The Ambiguities of Rawls's Influence

Peter Berkowitz

ohn Rawls is the towering figure of academic liberalism. A gentle, dignified, self-effacing man, he taught philosophy at Harvard for more than thirty years and from his commanding position exerted a decisive influence on his profession. Through his scholarship and teaching he played a major role in establishing the now-dominant understanding of liberalism in the academy and, more generally, of the method and purpose of the philosophical study of politics.

Before Rawls, professors of philosophy, when they addressed questions about politics at all, tended to restrict their analysis to the use of words and their logical relations. Rawls's 1971 masterwork, *A Theory of Justice*, changed that. Bound to stand as a lasting contribution to the liberal tradition, Rawls's book restored the question of justice to its place of preeminence in the philosophical study of politics and thereby inaugurated a new era not only for professors of philosophy interested in political ideas but also for political theorists headquartered in political science departments.

Rawls's undertaking was exceptionally ambitious. His aim in *A Theory of Justice* was to extend and refine the social contract tradition from Locke to Kant—especially Kant—and, in a sense, to bring it to completion. Starting from intuitions about morality and human nature that he held to be austere, widely-shared, and deeply rooted in contemporary liberal democracies, he sought to provide, in 600 highly theoretical and densely-argued pages, a rigorous deduction of the fundamental principles and institutional arrangements of a well-ordered state. The state constructed in accordance with justice, according to Rawls, protected certain basic individual rights and, in a manner consistent with those rights, redistributed goods to achieve a substantially more egalitarian society. What makes *A*

Theory of Justice distinctive, however, is not the egalitarian version of the modern welfare state that it seeks to vindicate, but the complex conceptual machinery that Rawls assembles to make the case.

Although Rawls himself did not draw the connection, his well-ordered state turned out to converge with the political program championed by the left wing of the Democratic Party. This convergence lent credence to the profoundly mistaken notion—reflexively embraced by many academic liberals, particularly those who took to calling themselves deliberative democrats—that policy debates between conservatives and progressives about how to protect freedom and achieve equality can be decided by abstract reason in favor of progressives. The reflex has had unfortunate consequences inside the academy, not least for the liberal tradition that Rawls strove to vindicate. Those who did not occupy themselves with extending or refining or criticizing Rawls—those who attempted nearly any inquiry in political philosophy not defined by the Rawlsian project—were often regarded by Rawlsians as, at a minimum, suspect and sometimes as not practicing political theory at all. Moreover, as Rawls's followers rose to positions of prominence and power in the university world, more than a few fostered an environment in which disagreement with progressive opinion about the justice of abortion, affirmative action, or welfare reform, or any number of other difficult and divisive questions of public policy, was viewed as giving expression to antidemocratic sentiments and violating the boundaries of reasonable and morally respectable discourse.

To be sure, intolerance of dissent and the suppression of inquiry does not represent an iron law of necessity imposed by Rawlsian principles. Rather, it is a temptation that arises within and is furnished means by Rawls's approach. For example, followers found in Rawls's rationalist method a justification for restrictive and self-aggrandizing judgments about the proper aim and boundaries of philosophical and political inquiry. They asserted correctly that to engage in reasoned argument it was necessary for interlocutors to proceed from common ground, but then confused the Rawlsian research paradigm and their own political agendas with the civility, toleration, and respect for competing points of view that

Peter Berkowitz teaches at George Mason University School of Law and is the Tad and Dianne Taube Senior Fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institution (berkowitz@hoover.stanford. edu). He is the editor of the companion volumes Varieties of Conservatism in America (Hoover Institution Press 2004) and Varieties of Progressivism in America (Hoover Institution Press 2004).

ought to provide the common ground in universities.² On the basis of this confusion, academic liberals could persuade themselves that they were justified in excluding from their conversations, programs, and centers those who did not embrace Rawls as the point of departure for moral and political thinking. The exclusion, however, has had costs, including for the excluders. Depriving themselves and their programs of the benefit of alternative approaches and sealing themselves and their centers off from dissenting points of view, many academic liberals lapsed into equating liberalism with Rawlsian liberalism, and Rawlsian liberalism with political philosophy itself. For them, the philosophically valid and the politically correct became increasingly difficult to distinguish.

Rawls was different. Throughout his career he confronted questions about the limits of reason and the dependence of justice on opinions about which reasonable men and women could differ. Indeed, what is hinted at in certain recurring equivocations and obscurities in his books is confirmed by the explicit analysis of the last of his books, *Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy.* Justice in the liberal tradition, in Rawls's considered opinion, is bound up with controversial metaphysical notions and a biblically grounded religious faith. To understand Rawls's legacy, it is necessary to observe how he wrestled with questions about liberalism's grounds, as well as with the tendency to shut down even forms and topics of inquiry that derived sustenance from his thought.

The paradox can be glimpsed in Rawls's exposition of the "original position" in A Theory of Justice. An up-todate version of the "state of nature" teaching, it is a hypothetical and nonhistorical condition that Rawls constructs to illustrate the basic principles that perfectly reasonable persons would accept if asked to design a society from scratch.³ Choice is not wide open in the original position because Rawls assumes that "each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override." This assumption, an up-todate way of speaking of natural and inalienable rights serves as the foundation stone on which the moral and political primacy he ascribes to individual choice rests. Indeed, to speak of "choice" or "assent" or "consent" in the original position as does Rawls repeatedly, to say nothing of describing the principles of justice as emerging in the original position as "the result of a fair agreement or bargain,"8 or of characterizing persons in it as achieving "unanimity," 9 is to adorn the original position with a misleading democratic and participatory facade. 10 In fact, constraints built into the original position are designed to ensure the reaching of a single conclusion about the principles of justice by all who enter it, or rather the moral and political conclusions are built into the constraints.¹¹

Rawls calls the constraints imposed on persons in the original position the "veil of ignorance." ¹² By hiding knowledge of the attributes that distinguish one person

from another, the veil of ignorance ensures that the reasoning about fair principles for social cooperation in the original position is not influenced by what Rawls regards as inessential or morally irrelevant factors. 13 And because Rawls, following Kant, considers only what is universal in the human condition to be morally relevant, persons behind the veil of ignorance are deprived of information about what is given to them in particular by society and what is give to them in particular by nature and fortune. They are forbidden knowledge of family and friends, social class and political opinions, nation and religious beliefs, height and weight and sex, and whether they are healthy, wealthy, or wise. They do know that they share desires whose satisfaction requires the cooperation of others; rationality, which enables choice among the variety of human ends; and the elements of "moral personality"—a sense of justice and a capacity to formulate ideas about what is good. 14

Reasoning in the original position gives rise to "justice as fairness," which receives expression in two principles.¹⁵ The first has priority and may not be violated, even for the sake of the second. It provides that "each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others." 16 The second stipulates that "social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both (a) reasonably expected to be to everyone's advantage, and (b) attached to positions and offices open to all." These principles represent an interpretation of the political significance of the freedom and equality of persons. But, to repeat, it is an abuse of terms to see these principles as a result of choice, consent, agreement, or, as it is fashionable to say today, the product of deliberation.¹⁸ They are binding, for Rawls, not because they are hashed out in common and jointly assented to but because they are reasonable. They "are not contingent upon existing desires or present social conditions." 19 Along with the conception of moral personality they presuppose, they answer the need for an "Archimedean point." They are of practical value "for appraising institutions and for guiding the overall direction of social change."20

Unfortunately, Rawls obscures the function of the original position and the veil of ignorance that constitutes it, through use of the metaphor of discussion and debate. In fact, the original position is not a point of departure for the collaborative discovery of the moral foundations of politics. Nor is it a framework for the give and take of restrained public debate. Rather, it is a representation or modeling of common intuitions among citizens of liberal democracy about moral and political life and a means for clarifying inferences that should be drawn from them.²¹ Because it presupposes that what is morally worthy in human beings is the capacity for moral reasoning—and not, for example, also an individual's passions and virtues; or friendships and family and faith; or achievements in public and private life—the original position is suffused

with moral judgment.²² And therefore it should be controversial among reasonable people.

Indeed, the supposedly austere assumptions about human nature on which Rawls's reasoning relies are themselves not secured by theory. Nor are they really austere. They are based instead on opinions about psychology, morality, and metaphysics that are very much open to question, certainly among those whose job it is to understand moral and political ideas. It is not just that the idea of the inviolability of individuals is itself a grand moral judgment. In addition, Rawls's theory depends on grand judgments about human psychology. For example, Rawls supposes that in practice the two principles of justice "lead to social arrangements in which envy and other destructive feelings are not likely to be strong," 23 without addressing or even mentioning Burke's critique of the arrogance of Enlightenment rationalism in Reflections on the Revolution in France, Tocqueville's exploration of the democratic soul's envy of human excellence in Democracy in America, or Mill's observations in chapter 3 of On Liberty on the lassitude and irrational disdain for custom and tradition induced by the spirit of liberty.²⁴ And the moral and metaphysical idea, critical to the construction of the original position and the interpretation of Rawls's second principle, that our vices, like our virtues and accomplishments, are "arbitrary from a moral perspective" 25 and so justify treating "the distribution of natural talents as a common asset" 26 flies in the face of common sense and is anything but axiomatic for morals and politics, though Rawls sometimes wields it as a truth of reason and the very essence of the moral point of view.²⁷

These flaws in the foundations do not prevent Rawls from illuminating liberalism's deep structure and enduring imperatives. Of particular significance, and central to his derivation and application of the two principles of justice, is his exploration of how the worth or enjoyment of rights in a liberal democracy is necessarily related to the social and economic conditions under which those rights are exercised. Freedom of speech, for example, confers vastly greater benefits on tenured professors than it does on individuals who can't afford a soap box. What remains eminently disputable after Rawls is the extent of government's capacity and obligation to provide for the social and economic bases of equality.

Rawls has not been without his academic critics, the best known of whom came to be called communitarians. Perhaps not coincidentally, the best known form of communitarian criticism was essentially another form of progressive liberalism, one that silently assumed the primacy of individual rights and which did not challenge the redistributivist requirements of *A Theory of Justice*. ²⁸ Nor did it take exception to the idea that the primary task for academic political theory was to justify a left-liberal interpretation of American democracy. Rather, in the idiom of analytic moral philosophy that it shared with Rawls, it

affirmed certain sound sociological observations about human beings that Rawls, and the social contract school of liberalism from which he hailed, tended to underplay.

Nevertheless, the communitarian critique led astray.²⁹ It correctly pointed out that human beings do not exist in isolation but are constituted in part by the associations friendships, family, neighborhoods, clubs and committees, nation, and religion—of which we are members. It also correctly stressed that although we often do not freely choose these associations, membership in them is an important good that the state must respect in the process of respecting citizens as individuals. And it rightly emphasized that in many instances we consider ourselves bound by duties that flow from or are given to us by the roles we inhabit. However, communitarian critics caused a great deal of mischief by incorrectly suggesting, despite their own implicit commitment to individual freedom and equality before the law, that it was somehow impossible to appreciate the social side of our nature while remaining devoted to liberal principles.³⁰

Twenty two years after A Theory of Justice, Rawls published a major restatement of his views. In 1993, with Political Liberalism, he sought to provide a defense of justice as fairness that was "political, not metaphysical." Contrary to the widespread perception that his second book marked a fundamental revision in his thinking, Rawls emphasizes, and the book bears him out, that Political Liberalism instead represents an effort to resolve difficulties internal to his theory.³¹ His theme remained that of the reasonable limitations on choice in a liberal democracy, or the principles that people would choose to live under if they reasoned properly. And he continued to focus on general ideas and what he took to be their political implications and not on the actual expressed wants, needs, and desires of his fellow citizens. Indeed, despite the variety of competing conservative and progressive interpretations of liberal democracy vigorously debated beyond the boundaries of contemporary academic life, Rawls once again in Political Liberalism gave to a particular partisan interpretation of American liberalism the color of universality, objectivity, and moral necessity.

In particular, Rawls tried to allay the concerns of critics who found that A Theory of Justice went too far, making comprehensive claims about morality and politics that failed to respect the limits of reason and the claims of tradition and faith. His brand of liberalism, he maintained, did not depend on comprehensive moral claims or controversial first principles, and did not forsake, indeed proceeded from, the shared values and actual agreements of people living in today's liberal democracies. Indeed, contended Rawls, a fairly wide range of reasonable but ultimately irreconcilable comprehensive religious, philosophical, or moral views could achieve an "overlapping consensus" in support of justice as fairness. In such a conception, the right is prior to the good, which means that government's

task is to protect people's liberty to pursue the good as they understand it, in part by assisting in the provision of those primary goods which all citizens need a share of whatever their understandings of ultimate happiness.³⁴

The key innovation in *Political Liberalism* involves the introduction of "the idea of public reason." 35 This is the form of reason, or that part of reason, that should govern citizens of a liberal democracy in deliberating about "'constitutional essentials' and questions of basic justice." 36 Its content is roughly equivalent to the two principles of justice that emerge out of the original position.³⁷ It is based on the idea of the "reasonable," which is exhibited "when, among equals say, persons are ready to propose principles and standards as fair terms of cooperation and to abide by them willingly, given the assurance that others will likewise do so." This further requires a "willingness to accept the consequences of the burdens of judgment," or recognize that citizens in a free society inevitably will come to different conclusions about fundamental moral, philosophical, and religious questions.³⁹ In this constellation of notions Rawls seeks to capture the power and limits of reason's capacity to bring politics into line with justice.

Yet the idea of public reason is not a correction of the false democratic and participatory facade found in *A Theory of Justice* but rather a restatement of it. Or at least it lends itself to fortifying the facade. For while the purpose of public reasons is to specify principles for the conduct of public debate in a liberal state, it provides cover for the practice of advancing partisan political judgments as if they flowed from impartial reason. Taking one's stand with reason rather than morality—especially a "reason" into which considerable moral and political content has already been poured—is a convenient way of being partial and judgmental while pretending to stand above the partisan fray.

In an attempt to illustrate "comprehensive doctrines that run afoul of public reason," Rawls himself illustrates how easy it is to abuse the idea of public reason by peremptorily denying its approval to moral and political judgments with which one disagrees. The illustration, which occurs in a long footnote, deals with abortion. Rawls proceeds by assuming "three important political values: the due respect for human life, the ordered reproduction of political society over time, including the family in some form, and finally the equality of women as equal citizens." But in the very effort to show the real-life operation of public reason, he dispenses with argument and instead offers personal authority:

Now I believe any reasonable balance of these three values will give a woman a duly qualified right to decide whether or not to end her pregnancy during the first trimester. The reason for this is that at this early stage of pregnancy the political value of the equality of women is overriding, and this right is required to give it substance and force. Other political values, if tallied in, would not, I think, affect this conclusion.⁴²

Public reason, as Rawls briskly applies it to one of the most difficult and divisive issues of the day, goes well beyond providing the principles for conducting public debate between pro-choice and pro-life opinions. For Rawls it functions as the final arbiter of the debate, proclaiming that the pro-life view is unwelcome, because it does not meet public reason's minimum requirements. Indeed, the idea of public reason fails to compel or inspire Rawls to examine, or recognize a need to examine, claims made on behalf of the key competing political value, "due respect for human life" in the form of the life of the fetus or unborn child.

To be fair, in subsequent publications Rawls retreated from his calmly delivered decree that public reason cleanly settles the debate over the justice of abortion. As Nevertheless, it remains sobering to observe that even in the hands of so conscientious and high-minded a thinker as Rawls the appeal to public reason can serve to deny the reality of competing goods and tragic choices and intractable questions. The obscurity of its boundaries and the authority with which Rawls and his followers endow it allow it to serve as a magical incantation for use in the heat of debate—or in the leisure of scholarship—to advance partisan causes by cutting off discussion, shutting down questioning, and stopping the inquiring mind dead in its tracks.

In The Law of Peoples, which appeared several years after his retirement, Rawls extended his reasoning about justice to international relations. Unsurprisingly, when it comes to foreign affairs and the laws that binds nations and states, it turns out reason requires a progressive, international order and an interventionist, international humanrights agenda. Unsurprising as well is that the idea of public reason in The Law of Peoples functions once again both to declare independence from and disguise dependence on morality and metaphysics. To avoid, under the guidance of public reason, the making of universal, comprehensive claims about the human good, political liberals on the international plane, as on the domestic plane, seek a "shared basis of justification" that "can be uncovered by due reflection." 44 Yet political liberalism's very quest for laws and institutions that can in principle be shared by and justified to all is motivated not in the first place by prudential considerations about the need to gather majority support but by the sort of universal, comprehensive claims—by virtue of our common humanity, all people's opinions are deserving of respect—that it earnestly forswears and says, for the record, that it does without.45

Rawls's "political conception of justice" was supposed to represent a "freestanding" liberalism, a liberalism resting solely on liberal democratic citizens' shared intuitions about the freedom and equality of persons in society. ⁴⁶ But the ambiguities of Rawls's own thinking cast doubt on the proposition that the intuition that we are free and equal is itself freestanding, or that the determination to

respect what human beings share is devoid of substantial or controversial moral and metaphysical presuppositions. If liberalism's fundamental premise is not simply based on observation or given by reason or vindicated by being shared, might it also involve faith? Might it even derive from and be nourished by religious faith? While some who follow Rawls might regard it as bad manners or worse in a discussion of political theory to raise questions entangled with human nature and metaphysics, let alone religion, publication at the end of his career of *Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy* (2000) shows that Rawls himself raised such questions and found something of vital importance at stake in how they were answered.

In fact, the old quarrel between liberalism and religion goes back to the beginning, to the emergence of the liberal tradition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in response to the European wars of religion. In the name of the rights of individuals, the founders of the liberal tradition elaborated constraints on religion's political authority and politics' religious authority. As the liberal idea took hold, individuals demanded more and more autonomy from the state—and from religion. Yet whereas the state and its lawmaking apparatus grew, in part to secure the conditions of freedom, the demands of autonomy increasingly reduced faith's domain. After much progress in freedom over several centuries, a question remains: Is it reasonable for a liberal to be religious? Can one reasonably claim to put freedom first while also embracing on faith teachings about where we come from, what we are, and how we ought to live? Such doubts have a distinguished pedigree in the liberal tradition, and they have impelled many contemporary liberals to regard religion with intense suspicion, if not outright hostility.

It is common to suppose that while liberals must tolerate religious faith it would be unreasonable for them to profess it. But in the *Lectures*, which provides some of his most searching examination of liberalism's foundations, Rawls provides reasons to believe that far from being the antithesis of freedom, religious faith of a certain sort may be the basis of our respect for freedom, the very thing that renders our respect for the dignity of man rational.

The Lectures is based on an extraordinary cycle of notes that Rawls regularly revised for a class on moral philosophy he taught on many occasions at Harvard between 1962 and 1991. As in all his writings, he gives pride of place in the Lectures to questions about moral reasoning. Despite the title's suggestion that it will provide a panoramic survey, and despite his extended discussions of Hume and Hegel, Rawls turns in the Lectures to the history of moral philosophy in the apparently narrow interest of making sense of Kant. But he turns to Kant with grand ambition: to make sense of the moral life as it truly is. The implication, quite consistent with A Theory of Justice and the books that followed, is that the history of moral philosophy culminates in Kant and more or less

comes to an end in the Kantian-inspired moral philosophy that Rawls's own work exemplifies.

His interpretation of Kant in the *Lectures*, based on a close and sympathetic reading, sheds light on Rawls's considered judgment about the extent to which liberalism's moral foundations are secured by reason. On the one hand, he emphasizes the centrality to Kant's philosophy of "the fact of reason." This is "the fact that, as reasonable beings, we are conscious of the moral law as the supremely authoritative and regulative law for us and in our ordinary moral thought and judgment we recognize it as such." In other words, the very operation of reason compels us to accept the moral law. On the other hand, Rawls stresses Kant's view that the moral law only achieves its full justification in the spirit of religious faith:

I conclude by observing that the significance Kant gives to the moral law and our acting from it has an obvious religious aspect, and that his text occasionally has a devotional character.

What gives a view a religious aspect, I think, is that it has a conception of the world as a whole that presents it as in certain respects holy, or else as worthy of devotion and reverence. The everyday values of secular life must take a secondary place. If this is right, then what gives Kant's view a religious aspect is the dominant place he gives to the moral law in conceiving of the world itself. For it is in following the moral law as it applies to us, and in striving to fashion in ourselves a firm good will, and in shaping our social world accordingly that alone qualifies us to be the final purpose of creation. Without this, our life in the world, and the world itself lose their meaning and point.

Now, perhaps, we see the significance of the mention of the world in the first sentence of *Groundwork* I: "It is impossible to conceive anything in the world, or even out of it, that can be taken as good without qualification, except a good will."

At first it seems strange that Kant should mention the world here. Why go to such an extreme? we ask. Now perhaps we see why it is there. It comes as no surprise, then, that in the second *Critique* he should say that the step to religion is taken for the sake of the highest good and to preserve our devotion to the moral law.

These religious, even Pietist, aspects of Kant's moral philosophy seem obvious; any account of it that overlooks them misses much that is essential to it.⁴⁸

In view of how much, as Rawls emphasizes, it shares with Kant, one is impelled to say of Rawls's philosophy something similar to what Rawls says of Kant's philosophy. Any account of it that overlooks its metaphysical and religious aspects misses much that is essential to it.⁴⁹

In the *Lectures*, as throughout his writings, Rawls's prodigious philosophical labors brought to light, in some cases unwittingly, stresses and strains, fissures and flaws, and ironic twists and turns in the liberal spirit. In the process, Rawls exposed conflicting qualities to which the liberal spirit gives rise. On the one hand, an appreciation that the moral foundations of liberalism are bound up with a faith in human dignity that is not entailed or guaranteed by reason may encourage a certain humility, of the sort demonstrated in the virtue of toleration, in the energetic interest in the variety of ways of being human, and in a certain

skepticism about comprehensive claims about moral and political life. On the other hand, the conviction that the founding truths of liberalism are implicit in common sense and that judgments about political institutions and public policy are derivable by the healthy operation of human reason may promote a certain hubris. It is this hubris that one sometimes sees among those who are satisfied that those who disagree with them on moral and political matters suffer from wicked or twisted minds and deserve to be segregated into separate intellectual communities.

In an instructive phrase in the Lectures, Rawls says that Kant's moral philosophy aspires to the ideal of an "aristocracy of all."50 This calls to mind John Stuart Mill's vision of a society of sovereign individuals, as well as the Protestant notion of a "priesthood of all believers." All three represent variations on a venerable modern theme; the harmonization of a substantial human equality with a sweeping individual freedom. To understand the source of the liberal aspiration to an aristocracy of all, however, is one thing. To think through its moral and political consequences is another. Can the desire for distinction be satisfied in a society in which everybody is recognized as a kind of aristocrat, sovereign, or priest? What are the practical effects on our hearts and minds of the conviction that each person is a supreme authority? And what are the implications for politics of a form of moral reasoning that authorizes all individuals equally to conceive of themselves as laying down universal laws? These are some of the intriguing questions-seldom raised by Rawls or his followers—that the publication of his probing classroom lectures ought to provoke among those who wish to assess, rather than profess, the reasonableness of Rawlsian liberalism.

Particularly intriguing is the question about foundations to which Rawls himself constantly returned and to which he gave consistently conflicting indications. On the one hand, he suggests that the founding moral intuitions are all but self-evident. On the other, he holds that they rest on faith. Yet if good arguments can be made on behalf of both propositions, then what is most evident is the doubt about how precisely to understand liberalism's moral foundations. So it would be reasonable to pursue the stimulating thought that Rawls's freestanding liberalism is not only consistent with a variety of religious perspectives, as he emphasizes, but derives critical support from specific forms of religious faith, which he gestures at. Perhaps Rawls's conflicting accounts can be reconciled, as the Declaration of Independence suggests, through the idea that a certain faith impels us to hold as self-evident the truth that all persons are by nature free and equal.

This is certainly not to say that liberalism requires one to be religious or that religious people are more amply endowed with the liberal spirit. But for those who care about understanding liberalism, a more precise knowledge of its foundations should be welcome. And as a prac-

tical matter, for those who care about freedom and equality, knowledge of the foundations of the truths about morals and politics that we have long held to be self-evident can contribute to our ability to cultivate the conditions under which we can keep our grip on them firm.

Confronting the ambiguities of his legacy and pursuing questions provoked but not adequately addressed by his philosophizing belong to the task of conserving Rawls's achievement.

The liberal in John Rawls would have it no other way.

Notes

This essay weaves together (and in places corrects) the argument of "John Rawls and the Liberal Faith," in *The Wilson Quarterly*, Spring 2002, pp. 60–69, and "The Academic Liberal," in *The Weekly Standard*, Dec. 16, 2002.

- 1 See, for example, Berkowitz 2003 and Berkowitz 1996, 36–42.
- 2 Mill draws the crucial distinction at the end of chapter 2 of *On Liberty*.
- 3 TJ, 17-22.
- 4 TJ, 3.
- 5 TJ, 18. See also, for example, 41–42, 48, 584.
- 6 TJ, 13.
- 7 TJ, 19.
- 8 TJ, 12. See also, for example, 16, 17, 21, 28, 31, 42, 44.
- 9 TJ, 141. See also, for example, 122–23, 140, 263–64.
- 10 Contrary to the misleading facade but in keeping with the actual structure of his analysis, Rawls does explain that the argument for the principles of justice in the original position "aims eventually to be strictly deductive. . . . We should strive for a kind of moral geometry with all the rigor which this name connotes." See TJ, 121.
- 11 TJ, 136-42.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 TJ, 18, 53.
- 14 TJ, 17-22, 136-42, 504-07, 561.
- 15 TJ, 60. Rawls calls the formulations of the two principles I cite here "provisional." Subsequently, he offers a more refined and technical version of both principles. See TJ, 302–303. For a more "provisional" formulation, see TJ, 14–15.
- 16 TJ, 60.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 When Rawls uses the terms "deliberation" or "deliberative" he generally has in mind not the give and take of discussion but the calm and rigor of systematic thinking. See, for example, TJ, 17, 416–24.
- 19 TJ, 263.
- 20 Ibid.

- 21 For a particularly clear statement of why the original position should be seen not as a discussion but as a derivation, see PL, 273–74.
- 22 See, for example, TJ, 311-12.
- 23 TJ, 144, 534-41.
- 24 Rawls does mention without discussing Nietzsche's analysis of *ressentiment*. TJ, 535n8. And he does briefly discuss Freud's account of the origin of justice in envy and jealousy, 539–41.
- 25 TJ, 74.
- 26 TJ, 101.
- 27 TJ, 72-75, 100-108.
- 28 See, for example, Sandel, 1981.
- 29 See Berkowitz 1995, 54-64.
- 30 Communitarian critics (as well as Rawls's followers) generally gave short shrift to, or simply ignored, Rawls's extended discussion of family, society and the virtues in Part III of *A Theory of Justice*.
- 31 PL, xv-xvi.
- 32 PL, 8–10.
- 33 PL, 133-72.
- 34 PL, 178-90.
- 35 See PL, 214-20. See also LP, 131-80.
- 36 PL, 214.
- 37 PL, 223.
- 38 PL. 49. In fact, Rawls supposes as well the much stronger claim that it is reasonable to regard other persons as equal. See PL, 48–54.
- 39 PL, 54.
- 40 PL, 243-44.

- 41 PL, 243n32.
- 42 PL, 243n32.
- 43 "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited," in *LP*, 169, especially note 80.
- 44 LP, 19.
- 45 See, for example, LP, 68. It might be objected that Rawls resists universalization inasmuch as he emphasizes that peoples whose political society falls short of liberal justice, so-called "decent peoples," nevertheless deserve toleration and membership in the global "Society of Peoples" governed by the law of peoples. See LP, 59-88. Yet Rawls makes clear that this toleration and membership are imperatives of liberal justice applied to foreign policy. And the very definition of a people as "decent," which implies both the achievement of a respectable minimum and the persistence of a defect, reflects moral judgments rooted in liberal principles. Moreover, the "long run aim" of well-ordered societies "is to bring all societies eventually to honor the Law of Peoples and to become full members in good standing of the society of well-ordered peoples." See LP, 92-93.
- 46 PL, 12.
- 47 Lectures, 260.
- 48 Lectures, 160-61.
- 49 Consider also Rawls's assertion that "political liberalism starts by taking to heart the absolute depth of the irreconcilable latent conflict" introduced into moral life by the Reformation. See PL, xxvi.
- 50 Lectures, 211.

References

- Ackerly, Brooke. 2000. *Political theory and feminist social criticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ——. 2005. Is liberal democracy the only way? Confucianism and democracy. *Political Theory* 33 (4): 547–76.
- Ackerman, Bruce. 1994. Political liberalisms. *Journal of Philosophy* 19 (7): 364–86.
- Aldrich, John H. 1995. Why parties: The origin and transformation of political parties in America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Amdur, Robert. 1977. Rawls' theory of justice: Domestic and international perspectives. *World Politics* 29 (3): 438–61.
- Anderson, Elizabeth. 1999. What is the point of equality? *Ethics* 109 (2): 287–337
- Arneson, Richard J. 1989. Introduction. *Ethics* 99 (4): 695–710.
- ——. 1993. Equality. In *A companion to contemporary political philosophy*, eds. Robert Goodin and Philip Pettit. Oxford: Blackwell.
- ——. 1999. Introduction: Symposium on Rawlsian Theory of Justice: Recent Developments. *Ethics* 99 (4): 695–710.
- Arrow, Kenneth J. 1973. Some ordinalist-utilitarian notes on Rawls's theory of justice. *Journal of Philoso-phy* 70 (9): 245–63.
- Barber, Benjamin. 1975. Justifying justice: Problems of psychology, measurement, and politics in Rawls. *American Political Science Review* 62 (2): 663–74.
- Barry, Brian. 1982. Humanity and justice in global perspective. In *Ethics, economics and the law: Nomos Xxiv*, eds. J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman. New York: New York University Press.
- ——. 1995. John Rawls and the search for stability. *Ethics* 105 (4): 874–915.
- ——. 1998. International society from a cosmopolitan perspective. In *International society: Diverse ethical perspectives*, eds. David R. Mapel and Terry Nardin. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- —. 2001a. Culture and equality. Cambridge: Policy Press.
- ——. 2001b. Equality. In *Encyclopedia of ethics*. New York: Routledge.
- Beitz, Charles. 1975. Justice and international relations. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 4 (4): 282–311.
- ——. 1994. Cosmopolitan liberalism and the states system. In *Political restructuring in Europe: Ethical perspectives*, ed. Chris Brown. Routledge: London.
- Bell, Daniel. 2000. East meets west: Human rights and democracy in East Asia. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Benhabib, Seyla. 1988. The generalized and the concrete other: The Kohlberg-Gilligan controversy and feminist theory. In *Feminism as critique: On the politics of gender*, eds. Seyla Benhabib and Drucilla Cornell. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- ——. 1992. Situating the self: Gender, community, and postmodernism in contemporary ethics. New York: Routledge.
- ——. 1995. Cultural complexity, moral interdependence and the global dialogical community. In *Women, culture and development,* eds. Martha Nussbaum and Jonathan Glover. New York: Oxford University Press.
- ——. 2002. *The claims of culture.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- ——. 2004. The law of peoples, distributive justice, and migration. *Fordham Law Review* 72 (5): 1761–87.
- Berkowitz, Peter. 1995. Communitarian criticisms and liberal lessons. *Responsive Community* (Fall): 54–64.
- ——. 1996. The debating society. *New Republic*. Nov. 25.
- ——. 2003. The demagoguery of democratic theory. *Critical Review* 15 (1–2).
- Berlin, Isaiah. 1969. Four essays on liberty. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Blake, Michael. 2001. Distributive justice, state coercion, and autonomy. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 30 (3): 257–96.
- Bloom, Allan. 1975. Justice: John Rawls vs. the tradition of political philosophy. *American Political Science Review* 69 (2): 648–62.
- Bohman, James. 1995. Public reason and cultural pluralism: Political liberalism and the problem of moral pluralism. *Political Theory* 23 (2): 253–79.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Brewin, Christopher. 1978. Justice in international relations. In *The reason of states*, ed. Michael Donelan. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Brown, Michael et al., eds. 1996. *Debating the demo-cratic peace*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Brown, Wendy. 1995. State's of injury: Power and freedom in late modernity. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Buchanan, Allen. 1989. Assessing the communitarian critique of liberalism. *Ethics* 99 (4): 852–82.
- ——. 1999. Recognitional legitimacy and the state system. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 28 (1): 46–78.
- -----. 2000a. Rawls's *Law of Peoples*: Rules for a vanished Westphalian world. *Ethics* 110 (4): 697–721.
- ——. 2000b. Justice, legitimacy and human rights. In *The idea of a political liberalism: Essays on Rawls*, eds. Victoria Davion and Clark Wolf. Rowan and Littlefield: London.

- Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender trouble*. New York: Routledge.
- Byman, Daniel L., and Jerrold D. Green. 1999. The enigma of stability in the Persian Gulf monarchies. *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 3 (3): 20–37.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American voter*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Caney, Simon. 2002. Cosmopolitan and the law of peoples. *Journal of Political Philosophy* 10 (1): 95–123.
- Carens, Joseph. 1989. Membership and morality. In *Immigration and the politics of citizenship in Europe* and North America, ed. William Brubaker. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Central Intelligence Agency. 1999. CIA World Fact Book, http://permanent.access.gpo.gov/lps35389/1999/9.htm
- Chapman, John W. 1975. Rawls's *Theory of Justice*. American Political Science Review 69 (2): 588–93.
- Christiano, Thomas. 2001. Is there any basis for Rawls' duty of civility? *Modern Schoolman* 78 (January/ March): 151–61.
- Clayton, Mathew, and Andrew Williams. 1999. Egalitarian justice and interpersonal comparison. *European Journal of Political Research* 35 (4): 445–64.
- Clinton, William J. 1999. Remarks by the President at the Presentation of The National Medal of the Arts and The National Humanities Medal. Press release, Wednesday, September 29. http://clinton4.nara.gov/ textonly/WH/New/html/19990929.html
- Cohen, G. A. 1997. Where the action is: On the site of distributive justice. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 26: 3–30.
- ——. 2000. If you're an egalitarian, how come you're so rich? Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Cohen, Joshua. 1989. Democratic equality. *Ethics* 99 (4): 727–51.
- —. 1993. Moral pluralism and political consensus. In *The Idea of democracy*, eds. Davide Copp, John Roemer, and Jean Hampton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —. 1996. Procedure and substance in deliberative democracy. In *Democracy and difference: Changing* boundaries of the political, ed. Seyla Benhabib. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- —. 2002. The pursuit of fairness. Boston Globe, Dec. 1. Connolly, William. 1991. Identity/difference: Democratic negotiations of political paradox. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Dallmayr, Fred R. 2001. Achieving our world: Toward a global plural democracy. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Daniels, Norman. 1989a. Equal liberty and unequal worth of Liberty. In *Reading Rawls: Critical studies on*

- Rawls' A Theory of Justice, ed. Norman Daniels. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- —. ed. 1989b. Reading Rawls: Critical studies on Rawls' A Theory of Justice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- 2003. Democratic Equality: Rawls's complex egalitarianism. In *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls*, ed, Samuel Scheffler. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davis, D. W., and B. D. Silver. 2004. Civil liberties vs. security: Public opinion in the context of the terrorist attacks on America. *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (1): 28–46.
- Davis, James A., Tom W. Smith, and Peter V. Marsden. 2003. General Social Surveys, 1972–2002: [cumulative file] [computer file]. 2nd ICPSR version. Chicago, IL: National Opinion Research Center [producer]. Storrs, CT: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut/Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributors].
- DiQuatrro, Arthur. 1983. "Rawls and left criticism." *Political Theory* 11 (Feb.): 53–78.
- Doyle, Michael 1983a. Kant, liberal legacies and foreign affairs. Part I. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12 (3): 205–35.
- —. 1983b. Kant, liberal legacies and foreign affairs.
 Part II. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12 (4): 323–53.
 —. 1997. *Ways of war and peace.* New York: W.W. Norton.
- Duverger, Maurice. 1963. Political parties: Their organization and activity in the modern state. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Dworkin, Ronald. [1973] 1989. The original position. In *Reading Rawls: Critical studies on Rawls'* A Theory of Justice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- ——. 1981a. What is equality? Part 1: Equality of welfare. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 10 (3): 185–246.
- ——. 1981b. What is equality? Part 2: Equality of resources. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 10 (4): 283–345.
- Estlund, David. 1988. Debate: Liberalism, equality, and fraternity in Cohen's critique of Rawls. *Journal of Political Philosophy* 6 (1): 99–112.
- Feldman, S., and M.R. Steenbergen. 2001. The humanitarian foundation of support for social welfare. *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (3): 658–77.
- Fish, Stanley. 1999. *The trouble with principle*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Fisk, Milton. 1989. History and reason in Rawls' moral theory. In *Reading Rawls: Critical studies on Rawls*' A Theory of Justice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Fiss, Owen. 2002. Groups and the equal protection clause. *Issues in Legal Scholarship*. The Berkeley Electronic Press, www.bepress.com.

- Foster, Sheila. 2004. Rawls, race, and reason. *Fordham Law Review* 72:1715.
- Foucault, Michel, 1979. Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison. New York: Vintage Books.
- Fraser, Nancy. 1997. Justice interruptus: Critical reflections on the "postsocialist" condition. New York: Routledge.
- 2003. Social justice in the age of identity politics: Redistribution, recognition, and participation. In Redistribution or recognition? A political philosophical exchange, eds. Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth. New York: Verso.
- Freedom House. 2003. Freedom House Country Reports, 2003, http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/freeworld/2003/countries.html.
- -----. 2004. Freedom in the world, 2004. http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=15&year=2004.
- Freeman, Samuel. 1990. Reason and agreement in social contract views. *Philosophy and public affairs* 19 (2): 122–57.
- ——. 1999. Editor's Preface. In *John Rawls: Collected papers*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- ——. 2000. Deliberative democracy: A sympathetic comment. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 29 (4): 371–418.
- —. 2003. Introduction. Cambridge companion to Rawls, ed. Samuel Freeman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ——. 2005. The Law of Peoples, social cooperation, human rights, and distributive justice. Manuscript, University of Pennsylvania.
- Galbraith, James K. 2002. A perfect crime: Inequality in the age of globalization. *Daedalus* 131 (1): 11–25.
- Galston, William A. 1989. Pluralism and social unity. *Ethics* 99 (4): 711–26.
- ——. 2002. Liberal pluralism: The implications of value pluralism for political theory and practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gaus, Gerald. 1999. Reasonable pluralism and the domain of the political. *Inquiry* 42 (2): 259–84.
- Gauthier, David. 1977. The social contract as ideology. *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 6 (2): 130–64.
- George, Robert P. 2001. The clash of orthodoxies: Law, religion, and morality in crisis. Wilmington: ISI Books.
- Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. Partisan hearts and minds: Political parties and the social identities of voters. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Gudridge, Patrick. 2001. The Law of Peoples. *American Journal of International Law* 95 (3): 714–20.
- Gutmann, Amy, and Dennis Thompson. 1996. Democracy and disagreement: Why moral conflict cannot be avoided in politics and what to do about it. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Habermas, Jürgen. 2001. *The inclusion of other: Studies in political theory.* Eds. Ciaran Cronin and Pablo De Greiff. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Hampshire, Stuart. 1993. Liberalism: The new twist. *New York Review of Books*, August 12, 43–47.
- Hampton, Jean. 1989. Should political philosophy be done without metaphysics? *Ethics* 99 (4): 791–814.
- Hardin, Russell. 2003. *Indeterminacy and society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Harsanyi, John C. 1975. Can the maximin principle serve as a basis for morality? A critique of John Rawls's theory. *American Political Science Review* 69 (2): 594–606.
- Hart, H.L.A. 1989 [1973]. Rawls on liberty and its priority. In *Reading Rawls: Critical studies on Rawls*' A Theory of Justice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Hauptmann, Emily. 2004. A local history of 'The Political'. *Political Theory* 32 (1): 34–60.
- Hochschild, Jennifer. 1981. What's fair? American beliefs about distributive justice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hofstadter, Richard. 1969. The idea of a party system: The rise of legitimate opposition in the United States, 1780–1840. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Honig, Bonnie. 1993. *Political theory and the displace*ment of politics. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hume, David. 1985 [1777]. Of Parties in General. In *Essays moral, political, and literary,* ed. Eugene F. Miller. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
- Ivison, Duncan. 2002. *Postcolonial liberalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, Peter. 1996. International human rights: Philosophical and political. In *National rights, international obligations*, eds. Simon Caney, David George, and Peter Jones. Boulder, CO: Westview Press:.
- Kant, Immanuel. 1970. Perpetual Peace. In *Kant's Politi*cal Writings, ed. Hans Reiss. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Katzman, Kenneth. 2003. The Persian Gulf: Issues for U.S. policy, 2003. Report for Congress: February 3. U.S. Congressional Research Service.
- Kelly, Erin. 2001. Editor's Foreword. In *Justice as fair-ness: A restatement*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Kittay, Eva Feder. 1999. Love's labor: Essays on women, equality, and dependency. New York: Routledge.
- Kittay, Eva Feder, and Ellen Feder. 2003. *The subject of care*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield,
- Klosko, George. 1997. Political constructivism in Rawls's *Political Liberalism. American Political Science Review* 91 (3): 635–46.
- Krause, Sharon. 2005. Desiring justice: Motivation and justification in Rawls and Habermas. *Contemporary Political Theory* 4 (4): 363–85.

- Kreide, Regina. 2002. Book reviews of *Law of Peoples* by John Rawls and *Collected Papers by John Rawls. Constellations* 9 (4): 599–605.
- Krouse, Richard, and Michael McPherson. 1988. Capitalism, property-owning democracy, and the welfare state. In *Democracy and the welfare state*, ed. Amy Gutmann. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kukathas, Chandran, and Philip Pettit. 1990. *Rawls:* A Theory of Justice *and its critics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Kuper, Andrew. 2000. Rawlsian global justice: Beyond the law of peoples to a cosmopolitan law of persons. *Political Theory* 28 (5): 640–74.
- Kymlicka, Will. 1988. Rawls on teleology and deontology. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 17 (3): 173–90.
- ——. 1989. Liberalism, community, and culture. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- —. 1995. Multicultural citizenship. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Laden, Anthony. 2003. The house that Jack built: Thirty years of reading Rawls. *Ethics* 113 (2): 367–90.
- Lane, R. E. 1962. Political ideology: Why the American common man believes what he does. New York: The Free Press.
- Larmore, Charles. 1987. *Patterns of moral complexity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Macedo, Stephen. 2004. What self-governing peoples owe to one another: Universalism, diversity, and the law of the peoples. *Fordham Law Review* 72: 101–17.
- MacIntyre, Alasdair. 1981. *After virtue*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Manin, Bernard. 1997. The principles of representative government. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marx, Karl. 1972. Critique of the Gotha Program. In Selected Works of Marx and Engels. New York: International Publishers.
- McCarthy, Thomas. 1994. Kantian constructivism and reconstructivism: Rawls and Habermas in dialogue. *Ethics* 105 (1): 44–63.
- McClosky, H., and J. Zaller. 1984. *The American ethos:* Public attitudes toward capitalism and democracy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Meade, James. 1964. Efficiency, equality, and the owner-ship of property. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Mill, John Stuart. 1977 [1859]. On liberty. In *Essays on Politics and Society*, ed. J. M. Robson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Miller, Richard. 1989 [1974]. Rawls and Marxism. In *Reading Rawls: Critical studies on Rawls*' A Theory of Justice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Miller, David. 1995. *On nationality*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- ——. 1998. The limits of cosmopolitan justice. In International society: diverse ethical perspectives, eds. David R. Mapel and Terry Nardin. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- ——. 1999. *Principles of social justice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Mills, Charles. 1997. *The racial contract.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Moellendorf, Darrel. 1996. Constructing the law of peoples. *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly*: 132–54.
- Moon, Donald. 2003. The current state of political theory: Pluralism and reconciliation. In *What is political theory*, eds. Stephen K. White and J. Donald Moon. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Moon, J. Donald. 1993. Constructing community: Moral pluralism and tragic conflict. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mouffe, Chantal. 2000. *The democratic paradox*. New York: Verso.
- Murphy, Liam B. 1998. Institutions and the demands of justice. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 27 (4): 251–91.
- ——. 2000. *Moral demands in nonideal theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nagel, Thomas. 1989 [1973]. Rawls on Justice. In *Reading Rawls: Critical studies on Rawls*' A Theory of Justice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- ——. 1987. Moral conflict and political legitimacy. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 16 (3): 215–40.

- Neal, Patrick. 1993. Vulgar liberalism. *Political Theory* 21 (4): 623–42.
- Nozick, Robert. 1974. *Anarchy, state and utopia*. New York: Basic Books.
- O'Neill, Onora. 1975. Lifeboat earth. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 4 (3): 273–92.
- Okin, Susan Moller. 1989a. *Gender, justice and the family.* Basic Books: New York.
- —. 1989b. Reason and feeling in thinking about justice. *Ethics* 99 (2): 229–49.
- ——. 1994. Political liberalism, justice, and gender. *Ethics* 105 (1): 23–43.
- ——. 2004. Justice and gender: An unfinished debate. Fordham Law Review 72: 1537–67.
- Pateman, Carole. 1988. *The sexual contract.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Phillips, Anne. 2004. Defending equality of outcome. *Journal of Political Philosophy* 12 (1): 1–19.
- Pogge, Thomas. W. 1989. *Realizing Rawls*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- ——. 2000. On the site of distributive justice: Reflections on Cohen and Murphy. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 29 (2): 137–69.
- —. 2001a. Priorities of global justice. In Global Justice, ed. Thomas Pogge. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Rawls, John. 1958. Justice as fairness. *Philosophical Review* 67 (2): 164–94.
- ——. 1999 [1971]. A theory of justice, revised edition, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- ——. 1980. Kantian constructivism in moral theory. *Journal of Philosophy* 77 (9): 515–72.
- ——. 1985. Justice as fairness: Political not metaphysical. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 14 (3): 223–51.
- ——. 1987. The idea of an overlapping consensus. Oxford Journal of Legal Studies 7 (1): 1–25.
- —. 1993. The law of peoples. In On Human Rights, eds. Stephen Shute and Susan Hurley. New York: Basic Books.
- ——. 1996 [1993]. Political liberalism, paperback edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- ——. 1999. *The law of peoples*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- —. 1999. The idea of public reason revisited. In Collected Papers, ed. Samuel Freeman. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Originally published in University of Chicago Law Review I, 64 (Summer 1997): 765–807.
- ——. 2000. Lectures on the history of moral philosophy, ed. Barbara Herman. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- ——. 2001. Justice as fairness: A restatement. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Raz, Joseph. 1990. Facing diversity: The case of epistemic abstinence. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 19 (1): 3–46.
- Reidy, David. 2000. Rawls's wide view of public reason: Not wide enough. *Res Publica* 6 (1): 49–72.
- Richardson, Henry, ed. 1999. *The two principles and their justification*. New York: Garland Publishers.
- Richardson, Henry, and Paul Weithman, eds. 1999. *The philosophy of Rawls: A collection of essays.* 5 vols. New York: Garland Publishers.
- Riphenburg, Carol J. 1998. *Oman: Political development in a changing world.* Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Rorty, Richard. 1979. *Philosophy and the mirror of nature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- ——. 1983. "Postmodern bourgeois liberalism." *Journal of Philosophy* 80 (10): 583–89.
- Rosenblum, Nancy L. 1998. *Membership and morals*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sandel, Michael. 1982. *Liberalism and the limits of justice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scanlon, T.M. 1989. Rawls' *Theory of Justice*. In *Reading Rawls: Critical studies on Rawls*' A Theory of Justice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Schattschneider, E. E. 1942. *Party government*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.
- Scheffler, Samuel. 1992. Responsibility, reactive attitudes, and liberalism in philosophy and politics. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 21: 299–323.
- ——. 1994. The appeal of political liberalism. *Ethics* 105 (1): 4–22.
- Sen, Amartya. 1990. Justice: Means versus freedoms. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 19 (2): 111–21.
- Shapiro, Ian. 1999. *Democratic justice*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- ——. 2003. *The moral foundations of politics.* New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Shiffman, Gary. 2002. Construing disagreement: Consensus and invective in "constitutional" debate. *Political Theory* 30 (2): 175–203.
- Silvers, Anita. 1998. Formal justice. In *Disability, Difference, Discrimination: Perspectives on Justice in Bioethics and Public Policy,* eds. Anita Silvers, David Wasserman, Mary B. Mahowald. Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield.
- Singer, Peter. 1972. Famine, affluence, and morality. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1 (3): 229–43.
- Smiley, Marion. 2004. Democratic citizenship v. patriarchy: A feminist perspective on Rawls. *Fordham Law Review* 72: 1599.
- South Commission. 1991. *The challenge to the south.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sterba, James P. 1977. Retributive justice. *Political Theory* 5 (3): 349–62.
- Sullivan, Kathleen M. 1998. Against campaign finance reform. *Utah Law Review* 311.
- Talisse, Robert. 2001. On Rawls: A liberal theory of justice and justification. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- ——. 2005. Democracy after liberalism: Pragmatism and deliberative politics. New York: Routledge.
- Tan, K.C. 2001. Critical notice of John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples. Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 31 (1) 113–32.
- Taylor, Charles. 1994 [1992]. The politics of recognition. In *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*, ed. Amy Gutmann. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Tilly, Charles. 1998. *Durable inequality*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. 2000 [1835, 1840]. *Democracy in America*, ed. and tr. Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tucker, Robert W. 1975. *The inequality of nations.* New York: Basic Books.
- UN Millennium Project. 2005. Investing in development: A practical plan to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. New York: Earthscan.
- Waldron, Jeremy. 1993 [1986]. John Rawls and the social minimum. In *Liberal rights: Collected papers* 1981–1991. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wallach, John R. 1987. Liberals, communitarians, and the tasks of political theory. *Political Theory* 15 (4): 581–611.
- Walzer, Michael. 1983. Spheres of justice. New York: Basic Books.
- ——. 1984. Liberalism and the art of separation. *Political Theory* 12 (3): 315–30.
- ——. 1990. The communitarian critique of liberalism. *Political Theory* 18 (1): 6–23.
- Warner, Michael. 1999. *The trouble with normal: Sex, politics and the ethics of queer life.* New York: The Free Press.
- Weithman, Paul. 2002. Religion and the obligations of citizenship. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wenar, Leif. 1995. Political liberalism: An internal critique. *Ethics* 106 (1): 32–62.
- Westie, F.R. 1965. The American dilemma: An empirical test. *American Sociological Review* 30 (4): 527–38.
- White, Stephen. 2000. Sustaining affirmation: The strengths of weak ontology in political theory. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- White, Stephen, ed. 2002. *Political Theory* 30 (August): 471–619.
- White, Stephen, and Donald Moon, eds. 2004. What is political theory? London; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Williams, Andrew. 1999. Egalitarian justice and interpersonal comparison. *European Journal of Political Research* 35 (4): 445–64.
- Wolf, Susan. 1982. Moral saints. *Ethics* 79 (August): 419–39.
- Wolin, Sheldon. 1996. The liberal/democratic divide: On Rawls's *Political Liberalism. Political Theory* 24 (1): 97–142.
- Wolterstorff, Nicholas. 1997. The role of religion in decision and discussion of political issues. In *Religion in the public square*, eds. Robert Audi and Nicholas Wolterstorff. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- World Commission on the Social Dimensions of Globalization. 2004. A fair globalization: Creating opportunities for all. Geneva: I.L.O.
- Young, Iris Marion. 1990. Justice and the politics of difference. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- —. 1997. Reflections on families in the age of Murphy Brown: On justice, gender and sexuality. In *Intersecting voices: Dilemmas of gender, political philosophy and policy,* ed. Iris Marion Young. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- ——. 2001. Equality of whom?—Social groups and judgments of injustice. *Journal of Political Philosophy* 9 (1): 1–18.
- —. 2002. Status inequality and social groups. In Issues in Legal Scholarship, ed. Robert Post. Berkeley: Berkeley Electronic Press.
- ——. 2003. Political responsibility and structural injustice. The Lindley Lecture, University of Kansas.
- ——. 2005. On female body experience. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Forthcoming. The recognition of love's labor: Considering Axel Honneth's feminism. In *Recognition and power*, eds. Bert Van der Brink and David Owen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.