Toleration in Political Conflict

Political disputes over toleration are endemic, while toleration as a political value seems opposed to those of civic equality, neutrality and sometimes democracy. *Toleration in Political Conflict* sets out to understand toleration as both politically awkward and indispensable. The book exposes the incoherence of Rawlsian reasonable pluralist justifications of toleration, and shows that toleration cannot be fully reconciled with liberal political values. While *raison d’état* concerns very often overshadow debates over toleration, these debates – for example about terrorism – need not be framed as a conflict between toleration and security. Framing them in this way tends to obscure objectionable behaviour by tolerators themselves, and their reliance on asymmetric power. Glen Newey concludes by sketching a picture of politics as dependent on free speech which, he argues, is entailed by the demands of free association. That in turn suggests that questions of toleration are inescapable within the conditions of politics itself.

**Glen Newey** is Professor of Political Theory at the Université Libre de Bruxelles. He has taught and written about toleration for over twenty-five years and is the author of *Hobbes and ‘Leviathan’* (2008), *After Politics* (2001) and *Virtue, Reason and Toleration: the place of toleration in ethical and political philosophy* (1999). He has also written many articles on the theory and practice of toleration and is a frequent reviewer and commentator for publications including the *London Review of Books, Independent, New Statesman* and *Times Literary Supplement.*
Toleration in Political Conflict

Glen Newey
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107040328

© Glen Newey 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

Printed in the United Kingdom by CPI Group Ltd, Croydon CR0 4YY

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
Newey, Glen.
Toleration in political conflict / Glen Newey.
   pages cm
Includes bibliographical references.
1. Toleration. 2. Toleration—Political aspects. 3. Democracy—Philosophy. I. Title.
HM1271.N52 2013
303.6—dc23 2013005733


Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.
For John Horton
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgements</th>
<th>Page viii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Introduction: toleration in trouble</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Tolerating politics</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Democratic toleration?</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Toleration as sedition</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 The trouble with respect</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 How not to tolerate religion</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Liberty, toleration, security</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Toleration and power</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Tolerating ourselves, tolerating terror</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Toleration, free speech and the right to lie</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilogue</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgements

I take this opportunity to thank the usual suspects for help and support in preparing this book for publication. I thank the hosts of forums in which versions of several chapters were presented, notably my former colleagues Monica Mookherjee and Sorin Baiasu, of Keele University; Shaun Young, University of York, Ontario; Tim Heyse, University of Leuven; Barbara Segaert, of UCSIA Antwerp; Dario Castiglione, University of Exeter, and Catriona McKinnon, University of Reading. I also thank Peter Jones, lately of the University of Newcastle, for debate and contestation which have spanned a long period. He always meets objections (which are reiterated below) with implacable courtesy and fair-mindedness, and his own writing offers a model of clarity and intellectual integrity. I also take the opportunity of thanking Sue Mendus, now at last retired from the University of York, for having first sparked my interest – that must be the word – in the concept of toleration. I went to York in the 1980s to study toleration mainly because of the money – the Morrell Trust offered what seemed princely sums to students to study on its MA course in toleration, a programme that happily continues thanks to the generosity of the trustees. As with Pascal's view of religious worship, what was at first undertaken for purely egoistic reasons has over time become ossified into the gainless habit we know as virtue. As Sue and others who taught me at the time have often reminded me, my presence in seminar groups and in tutorials itself offered them a constant practical exercise in toleration. The oldest hath borne most.

Thanks also to those who discussed the ideas in this book in these and other settings, including (in no special order) Peter Balint, Matt Matravers, Leif Wenar, Graham Long, Katrin Flikschuh, Paul Kelly, Melissa Williams, Stephen Macedo, George Kateb, Iain Hampsher-Monk, Rainer Forst, Ingrid Creppell, Linda Holt, Veit Bader, Andrea Baumeister, Derek Edyvane, Corey Bretschneider, Paul Bou-Habib, Dudley Knowles, Jonathan Riley, Anthony Duff, Victor Tadros, Glyn Morgan, Gerald Gaus, Ronnie Beiner, Dan Weinstock, Bluey Hick, Scott Davis, Anna Elisabetta Galeotti, Jon Parkin, David Owen,
Acknowledgements

Tim Stanton, John Charvet, Petter Korkman, Véronique Muñoz-Dardé, Jo Wolff, Jim Gibson, Arto Laitinen, David Heyd, Charlie Husband, and the late Brian Barry. I have also benefited from questions and interventions in seminars and conferences from participants whose identities were unknown to me. My thanks to them, and to anyone else whom I may have omitted from the list of names above.

Special thanks also to Carrie Parkinson, of Cambridge University Press, for help in preparing the typescript, and to John Haslam and Hilary Gaskin, also of Cambridge University Press. Many thanks also to Pat Harper, who discharges the often thankless duties of copy-editing with exemplary attention to detail. My major debt is recorded in the dedication.

Versions of some chapters (chapters 3, 4, 6 and 10) have appeared in print already, though all have been modified for the present volume. Chapter 3: ‘Democratic toleration?’ was published as ‘Is Democratic Toleration a Rubber Duck?’ in Dario Castiglione and Catriona McKinnon (eds.), Tolerance, Neutrality and Democracy (Dordrecht: Kluwer 2003), repr. from Res Publica 7:3 (2001), 315–36 and is used with kind permission from Springer Science + Business Media B.V.; Chapter 4: ‘Toleration as sedition’, was published in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy 14:3 (2011), 363–84 and is used with kind permission from the Taylor & Francis Group, http://www.tandfonline.com; Chapter 6: ‘How not to tolerate religion’, was published in Monica Mookherjee (ed.), Tolerance, Recognition and Religious Diversity (Dordrecht: Springer 2011) and is used with kind permission from Springer Science + Business Media B.V.; Chapter 10: ‘Toleration, free speech and the right to lie’, was published as ‘Free Speech and Bad Speech: Nike v. Kasky and the right to lie’, Bijdragen: International Journal in Philosophy and Theology 71:4 (2011), 407–25 and is used with kind permission from Bijdragen.