

Index

- Abécédaire* (Deleuze), 56–57
 Abensour, Miguel, 207–208, 221–222
 abolition, 6
 abortion, 36
 absolutism, 45, 102, 114–115, 153–154
 individual rights and, 38
 monarchical, 154
Address to the British Colonists in North America (Burke), 65–66
 Agamben, Giorgio, 212, 213, 214, 227–228
 alienation, 159–160, 166, 178, 179
 Allende, Salvador, 15
 Alston, Philip, 15–16
 Althusser, Louis, 159, 178, 179
 American Bill of Rights of 1791, 65
 American foreign policy, 212–213
 American Revolution, 61, 89
 Amnesty International, 15, 17
Anarchical Fallacies (Bentham), 99
 anarchism, 47–48
 anarchy, 100–108
 despotism and, 67
 digest of anarchy, 67–68
Anarchy, State and Utopia (Nozick), 98
 ancien régime (France), 142–143, 155. *See also* French Revolution; monarchy
 Anglican Church, 60, 65. *See also* Christianity; established church
 Anglicanism, 127–128
An Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress (Bentham), 93
 anthropological basis for human rights, 221–222
 anticolonial activists, 14–15
 antidemocratic thought, 52
 antiliberalism, 46–47, 52
 antimodern critique, 187–188
 destruction of just order, 35–40
 human rights against politics, 40–43
 antimodern thought, 30, 49–50
 anti-Semitism, 7–8, 160, 192. *See also* Dreyfus Affair; Holocaust; totalitarianism
 antitotalitarian movement, 27
 Arab-Jewish cooperation, 218–219
 Arendt, Hannah, 11–12, 24, 216–222, 238–239
 Burke and, 210–212, 213
 on citizenship and nationality, 242
 cosmopolitanism and, 220–221
 on Declaration of Independence of 1776, 215
 on Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen 1789, 209–210, 214, 216
 on Dreyfus Affair, 215
 on education crisis, 208
 on equality, 224
 French reception of, 207–208
 on homeland, 218
 on humanism, 212–213
 interwar human rights activists and, 237
 Lefort and, 212, 217–218, 223–224
 on liberty, 223
 Marx and, 227
 on paradox of human rights, 208–210
 on poverty, 226
 Rancière and, 223–224
 secondary literature on, 225–226
 Aristotle, 29–34, 35, 67, 199
 eudaimonia, 82–83
 on friendship, 203–204
 phronesis, 83
 Aron, Raymond, 12, 40, 138, 207
 asylum seekers, 225–226, 227, 230
 atheism, 153
 Audard, Catherine, 105
 Audier, Serge, 125–126
 Aulard, Alphonse, 7–8
 authoritarianism, 38, 107, 166
 non-authoritarian regimes, 73

248 Index

- authority
 demise of, 1
 sources of, 80
- autonomy, 31, 125
 civic, 204
 collective, 54, 190
 democratic, 236
 individual, 54
 private, 26
 public, 26
 state, 242
- Azouvi, François, 15
- Badiou, Alain, 55
- Balibar, Etienne, 17, 91, 125, 166,
 221–222, 235
- Battle of Eylau, 150
- Bauer, Bruno, 158, 164–165
- Beccaria, Cesare, 180
- Beitz, Charles, 25
- Benjamin, Walter, 246
- Benoist, Alain de, 41, 42–43
- Bensaïd, Daniel, 213
- Bentham, Jeremy, 58, 82–83, 93, 98–100,
 108–111
 Bonald and, 130–131
 Burke and, 100–108
 on collective utility, 92–93
 Comte differences with, 92
 fear of ghosts, 94
 on law, 95
 Marx and, 174
 on paraphrase, 95
 on social contract, 94
- Bergier, Nicolas-Sylvestre, 130
- Bernardi, Bruno, 24
- Bidet, Jacques, 33, 233
- Bill of Rights, 44, 65, 214–215
- Binoche, Bertrand, 102–103, 160
- biopolitical tyranny, 38
- The Birth of Biopolitics* (Foucault), 107–108
- Blackburn, Robin, 21
- Bloch, Marc, 14
- Bodin, Jean, 189–190
- Bonald, Louis de, 58, 128–129, 135–136,
 138, 141–143
 Bentham and, 130–131
 on liberalism and democracy, 139–140
 Maistre and, 128–133
 on monarchy, 143–144
 on unequal rights, 133–134
 on war, 194
- Boulangist crisis, 7–8
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 95, 240–241
- Bourg, Julian, 27–28
- bourgeois
 ideology, 157–158, 160
 interests, 162–163
 property, 180–181
- Bourgeois, Léon, 123
- Boutmy, Emile, 6–7
- Brahmi, Frédéric, 82
- British constitution, 64, 76
- Brown, Wendy, 53, 55–56, 57–58
- Buchanan, Allen, 163, 176, 178
- Burke, Edmund, 2–3, 18, 37, 58, 59, 60–62,
 65–66, 67, 68, 69, 84–85, 149
 ambiguities of, 82–90
 Arendt and, 210–212, 213
 Bentham and, 100–108
 charge of incoherence leveled against, 64
 coherence of Burke's thought, 62–66
 contractualist terms of, 81
 on Declaration of the Rights of Man and
 of the Citizen 1789, 67, 214–215
 exceptional status of, 63
 on metaphysics, 80
 particularism of, 128
 on prescription, 129–130
 property, inequality and inheritance,
 78–79
 relativism of, 79
 on rights of man, 73
 utilitarianism and, 74
 Whig thought and, 81
- Bush, George W., 243–244
- Cabanes, Bruno, 12
- Cameron, David, 245
- 'Can a Marxist Believe in Human Rights?'
 (Lukes), 157
- Capital* (Marx), 174
- capital punishment, 39
- capitalism, 161
 contradictions of, 176
 dynamics of capitalist accumulation,
 170
 exploitation by, 173, 174, 175
 globalisation and, 235
 paradox of, 172–173
 totalitarian capitalism, 39
 wrongs of, 172
- Carré de Malberg, Raymond, 9
- Carter, Jimmy, 32
- Cartesian reason, 73
- case law, 74–75. *See also* Common Law
- Cassin, René, 12
- Castel, Robert, 125
- Castoriadis, Cornelius, 237
- categorical imperative, 164

- Catholicism, 11, 75, 131, 153, 154. *See also*
 Christianity; counter-revolutionary
 thought; Thomism
 Catholic conservatives, 58
 Catholic counter-revolutionaries,
 80–81
 counter-revolutionism and, 193
 monarchy and, 144
 reactionary, 155
 victory of, 155
 Chambers, Samuel, 236
 Chartist movement, 6
 children's rights, 36, 37–38
 Chomsky, Noam, 212–213
 Christianity, 143, 153
 Christian personalist movements, 14
 theology, 35
 Christofferson, Michael, 27
 citizen rights, 167, 168, 189–190
 citizenship, 16, 17, 165, 225
 Arendt on nationality and, 242
 cosmopolitan form of, 217
 republican, 52–53
 civic desertion, 229–233
 civic republican writers, 43
 Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 151
 civil rights, 32, 68–73
 civil society, 51–52, 81, 87–88, 173
 class struggles, 121, 176–177
 class war, 158
 classical antiquity, 172
 Clémenceau, Georges, 215–216
 Cloots, Anacharsis, 19
 Cobban, Alfred, 62–63, 70–71
 Cohen, Jean, 17, 232, 244
 Cold War, 15
 collective action, 56
 collective happiness, 124
 collective utility, 4, 92–93, 113
 collective will, 202
 collectivity, 33–34
 Collège de France, 106
 Collin, Thibaud, 50
 Colliot-Thélène, Catherine, 219, 239,
 241–242
Commentaire (journal), 48–49
 common good, 43, 109, 194
 Common Law, 74–75, 87
 jurisprudentialism, 76
 communism, 122, 158, 169–170
 communist individualism, 183
 defined in *On the Jewish Question* (Marx),
 171–172
 emancipation through, 188
 liberties useless under, 176–177
Communist Manifesto (Marx), 157–158,
 180, 182–183
 communist systems, 14–15
 communitarian critique, 31
 ascendancy of rights and “good
 life,” 43–46
 democracy turning against itself, 46–53
 communitarian systems, 33–34
 families and, 43–44
 community life, 1–2
 Compagnon, Antoine, 30, 39
 competition (economics), 161,
 174
 Comte, Auguste, 4, 5, 58, 108–112,
 114–115, 116–117, 119–120, 121–122
 Bentham differences with, 92
 Saint-Simonianism and, 111
The Concept of the Political (Schmitt),
 199–200, 203
 conceptual history, 24
 conditional rights, 146
 Condorcet, Nicolas de, 92
 Congress of Vienna, 152
 conscience, 117–118
 conservatism, 101–102, 187
 conservative liberalism, 88–89
 liberal conservatism, 190
Considerations on France (Maistre), 127
 Constant, Benjamin, 74, 86, 104
 Constituent Assembly, 18
 constituent power, 205
Constitutional Project for Corsica
 (Rousseau), 202
 constitutional rights, 71, 129–130
 constitutionality of laws, 9
 constitutions, 147
 natural, 148–149
 contractualism, 203
Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's
Philosophy of Right (Marx), 159–161
 Cortès, Donoso, 193
 cosmopolitanism, 19, 217
 Arendt and, 220–221
 cosmo-theological order, 79–80
 costs of rights, 33
 Council of Europe, 230
 counter-Enlightenment thought, 30, 127
 counter-revolutionary thought, 4, 30,
 58, 59
 Catholic counter-revolutionaries,
 80–81, 193
Cours de philosophie positive (Comte), 116
 Cranston, Maurice, 32
 crimes against humanity, 13–14, 220
 criminals, 226

250 Index

- Critique of the Gotha Program* (Marx), 165, 178–180
 cultural pluralism, 22
 cultural selection, 88
- d'Allones, Myriam Revault, 217–218
 Darwin, Charles, 87
 death penalty. *See* capital punishment
Le Débat (journal), 48
 Debray, Régis, 13, 50
 Declaration of Independence of 1776, 13, 215
 Declaration of Rights 1793, 7, 8
 individualism and, 10
 universal nature of, 75
 Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen 1789, 9, 47, 100, 117–118, 132–133, 134, 144–145, 161–162
 anti-consequentialism of, 101
 Arendt on, 209–210, 214, 216
 Article 2 of, 184
 Article 3 of, 17–18, 149, 190
 Bentham on, 98–100
 Burke on, 67, 214–215
 Maistre on, 149
 ‘The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man’ (Arendt), 206, 208, 213, 224–225
 decolonisation, 14–15
 deductive reasoning, 73–74
 Deleuze, Gilles, 26–27, 56–57
 Delmas-Marty, Mireille, 224–225, 243–244
 democracy, 2, 20, 39–40, 79, 123–124, 131–132, 202, 204, 235
 anti-democratic liberals, 194–195
 Bonald on liberalism and, 139–140
 democratic autonomy, 236
 democratic emancipation, 162
 democratic equality, 199
 democratic rights, 185
 democratic societies, 1
 embedded democracy, 90
 against liberalism, 195–198
 monarchy and, 141–142
 paradox of, 198–199, 202–203
 parliamentary, 56, 119
 political foundation of, 42
 radical, 186, 188, 190, 235, 236, 240–242
 Rancière on, 239
 representative, 93
 savage democracy, 221, 232
 suppression, 182
 turning against itself, 46–53
 unbounded, 79
 democratisation, 55–56
 of political representation, 60
 denationalisation, 209
 despotism, 42, 71, 100, 117. *See also* totalitarianism
 anarchy and, 67
 legal, 132
 revolutionary despotism, 87
 difference, 56, 125
 digest of anarchy, 67–68
 dignity, 37–38, 105, 119, 120
 Directorate (French Revolution), 169
 disabled people, 230
 disciplinary power, rule of law and, 54
Discipline and Punish (Foucault), 26–27
 disinstitutioned equality, 141–143
 distributive justice, 170, 177–178
 Marx on, 177
 divine law, 80, 82, 144
 divine rights, 152
 divine will, 134
 division of labour, 113, 122–123, 137, 155–156, 172–173
 division of political labour, 142
 divorce, 136, 138, 142–143
 domination, 185, 194–195
 of money, 173
 struggle against, 54, 235
 Donzelot, Jacques, 123
 double-speak, 216–217
 Dreyfus Affair, 5–6, 7–8, 10–11
 Arendt on, 215
 Duguit, Léon, 9, 123
 Durkheim, Emile, 19, 122–123, 155–156
 sociology of, 238
 duties, 96
 ancien régime as pyramid of, 155
 inequality of, 141
 social system of, 112–115
The Duties of Man (Mazzini), 4–5
- ecclesiastical rights, 152–156
 economic relations, 171
 economic rights, 32
 introduction of, 32–33
 egalitarianism, 91, 106
Eichmann in Jerusalem (Arendt), 220
 Eichmann trial, 209
 Elster, Jon, 158–159
 emancipation, 44, 233–237
 communist, 188
 democratic, 162
 human, 53–54
 human rights against, 53

- individual, 158
 Jewish, 131
 material conditions of, 170
 political, 53–54, 162, 179–180
 radical, 29–34
 Rancière on, 242
 social, 166, 179–180
 Marx on, 170
 empiricism, 74. *See also* positivism;
 sociology
 Engels, Friedrich, 159, 180, 183–184
 Enlightenment principles, 4
 counter-Enlightenment, 30, 127
 Scottish Enlightenment liberalism, 62, 85
 equal marriage, 1
 equal rights, 97–98
 equality, 116–120
 Arendt on, 224
 democratic equality, 199
 instituted and disinstituted, 141–143
 equity, 74–75
 essentialism, 17
 established church, 70, 79
eudaimonia (Aristotelian), 82–83
 Europe
 Maistre on sovereignty in, 147–148
 Muslims in, 39
 tax exile in, 243
 European Convention on Human Rights
 1950, 14, 224–226, 245
 European Court of Human Rights,
 225–226
 European public law (*jus gentium*), 150, 201
 European Union, 230, 245

 families, 136, 231
 communitarian systems and, 43–44
 fatalism, 55–56
 feminism, 31, 56, 57–58. *See also* women's
 rights
 Ferry, Jean-Marc, 19, 182, 200–201
 Ferry, Luc, 211–212
 feudal system, 115
 Feuerbach, Ludwig, 159–160, 162,
 183–184
 Forst, Rainer, 242
 Foucault, Michel, 26–27, 106, 107–108,
 234–235, 245
 Marx and, 53–54
A Fragment on Government (Bentham), 94
 free market, 56, 140
 freedom of association, 166, 167
 freedom of conscience, 7, 39, 69–70, 116,
 117–118, 155, 164–165, 180
 freedom of press, 167

 freedom of speech, 44–45
 French Church, 65
 French Communist Party, 27
 French National Assembly, 68
 French political philosophers, 8–9
 French political thought, 26–29
 French republicanism, 8
 French Revolution, 2–3, 140
 destruction of symbolic order of society
 (Maistre), 144–145
 Directorate, 169
 imperialism and, 150
 legislative actions of, 10
 limitation of political power and
 (Foucault), 106
 Maistre on, 150
 property rights and, 10
 radical novelty of, 61
 revulsion at, 4
 Terror, 8–9, 19–20, 42, 115, 168–169
 women during, 223–224
 Freund, Julian, 40, 41, 42–43
 friendship, 203–204
 fundamental freedoms, 33
 fundamental rights, 34, 45–46
 Furet, François, 47

 Ganzin, Michel, 70–71
 Gauchet, Marcel, 2–3, 47–50, 189,
 232–233
 Gehlen, Arnold, 89
 general spirit, 149–150
 general will, 7, 137–138, 139
 ambiguities of, 202–205
 Geneva Convention on the status of
 refugees 1951, 225
 genocide, 14, 32. *See also* anti-Semitism;
 Holocaust
 Gentile, Giovanni, 52
 George III (King), 75–76
The German Ideology (Marx), 159, 171,
 182–184
 ghosts, 94
 Gilson, Etienne, 11
 Glendon, Mary Ann, 46
 globalisation, 235
 Glorious Revolution of 1688, 89, 129
 Glucksmann, André, 27–28
 God, rights of, 130, 135
 governmentality, 107
 liberal, 107–108
 gradualist reformism, 95
 Gramsci, Antonio, 159
Grundrisse (Marx), 175
 Guattari, Félix, 56–57

252 Index

- Guilhaumou, Jacques, 110, 196
 Guilhot, Nicolas, 31
Gulag Archipelago (Solzhenitsyn), 27, 28
 Gündogdu, Ayten, 226–227
 Gurvitch, Georges, 124
- Habermas, Jürgen, 26, 182
 Halévy, Elie, 83
 Hart, Herbert, 94–95, 98
 Hastings, Warren, 66, 68
 Hauriou, Maurice, 9
 Hayek, Friedrich, 85, 88, 107
 Hazareesingh, Sudhir, 229
 hedonism, 82–83
 hedonist consumerism, 230
 Heidegger, Martin, 38, 89
 Helsinki Final Act of 1975, 21
 hierarchical order, 142–143
 traditional hierarchies, 195
 historicism, 178, 187, 246
 historiographical debate, 13
 Hobbes, Thomas, 35, 38, 40, 81, 130
 holism, 109
 Holmes, Stephen, 52
 Holocaust, 14
 ‘discovery’ of, 15
 memory of, 20–21
The Holy Family (Marx), 160–161, 165
 Holy Spirit, 39
 homeland, 218
 Hopgood, Stephen, 31
The Human Condition (Arendt), 207, 222
 human nature, 171
 Human Rights Watch, 17
 humanism, 27, 212–213
 humanity
 history of, 112–113
 the people against, 198–201
 human-rights-ism, 1–2
 Hunt, Lynn, 13
- identity-with-self, 199
 ideology
 bourgeois ideology, 157–158, 160
 Marxism critique of, 159–160
 of rights of man, 159, 171
 imperialism, 150, 192, 207–208. *See also*
 neo-imperialism
 French Revolution and, 150
 imperialist racism, 214
 liberal, 58
 nationalism and, 213–214
 of subjectivity, 212
 Western, 243–244
 impolitical politics, 41
- inalienable rights, 37
 Indian rights, 63, 75
 individual rights, 1–2, 5, 35
 absolutism and, 38
 fragmentary effects of, 231
 international recognition of, 13–14
 law and, 36
 neoliberalism and, 33–34
 rights of man and, 69
 social issues framed as, 45
 totalitarianism and, 49
 individual wills, 137–138
 individualism, 48
 communist individualism, 183
 Declaration of Rights 1793 and, 10
 individual wills, 7
 individualist conception of law, 140
 liberal, 203
 neoliberalism and, 56
 possessive, 168
 postmodern, 2–3
 radical, 49
 of rights of man, 153–154
 selfish, 78, 101
 spineless, 230
 utilitarianism and, 105
 individuality
 social form of, 134–135
 social relationship creating, 171
 industrialisation, 122–123
 inequality, 78–79, 91, 137, 141–142,
 175–176
 of duties, 141
 of social relationships, 135–140
 violence of, 174
 Ingram, James, 224, 237, 244
 inheritance, 73, 77, 78–79, 142
 law of inheritance, 77–78
 instituted equality, 141–143
 institutional hierarchies, 67
 insurrection, 71
 integrity, 105
 intellectual property, 122
 International Covenants of 1966, 3
 international humanitarianism, 22
 International Workingmen’s Association, 6
 intersubjectivity, 125–126, 222
 interwar human rights activists, 237
 interwar period, 3–12
 interwar refugees, 211
 Iraq, 55, 56
 Irish Catholic rights, 63, 75
 Isaac, Jeffrey, 216–217
 Islam. *See* Muslims
 Israel, 209

- Jackson, Andrew, 2–3
 Jacobins, 140
 Jaurès, Jean, 124
 Jellinek, Georg, 6–7
 Jews, 14, 15
 Arab-Jewish cooperation, 218–219
 emancipation of, 131
 Jouanjan, Olivier, 191
 judicial review, 9, 34
 judiciary, role of, 34
 Judt, Tony, 5
 jurisprudence. *See* case law
 jurisprudentialism, 82
 English Common Law, 76
 historicism and, 187
ius gentium (European public law), 150, 201
 jusnaturalism, 82, 92, 114
 just society, 29–34, 36
 justice, 55, 70–71, 181. *See also* distributive
 justice; social justice
 Marx on, 171
 original justice, 74
 transactional, 177
- Kant, Immanuel, 19, 133, 164
 Kantian philosophy, 10
 Karsenti, Bruno, 111, 133
 Kelsen, Hans, 199–200
 Kennedy, David, 31, 53
 Kervégan, Jean-François, 189, 191
 Kesby, Alison, 239
 Kissinger, Henry, 20
 Koselleck, Reinhart, 24
 Koskenniemi, Martti, 31, 45–46, 53,
 245–246
 Kristol, Irving, 32, 214–215
 Kymlicka, Will, 177, 231
- Laborde, Cécile, 43, 48, 208
 labour unions, 119. *See also* capitalism;
 freedom of association
 Labriola, Antonio, 169, 170
 Lagrou, Pieter, 20
 laissez-faire economics, 58, 106, 107. *See*
 also capitalism; utilitarianism
 Lasch, Christopher, 46
The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History
 (Moyn), 14, 21
 Laval, Christian, 109, 110
 law, 35–36, 234–235
 ambiguities of, 54
 Bentham on, 95
 generality of, 74–75
 individual rights and, 36
 individualist conception of, 140
 Maistre on, 146, 147
 of monarchy, 144
 political laws, 80
 sovereignty and, 145
 Law of the Maximum, 18
 Lazare, Bernard, 215–216
 Le Chapelier law, 167
 League of Human Rights (*Ligue des droits de*
 l'homme), 7–8
 League of Nations, 11–12
 Lefort, Claude, 17, 28–29, 47–48, 51, 166
 Arendt and, 212, 217–218, 223–224
 criticism leveled at, 232
 critiques of, 51
 on misuse of democracy, 233
 savage democracy of, 221, 232
 vision of, 232–233
 legal despotism, 132
 legal formalism, 193–194
 legal personhood, 238
 legal recourse, 155
 legal relations, 171
 legal theory, 9, 43
 Lenin, Vladimir, 182
 Leninism, 11, 184–185. *See also* Marxism
 Leopold, David, 158, 163–164, 165–166
Letters on a Regicide Peace (Burke), 18, 68
 Lévy, Bernard-Henri, 27–28
 liberalism, 58, 86–87, 88, 191–192
 anti-democratic liberals, 194–195
 antiliberalism, 46–47, 52
 Bonald on democracy and, 139–140
 conservative liberalism, 88–89
 democracy against, 195–198
 elitist, 52–53
 individualist, 40
 liberal conservatism, 190
 liberal imperialism, 58
 rejection of, 128, 131–132
 Scottish Enlightenment, 62, 85
 social, 124
 liberal-libertarian left, 51
 libertarianism, 33, 221
 liberty, 33, 39, 56, 65, 88, 116–120, 197
 Arendt on, 223
 desire for, 60
 equality of, 125
 political, 163
 public liberties, 77
 useless under communism, 176–177
Ligue des droits de l'homme (League of
 Human Rights), 7–8
 Lochner era, 11
 Locke, John, 4, 62
 Louis XIV (King), 154

254 Index

- Louis XVI (King), 132–133
 Lukes, Steven, 157, 185–186
- Macherey, Pierre, 109, 133
 MacIntyre, Alasdair, 35–36
 Magna Carta, 175
 Maistre, Joseph de, 58, 59, 80, 96, 127,
 130, 143–145, 153–155
 Bonald and, 128–133
 Congress of Vienna and, 152
 on Declaration of the Rights of Man and
 of the Citizen 1789, 149
 divine rights and, 152
 on French Revolution, 150
 on law, 146, 147
 on monarchy, 143–144
 on resistance, 148
 rights of man rejection by, 151
 on sovereignty in Europe, 147–148
 majority rule, 39
 Malberg, Raymond Carré de, 9
 Malebranche, Nicolas, 132
 Manent, Pierre, 31, 47–50, 51, 230–231
 Marx and, 50
Manuel républicain de l'homme et du citoyen
 (Renouvier), 10
 Maoism, 20
 Maritain, Jacques, 11, 36–37
 market civicism, 33–34
 market economies, 14–15
 market freedom, 88
 market fundamentalism, 88–89
 market rationality, 90
 market relations, 174
 marriage, 135–136. *See also* divorce;
 families
 of same-sex couples, 1, 38
 Marx, Karl, 6, 13, 28, 38, 51–52, 53, 56, 58,
 122–123, 171–173, 174, 175–176,
 178–180
 Arendt and, 227
 Bentham and, 174
 on distributive justice, 177
 early work of, 159–170
 Foucault and, 53–54
 on justice, 171
 legacy of, 186
 Manent and, 50
 on property rights and egotism, 159, 161
 on property rights and exploitation, 174
 realigned with human rights, 185
 on rights of man, 78, 182–183
 on social emancipation, 170
 on social justice, 183
 turning point in philosophy of, 171
 on universal rights, 157–158
 Wood on, 177–178
 Marxism, 157–159, 236. *See also*
 communism
 analytical, 159
 ideology critique by, 159–160
 mass movements, 203
 materialist historicism, 171
 Maurras, Charles, 10, 18, 96, 123
 Mazzini, Giuseppe, 4–5
 McCann, Michael, 234
 McNay, Lois, 240–241
 means of production, 123, 160–161, 169,
 170, 171, 173
 Meier, Heinrich, 191, 192–193
 mercantile relations, 173
 metaphysical rights, 92, 109–110,
 112–115, 211
 metaphysics, 9, 61, 74, 128–129
 Burke on, 80
 positivist critiques of, 118
The Method of Equality (Rancière), 240
 Michéa, Jean-Claude, 51
 Michelet, Jules, 9
 Michels, Robert, 194–195
 Middle Ages, 37–38
 Milbank, John, 35, 36–37, 38
 Moyn and, 39
 Mill, John Stuart, 108, 177
 Milner, Jean-Claude, 2, 50
 minorities, 11–12
 Mitterrand, François, 27
 modernity, 30. *See also* antimodern critique
 liberal, 22, 31–32, 35, 192
 monarchy, 18, 138, 143
 Catholicism and, 144
 constitutional, 60
 democracy and, 141–142
 hereditary monarchy and inequality,
 141–142
 law of, 144
 monarchical absolutism, 154
 monarchist traditionalism, 194
 as only legitimate regime (Maistre/
 Bonald), 143–144
 monied interest, 67
 moral equity, 74
 moral rationality, 90
 morality, 113–114, 121
 neoliberalism veneer of, 54
 shared moral consensus, 118
 Mosca, Gaetano, 194–195
 Mouffe, Chantal, 45, 236
 Moyn, Samuel, 3, 5–6, 8–9, 14, 15–16, 20–21
 Milbank and, 39

- Muslims
 in Europe, 39
 Muslim headscarf, 56
 mutual recognition, 120
- National Assembly, 167
 national homogeneity, 199, 204
 national religion, 154–155
 national rights, 209
 nationalism, 5, 7, 44
 imperialism and, 213–214
 national self-determination, 4–5
 nationality, Arendt on citizenship and, 242
 nation-states, 13–15, 57, 124, 212,
 243–246
 constraints on power of, 220
 decline of, 206, 208, 213, 224–225
 as historically restricting force, 19
 no longer necessary, 124
 natural constitutions, 148–149
 natural law, 11, 83–84, 94, 143–144,
 145–146, 222
 natural rights, 5, 9, 63, 68–73, 92–93,
 145–146, 216
 socialism and, 10
 natural selection, 87
 Nazis, 191–192
 atrocities of, 13–14
 Schmitt sympathies with, 190
 negative freedom, 56
 Negri, Antonio, 59–60
 neo-conservatism, 32, 90
 violence of, 244
 neo-imperialism, 31–32
 neoliberalism, 32, 54, 90, 242–243
 cynicism of, 184–185
 dominance of, 52–53
 individual rights and, 33–34
 individualism and, 56
 totalitarian neoliberalism, 38
 neo-paganism, 40
 neo-republicanism (France), 43, 48,
 52
 new critiques of human rights, 29–34
 New Philosophers, 28
 New Right (Nouvelle Droite), 40–41,
 204–205
 Nicolet, Claude, 8, 11
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, 105–106
 Nixon, Richard, 20
 nobility, 142
 Nollez-Goldbach, Raphaëlle, 242
 non-authoritarian regimes, 73
Nonsense Upon Stilts (Bentham), 93
 normalisation, 54, 233
- Nouvelle Droite (New Right), 40–41,
 204–205
 Nozick, Robert, 25, 98
 Nuremberg trials, 13–14
- objectivity principle, 41
 Ockham, William of, 35, 37
 oligarchy, 67
On Revolution (Arendt), 208, 238
On the Jewish Question (Marx), 53, 158,
 159–163, 171, 182–183
 communism defined in, 171–172
 opinion, 28
 oppression, 184
 Order of Creation, 79–80
 original justice, 74
Origins of Totalitarianism (Arendt),
 206–208, 215–216, 219, 238
 Orwell, George, 51
 Ost, François, 103
 ostracism, 198–199, 203
*Outline of a Work Entitled Pauper
 Management Improved* (Bentham),
 107–108
- Paine, Thomas, 59, 63, 102–103, 129–130
 Panopticon, 107–108
 papal infallibility, 144, 153–154
 paraphrasis, 95
 Pareto, Vilfredo, 107, 194–195
 parliamentarianism, 196–197
 parliamentary democracy, 56, 119
 particularism, 62, 128
 patriotism, 60–61, 153, 202
 Pendas, Devin, O., 13
 the people, against humanity, 198–201
 personal development, 119
 personal freedom, 97, 106–107
 persons, 134–135
 Pettit, Phillip, 43
phronesis (Aristotelian), 83
 Piedmont-Sardinia, 151
 pledge of allegiance, 44
 Pocock, John, 59, 81, 85–86
 police, 239
 political authority, 193–194
 political community, 197–198
 ‘political’ conception of human rights, 24,
 53, 76, 208, 221–228, 236–237,
 243, 245
 political discourse, 1–2
 political division of power, 137
 political domain, 191
 political equilibrium, 64–65
 political representation, 60

256 Index

- political rights, 32, 68–73, 78–79, 120–122, 163, 168, 216
 political theology, 81, 131, 191, 194
 political theory, 23–24
The Pope (Maistre), 144–145
 Book II of, 153–154
 Popper, Karl, 33
 popular will, 201, 203
 positivism, 108, 110, 114, 118, 120
 shared moral consensus under, 118
 postmodern individualism, 2–3
 poststructuralism, 26
 poverty, 226, 227
 power relations, 173
 practical reason, 73
 practical viability, 32
 practical wisdom, 73–74
 precarity, 183
 prescription, 129
 Burke on, 129–130
 prescriptive constitutions, 76–77
 Pressensé, Francis de, 10–11
 Price, Richard, 60, 63
 primitive rights, 72
 prisoners' rights, 26
 private property, 28, 91, 93, 197
 progressive thinkers, 4
 progressivism, 58, 109, 187
Projet de paix perpétuelle (Kant), 19
 proletariat, 120–121, 122–123, 142
 properties, rights as, 37–38
 property rights, 78–79, 140. *See also*
 communism; inheritance;
 Marxism
 egotism and (Marx), 159, 161
 exploitation and (Marx), 174
 Protestantism, 127–128
 Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph, 170
 providentialism, 80, 81, 143–144
 prudential law, 82
 Prussian monarchy, 6–7
 public actions, 103
 public debt, 67
 public good, 132
 public interest, 138
 management of, 138–139
 public opinion, 200–201
 public sphere, 197–198, 230
 public utility, 18

 Quinet, Edgar, 9

 racial thought, 213
 racism, 214
 radical critique, 31, 53

 Rancière, Jacques, 17, 52, 223–224, 235, 240
 on democracy, 239
 on emancipation, 242
 rationality, 117
 of historicity, 178
 Rawls, John, 25, 105
 Raynaud, Philippe, 62, 85, 211
Recherches sur la Révolution française
 (Rehberg), 74
 reciprocity, 7, 120, 121, 219
 redistribution, 120, 185, 242–243
Reflections on the Revolution in France
 (Burke), 59, 67, 69, 84–85, 212
 reflexive conception of human rights,
 243–246
 refugees. *See also* Geneva Convention on
 the status of refugees, 1951
 interwar, 211
 refugee status, 239
 Rehberg, Wilhelm, 59, 74, 84, 89
 reification, 163–164
 relativism
 of Burke, 79
 nihilist, 178
 relativised sovereignty, 220
 religion, 129, 160–161
 fusion of politics and, 152–153
 national religion, 154–155
 religious alienation, 166
 secular religion, 12
 uniformity of, 153
 religious freedom, 33, 69–70
 religious tolerance, 65
 Renan, Ernest, 52
 Renaut, Alain, 211–212
 Renouvier, Charles, 10
 representation, 196
 republicanism, 8, 47–48, 137, 189, 245
 Resistance, the (France), 40
 Restoration, 144–145
 revolt, 145–146
 revolutionary despotism, 87
 revolutionary trauma, 59–60
 right of prescription, 73–82
 right to insurrection, 118–119
 right to revolution, 181–182
 rights of man, 16–21, 33, 72, 167, 168
 absolute principle of, 61
 Burke on, 73
 ecclesiastical rights against, 152–156
 ideology of, 159, 171
 inconsistency in idea of, 139
 individual rights and, 69
 individualism of, 153–154

- Maistre rejection of, 151
 Marx on, 78, 182–183
 real, 69
 rights of nations against, 148–152
 rights of society against, 134–135
 social rights and, 124
Rights of Man (Paine), 102–103
 rights of nations, 148–152
 rights of society, 134–135
 rights to work, 33
 rights-as-claims, 33
 rights-as-freedoms, 33
 Robbins, Bruce, 17
 Robespierre, Maximilien de, 4, 144, 169, 182, 201
 Roma people, 230
 Roman Catholics, 151
 Rosanvallon, Pierre, 243
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 4, 132, 137, 176, 190
 Schmitt and, 202
 rule of law, 2, 64–65, 230
 disciplinary power and, 54
 Russian Revolution, 11

 Sade, Marquis de, 104
 Saint-Simonianism, 91, 92
 same-sex marriage, 1, 38
 Sandel, Michael, 43–44, 230–231
 Schmitt, Carl, 40, 52, 58, 155, 190–193, 199–200, 203
 Catholic counter-revolutionism of, 193
 Nazi sympathies of, 190
 on parliamentarianism, 196
 political theology of, 194
 Rousseau and, 202
 on traditional hierarchies, 195
 on war, possibility of, 193–194
 Schumpeter, Joseph, 199–200
 scientific knowledge, 109, 117
 Scottish Enlightenment liberalism, 62, 85
 secret balloting, 197–198
 secular religion, 12
 secularisation, violence of, 151
 secularism, 69–70, 154
 self-determination
 collective, 233
 national, 4–5
 selfishness, 100–108
 Sen, Amartya, 25–26, 99
 Siedentop, Larry, 105
 Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph, 196
 slavery
 abolition of, 6
 in classical antiquity, 172

 Smith, Adam, 85
 social atomisation, 233
 social conditions, 158
 social contract, 81, 130
 Bentham on, 94
The Social Contract (Rousseau), 202
 social democrats, 25, 124
 social developments, 34
 social fragmentation, 31
 social issues framed as individual rights, 45
 social justice, 183
 Marx on, 183
 social mobility, 142
 social movements, 17, 26
 social property, 122–123
 social relationships, 136
 divine will ordering, 134
 essential inequality of, 135–140
 fragmentation of, 1
 individuality arising from, 171
 persons, 134–135
 social rights, 29, 32, 33, 124
 introduction of, 32–33
 rights of man and, 124
 social theory, 3
 social utility, 108–112, 119
 socialisation, 112
 socialism, 58, 122, 179–180
 Guarantist, 6
 legal versions of, 172
 natural rights and, 10
 Saint-Simonian type of, 91
Socialisme ou Barbarie (journal), 28
 Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, 4, 7–8
 sociology
 Durkheimian, 238
 historically oriented, 113
 legal, 231
 solidarism, 122–123
 solidarity
 mechanical, 156
 organic, 156
 social, 113–114, 120–122, 123
 Solzhnitsyn, Alexander, 27, 28
 sovereignty, 7, 116–120, 152–153
 democratic, 198
 institution of sovereign power, 139
 ‘King’s two bodies’, 198
 law and, 145
 legal, 202
 Maistre on sovereignty in Europe, 147–148
 national, 14–15, 190

258 Index

- sovereignty (cont.)
 peaceable recognition of foreign,
 150–151
 popular, 123–124, 138, 194–195
 popular right to depose sovereign,
 129
 relativised, 220
 rights of sovereignty against human
 rights, 144–148
 sovereign violence, 212–214
 theology and, 35
 unity of sovereign power, 143–144
 of will, 35
- Soviet Union, 20
- Spanish Inquisition, 131
- Spinoza, Baruch, 40
- spiritual power, 121
- Staël, Madame de, 86
- Stalinism, 184–185
- state assistance, 33
- state education, 200
 education crisis, 208
- state of nature, 111
- state power, 138
- state violence, 201
- stateless persons, 208, 209
- statism, 180
- status, 238–239
- Sternhell, Zeev, 86–87, 127, 211
- Stoicism, 84
- Strauss, Leo, 75–76, 84, 211–212
- structuralism, 26
- subjective rights, 30, 35
 rejection of principle of, 40
- subjectivist delirium, 40–41
- subjectivity, imperialism of, 212
- sublime, the, 30, 84–85
- Supreme Court, US, 44
- Taine, Hippolyte, 52
- Tassin, Etienne, 221–223
- tax exile, 243
- taxation, 18
- temporal power, 121
- temporality, 103
- Ten Commandments, 134
- territorial annexation, 151
- Terror (French Revolution), 8–9, 19–20,
 42, 115, 168–169
- Texier, Jacques, 182
- theology
 Christian, 35
 sovereignty and, 35
A Theory of Justice (Rawls), 25
- Third Republic, 9, 10–11
- Thomism, 11
 monarchist traditionalism and, 194
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 2–3, 6, 89–90
- tolerance, 69–70
- torture, 32
 prohibition on, 37
- Tosel, André, 181
- totalitarianism, 20, 47. *See also* anti-
 Semitism; antitotalitarian movement;
 authoritarianism; despotism; Terror
 birth of, 222
 denationalisation and, 209
 French debate over, 207–208
 individual rights and, 49
 right to insurrection as defense against,
 118–119
 totalitarian capitalism, 39
 totalitarian doctrines, 12
 totalitarian neoliberalism, 38
- tradition, demise of, 1
- traditionalism, 86, 89, 128
- traditionalist nostalgia, 30
- Traverso, Enzo, 206, 207–208
- Troper, Michel, 32
- Trotskyism, 213
- truth, 39
- Tusseau, Guillaume, 120
- tyranny, 71, 100–108
- U.N. *See* United Nations
- undocumented migrants, 227
- United Nations (U.N.), 21
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights
 1948, 3, 13, 14, 32–33, 37
- universal rights, 22, 157–158
- universal suffrage, 109
- universality, 61–62
- utilitarianism, 4, 74, 82–83, 91–92,
 103–104, 108–109, 110, 130
 democratic utility, 125
 independence of governed and,
 107–108
 individualism and, 105
 laissez-faire economics and, 106
 liberal, 107–108
- utopia, 179
 anti-political and moralising, 21
 overinflated, 181–182
- Van Parijs, Philippe, 33
- Villey, Michel, 35, 63, 84, 211–212
- Vincent, Andrew, 15
- violence, 36, 100
 of inequality, 174
 legal recourse against, 155

Index

259

- necessity of, 173, 181
- of neo-conservatism, 244
- of secularisation, 151
- sovereign violence, 212–214
- state, 201
- virtue, 89–90
- Volney, Constantin-François, 19–20

- Waldron, Jeremy, 3–4, 7, 96
- war
 - Bonald on, 194
 - class war, 158
 - Cold War, 15
 - possibility of, 193–194
- ‘We Refugees’ (Arendt), 238
- Weitz, Eric, 18
- welfare state, 14–15
- Whig thought, 4, 64–65
 - Burke and, 81
- Wiesel, Elie, 12

- wisdom, 73–74
- women
 - during French Revolution, 223–224
 - Manent on, 230–231
- women’s rights, 6, 36, 92, 185
- Wood, Allen, 177–178
- workers’ associations, 167
- workers’ rights, 185
- World War I, stateless people after, 208, 209
- World War II, 13

- The Young Karl Marx* (Leopold), 158

- Zionism, 218–219
- Zivi, Karen, 231–232
- Zizek, Slavoj, 56, 212–213
- Zola, Emile, 7–8