

Published Reviews:

A Cosmopolitanism of Nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, and International Relations

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different cultures imagine Moses and whether he can even represent one unique culture. Johnson, therefore, teaches the reader to examine texts and their assumptions carefully and not to be fearful of ambiguities.

DONALD J. DIETRICH
Boston College, USA
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A Cosmopolitanism of Nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, and International Relations. Edited by Stefano Recchia and Nadia Urbinati (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), viii + 249 pp. \$29.95/£20.95 cloth.

Giuseppe Mazzini's influence on the Italian revolutionary left underwent a total eclipse when he condemned the Paris Commune of 1871. Until then he had been one of the three revolutionary men of ideas, along with Marx and Bakunin, vying for followers among Italy's radical men of action. The Stefano Recchia and Nadia Urbinati anthology makes very clear why the post-Paris Commune generation, which increasingly identified itself in terms of socialist and anarchist anti-capitalism, found Mazzini's ideas fatally limited. A man of lofty philosophical ideals, he had little regard for the role that money played in both creating and controlling the political arena. Class conflict and even class consciousness he declared to be pernicious doctrines that disrupted national unity, which was a sacred principle to him.

In *Origini e dottrina del fascismo* (1929), Giovanni Gentile took as the starting point for fascist philosophy Mazzini's aggressive insistence on the need for all classes to coexist in harmony. Recchia and Urbinati, who laud Mazzini as a major philosopher in the modern democratic and liberal internationalist tradition and as a forerunner of liberal Wilsonianism, accuse Gentile of perverting Mazzini's ideas. The anthology contains many articles that support their passionate defense of him as a liberal and cosmopolitan thinker in the best tradition of the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, Mazzini's otherworldly solution for the social problem consisted of the union of labor and capital, another one of his ideas that met with

Gentile's enthusiastic approval as a foreshadowing of fascist philosophy.

In opposition to Gentile's interpretation, the editors celebrate the applicability of Mazzini's writings to democratic societies today. Theirs is clearly a mission of rediscovery and rescue for a body of thought that, they lament, has ceased to commend itself to the Anglo-American world. The lingering debate about Mazzini's reputation as a terrorist does give Recchia and Urbinati some pause. They regret his often inflammatory rhetoric about the need for violence to bring about a democratic world, but end by complimenting him for being far ahead of his time in discovering the ineluctably peaceful character of democracies. Shielded by a utopian cast of mind about democratic polity, neither he nor the editors take in the possibility that such countries might fight wars for imperialistic purposes.

About how the West should deal with the rest of the world, an issue of momentous import in Mazzini's time as it is today, he gave very specific instructions of a pro-England character. He lived in England for many years. Far from viewing the country as the consummate imperialist society that it was, he mistook it, amidst some mild criticisms, for one of the world's showplaces of liberal political thought and action. His assessment of England would have found scant support among the peoples of Ireland and India, or, after the triumph of liberal Wilsonianism at Versailles in 1919, the Arabs of the Middle East.

The editors are uncharacteristically reticent about explaining away Mazzini's enthusiasm for Europe's providential mission, with England in the lead, to conquer the rest of the world for the advancement of progressive civilization. When they tell us that Wilson received guidance from Mazzini in developing his ideas about making the world safe for democracy, by which the American president actually meant a safe global environment for the investing class, we can believe them. Mazzini, transfixed by his starry-eyed thoughts about the coming unity of all mankind through the global triumph of the nationality principle, did not notice the financial angle. An American president, however, could not indulge himself in the luxury of a philosopher's distractedness on the very matters of business for which the war to make

the world safe for democracy turned out to have been fought.

RICHARD DRAKE
University of Montana, USA
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Enlightening Romanticism, Romancing the Enlightenment: British Novels from 1750 to 1832. Edited by Miriam L. Wallace (Hampshire, UK: Ashgate, 2009), x + 229 pp. £55.00 cloth.

The theoretical question this valuable collection poses is announced by its subtitle. In what sense do the years 1750–1832 constitute a recognizable literary period? Addressing novels written during decades when “Romanticism” and “the long eighteenth century” overlap, the essays gathered here generally proceed tactically. Rather than attempting to define this period as a whole, they identify Romantic uses for eighteenth-century tropes and genres, locate eighteenth-century instances of supposedly Romantic concerns, and trace dialogues across spans of time that traverse the conventional period boundaries.

A common trait among these essays is their tendency to double up or double back, revealing subtleties and conflicts in texts that may, when poorly read or inadequately contextualized, appear simple or even stereotypical. Margaret Case Croskery’s essay on Eliza Haywood’s *Betsy Thoughtless* describes how Betsy Thoughtless, understood as an early Romantic figure, is educated through her recognition of, and absorption by, her own desires. Peter Walmsley sketches in a history of how British “melancholy,” generated particularly by meditations on death, serves to distinguish the British character from the French, but at the cost of associating this character with fragility and nostalgia. Scott C. Campbell argues that Charlotte Smith’s *Desmond* uses the epistolary form to tell a pro-French-Revolution tale that also contains an anti-Revolutionary element, and Daniel Schierenbeck’s treatment of Jane West presents the author as attentive to female education in ways that nullify the division between Jacobin and anti-Jacobin writers. In her study of *Hugh Trevor* and *Caleb Williams*, Shawn Lisa Maurer examines how Holcroft and

Godwin critique eighteenth-century discourses of masculine friendship, while for Shelley King, Amelia Opie’s *Adeline Mowbray* traffics in multiple definitions of “honor” at once; characters in the novel can never quite be free of aristocratic codes of masculine violence or bourgeois codes of feminine chastity. According to Tara Ghoshal Wallace, Elizabeth Hamilton’s *Translations of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah* is similarly ambivalent about the comparative virtues of Hindu practices and the British imperial project, and according to Julie Shaffer, Elizabeth B. Lester’s *Woman of Genius* presents a female character who actively mixes nationalities and genres in order to find new forms of expression. Finally, Christopher Flynn demonstrates that Frances Trollope’s American works apply eighteenth-century aesthetic categories to the North American landscape in order to criticize the Reform-era “threat” of British democratization.

The introduction, by Miriam L. Wallace, does an excellent job of describing and interpreting the varying, sometimes conflicting premises that drive the specialties of Romanticism and eighteenth-century studies. Two response essays, by Patricia M. Spacks and Stephen C. Behrendt, round out the collection. Both question the usefulness of hardened period designations, but by attending to the British novel of the 1790s and early 1800s, both also demonstrate that certain kinds of chronological focus remain necessary. Although its starting point is a choice between “Romanticism” and “the enlightenment,” the collection goes far toward illuminating the historical, ideological, and formal tensions that helped produce the novel during the crucial period between Fielding and Dickens—a period that may even, this book does much to suggest, deserve a name of its own.

BRIAN GOLDBERG
University of Minnesota, USA
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The Last Minstrels: Yeats and the Revival of the Bardic Arts. By Ronald Schuchard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), xxvi + 447 pp. £64.00 cloth; \$45.00/£24.99 paper.

Go to Youtube, do a search for Yeats, and you will see how the twentieth-century poet has

by all those who see individual freedom based upon the exercise of human reason as a primary good, and who recognise in the Western canon a community of human experience that stretches across millennia.

This appeal to education as a 'common good' and the primary reference to the relevance of the classics as the 'Great Books' (p. 12) puts the editors in connection with the ideas of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum, even though the same detachment from the utilitarian perspective is not always maintained.

A merit of this book is its presentation not only of the best-known theorists and intellectuals, but also the most outlandish and least-known traditions: there are of course Plato and Aristotle, but also Cimon of Athens; naturally there are the masters David Hume and Adam Smith, but these are preceded by John of Salisbury and followed by R. H. Tawney.

I notice however the absence of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. While it is true that education is presented as a public good in *The Wealth of Nations*, it is in Smith's moral work that the idea of sympathy was born as a requirement of education itself. It is also important to mention the reprint of Anthony O'Hear's own article 'The Good is Not Reducible to Human Choice', in which the British philosopher rightly points out that knowing the thoughts of the *maitres-à-penser* is a prerequisite for democracy and the possibility of criticism of political systems.

In conclusion, *The School of Freedom* is proposed as a tool for spreading the history of education, which is indispensable for students and specialists in this field. A little more internationalism would be an asset, especially in the final section on current trends. However, the first 230 pages are really essential at a time when mankind is badly in need of liberal ideals.

Mattia Baglieri
(University of Bologna)

A Cosmopolitanism of Nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, and International Relations by **Stefano Recchia and Nadia Urbinati (eds)**. Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2009. 249pp., £20.95, ISBN 978 0 691 13611 0

A Cosmopolitanism of Nations is a new collection of original texts by Giuseppe Mazzini, the political

thinker and agitator who dedicated his life to Italian independence. His collection seeks to address a key political and sociological question that is still of great importance today: what is the proper political role of the nation state?

The introduction by the editors provides helpful background information on Mazzini's writings. Not only do they provide an overview of Mazzini's life, but they also discuss in detail the relevance of Mazzini's thought. Recchia and Urbinati maintain that Mazzini made a critical contribution to the development of modern democratic and liberal internationalist thought. In fact, they make the case that Mazzini ought to be recognised as the founding figure of what has come to be known as liberal Wilsonianism. In other words, Mazzini is the founder of a political thought that sees democratic regimes as maintaining non-violent relations among each other.

This might be a bit of a stretch, however, since Mazzini has been considered the political and philosophical inspiration for many contemporary movements and causes. For example, the philosopher Giovanni Gentile correctly maintained in *I profeti del Risorgimento Italiano* (2004) that Mazzini was a precursor of modern Italian nationalism; while recent research has outlined the influence of Mazzini's thought on the early social and foreign policies of the Italian Christian Democratic party.¹

Mazzini's work influenced many modern political movements including the Polish and the Irish movements of national independence, and therefore it appears that his political thought cannot be relegated only to one restrictive category of political ideology. Apart from this issue of political categorisation the editors do a good job of placing Mazzini's thought in the broader context of the Italian Risorgimento and the history of modern political thought.

Most of Mazzini's important essays and works are included in this collection. The editors also highlight other aspects of Mazzini's thought that are still relevant today. Mazzini was an able organiser and his 'Giovane Italia' movement was probably the first modern mass party in Europe. Mazzini was also instrumental in opposing Marxism and anarchism by developing a movement of workers' cooperatives that was influential in establishing a moderate and reformist movement of farmers and workers. He was at the forefront of the fight against absolutist regimes by linking the national

state to the democratic regime. Key to Mazzini's thought are the issues of national sovereignty and independence. Lastly, Mazzini also influenced philosophical thought with his key concept of 'thought and action', which stressed philosophy not as an abstract doctrine, but one that is linked directly to political action. In sum, this book is a great contribution toward a better understanding of Mazzini's political thought.

Note

- 1 Paolo Acanfora, 'La Democrazia cristiana degasperiana e il mito della Nazione: le interpretazioni del Risorgimento', in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, n. 2, 2009, 177–96.

Paolo Morisi
(Independent Scholar)

Power, Judgment and Political Evil: In Conversation with Hannah Arendt by **Andrew Schaap, Danielle Celermajer and Vrasidas Karalis (eds)**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 197pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 0350 0

This book comprises several essays by different writers. The starting point for all the essays is the interview given by Hannah Arendt to Günter Gaus in 1964. As the interview concerns Arendt's report on the trial of Adolf Eichmann and her critical explanations on totalitarianism, the essays primarily discuss these concerns in relation to Arendt's essential ideas on morality, philosophy, politics and human life. Although the book generally deals with the relationship between *vita contemplativa* and *vita activa* and focuses on Arendt's conceptualisation of 'power', 'judgment' and 'political evil', the essays cover her whole corpus and reveal crucial details in elucidating her connection between philosophy, truth, totalitarianism, ideology and violence. This makes interesting reading both for those who are just starting to be acquainted with Arendt, and for those interested in a deeper reading of her work.

In the first part, Mack and Deutscher's chapters clarify the difference between political and moral modes of thinking (*imagination* and *judging*) and philosophical and rational modes of thinking (*contemplation* and *reasoning*) with reference to Heidegger for the former and Kant for the latter. Diprose is concerned with Arendt's ideas about responsibility for *consciousness* or *the self* and how to differentiate and compare *personal responsibility* and *political responsibility*. Celermajer pays attention to possi-

bilities of being capable of *judging* and suggests the experience of *friendship* among equals to realise Arendt's ideals of worldliness and plural, political and moral existence. La Caze focuses on the judgement and responsibility of the statesperson, and the suggestion that leaders should make the voices of ordinary citizens heard instead of representing them is itself quite Arendtian. Formosa's reading of Arendt is important in showing the interesting connection between *thoughtfulness* and *thoughtlessness*, to which Arendt seems to have devoted her books *Life of the Mind* and *Eichmann in Jerusalem*.

In the second part, while Curthoys marks Arendt's understanding of history in comparison with that of Ernst Cassirer, Heidegger and Kant, Malpas attempts to bring in Orwell and Camus in relation to Arendt's arguments about truth, politics and democracy. Murphy and Karalis consider Arendt's America in order to discuss her ideas on freedom, constitution, power, violence and humanism, while Schaap not only highlights the a/anti-political nature of politics of need for Arendt, but also questions the possibility of politics of need with specific reference to Rancière.

Onur Kara
(Middle East Technical University, Turkey)

John Stuart Mill – Thought and Influence: The Saint of Rationalism by **Georgios Varouxakis and Paul Kelly (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 178pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 55518 0

Originating as conference papers, the ten essays in this volume – as is often the case in such circumstances – are a mixed and variable entity. But Mill is such a perennially fascinating thinker that any collection is a welcome addition to the scholarly literature. The emphasis of the contributors is very much on Mill as an intellectual; his links with numerous causes – the broadening of the parliamentary franchise (especially for women), a solution to the Irish question, land tenure reform, the radicalisation of the Liberal party and so on – scarcely feature.

As well as summarising the essays of each of the other contributors, the editors in their introduction outline some of the fluctuations in Mill's influence since his death in 1873. They conclude that in the last decade interest has grown in Mill's ideas on international relations, notably those stated in 'A Few Words on Non-intervention' (1859). It is not a theme devel-

A Cosmopolitanism of Nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, and International Relations, Stefano Recchia and Nadia Urbinati, eds.

(Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press), 260 pp., \$30 cloth.

Giuseppe Mazzini is almost forgotten today, but in nineteenth-century Europe the Italian activist-philosopher was one of the most influential public voices. A passionate enemy of the old monarchies, he conceived of the nation as a means to achieve democracy and international peace. *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations*, a new collection of original texts by Mazzini, provides an opportunity to rediscover the thinker and his answers to a question still eminently important today: namely, what moral significance one should ascribe to the nation-state.

The introduction by the editors, Stefano Recchia and Nadia Urbinati, provides helpful background information on Mazzini's writings. As they explain, following the Congress of Vienna in 1815, most of Italy was controlled by the Austrian Empire. Several movements for national unification and independence arose, and Mazzini joined their fight early in his life. This, and his membership in a Freemason group, soon caught the attention of the authorities. He was arrested and subsequently fled the country. In exile, he devoted more time to theoretical reflections and engaged in debates with such leading public figures as Charles Guizot, John Stuart Mill, and Karl Marx.

In 1849, Mazzini's hopes for political change almost became reality. A republican uprising toppled the pope, ended his rule over Rome, and gave the city a democratic constitution. Mazzini immediately returned and became one of the three leaders of

the new republican government. As elsewhere in Europe, however, this revolutionary experiment was short-lived. Responding to a request by the pope, French troops conquered the city only a few months later, and Mazzini again had to go into exile.

The first part of *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations* consists of texts in which Mazzini elaborates his understanding of the nation. He starts from the assumption that all humans are created equal by God, which entitles them to certain basic liberties. Going further than his liberal contemporaries, Mazzini argues that such equality also implies a moral obligation to associate with others and to work toward the common good. What is needed in addition to liberal rights, then, are political structures that bring people together. Here, Mazzini turns to the nation. He concedes that any "mob" can share the same territory, language, and tradition. Yet, when these shared experiences are met by a conscious decision to associate with others in the pursuit of the common good, they can serve as the nucleus of a nation. The nation is, thus, neither a natural given nor an end in itself, but a means to unite people on a larger scale and to align their actions toward the common good. As to the internal organization of the nation, it seems almost self-evident to Mazzini that for free men, democracy is "the only logical and truly legitimate form of Government" (p. 97).

However, Mazzini does not end here. For him, the nation is a means to overcome

the individual's isolation, but as such it is only another step toward the global community of mankind. Recchia and Urbinati draw parallels to Kant's concept of "perpetual peace," and indeed Mazzini seems to be motivated by similar hopes: the book's second part shows Mazzini as an advocate of cooperation among the various national movements all across Europe. He sees it as a matter of both moral obligation and prudence to counter the alliance of the old monarchies through a "Holy Alliance of the Peoples" (p. 121), and even suggests the creation of a "United States of Europe" (p. 135).

The final part of the book further expands these ideas and focuses on the ethical conduct of international affairs. Mazzini is aware of the realities of international politics, and yet he argues that such realities have to be overcome: "What purpose would a republic serve, if it had to feed itself on the very passions, anger, and selfishness that we are fighting?" (p. 157). Mazzini highlights two consequences of his approach. First, the principle of nonintervention should no longer serve as a disguise for passivity. Like Mill, he argues that a military intervention can be justified if its goal is to counter a preceding intervention into an internal conflict. If monarchies support each other in their fights against national movements, so can and should those who strive for national self-determination. Second, Mazzini eloquently criticizes the secrecy of diplomatic negotiations. Rather than leaving the conduct of international affairs to a few diplomats, he proposes to make it the subject of public debate. This would not only be more democratic; Mazzini, like Kant, is convinced that such public deliberation would result in a more peaceful outcome.

The title *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations* nicely summarizes the editors' interpretation of Mazzini. Recchia and Urbinati

depict him as a thinker who combines the liberal commitment to universal basic rights with a voluntaristic and instrumental understanding of the nation. But while this interpretation adequately reflects Mazzini's intentions, the editors could have been more explicit about the tensions inherent in his thinking. For instance, despite his lifelong experience of political conflict, Mazzini seems to assume that all human conflicts will be resolved through the creation of democratic nation-states. As a consequence, he downplays the risks associated with his proposals. Only in passing does he mention "national prejudices" and their potential to threaten international peace, or the danger of a Tocquevillian tyranny of the majority. Another, even more obvious, tension arises from Mazzini's passionate embrace of colonialism's "moral mission" (p. 238). While the editors rightly point out that many of his liberal contemporaries shared this positive perception of colonialism, it remains surprising how a thinker so dedicated to national self-determination could maintain such a view.

Recchia and Urbinati deserve much credit for making Mazzini available for rediscovery. In a few instances, however, one wishes the editors had gone into greater detail to provide some context for Mazzini's work. For example, while the texts seem well chosen to represent the spectrum of Mazzini's writings, it would have been useful had the editors given some explanation for their particular selections. In addition, while the introduction alludes to the political and academic reception of Mazzini's thinking in the twentieth century, a more systematic overview is missing. In the end, however, these minor criticisms do not make *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations* any less fascinating. Reading Mazzini is like traveling through time: whereas today

we find ourselves discussing the decline of the nation-state, for Mazzini it was hardly more than a utopian idea. And still, his early suggestion of a “liberal nationalism”—echoed today by, among others, David Miller and Yael Tamir—is an inspiring contribution to the current debates on

global justice, humanitarian intervention, and secession.

—DANIEL VOELSEN

Daniel Voelsen is a Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science at the Free University of Berlin and a Research Associate at the Collaborative Research Center on Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood in Berlin.

Preemption: Military Action and Moral Justification, Henry Shue and David Rodin, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 288 pp., \$90 cloth, \$35 paper.

In modern international law and just war theory there has always been a narrowly drawn category of legitimate preemptive attack or, as the lawyers prefer to phrase it, “anticipatory self-defense.” Fear that such a category would be interpreted permissively has caused it to be very narrowly construed—especially in the famous Caroline case criteria, as articulated by then U.S. secretary of state Daniel Webster, which stated that the threat must be extremely imminent and clear. Much of the recent discussion of preemption has taken as its point of departure the formulations of Michael Walzer in *Just and Unjust Wars*. Walzer stresses the importance of strictly limiting claims of legitimate preemption to the very narrow category of *imminence* so as to prevent opening permission to preventive wars and indefinite quests for an illusory balance of power. The 2001 attacks on the United States, however, prompted calls to redefine and expand permission to deal with the kinds of covert threats of massive attacks such as those planned by al-Qaeda—most notably and explicitly in the Bush administration’s 2002 *National Security Strategy*. This shift, many have argued, although phrased in terms of

an expanded sense of preemption, actually called for a policy of preventive war.

This volume, first published in 2007 and newly available in a paper edition, provides invaluable interdisciplinary perspectives on a range of issues in recent just war thinking, including three key areas: the confusion in terminology arising from the differing usages of terms in the various disciplines; a historical perspective on the change in the concepts through time, especially as they developed in deterrence theory throughout the cold war; and a review of preventive war thinking over the entire span of U.S. history, particularly during the perilous phase of the cold war when the United States possessed massive nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union—a moment of special significance, given that preventing the Soviet Union from achieving nuclear parity might have seemed especially justified in order to avoid an existential threat to the United States.

Important theoretical questions are also explored, particularly in the chapters by Mark Trachtenberg, Suzanne Uniacke, Neta Crawford, and Allen Buchanan. For example, if realists are to be believed, it would be irrational for any power currently in a dominant position to allow any other

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Review by Chenchen Zhang, in *Plurilogue: Politics and Philosophy Reviews* (2011)

Giuseppe Mazzini, *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, and International Relations*, ed. Stefano Recchia, trans. Nadia Urbinati, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009, 260 pp., \$30.95/£21.95 (pbk), ISBN: 9780691136110.

In the century that first witnessed the power of nationalism and revolution, two texts constituted the founding moments of so-called 'national consciousness' in the history of political thought, also shaping our contemporary understanding of nationhood – namely, Johann Gottlieb Fichte's series of *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (1808) and Ernest Renan's *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* (1882). These two texts have been considered to represent two fundamentally different models of defining and interpreting the notion of 'nation': the German model centred on ethnicity, blood and soil, language and culture *versus* the French model centred on civic participation and representative democracy. The Italian equivalent of these texts was written by Giuseppe Mazzini. Studied today primarily as a political activist and leader of the Italian Risorgimento, Mazzini's considerable contribution to the development of liberal nationalism and cosmopolitan federalism has been largely neglected. The anthology reviewed here draws attention to Mazzini's theoretical – albeit still practically-oriented – works on ideas which are now of renewed importance for the contemporary world: democracy, nation building, and cosmopolitan federation.

The volume consists of three parts, focusing on liberal nationalism, democratic revolution, and international relations respectively. The theme of the first part comprises the following themes, however, since Mazzini's faith in democratic nationhood based on the self-determination and association of free nations also informed his attitudes toward national revolution and world affairs. Although both Italy and Germany were confronted with the task of national unification, Mazzini did not go as far as the German Romantic philosophers did in claiming that the nation was an organic body rooted in common language, memory, territory and ethnicity. Rather, he maintained that the principle of self-determination should never be compromised for the sake of national unification – the nation, as a political association of equal citizens and as a moral ideal, could be based only on democracy. He therefore considered language, territory, and race as mere 'indications of nationality' (p.65). In support of this, he noted particularly the hybridity of ancient Rome, which he called 'the most powerful nationality of the ancient world' (p.65), and of France, the most powerful nationality of his age. For him, the diverse elements unified in one nationality were all intimately connected with a common goal, the goal of humanity.

Just as it was for other Enlightenment thinkers, for Mazzini the central political question was the relationship between the *individual* and the *collectivity*. For him, the key to achieving harmony between the two was the notion of duties. Through duties to the self, the nation, the association of nations, and finally humanity, he drew an analogy between the individual, the nation, and the aggregation of nations: individual autonomy could be translated into the self-determination of a People, and in international settings, all Peoples were to be as equal and free as individuals were in their societies, the principle of non-intervention being of utmost importance. Therefore, the nation or People was a crucial step towards the progress of humanity as a whole. It is at this point that Mazzini differs from cosmopolitans. While sharing the same ultimate goal, cosmopolitanism was centered on the isolated individual, whereas for Mazzini, as a democratic nationalist, the love of country and the progress of humanity were intrinsically consistent with one another: 'it is not individuals who must sign the new pact; it is rather the free Peoples, with their own name, their ideal, and their moral conscience.' (p.62)

It is important to emphasize that Mazzini wrote in an age in which multinational empires were declining and nations were being constructed, while Western empires were also expanding. He inherited a belief in humanity and progress from Enlightenment thought, and anticipated the revolutionary power of the principle of self-determination in the twentieth-century. But if understanding his works depends so much on this very specific historical context, what is his relevance for the contemporary – globalized, arguably denationalized, and far from equal – international order? This is the question that the translator and the editor seek to answer in their introduction. However, their answer in this regard is less satisfactory than their introduction to Mazzini's life and times, for they tend to overemphasize the difference between Mazzini and German Romanticism and the progressive, democratic nature of Mazzini's nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

Although Mazzini did not consider himself a cosmopolitan, he advocates a Kantian cosmopolitanism based on the free association of nations. Thus the ambiguous legacy of Kant's account of perpetual peace is reflected in the limits of Mazzini's own 'cosmopolitanism of nations' – his claim to universal humanity is locked into what David Campbell and Michael Shapiro have called 'a state-oriented mode of global space' ('Introduction: From Ethical Theory to the Ethical Relation', in their (eds.), *Moral space: Rethinking Ethics and World Politics*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. vii-xx). The editors pay little attention to this ambivalence in Mazzini's thought, while oversimplifying his relation to German Romanticism. This may be because they accept the customary dichotomy between the 'Enlightenment' and 'Romanticism', without

acknowledging the inextricable links between them. Thus, while they present Mazzini's thought as a manifestation of 'the message of the Enlightenment and the legacy of the French Revolution' (p.15), Mazzini actually distinguished himself from those who also drew their intellectual source from the Enlightenment – namely, the cosmopolitans of his age. As mentioned above, although he approved of cosmopolitan ideals such as 'the love and brotherhood of all' (p.58), he distinguished himself from cosmopolitans by insisting that humanity be treated in terms of the country, or free People, rather than in terms of 'man', the isolated individual. And this is reminiscent of Fichte, whose works embodied a profound combination of cosmopolitanism and patriotism. Before his famous *Addresses to the German Nation*, Fichte argued that 'cosmopolitanism cannot really exist at all and....in reality it must necessarily become patriotism', although this patriotism is completely universal. He also regarded the ultimate purpose of all national culture as being 'to extend itself to the entire human race' (quoted in Friedrich Meinecke, *Cosmopolitanism and the National State*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970, p.73). Thus, for Fichte, nationality, rather than the individual as such, is the essential step toward universal humanity. This is also the case for Mazzini, although he wrote in a rather different time, when 'the old-fashioned nationalism is rapidly dying out' (p.61). While there are significant differences between him and Fichte, then, it was perhaps their shared task of nation-building that led Mazzini to echo, albeit unintentionally, Fichte's idea of connecting nationality with the goal of humanity.

Mazzini represents one of the most important attempts of his times to combine the ideals of popular sovereignty, and particularity those of a bounded nation and of world federation. However, these ideals are not necessarily compatible with one another, especially if one considers where and when the transition from 'liberal nationalism' to 'imperialist nationalism' occurred. For once the principle of national self-determination has been universally applied, nationalism has become a 'problem' of the former colonies, the victims of imperial nationalism. It is in this light that we should reread Mazzini and the ambiguity and tensions of his commitments to country and humanity. The project of European integration seems to have partly realized his prospect of a United States of Europe, as a spatially limited cosmopolitanism, once again caught in a paradox between universality and particularity within a (variable) territory. Anyone wishing to decipher the post-national ethos in the contemporary world must trace its origins in the founding philosophical sources of 'nationality', and determine what was silenced there in order to construct. This anthology of Mazzini's writings is therefore a timely volume that not only completes the English translation of his texts, but also reveals the inspirations and limitations representative of his century, inspirations and limitations which continue to shed light on our own.

Review

Reviewed Work(s): A cosmopolitanism of nations. Giuseppe Mazzini's writings on democracy, nation building, and international relations by Stefano Recchia and Nadia Urbinati

Review by: Rita Corsetti

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Recensioni e segnalazioni

Stefano Recchia, Nadia Urbinati (edited and with an introduction by), *A cosmopolitanism of nations. Giuseppe Mazzini's writings on democracy, nation building, and international relations*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2009, pp. 249, \$ 29,95, ISBN 978-0-691-13611-0.

Il volume raccoglie ventidue testi sulla democrazia, le nazioni e le relazioni internazionali, redatti da Giuseppe Mazzini tra il 1831 e il 1871 e tradotti in inglese da Stefano Recchia. La possibilità di leggere un discreto numero di saggi composti dall'Autore nell'arco di quarant'anni offre una preziosa occasione per cogliere l'evoluzione del suo pensiero. Inoltre, la traduzione in inglese rende accessibili i testi mazziniani - alcuni dei quali non erano ancora stati tradotti - ad un pubblico globale. Ciò è di estrema importanza, in quanto il pensiero mazziniano - come è stato sottolineato in C.A. Bayly, Eugenio F. Biagini (a cura di), *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of Democratic Nationalism 1830-1920*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008 (recensito in «Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali», 2009, n. 33) - ispirò numerosi movimenti nazionali, rivoluzionari e anticolonialisti del XIX e del XX secolo, in Europa e nel mondo. L'accesso diretto al pensiero mazziniano, quindi, potrebbe essere di grande importanza per gli studiosi anglofoni di tali movimenti e per tutti coloro che sono interessati ad approfondire la conoscenza del pensatore politico italiano. Bisogna dire, però, che i testi ivi raccolti non sono integrali. Nel saggio introduttivo, i due Curatori presentano Giuseppe Mazzini come un pioniere dell'internazionalismo liberale e democratico wilsoniano. Secondo tale chiave di lettura, il sentimento nazionale mazziniano sarebbe funzionale alla realizzazione dell'ideale cosmopolitico: l'instaurazione di nazioni democratiche ed indipendenti sarebbe la premessa di un ordine internazionale basato sui principi universali della libertà umana, dell'uguaglianza e dell'emancipazione. A tale proposito, Nadia Urbinati e Stefano Recchia parlano di «cosmopolitismo delle nazioni» e sottolineano come Woodrow Wilson fosse influenzato dal pensiero politico mazziniano (p. 3). Procedendo alla lettura dei testi, però, non si riesce a trovare una piena conferma di tale tesi. Mazzini fu un pensatore politico molto complesso, difficile da incasellare in un 'ismo' rigidamente codificato. Egli fu un uomo dell'Ottocento, in lotta contro gli oppressori del suo secolo. Indubbiamente, il suo pensiero ha avuto un'eco profonda tanto tra i combattenti per la libertà nazionale che tra i fautori di un ordine internazionale pacifico. Ma leggendo Mazzini come 'precursore di' si rischia di mettere in ombra che egli fu, prima di tutto, un protagonista del movimento di liberazione nazionale ottocentesco - in particolare del risorgimento italiano - un democratico rivoluzionario e messianico. Mazzini, infatti, era fermamente convinto della necessità di una rivoluzione popolare per creare uno Stato italiano unitario e repubblicano. Inoltre, l'intera visione politica mazziniana aveva una forte matrice religiosa di sapore romantico: la storia umana era guidata da un disegno provvidenziale che conduceva l'umanità alla progressiva scoperta della legge morale; tutti gli uomini erano tra loro uguali e fratelli, perché figli di Dio; ogni nazione doveva adempiere alla missione assegnata da Dio e dare, così, il proprio contributo al benessere dell'umanità nella sua interezza, secondo un principio divino di divisione del lavoro. Per Mazzini, infatti, le nazioni erano un mezzo per raggiungere l'obiettivo finale dell'unificazione della famiglia umana sotto un'unica legge morale data da Dio, in un sentimento reciproco di amore fraterno. Certamente, nel *corpus* mazziniano è presente l'idea di un sistema internazionale pacifico,

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fondato sull'autodeterminazione nazionale e sulla cooperazione internazionale (cfr. "Principles of International Politics", pp. 224-240). Ma essa si basa più sui dogmi religiosi della provvidenza divina, della fratellanza di tutti gli uomini in Dio e dell'origine divina delle nazioni, da un lato, e sui principi democratici, dall'altro, che sull'adesione alle idee liberali. Sarebbe stato più appropriato, allora, intitolare il volume *A Family of Nations*, oppure *The Brotherhood of Nations* (cfr. "On the Duties of Man", pp. 88-92). Mazzini stesso criticò ripetutamente il cosmopolitismo illuminista (cfr. "Nationality and Cosmopolitanism", pp. 57-62). Basato sull'azione del singolo individuo, il cosmopolitismo portava necessariamente all'egoistica realizzazione dei propri interessi personali o al sentimento d'impotenza del singolo di fronte al tutto. Per raggiungere l'obiettivo della futura unificazione del genere umano, il primo passo da compiere era la realizzazione dello Stato nazionale e democratico. Nel contesto nazionale, infatti, l'azione del singolo per il progresso dell'umanità sarebbe stata potenziata dall'azione collettiva. Inoltre, la forma democratica di governo avrebbe garantito l'armonia tra individuo e società, libertà e dovere, tanto all'interno dei confini nazionali, quanto nelle relazioni internazionali. Associandosi tra loro, infatti, le fragili democrazie nazionali sarebbero riuscite a vincere sui governi reazionari ed oppressori della restaurazione. Si sarebbe così affermato un sistema internazionale basato sulla pace, sulla libertà e sulla democrazia, invece che sulla ragion di Stato e la tirannia.

(Rita Corsetti)

Francesco Forte, *L'economia liberale di Luigi Einaudi. Saggi*, Firenze, Leo O. Olschki Editore, 2009, pp. 367, 41,00, Isbn 978-88-222-5867-0.

Le democrazie evolute si basano sull'alternanza di governi che scaturiscono dal bipolarismo: in alcuni periodi governano partiti più orientati a sinistra mentre nei successivi governano coalizioni di destra. A veder bene, però, in tali democrazie questo avvicendamento non corrisponde affatto ad un drastico cambiamento nel modo di far funzionare il sistema Paese. Tutt'altro. Due esempi possono chiarire il punto: il governo Blair nel Regno Unito ha sostanzialmente portato avanti un disegno amministrativo e politico non molto dissimile da quello attuato in precedenza dai Tories, mentre in Svezia l'attuale coalizione di centrodestra alla guida del Paese non ha modificato le grandi linee dello stato sociale poste in essere dai tanti governi socialdemocratici succedutisi dalla fine della seconda guerra mondiale ad oggi.

Un'impressione di vicinanza del tutto simile si ha leggendo gli scritti del socialista Francesco Forte sull'azione e i paradigmi del liberale Luigi Einaudi raccolti nel volume *L'economia liberale di Luigi Einaudi. Saggi*. Pur non condividendone l'ideologia, Forte si rivela convinto ammiratore di Einaudi e ci tiene a metterne in chiara luce l'indirizzo attento ai valori etici della persona umana e le idee a favore dei lavoratori: per il diritto alle libertà sindacali, per la loro partecipazione agli utili societari, contro il monopolio delle grandi imprese, per un sistema di completa partecipazione sociale. Non che Einaudi avesse rinunciato ai capisaldi della dottrina liberale, come il sistema della libera concorrenza che lui considerava principio costitutivo non soltanto in campo economico bensì anche in quello politico, ma li ammantava di una connotazione sociale talmente forte che spesso, come documenta Forte, molte delle sue idee venivano accettate persino nei circoli meno dogmatici della sinistra italiana (il concetto di economia di mercato, ad esempio, nonostante i suoi vari fallimenti).

Forte, che nel novembre del 1961 succedette ad Einaudi nella cattedra di Scienza delle Finanze dell'università di Torino, riunisce nel volume una serie di suoi saggi sull'operato del grande economista scritti nell'ultimo mezzo secolo. Lo divide in quattro parti: in una prima raccoglie gli articoli sugli anni giovanili di Einaudi, «economista appassionato» permeato di idee sociali e ideali liberali, nonché sul successivo rapporto tra di lui maestro e i suoi allievi; in una seconda le analisi sullo Stato cooperativo e l'economia pubblica, esaminando i suoi contributi più dichiaratamente scientifici di finanza (i principi della tassazione conforme al mercato, l'imposta nella teoria del valore, la tassazione del risparmio e dei consumi, l'imposta sul reddito normale). In una terza riunisce gli scritti sul carteggio di Einaudi con Benedetto Croce, evidenziante la loro concezione di

Il ritorno di Giuseppe Mazzini

di **Sebastiano Maffettone**

Urbhahati e Recchia

propongono al pubblico americano l'opera risorgimentale, Grande quanto Marx o Mill

Un'affermata *political theorist*, Nadia Urbhahati, e un giovane studioso che sta terminando il suo PhD in International Relations a Columbia University, Stefano Recchia, hanno avuto la brillante idea di pubblicare in inglese presso un prestigioso editore (Princeton University Press) alcuni lavori fondamentali di

Giuseppe Mazzini. Il volume, intitolato *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations*, intende presentare scritti tradotti per la prima volta insieme a scritti già presentati in inglese dallo stesso Mazzini, che, come è noto, visse in esilio a Londra per molti anni. Lo scopo principale è quello di restituire a Mazzini il ruolo che gli spetta, quello di una delle più importanti figure politiche dell'Ottocento, al livello di Bakunin, Marx, John Stuart

Mill, Tocqueville e Herzen. I curatori sottolineano nella «Introduzione» che Mazzini fu un pensatore politico originale anche se non sistematico. Il nucleo dei suoi scritti teoricamente più importanti riguarda la nazione, la democrazia e i rapporti tra i popoli. Mazzini ebbe a cuore in primo luogo l'antideterminazione dei popoli, ma senza trascurare i rapporti internazionali in un'ottica complessivamente pacifista. I pilastri del pacifismo mazziniano sono costituiti dal primato della liberaldemocrazia, dall'importanza dello scambio economico e dallo sviluppo di istituzioni federali. Da questo punto di

vista, Mazzini è un seguace di Kant non si sa quanto volontario, e un precursore dell'Europa Unita e del Presidente americano Wilson. Non c'è dubbio, così, che egli ebbe un pensiero politico in grado di andare al di là della visione di un leader politico nazionalista, membro della setta dei Carbonari e personaggio carismatico nonché scomodo del Risorgimento italiano. Nell'ottica filosofico-politica, la tesi di Mazzini insisteva sui "doveri", come contrapposti ai "diritti". In questo senso, egli intese probabilmente travalicare il liberismo classico in nome di un repubblicanesimo democraticista. Questo retro-

terra chiarisce anche la natura del suo cosmopolitismo, che fu assieme realista e utopico, intendendo coniugare nazionalismo e aspirazioni umanitarie. Il veicolo che consentiva il passaggio dall'uno alle altre era, per Mazzini, originariamente l'educazione popolare. Dato a Mazzini quel che è di Mazzini, due annotazioni critiche vanno a mio avviso fatte presenti. I curatori enfatizzano il rilievo retorico del pensiero politico di Mazzini. Ma basta leggere i suoi saggi qui pubblicati per comprendere che Mazzini non fu un pensatore politico nella scia che va da Hobbes a Rawls. Egli fu piuttosto un gen-

le testimone e interprete di passioni politiche che animammo il suo tempo. In secondo luogo, va ricordato che, anche se il tentativo di appropriazione gentile e fascista della sua figura è da condannare come vogliono i curatori, Mazzini fu un romantico nazionalista non particolarmente incline al liberalismo.

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© Giuseppe Mazzini, «A Cosmopolitanism of Nations, Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, and International Relations», cura e introduzione di Stefano Recchia e Nadia Urbhahati, Princeton University Press.

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