

John Dunn

Paper: *Taking Unreason's Measure: Facing the Global Challenges of Politics*
4th February 2008

Research Interests

Rethinking modern political theory; the historical formation and intellectual weakness of liberal and socialist conceptions of political value and political possibility; explaining the political trajectories of the varieties of modern states; political thought of Locke; the historical development and current significance of democracy in different parts of the world.

Publications of John Dunn:

Books

- 1. The Political Thought of John Locke**, Cambridge University Press 1969, 267 pp
- 2. Modern Revolutions: an introduction to the analysis of a political phenomenon**, CUP 1972. 2nd edition (with new Introduction) 1989, XXIX + 294 pp
- 3. (with Dr. A. F. Robertson) Dependence and Opportunity: political change in Ahafo**, CUP 1974, 386 pp
- 4. (editor and contributor) West African States: Failure and Promise; a study in comparative politics**, CUP 1978 (pb), (repr. 1979, 1980, 1987) 1-21+211-216
- 5. Western Political Theory in the Face of the Future**, CUP 1979, (pb), repr. 1980, Second Edition, with new Conclusion, Cambridge University Press, Canto pb 1993, 137 pp.
- 6. Political Obligation in its Historical Context**, CUP 1980; pb ed 2002 (includes articles 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 65 below) 343 pp
- 7. Locke**, Oxford University Press 1984; reissued with new material as **Locke: A Very Short Introduction**, (pb) Oxford University Press 2003.

8. **The Politics of Socialism: An Essay in Political Theory**, CUP 1984 pb.,
9. **Rethinking Modern Political Theory: Essays 1979-83**, CUP 1985, 222 pp. (includes articles 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 43 below)
10. (editor and contributor) **The Economic Limits to Modern Politics**, CUP 1990, pb ed 1992.
11. Editor and contributor, with Donal Cruise O'Brien and Richard Rathbone), pp. 181-192, **Contemporary West African States**, Cambridge University Press 1989 pb.
12. **Interpreting Political Responsibility: Essays 1981-89**, Polity Press and Princeton University Press 1990 (includes articles 17, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 24 below). 263 pp.
13. **Storia delle dottrine politiche**, Jaca Book, Milan 1992.
14. (editor and contributor) **Democracy: the unfinished journey** Oxford University Press 1992.
15. (Editor and Contributor), **Contemporary Crisis of the Nation-State?** Special Issue of **Political Studies** 1994; published as paperback book by Blackwell, Oxford, 1995)
16. **The History of Political Theory and Other Essays**, CUP 1995, 228 pp. (includes 13 and articles: 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 78 and 81).
17. (ed with Ian Harris) **Great Political Thinkers**, 21 vols, Edward Elgar: Cheltenham, 1997 (XIII-XVII pp.)
18. **The Cunning of Unreason: Making Sense of Politics**, Harper Collins:London & Basic Books:New York, 2000.
19. **Pensare la Politica**, Di Renzo Editore:Rome, 2002. (ISBN 888323042-6)
20. **Setting the People Free: The Story of Democracy** Atlantic Books:London 2005, pb ed 2006

Articles

1. Consent in the political theory of John Locke', **The Historical Journal**, X, 2, 1967, 153-82

2. 'Justice and the Interpretation of Locke's Political Theory', **Political Studies**, XVI, 1, 1968, 68-87
3. 'The Identity of the History of Ideas', **Philosophy**, XLIII, April 1968, 85-104
4. 'The Politics of Locke in England and America in the Eighteenth Century' in J. W. Yolton ed., **John Locke: Problems and Perspectives**, CUP 1969, 45-80
5. 'Politics in Asunafo', in Dennis Austin and Robin Luckham eds., **Politicians and Soldiers in Ghana 1966-1972**, Frank Cass, London 1975, 164-213
6. 'The Eligible and the Elect: Arminian thoughts on the social predestination of Ahafo Leaders' in W. H. Morris-Jones ed., **The Making of Politicians: Studies from Africa and Asia**, Athlone Press, University of London 1976, 49-65
7. 'The Success and Failure of Modern Revolutions', in S. Bialer and S. Sluzar eds., **Radicalism in the Contemporary Age**, vol. 3 (Studies of the Research Institute on International Change, Columbia University), Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado 1977, 82-114, 305-18
8. 'Practising History and Social Science on "realist" assumptions', in C. Hookway and P. Pettit eds., **Action and Interpretation; studies in the philosophy of the social sciences**, CUP 1978, 145-75 pb 1980. German translation W. de Gruyter, Berlin 1982
9. 'Individuality and Clientage in the Formation of Locke's Social Imagination' in Reinhard Brandt ed., **John Locke: Symposium Wolfenbuttel 1979**, W. de Gruyter, Berlin and New York 1981, 43-73
10. 'Understanding Revolutions', **Ethics**, XCII, 2, January 1982, 299-315.
11. 'Social Theory, Social Understanding and Political Action', in A. C. Lloyd ed., **Social Theory and Political Practice**, (Wolfson Lectures 1981), Oxford University Press, 1983, 109-35
12. 'Country Risk: Social and Cultural Aspects' in Richard J. Herring ed., **Managing International Risk (Wharton School Centennial Conference Papers)**, CUP 1983, 138-67.
13. 'From Applied Theology to Social Analysis: the break between John Locke and the Scottish Enlightenment', in Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff (eds), **Wealth and Virtue: the shaping of political economy in the Scottish Enlightenment**, CUP 1983, 119-35.
14. 'The Concept of Trust in the Political Theory of John Locke', in Richard Rorty, J. B. Schneewind and Quentin Skinner (eds), **Philosophy in History**, CUP 1984, 279-301

15. 'Totalitarian Democracy and the Legacy of Modern Revolutions: Explanation or Indictment?', **Totalitarian Democracy and After**, Israel Academy of Arts and Sciences, Magnes Press, Jerusalem 1984, 37-55 (2nd ed, ed Michael Burleigh, London:Frank Cass 2001)
16. 'The Future of Political Philosophy in the West', **Shiso** (Tokyo), November 1984, 24-49 (in Japanese translation)
17. 'The Politics of Representation and Good Government in Postcolonial Africa', in Patrick Chabal (ed), **The Politics of Domination in Modern Africa**, CUP 1986, 158-74, 200-05
18. 'Defining a Defensible Socialism for Britain today', in Peter Nolan & Suzanne Paine (eds), **Rethinking Socialist Economics**, Polity Press, Cambridge 1986, 35-52
19. 'Unger's **Politics** and the Appraisal of Political Possibility', **Northwestern University Law Review**, **LXXXI**, 4, Summer 1987, 732-50 (reprinted in Robin W Lovin and Michael J. Perry (eds), **Critique and Construction: A Symposium on Roberto Unger's Politics**, CUP 1990, pp 71-89)
20. 'Trust and Political Agency', in Diego Gambetta (ed), **Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations**, Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1988, 73-93.
21. 'Rights and Political Conflict' in Larry Gostin (ed), **Civil Liberties in Conflict**, Tavistock Publishers, London 1988, 21-38
22. 'Revolution' in Terence Ball, James Farr and Russell Hanson (eds), **Political Innovation and Conceptual Change**, Cambridge University Press 1988, 1995, 333-51
23. '"Bright enough for all our purposes": John Locke's Conception of a Civilised Society', **Notes and Records of the Royal Society**, 43, 1989, 133-53 (reprinted in John R Milton (ed), **Locke's Moral, Political and Legal Philosophy**, Ashgate, Ashgate Press: Aldershot 1999, 315-35)
24. 'Responsibility without Power: States and the Incoherence of the Modern Conception of the Political Good', (in Italian), **Teoria Politica**, VI, 1, 1990. 3-25 (Turin)
25. 'Freedom of Conscience: Freedom of Thought, Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Worship?' in O. P. Grell, Jonathan Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (ed), **From Persecution to Toleration**, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1991, 171-93.
26. 'Political Obligation', in David Held (ed), **Political Theory Today**, Polity Press 1991, pp 23-47.

27. 'Property, Justice and Common Good after Socialism' in J A Hall and I C Jarvie (eds), **The Transition to Modernity: Essays in Honour of Ernest Gellner**, Cambridge University Press 1992 281-96
28. 'Specifying and Understanding Racism' (Determinare e Capire il Razzismo) in Girolamo Mbruglia (ed), **Il Razzismo, e le sue storie**, Naples 1992 (in Italian translation), 13-28; English edition, 'Paradoxes of Racism', **Government and Opposition**, 28, 4, Autumn 1993 512-25
29. 'Political Science, Political Theory and Policy-making in an Interdependent World', **Government and Opposition**, 28, 2, Spring 1993, 242-60
30. 'The Identity of the Bourgeois Liberal Republic', in Biancamaria Fontana (ed), **The Invention of the Modern Republic**, Cambridge University Press 1994, 206-25
31. 'Democracy: The Politics of Making, Defending and Exemplifying Community: Europe 1992', in Takashi Kato (ed), **The Future of Democracy in Asia**, Tokyo University Press, Tokyo 1993 (in Japanese translation)
32. 'Social Contract', **Enciclopedia delle scienze sociali**, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana: Rome (in Italian translation), Vol 2, 1992, 404-17
33. 'The Heritage and Future of the European Left', **Economy and Society**, November 1993, 516-24.
34. 'The Nation State and Human Community: Obligation, Life Chances and the Boundaries of Society' (Italian translation, Edizioni Anabasi, Milan 1994)
35. 'The Dilemma of Humanitarian Intervention: the Executive Power of the Law of Nature after God', **Government and Opposition**, 29, 2, Spring 1994, 248-61
36. Conclusion, in Tony Saich and Hans Van de Ven (eds), **Essays on the Chinese Communist Revolution**, M. E. Sharpe: White Plains 1994, pp 388-99
37. How Democracies Succeed, in Sung Chul Yang (ed), **Democracy and Communism: Theory, Reality and the Future**, Korean Association of International Studies, Seoul 1995 41-66. (reprinted in **Economy and Society**, 25, 1996, 511-28)
38. 'Hope over Fear: Judith Shklar as Liberal Educator, in Bernard Yack (ed), **Liberalism without Illusions**, University of Chicago Press 1996 45-54
39. The Contemporary Political Significance of John Locke's Conception of Civil Society, **Iyyun (Jerusalem Philosophical Quarterly)**, 45, July 1996, 103-24, reprinted in Sudipta Kaviraj and Sunil Khilnani (eds), **Civil Society: History and Possibilities**, CUP 2001, 39-57.

40. The Transcultural Significance of Athenian Democracy, in Michel Sakellariou (ed), **Démocratie Athénienne et Culture**, Academy of Athens 1996, 97-108
41. 'Does Separatism Threaten the State System?' and 'Conclusion' in Trude Andresen, Beate Bull et al (eds). **Separatism**, Bergen:Ch. Michelson Institute. 1997, 130-45, 167-72
42. 'The Construction of the Principle of Toleration and its Implications for Contemporary States' in Young Seek Choue and Jae Shik Sohn (eds) **Tolerance, Restoration of Morality and Humanity**, Institute of International Peace Studies, Kyung Hee University, Seoul 1996, 299-324
43. 'Asian Culture and Democratic Potential: a Western View' in Jong Yil Ra (ed), **Democratization and Regional Cooperation in Asia**, Kim Dae-Jung Peace Foundation, Seoul 1996, 83-111
44. 'Situating Democratic Accountability', in Adam Przeworski, Susan C Stokes & Bernard Manin (eds), **Democracy, Accountability and Representation**, 329-44, Cambridge University Press 1999.
45. 'How Politics limits markets: Power, Legitimacy, Choice', in Samuel Bowles, Maurizio Franzini & Ugo Pagano (eds), **The Politics and Economics of Power**, London:Routledge 1999, 85-100
46. Democracy, Globalization and Human Interests, **Il Politico**, LX111, 3, 1998, 353-74
47. Politics and the Well-Being of Future Generations, in Ross Harrison (ed), **The Self and Future Generations**, White Horse Press, Cambridge 1999, 70-81
48. Democracy and Development, in Ian Shapiro & Casimir Hacker-Cordon (eds), **Democracy's Value**, Cambridge University Press 1999, 132-140
49. The Debate on Big Government: the View from Western Europe, in **Politics at the Turn of the Century**, ed Arthur A. Melzer, Jerry Weinberger & M.Richard Zinman, Rowman & Littlefield, 2001,192-208.
50. The Emergence into Politics of Global Environmental Change, in Ted Munn(ed), **Encyclopaedia of Global Environmental Change**, John Wiley: London 2002, Vol 5,124-36.
51. Japan's Road to Political Paralysis: A Democratic Hope Mislaid (Third Maruyama Memorial Lecture, **Center of Japanese Studies, University of California, Berkeley, Occasional Papers**, 2, 2002.

52. Subject to the Sphinx:Capitalist Democracy as Solution and Enigma, **CJS,Berkeley, Occasional Papers 2, 2002 Two Lectures by John Dunn..**
53. Autonomy's Sources and the Impact of Globalisation, in Ludvig Beckman & Emil Uddhammar(eds), **Virtues of Independence and Dependence on Virtue**, Transaction Press,NJ:2003, 47-61
54. Measuring Locke's Shadow, in Ian Shapiro(ed), **Locke's Letter on Toleration and Two Treatises of Government**, Yale University Press: New Haven 2003, 257-83
55. The Aftermath of Communism and the Vicissitudes of Public Trust, in Ivana Markova(ed), **Trust and Post-Communist Transition, Proceedings of The British Academy**, 123, (2004), 195-209 (ISBN 0-19-726313-5)
56. What History Can Show:Jeremy Waldron's Reading of Locke's Christian Politics, **Review of Politics**, 67,3, 2005, 433-50
57. Tracing the Cunning of Unreason, (Chinese Translation), **Reflexion**, 2, June 2006, 53-71 (Taipei:Linking Books)
58. Civilizational Conflict and the Political Sources of the New World Disorder (Japanese translation), **Seiji-Kenkyu**, 54, March 2007, 1-21 (Fukuoka:Kyushu University)(ISSN 0289-8357)
59. Capitalist Democracy: Elective Affinity or Beguiling Illusion ?, **Daedalus**, 136,3 (2007), 5-13
60. Understanding Revolution, in John Foran, David Lane & Andreja Zivkovic(eds) **Understanding Revolution: Social Identities, Globalisation and Modernity** London:Routledge 2007, Forthcoming
61. Organizing, Focusing and Impeding Power: Gauging the Plasticity and Utility of a Classic Formula, in Sandrine Baume & Biancamaria Fontana (eds), **Les Usages de la Separation des Pouvoirs** Paris:Michel Haudiard 2008
62. UnManifest Destiny, Ian Shapiro(ed), James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, & John Jay, **The Federalist** New Haven:Yale University Press 2008
63. Beyond Freedom and Equality, in Yersu Kim(ed), **Transformative Challenges:Modern Civilization and Beyond** Seoul:Kyunhee University, 2008-01-10

Short Articles:

60. 'Authorship of Gregory's Critique of Hume', **Journal of the History of Ideas**, XXV, 1, 1964, 128-29
61. 'The Dream of Revolution', in David Martin (ed), **Anarchy and Culture**, Columbia University Press and Routledge 1969, 148-54 (reprinted from *The Listener*)
62. 'Hannah Arendt on Revolution', in E. Homberger et al (eds), **The Cambridge Mind**, Jonathan Cape, London 1970, 158-62 (reprinted from **The Cambridge Review**)
63. 'Order and the State', **Survival** (Institute for Strategic Studies), XII, 12, December 1970, 419-22 (reprinted from **The Listener**)
64. 'But How Will They Eat?' (review article on M. Owusu, **Uses and Abuses of Political Power**), **Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana**, XIII, 1, June 1972, 113-24
65. 'Democracy Unretrieved: or the political theory of Professor Macpherson', **British Journal of Political Science**, IV, 4 October 1974, 489-99
66. 'Fascists and Marxists' (review article on A. James Gregor, **The Fascist Persuasion in Radical Politics**), **Government and Opposition**, X, 1, Winter 1975, 117-21
67. 'Review Article on Robert Nozick, **Anarchy, State and Utopia**, **Ratio**, XIX, 1, June 1977, 88-95
68. 'Revolutions as Class Struggle' (review article on E. Trimberger, *Revolution from Above*), **Government and Opposition**, XIV, 3, Summer 1979, 398-403
69. 'Identity, Modernity and the Claim to Know Better', **Dialectics and Humanism** (Warsaw), IV, 1983, 165-79
70. 'Libertà vo' perdendo: i rischi delle democrazie capitalistiche', **Panorama** (Milan), XX, 26/11/84, 180-85
71. 'John Locke: the politics of trust', in Brian Redhead (ed), **Political Thought from Plato to Nato**, Ariel Books (BBC), London 1984, 108-19 (reprinted 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1990, Penguin Books 1995, reprinted 1995, 1996, 1999.) (German translation: Bonn Aktuell, Bonn 1987. American Edition, Dorsey Press, Chicago 1988; Portuguese translation, Imago Editora, Rio de Janeiro 1987; Korean translation, Seoul 1993)
72. 'Review Article on John Walton, **Reluctant Rebels: Comparative Studies of Revolution and Underdevelopment**, **Government and Opposition**, XIX, 4, Autumn 1984, 532-35
73. 'La Politica del Socialismo', **Transizione** (Bologna), 4, 1985, 75-84

74. 'Identity, Modernity and the Claim to know Better II: Postcolonial Tragedy from a Cosmopolitan Point of View', **Comparative Civilizations Review**, XVII, 1987, 1-20
75. 'La comunidad politica moderno como ficcion y como destino', in Luis Castro Leiva (ed), **Usos y abusos de la historia en la teoria y en la practica politica**, Serie Seminarios' - Coleccion IDEA, Caracas 1988, 45-71.
76. 'A Nationalist World After Socialism', **Gaiko Forum** (Tokyo:in Japanese), 23, August 1990, 41-48
77. 'Review Article: A New Book by Albert Hirschman', **Government and Opposition** 26,4, Autumn 1991, 520-25
78. 'Trust' in Robert Goodin and Philip Pettit (eds), **A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy**, Basil Blackwell 1993, Oxford, 638-44; pb ed 1995, reprinted 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000
79. 'The Future of Democracy in Asia', **Journal of Asian and Pacific Studies** (Seikei University, 9, 1992, 29-34 and in Subhrata Mukherjee and Sushila Ramaswamy (eds), **Political Science Annual** 1993, Deep and Deep, New Delhi, 147-53)
80. Foreword to English Translation of Jean-Francois Bayart, **The State in Africa**, Longman:London 1993
81. Political and Economic Obstacles to Rapid Collective Change, **Philosophy and the History of Science**, 3, (Taipei) April 1994, 1-10 and **Dialogue and Universalism** (Warsaw), 5, 1995, 11-17
82. (With Dr Kim Dae-Jung) The Future of the Twenty First Century depends on Asian Democracy, **Shindonga**, 414, March 1994, 242-54 (in Korean)
83. The Postcolonial State in West Africa, in John Middleton (ed), **The Encyclopedia of Sub-Saharan Africa**, Simon & Shuster, New York 1998, Vol 3, 465-69
84. The Record and Future of the Kim Dae-Jung Government, in **Achievements and Challenges of the Administration of President Kim Dae-Jung**, Korean Overseas Culture and Information Service:Seoul 1999, 191-94
85. Preface to Paul Magnette, **La Citoyennete: une histoire de l'idee de participation civique**, Bruylant:Brussels 2001, v-vii
86. For **Societas**, (in English and Chinese), **Societas** (Taipei),1,June 2002, iii-ix
87. Korea and the Prospects for Building Peace and Prosperity in East Asia in the Wake of the Long Cold War, Jang Chip Choi(ed), **Post-Cold War and Peace:Experiences, Conditions and Choices**, Asiatic Research Center, Korea

University, Seoul 2003 (ISBN 89-951522-8-1), 177-93 (Korean translation, **Journal of Asiatic Studies**, 45,2002, 79-95)

88. Democracy as a European Inheritance, Envangelos Chrysos, Paschalis Kitromilides, & Constantine Svolopoulos (eds), **The Idea of European Community in History**, National and Capodistrian University of Athens:Athens, 2003, Vol 1, 33-41 (ISBN 960-541-107-5)

89. Revolutionary Movements in Comparative Perspective, **Archives Europeennes de Sociologie**, XLIV,2,2003,279-83

90. (with Sir Tony Wrigley) Peter Ruffell Laslett 1915-2001, **Proceedings of the British Academy, Biographical Memoirs of Fellows, Volume 4**, 2005, 109-29

91. The Future of Democracy in the Era of Globalization, Inwon Choue(ed), **Dialogues for the 21st Century** (Acanet:Seoul, 2006), 95-114 (ISBN 89-5733-08-7)

(c) 2007-08 Cambridge Political Thought Seminars.