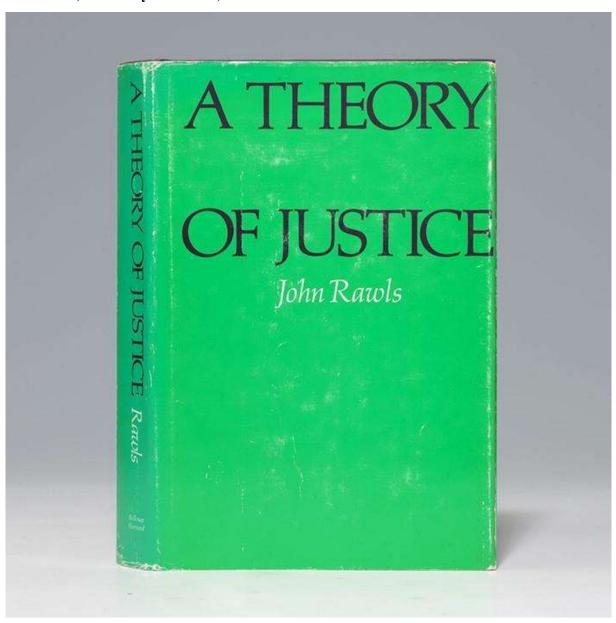
# "A Theory of Justice" (1971) by John Rawls: A Canonical Book: A Canonical Book:

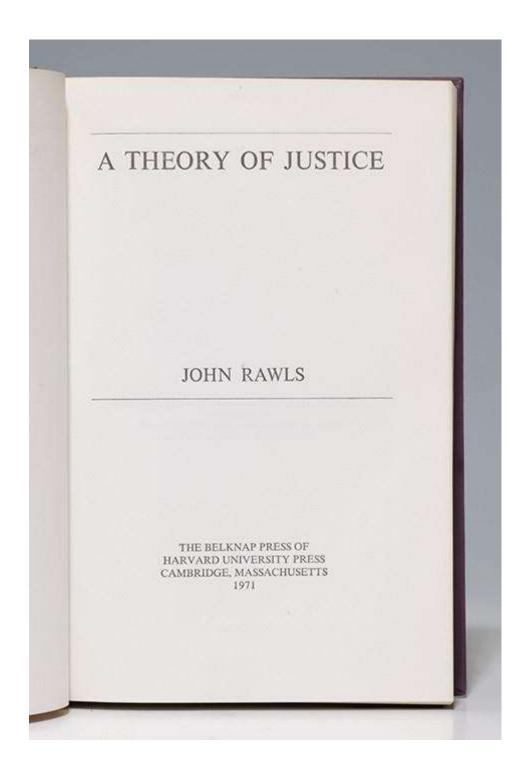
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Essay created Sunday, April 06, 2025.

## **Summary of this Particular Rare First Edition**

John Rawls, A Theory of Justice, 1971





## "THE MOST SUBSTANTIAL AND INTERESTING CONTRIBUTION TO MORAL PHILOSOPHY SINCE THE WAR"

First edition, first printing of John Rawls' landmark work, a milestone in political philosophy, a handsome copy in original dust jacket.

John Rawls "was arguably the most important political philosopher of the 20th century... His first book, *A Theory of Justice*, revitalized the social-contract tradition, using it to articulate and defend a detailed vision of egalitarian liberalism" (*Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*). Here Rawls gives "new specificity and vigor" to one of the most valuable legacies of the liberal political tradition: the idea that a person has a dignity and worth that social structures should not be permitted to violate.

Thirty years after publication of *A Theory of Justice*, with all the discussion of rights and pluralism that has ensued, it is easy to forget that a whole generation of our political and moral philosophers had virtually stopped talking about that idea, and about how it can guide a religiously and ethnically diverse society like our own" (*Chronicle of Higher Education*). This work has been called "the most substantial and interesting contribution to moral philosophy since the war" (*New York Review of Books*), and Rawls himself "will be in the canon for centuries, along with Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kant, Mill" (*Harvard Gazette*). Rawls received the National Humanities Medal in 1999 for his body of work.

RAWLS, John. A Theory of Justice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971. Octavo, original purple cloth, original dust jacket. Housed in a custom clamshell box. Book fine; lightest edge-wear, faint rubbing to near-fine dust jacket.

### Introduction

John Rawls's "A Theory of Justice," published in 1971, represents one of the most significant works of political philosophy in the 20th century. The book emerged during a period of profound social and political upheaval in the United States, as the civil rights movement, anti-war protests, and debates about economic inequality dominated public discourse. Rawls sought to provide a comprehensive alternative to the then-dominant utilitarian approach to ethics and justice, which he believed failed to adequately protect individual rights and liberties[1].

Rawls was motivated by a desire to reconcile the seemingly competing values of liberty and equality that had long characterized American political thought. Writing in the aftermath of the social programs of the 1960s and amid ongoing debates about the proper role of government in addressing social inequalities, Rawls aimed to develop principles of justice that could serve as the foundation for a well-ordered society[1].

The cultural and political climate of the early 1970s was marked by increasing skepticism about traditional institutions and growing awareness of persistent inequalities. The Vietnam War had

divided the nation, the civil rights movement had highlighted deep-seated racial injustices, and economic disparities remained significant despite the prosperity of the post-World War II era. It was in this context that Rawls offered his theory as a way to think systematically about how society's basic structure could be organized to ensure fairness and justice for all citizens[1].

#### The Author

John Rawls (1921-2002) was an American political philosopher whose work fundamentally reshaped political theory in the latter half of the 20th century. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Rawls served in the U.S. military during World War II, an experience that profoundly influenced his thinking about justice and fairness. After the war, he pursued his education, eventually earning his doctorate from Princeton University[2].

Rawls spent most of his academic career at Harvard University, where he developed the ideas that would culminate in "A Theory of Justice." His intellectual journey was marked by a deep engagement with the philosophical traditions of Immanuel Kant and the social contract theorists, as well as a commitment to finding principles of justice that could be accepted by all reasonable citizens regardless of their particular circumstances or beliefs[1].

Throughout his career, Rawls continued to refine and develop his theory of justice, publishing important revisions and clarifications in essays and books such as "Political Liberalism" (1993) and "Justice as Fairness: A Restatement" (2001). These later works reflected his ongoing effort to address criticisms and strengthen his arguments, particularly regarding the stability of a just society in the face of reasonable pluralism about conceptions of the good life[1].

Rawls was known for his mild-mannered personality and dedication to teaching. Despite the revolutionary nature of his ideas, he maintained a modest demeanor and was respected by colleagues across the political spectrum. His influence extended far beyond academic philosophy, shaping discussions of justice, equality, and rights in fields ranging from law and economics to public policy and international relations[6].

## Why this is a Canonical Book

"A Theory of Justice" must be included in the canon of books containing major ideas that reflect elements of America's politics, governance, economics, and culture for several compelling reasons. First and foremost, it revitalized political philosophy at a time when many had declared the field moribund. As Marshall Cohen noted in his review for The New York Times Book Review, Rawls provided the "most formidable" defense of the social contract tradition to date, demonstrating that "systematic moral and political philosophy are not dead" and offering a "bold and rigorous" account of "the principles to which our public life is committed"[1].

The book's influence on American legal and political thought has been profound and enduring. Rawls's conception of justice as fairness has informed debates about constitutional interpretation,

the proper scope of individual rights, and the justification for social welfare programs. His emphasis on the importance of fair equality of opportunity and concern for the least advantaged members of society has provided a philosophical foundation for many progressive policies while still maintaining a commitment to individual liberty that resonates with core American values[6].

Moreover, Rawls's methodology—particularly his use of the "original position" and the "veil of ignorance" as devices for thinking about fairness—has become a standard reference point in discussions about justice across disciplines. His approach offers a way to think about impartiality and fairness that has influenced not only philosophy but also economics, law, and public policy. The idea that just principles are those that would be chosen by rational individuals who do not know their own place in society has proven to be a powerful tool for evaluating social arrangements[1].

Additionally, Rawls's work has shaped the very language and framework through which Americans discuss issues of justice and fairness. Concepts like the "veil of ignorance," the "difference principle," and "justice as fairness" have entered the broader cultural lexicon, influencing how citizens think about their rights and responsibilities in a democratic society. Even those who disagree with Rawls's conclusions must engage with his arguments, making his work a touchstone for contemporary political discourse[6].

Finally, "A Theory of Justice" represents a distinctly American contribution to political philosophy, one that seeks to reconcile the nation's dual commitments to liberty and equality. By offering a theory that takes both values seriously and attempts to show how they can be harmonized within a coherent framework, Rawls addresses one of the central tensions in American political culture. His work thus stands as an essential text for understanding the philosophical underpinnings of American governance and the ongoing project of creating a more just society[1].

## **Five Timeless Quotes**

1. "Justice is the first virtue of social institutions, as truth is of systems of thought. A theory however elegant and economical must be rejected or revised if it is untrue; likewise laws and institutions no matter how efficient and well-arranged must be reformed or abolished if they are unjust."[4]

This quote establishes the primacy of justice in Rawls's thinking and in social organization more broadly. It remains relevant today as we grapple with questions about institutional reform in areas such as criminal justice, healthcare, and education. The quote reminds us that efficiency or tradition alone cannot justify unjust arrangements and that we have a moral obligation to reform institutions that fail to meet the requirements of justice. In an era of growing awareness about systemic inequalities, Rawls's insistence on the paramount importance of justice provides a powerful framework for evaluating existing institutions and advocating for change[4].

2. "Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override. For this reason justice denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by a greater good shared by others."[4]

This quote articulates Rawls's rejection of utilitarian approaches that might sacrifice individual rights for collective benefit. Its relevance today is evident in debates about privacy rights in the digital age, civil liberties in the face of security threats, and the treatment of minority groups in democratic societies. The quote affirms the fundamental dignity and rights of each person, regardless of their social position or the potential benefits that might accrue to the majority from violating those rights. In a time of increasing polarization and populist appeals, Rawls's defense of individual inviolability serves as an important check against majoritarian excesses[4].

3. "The principles of justice are chosen behind a veil of ignorance."[4]

This concise statement captures the essence of Rawls's methodological innovation—the original position with its veil of ignorance. Its continued relevance lies in how it provides a way to think about fairness that transcends self-interest and bias. In contemporary discussions about economic inequality, racial justice, and global ethics, the veil of ignorance offers a powerful thought experiment: what principles would we endorse if we did not know our own position in society? This approach encourages empathy and impartiality in our moral and political judgments, qualities that are especially valuable in our increasingly diverse and interconnected world[1].

4. "The natural distribution is neither just nor unjust; nor is it unjust that persons are born into society at some particular position. These are simply natural facts. What is just and unjust is the way that institutions deal with these facts."[4]

This quote highlights Rawls's focus on the basic structure of society rather than natural differences among individuals. It remains relevant as we consider questions of meritocracy, inherited wealth, and social mobility. The quote reminds us that while we cannot eliminate all natural differences, we can design institutions that respond to these differences in ways that are fair and just. In an age of growing wealth inequality and persistent social stratification, Rawls's emphasis on institutional responses to natural inequality provides a framework for thinking about systemic reforms rather than merely individual actions or attitudes[4].

5. "Many of our most serious conflicts are conflicts within ourselves. Those who suppose their judgements are always consistent are unreflective or dogmatic."[4]

This quote reflects Rawls's recognition of the complexity of moral and political judgment. Its contemporary relevance lies in its challenge to ideological certainty and its acknowledgment of the internal tensions we all experience when confronting difficult ethical questions. In a political climate often characterized by polarization and moral absolutism, Rawls's call for reflective judgment and recognition of internal conflict encourages a more nuanced and thoughtful approach to civic discourse. The quote reminds us that intellectual humility and willingness to revise our views are virtues essential to democratic deliberation and the pursuit of justice[4].

## Five Major Ideas

#### 1. The Original Position and the Veil of Ignorance

One of Rawls's most innovative contributions is his conception of the "original position" as a hypothetical situation in which individuals choose principles of justice from behind a "veil of ignorance." In this thought experiment, participants do not know their own place in society, their class position, social status, natural abilities, or even their conception of the good. This ignorance ensures that the principles chosen will be fair, as no one can tailor them to their own advantage. Rawls argues that rational individuals in this position would adopt a maximin strategy, choosing principles that would maximize the prospects of the least well-off, since anyone might end up in that position[1].

This methodological device provides a powerful way to think about impartiality in questions of justice. It asks us to set aside our particular interests and consider what arrangements we would accept if we did not know our own position in society. The original position thus offers a procedural interpretation of Kant's categorical imperative, encouraging us to adopt principles that could be accepted by all regardless of their particular circumstances[1].

#### 2. The Two Principles of Justice

At the heart of Rawls's theory are the two principles of justice that he argues would be chosen in the original position. The first principle, often called the "greatest equal liberty principle," holds that each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system for all. The second principle has two parts: (a) social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged (the "difference principle"), and (b) offices and positions must be open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity[1].

Rawls arranges these principles in lexical order, meaning that the first principle must be satisfied before the second comes into play, and part (b) of the second principle must be satisfied before part (a). This ordering ensures that basic liberties cannot be sacrificed for economic advantages and that fair opportunity takes priority over the difference principle. Together, these principles provide a comprehensive account of justice that seeks to reconcile liberty and equality[1].

#### 3. Justice as Fairness

Rawls characterizes his theory as "justice as fairness," emphasizing that justice emerges from a fair agreement or bargain. Unlike traditional contract theories that imagine an agreement to leave a state of nature, Rawls's social contract is hypothetical and non-historical. It asks what principles free and equal persons would agree to under fair conditions. The fairness of the original position—where no one knows their place in society—guarantees the fairness of the principles that emerge from it[1].

This conception of justice as fairness provides an alternative to utilitarian approaches that might sacrifice individual rights for the greater good. For Rawls, a just society is not merely one that maximizes overall welfare but one that secures fair terms of cooperation among free and equal citizens. This vision of society as a fair system of cooperation has profound implications for how we think about social institutions and public policy[1].

#### 4. Reflective Equilibrium

Rawls introduces the method of "reflective equilibrium" as a way to test and refine our theories of justice. This approach involves seeking coherence between our considered moral judgments about particular cases and the principles we endorse. When conflicts arise, we may revise either our judgments or our principles until we achieve a state of equilibrium. This method acknowledges that moral theorizing is not a matter of deduction from self-evident premises but rather a process of mutual adjustment between principles and judgments[1].

Reflective equilibrium offers a pragmatic approach to moral reasoning that avoids both the rigidity of absolutism and the relativism of pure intuitionism. It recognizes that moral thinking involves a complex interplay between general principles and particular judgments, and that both may be subject to revision in light of the other. This method has applications far beyond political philosophy, influencing approaches to ethical reasoning across disciplines[1].

#### 5. The Well-Ordered Society

Rawls envisions a "well-ordered society" as one in which everyone accepts and knows that others accept the same principles of justice, and the basic social institutions satisfy and are known to satisfy these principles. Such a society would be stable not merely through the balance of power but because citizens would develop a sense of justice that motivates them to comply with just institutions and arrangements[1].

This ideal of a well-ordered society offers a vision of social unity based on a shared conception of justice rather than on comprehensive religious or philosophical doctrines. It suggests that despite our differences in beliefs and values, we can achieve social cooperation on terms that all can accept as fair. This vision has important implications for how we think about pluralism, tolerance, and the basis of social unity in diverse democratic societies[1].

## **Three Major Controversies**

#### 1. Critique from Libertarian Perspectives

One of the most significant controversies surrounding Rawls's theory came from libertarian philosophers, most notably Robert Nozick in his 1974 book "Anarchy, State, and Utopia." Nozick criticized Rawls's difference principle for focusing on patterns of distribution rather than the processes by which distributions arise. He argued that if individual transactions are just, then

the resulting distribution, whatever it may be, is also just. Nozick's "entitlement theory" emphasized historical principles of justice in acquisition and transfer, contrasting sharply with Rawls's focus on end-state principles[1].

This controversy highlights fundamental disagreements about the nature of property rights and the proper role of the state. While Rawls sees economic arrangements as subject to principles of justice chosen behind the veil of ignorance, libertarians like Nozick view property rights as prior to and constraining the power of the state. This debate continues to shape discussions about taxation, redistribution, and economic policy, with libertarians arguing that Rawls's approach unjustifiably limits economic freedom in pursuit of equality[1].

#### 2. Marxist and Feminist Critiques

From the left, Marxist critics have argued that Rawls's theory fails to challenge the fundamental structures of capitalism and instead focuses on redistributive measures within the existing system. They contend that Rawls neglects the role of class struggle in shaping social and economic inequalities and does not adequately critique private property rights. Similarly, feminist critics have pointed out that Rawls's theory does not sufficiently address gender justice, particularly regarding the family as a basic social institution[5].

These critiques highlight limitations in Rawls's approach to structural inequalities. By focusing primarily on distributive justice within the context of liberal democratic capitalism, Rawls may not adequately address more radical critiques of existing social arrangements. The controversy centers on whether justice requires more fundamental transformations of social and economic relations than Rawls's theory allows for, and whether his framework can adequately account for forms of oppression based on gender, race, and class[5].

#### 3. The Communitarian Challenge

Communitarian philosophers such as Michael Sandel have criticized Rawls for his conception of the person and his approach to community and shared values. In "Liberalism and the Limits of Justice" (1982), Sandel argued that Rawls's theory presupposes an implausibly "unencumbered self" that exists prior to and independent of its ends and attachments. Communitarians contend that our identities are constituted by our communal ties and shared traditions, making Rawls's individualistic approach to justice problematic[1].

This controversy raises important questions about the relationship between the individual and the community in political theory. While Rawls emphasizes the priority of the right over the good and the importance of individual choice, communitarians stress the role of shared values and traditions in shaping our understanding of justice. This debate continues to influence discussions about multiculturalism, national identity, and the proper balance between individual rights and communal goods in democratic societies[1].

## In Closing

Civic-minded Americans should read "A Theory of Justice" because it offers a profound and systematic framework for thinking about the fundamental questions that shape our political life. In an era of increasing polarization and heated debates about inequality, rights, and the proper role of government, Rawls provides a thoughtful approach to justice that takes seriously both liberty and equality—values that have long been central to the American political tradition[8].

The book challenges readers to move beyond self-interest and consider what principles they would endorse if they did not know their own position in society. This exercise in impartiality encourages a more reflective and empathetic approach to political questions, one that asks us to consider the perspectives of all members of society, especially the most vulnerable. In a democracy that depends on citizens' capacity for thoughtful deliberation, Rawls's methodology offers a valuable tool for civic reasoning[8].

Moreover, "A Theory of Justice" provides a language and conceptual framework that can help citizens engage more effectively in public discourse. Concepts like the original position, the veil of ignorance, and the difference principle offer ways to think and talk about justice that can bridge ideological divides and focus attention on fundamental principles rather than partisan positions. In an age of sound bites and simplified political narratives, Rawls's careful and nuanced approach to complex questions of justice is especially valuable[6].

The book also encourages readers to think systematically about the basic structure of society—the major social, economic, and political institutions that shape opportunities and outcomes. This focus on institutional arrangements rather than individual behavior or isolated policies helps citizens understand the interconnected nature of social problems and the need for comprehensive approaches to justice. As Americans grapple with persistent inequalities and social challenges, Rawls's institutional perspective offers a way to think about systemic solutions[8].

Finally, "A Theory of Justice" reminds us that the project of creating a just society is both an intellectual and a practical endeavor. It requires not only clear thinking about principles but also a commitment to building institutions that embody those principles. For civic-minded Americans committed to strengthening democracy and advancing justice, Rawls's masterwork provides both inspiration and guidance, challenging us to imagine and work toward a society that more fully realizes the ideals of fairness, equality, and respect for all citizens[8].

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