Секция «Международные организации и мировые политические процессы»

## The critical assessment of Alexander Wendt's theory of the World State: failure of the universal recognition and the inability to stop politics

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In this paper, the analysis of Wendt's theory of World State is conducted. Alexander Wendt's seminal article contributed a lot to the growing literature on the World State [1]. He argued that the World state is inevitable due to the process of the struggle for recognition and the logic of anarchy in the international system. The idea of a World State is feasible because eventually struggle for recognition channeled through such a system produces collective identity and makes World state attainable: "the struggle for recognition between states will have the same outcome as that between individuals, collective identity formation, and eventually a state" (Wendt, 2003: 493). In Wendt's theory, the struggle for recognition was one of the main driving forces of the World State's formation. Based on his argument about collective identity development, he undertook ambitious research on its inevitability. To make his statement for the World State even more solid, years after his first publication on the inevitability, he provided a normative apology of the World State, showing why the World state is desirable. Moral or normative components became essential to just an explanatory part of the World State [8]. Wendt's argument on desirability is generally based on its advancement of democracy and its preferability over the chaotic international system of sovereign states.

For most IR scholars, however, the idea of the World State is unacceptable due to its supposed despotism and homogeneity. The main focus of his critics was concentrated on the question of feasibility. The weakest point is his disregard of human agency in the process of international politics [4] and his misunderstanding of the actual outcome of the struggle for recognition (Greenhill, 2008). The very foundation of Wendt's concept based on the perception of collective identity [6] was criticized by Brian Greenhill. Empirical works fail to support the claim that recognition leads to the formation of an overarching collective identity. Without a credible mechanism for collective identity formation, recognition theory fails to predict a fundamental change in the international system [2]. The first objective of this paper is to demonstrate how the concept of the struggle for recognition can be turned against the World State contributing to its instability. What if the struggle for recognition does not reconcile agents and cannot provide a peaceful world of mutual recognition, on contrary, making it unstable and unattainable?

There are many lines of critique of the World State that referred to its instability due to nationalism, failing to contain megalothymia, and ungrounded expectations about the feasibility of the collective identity. All of these critical points indeed can undermine Wendt's project, and for most of them, there is no cure, as they are deeply rooted in human nature. When assessed more closely, the struggle for recognition might not lead to the World State due to the possibility of asymmetrical equilibrium when subordinates do not rebel or, the most influential line of critique, because of the eternity of these struggles and inability to capture it in any reasonable way. The part of human nature which desires a 'thick' form of recognition can revert this linear logic of progress at any moment [2].

The second purpose of this paper is to assess the desirability of such a concept, whether it has democratic potential or is deemed on despotism. Also, when assessing Wendt's World State we need to understand that Wendt's concept confronts the present world of sovereign states. For our contemporary world of state sovereignty, there are many supporters, arguing that such a system supports the diversity of humankind and makes possible the manifestation of virtue [3], [5]. However, the purpose of this paper is not to show all of the dignities of alternative systems but to explain the characteristics which make the World State undesirable for the system of international order and human beings.

Finally, there are suggestions for improving the concept by addressing its main challenges. To be more resilient to critique, Wendt's World State must find a way for channeling human desire for 'thick' recognition and discover how collective identity can become more preferable. Moreover, it must come up with the idea of smooth transitioning from the system of multiple sovereign states preserving its advantages in diversity in the World State.

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