

between the systematic part of Hegel's philosophy and the political part. This centred on the doctrine that 'The rational is actual and the actual is rational'. Horstmann argued that its metaphysical meaning was clear, but that it was not at all clear what its political significance was. He outlined Hegel's view that the state is the most objective expression of the Idea, but that it is not itself to be confused with the Idea, nor with the Absolute. None of these clarifications, though, sufficed to explain the role of the rationality-reality identity thesis in Hegel's political philosophy, in Horstmann's view.

The next paper was from Dr. Stephen Bosworth (Portsmouth Polytechnic). He asked, 'Is Hegel's rational constitution liberal?' Bosworth offered a philosophical reconstruction of Hegel's constitutional monarchy that, by Bosworth's criteria, would be thoroughly liberal. This involved locating Hegel's political philosophy on the ideological continuum from left to right. He believed that Hegel's philosophy was action-related in the sense of 'prescriptive'. For example, Hegel thought the English should codify their laws at the time of the Great Reform Bill, that there should be an estates assembly in Prussia and that, generally, a population should be organised and participate in politics. On Bosworth's thesis Hegel did not hand out recipes for historical problems very often but he does tell us how to think. (Bosworth followed the view of Professor H.S. Harris on this point.)

Bosworth allowed that certain passages of the Philosophy of Right do admit of a conservative reading, but pointed out three prevalent liberal elements in that text: the emphasis on freedom and reason, the need for an elected assembly, and the advocacy of the codification of the law.

On Bosworth's account, Hegel has a liberal justification for monarchy, and his constitution, if altered in certain respects, can make it quite consistent with a liberal model he outlined. The amended version Bosworth offered bore strong resemblances to the twentieth century British constitution. He conceded that some passages in the Philosophy of Right are straightforwardly incompatible with the liberal model and three had to be deleted or radically altered (paras. 283, 311, and 329).

Bernard Cullen (Queen's University, Belfast) read 'Korporation as a mediating institution'. Dr. Cullen located the central issue of Hegel's political philosophy as harmonising the conflicting interests of the individual and the community of which he or she is a member, and as describing the social and political institutions which can mediate between private and public, individual and social. Hegel's theory of the state essentially involves some coercive apparatus, yet Cullen pointed out that Hegel struggled to retain the subjective freedom of the individual. Cullen drew on his own experience of a politically unstable Belfast to show the relevance of Hegel's thought to urgent problems of the contemporary political world.

It was an important part of Cullen's thesis that there is no incompatibility between the systematic and the political aspects of Hegel's thought. Indeed, they require each other. Cullen explained the Idea as the synthesis of subject and object, universality and particularity, where this is achieved within the reasonable state (Cullen preferred 'reasonable' to 'rational' here). The doctrines of the Science of Logic are 'empty' but are given content by the philosophy of objective spirit. Cullen also thought the prescriptive and descriptive elements of Hegel's political theory to be complementary. For example, mediating institutions are described by Hegel as already present in the Germanic (European) states of his time, if sometimes only in embryonic form. It is the role of the philosopher to draw attention to their essential role. Hegel thus does not invent mediating institutions but discovers them, albeit in imperfect forms. For example, the bourgeois individual identifies with his estate, and becomes a member of a Korporation. As Hegel puts it in para. 207, the individual 'gibt sich Wirklichkeit' (gives himself actuality/reality) only by becoming specifically particularised. Cullen explained that the transition from particularity to universality was effected in different ways by different groups. In the case of the business class the Korporation is essential to this transition.

Cullen judged this not to be a dialectical sleight of hand but a coincidence of selfish and collective motivations. The businessman has duties to his fellow Korporation members, for example the corporate provision of welfare.

The last paper was read by Richard Bellamy (Nuffield College, Oxford) and was entitled 'The Hegelian conception of the state and the problem of legitimacy in the post-Hegelian world'. He distinguished the state from civil society by saying the first was the source of justice and authority while the second was the sphere of transactions between individuals. Hegel had come under attack from two quarters: liberal and Marxist. The liberals, for whom the state is the means for the fulfilment of private projects, see the metaphysical role Hegel gives it as a threat to individualism. For the Marxists the state is in the last analysis not necessary, and to them Hegel seems to deify the system of class repression of which the state is the most powerful instrument.

Bellamy proceeded to mount a defence of Hegel, denying that Hegel 'fits' facts to an a priori schema. Although the Philosophy of Right is systematic, Hegel presents the detailed complexity of political institutions without the dangers of manipulation and force that the liberals fear in him. The liberal critique rests on three false propositions - each a misunderstanding of Hegel: (1) true individuality and freedom entail conformity to 'real will', (2) the individual will is identical to the general will, (3) the general will is embodied in the state.

Turning to the Marxist critics Bellamy denied that Hegel simply provided moral legitimations for social relations as they existed at his time. Generally, Hegel allows that private interest and communal life can be reconciled and so Marx's objections miss the mark. A false premise shared by both Marxist and liberal critics in Bellamy's opinion was the denial of the possibility of the mediation of conflicts in civil society by a Hegelian middle.

Bellamy argued that Hegel's state realises individuality and does not crush it as liberals suppose. Further, he said it was a mistake to believe that what we value is not itself a social product. Against liberal individualism he argued that there are no purely private objects of desire. Then, against the Marxists again, he said that on Hegel's theory alienation can be overcome by understanding social relations.

On the question of Hegel's contemporary relevance Bellamy identified two sorts of description of a political individual: as producer and as political agent. These two strands in modern thought Bellamy thought Hegel had reconciled. Taylor has argued that the synthesis is only coherent in the context of Hegel's system as a whole, yet according to Taylor Hegel's ontology is untenable. Bellamy argued against the Taylor thesis and claimed further that Hegel provides us with a range of concepts with which to render contemporary political reality intelligible.

At the A.G.M. Prof. Raymond Plant retired as our chairman and it was decided by the conference that Prof. W.H. Walsh would succeed him. Prof. Anthony Manser and Dr. Bernard Cullen were both elected to the Council. Dr. Pelczynski gave notice that he intends to retire as editor of this Bulletin in the autumn of next year and it was decided that the new editor would be Robert Bernasconi (University of Essex) who in the meantime will work as assistant editor.

Stephen Priest

Notes

1. The Wannenmann text alone is edited by Otto Pöggeler et al. under the title Vorlesungen über Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft Heidelberg 1817/18 mit Nachträgen aus der Vorlesung 1818/19: Nachgeschrieben von P. Wannenmann, Hamburg, Felix Meiner, 1983.

The Wannenmann and Homeyer versions are edited by Ilting in G.W.F. Hegel, Die Philosophie des Rechts: Die Mitschriften Wannenmann (Heidelberg 1817/18) und Homeyer (Berlin 1818/19), herausgegeben von Karl-Heinz Ilting, Stuttgart, Klett-

Cotta, 1983. The third volume is G.W.F. Hegel, Vorlesung über Rechtsphilosophie, herausgegeben von D. Henrich, Frankfurt, Suhrkamp, 1983; it is the anonymous lecture notes of 1819/20.

2. See Karl-Heinz Ilting, Hegel's Vorlesungen über Rechtsphilosophie 1818-1831, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Bd.1; 1973, Bd.2; 1974, Bd.3; 1974, Bd.4; 1974. Frommann-Holzboog.

3. For an obituary for Ilting and a bibliography of his works, see Hansgeorg Hoppe, 'Karl-Heinz Ilting (1925-1984)', Bulletin of the Hegel Society of Great Britain, no. 10, Autumn/Winter 1984.

1986 HSGB Conference: Preliminary Notice

The Eighth Annual Conference of the Hegel Society of Great Britain will be a two-day Joint Conference of the HSGB and the Hegel-Archiv der Ruhr-Universität, Bochum. It will take place at Pembroke College, Oxford, on 11-13 September 1986 and have as its general theme, 'Politics-Philosophy-History'. Hegel's Philosophy of Right ends with a section on world history, and his lectures on the philosophy of history contain much that is relevant to his political philosophy. The main task of the conference will be to explore the connection between the two parts of Hegel's philosophical thought and its contemporary setting.

There will be ten papers (five by participants from each country), which will be formally commented on. Papers, and as far as possible comments, will be circulated in advance to those who have registered for the conference. The selection of papers and comments and the general organisation of the Joint Conference is in the hands of a committee consisting of Prof. Otto Pöggeler and Dr. Hans-Christian Lucas from Bochum and Prof. W.H. Walsh and Dr. Z.A. Pelczynski from Oxford. It is hoped to finalise the programme at the latest by Easter 1986.

Letters concerning the academic side of the Joint Conference should be addressed to Dr. Pelczynski at Pembroke College, Oxford OX1 1DW. The programme and registration forms can be obtained from Dr. David Lamb, Dept. of Philosophy, The University, Manchester M13 9PL, to whom also cheques with registration fees should be sent. The registration fee will be £2.50 (£1.00 for graduate student members of the HSGB), and there will also be a charge to help cover the cost of the xeroxing and postage of papers. Only fully paid-up members of the HSGB will be able to attend the Joint Conference on the British side. The cost of staying in Pembroke (a single room for two nights and six meals) will be £50.00.

Review Article

Hegel's Jena Writings: Recent Trends in Research

Hegel's Jena Writings (1801-7) are today practically within the reach of all: thanks to the thorough and scrupulous work done at the Hegel-Archiv of the Ruhr-Universität in Bochum, we now have at our disposal a completely revised edition of almost all these writings.¹ Many of them have also recently been translated into English.²