# 1NC Blue Key Octos vs. Strake Jesuit KS

## Offs

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#### Interpretation: the affirmative may not defend the United States federal government recognizing a right to strike.

#### Just governments respect liberties

Dorn 12 James A. Dorn, Cato Journal, "The Scope of Government in a Free Society", Fall 2012, https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/serials/files/cato-journal/2012/12/v32n3-10.pdf

If laws are just, liberty and property are secure. The most certain test of justice is negative—that is, justice occurs when injustice (the violation of natural rights to life, liberty, and property) is prevented. The emphasis here is on what Hayek (1967) called “just rules of conduct,” not on the fairness of outcomes. No one has stated the negative concept of justice better than the 19th century French classical liberal Frederic Bastiat ([1850] 1964: 65): When law and force confine a man within the bounds of justice, they do not impose anything on him but a mere negation. They impose on him only the obligation to refrain from injuring others. They do not infringe on his personality, or his liberty or his property. They merely safeguard the personality, the liberty, and the property of others. They stand on the defensive; they defend the equal rights of all. They fulfill a mission whose harmlessness is evident, whose utility is palpable, and whose legitimacy is uncontested. In short, the purpose of a just government is not to do good with other people’s money, but to prevent injustice by protecting property and securing liberty.

#### US HR violations don’t secure liberties

Amnesty International, 4-14-2021, "Everything you need to know about human rights in United States of America," No Publication, https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/americas/united-states-of-america/report-united-states-of-america/

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 2020 The Trump administration’s broadly dismal human rights record, both at home and abroad, deteriorated further during 2020. The USA experienced massive demonstrations across the country with the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic, contested 2020 general elections and a widespread racist backlash against the Black Lives Matter movement. In response to thousands of public demonstrations against institutional racism and police violence, law enforcement authorities routinely used excessive force against protesters and human rights defenders and failed to constrain violent counter-protests against primarily peaceful assemblies. The administration also sought to undermine international human rights protections for women; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) people; and victims of war crimes, among others. It also exploited the COVID-19 pandemic to target migrants and asylum-seekers for further abuses. Joe Biden was declared the winner of the November presidential election. Background Despite confirmation by the Electoral College that Joe Biden had won the November presidential election, President Trump continued to challenge the result, making repeated unsubstantiated claims of electoral irregularities. These continued allegations sparked a number of pro-Trump protests and raised concerns about the peaceful transfer of power in January. Discrimination The COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated long-standing inequalities in the USA. Inadequate and uneven government responses to the pandemic had a disproportionate and discriminatory impact on many people based on their race, socioeconomic situations and other characteristics. Systemic disparities dictated who served as frontline workers and who had employment and economic security and access to housing and health care.1 Incarcerated people were particularly at risk due to insanitary conditions in prisons and detention where they were unable to adequately physically distance and had inadequate access to hygienic supplies as facilities became hotspots for infection. Additionally, racially discriminatory political speech and violence risked increasing the number of hate crimes. Right to health Workers in health care, law enforcement, transportation and other “essential” sectors faced enormous challenges as the US government failed to adequately protect them during the pandemic. Shortages in personal protective equipment (PPE) meant that health and other essential workers often had to perform their jobs without adequate protection and in unsafe environments. In April, the National Nurses Union held a physically distanced protest in front of the White House against the lack of PPE for health workers. From March to December 2020, more than 2,900 health care workers died amidst the COVID-19 pandemic. The US Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) acknowledged that available figures were likely underestimates. Some health and other essential workers in the public and private sectors also faced reprisals, including harassment, disciplinary procedures and unfair dismissal, if they spoke out about the inadequate protective measures. Excessive use of force At least 1,000 people were reportedly killed by police using firearms. The limited public data available suggests that Black people are disproportionately impacted by police use of lethal force. The US government’s programme to track how many such deaths occur annually was not fully implemented. No state laws governing the use of lethal force by police – where such laws exist – comply with international law and standards regarding the use of lethal force by law enforcement officials.2 Freedom of assembly Law enforcement across the USA committed widespread and egregious human rights violations against people protesting about the unlawful killings of Black people and calling for police reform. Amnesty International documented 125 separate incidents of unlawful police violence against protesters in 40 states and Washington, D.C., between 26 May and 5 June alone.3 Thousands more protests took place in the remainder of the year. Violations were committed by law enforcement personnel at the municipal, county, state and federal levels, including by National Guard troops who were deployed by the federal government in some cities. The violence included beatings with batons or other devices, the misuse of tear gas and pepper spray, and the inappropriate and indiscriminate firing of “less lethal” projectiles. In numerous incidents, human rights defenders – including protest organizers, media representatives, legal observers and street medics – were specifically targeted with chemical irritants and kinetic impact projectiles, arrested and detained, seemingly on account of their work documenting and remedying law enforcement agencies’ human rights abuses. Right to life and security of the person The government’s ongoing failure to protect individuals from persistent gun violence continued to violate their human rights, including the right to life, security of the person and freedom from discrimination, among others. Unfettered access to firearms, a lack of comprehensive gun safety laws (including effective regulation of firearm acquisition, possession and use) and a failure to invest in adequate gun violence prevention and intervention programmes continued to perpetuate this violence. In 2018, the most recent year for which data was available, some 39,740 individuals died from gunshot injuries while tens of thousands more are estimated to have sustained gunshot injuries and survived. In the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, with increased gun sales and shootings, the USA failed in its obligation to prevent deaths from gun violence, which could have been done through a range of urgent measures, including de-listing gun stores as essential businesses. As of 2020, expansive “Stand Your Ground” and “Castle Doctrine” laws, both of which provide for private individuals to use lethal force in self-defence against others when in their homes or feeling threatened, existed in 34 US states. These laws appeared to escalate gun violence and the risk of avoidable deaths or serious injuries, resulting in violations of the right to life. As protesters against the killing of Black people took to the streets in cities across the USA, there were instances where armed civilians in states where the open carrying of firearms is permitted engaged protesters, causing at least four deaths.

#### Violation: they did

#### Prefer –

#### Vote neg –

#### 1] Accessibility – they try to justify the US as just which is exclusionary towards minorities and people of color who feel this violence everyday. This is supercharged by their reps and performance – they literally try to hide brutality and promote American soft power in spite of this systematic oppression. Hold the line – accessibility is an antecedent question to any other judge obligation because it’s a prereq to debate and a jurisdictional obligation of educators.

#### 2] Limits – there are almost 200 national governments in the world which is an unmanageable burden, especially for a 3 week camp. Only imposing restrictions via the word just can ensure debates are limited and full of clash

#### 3] TVA – use ideal theory instead. That’s better – a] promotes in-depth philosophical clash over labor law that’s constittuive to LD b] solves your offense because you can indicate you would solve these problems in an ideal world too – no reason you need the US in particular

Fairness

Education

No rvi

Dtd

ci

### CP

#### Guess what, your solvency advocate says that the CIL right to strike is limited. Prefer to [their evidence] because A) post-dates, b) rest of solvency depends, c) explains specific limitations. 1AC BRUDNEY 21

**The international right to strike is far from absolute**. It may be restricted in exceptional circumstances, or even prohibited, pursuant to national regulation. For a start, Convention 87 provides that members of the armed forces and the police may be excluded from the scope of the Convention in general, including the right to strike.57 In addition, applications by the CFA and CEACR have concluded that three distinct forms of substantive restriction on the right to strike are compatible with Convention 87. 1. Substantive Limitations One important restriction applies to certain categories of public servants. The CEACR and CFA have made clear that public employees generally enjoy the same right to strike as their counterparts in the private sector; at the same time, in order to ensure continuity of functions in the three branches of government, this right may be restricted for public servants exercising authority in the name of the State.58 Examples include officials performing tasks that involve the administration of necessary executive branch functions or that relate to the administration of justice. Each country hasits own approach to classifying public servants exercising authority in the name of the State. When considering the international right under Convention 87, some public servant exceptions seem clearly applicable, such as officials auditing or collecting internal revenues, customs officers, or judges and their close judicial assistants. 59 Some public servant exceptions seem inapplicable, such as teachers, or public servants in State-owned commercial enterprises.60 Whether public servants are exercising authority in the name of the State can be a close question under particular national law, one on which the CEACR and CFA have offered encouragement and guidance,61 as has the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR).62 **A** second equally **important restriction on the right to strike involves essential services in the strict sense of the term. This is an area in which both the CEACR and CFA have developed a detailed set of applications and guidelines. 63 The two committees consider that essential services, for the purposes of restricting or prohibiting the right to strike, are only those “the interruption of which would endanger the life, personal safety or health of the whole or part of the population.**”64 This definition of essential services “in the strict sense of the term” stems from the idea that “essential services” as a limitation on the right to strike would lose its meaning if statutes or judicial decisions defined those services in too broad a manner. 65 The interruption of services that cause or have the potential to cause economic hardships—even serious economic hardships—is not ordinarily sufficient to qualify the interrupted service as essential. Indeed, the very purpose of a strike is to interrupt services or production and thereby cause a degree of economic hardship. That is the leverage workers can exercise; it is what allows a strike to be effective in bringing the parties to the table and securing a negotiated settlement. The two ILO supervisory committees also have made clear that the essential services concept is not static in nature. Thus, a non-essential service may become essential if the strike exceeds a certain duration or extent, or as a function of the special characteristics of a country. 66 One example is that of an island State where at some point ferry transportation services become essential to bring food and medical supplies to the population.67 When examining concrete cases, the supervisory bodies have considered a range of services, both public and private, too broad to summarize here. **As illustrative, the two bodies have determined that essential services in the strict sense of the term include air traffic control services, 68 telephone services, 69 prison services, firefighting services, and water and electricity services.** 70 The CEACR and CFA also have identified a range of services that presumptively are deemed not to be essential in the strict sense of the term. 71 In addition, in circumstances where a total prohibition on the right to strike is not appropriate, the magnitude of impact on the basic needs of consumers or the general public, or the need for safe operation of facilities, may justify introduction of a negotiated minimum service.72 Such a service, however, must truly be a minimum service, that is one limited to meeting the basic needs of the population or the minimum requirements of the service, while maintaining the effectiveness of the pressure brought to bear through the strike by a majority of workers. The third substantive restriction on the right to strike under Convention 87 relates to situations of acute national or local crisis, although only for a limited period and only to the extent necessary to meet the requirements of the situation.74 With respect to all three forms of substantive restriction, the CFA and CEACR have indicated that certain alternative options should be guaranteed for workers who are deprived of the right to strike. These options include impartial conciliation followed by arbitration procedures in which any awards are binding on both parties and are to be implemented in full and rapid terms.75 2. Procedural Limitations Apart from these substantive limitations, the right to strike under Convention 87 has been subject to procedural prerequisites. Legislation in numerous countries requires that advance notice of strikes be given to administrative authorities or to the employer. National laws also provide for cooling off periods and/or for mandatory conciliation and arbitration procedures before a strike may be called. The ILO supervisory committees regard such procedural requirements as compatible with the Convention so long as their aim is to facilitate bargaining and they are not “so complex or slow that a lawful strike becomes impossible in practice or loses its effectiveness.”76 The CEACR, for instance, has considered that a duration of more than 60 working days as a precondition for exercising the right to strike is excessive and may undermine the right. 77 Some countries have laws providing that a strike may not be called without approval from a supermajority of workers.78 The CEACR and CFA have considered that such supermajority requirements are excessive and may unduly hinder the possibility of calling a strike, especially in larger enterprises. 79 They have suggested that for any legislatively mandated pre-strike vote, the required

#### THUS, the counterplan: The United States ought to recognize an unconditional right for workers to strike, excepting essential workers as determined by Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights\* and the Committee on Freedom of Association\*\*.

\* The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is a United Nations body of 18 experts that usually meets twice per year in Geneva to consider the five-yearly reports submitted by UN member states on their compliance with the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. [Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Committee_on_Economic,_Social_and_Cultural_Rights)

\*\* the relevant ILO committee, https://www.ilo.org/global/standards/applying-and-promoting-international-labour-standards/committee-on-freedom-of-association/lang--en/index.htm

#### Nurse strikes devastates hospitals – hurts quality of care

Wright 10 Sarah H. Wright July 2010 "Evidence on the Effects of Nurses' Strikes" <https://www.nber.org/digest/jul10/evidence-effects-nurses-strikes> (Researcher at National Bureau of Economic Research)

U.S. hospitals were excluded from collective bargaining laws for three decades longer than other sectors because of fears **that strikes by nurses might imperil patients' health**. Today, while unionization has been declining in general, it is growing rapidly in hospitals, with the number of unionized workers rising from 679,000 in 1990 to nearly one million in 2008. In Do Strikes Kill? Evidence from New York State (NBER Working Paper No. 15855), co-authors Jonathan Gruber and Samuel Kleiner carefully examine the effects of nursing strikes on patient care and outcomes. The researchers match data on nurses' strikes in New York State from 1984 to 2004 to data on hospital discharges, including information on treatment intensity, patient mortality, and hospital readmission. They conclude that nurses' strikes were **costly to hospital patients**: in-hospital mortality **increased by 19.4 percent** and hospital readmissions **increased by 6.5 percen**t for patients admitted during a strike. Among their sample of 38,228 such patients, an estimated **138 more individuals died than would have without a stri**ke, and 344 more patients were readmitted to the hospital than if there had been no strike. "Hospitals functioning during nurses' strikes **do so at a lower quality of patient care,"** they write. Still, at hospitals experiencing strikes, the measures of treatment intensity -- that is, the length of hospital stay and the number of procedures performed during the patient's stay -- show no significant differences between striking and non-striking periods. Patients appear to receive the same intensity of care during union work stoppages as during normal hospital operations. Thus, the poor outcomes associated with strikes suggest that they might reduce hospital productivity. These poor health outcomes increased for both emergency and non-emergency hospital patients, even as admissions of both groups decreased by about 28 percent at hospitals with strikes. The poor health outcomes were not apparent either before or after the strike in the striking hospitals, suggesting that they are attributable to the strike itself. And, the poor health outcomes do not appear to do be due to different types of patients being admitted during strike periods, because patients admitted during a strike are very similar to those admitted during other periods. Hiring replacement workers apparently does not help: hospitals that hired replacement workers **performed no better** during strikes than those that did not hire substitute employees. In each case, patients with conditions that required intensive nursing were more likely to fare worse in the presence of nurses' strikes.

### NC

#### Freedom must exist in practice rather than only theory, or it cannot be stated that the subject is free. Freedom must be noumenal or uncaused by the laws of nature, but humans are phenomenal and subject to these laws and external interference meaning ensuring abstract rights materially is necessary for freedom. Since we are phenomenal and unavoidably change through life, our perception of the world is constantly in flux meaning there is no absolute truth for what rights we create, but they can only be recognized through intersubjectivity. Schroeder 05:

Schroeder, Jeanne L. "Unnatural rights: Hegel and intellectual property." U. Miami L. Rev. 60 (2005): 453.

In this section I will address three common mis-readings of Hegel's personality theory that might lead to the incorrect conclusion that logic dictates that society recognize intellectual property. First, I show that Hegel believes that there are no natural rights of any sort, let alone natu- ral property rights. Second, I address the closely related point that Hegel rejects a first-occupation justification of property rights. Third, I show that intellectual property has no privileged place in personality theory. For simplicity, I stated that Hegel started his analysis by contin- gently adopting the notion of the free individual in the state of nature. I now more carefully explain my terminology as we consider Hegel's the- ory of the relationship between freedom and nature. Hegel thought that the freedom of the autonomous individual in the "state of nature" was only potential. Hegel argued not merely that the individual must leave the state of nature and go out into the real world if he is to make his freedom actual as a matter of fact. He also believed that the individual is driven by a passionate desire to do so. A complete discussion as to why the individual would desire to leave this uterine state of ignorant bliss is beyond the scope of this Arti- cle. Suffice it to say, it relates to one of the fundamental points of Hegel's idealism and theism. Hegel's idealism should not be confused with a vulgar neo-Platonic concept of an ideal world "out there" beyond the imperfect physical world. Such a notion is more reminiscent of the Kantian notion of an unknowable, intellectual, necessary, eternal, and transcendent world of essences called the noumenon or "thing-in-itself' beyond the contingent, empirical, temporary, and immanent world of appearance that can be known by experience (the phenomena). Hegel's metaphysics is an extended critique of Kant's. **Hegel rejects all concepts of transcendence**. 9 8 **There is no essence beyond appearance.** 99 Essence only exists insofar as it appears. 1" Or more rad- ically, essence is nothing but appearance properly understood. Hegel's is a radically materialistic philosophy, 01 but not an atheistic one. None- theless, Hegel's God, or Spirit, is not transcendent, but immanent in the material world. Why this is significant for our purposes is that **it follows from Hegel's rejection of transcendence that there can be no potentiality with- out actuality-what claims to be potential must become actual or reveal itself a liar**. Actually, the theory is even more radical than this. As I have argued elsewhere,102 Hegel's logic is retroactive, not prospective. **Potentiality is only retroactively revealed after something becomes actual.** **Consequently, if the autonomous individual in the state of nature claims to be free, and if this radically negative freedom is only potential, then the individual's claims to freedom can only be retroactively tested after he leaves the state of nature and makes his freedom affirmative and actual**. 103 Another way of saying this is that the liberal "state of nature" is not natural at all. Rather, it is a logically "necessary" hypothesis that is retroactively posited by the fact that we occasionally observe actualized freedom in modern constitutional states. As such, the "state of nature" is actually created by human thought. To Hegel, like Kant, real "nature" is the empirical, mechanical world governed by the causal laws of neces- sity where there is no freedom. Any freedoms and rights derived from the liberal conception of the hypothetical "state of nature" by definition cannot literally be natural. 2. NATURE AND RIGHTS Hegel sharply distinguishes between natural and positive law, and locates rights within the latter. He states, "[t]here are two kinds of laws, laws of nature and laws of right: the laws of nature are simply there and are valid as they stand ....The laws of right are something laiddown, something derivedfrom human beings."'" The liberal "state of nature" is, in fact, the hypothesis that autonomous individuality is a necessary, albeit inadequate, moment of human personality that we retroactively posit to understand political freedom. If so, what is the status of "nature" and its relationship to rights and freedom? Once again, I do not pretend to give a comprehensive account of Hegel's philosophy of nature, but will point out one aspect relevant to this Article. The first thing to note is to reiterate the simple point that there can be no "rights" in the hypothetical state of nature because the "state of nature" is defined as autonomy. Rights are necessarily interrelational. Hegel's point is more subtle and powerful than this, however. More specifically, there is no freedom in the empirical natural world. This can probably best be explained by going back to Kant's famous analysis of antinornies presented in his CritiqueofPureReason."5 An antimony is a logical paradox, or two statements that seem to be equally logically required yet are in contradiction. To say they are in contradiction means not merely that they are mutually inconsistent, but that they are the only logically possible alternatives. This suggests not merely that if one statement is true then the other must be false, but also that if one statement is proven to be false, the other is proven to be true. 0 6 For reasons that do not concern us here, Kant identifies four antinomies that he divides into two dyads: two "mathematical" antino- mies and two "dynamical" antinomies. He claims to solve the two mathematical antinomies by showing that neither statement is true because there is a heretofore unrealized third alternative that may be true. 10 7 He claims to solve the two dynamic antinomies by arguing that both statements are true, but that their contradiction is merely apparent so that, in fact, they can be reconciled.108 It is Kant's third antinomy of freedom and nature that concerns us. The thesis of Kant's first antinomy is that freedom can exist in the world.10 9 Kant is referring to negative freedom as the uncaused cause- the potential for pure spontaneity, action beyond necessity. Like all of Kant's theses, this is a dogmatic proposition posited by reason alone. 1 0 Its antithesis is that everything is subjected to the causal laws of nature-there are no uncaused causes and, therefore, no freedom.' Like all of Kant's antitheses, this is an empirical proposition reached by applying logic to our experience of the world.1 1 2 As this is a dynamic antinomy, Kant must solve this paradox by arguing that the contradiction between the two propositions is only apparent. If they are properly understood, then they can be reconciled. Kant argues that both propositions are true, but about different aspects of the world. Kant relies on his distinction between the phenomenal, or empirical, contingent, changing world of appearance that we can know from experience, and the noumenal, or transcendental, necessary, eternal world of essences, or the "thing-in-itself' which we do not know directly, but can infer through logic.113 **It is true, Kant states, that the entire phenomenal world is natural and therefore subject to the laws of nature-i.e., everything empirical is caused.1 14 It is also true, however, that freedom exists in the transcendental, non-empirical world of the noumena.15 Indeed, these conclusions follow from his definitions of phenomena and noumena. 11 6** If **a "noumenon" were caused by some- thing else, then it would be contingent on that other thing and, therefore, not a noumenon. Conversely, if a "phenomenon" were free of an exter- nal cause, then it would not be a mere phenomenon, but a noumenon. The question that this analysis proposes is, if freedom is noumenal, can it manifest itself in the phenomenal world, or is merely a theoretical construct?**1 7 To put this in Kant's idiosyncratic terminology, is free- dom "practical?" ' 1 8 By extension, one might ask, since each individual human being is embodied and, therefore, phenomenal,119 can man achieve freedom? In the Critique of Pure Reason, **Kant claims to show that freedom is at least theoretically possible in the phenomenal world. He argues that although all phenomena are caused by something else, the cause need not itself be phenomenal.** A phenomenon can be caused by a nou- menon. 2 ° **Because noumena are free (uncaused), their free acts can appear in the world through the phenomena they cause. Although each individual human being is phenomenal, man's essence (his spirit or soul, his status as the liberal, autonomous individual) is noumenal and there- fore free.**12' This implies that it is at least theoretically possible that the noumenal aspect of man can actualize his freedom by causing his phe- nomenal self to act. In the Critiqueof PracticalReason, Kant tries to prove not merely that practical reason is theoretically possible but that we have good reason to think it exists. There are as many problems raised in this analysis as are solved. Even ardent Kantians are somewhat embarrassed by it.'2 2 Hegel called Kant's argument "a whole nest... of faulty procedure." 123 My simpli- fied account is not an attempt to develop a comprehensive critique of Kant. My limited point is that, as I have argued elsewhere, 24 much of Hegel's speculative logical method can be seen as being inspired by Kant's idea of antinomy. I characterize **Hegel's complaint against Kant as an accusation that Kant does not have the courage of his own convictions and is afraid to follow his insights to their logical extremes.** Hegel, in effect, criticizes Kant for thinking that there were only four antinomies. Rather, Hegel's entire universe is constituted by a fundamental, essential contradic- tion.125 Further, Hegel criticizes Kant for thinking that contradiction is a problem that must be "solved." Contradiction "is not to be taken merely as an abnormality which only occurs here and there, but is rather the negative as determined in the sphere of essence, the principle of all self- movement . "..."126 In other words, **contradiction is a universal fact about the world. It is correct that contradictions are unstable and must be resolved, but each resolution is temporary and leads to a new contra- diction ad infinitum. Far from being frightening or disturbing, this merely means that the universe is dynamic, not static. Contradiction is the engine of change.** This means that Hegel rejects the Kantian noume- nal-phenomenal distinction. **To Hegel, there can be no necessary, perma- nent, unchanging essence (noumenon) behind the contingent, temporary, empirical world of appearances that is in a constant state of flux**. To Hegel, it is appearance all the way down. Finally Hegel's sublative logic can be seen as a rejection of Kant's specific claims to have solved his four antinomies by assuming that he had to show either that both sides were true, but not in contradiction, or that both the thesis and antithesis were false because there is a third alternative. In contrast, through sublation (the standard but poor English translation of Hegel's term for the logical method of resolving contradic- tion) one realizes that both sides are simultaneously equally true and false, thereby generating a third alternative that simultaneously negates 127 Regardless of these differences between Hegel and Kant, I believe that the Philosophy of Right can be seen as Hegel's struggle to come to grips with the specific contradiction that Kant identifies in the third antinomy: freedom v. causality. In his analysis, **Hegel accepts Kant's proposition drawn from experience that all nature is subject to natural laws of causation.** This means that nature is fundamentally unfree and implies that actual (practical) freedom must be unnatural by definition. **Yet on the other hand, Hegel also begins his analysis by contingently accepting Kant's presupposition that the most basic notion of human personality is self-consciousness as free will.** Hegel seeks to prove this presupposition (that freedom is possible) by finding that freedom actu- ally exists in the phenomenal world. Because Hegel rejected transcendence, he could not adopt Kant's proposed answer to this problem: freedom is noumenal, but noumena can cause phenomena. To Hegel, Kant's proposal answered nothing. According to Kant's own theory, we can know nothing about the nou- menon. Consequently, Kant's proposition is equivalent to saying that we can know nothing about freedom. Hegel was, in effect, responding to Kant: "You are being inconsistent. Your philosophical writings show that you know a lot about freedom. By your definitions, therefore, free- dom must be actual." Hegel's counterproposal was that **actual freedom is not natural but artificial: a human creation, created out of natural materials. Legal sub- jectivity (as well as higher stages of personhood) is, therefore, not a natural state but a hard-won achievement.** The story of the development of human consciousness, to Hegel, was the struggle of man to free him- self from and overcome his natural limitations. "Hence the personality of the will stands in opposition to nature as subjective.... Personality is that which acts to overcome [] this limitation and to give itself reality .... "128 **Abstract rights are, therefore, the first most primitive step in man's attempt to actualize his freedom, understood as the overcoming of nature**. The basis [] of right is the realm of spirit in general and its precise location and point of departure is the will; the will is free, so that freedom constitutes its substance and destiny [] and the system of right is the realm of actualized freedom, the world of spirit produced 1 29 **Rights are, therefore, not merely unnatural in the sense of artificial (man made), they are a means by which man distinguishes himself from nature. 130**

#### Thus, the standard is consistency with materializing abstract right.

#### 1] Abstract right is materialized in the community in the legal order. There is no such thing as an unconditional obligation for all just governments – communal norms determine ethics, Buchwalter,

Buchwalter, Andrew. “Hegel, Human Rights, and Political Membership.”

In addition, Hegel asserts that **the very idea of autonomous personality presupposes and demands articulation in an existing system of law**. Hegel construes autonomy intersubjectively, as selfhood in otherness, or Bei-sich-selbstsein. **A comprehensive account of achieved intersubjectivity depends on establishing a legal-political community juridically committed to principles of respect and reciprocity.**3 On the one hand, **autonomous personality depends on a social order that recognises and supports that autonomy**. **Conversely, that order itself depends on individuals who recognize its authority and act accordingly**. Only in a lawfully ordered community is the individual ‘recognised and treated as a rational being, as free, as a person; and the individual, on his side, makes himself worthy of this recognition by overcoming the natural state of his selfconsciousness and obeying a universal, the will that is its essence and actuality, the law; he behaves, therefore, towards others in a manner that is universally valid, recognising them—as he wishes others to recognise him—as free, as persons’ (EM y432). It is no coincidence that Hegel construes the principle of autonomous personality in terms of a legal imperative: it is a commandment of right that one ‘be a person and respect others as persons’ (PR y36). Hegel may proceed from the seemingly abstract notion of autonomous personality, but **a proper account of the person itself depends on a developed system of legal relations**. The point is also central to Hegel’s concept of right itself. In line with the modern natural law tradition, Hegel understands right as a normative principle, one based on the principle of freedom and the free will. Indeed, for Hegel right is the idea of freedom itself. But an idea on his view is not an abstract principle contraposed to conditions of institutional embodiment. In line with his general conceptual realism, he maintains that an idea denotes a concept conjoined with its existence—an understanding consonant as well with a view of freedom as selfhood in otherness. As the idea of freedom, right itself is nothing but freedom under the conditions of its actualization; it is indeed the ‘existence of the free will’ (Dasein des freien Willens) (PR y29). **In its capacity as a principle of freedom, right is a general normative principle. But in that capacity it is also a principle of legal positivism, one tied to a legal system committed to its institutionalization and enforcement. Right for Hegel is the ‘realm of actualized freedom’, articulated in an existing system of positive law. A developed legal system is the domain in which ‘freedom attains its supreme right’** (PR y258) and ‘in which alone right has its actuality’ (EM y502). In fashioning an embodied account of right, Hegel demonstrates his distinctive relationship to the natural right tradition. To the extent that that tradition evinces an abstract prepolitical ahistoricism, he is opposed, proposing instead that natural law ‘be replaced with the designation philosophical doctrine of right’ (NRPS y2). Directed to the ‘idea’ of that under consideration (the concept joined with its realisation), a philosophical doctrine of right affirms that right is intelligible only within the framework of developed social and political institutions (PR y1). Elaboration of the idea of right is itself exeundum esse e statu naturae (VRP 1: 239f ). And lest there be any doubt about his distance from the natural right tradition, Hegel even suggests that the term right itself is inadequate to the requirements for institutional embodiment. While sometimes calling his practical philosophy a Philosophy of Right, he elsewhere, in his philosophical system, employs the title Theory of Objective Spirit. It is this account of spirit objectified that reflects the distinctiveness in Hegel’s notion of right as institutionally realised freedom. At the same time, however, Hegel’s departure from the natural right tradition should not be exaggerated. An early proponent of the method of immanent critique, Hegel maintains that the most consequential criticism of a contested position is one that confronts that position on its own terms. This expectation is no less in evidence in his reception of the tradition of natural right. Employing the dialectic of true and spurious being central to his principle of self-contradiction, Hegel criticizes the natural law doctrine because its liberal formulation conflicts not with an alien standard, but with its true self or ‘nature’. Thus an analysis of individual rights in terms of their inherent concept focuses not on an individual’s natural and immediate existence, but on his true being, what Hegel calls ‘die Natur der Sache’ (PR y57). For Hegel, a citizen is defined by a concept of autonomous personality which is realised only in developed political and cultural community.4 Hence, a defence of natural rights is likewise a defence of the principle of political community, just as a repudiation of the liberal approach to natural rights is a realisation of the concept of natural law. It is no coincidence that Hegel subtitles his Philosophy of Right ‘Natural Law and Political Science’, for the concept of natural law is meaningless on his view without an account of established political institutions. Hegel champions the idea of Objective Spirit over that of Natural Right, not because he opposes the principle of the latter, but because that principle only finds expression in a system of ethical life. The point may be made as well by noting how appeal to communal membership itself reaffirms elements of the tradition of natural right. For Hegel, **a proper account of communal membership depends on a self-awareness** (Selbstgefu¨hl) **on the part of members of their status as members** (PR y147). As Hegel says of political community generally, ‘[i]t is the self-awareness of individuals which constitutes the actuality of the state’ (PR y265A). **Proper to membership is an appreciation of oneself as a member of such community.** Such self-awareness is, however, no mere acknowledgement of the norms, practices, and traditions of a particular community. **Membership also involves, if in differing degrees, its acceptance and endorsement.** **Especially in an account of a polity, membership involves the capacity to affirm the validity of the norms and practices operative in a particular community.** Such norms and practices are not simply to be obeyed but must ‘have their assent, recognition, or even justification in y heart, sentiment, conscience, intelligence, etc.’ (EM y503). For Hegel, the capacity for cognitive affirmation—it has been termed ‘reflective acceptability’5 —is understood by means of the language of rights. A full account of membership rests on a ‘right of insight’, which itself expresses the right of subjectivity central to modern accounts of freedom. ‘The right to recognize nothing that I do not perceive as rational is the highest right of the subject’ (PR y132).6 Hegel claims that rights are not abstract normative principles but depend on conditions for membership in existing institutional settings. It is for this reason that he supplants a Theory of Right with a Doctrine of Objective Spirit. Yet the appeal to particular communities and institutions does not entail abrogation of conception of rights. Not only is membership in a political community a condition for realizing rights, **a proper account of communal membership itself entails affirmation of subjective rights and the right of subjectivity itself.** Indeed, basic to the idea of Objective Spirit—where spirit for Hegel is understood as the conjunction of substance and subjectivity7 —is the ontological dependence of a communal substance on the experience of subjective reflection. Hegel construes his philosophy of right as a theory at once of natural law and positive political science. The ‘interpenetration’ (PR y1A) of these two approaches is not only central to but constitutive of the idea of Objective Spirit.8 II In asserting that the meaning and reality of rights are linked to conditions of social membership, Hegel does not hold that any type of communal membership is acceptable. Needed rather is a community that can properly accommodate the requirements of an account of rights. Historically, Hegel claims that such requirements were at least minimally met with modern society and, in particular, modern civil society. Expressive of that ‘system of all-round interdependence’ (PR y183) diagnosed as well by theorists of political economy, modern civil society provides, on multiple counts, the conditions for a concrete realisation and embodiment of a system of right. First, civil society permits and fosters affirmation of a genuine account of human rights. Although critical of cosmopolitanism (PR y209), Hegel is not opposed to the concept of universal human rights. His position is rather that that concept cannot be asserted abstractly, but must be embodied in circumstances that accommodate and do justice to it. Historically, such concrete validation first occurred in modern civil society (PR y209). Previously, individuals may have been able to claim rights in virtue of particular status considerations, e.g., class, familial or ethnic background, social standing, or gender. In modern society, however, Hegel claims that the individual is now recognised, at least in principle, simply as such, in virtue of his/her very humanity (PR y124R). Inasmuch as a system of commercial exchange best functions only to the degree that individuals, for better or worse, are now valued simply for their economically and quantitatively relevant contributions, irrespective of other status considerations, civil society permits the realisation of right as a universal principle, indeed as a uniform principle of humanity. It is not coincidental that Hegel famously advanced his claim about the universality of rights only on his discussion of civil society, for here ‘I am apprehended as a universal person in which all are identical. A human being counts as such because he is a human being, not because he is Jew, Catholic, Protestant, German, Italian, etc.’ (PR y209, emphasis added). Modern civil society supplies the conditions for the realisation of a notion of right wherein ‘the individual as such has an infinite value’, and in the sense that freedom constitutes the ‘actuality of human beings—not something which they have, as men, but which they are’ (EM y482). Civil society is also important for Hegel in that it clarifies the binding nature of rights. One feature of modern civil society is its compulsory character. Given the complex, differentiated, interdependent nature of modern industrial society, individuals can pursue a livelihood only as a member of that society. Civil society is ‘that immense power which draws people to itself and requires them to work for it’ (PR y238). Indeed, life itself depends on such membership. For a system of realised freedom, then, membership in civil society itself entails certain rights, even as those rights also entail specific duties. ‘[I]f a human being is to be a member of civil society, he has rights and claims in relation to it. y Civil society must protect its members and defend their rights, just as the individual owes a duty to the right of civil society’ (PR y238A). Civil society further clarifies what counts as rights. Revolving around particular need satisfaction, modern societies give special place to ‘negative’ rights, those guaranteeing ‘the undisturbed security of persons and property’ (PR y230). The system of justice institutionalized with civil society secures recognition for the principle Hegel associates with the abstract right of persons: ‘not to violate (verletzen) personality and what ensues from personality’ (PR y38). For Hegel, civil society is also expected to secure certain ‘positive’ rights, those enabling individuals to realise themselves and the freedoms civil society is presumed to actualize (NRPS y118). Given that the livelihood and indeed the very existence of individuals is dependent on membership in civil society, society in turn has an obligation to provide the resources—e.g., subsistence, health, education, housing—enabling individuals to function effectively as members of society. The system of interdependence constituting civil society is such that ‘the livelihood and welfare of individuals should be secured—i.e., that particular welfare should be treated as a right and duly actualized’ (PR y230). Moreover, given that the right to life—that which is ‘absolutely essential’ (NRPS y118)—is presupposed in the protection of rights of person and property, Hegel assigns a measure of priority to positive rights.9 In addition, civil society gives rise to political rights, those enabling individuals to participate in collective efforts to define and shape the conditions of their shared existence. Such rights, to be sure, are fully articulated not in civil society itself, but in the state or political community proper. Yet the idea of political rights is entailed as well by requirements for full membership opportunities established with civil society. They are entailed as well by a full account of the reciprocity of rights and duties articulated by civil society. And they are entailed by the account of the complex and wide-ranging intermediation of individual and community facilitated through civil society. Certainly Hegel does not affirm a right to direct participation in public affairs. He also does not allow for universal suffrage, preferring instead a mode of political representation based on membership in intermediate associations, subpolitical bodies, municipalities, and community based organizations (PR yy308f). Yet far from militating against a notion of public autonomy on the part of the wider populace, participation in such entities can serve to facilitate it. Not only does membership in such bodies facilitate representation in modern societies, whose size and complexity have rendered all but impossible meaningful direct participation on the part of individuals in the affairs of state; citizen involvement in intermediate associations is a central factor in the very ‘constitution’ of a polity, itself based on the intermediation of objective institutional structures and subjective dispositions of individuals. In addition, Hegel maintains that governance of communities, intermediate associations, and subpolitical entities—many of which are already present in civil society—is itself linked to participatory rights. ‘This is the point of view of right, that individuals have the right to administer their resources’ (NRPS y141). Civil society is distinctive not just in that in articulates the three central rights attendant on social membership. It also gives voice to a meta-right, what Hegel calls the ‘absolute right’ (VPRHe: 127). Right on this account denotes not simply the possession of specific rights, but the general recognition, by those directly affected and by the community as a whole, that members of society are entitled to rights and their status as bearers of rights. This is indeed ‘the right to have rights’ (VPRHe: 127),10 and it is uniquely facilitated by civil society. **Predicated as it is on the comprehensive mediation of individual and community, civil society provides the institutional basis to recognise general claims to right**. For one thing, modern civil society underwrites the idea of a realised constitutional order, understood as a promulgated system of law applicable to society as a whole and committed to the dignity and equal treatment of each and every member of society. In addition, it furnishes the conditions for what Richard Rorty has termed a ‘human rights culture’,11 one in which individuals are recognised as entitled to rights and the protections they afford. **Not only does civil society nurture in individuals an understanding of themselves as holders of rights that are to be respected and honoured; through its system of wide-ranging interdependence, it provides the framework for a community in which individuals appreciate that support for the rights of others and the institutions providing such support is intertwined with their own rights and wellbeing.** Civil society ‘gives right an existence [Dasein] in which it is universally recognized, known and willed, and in which, through the mediation of this quality of being known and willed, its validity and objective actuality’ (PR y209). In terms of both institutional and cognitive requirements, civil society concretizes a right to have rights: it represents a social order in which individuals are recognised, by themselves and others, as subjects possessing rights (and corresponding duties)

#### 2] the right to strike necessarily involves violating the right to property and contract – it’s coercive, Gourevitch 16 summarizes:

Gourevitch, A.. “Quitting Work but Not the Job: Liberty and the Right to Strike.” Perspectives on Politics 14 (2016): 307 - 323. //LHP AV Accessed 7/4/21

A second problem follows on the first. **If workers have rights to the jobs they are striking then they must have some powers to enforce those rights**. **Such powers might include** mass picketing, secondary boycotts, sympathy strikes, **coercion and intimidation of replacement workers, even destruction or immobilization of property** – the familiar panoply of strike actions. While workers have sometimes defended such actions without using the specifically juridical language of ‘rights,’ in many cases they have used that kind of appeal.3 Even when they have not employed rights-discourse, they have invoked some related notion of demanding fair terms to their job (Frow, Frow and Katanka 1971). Each and any of the above listed activities of a strike – pickets, boycotts, sympathy actions – are part of the way workers not only press their demands but claim their right to 3 See James Gray Pope’s (1997) remarkable reconstruction of the way, in the 1920s, rights-discourse helped organize and sustain a ‘constitutional strike’ against attempts to curtail and outlaw the strike. the job. Strikers regularly implore other workers not to cross picket lines and take struck jobs. **These are more than speech-acts. At the outer edges, they amount to intimidation and coercion**. Or at least, workers claim the right to intimidate and coerce if the state will not itself enforce this aspect of their right to strike. Liberal societies rarely permit a group of individuals powers that come close and even cross over into rights of private coercion. It is no surprise that regulation and repression of these strike-related activities have been the source of some of the most serious episodes of strike-related violence in US and European history (Brecher 2014; Lambert 2005; Forbath 1991; Adamic 1971; Taft and Ross 1969; Liebknecht 1917). So, alongside the unclear basis for the strikers’ rights to their jobs, the problem for a liberal society is that this right seems to include private rights of coercion or at least troubling forms of social pressure. Yet there is more. **The standard strike potentially threatens the fundamental freedoms of three specific groups**. • Freedom of contract **It conflicts with the freedom of contract of those replacement workers who would be willing to take the job** on terms that strikers will not. Note, this is not a possible conflict but a necessary one. **Strikers claim the job is theirs, which means replacements have no right** to it. But replacements claim everyone should have the equal freedom to contract with an employer for a job. • Property rights **A strike seriously interferes with the employer’s property rights**. **The point of a strike is to stop production**. **But the point of a property right is that, at least in the owner’s core area of activity, nobody else has the right to interfere with his use of that property**. **The** **strikers**, by claiming the employer has no right to hire replacements and thus no way of employing his property profitably, **effectively render the employer unfree to use his property as he sees fit**. To be clear, strikers claim the right not just to block replacement workers, but to prevent the employer from putting his property to work without their permission. For instance, New Deal ‘sit-down’ strikes made it impossible to operate factories, which was one reason why the courts claimed it violated employer property rights (Atleson 1983, 46-48). Similarly, during the Seattle general strike in 1919, the General Strike Committee forced owners to ask permission to engage in certain productive activities – permission it often denied (Brecher 2014, 106-111). • Freedom of association Though the conceptual issues here are complicated, a strike can seriously constrain a worker’s freedom of association. It does so most seriously when the strike is a group right, in which only authorized representatives of the union may call a strike. In this case, the right to strike is not the individual’s right in the same way that, say, the freedom to join a church or volunteer organization is. Moreover, the strike can be coercively imposed even on dissenting members, especially when the dissenters work in closed or union shops. That is because refusal to follow the strike leads to dismissal from the union, which would mean loss of the job in union or closed shops. The threat of losing a job is usually considered a coercive threat. So not only might workers be forced to join unions – depending on the law – but also they might be forced to go along with one of the union’s riskiest collective actions. **Note that each one of these concerns follows directly from the nature of the right to strike itself**. **Interference with freedom of contract, property rights**, and the freedom of association **are all part and parcel of defending the right** that striking workers claim to the ‘their’ jobs. These are difficult forms of coercive interference to justify on their own terms and **they appear to rest on a claim without foundation**. Just what right do workers have to jobs that they refuse to perform?

## Case