Dignity, Rights, Liberalism, and Universalism
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Introduction

(I) Few subjects in the humanities have as many volumes dedicated to them as *human rights* and *human dignity*. Both concepts are interdisciplinary in ways that other concepts can hardly approximate. On the one hand, the value of the individual, and the respect that is owed to him or her, can be seen as the outgrowth of a certain religious heritage, and so theology and religious ethics have significantly contributed to normative reflections on rights and dignity. On the other hand, a strong case can be made that rights and dignity were not really fleshed out until "exclusive humanism" (to use Charles Taylor's phrase) became a possibility, and therefore philosophy, ethics, and legal studies have contributed their own normative accounts of rights and dignity. Furthermore, historians of human rights have for the last twenty years called into question both theological and secular accounts of rights and dignity, using historical and sociological tools to show their contingency since World War II and thereby highlighting hidden, and sometimes nefarious, logics that inhere in both concepts. That is to say, accounts of rights and dignity are shown to be much more recent and ideological than many theological and secular accounts acknowledge.

I have tried in this bibliography to gather a reasonable sampling of each type of book. The selection is based primarily on newer texts, occasionally reaching back to include some "classics" that have received scholarly attention since their publication. In particular, I have tried to focus on books that challenge the traditionally received narratives of human rights and dignity as either flowing uninterrupted from theological sources or as being fully formed responses to violence in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I also include prominent voices that are unrepentant in their defense of intrinsic dignity and universal human rights, even as I usually only include these books if they are late enough to have taken account of some of the challenges offered by "revisionist" accounts of rights and dignity.

I have split this section into three subsections, corresponding to (**1a**) theological, (**1b**) philosophical, and (**1c**) sociological/historical accounts of rights and dignity.

(II) As a natural continuation of many discussions of universalistic and particularistic claims involved in debates around rights and dignity, the second part of the bibliography concerns (**2a**) *political liberalism* and (**2b**) *ethical universalism*. I pay special attention to religious claims in liberal societies in relation to the former, and the viability of ethical universalism after the turn to postmodern particularism in relation to the latter. Political liberalism has increasingly come under attack from both conservative and liberal/radical authors. Since those on the right of the po-

litical spectrum criticize liberalism as its own form of religion, or even as a totalitarian metaphysic – even as liberalism purports to be "neutral" toward competing conceptions of the good – there emerges the claim that the liberal project has lost steam. The left, by contrast, criticizes liberalism as a Western political construct that is complicit in the colonialist, imperialist, and racist projects of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, and therefore inimical to a truly liberative politics. Further, even liberals have challenged liberalism as being illegitimately narrow in the types of claims that it will allow to enter the public sphere, holding to an indefensible idea of secular rationality that unjustly discriminates against even tolerant religious actors.

Ethical universalism, and by extension cosmopolitanism and humanitarianism, concerns the scope and extent of moral claims, and how far and by what means political action should extend these claims. Universalism was seen as a medieval and "modern" form of politics which lacked a sufficiently developed appreciation of abiding forms of difference, and therefore foisted its theological or secular beliefs (which are thoroughly contingent) upon others under the guise of necessity and universality. In relation to both religious claims in liberal societies, and the viability of ethical universalism after postmodernism, I pay attention to accounts that take on board the deepest critiques but remain (mostly) sympathetic with political liberalism and universalism.

Part 1a: Human Rights/Dignity — Christian, Islamic, Jewish

Carulli, Ombretta Fumagalli and Vittorio Possenti, *Catholic Social Doctrine and Human Rights* (Vatican City: Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, 2010)

A collection of papers delivered at the Vatican in light of the sixtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Scholars in law, theology, philosophy, and other disciplines explore the relationship between Christianity and contemporary human rights, focusing especially on the urgency of certain particular rights such as life and freedom of conscience.

Ghanea-Hercock, Nazila, Alan Stephens and Raphael Walden (eds.), *Does God Believe in Human Rights?* (Leiden: Brill, 2007)

This collection brings together essays to address the relationship between religious faith and human rights doctrine. Among the many specific topics discussed, a unifying theme is the priorities and potential conflicts implicit in the intersection between secular human rights and religiously motivated action.

Little, David, *Essays on Religion and Human Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

This book brings together essays by the well-known scholar of human rights, David Little. Among the essays are important reviews of other scholars in the field. For example, Little critically reviews Samuel Moyn's immensely influential book, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (see below).

Mittleman, Alan, *Human Nature and Jewish Thought: Judaism's Case for Why Persons Matter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015)

Mittleman draws on his own Jewish tradition to argue for the dignity of human beings. He is particularly interested in establishing this point in conversation with modern science, which in certain forms denies the fundamental dignity of human beings because of the natural origin we share with the rest of nature.

Morsink, Johannes, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Challenge of Religion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017)

Morsink extends his defense of human rights to the challenges posed by religious believers about the document's moral import. Morsink argues that the declaration is a sound basis for adjudicating conflicts and must apply to religions as well.

Moyn, Samuel, *Christian Human Rights* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015)

Moyn contends that any understanding of human rights in post-1945 law and politics must take account of the role played by Christians generally, and the Catholic Church in particular. The book argues that rights and dignity were developed and used by conservatives to keep a hold on society while leaving their previous ambivalent relationships with totalitarianism behind and making room for values such as the separation of church and state.

Nurser, John, *For All Peoples and Nations: The Ecumenical Church and Human Rights* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005)

Nurser claims that the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights was the product of a fusion of certain religious and political voices. Highlighting and foregrounding the religious voices, Nurser develops an apologetic for the declaration as a product of the highest religious ideals.

Williams, Thomas, D., *Who Is My Neighbor?: Personalism and the Foundations of Human Rights* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005)

A philosophical foundation for human rights, generated from the viewpoint of Roman Catholic Thomistic personalism. Arguing both against the exclusively juridical, non-foundationalist conception of human rights and the theological criticisms of human rights, Williams aims to show that human rights, grounded in the dignity of the person, are consonant with classical ethical theories that draw on Thomas Aquinas.

Witte, John, and M. Christian Green (eds..), *Religion and Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

A collection of essays by top scholars on the relationship between human rights and various religious traditions and topics. After a first section which looks at the relationship between specific

traditions (Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, etc.) and human rights, a number of more specific topics (ecology, law, exemptions) are covered from various religious perspectives.

Wolterstorff, Nicholas, *Justice: Rights and Wrongs* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010)

A much heralded and highly comprehensive theory of rights and justice. Wolterstorff argues that rights are not a novel invention, but are grounded in European medieval canon law and can be found in both the Hebrew Bible and New Testament. He grounds his own theory of justice in these natural rights and argues that only a theistic interpretation of rights can support affirmations of human worth and dignity. Secular accounts, by contrast, ultimately cannot ground human rights.

Part 1b: Human Rights/Dignity — Philosophical

Beitz, Charles, *The Idea of Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

In this book, Beitz interrogates the idea of a human right from a practical perspective. He makes a case for how human rights should function in international politics and the actions of states, addressing topics such as interventionism, anti-poverty, and the rights of women.

Douzinas, Costas, and Conor Gearty (eds.), *The Meanings of Rights: The Philosophy and Social Theory of Human Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

This collection of essays brings together a diverse group of scholars, many of whom are critical of the idiom of human rights, to discuss the promises and perils of human worth in contemporary struggles for recognition and justice.

Etinson, Adam (ed.), *Human Rights: Moral or Political?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)

One of the most recent and comprehensive collections of essays on the question of the grounds and legitimacy of human rights. Contributions from leading scholars in many different fields address whether human rights are moral or political, their place in history and philosophy, and their place in the work of major political theorists (Rawls, Raz, etc.).

Griffin, James, *On Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

This highly discussed book by philosopher James Griffin answers a question both simple to state yet complex and controversial to answer: what is a human right? Griffin offers a definition of a human right in relation to certain capacities that all human beings share, and gives criteria for discriminating between true and false human rights.

Hoffmann, Stefan-Ludwig (ed.), *Human Rights in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

A collection of essays which brings together the many political contingencies that, when woven together, produced the idea of a universal morality in the form of human rights that is prevalent today.

Hogan, Linda, *Keeping Faith with Human Rights* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2015)

Hogan defends human rights by responding to several prominent criticisms, such as the allegation that they are universal to a problematic extent. Hogan takes these challenges seriously, and therefore places human rights on new ground and directs them toward less problematic ends. The book is also a plea for theologians to adapt the paradigm of human rights despite the criticisms it has sustained.

Hopgood, Stephen, *The Endtimes of Human Rights* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013)

This book articulates a polemic against universal human rights as they have been constructed by the United States and international elites in search of global justice. Hopgood gives a history of how human rights grew from sentimental humanism and Western Christian morality to become a highly ideological and ineffective way of addressing global injustice. He argues for a more decentralized approach to rights that takes into account the complexity of the modern world.

Kateb, George, *Human Dignity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011)

In this widely read work, George Kateb develops an account of human dignity grounded in the uniqueness of human beings. He develops the idea of dignity as a secular, existential value at the core of each individual human that can be articulated through a theory of human rights.

Lefebvre, Alexandre, *Human Rights and the Care of the Self* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2018)

Most discussions of human rights focus on their role in protecting others from violations or providing them with a certain standard of living. This book looks at the role that human rights play in allowing individuals to work upon and transform themselves.

Nooke, Günter, George Lohmann, and Gerhard Wahlers (eds.), *Gelten Menschenrechte universsal? Begründungen und Infragestellungen* (Freiburg: Herder, 2008)

A collection of essays that asks about the merits of the "universal" in "universal human rights." Leading scholars, including the Protestant theologian Eberhard Jüngel, address universalism and particularism.

Phillips, Anne, *The Politics of the Human* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

While many questions about human rights focus on the "rights" aspect of the term, in this book Phillips asks which understandings of the "human" have been central to human rights and how

we should theorize humanness in the future. She argues against essentialist construals of humanity, which define the human by certain characteristics, and commends an anti-foundationalist idea of humanness grounded in encounter.

Sangiovanni, Andrea, *Humanity without Dignity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017)

Sangiovanni rejects the idea that human beings are equal because of some shared, inherent dignity, whether that be construed in terms of rational capacities or in terms of something else. He develops an account of "proper treatment" that grows out of the question about when it is proper to treat others unequally. His account is based on the negative premise that aversion to cruelty and the reality of harm ground our obligations to one another more than a positive account of dignity, which he deems a Christian concept that can be consigned to the past.

Steinhoff, Uwe (ed.), *Do All Persons Have Equal Moral Worth?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

An extended exchange between scholars over what it means for human beings to be equal in dignity and respect. Several prominent egalitarians and anti-egalitarians seek to clarify what terms such as equality, dignity, and respect mean in philosophy and politics while addressing the arguments of the other side.

Waldron, Jeremy: *Dignity, Rank, and Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

In this book, the political philosopher Jeremy Waldron shows how changes within the law around the idea of dignity can influence moral philosophical notions of dignity. In the law, Waldron argues, dignity was not abandoned as a type of "rank": what changed was the admission of all people to the highest rank. Against notions of intrinsic worth, or special capacities, Waldron argues that this idea of all human beings inhabiting the *same* high rank is a beneficial way to understand dignity.

Waldron, Jeremy, *One Another's Equals: The Basis of Human Equality* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017)

Based on his Gifford lectures, Waldron argues for the basic equality of all people in this book. Challenging Enlightenment thinkers who base equality in some capacity, and also against "anti-egalitarians" who call basic equality into question, Waldron argues that despite large differences in moral quality and worthiness, there is a certain base level of equality below which humans cannot fall.

Part 1c: Human Rights/Dignity — Historical and Sociological

Blackburn, Robin *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights* (London: Verso, 2013)

The American Crucible tells the story of slavery and emancipation in the Western world. Blackburn argues that the legacy of abolition was both the foundation of and a continuing influence on

human rights today. In addition, the legacy and history of abolition shapes how we view other political concepts today, such as emancipation and empire.

Bennett, Gaymon, *Technicians of Human Dignity: Bodies, Souls, and the Making of Intrinsic Worth* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016)

Employing history, theology, and poststructural theories of power, Bennett traces the rise of human dignity as "intrinsic worth" and considers the issues attendant to this way of conceiving human worth.

Burke, Roland, *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010)

Against the prevailing tendency to construe international human rights since 1948 as an imposition of Western values, Burke recovers the contributions made by Arab, Asian, and African countries to the policies and emphases of the U.N. General Assembly.

Debes, Remy (ed.), *Dignity: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

This collection of essays includes contributions from leading scholars, each of whom attempts to analyze "dignity" from an interdisciplinary perspective. Historical views illustrate how dignity changed from meaning "rank" to "intrinsic worth." Philosophical treatments, such as the views of Samuel von Pufendorf, Denis Diderot, and Immanuel Kant, receive attention. In addition, socio-cultural treatments of dignity are explored, such as the relationship between early modern ideas of dignity and the "bourgeois virtues."

DeGooyer, Stephanie, Alastair Hunt, Lida Maxwell, and Samuel Moyn, *The Right to Have Rights* (London: Verso, 2018)

Four scholars critically examine Hannah Arendt's idea of the "right to have rights" in light of contemporary issues such as migration, populism, nativism, and the rise of authoritarianism. They argue that rights cannot do the work of securing justice and peace without a deeper interrogation of the movement of peoples and the role of the nation-state in the contemporary world.

Dupré, Catherine, *The Age of Dignity: Human Rights and Constitutionalism in Europe* (Oxford: Hart, 2015)

Dupré reviews the origins of the concept of dignity from a legal perspective. She shows how a transformation of Western constitutionalism followed in the wake of developments around the idea of individual human dignity.

Duranti, Marco *The Conservative Human Rights Revolution: European Identity, Transnational Politics, and the Origins of the European Convention* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

This book describes the way that the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) was developed by conservatives to combat the possibility of democratically elected left-wing governments from taking power. It discusses the way that religious adherents of far-right ideologies have transformed themselves into advocates of "dignity," the "person," and an imagined glorious European past, and it considers the almost-opposite political programs of the ECHR and the U.N.'s Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Eckel, Jan, and Samuel Moyn (eds.), *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014)

Eckel and Moyn gather essays that respond to the most recent turn in human rights scholarship (instigated, in part, by Eckel and Moyn themselves). The idea that human rights only became prominent in the 1970s is supported, contested, and examined from Russian, African, Latin American, and other perspectives.

Goodale, Mark, *Letters to the Contrary: A Curated History of the UNESCO Human Rights Survey* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018)

Before the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, there was significant debate among theologians, philosophers, lawyers, intellectuals, and cultural figures over the legitimacy of universal human rights. Goodale brings together many letters from these figures, and he shows that their debates are strikingly relevant to contemporary discussions of human rights.

Hunt, Lynn, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007)

A classic and now controversial history of the "invention" and propagation of human rights. Central to Hunt's account are the rejection of torture for collecting evidence and the role of art, novels, and sentiment more generally for spreading a respect for and a desire to aid individuals in pain.

Ignatieff, Michael (ed.), *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005)

This collection of essays reflects on the United States' action in global politics in relation to international law. Published in response to the 2003 invasion of Iraq, scholars address topics such as torture, capital punishment, free speech, and the United States' attitude to other countries.

Jensen, Steven L. B., *The Making of International Human Rights: The 1960s, Decolonization, and the Reconstruction of Global Values* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

This book tells a story about the rise of human rights since the 1940s that complements and deepens the traditional story (which largely focuses on European institutions, charters, and declarations). Jensen focuses on the role that decolonization movements in the 1960s played in the rise of international human rights in the next decade.

Kaplan, Seth D., *Human Rights in Thick and Thin Societies: Universality Without Uniformity*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

By returning to the original intention of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and focusing on some of its key proponents, this book develops an account of human rights that holds onto their universality but at the same time construes them more flexibly in application so as to better take account of particular traditions and customs. One way that Kaplan does this is by turning the spotlight of human rights back on addressing horrendous evils.

Kesby, Alison, *The Right to Have Rights: Citizenship, Humanity, and International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

This book addresses Hannah Arendt's famous statement about the "right to have rights" within the context of international law. Kesby looks at different conceptions of rights, citizenship, and political authority around the world, and he addresses how the belonging (or not belonging) to a political community is and/or should be connected to upholding human rights in international relations.

Keys, Barbara, *Reclaiming American Virtue: The Human Rights Revolution of the 1970s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014)

In line with other works that trace the rise in human rights activism to the 1970s, this book focuses on the role of the Vietnam war and American responses to that war in galvanizing the American interest in human rights.

Lacroix, Justine, and Jean-Yves Pranchère, *Human Rights on Trial: A Genealogy of the Critique of Human Rights* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

Critiquing human rights has become just as popular as human rights themselves in some quarters. In this wide-ranging study, Lacroix and Pranchère trace various critiques of human rights to their historical antecedents. Classifying critiques of human rights as reactionary, conservative, and radical, this book contextualizes and deepens current debates.

Lecce, Steven, Neil McArthur, and Arthur Schafer (eds.), *Fragile Freedoms: The Global Struggle for Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Occasioned by the opening of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, in this book scholars such as Steven Pinker, Martha Nussbaum, and Anthony Appiah examine the historical, normative, and sociological dimensions of human rights.

Loeffler, James, *Rooted Cosmopolitans: Jews and Human Rights in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018)

Loeffler focuses on the role that several prominent Jewish activists, lawyers, and scholars played in the postwar development of human rights. Depending on their country of origin, these thinkers grounded human rights in different ways: some viewed them as individual rights guaranteed by the state, while others treated them as minority rights to be upheld by international law. Despite

their differences, Loeffler uncovers the pivotal role played by Jewish thinkers in the development of human rights in the twentieth century.

Maliks, Reidar, and Johan Karlsson Schaffer (eds.), *Moral and Political Conceptions of Human Rights: Implications for Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

A book which addresses human rights from historical, philosophical, and political perspectives. Holding together these essays is the question of whether human rights are fundamentally *moral*, and therefore shared by all humans on the basis of their humanity, or whether they are political constructs.

Martinez, Jenny S., *The Slave Trade and the Origins of International Human Rights Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Challenging the common narrative that human rights were theorized in the Enlightenment and developed and codified after World War II, Martinez traces the rise of human rights law to nineteenth century abolitionism. She particularly focuses on admiralty courts that tried crews which had transported enslaved people.

Morsink, Johannes, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Origins, Drafting, and Intent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999)

This meticulous and now classic study of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights reconstructs the entire drafting of the document in its historical context. Attention is paid to the causes, individual actors, and international input that shaped the document. Morsink also mounts a defense of the declaration against those who contend it is too Western and universalistic.

Moyn, Samuel, *The Last Utopia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010)

Although published recently, Moyn's book introduced a paradigm shift in human rights scholarship. It argues that the development of human rights had little to do with responses to twentieth century atrocities. Human rights discourse instead served as a tool for nation states such as the United States and Britain to claim self-determination after World War II, then exploded in the 1970s as an apolitical utopia for both the right and the left.

Moyn, Samuel, *Human Rights and the Uses of History: Expanded Second Edition* (London: Verso, 2017)

Moyn engages several prominent histories of human rights and argues for an alternative. He shows how stories about the origins of human rights have often been twisted to justify certain political programs – an always-present possibility with a concept that is so powerful and popular.

Moyn, Samuel, *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018)

Moyn continues his reevaluation of human rights with this recent work on rights and income inequality. He argues that the rise of human rights in the 1970s corresponds with the rise of neoliberalism, leading to increasing inequality at the same time that human rights have gone mainstream. This apparent tension, he argues, should make us ask deeper questions about rights. Neither a rejection nor a glorification of human rights, this book tells the story of how human rights came to be associated with minimal material provisions, and thus are unable to address increasing inequality on their own.

Pruce, Joel, *The Mass Appeal of Human Rights* (London: Palgrave Macmillon, 2018)

Pruce traces and evaluates the fusion of human rights advocacy by non-profit organizations with consumer society. Utilizing the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, Pruce develops a critical yet not dismissive account of the role of human rights in modern consumer societies.

Quateart, Jean, *Advocating Dignity: Human Rights Mobilizations in Global Politics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009)

This book traces the development of human rights since World War II, and attends to the way that human rights discourse has transformed global politics. Unlike other books that tell this story, Quateart focuses especially on the complementary relationship between on-the-ground local actors in conflict situations and global networks of solidarity that help to support them.

Reinbold, Jenna, *Seeing the Myth in Human Rights* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017)

This book introduces various themes from religious studies into the conversation and debate over human rights in the twentieth century. Focusing on the categories of myth and myth-making, Reinbold uses the methods and terminology of the study of religion to tell a different story about the origin, propagation, and success of international human rights.

Rosen, Michael, *Dignity: Its History and Meaning* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012)

Rosen traces the historical career of the idea of dignity (and its Latin cognate, *dignitas*) from the ancient world to the present. This work shows the many ways that dignity has been conceived, most notably pinpointing the transition from dignity construed as a kind of *rank* in the natural order to an idea of dignity construed in terms of *intrinsic worth*. Rosen shows both how contingent our modern political and ethical ideas of dignity are and what are the promises and perils of modern dignity.

Schabas, William (ed.), *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: The Travaux Préparatoires* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

A collection of many documents that went into the drafting of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Arranged chronologically, these primary sources are crucial to understanding the process of one of the most momentous texts of the twentieth century.

Sousa Santos, Boaventura de, *If God Were a Human Rights Activist* (Stanford: Stanford
University Press, 2015)

De Sousa Santos interrogates Western, secular human rights as a hegemonic force in its dealings
with the global south. This book argues that only a non-hegemonic idea of rights that is respon-
sive to and respectful of local particularities is ethically desirable.

Stuurman, Siep, *The Invention of Humanity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017)

In this wide-ranging study, Stuurman looks at the "invention" of humanity. Throughout history,
common humanity was not taken for granted: many people regarded those outside their group as
inferior and deficient in some way (i.e. barbarians). Through a close look at many thinkers from
antiquity to the present, Stuurman shows how the idea of "humanity" developed and the chal-
lenges that it faces.

Tomuschat, Christian, *Human Rights: Between Idealism and Realism,* 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford
University Press, 2014)

This book looks mainly at human rights as they are enshrined in law, and considers how these
laws should help human beings. Predominantly focused on their intellectual legitimacy, Tomus-
chat regards human rights as grounded in human dignity and the basis of national and interna-
tional equality and non-discrimination.

Vincent, Andrew, *The Politics of Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Vincent argues that human rights are only tangentially related to natural rights and are in fact a
unique and novel response to the destructive power of the nation-state after two World Wars. He
argues that human rights ideally protect the civil sphere of the state against the power of one's
own state and other states, which means that both the question of human rights and the answers
provided are thoroughly contemporary.

Part 2a — Liberalism: Political Liberalism

Allen, Danielle, *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship since Brown v. Board of Educa-
tion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004)

Allen argues that many liberal accounts of citizenship are too weak, and that we need a more ro-
bust idea of a liberal society that is based upon equal sacrifices instead of the domination of any
one group at the expense of another. With penetrating discussions of civil friendship, constitu-
tions, and the idea of a shared good in the United States, Allen's book is considered a classic of
constructive liberal theory.

An-Na`im, Abdullahi Ahmed, *Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shari`a*
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008)

This book argues for the practical separation of shari`a law from the coercive law of the secular state. An-Na`im argues that the voluntariness of Islamic belief is incompatible with a state enforcement of shari`a, and that the coercive force of the state must be based on reasons accessible to people of all faiths. This book shows, then, that the integrity of state and shari`a law requires their separation.

Chappel, James, *Catholic Modern: The Challenge of Totalitarianism and the Remaking of the Church* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018)

Chappel narrates how the Catholic Church went from being a pre- or anti-modern institution at the beginning of the twentieth century, rejecting rights, religious freedom, and secular government, to embracing and promoting these values only a few decades later. The crucial transformation, he argues, is in the Church's confrontation with fascist and communist totalitarianisms in the 1930s. Catholics that were primarily anti-fascist developed a "fraternal" tradition of Catholic social engagement while anti-communist Catholics developed a "paternal" tradition that focused on religious liberty and the nuclear family.

D'Costa, Gavin, Malcolm Evans, Tariq Modood and Julian Rivers (eds.), *Religion in a Liberal State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

This book addresses issues around public religion, or religion in liberal states, when religious actions do not confine themselves to the private sphere. Leading scholars from law, theology, political theory, and other disciplines address issues such as religious dress, state support for a specific religion, religious discrimination and exemptions, and more. As the world becomes more deeply pluralistic, and religions more visible in public, what is the future of the liberal state?

Deneen, Patrick, *Why Liberalism Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018)

A polemic against liberalism. Deneen defines liberalism as an ideology of complete negative freedom, and argues that this view of freedom has destroyed both the material and moral wealth of the West. Both progressives and conservatives, he argues, are held captive to the logic of liberalism, and the only way to change course is through a post-liberal, communitarian, localist worldview.

Devji, Faisal, and Zaheer Kazmi (eds.) *Islam After Liberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

This collection of essays addresses the historical, political, and sociological aspects of the relationship between Islam and liberalism. The essays show how liberalism has been approached and appropriated by Muslims from many different countries and considers the future of Islam and liberalism.

Eberle, Christopher, *Religious Conviction in Liberal Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

In this classic book, Eberle argues against a basic premise of justificatory liberalism – namely, that citizens have a duty not to vote for coercive laws for reasons that cannot be publicly justified to others. Eberle argues that while citizens in a liberal society have a responsibility to *try* to justify reasons for supporting coercive laws in non-religious reasons, one can still support such laws on religious grounds even if that justification fails. One of Eberle's main arguments is that secular reason is not inherently more rational than religious reasons in liberal societies.

Fleischacker, Samuel, *The Good and the Good Book: Revelation as a Guide to Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

A book about the relationship between reason and revelation in liberal societies. Fleischacker, a defender of basic liberal values, argues for the role of revelation in motivating action in religious believers that does not conflict with these values. The result is a compatibilist account of how citizens of modern societies can believe authentically in the revelation of their own particular traditions and the claims and responsibilities of secular, liberal values.

Forst, Rainer, *Justice, Democracy, and the Right to Justification* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014)

The attempt of a third generation Frankfurt School theorist to develop an influential account of justice, toleration and other political principles in a short, digestible form. Forst believes that humans are called to justify their reasons for action to one another, and that any valid political arrangement must give every individual a say in norms and laws that apply to them. This book also contains reflections and reactions for other leading scholars in political philosophy, as well as Forst's response to those reflections and reactions.

Laborde, Cécile, *Liberalism's Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017)

Laborde develops a critique and defense of liberal egalitarianism in relation to religion and the law. Her most prominent argument is that religion needs to be "disaggregated" into several component parts in order to be understood properly with respect to neutrality before the law. Laborde also responds to the criticism that religion is an incoherent or invalid concept because it is just another conception of the good, and lays out a way to ensure that religion is respected on grounds that non-religious people can share.

Leiter, Brian, *Why Tolerate Religion?* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2013)

Leiter argues that religion should not be singled out for special treatment in a democracy. Religious claims can be treated like other claims of conscience, and are properly categorized under the freedom of thought and deserving of any exemptions pertaining to this category. Furthermore, just like non-religious claims to freedom of conscience, religious claims are not deserving of exemptions from laws that benefit the public.

Maclure, Jocelyn, and Charles Taylor, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011)

One of the biggest challenges of modern, pluralist societies is how to handle difference fairly and reasonably, and thus without recourse to coercion. Maclure and Taylor argue for the basic tenets of secularism, such as equal respect, freedom of conscience, the separation of church and state, and religious neutrality. They contend that only this type of secularism can provide true freedom to religious and non-religious believers of all types.

Miller, Richard, *Terror, Religion, and Liberal Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011)

Written in the Rawlsian tradition, this book defends liberal anthropology and liberal government against its critics in an age of religious violence. Miller grounds human moral worth in basic dignity, and argues that a liberal order is justifiably indignant and defensive when that dignity is violated by terrorism. The book also includes an explanation of just war doctrine.

Mills, Charles, *Black Rights/White Wrongs: The Critique of Racial Liberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

A critique of racism that is grounded in the liberal tradition. Covering many different topics, from the failure of "ideal theory" in Rawls, to Kant's inherent racism, to the lack of black philosophers in the academy, Mill wants to save liberalism from itself. After a thorough critique of the racial basis of modern liberalism, Mill argues for a liberalism premised on non-ideal theory as the best option for political theory today.

Muthu, Sankar, *Enlightenment Against Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003)

In many critiques of Western imperialism, the Enlightenment is viewed as complicit in the unjust subjugation of individuals and communities in the "new world" and global south. Muthu adds nuance to the debate by tracing a line of anti-imperialist Enlightenment thought. Prominent in the eighteenth-century writings of Denis Diderot, Immanuel Kant, and J.G. Herder, Muthu argues that the anti-imperial line of the Enlightenment provides lessons for combining universalism and particularism today.

Quong, Jonathan, *Liberalism Without Perfection* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011)

Liberal perfectionism is the idea that the life of autonomy and pluralism is the best idea of what a good life is for humans, and therefore a liberal state should uphold and further this idea of the good. Quong argues against perfectionism in this book: he contends that the state should be neutral toward any conception of the good, liberal or otherwise. Drawing on Rawls' ideas of public reason and an overlapping consensus, Quong responds to critics of liberal neutrality in that has relevance to questions about religion in the public sphere, as well as the more circumscribed question of perfectionism.

Rawls, John, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971)

In this classic work of liberal theory, Rawls attempts to develop an idea of justice as fairness. His comprehensive theory of justice applies to the basic structure of society, while also offering a polemic against utilitarianism in theories of justice. Ideas in this book such as the veil of ignorance, original position, and two principles of justice have become central to political theory regardless of whether one agrees with the author.

Rawls, John, *Political Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993)

A development of the author's earlier work on justice as fairness. Responding to critics, Rawls states that while he maintains many of his earlier views, his critics misunderstand several aspects of *A Theory of Justice*. At the same time, he revises his earlier standpoint. He argues that *A Theory of Justice* was too comprehensive in scope and seeks to narrow his account. Constructively, Rawls seeks to develop a purely political conception of justice as fairness, grounded in humans' two moral powers, and supported by an "overlapping consensus" of various comprehensive conceptions of the good.

Taylor, Charles, *A Catholic Modernity?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Taylor's Marianist Award Lecture argues for a novel interpretation on the role and place of Christianity in the contemporary world. Just as Matteo Ricci, the Jesuit missionary, came to admire the intrinsic value and worth of Chinese culture and tradition, so Christianity can admire the traditions that have arisen in liberal secularism. Liberal modernity, Taylor argues, is an outgrowth of various Christian impulses which allows a form of valuable Christian faith that was not possible under Christendom.

Part 2b — Universalism

Alavi, Seema, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015)

Alavi tells the story of how a pan-Islamic network grew up in the shadow of European empires during the nineteenth century. He argues that these networks modeled themselves, in very deep ways, on the European empire model, and therefore have more in common that imperial model than with the medieval idea of the *umma*.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006)

Amid the contingency and interconnectivity of a globalized world, this book argues for a cosmopolitan ethic of global citizenship. Appiah develops a "universalism plus difference" ethic that takes account both of the universalistic belief in the individual value of every human being while simultaneously upholding the importance of cultural difference and particularity.

Archibugi, Daniele, *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008)

Archibugi argues that democracy should spread. Not through force or war; rather, by creating new institutions and networks that connect people and communities across national boundaries. This book does more than argue for cosmopolitan democracy; it charts a path to help to make it happen.

Balibar, Étienne, *Secularism and Cosmopolitanism: Critical Hypotheses on Religion and Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018)

Balibar aims to rethink the political possibilities of the contemporary age by reframing the discussion between cosmopolitanism, secularism, and religion. He argues that the current form of secular cosmopolitanism is reliant upon frameworks and institutions that are too European, thus eclipsing the possibility of a true cosmopolitanism.

Barnett, Michael, *Empire of Humanity*: *A History of Humanitarianism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2011)

Barnett gives a "deep history" of humanitarianism, going back to its foundations in the antislavery and missionary movements. He argues that there have been several types of humanitarianism (imperial, postcolonial, liberal) and that different humanitarian actors disagree over whether the primary objective of humanitarianism is minimal provisions or systemic justice.

Benhabib, Seyla, *Another Cosmopolitanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Developed out of her Berkley Tanner lectures, this book contains two lectures on the relationship between democratic ideals and universal justice. Bonnie Honig, Will Kymlicka, and Jeremy Waldron respond.

Cabanes, Bruno, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Cabanes tells the story of the origins of intrinsic dignity by highlighting the significance of statelessness and trauma in the lives of millions after the First World War. Following five men from different countries, this book shows that new forms of war and international conflict required new theories about politics and human beings.

Flikschuh, Katrin, and Lea Ypi (eds.), *Kant and Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)

Scholarship over the last decade has become increasingly nuanced about the relationship between Enlightenment(s) and colonialism, and this book follows that trend. Immanuel Kant is read in light of his writings, and not simply as a representative of the "Enlightenment": attention is paid to what he did and did not say, and how his views developed. Particularly helpful are schematics, such as those by Pauline Kleingeld, that provide new insights into Kant's views on colonialism and racism.

Gelbin, Cathy, *Cosmopolitanisms and the Jews* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017)

This book traces the changing ideas of cosmopolitanism and the various roles that the Jews have played in them since 1800. Beginning with Lessing and the increased geographical and social mobility of the early nineteenth century, Gelbin covers both the actions and beliefs of Jews themselves and the perceptions of Jews from the "rootless cosmopolitan" to the international socialist.

Glover, Jonathan, *Humanity: A Moral History of the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999)

A modern classic in the fields of moral philosophy and psychology which considers the atrocities of the twentieth century. With around one hundred million deaths from war, violence, or war related causes in the twentieth century, and some of the most infamous slaughters in history, Glover asks how and why these events happened, and how we can keep them from recurring. Central to his account is the idea of humanity and its radical negation through dehumanization.

Hösle, Vittorio, *Morals and Politics* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004)

This book was both highly regarded and controversial in Germany when it was published in the late 1990s, but has not received as much attention in Anglophone world. Hösle argues for an ethical foundation for all politics, seeking to answer the Western tradition which has sought to separate politics from ethics and, increasingly, views ethics *as* political. He promotes a universalist political ethics grounded in the dignity of the person, and provides normative justifications for how we are to regard nature, humans, and the state.

Mazower, Mark, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009)

Mazower offers an intellectual history of the founding of the United Nations. Often regarded as the apogee of liberal internationalism, the result of the atrocities of two Worlds Wars that sought to safeguard rights around the world, Mazower argues that the UN was founded to preserve empire. Central to his argument, is the rise of ideas of national sovereignty and postcolonial movements after the U.N.'s founding which pushed it toward being the institution that it is today.

Müller, Jan-Werner, *Constitutional Patriotism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007)

Echoing a phrase made famous by Jürgen Habermas, Müller develops an idea of citizenship that does justice to pluralism and the need for universalist norms. Instead of taking pride in national community or an abstract idea of the "people," Müller argues that patriotism should take pride in universalistic norms and values enshrined within particular constitutions. This book is an extended defense of patriotism in an age when many are rightfully suspicious of the conflation of patriotism and ethnic/racial nationalism.