metaphysics or perhaps to see axiology as coextensive with metaphysics. Thus, rather than proving that value is independent from the concrete fact of existence, McDonald seems instead to have shown the opposite: to exist is to make and to be the product of judgments of value.

Despite this potential shortcoming, Hugh McDonald has presented a compelling case for the importance of radical axiology by systematically defending the importance of practice over theory and the centrality of value to every activity. Radical Axiology is vital reading for anyone concerned with the state of contemporary philosophy and particularly for pragmatists who have remained wary of the "value" of first philosophy.

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This volume is a collection of seventeen essays from philosophers working in Poland and the United States, organized into eight parts. The authors met to read and discussed these issues at a conference held in Karpacz, Poland on 27-30 May 1998.

Part 1 Democracy and National Identity

Keszek Koczanowicz's aim is to understand political behavior in Poland in the post totalitarian era in light of complex strands of Polish national identity. In particular, he is interested in understanding how popular myths of the past legitimate present events and political goals. He discusses, for instance, the irony that workers joined together in solidarity to over throw the communist state— but once achieved, voted the communist party into office again.

Shannon Kincaid argues that democracy needs nationalism of a specific sort and proceeds to define what democratic nationalism entails using both Polish and American philosophers to support the case.
Part 2 Religion, Moral Values, and the Overthrow of Totalitarianism

Dariusz Aleksandrowicz examines how cultural Catholicism (which he distinguishes from the Catholic Church) has influenced the political situation in post-communist Poland. The economic 'losers,' such as small landholders, tend to package their resentment in old patterns of anti-Semitism. For instance, a popular priest in Gdansk, in a 1995 sermon attended by the Polish President and his wife, asserted "Jewishness is to be understood as the source and cause of the evils of Stalinism and Hitlerism," and a few years later, again in a sermon, asserted that Jews should not be tolerated in government. The author relates in some detail the confrontations between the popular defenders of the priest and institutional responses.

Mariusz Turowski asks what the relationship of religion to politics should be in Poland. In particular, should Polish institutions adopt a model of neutrality found in America? The author situates the discussion within the framework of Kent Greenawalt's Religious Convictions and Political Choice (1988) and Michael J. Perry's Morality, Politics, and Law: A Bicentennial Essay (1988). Turowski finds the Polish situation significantly different from the American one discussed by these two authors and leaves as a question what Poland should do next.

Part 3 Liberalism and Democracy

Tom Rockmore accepts economic liberalism as inevitable and preferable to Marxism and economic central planning, although acknowledging that it has problems of its own. Rockmore reaches to Rousseau for the link between the conditions of the good life and social freedom, interpreted as (intellectual, political, but) mainly, economic freedom. He ignores more influential arguments in support of this thesis from Frederick Hayek and Milton Friedman. Instead, the author uses Hegel's theory of recognition as a criterion for resolving the conflict between the human condition (we are social beings) and our individual aspirations for economic freedoms. The resolution he outlines is a theoretical contrast of the Kantian idea of respect for the individual with Hegel's emphasis on the essential need for civil society and conscious cooperation.
Andrzej Szahaj defends John Rawls's conception of justice against communitarian's critique of it. The author argues that the Polish weak liberal tradition demands the sort of liberal democratic justice that Rawls theory articulates: individuals choose their values, just as Rawls supposed. Furthermore, the social contract is a viable practical way of handling pluralism, not simply a social fiction to be discarded.

Part 4 Democracy and Public Reason


Frederic R. Kellogg draws out some implications of David Rasmussen's thesis in the previous essay with respect to justification as it applies to the validation of political practices.

Part 5 Participatory Democracy and Social Justice

Justyna Miklaszewksa situates the discussion of public choice approach to the problem of democratic participation within scholarly theories of choice developed since the 1950s (mostly in the United States) and the privatization policy launched by the Polish liberal governments between 1989 and 1993. Miklaszewksa finds that choice theory neglects the common values upon which civil society is based and also fails to explain why people should choose to participate in democratic institutions.

John Ryder begins with J. S. Mill's arguments in On Liberty to explore the question of "whether it is ever justifiable in an academic environment to interfere with the free expression of ideas, and if so how we might identify the cases in which such interference is justified." Ryder lists potential cases that might be considered indecent enough or dangerous enough to warrant preventing a professor from teaching. Should toleration be extended, for instance, to those who justify ethnic cleansing? Such issues, in fact, are decided by power. Ryder argues, instead, for a principle to decide such cases:
the right of citizens to a legitimate place in their society should be prior to a right to free speech.

Part 6 The Electronic Media and Democracy

Anthony J. Graybosch updates the arguments of Noam Chomsky and Walter Lippmann who each argued in their own way that “the democratic press lacked the resources to fulfill the roles of educating the public and generating universal consent.” Graybosch finds no good reason to believe the Internet will advance democracy and in the process of his argument gives an informative introduction to the implications of a variety of facets of information technology.

Marek Hetmanski accepts Alvin Toffler’s thesis that “information has become the main source of economic and political power” and explores the question: “How do information technologies ... influence political changes in post-totalitarian society?” Hetmanski uses characteristics of systems theory to suggest the Internet may tend to promote democratic institutions. Nevertheless, information technologies present a threat to privacy and technology alone may not defeat the threat to democracy by centralized monopolistic media and its manipulation by those in power.

Part 7 Procedural Transformation

Andrzej Maciej Kaniowski’s essay, “Detotalitarization and the Ambiguity of Moral Codes,” questions whether communism was overthrown by the “outside” force of the Roman Catholic Church—as some critics held after the 1990 election in Poland. His aim is to better understand political transformation. He explores the structural similarities of liberal-democratic concepts and totalitarian concepts of Nazism and communism. Liberal advocates, in practice, sometimes share totalitarian premises—advocating, for instance, an essential vision of human nature, which, in turn argues for certain legal and economic structures. Essentialism is at odds with liberalism, which is at heart anti-essentialist. Likewise, labeling Nazis or Mao’s China as “totalitarianism” paints with too broad a brush and so hides moral ambiguities in the processes of transformation from one condition to another.
Radoslaw Sojak focuses on the lustration debate in Poland, 1989-1995, and the problem of social exclusion. Lustration is the project of revealing the names of former undercover agents of the communist secret services, which might lead to their exclusion from various positions of power and public service. The author's aim is to reinterpret the legal problem of lustration in terms of social exclusion using the theoretical framework of Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge.

Part 8 American Philosophical Conceptions: Implications for Democratization

Richard P. Mullin's essay argues for, "Josiah Royce's Philosophy of Loyalty as a Basis for Democratic Ethics". Royce's 1907 book, The Philosophy of Loyalty, proposed that "loyalty to loyalty" might serve as a basis for morality that would rise above partisanship and serve as a foundation for democratic ethics. Mullin argues that the contemporary political situation in both Poland and America might benefit by a closer look at Royce's thesis.

Sandra B. Rosenthal and Rogene A. Buchholz coauthored an article advocating "Pragmatism as a Political Philosophy for Emerging Democracies". The problem of pluralism faces emerging democracies and John Dewey's pragmatism offers resources to tackle misleading theoretical dualities and advance solutions to practical problems posed by pluralism.

Judith M. Green's essay engages the Sachs-Balcerowicz Model of Formal "Democratization" (which roughly corresponds to the 'Washington Consensus' of the IMF and World Bank) and reveals the economic contradictions posed by 'democratic liberalism.' Green situates her discussion in the context of Joseph Stiglitz (President of the World Bank in the late 1990s) empirical and theoretical critique of facile "market forces" solutions to problems of promoting democracy (as John Dewey articulated it). She illustrates the impact Sachs-Balcerowicz policies have had using details of the Polish economic situation, which followed the "series of people's revolutions" in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and other central and Eastern European countries.

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