginning of the 20th century.

Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation (1886)

John Dewey (1869-1952) was a well-known American progressive during the first half of the 20th century. He is regarded as a major educational reformer, an important psychologist, and a major contributor to pragmatism as an American philosophy. He held positions at the University of Chicago and Columbia University.

The Public and Its Problems (Swallow, 1927)

Liberalism and Social Action (Putnam, 1935)

Freedom and Culture (Putnam, 1939)

Karl Popper (1902-1994) was an Austrian-born philosopher who became a professor at the London School of Economics. He became well-known for his work in the philosophy of science, developing a classical inductive account of the scientific method as a vehicle for falsifying inadequate theories. He was also well-known for his advocacy of “an open society,” which was governed on the basis of liberal democratic principles.

The Open Society and Its Enemies (Routledge, 1945)

John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) was an extremely innovative and influential British economist whose ideas defined the Keynesian fiscal policies adopted by most liberals to combat economic instability. A successful investor, he held various positions in the British government and became an influential advocate of a strong interventionist government.

General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money (Harcourt, 1936)

The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes, 21 Volumes (St. Martin's, 1971-78)

John Kenneth Galbraith (1908- 2006) was a Canadian-born economist who built on many of Keynes theories and taught at Harvard. He wrote several economic books developing his progressive and liberal ideas in the 1950s and 1960s that became best-sellers. He served in many Democratic administrations, including those of Franklin Roosevelt, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson.

The Affluent Society (Houghton Mifflin, 1958)

Economics and Public Purpose (Houghton Mifflin, 1973)

Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929 - 1968) was the most prominent leader of the American Civil Rights Movement during the 1960s. A spell-binding orator and advocate of nonviolent direct action as a means of overcoming racial discrimination and advancing the cause of social justice for poor people, he was assassinated in 1968. He remains a symbol of racial integration and social justice, as Martin Luther King Day has been an American national holiday since 1986.

"Letter from Birmingham Jail" in *Why We Can't Wait* (Harper and Row, 1964)

Robert Dahl (1915 -) is a leading contributor to pluralist public philosophy. As noted above, Dahl was Sterling Professor of Politics at Yale University, and continues to publish prolifically on democracy since his retirement. His work ranges from an early collaboration with Charles Lindblom describing and celebrating the liberal “grand compromise” between capitalism and the working class to a criticism of the undemocratic limitations of the American Constitution.

Politics, Economics, and Welfare, with Charles E. Lindblom (Harper and Row, 1953)

How Democratic Is the American Constitution, 2nd ed. (Yale University Press, 2004)

On Political Equality (Yale University Press, 2006)

Robert Reich (1946 -) has held professorships at Harvard and Brandeis and is currently a professor at the Goldman School of Public Policy at the University of California – Berkeley. He was Secretary of Labor during Bill Clinton’s first term as American President. He was a co-founder and editor of the *American Prospect: A Journal of Liberal Intelligence*, and he is a frequent commentator on current events

The Next American Frontier (TimesBooks, 1983)

The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for the 21st Century (Knopf, 1991)

The Future of Success (Knopf, 2000)

Supercapitalism (Knopf, 2007)

Contemporary Conservatism

William F. Buckley, Jr. (1925-) is a political commentator who founded the *National Review* in 1955, which helped launch the contemporary conservative movement in the United States, and he has hosted *Firing Line* on PBS.

McCarthy and His Enemies: The Record and Its Meaning (Regnery, 1954)

Up From Liberalism (Hillman, 1959)

Keeping the Tablets: Modern American Conservative Thought

edited with Charles R. Kesler (Harper and Row, 1988)

Barry Goldwater (1909 - 1998) was a five term U.S. Senator from Arizona and Republican Candidate for President in 1964. Despite being decisively defeated by Lyndon Johnson, his candidacy fueled conservative passions throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

The Conscience of a Conservative (Hillman, 1960)

Milton Friedman (1912 - 2006) was a Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago from 1946-1977 and was a fellow of the Hoover Institute at Stanford from 1978 until his death. His popular books stressed a minimal role for government and the importance of free markets. His scholarly work provided the intellectual basis for a monetary approach to economic stability as an alternative to the liberal Keynesian approach; he was awarded the 1976 Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences for such work.

Capitalism and Freedom (University of Chicago Press, 1962)

Free to Choose: A Personal Statement with Rose Friedman (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1980)

George Gilder (1939 -) is an American writer who co-founded the Discovery Institute and publishes the *Gilder Technology Report*. His *Wealth and Poverty* was a best-seller and provided intellectual support for many pro-capitalist policies pursued by the Reagan Administration.

Wealth and Poverty (Basic Books, 1981)

Charles Murray (1943 -) is a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank in Washington. His books and various articles in leading conservative journals have often been lightning rods, criticized for their insensitivity to minorities and non-Western cultures.

Losing Ground (Basic Books, 1984)

The Bell Curve, with Richard Herrnstein (Free Press, 1994)

Human Accomplishment: The Pursuit of Excellence in the Arts and Sciences, 500 BC to 1950 (HarperCollins, 2003)

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick (1927 - 2006) was a long-time professor of political science at Georgetown University in Washington DC. She was influential foreign policy advisor for Ronald Reagan and became US Ambassador to the United Nations. Her “Kirkpatrick doctrine” endorsed U.S. support for anti-communist dictatorships around the world.

Dictatorships and Double Standards (Simon and Schuster, 1980)

The Withering Away of the Totalitarian State and Other Surprises (AEI Books, 1990)
Making War to Keep Peace (HarperCollins, 2007)

George Will (1941 -) is one of the most widely read conservative columnists in America. As a writer for the *Washington Post*, his columns are syndicated throughout much of the country twice weekly. He can also be read on the last page of Newsweek every other week. His conservatism has not translated into automatic support for all conservative policies, however, as he has been critical of some Bush nominations for the Supreme Court (notably Harriet Meyers) and many of the Bush policies regarding Iraq.

Statecraft as Soulcraft: What Government Does (Simon and Schuster, 1982)

The Pursuit of Virtue and Other Tory Notions (Simon and Schuster, 1983)

Carl Schmitt (1888-1985) was a brilliant German political theorist who held law professorships at Bonn and Berlin during the Weimer Republic. He was highly critical of liberalism, rejecting its optimistic view of human and social progress and its embrace of mass democracy. He believed nations needed strong executives to overcome the partisan divisions that made liberal legislatures impotent. He argued for the need of emergency executive powers to defend Republican Constitutions in extreme cases, such as that confronting Germany with the rise of Nazism. Although he made some compromises with the Nazis, he became an “internal emigrant” in 1936 and for the rest of Hitler’s regime. His writings have attracted attention of many political philosophers in the later half of the 20th century.

The Concept of the Political (Rutgers University Press, 1975)

Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty (MIT Press, 1985)

The Radical Right

Libertarianism

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Friedrich Hayek (1899 - 1992) was an Austrian born and educated economist, who is considered one of the most important political and economic philosophers of the 20th century. He was on the faculty of the London School of Economics from 1931 to 1950, a professor at the University of Chicago from 1951 to 1962 and at Freiburg University (one of the leading Universities in Germany) from 1962 until his retirement in 1968. He was a strong critic of all forms of socialism and collectivism and a defender of free-market capitalism.

Road to Serfdom (Routledge and Sons, 1944)

The Constitution of Liberty (University of Chicago Press, 1960)

Law, Legislation, and Liberty, Volumes 1, 2 and 3 (University of Chicago Press, 1973-79)

Ayn Rand (1905 - 1982) was a Russian born novelist and intellectual. She was an uncompromising advocate of rational individualism and capitalism and developed a philosophical system that she called "objectivism." Her novels, especially, *the Fountainhead* (1943) and *Atlas Shrugged* (1957) were huge best-sellers.

The Virtues of Selfishness, with Nathaniel Brandan (New American Library, 1964)

Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal, with Nathaniel Brandan, Alan Greenspan, and Richard Hessian (New American Library, 1966)

Introduction to Objectivist Epistemology (Objective, Inc., 1967)

Robert Nozick (1938 – 2002) was Pellenrino University Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University. He gained prominence with the publication of *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* in 1974, which was a libertarian response to John Rawls' *Theory of Justice*. The so-called Rawls-Nozick debate was central to political philosophy throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Anarchy, State, and Utopia (Basic Books, 1974)

The Examined Life (Simon and Schuster, 1989)

Murray N. Rothbard (1926-1995) was an influential professor of economics at the University of Nevada – Las Vegas. He was a proponent of the Austrian school of economics and became active in the Libertarian Party during the 1970s and 1980s.

Man, Economy and State (Van Nostrand, 1962)

For A New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto (Macmillan, 1973)

Ethics of Liberty (Humanities Press, 1982)

Global Neoliberalism

Margaret Thatcher (1925 -) was leader of the Conservative Party and British Prime Minister from 1979-1990. By stressing the importance of the individual relative to society, she represents the great changes in conservative thinking from its traditional emphasis on organic society to its present celebration of global free markets. She is regarded as the most dogged and intellectual of the world leaders who helped bring the Cold War era to an end, develop a global political economy, and reduce welfare policies that she thought incompatible with effective participation in global markets.

Statecraft (HarperCollins, 2002)

Thomas Friedman (1953 -) has been a newspaper columnist for the *New York Times* since 1991. His op-ed analyses focus on foreign affairs, especially in the Arabic world. He also addresses environmental, energy, and globalization issues. His books on globalization have been best-sellers.

The Lexus and the Olive Tree (Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1999)

The World is Flat (Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2004)

Francis Fukuyama (1952 -) is Bernard L. Schwarz Professor of International Political Economy at Johns Hopkins University. His *End of History* received extensive attention in the academy, as it provided an account of a progressive human history that culminates in liberal democracy throughout the world. His celebration of free markets made his work compatible with neoliberalism, but he was often seen as more of a neoconservative until he repudiated its growing turn to militant foreign policy.

The End of History and the Last Man (Free Press, 1992)

Statebuilding (Cornell University Press, 2004)

America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and Neoconservative Legacy (Yale University Press, 2006)

Jagdish Bhagwati (1934 -) is an Indian-born professor of economics at Columbia University. His work celebrates global free-trade.

In Defense of Globalization (Oxford University Press, 2004)

Traditional Communitarianism

Alasdair MacIntyre (1929 -) is a Scottish-born moral philosopher who has taught at many American universities including Yale, Duke and Princeton, but is normally associated with Notre Dame University because of his endorsement of many neo-Thomist ideas. He is highly critical of liberalism, claiming that it has no moral coherence and can sustain only a feeble social order. Although he denies a universal conception of the good, he believes every community must embrace a specific moral tradition. He endorses a tradition that synthesizes Aristotle and Christianity.

After Virtue (University of Notre Dame Press, 1981)

Whose Justice, Whose Rationality? (University of Notre Dame Press, 1988)

Three Rival Versions of Moral Inquiry (University of Notre Dame Press, 1990)

May Ann Glendon (1938 -) is Learned Hand Professor of Law at Harvard. She has taken conservative positions on many social issues and has been appointed or nominated by President Bush to various commissions and positions.

Rights Talk (Free Press, 1991)

Abortion and Divorce in Western Law (Harvard University Press, 1987)

Charles Taylor (1931 -) is a Canadian philosopher who has held prestigious chairs at Oxford University and McGill University (in Montreal) prior to retirement. Taylor is most well-known for his criticisms of the liberal conception of the self. Relative to other communitarians (a label with which he is uncomfortable), he is difficult to classify; while he ran for public office in the 1960s as a social democrat, he seems to espouse a moral life based on traditional religious beliefs.

Sources of the Self (Harvard University Press, 1989)

Multiculturalism and 'the Politics of Recognition', edited by Amy Gutmann (Princeton University Press, 1997)

Secular Age (University of Harvard Press, 2007)

Neoconservatism

Irving Kristol (1920 -) is considered the founder of American neoconservatism. A former leftist, he claims to have turned conservative when he was "mugged by reality." In 1965 he founded *The Public Interest* as a vehicle for developing a neoconservative domestic political agenda, and in 1985 he founded *The National Interest* as a vehicle for developing a neoconservative foreign policy agenda. He has been associated with the American Enterprise Institute since 1988.

Two Cheers for Capitalism (Basic Books, 1978)

Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea (Free Press, 1995)

Present Dangers: Crisis and Opportunity in American Foreign Policy, edited with Robert Kagan (Encounter Books, 2000)

Robert Kagan (1958 -) is an American scholar who specializes in foreign policy issues and who is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He has been active in various conservative organizations and an advisor to various conservative politicians.

Of Paradise and Power (Knopf, 2003)

Dangerous Nation (Knopf, 2006)

Norman Podhoretz (1930 -) is a leading neoconservative who edited *Commentary* from 1960 to 1995, and he remains one its editors-at-large. His current advocacy of military intervention in Iraq and Iran has been widely discussed.

World War IV: The Long Struggle Against Islamofascism (Doubleday, 2007)

Condoleezza Rice (1954 -) was professor of political science and then Provost at Stanford University before becoming a foreign policy advisor to George W. Bush. She has been Secretary of State during Bush's second term.

"Campaign 2000: Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs* (Jan/Feb 2000)

Cultural and Social Conservatism

Samuel P. Huntington (1927 -) is a well-known professor of political science and international affairs at Harvard. His work has challenged the theses that modernization contributes to stable democracies, that universal acceptance of liberal democracy has replaced tensions among peoples from various civilizations, and that important national identities can be sustained in the face of extensive immigration.

Political Order in a Changing Societies (Yale University Press, 1968)

The Clash of Civilizations and the New World Order (Simon and Schuster, 1996)

Who are We? (Simon and Schuster, 2004)

William J. Bennett (1943 -) is an influential conservative author, speaker, and radio host ("Morning in America"). He was Secretary of Education in the Reagan Administration and "DrugCzar" under President George H. Bush.

The Book of Virtues (Simon and Schuster, 1993)

America: The Last Best Hope, Vols I and II (Nelson Thomas, 2006)

Allan Bloom (1930 - 1992) was a political philosopher and advocate of education in the "Great Books" at the University of Chicago. His *Closing of the American Mind* described what he saw as the inadequacies of American universities.

The Closing of the American Mind (Simon and Schuster, 1987)

Robert Bork (1927 -) is a law professor at Ave Maria School of Law in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and has been a legal scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. He is known for his criticisms of the activist Warren Court of the 1960s and 1970s and as an advocate of "originalism" – a doctrine that Supreme Court judges should exercise judicial restraint and be guided by the founders original intentions when they wrote the Constitution. Democratic opposition to his nomination for the Supreme Court in 1987 is that to have contributed significantly to the polarization of American politics in recent years.

Slouching toward Gomarah (Regan Books 1996)

Gertrude Himmelfarb (1922) is professor emeritus of history at City University of New York (and wife of Irving Kristol) . Beyond her scholarly work on intellectual history in Victorian England, she is know for her criticisms of university education and of liberal culture.

The De-moralization Of Society (Knopf, 1996)

The Religious Right

Richard John Neuhaus (1935 -) is a Canadian born Catholic Priest who has become known as one of America's most influential evangelicals and as a "theoconservative." In 1990, he founded *First Things*, a journal having as its purpose the development of a religiously informed public philosophy. He is alleged to have close ties with George W. Bush and others in his administration.

The Naked Public Square (Eerdmans, 1984)

American Against Itself: Moral Vision and Public Order (University of Notre Dame Press, 1992)

Ralph Reed (1961 -). After Pat Robertson's failed run for the Presidency in 1988, he founded the Christian Coalition as a vehicle for increasing the role of religion in politics, and he hired Reed as its first director in 1990. Reed gained widespread attention (including *Time Magazine* calling him the "Right Hand of God") for mobilizing the electorate against the social liberalism of Bill Clinton and in support of Republican social conservatives in 1994.

Politically Incorrect: The Emerging Faith Factor in American Politics (World Publications, 1994)

Cal Thomas (1942 -) is a conservative syndicated columnist and a commentator on (Fox) television and radio. He was vice president of Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority during the early 1980s.

The Things that Matter Most (HarperCollins, 1984)

Blinded by Might: Can the Religion Right Save America (Vondervan, 1999)

Common Ground: How to Stop the Partisan War that is Destroying America, with Bob Beckel (HarperCollins, 2007)

National Protectionism

Pat Buchanan (1938 -) is an American politician, author, syndicated columnist and commentator on radio and television. He was a speechwriter for Richard Nixon. He has run for the Presidency on three occasions, both as a Republican (in 1992 and 1996) and as a successor to Ross Perot on the Reform Party ticket in 2000.

The Great Betrayal: How American Sovereignty and Social Justice are being Sacrificed to the Gods of Global Economy (Little Brown, 1998)

State of Emergency: The World Invasion and Conquest of America (St. Martin's, 2006)

Lou Dobbs (1945 -) is the anchor of CNN and managing editor of *Lou Dobbs Tonight*. His political views have evolved from being a fiscal conservative to being a populist critic of global capitalism and illegal immigration.

Exporting America: Why Corporate Greed Is Shipping American Jobs Overseas (Warner Business Books, 2004)

War on the Middle Class (Viking, 2006)

The Radical Left

Democratic Socialism

Edward Bellamy (1850 – 1898) was an American novelist and socialist. *Looking Backwards* describes an American society in 2000 that was a socialist utopia; it was one of the best-selling books of its era.

Looking Backwards (1888)

Sidney Webb (1859-1947) and **Beatrice Potter Webb** (1858-1943) were English socialist activists, leaders of the Fabian Society and the British Labour Party, and founders of the London School of Economics.

The Fabian Essays (1894)

Industrial Democracy (1890)

Eduard Bernstein (1850 -1932) was a member of the German Social Democratic Party and one its leading theoreticians. He stressed working within democratic institutions to evolve toward a socialist society. He served in the Reichstag (the German Legislature) for much of the first three decades of the 20th century.

Evolutionary Socialism (1899)

George (G.D.H.) Cole (1889 - 1959) was a prominent English political theorist, historian and economist. He was a Fabian who stressed the importance of cooperatives. He was Professor of Social and Economic Theory at University College, Oxford from 1944 to 1957.

Guild Socialism Restated (Parson, 1920)

Capitalism in the Modern World (St. Martin's, 1957)

The Case for Industrial Democracy (St. Martin's, 1958)

Richard H. Tawney (1880 - 1962) was an English economist, historian, and social critic. He became professor at the London School of Economics, where he advocated Christian Socialism, and was influential in formulated educational and economic policies of the Labour Party.

Equality (Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931)

Anthony (C. A. R.) Crosland (1918 - 1977) was an English social theorist, tutor at Oxford, and politician in the Labor Party. In addition to being a long-time member of Parliament, he held various cabinet positions in Labour governments. It is claimed that he advocated principles that foreshadowed those of Tony Blair's New Labour in 1990.

The Future of Socialism (Macmillan, 1956)

Erich Fromm (1900 - 1980) was a German born and educated social psychologist, psychoanalyst, and socialist philosopher. Between 1950 and 1965 he was professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico. As a socialist humanist, he promoted greater attention to Marx's early writings and the humanistic concerns expressed there.

Escape from Freedom (Farrar & Rinehart, 1941)

The Sane Society (Farrar & Rinehart, 1955)

Michael Harrington (1928 - 1992) was an American social democrat, activists, and author. His *Other America* is often credited with forming the basis of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society (anti-poverty) programs. He was a member of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, until it supported the War in Viet Nam, at which time he formed a more pacifist Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

The Other America: Poverty in the United States (Macmillan, 1961)

Twilight of Capitalism (Simon and Schuster, 1976)

Socialism: Past and Future (Arcade, 1989)

Irving Howe (1920 -1993) was an American literary and social critic. He founded an influential intellectual quarterly, *Dissent*, in 1954, and edited it until his death. He was a vocal opponent both of the totalitarian aspects of Soviet-style socialism and of the radicalism of the student New Left movement of the 1960s.

Steady Work: Essays in the Politics of Democratic Radicalism (Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1966)

Socialism and America (Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1985)

Liberal Egalitarianism

John Rawls (1921- 2002), a Harvard professor of philosophy is widely regarded as the most significant American political philosopher during the later part of the 20th century. As indicated earlier in this document, Rawls made many contributions to pluralist public philosophy. However, his magnum opus, *A Theory of Justice*, originally published in 1971, developed and defending an egalitarian form of liberalism.

A Theory of Justice, revised edition (Harvard University Press, 1999)

“Justice as Fairness: Political not Metaphysical,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (Summer, 1985): 223-251

Ronald Dworkin (1931 -) is an American legal philosopher who, prior to his retirement, taught at Oxford, University College, London, and in New York University School of Law. His theory of equality stresses two elements: that humans are responsible for their own life choices, and that natural endowments of talents are morally arbitrary.

Taking Rights Seriously (Harvard University Press, 1977)

“What is Equality?” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (July and Sept, 1981) 185-246 and 283-345

A Matter of Principle (Harvard University Press, 1985)

Sovereign Virtue: The Theory and Practice of Equality (Harvard University Press, 2000)

Brian Barry (1936 -) is an Oxford-trained political philosopher who has held professorships at the London School of Economics, Columbia, and the University of Chicago.

The Liberal Theory of Justice (Oxford University Press, 1973)

Theories of Justice (University of California Press, 1989)

Justice as Impartiality (Oxford University Press, 1995)

Why Social Justice Matters (Polity Press, 2005)

Civic Communitarianism

Michael Walzer (1935 -) is one of the leading political theorists in America, who is an important contributor to pluralist public philosophy, as noted earlier in this document. He is also recognized as a civic communitarian, whose work fuses the concerns of democratic socialists and contemporary liberals.

Just and Unjust Wars (Basic Books, 1977)

Spheres of Justice (Basic Books, 1983)

Thick and Thin (University of Notre Dame Press, 1994)

Michael Sandel (1953 -) is an Oxford-trained political theorist at Harvard University. He is noted for his criticisms of Rawls' approach in a *Theory of Justice*, preferring to understand political ethics in terms of socially constructed values rather than by hypothetical processes in which individuals forsake their social identities. He has also proposed that American public philosophy should resemble a communitarianism stressing the development of important citizen virtues.

Liberalism and the Limits of Justice (Cambridge University Press, 1982)

Democracy's Discontents (Harvard University Press, 1996)

Public Philosophy: Essays on Morality in Politics (Harvard University Press, 2005)

Philip Selznick (1919 -) is a major contributor to the field of public administration and is professor emeritus of law and society at the University of California – Berkeley.

The Moral Commonwealth (University of California Press, 1992)

The Communitarian Persuasion (Johns Hopkins Press, 2002)

Cornel West (1953 -) is a Princeton-trained professor of African-American and religious studies. He is frequently cited in the media as a leading American intellectual and is often a speaker on contemporary issues.

Race Matters (Beacon, 1993)

Democracy Matters: Winning the Fights against Imperialism (Beacon, 2004)

Radical Democrats

Benjamin Barber (1939 -) is a prominent American democratic theorist who is Gershon and Carol Kekst Professor of Civil Society and Distinguished University Professor at the University of Maryland, College Park. He is also president and director of the international NGO CivWorld.

Strong Democracy (University of California Press, 1984)

Jihad vs. McWorld (TimesBooks, 1996)

A Passion for Democracy (Princeton University Press, 1998)

Iris Marion Young (1949 – 2006) was a prominent political theorist, contributing to social feminist theory, theories of justice, as well as democratic theory. She was a professor of political science at Pittsburgh University before taking a similar position at the University of Chicago.

Justice and the Politics of Difference (Princeton University Press, 1990)

Inclusion and Democracy (Oxford University Press, 2000)

Chantal Mouffe (1943 -) is a Belgium-born political theory who is a professor at Westminster University in England. She is regarded as a post-Marxist who advocates a radical democracy where not only class conflicts but a wide plurality of social conflicts are played out.

Hegemony and Social Strategy, with Ernesto Laclau (Verso, 1985)

On the Political (Routledge, 1995)

The Challenge of Carl Schmitt (Verso, 1999)

Ralph Nader (1934 -) is an American lawyer and politician. He burst upon the public scene in 1965 with his book *Unsafe at Any Speed*, which condemned many American-built automobiles, especially the Chevrolet Corvair. In 1971 he founded Public Citizen, an NGO that employed many young activists (Nader's Raiders) to expose dubious business practices. He has run for President four times, including in 2000, where he received almost 3 percent of the vote, probably costing Al Gore the election.

Unsafe at any Speed (Grossman, 1965)

Case against 'Free Trade' (East Island Press, 1993)

Crashing the Party: Taking on Corporate Government in an Age of Surrender (St. Martins, 2002)

The Ralph Nader Reader (Seven Stories Press, 2000)

Greens

Aldo Leopold (1886 - 1948) was an American forester who became Professor Game Management at the University of Wisconsin – Madison. The “land ethic” that he developed in Sand County Almanac is usually regarded as profoundly changing American environmentalism and enhancing his reputation as the father of wildlife management.

A Sand County Almanac; and Sketches Here and There (Oxford University Press, 1949)

Rachael Carson (1907 - 1964) was an American marine biologist and nature writer. *Silent Spring* brought great public attention to environmental concerns and helped reverse pesticide policies
Silent Spring (Houghton Mifflin, 1962)

Barry Commoner (1917 -) was an American plant biologist who was a professor at Washington University in St. Louis. He became well known for his protests against nuclear testing, and ran for the Presidency in 1980 on the Citizens' Party label.

Science and Survival (Viking, 1966)

The Closing Circle: Nature, Man and Technology (Knopf, 1971)

The Poverty of Power: Energy and the Economic Crisis (Knopf, 1977)

Petra Kelly (1947 - 1992) was a very popular and influential German politician who served in the Bundestag from 1983-1990 and was instrumental in founding the German Green Party, the first major national Green Party. Her reputation as an effective spokeswoman for Green causes was enhanced by her murder in 1992.

Fighting for Hope (Hogarth, 1984)

Al Gore (1948 -) served Tennessee constituencies eight years in the US House of Representatives and another eight years in the Senate, before becoming Vice-President in the Clinton administration and then winning the popular vote while losing the electoral vote for the American Presidency in 2000. He was known for commitment to and expertise in environmental issues before winning Oscars and the Nobel Prize for his *An Inconvenient Truth*, documenting the dangers of global warming.

Earth in the Balance (Penguin, 1992)

An Inconvenient Truth (Penguin, 2006)

Radical Feminism

Kate Millett (1934 -) is a leading American feminist, activist, and writer, whose *Sexual Politics* provided a comprehensive critique of patriarchy in Western society and literature.

Sexual Politics (New England Free Press, 1970)

Catharine MacKinnon (1946 -) is a leading American feminist theorist and professor of law at the University of Michigan. She has also been active on many political issues of interest to women, including sexual harassment and pornography.

Feminism Unmodified (Harvard University Press, 1977)

Toward a Feminist Theory of the State (Harvard University Press, 1989)

Women's Lives, Men's Laws (Harvard University Press, 2005)

Susan Moller Okin (1946-2004) was a New Zealand born feminist theorist who became Marta Sutton Weeks Professor of Ethics in Society at Stanford University in 1990. She has been particularly influential in attacking the leading contemporary (male) theorists of justice, pointing out their dependence on male values and language and on how they fail to take adequate account of the injustices that occur in family life.

Women in Western Political Thought (Princeton University Press, 1979)

Justice, Gender, and the Family (Basic Books, 1989)

Anne Phillips (1950 -) is a professor of political theory at the London School of Economics, where she is Director of its Gender Institute. Her books have focused on equality, feminism, multiculturalism, human rights, equality, and democracy (especially issues of representation).

Engendering Democracy (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991)

Democracy and Difference (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993)

Politics of Presence (Oxford University Press, 1995)

Racial Supremacists and Separatism

Marcus Garvey (1887 – 1940) was a Jamaican-born activist on behalf of African-Americans in the 1920s and 1930s. He founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association to focus on African pride and culture, and the UNIA soon surpassed the NAACP, becoming the largest mass organization for blacks in America. Garvey believed that African Americans could best achieve equality by segregating themselves from white society and forming their own internal government.

The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, edited by Amy Jacques Garvey
(Atheneum, 1986)

Louis Farrakhan (1933 -) is the head of the Nation of Islam in America, an advocate of African American interests, and a critic of American society. He is well-known for his many controversial statements regarding Jews, Gays, and American race relations and for his role in organizing the Million Man March in 1995.

A Torchlight for America (FCN Publishers, 1993)
Farrakhan in his Own Words (2006)

William L. Pierce III (1933 – 2002) was the leader of the National Alliance organization, and a principal spokesman for the white nationalist movement. His *Turner Diaries*, written under the pseudonym of Andrew Macdonald, was a novel depicting and glamorizing racial war.

The Turner Diaries (National Alliance, 1978)

Ben Klassen (1918 – 1993) was the founder of the white supremacist Church of the Creator. He popularized the term Racial Holy War (RaHoWa).

The White Man's Bible (Church of the Creator, 1981)
Racial Loyalty (Church of the Creator, 1983)
On the Brink of Bloody Racial War (Church of the Creator, 1993)

David E. Duke (1950 -) is a former Grand Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. He has run for various public offices, including the Governor of Louisiana and the Presidency of the United States. He claims to be a white nationalist rather than a white supremacy, holding that all races and ethnic groups have a right to maintain their own heritage by segregating themselves from others.

My Awakening (Free Speech Press, 1998)

Religious Fundamentalisms

Meir Kahane (1932 – 1990) is an American-Israeli orthodox rabbi who has formed a couple of controversial organizations on behalf of a theocratic greater Israel: The Jewish Defense League and Kach (a political party that was outlawed in 1994 for its racist views)

Our Challenge: The Chosen Land (Chilton Books, 1974)
Uncomfortable Questions for Comfortable Jews (L. Stuart, 1987)

Jerry Falwell (1958 – 2007) was a fundamentalist Christian pastor and televangelist who led services at Thomas Road Baptist Church, a megachurch in Lynchburg, Virginia. He founded Liberty University in 1971 and established the Moral Majority in 1979. The Moral Majority was a very prominent movement in the 1980s and is credited with delivering huge numbers of votes to Ronald Reagan in 1980.

The Fundamentalist Phenomenon (Doubleday, 1981)

Timothy F. LaHaye (1926 -) is an American evangelical preacher whose apocalyptic novels with Jerry B. Jenkins – his *Left Behind* series – have sold over 65 million copies and been viewed by Jerry Falwell as having an impact on Christianity second only to the Bible.

The Battle for the Mind (Revell, 1980)

Left Behind, with Jerry Jenkins (1995)

Pat Robertson (1930 -) is a televangelist and host of the 700 Club, a popular Christian television program. He also formed the Christian Coalition and other organizations to his conservative social agenda. He ran unsuccessfully for the Presidency in 1988.

The Secret Kingdom, with Robert Slosser (World, 1982)

The New World Order (World, 1991)

Sayyid, Qutb (1906 – 1966) was an Egyptian and the leading intellectual of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood during the 1950s and 60s. His writing emphasized the social and political role of Islam, and his ideas are often said to have shaped the views of Osama Bin Laden and become part of the worldview of Al Qaeda terrorists.

Social Justice in Islam, translated by John B. Hardie (American Council of Learned Societies, 1953)

Milestones (Kazi Publication, 1964)

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1900 – 1989) was a spiritual leader of many Shia Muslims. He was a leader of the 1979 Iranian Revolution, and became the Supreme Leader of Iran's Islamic Fundamentalist theocracy that succeeded the pro-Western Pahlavi regime.

Islam and Revolution (Mizan Press, 1981)

“We Shall Confront the World with our Ideology,” Middle East Research and Information Project Reports 88 (1980)

Osama Bin Laden (1957 -) is a member of a wealthy and powerful Saudi family and is thought to be the founder and spiritual leader of Al Qaeda, the terrorist organization responsible for the events of 9/11/01. Of course, his precise whereabouts these days remains unknown.

Al Qaeda Reader, edited by Raymond Ibrahim (Doubleday, 2007)

Poststructuralism

Michel Foucault (1926 - 1984) was a French philosopher, sociologist, and historian who was a professor at the College de France (he also taught at the University of California – Berkeley). His work was highly critical of the disciplinary control that various professions inflicted on their clients and patients, and he developed a conception of power to focus attention on such control. He is usually regarded as a major formulator of post-modernism and post-structuralism, though he repudiated these labels.

Power/Knowledge (Pantheon, 1980)

The History of Sexuality (Pantheon, 1976-1984)

Essential Works of Michel Foucault, edited by Paul Rabinow (New Press, 1997)

Jacque Derrida (1930 – 2004) was an Algerian-born French philosopher who founded deconstructionism, which is a form of literary criticism that opens texts to many interpretations. Although his most permanent academic positions were at the Sorbonne (from 1960 to 1964 and at the Ecole Normale Supérieure from 1964-1984, he had numerous other visiting professorships at such American universities as Yale, Johns Hopkins, and NYU. He was active on many issues of importance to the contemporary left.

Of Grammatology (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976)

Writing and Difference (University of Chicago Press, 1979)

Jean-Francois Lyotard (1924 – 1990) was a French philosopher who founded the Collège International de Philosophie, Paris. He had numerous university appointments including at the University of California – Irving, University of San Paulo, Yale, and Emory in Atlanta. He was a post-modernist who opposed all “grand narratives.”
The Lyotard Reader, edited by Andrew Benjamin (Blackwell, 1989)

William E. Connolly is currently Krieger-Eisenhower Professor of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University. He was previously listed as a pluralist, who brings a distinctly leftist orientation to pluralism. He argues that political language is hardly neutral but instead structures political life. He thus stresses that our political concepts must be “essentially contested.”
Terms of Political Discourse (Heath, 1975)
Political Theory and Modernity (University of Cornell Press, 1988)
Pluralism (Duke University Press, 2005)

Post-Modern Feminism

Mary Daly (1928 -) was a radical feminist and theologian who held an appointment at Boston College for 33 years before she forced to retire in 1999 for being unwilling to admit male students into her classes. Among her interests was exposing the andocentric aspects of Western religions
Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism (Beacon, 1978)
Pure Lust: Elemental Feminist Philosophy (Beacon, 1984)

Nancy Hartsock (1943 -) is a feminist philosopher at the University of Washington – Seattle. Her work draws heavily on Marx, as she claims that the oppression of women have given them a distinctive (and perhaps superior) standpoint, just as the oppression of the proletariat would give it a leading role in generating progressive change in Marx’s theories.
Money, Sex, and Power (Longman, 1985)
The Feminist Standpoint Revisited (Westview, 1999)

Judith Butler (1956 -) is an American feminist and poststructuralist who is a professor of rhetoric and comparative literature at the University of California – Berkeley. Drawing on Foucault, she argues that understandings of sex, sexuality, and gender are subject to disciplinary controls that involve stylized and repetitive performances.
Feminists Theorize the Political, with Joan Scott (Routledge, 1992)
Gender Trouble (Routledge, 1990)
Undoing Gender (Routledge, 2004)

Neo-Anarchism

Antonio Negri (1933 -) is an Italian political philosopher who was a professor at Padua University. His role in autonomia, a communist revolutionary organization, led to his arrest and imprisonment on charges of engaging in insurrection against the state (after stronger charges were dropped that he had masterminded the assassination of an Italian politician). His most famous books, co-authored with Michael Hardt (who wrote his Ph.D. under Negri’s guidance and is now a Professor of Literature at Duke), were written while in Negri was in jail between 1997 and 2003.
Empire, with Michael Hardt (Harvard University Press, 2000)
Multitude, with Michael Hardt (Penguin, 2004)
Goodbye Mr. Socialism, with Raf Scelsi (Seven Stories, 2007)

Noam Chomsky (1928 -) is an American linguist, philosopher, activist, and writer who is a professor emeritus of linguistics at MIT. He is one of the most widely cited writers of our times, with his political writings gathering even more attention than his many

contributions to the naturalistic study of languages. He is frequently sought as a speaker for the left on issues of US foreign policy.

Understanding Power: The Indispensable Chomsky, edited by Mitchell, Peter R. and John Schoeffel (New Press, 2002)

Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy (Metropolitan, 2006)

Imperial Ambitions (Conversations on the Post 9/11 World (Metropolitan, 2005)

Profit Over People: Neoliberalism and the Global Order (Seven Stories Press, 1999)

Deep Greens

E. F. Schumacher (1911-1977) was an economist who worked for 20 years as the Chief Economic Advisor to the National Coal Board in the United Kingdom. He opposed many orientations of neo-classical economics, declaring that a focus on productivity and technology was dehumanizing. He thought it more important that work be dignified and meaningful than efficient. His stress on an economy that was compatible with preserving the environment has made him an icon among greens.

Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered (Harper and Row, 1975)

James Lovelock (1919 -) is a British environmentalist, author, and futurologist who has conducted research in various governmental and university laboratories in England and the US. His famous Gaia hypothesis, that the earth is a self-regulating organism, should not be interpreted as suggesting that the Earth will respond to global warming by establishing a new equilibrium that sustains life. To the contrary, he has asserted that global warming may make life on Earth intolerable by the end of the century.

Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth (Oxford University Press, 1979)

Arne Naess (1912 -) is a foremost Norwegian philosopher, who was a professor at Oslo University. He is known as the founder of deep ecology, which asserts the right of all humans, animals, and vegetation to live and blossom. Such blossoming must be allowed to occur within processes that are integrated within the larger ecological system of which all living beings are a part.

Ecology, Community, and Lifestyle: Outline for an Ecosophy (Cambridge University Press, 1989)