

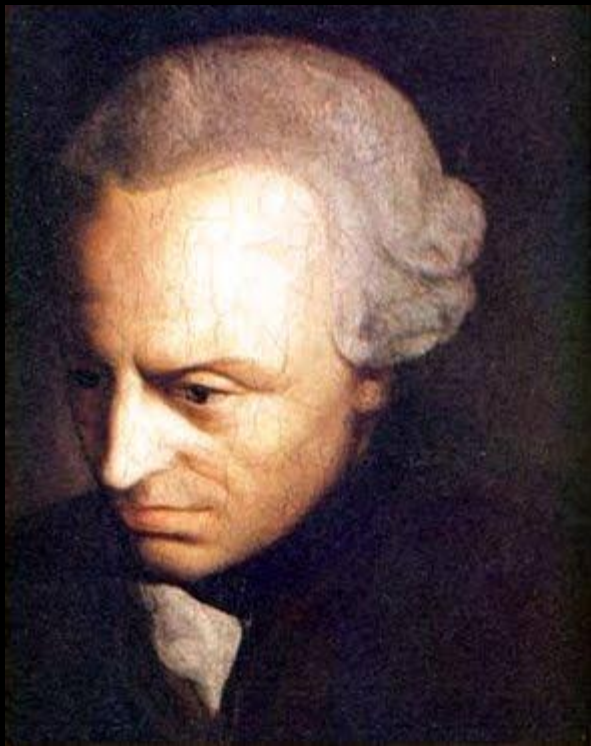


# Immanuel Kant

Cosmopolitanism, Perpetual Peace,  
and the different human races

The people of the earth have thus entered in varying degrees into a universal community, and it has developed to the point where a violation of rights in one part of the world is felt everywhere. The idea of a cosmopolitan right is therefore not fantastic or overstrained; it is a necessary complement to the unwritten code of political and international right, transforming it into a universal right of humanity (PP, 1795, 108).

In the hot countries the human being matures in all respects earlier, but does not, however, reach the perfection of those in the temperate zones. Humanity is at its greatest perfection in the race of the whites. The yellow Indians do have a meagre talent. The Negros are far below them and at the lowest point are a part of the American peoples (G, 1756-96).



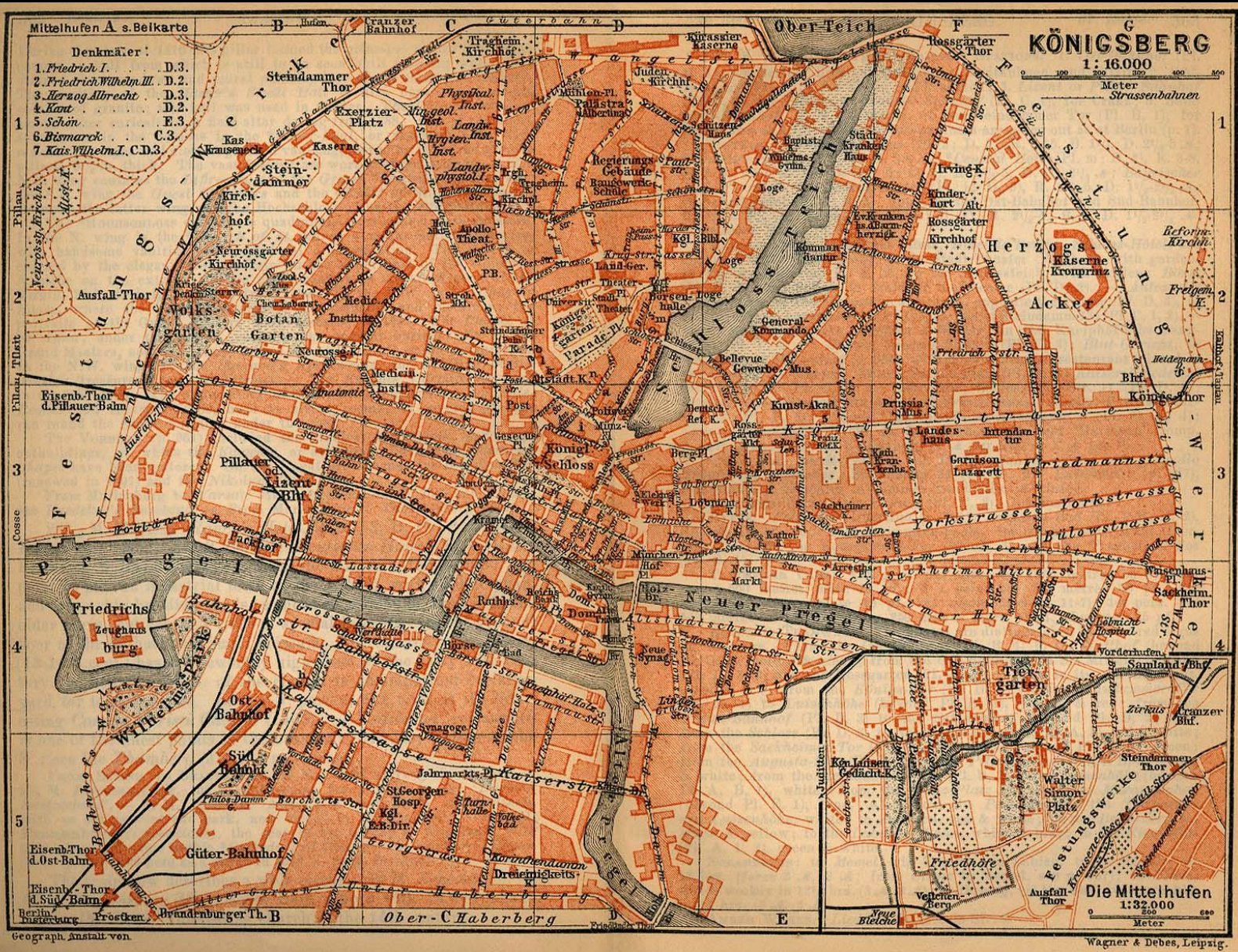
Born April 1724  
East Prussia



Kant's house on the left



Capital of Prussia until 1701  
Conquered by Soviet Union during WWII  
Renamed Kaliningrad in 1946



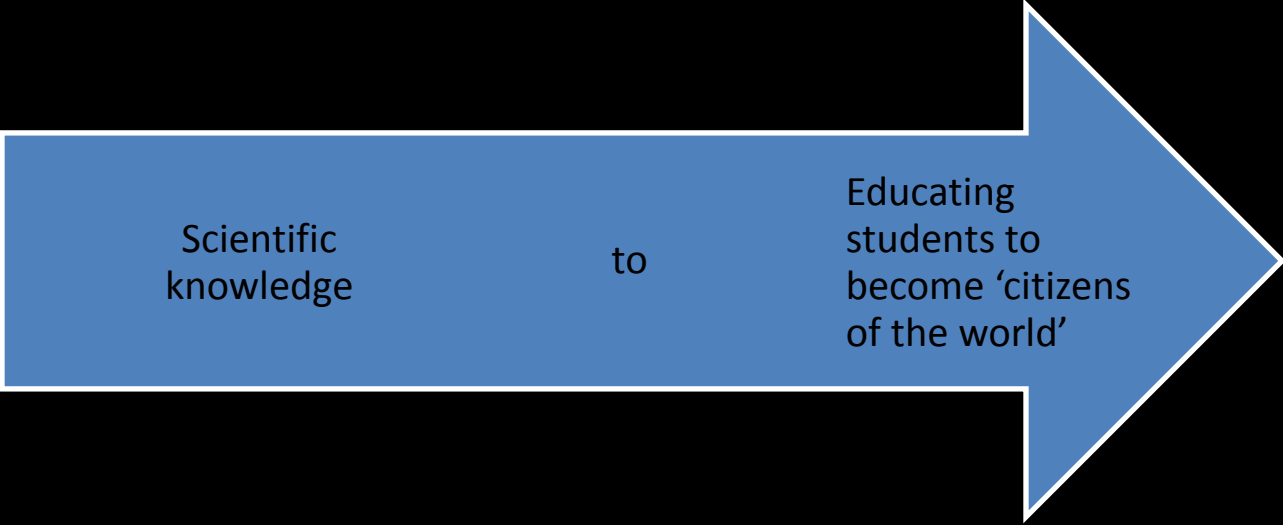
Kant never went farther than 10 miles from Königsberg

# Kant at University of Konigsberg

- 1755 – began lecturing
- 20 lectures/ week
- Logic, metaphysics, ethics, theory of law, geography, anthropology

Courses	Times taught
Anthropology/ Geography	72
Logic	54
Metaphysics	49
Moral Philosophy	28
Theoretical Physics	20

1756-1796



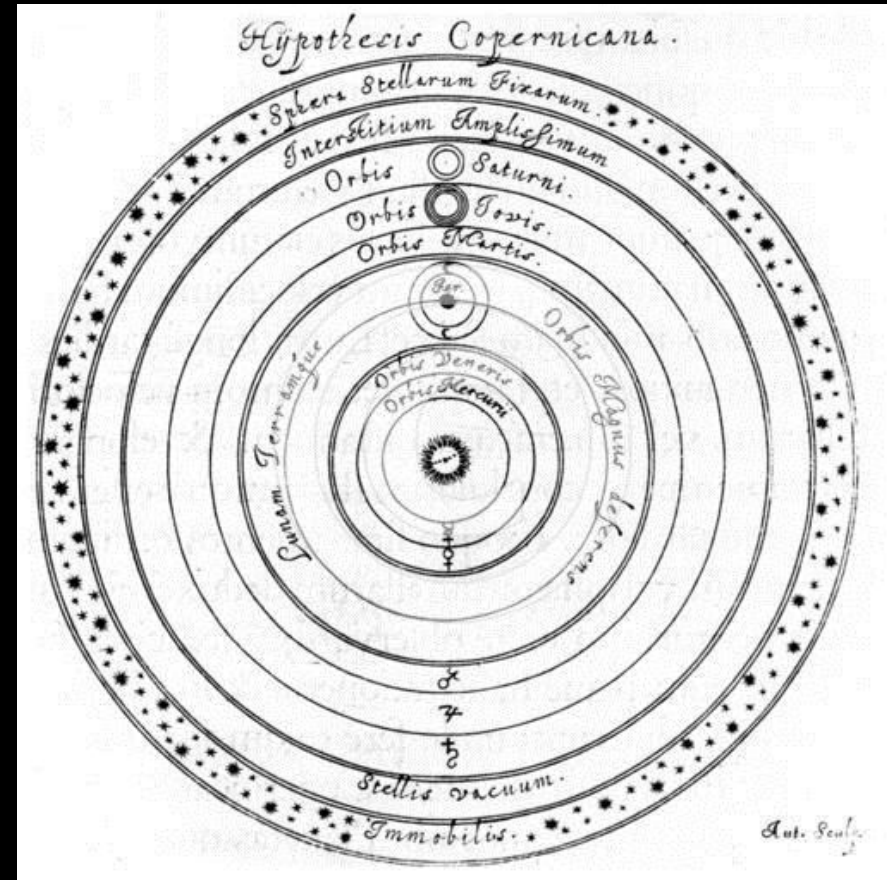
Scientific  
knowledge

to

Educating  
students to  
become 'citizens  
of the world'

# Kant's Copernican Revolution in Philosophy

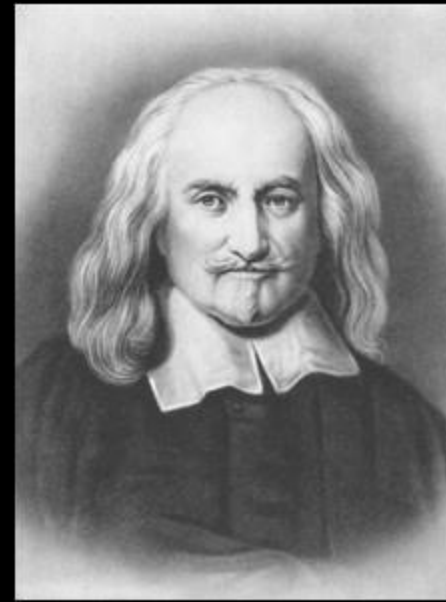
- Human subject – center of inquiry
- The mind, through its innate categories, creates our experiences



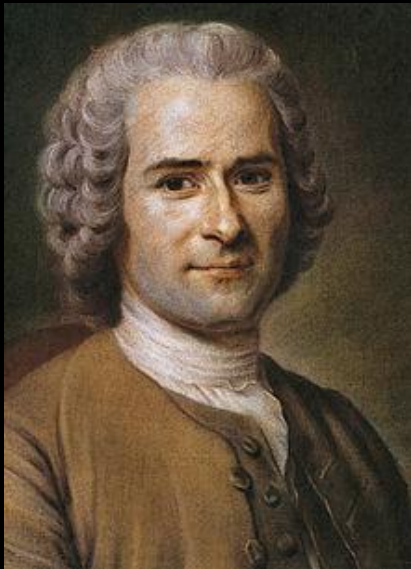
# KANT'S INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCES



Machiavelli 1469-  
1527



Hobbes 1588-1679



Rousseau 1712-1788



Hume 1711-1776



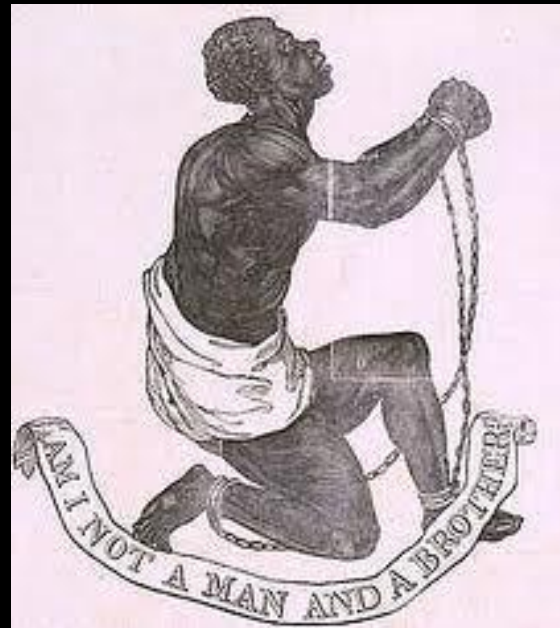
Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon  
1707-1788

# Revolution



Only portrait in Kant's house was of Rousseau

- 'Philosopher of the French Revolution'
- French Revolution (1789–99)
- Haitian Revolution (1791–1804)



# Kant on Revolution

- French/ American revolutions – enlightenment language
- The rights of the people have been violated, and there can be no doubt that the tyrant would not be receiving unjust treatment if he were dethroned....it is in the highest degree wrong if the subjects pursue their rights in this way....(PP, 126)

# ‘What is Enlightenment?’

*Dare to know! (Sapere aude.)* "Have the courage to use your own understanding," is therefore the motto of the enlightenment

# ‘What is Enlightenment?’

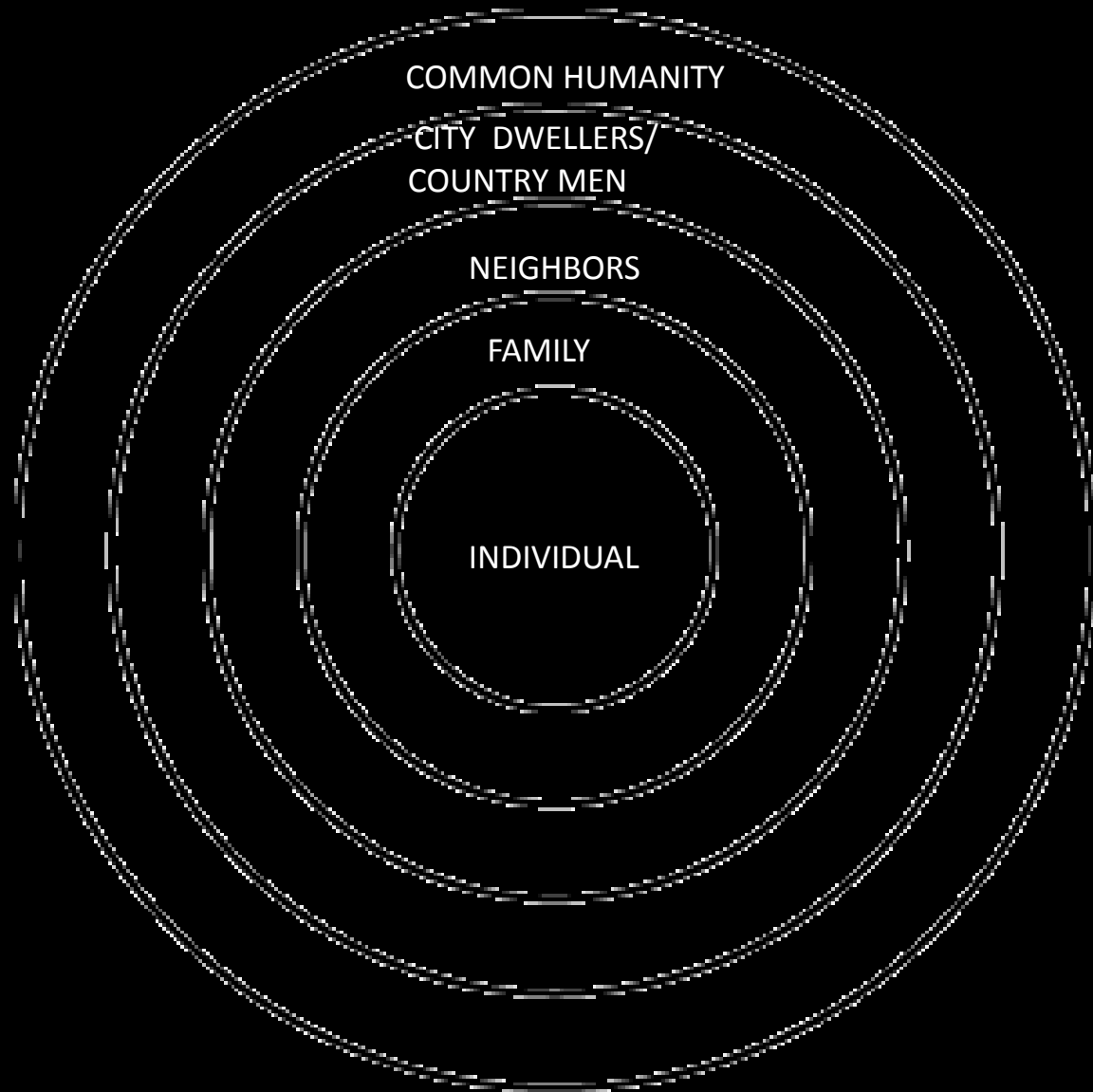
If it is now asked whether we at present live in an enlightened age, the answer is: **No, but we do live in an age of enlightenment.** As things are at present, we still have a long way to go before men as a whole can be in a position (or can ever be put into a position) of using their own understanding confidently and well in religious matters, without outside guidance. But we do have distinct indications that the way is now being cleared for them to work freely in this direction, and that the obstacles to universal enlightenment, to man's emergence from his self-incurred immaturity, are gradually becoming fewer. In this respect our age is the age of enlightenment, the century of Frederick.



# Cosmopolitanism

- Greek – *kosmos* – ‘polis’
- Diogenes
- ‘citizen of the world’
- Stoicism





...we do not know what sort of opinion we should form of our species, which is so proud of its supposed superiority. The only way out for the philosopher, since he cannot assume that mankind follows any *rational purpose of its own* in its collective actions, is for him to attempt to discover a purpose in nature behind this senseless course of human events, and decide whether it is after all possible to formulate in terms of a definite plan of nature a history of creatures who act without a plan of their own' (IUH, 42)

# ‘Unsocial Sociability’

...by antagonism I mean in this context the *unsocial sociability* of me, that is, their tendency to come together in society, coupled, however, with a continual resistance which constantly threatens to break this society up. This propensity is obviously rooted in human nature. Man has an inclination to *live in society*, since he feels in this state more like a man, that is, he feels able to develop his natural capacities. But he also has a great tendency to *live as an individual*, to isolate himself, since he also encounters in himself the unsocial characteristic of wanting to direct everything in accordance with his own ideas (IUH, 44)

Man wishes concord, but nature, knowing better what is good for his species, wishes discord. Man wishes to live comfortably and pleasantly, but nature intends that he should abandon idleness and inactive self-sufficiency and plunge instead into labour and hardships, so that he may by his own adroitness find means of liberating himself from them in turn. The natural impulses which make this possible, the sources of the very sociableness and continual resistance which causes so many evils, at the same time encourage man towards new exertions of his powers and thus towards further development of his natural capacities. They would thus seem to indicate the design of a wise creator – not, as it might seem, the hand of a malicious spirit who had meddled in the creators glorious work or spoiled it out of envy (IUH, 45).

...trees in a forest, by seeking to deprive each other of air and sunlight, compel each other to find these by upward growth, so that they grow beautiful and straight – whereas those which put our branches at will, in freedom and isolation from others grow stunted, bent and twisted (IUH, 46).

...the effects which an upheaval in any state produces upon all the others in our continent, where all are so closely linked by trade, are so perceptible that these other states are forced by their own insecurity to offer themselves as arbiters, albeit without legal authority, so that they indirectly prepare the way for a great political body of the future, without precedent in the past. Although this political body exists for the present only in the roughest of outlines, it nonetheless seems as if a feeling is beginning to stir in all its members, each of which has an interest in maintaining the whole....the highest purpose of nature, a universal *cosmopolitan existence*, will at last be realised as the matrix within which all the original capacities of the human race may develop' (IUH, 51).

It is admittedly a strange and at first sight absurd proposition to write a *history* according to an idea of how world events must develop if they are to conform to certain rational ends; it would seem that only a *novel* could result from such premises. Yet if it may be assumed that nature does not work without a plan and purposeful end, even amidst the arbitrary play of human freedom, this idea might nevertheless prove useful' (IUH, 52).

# Perpetual Peace

This ease in making war, coupled with the warlike inclination of those in power (which seems to be an integral feature of human nature) is thus a great obstacle in the way of perpetual peace (PP, 95)

A state of peace among men living together is not the same as the state of nature, which is rather a state of war. For even if it does not involve active hostilities, it involves a constant threat of their breaking out. Thus the state of peace must be *formally instituted*, for a suspension of hostilities is not in itself a guarantee of peace (PP, 98)

# Civil Constitution

- Perpetual peace can only be instituted through law.
- Civil constitutions will conform to the following:
  - a. Civil right of individuals
  - b. International right of states
  - c. Cosmopolitan right



France, Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789)

..individuals and states, coexisting in an external relationship of mutual influences, may be regarded as citizens of a universal nature of mankind (*jus cosmopoliticum*). This classification with respect to the idea of a perpetual peace, is not arbitrary, but necessary. For if even one of the parties were able to influence the others physically and yet itself remained in a state of nature, there would be a risk of war, which it is precisely the aim of the above articles to prevent (PP, note 98–99)

We look with profound contempt upon the way in which savages cling to their lawless freedom. They would rather engage in incessant strife than submit to a legal constraint which they might impose upon themselves, for they prefer the freedom of folly to the freedom of reason. We regard this as barbarism, coarseness, and brutish debasement of humanity. We might thus expect that civilised peoples, each united within itself as a state, would hasten to abandon so degrading a condition as soon as possible (PP, 103)

And the main difference between the savage nations of Europe and those of America is that while some American tribes have been entirely eaten up by their enemies, the Europeans know how to make better use of those they have defeated than merely by making a meal of them. They would rather use them to increase the number of their own subjects, thereby augmenting their stock of instruments for conducting even more extensive wars (PP, 103).

# Federation

...peace can neither be inaugurated nor secured without a general agreement between the nations; thus a particular kind of league, which we might call a *pacific federation* (*foedus pacificum*), is required. It would differ from a *peace treaty* (*pactum pacis*) in that the latter terminates *one* war, whereas the former would seek to end *all* wars for good (PP, 104)

There is only one rational way in which states coexisting with other states can emerge from the lawless condition of pure warfare. Just like individual men, they must renounce their savage and lawless freedom, adapt themselves to public coercive laws, and thus form an *international state* (*civitas gentium*), which would necessarily continue to grow until it embraced all peoples of the earth (PP, 105).

...we are here concerned not with philanthropy, but with right. In this context, *hospitality* means the right of a stranger not to be treated with hostility when he arrives on someone else's territory....The stranger cannot claim the *right of a guest* to be entertained....He may only claim a *right of resort*, for all men are entitled to present themselves in the society of others by virtue of their right to *communal possession of the earth's surface*. Since the earth is a globe, they cannot disperse over an infinite area, but must necessarily tolerate one another's company (PP, 105-106)

.....continents distant from each other can enter into peaceful mutual relations which may eventually be regulated by public laws, thus bringing the human race nearer and nearer to a *cosmopolitan constitution* (PP, 106)

# Monogenesis - Polygenesis



VOLTAIRE



HUME

# monogenesis

...human beings belong not merely to one and the same genus, but also to one family....differing human beings might be viewed as similar to one another, but not related, and we would have to assume that there were many different local creations.

...Races are deviations that are constantly preserved over many generations and come about as a consequence of migration (dislocation to other regions) or through interbreeding with other deviations of the same line of descent, which always produces half-breed offspring.

...Negroes and whites are clearly not different species of human beings (since presumably they belong to one line of descent), but they do comprise two different races (ODHR, 9)



CHINESE.  
p. 62.

LAPLANDER.  
p. 59.

HOTTENTOT.  
p. 70.

NEGRO.  
p. 69.

AMERICAN.  
p. 72.

Population depends more on society than Nature. **Men would not be comparatively so numerous as the savage animals, if they were not united, and derived not mutual aid and succor from society.** In North America, the bison is perhaps more abundant than men. But, though population be a result of society, it is the increased number of men which necessarily produces their unity. We may therefore presume the want of civilization in America is owing to the paucity of its inhabitants; for, though each nation had peculiar customs and manners, though some were more savage, cruel, and dastardly than others; yet they were all equally stupid, ignorant, and destitute of arts and of industry – Buffon ('A Natural History')

What then is the origin of these people, and what cause can be assigned for the difference of color in human species, since the influence of climate is insufficient in this case to solve the phenomenon? – Buffon ('A Natural History')

# Kant on Race

In the animal kingdom, the natural division into genera and species is based on the law of common propagation and the unity of the genera is nothing other than the unity of the reproductive power that is consistently operative within a specific collection of animals ('ODHR,' 8).

...human beings belong not merely to one and the same genus, but also to one family. Alternatively, differing human beings might be viewed as similar to one another, but not related, and we would have to assume that they were many different local creations ('ODHR,' 9).

# Human Genus – Different Races

I believe that we only need to assume four races in order to be able to derive all of the enduring distinctions immediately recognizable within the human genus.

They are:

- (1) the white race;
- (2) the Negro race;
- (3) the Hun race (Mongol or Kalmuck); and
- (4) the Hindu or Hindustani race ('ODHR,' 13)

We now justifiably account for the different colors of plants by noting that iron content of certain identifiably distinct plant juices varies. Similarly, since the blood of all animals contains iron, there is nothing to prevent us from accounting for the different colors of the human races by referring to exactly the same causes.

Perhaps the hydrochloric acid, or the phosphoric acid, or the volatile alkaline content of the exporting vessels of the skin, were, in this way, reflected red, black, or yellow, in the iron particles in the reticulum. Among whites, however, these acids and the volatile alkaline content are not reflected at all because the iron in the bodily juices has been dissolved, thereby demonstrating both the perfect mixing of these juices and the strength of this human stock in comparison to the others ('ODHR,' 19)



# Cosmopolitan Right and the 'Great Chain of Being'

- Enlightenment – emergence of race
- Kant's 'imaginative geography'
- Anthropology/ Geography – pragmatic
- Europe as the center of reason
- Is a love for humanity possible?



Didacus Valdes , *Rhetorica Christiana* (1579)



# HOME

INDIGENOUS

Migrants

Migrants

Refugees

# Martha Nussbaum – A Kantian Revival

Compassion begins with the local. But if our moral natures and our emotional natures are to live in any sort of harmony we must find devices through which to extend our strong emotions and our ability to imagine the situation of others to the world of human life as a whole. Since compassion contains thought, it can be educated - Nussbaum

## Cosmopolitan Education

