

Cosmopolitanism and Global Justice

<u>Lecturer:</u>	Zoltán Miklósi
<u>No. of credits:</u>	4
<u>Status:</u>	for M.A. students
<u>Teaching format:</u>	Lecture with class discussion and student presentations
<u>Assessment:</u>	final paper (50%), midterm exam (25%), presentations and participation (25%)
<u>Academic year:</u>	2008/2009
<u>Term:</u>	Winter

Learning outcomes: Familiarizing with the basic problem of global justice and the main rival positions regarding this problem in contemporary political theory; improving analytical skills through understanding, presenting and discussing complex arguments.

The bulk of this course will be dedicated to the discussion of global distributive justice, or the ground and extent of the duties of individuals and political institutions to attend to the facts of global economic inequality. We will first focus on a factual matter: is global inequality caused mostly by local, intra-social factors, or is it engendered and/or reinforced by features of the international political and economic order? Next, we will examine different versions of the thesis that our duties of justice are inherently range-limited and are confined to our co-nationals. This is the ‘priority of compatriots’ thesis. Then we turn to various arguments aiming to demonstrate that the thesis is untenable. Subsequently, we will examine two different approaches to ground global distributive duties: the first approach maintains that our duties of justice towards other individuals globally are grounded in the nature and extent of our institutional interaction with them; to the extent that the interaction is sufficiently dense, such duties obtain. The other approach argues that the simple fact of global inequality, irrespective of what causes it and of the nature of the relationship between different persons, grounds a duty of justice to attend to that inequality. Next, we turn to views that develop a so-called political conception of justice: they argue that the demands of justice arise only within the context of the specific relationship that obtains between the state and its citizens. Finally, we take up the issue of transnational democracy: some authors argue that under the circumstances of global economic integration, the scope of collective political decision-making ought to include everyone that is affected by these decisions, and therefore the system of democratic nation-states is no longer satisfactory from a normative point of view. Others argue that the various conditions that are required for democratic decision-making to be legitimate are absent at the international level, and therefore transnational democracy is not desirable.

Requirements: students are required to read carefully all assigned readings and to actively participate in class discussions. Each student will present one assigned reading in class (max. 15 minutes). There will be a midterm examination and a final paper. The choice of the topic for the final paper has to be approved by the instructor.

Week 1: What Causes Global Inequality, and Does It Matter?

Readings:

- Thomas Risse, “How Does the Global Order Harm the Global Poor?” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 33: 349-376 (2005)
- Thomas Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights*, 15-26
- Thomas Pogge, “Real World Justice” (recommended)

Week 2: The Priority of Compatriots

Readings:

- Thomas Hurka, “The Justification of Nationalist Priority” in Robert McKim & Jeff McMahan (eds.), *The Morality of Nationalism*, 139-157
- Robert E. Goodin, “What Is So Special About Our Fellow Countrymen?” *Ethics* 98, no. 4, 663-686 (1988)

Week 3: The Priority of Compatriots?

Readings:

- Pogge, “The Bounds of Nationalism,” in *World Poverty and Human Rights*, 118-145
- Samuel Scheffler, “The Conflict Between Justice and Responsibility,” in *Boundaries and Allegiances*, 82-96.

Week 4: Cosmopolitanism – the Interaction Approach

Readings:

- Pogge, *Realizing Rawls* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), Ch 6
- Thomas Scanlon, “When Does Equality Matter?” (unpublished manuscript, 2004)
- Charles Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations* (1979), 125-169 (recommended)

Week 5: Cosmopolitanism – the Direct Approach

Readings:

- David A. J. Richards, “International Distributive Justice” in J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman (eds.), *Ethics, Economics, and the Law* (New York: NYU Press, 1982)
- Beitz, “Cosmopolitan Ideals and National Sentiment,” *The Journal of Philosophy* 80: 591-600 (1983)
- Liam B. Murphy, “Institutions and the Demands of Justice,” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 27 (1999), (excerpts: 271-275)

Week 6: Midterm exam

Week 7: Rawls’ *Law of Peoples*

Reading:

- Rawls, *Law of Peoples*, (Cambridge, Mass.: HUP, 1999), 11-43, 105-120

Week 8: A Critique of *LP*

Readings:

- Allen Buchanan, “Rawls’s Law of Peoples: Rules for a Vanished Westphalian World,” *Ethics* 110: 669-721 (2000)
- Michael Blake: “International Justice” #2.2, #3, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*

Week 9: Justice and Coercion: Blake and Nagel

Readings:

- Michael Blake, "Distributive Justice, State Coercion, and Autonomy," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 30: 257-296 (2001)
- Thomas Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 113-47 (2005)

Week 10: Critiques

Readings:

- Joshua Cohen and Charles Sabel, "Extra Rem Publicam Nulla Iustitia?" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 34 (2006 March)
- Andrea Sangiovanni, "Global Justice, Reciprocity, and the State," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 35 (2007), 3-39.
- Richard Arneson, "Do Patriotic Ties Limit Global Justice Duties?" *Journal of Ethics* 9: 127-150 (2005) (recommended)

Week 11: Cosmopolitanism and Democracy

Readings:

- David Held: "Rethinking Democracy in the Age of Globalization" in Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón (eds.), *Democracy's Edges* (CUP, 1999)
- Will Kymlicka, „Citizenship..." *ibid.*

Week 12: Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty

Readings:

- Pogge, "Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty," *Ethics* (1992): 48-75
- Thomas Christiano, "Democratic Legitimacy and International Institutions" (unpublished lecture, 2008)