

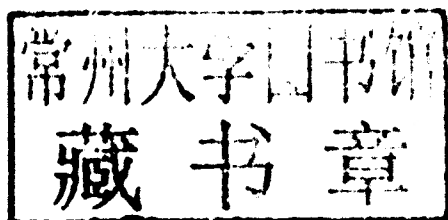
**Studies in Global Justice**  
*Series Editor: Deen K. Chatterjee*

**Andrew Buchwalter** *Editor*

# Hegel and Global Justice

Andrew Buchwalter  
Editor

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# Hegel and Global Justice

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## STUDIES IN GLOBAL JUSTICE

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### Aims and Scope

In today's world, national borders seem irrelevant when it comes to international crime and terrorism. Likewise, human rights, poverty, inequality, democracy, development, trade, bioethics, hunger, war and peace are all issues of global rather than national justice. The fact that mass demonstrations are organized whenever the world's governments and politicians gather to discuss such major international issues is testimony to a widespread appeal for justice around the world.

Discussions of global justice are not limited to the fields of political philosophy and political theory. In fact, research concerning global justice quite often requires an interdisciplinary approach. It involves aspects of ethics, law, human rights, international relations, sociology, economics, public health, and ecology. Springer's new series *Studies in Global Justice* up that interdisciplinary perspective. The series brings together outstanding monographs and anthologies that deal with both basic normative theorizing and its institutional applications. The volumes in the series discuss such aspects of global justice as the scope of social justice, the moral significance of borders, global inequality and poverty, the justification and content of human rights, the aims and methods of development, global environmental justice, global bioethics, the global institutional order and the justice of intervention and war.

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# Preface

In this book prominent scholars of Hegel and of social-political theory examine Hegel's contribution to the discourse on global justice. Contesting many common assumptions, they claim not only that Hegel himself has much to offer on the theme of global justice, but that his insights and perspectives can significantly enrich contemporary discussions and debates. The aim of this book is to clarify Hegel's stance on global justice in its many dimensions and to highlight the value of Hegel and Hegelian-based arguments for current deliberations. The book is conceived both for scholars of Hegel and global justice and for college instructors for use in graduate and undergraduate college courses.

The contributors to this volume have all eagerly participated in this project. I want to thank them for their suggestions and cooperation. I also would like to thank those who participated in panel sessions devoted to this topic at recent meetings of the American Philosophical Association and the American Political Science Association.

At Springer I would like to express my gratitude to Deen Chatterjee, series editor of the "Studies in Global Justice," for his initial interest in this project and his support throughout. Thanks as well are due to Neil Olivier, Publishing Editor at Springer, and his assistant, Diana Nijenhuijzen, for their ongoing advice and assistance. I also wish to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions for the book's improvement. Thanks are owed as well to A. Lakshmi Praba, Project Manager at SPi Global, for the thorough and conscientious manner in which she oversaw production of this volume.

In addition, I want to express my appreciation to the University of North Florida (UNF) Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Florida Center for Ethics, Public Policy and the Professions for a summer research grant enabling me to complete work on this project. For assistance in preparing the manuscript, thanks are owed Judy Smith of UNF's Philosophy Department and members of UNF's Center for Instructional Research and Technology.

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# Chapter 1

## Hegel and Global Justice: An Introduction

Andrew Buchwalter

### 1.1 Introduction

In the burgeoning academic discussion of global justice, little attention has been accorded Hegel. This is not surprising, for Hegel is generally considered to offer little constructive as regards issues of international ethics or justice. Not only does his account of political morality seem restricted chiefly to the ethos of particular communities; not only is he assumed to reject as incoherent any form of cosmopolitanism; his view of international relations seems focused on the exigencies of fully sovereign and self-sufficient nation-states whose interactions—defined above all by power, force and bellicosity—possess an anarchic character not evidently subject to higher moral or political authority. Moreover, Hegel's political thought culminates in a philosophy of history that appears not only to glorify Western society, but to assert that other cultures have value only to the degree that they contribute to the advancement of the former.

This book challenges many of these assumptions. While not fully denying the validity of the conventional assessment, the authors of this volume—prominent interpreters of Hegel and his practical philosophy—present a more nuanced and variegated picture of his contribution to the issue of global justice. Not only is Hegel revealed to address the topic in a rich and instructive manner; he is shown to do so in a way that provides perspectives on and challenges to aspects of the present discussion. He is shown to do so, moreover, with regard to many of the themes comprising the current discussion of global justice. These include universal human rights, international law, transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, economic globalization, global socio-economic justice, global conflict, planetary destruction, intercultural recognition, global governance, global citizenship, the global public

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sphere, a global shared identity, and a global ethical culture. In pursuing these themes the contributors to this volume also consider Hegel's relationship to many of the theorists associated with current discussions of global justice, including Anthony Appiah, Hannah Arendt, Ulrich Beck, Seyla Benhabib, Simon Caney, Jacques Derrida, Richard Falk, Jürgen Habermas, Thomas Hobbes, Immanuel Kant, Will Kymlicka, David Miller, Thomas Nagel, Martha Nussbaum, Thomas Pogge, John Rawls, and Peter Singer.

That the authors of this volume do address the theme of Hegel and global justice is not to say, however, that they so in the same way. They disagree about what may be meant by global justice, they differ in their understandings of Hegel, they differ on whether focus should be on Hegel's own position on international relations or on claims he makes elsewhere that can be applied to those relations, and they adopt differing views on whether the task at hand involves appeal to Hegel's own stated views or to a reconstructed "Hegelian" account that may even be at odds the former. These differences notwithstanding, however, the essays in the book exhibit a common orientation, one that may be captured by the term so central to Hegel and to Hegelian thought generally: dialectics.

Dialectics is a contested term both in Hegel research and theory generally. For present purposes, it may be construed as the three-fold effort to challenge conventional dichotomies, to locate commonalities in seeming opposites, and to specify the internally differentiated character of the commonalities themselves. In different ways, and with differing degrees of emphasis, the authors in this volume explore the issue of global justice from a dialectical perspective. Among other things, they advance proposals that in diverse and mediated ways surmount abstract distinctions between, say, universal rights and cultural diversity, state sovereignty and cosmopolitan law, bounded communities and transnational commonalities, global governance and local self-determination, national identity and global membership, negative and positive liberties, negative and positive duties, and conflict and comity.

A specific articulation of Hegel's dialectical approach to global justice is reflected in the use by this volume's authors of recognition theory. Recognition theory is rooted in the famous master-slave dialectic Hegel presents in the *Phenomenology of Spirit*, but it is central to his practical philosophy as a whole. Recognition theory is a highly nuanced epistemological, ontological, ethical, socio-political, and cultural doctrine, with multiple components. Generally speaking, though, recognition theory, for Hegel, involves at least the following four claims: (1) individual identity is constituted only in relations of reciprocal recognition; (2) such relations take shape in struggles predicated typically on surmounting modes of misrecognition; (3) recognitive social relations tendentially generate forms of shared or common identity; and (4) notions of common identity themselves have full meaning and reality only to the degree that the members of a community recognize their commonality. In different ways many of the contributors to this volume employ components of recognition theory to illuminate features of Hegel's account of global justice. These components are used to explicate Hegel's notions of political sovereignty, shared identity, cosmopolitanism, human rights, planetary

responsibilities, global governance, war, and world history. One important value of this book is that it illustrates, in ways that have not been fully appreciated, the usefulness of Hegel's doctrine of recognition for elucidating matters of global justice.

Much has changed in the world since Hegel was writing in the early nineteenth century. Nothing expresses this change more dramatically than the phenomenon of globalization itself, a phenomenon of which in its present form Hegel had only inkling. At economic, social, political, technological, and cultural levels, the world has undergone changes that would likely be unimaginable to Hegel. These developments have also raised a range of normative issues concerning justice and social life that at least in their specific form were unknown to Hegel. Issues regarding human rights, global interconnectivity, mass murder, global poverty, violence, global terrorism, cosmopolitan law, environmental degradation, planetary destruction, global governance, cosmopolitan membership, intercultural recognition, and human migration are now posed in ways that would be novel for Hegel.

Still, if Hegel was not in a position to respond directly to the issues that confront us today, his thought remains highly relevant. The contributors to this collection advance various specific arguments as to why this is so. Yet a general point is also in order. Hegel is distinctive *inter alia* for the special connection he posited between philosophy and the features of his age. Writing at a time of profound social tension, dislocation, and transformation, he assigned to philosophical reflection the task both of responding to the challenges of his age and of formulating options for their resolution. He did so, moreover, not by engaging in abstract theorizing but through attending to trends and possibilities implicit in existing conditions themselves. He also asserted, if not with complete consistency, that any resolution is never fully complete but commonly entails and requires further articulation. In their various considerations of the concept of global justice, the authors of this volume display and replicate features of Hegel's own historically sensitive and pragmatically oriented approach to social analysis. In this way as well their contributions attest to Hegel's value for understanding the phenomenon of globalization and the normative issues it raises.

None of this is to suggest that there are not elements in Hegel's thought that simply do not lend themselves to contemporary appropriation. For the discourse on global justice, his highly problematic comments, above all in the *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, about race and the racial inferiority of certain peoples exemplify features of his thought that are hardly amenable to such appropriation. But it is also incorrect to assume that these claims, contemptible though they are, necessarily vitiate the general value of his thought or its usefulness for clarifying issues pertaining to global justice. On the contrary, it is the view of many in this volume, explicit and implicit, that these claims and attitudes are largely alien to the core tenets of his thought. Indeed, far from empowering racial and racist modes of argumentation, Hegel's thought can be perceived to supply tools that can be employed, in effectively criticizing such forms of argumentation.

In this introduction I first highlight the main themes explored in the volume, indicating in a general way the contributions made by the various authors in elaborating those themes. I then provide a brief summary of the main argument of each chapter, noting the interrelationship of the various discussions and the place they occupy in the broader discourse on global justice.

## 1.2 A Taxonomy of Main Themes

### 1.2.1 *Cosmopolitanism*

A central topic in this book is Hegel's reception and treatment of the concept of cosmopolitanism. While nearly all authors note Hegel's criticisms of conventional notions of cosmopolitanism, they are divided on whether Hegel may himself be considered a cosmopolitan. Focusing on the life-and-death struggles for recognition that shape Hegel's notion of human sociation, Gary Browning argues that he cannot be. Thom Brooks seconds this assessment, while also asserting that forms of cosmopolitanism can be supported with arguments that, while not advanced by Hegel himself, are of Hegelian inspiration. On the other hand, several authors do present Hegel as more sympathetic to cosmopolitanism. Allowing that Hegel rejects political or institutional accounts of cosmopolitanism, Lydia Moland nonetheless claims that he does affirm a moral one predicated on the equal value and dignity of all human beings. In a different vein, other authors maintain that Hegel's critique of cosmopolitanism is directed not at the concept itself, but only the abstract and ahistorical version it quintessentially found in Kant. Steven Hicks develops this point at length, detailing how Hegel advances a notion of cosmopolitanism that uniquely charts a course between Kant and Hobbes. Robert Fine further pursues this point by noting the decidedly consequential character of Hegel's cosmopolitanism, one that fully acknowledges the modern realities of war and colonialism. Peter Stillman also notes the specifically historical nature of Hegel's cosmopolitanism, detailing how the account of modern civil society elaborated in the *Philosophy of Right* serves to realize and validate a concept of universal human rights. Andrew Buchwalter presents Hegel as advancing a "situated" cosmopolitanism, one in which transnational norms and values are forged and forged anew in the ongoing interaction of persons and peoples in history.

### 1.2.2 *National Sovereignty*

Consonant with his critique of conventional accounts of cosmopolitanism, Hegel is also known for his emphasis on the centrality of the nation-state. Yet what that emphasis entails for internationalism and transnationalism is a matter of dispute. Brooks locates Hegel squarely in the tradition of political realism with its emphasis

on the sovereign self-sufficiency of states and the strategically self-interested nature of their relationships. Others also acknowledge the centrality of state sovereignty in Hegel's work, but deny that this precludes more emphatically transnational accounts of international relations. This approach is implicit in the chapter by Clark Butler, who suggests that Hegel's realist view of state sovereignty is more an acknowledgement of historical realities than an expression of ontological convictions. Others argue for an explicit relationship of state sovereignty and transnational affiliations, noting how, for Hegel, sovereignty itself depends on associative relations with other states and peoples. Browning makes this point, even while distancing Hegel from accounts of cosmopolitanism. Buchwalter does so with reference to the logic of recognition that he argues undergirds Hegel's law of peoples, asserting that nation-state sovereignty itself entails an intersubjective notion of political identity. Hicks, appealing to Hegel's view of the relationship of identity and difference, similarly claims that Hegel advances an inclusive notion of political sovereignty, one useful moreover for characterizing the complex interrelationship of states in emerging multinational entities like the European Union. Paul Cobben situates Hegel's own notion of political sovereignty within the tradition of international realism, but claims, also appealing to the European Union, that a more open and cooperative account can be formulated on Hegelian grounds through insight on the part of citizens into the general historicity of existing structures and values.

### 1.2.3 *Universal Human Rights*

Another theme addressed by several authors is that of human rights. Almost all authors in this volume see Hegel as rejecting any abstract notion of human rights for one sensitive to conditions of historical embodiment and particularized articulation. For Browning, this involves a general repudiation of universalistic claims in favor of forms of political practices in which rights and other normative principles are defined, shaped, and validated by members of a particular community. Robert Fine, by contrast, claims that Hegel does advocate a cosmopolitan notion of human rights, but one that incorporates appreciation of the coerciveness that accompanies further expansion of the notion of rights. In the view of Maria Kowalski, Hegel presents a conception of human rights that, in contrast to Rawls', is at once emphatically universal and supportive of the diversity of cultures and traditions. Peter Stillman notes how, for Hegel, the idea of universal human rights depends on the emergence and development of modern civil society and, *a limine*, the latter's full global extension. In this account, Stillman also notes Hegel's support for both liberty and welfare rights—something addressed as well by Hicks, Moland, and others. In addition, by anchoring rights in the "substate" domain of civil society, Hegel, according to Stillman, advances a notion of rights that can counteract tendencies of political institutions to oppress human liberties, even while acknowledging the role played by those institutions in securing liberties.

### ***1.2.4 Global Poverty and Its Responsibilities***

A central feature of Hegel's theory of civil society is the attention it gives to how modern industrial societies, with their cycles of over-production and under-employment, trigger a host of social pathologies. Perhaps the most central of these is poverty and, in particular, the creation of a systemically induced underclass typified as much by psychological as material deprivations. In different ways, several contributors—Buchwalter, Butler, Hicks, Moland, and Stillman—extend Hegel's analysis of the vicissitudes of market societies beyond the domestic sphere, noting that many of the same pathologies are currently replicated at the level of global commerce. In doing so, they also explore Hegelian options for addressing the issue of global poverty. One central consideration is the duties that affluent nations and their members have to the global poor. Perceiving in the current global order the system of wide-reaching interdependencies that Hegel discerned in domestic civil society, Moland claims that those obligations are considerable, all the more so owing to the responsibilities that, following Thomas Pogge, she suggests affluent country bear for socio-economic maladies world-wide. Buchwalter likewise argues for a strong account of global obligations, focusing on Hegel's theory of mutual recognition and the notion that the autonomy and well-being of one community depends on that of another. Brooks addresses the matter from a different perspective, examining how responsibilities to non-nationals are to be balanced with putatively more central responsibilities to co-nationals.

### ***1.2.5 Institutional Responses to Global Poverty***

The contributors to this book also consider the institutional structures needed to address global poverty. Stillman asks whether one of Hegel's proposals for addressing poverty domestically—work-related cooperatives or “corporations”—might find traction in a global setting. Moland, likewise focusing on sub-political mechanisms, considers “civil society organizations” that would empower affected peoples and groups both to challenge policies and practices that contribute to global inequalities and to devise solutions appropriate to their own circumstances. Clark Butler elaborates on Hegel's concept of a “public authority,” asking how a “world welfare state”—one that avoids the top-down bureaucracy criticized by Hegel—might be conceived in the face of global economic realities today.

### ***1.2.6 Global Governance***

Although Hegel is famously critical of forms of global government, his thought does lend support to various notions of global governance. Clark Butler appeals to Hegel in advancing an “external” world state, one that provides regulatory oversight while

also deferring to local initiatives and relatively autonomous relations between individual states and peoples. Lydia Moland invokes Hegel's interest-based concept of political representation to fashion an inclusive notion of global community, one that can challenge the state-centrism endemic to current geographically based notions of representation. Steven Hicks recurs to Hegel's concept of an internally differentiated domestic polity to promote the differentiated, pluralistic, and polyarchic political structures currently associated with transnational entities like the European Union. Paul Cobben also focuses on the European Union, deploying Hegelian arguments to support the idea of a global supra-state characterized by a multiculturally based commitment to commonality, something in turn requiring emergence of a robust global public sphere. Buchwalter notes how for Hegel the world-historical "dialectic" of peoples results in norms of cooperation that underwrite the type of shared political culture or ethos that on Hegel's account remains a central condition of viable institutional arrangements, global or otherwise.

### 1.2.7 *Global Identity*

Several authors also raise the question of what it would mean to speak of collective global identity from a Hegelian perspective. Paul Cobben asserts that the shared self-understanding of members of transnational entities like the European Union must be defined politically rather than, as is now the case, on economic lines. Steven Hicks advances the idea of a "dialectical self-identity" rooted in a notion of global solidarity forged in acknowledgement of the tragedies of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Thom Brooks sketches general features of a Hegelian notion of collective identity, one based not on the *fact* of shared identity itself—something that lends itself to particularistic interpretations—but the shared recognition of identity itself. Buchwalter, appealing to the principle of internal self-reflexivity central to Hegel's concept of the *Geist*, similarly proposes a notion of self-identity that subsists and is sustained in the ongoing deliberation by differently situated peoples and persons on the conditions of commonality itself.

### 1.2.8 *War*

No account of Hegel's contribution to globality and global justice would be complete without consideration of his treatment of war, a central component in his theory of international law. Contributors to this volume variously address this matter. Brooks identifies war with Hegel's political realism, but emphasizes that Hegel's aim is not to champion belligerence itself but simply to acknowledge the anarchic relations of states in a world devoid of higher political authority. Browning also details how, for Hegel, war challenges classical and contemporary notions of international justice, but notes as well that it can cultivate forms of group solidarity

that have a place in global society. Fine notes how war, far from undermining a Hegelian approach to internationalism, attests to its consequential nature. Peter Stillman asserts that war, in attesting to the ephemeral nature of property ownership, can serve as a Hegelian challenge to any purely economic approach to globalization. Buchwalter and others note that war, understood as condition of rightlessness, implies a notion of right or justice, and thus cannot be understood as Hegel's final answer on the nature of international relations. Steven Hicks makes this point as well, but questions whether Hegel's understanding of war is adequate to the current realities of global terror and the increasing proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Hicks does suggest, however, that Hegel's claim that political entities, including any at the transnational level, require an "external" enemy might be understood, not as a statement about the irremediably conflictual nature of social relations, but as a call for humanity to confront shared threats, including planetary degradation, global financial insolvency, and nuclear annihilation.

### **1.2.9 Recognition**

A final issue concerns the role of recognition theory—one of Hegel's most distinctive contributions to social theory—as it pertains to matters of global justice. Here, too, the authors advance diverse perspectives. Accentuating the existential struggles that Hegel, especially in the *Phenomenology of Spirit*, associates with recognitive relations, Browning emphasizes the value of recognition in forging political identity while also indicating the limits it imposes on notions of internationalism, cosmopolitanism, and global justice. Brooks claims that Hegel's account of mutual recognition is of value for theorizing about global justice, but only if it is separated from the stark political realism that defines Hegel's own account of international politics. Peter Stillman asserts that an account of mutual recognition clearly does inform Hegel's own theory of international relations, but only to the point of supporting inter-state cooperation, not consensual unity. By contrast, Steven Hicks claims that Hegel does employ recognition theory to fashion an incipient notion of global unity, one based on shared international norms and values. Buchwalter develops this point as well, suggesting that any recognitive unity is itself sustained only in the ongoing interchange of local and global considerations.

## **1.3 Chapter Synopses**

### **1.3.1 *Hegel on Cosmopolitanism, International Relations, and the Challenges of Globalization***

The first contribution is by Steven Hicks, who presents an overview of many of the relevant issues as well as a distinctive account of Hegel's special contribution to the discourse on global justice. Hicks seeks to challenge many of the conceptions and



misconceptions surrounding Hegel's status as a theorist of international relations—those associated with nationalist, communitarian, and statist views of his conception of international politics. While not fully dismissing such views, Hicks maintains that Hegel must also be regarded as a decided proponent of an international ethic committed *inter alia* to transnational understanding, global justice, and cosmopolitan values. But like others in this volume, Hicks asserts that Hegel advances a unique version of an international ethic, one that on a number of counts charts a distinctive course between the liberal-cosmopolitanism of Kant and the state-centric realism of Hobbes. For one thing, Hicks presents Hegel as a proponent of a doctrine of universal human rights, one however which derives not from abstract normative claims but from the interaction of particular peoples and persons in an increasingly interconnected global community. Similarly, Hicks presents Hegel as promoting a highly variegated notion of global governance, one that eschews the world government Hegel always rejected in favor a differentiated, pluralistic, and polycentric mixture of sub-political groupings and self-governing bodies. In addition, Hicks takes up, as do other in this volume, Hegel's famous and infamous endorsement of war and the seeming inevitability of interstate hostility. While questioning Hegel's claims about the value of war for the ethical health of nations, Hicks does note that Hegel also details how wars challenge narrow claims to territoriality, and in ways that can facilitate greater cooperation and a "trend toward unity" among nations. Finally, Hicks notes that this unifying trend gives rise to a type of global ethical life (*Sittlichkeit*) that, forged in relations of reciprocal recognition, supplies the shared values needed for cooperative relations among nations.

On the basis of these observations, Hicks considers the relevance of Hegelian modes of argumentation for challenges posed by globalization. He notes how Hegel accounts for the emergence, nature and dynamism of economic globalization, but in ways that can also counter some of the deleterious consequences—e.g., poverty and environmental degradation—of "market-driven/corporate-driven globalism." In a similar vein, he contends that Hegel supplies a model of transnational governance that can counteract the anarchic features of an economic globalism, while avoiding the institutional centralization inimical to the global diversity of traditions, practices, and institutions. In this respect Hegelian modes of analysis are reflected in the differentiated structures of the European Union and forms of regionalism built on various transnational alliances. Hicks claims further that some of Hegel's troubling assertions about warfare (e.g., that peoples and nations require an enemy for their own sense of identity) can be reinterpreted to mobilize resistance to some of the threats confronting humanity. He also locates in Hegel's thought a global notion of "dialectical self-identity"—a collective commitment to cooperation and mutuality forged precisely in response to the wrenching tragedies of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.