

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>	2010/2011
<u>Term:</u>	Fall

Goals: Familiarizing with the main theoretical approaches to the problem of global distributive justice and transnational democracy; enabling students to characterize and evaluate familiar international political and economic facts and developments in the terms of these theoretical accounts.

Learning outcomes: improving analytical skills through understanding, presenting and discussing complex arguments, enhancing the ability to construct and evaluate normative arguments 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. First, we will examine different versions of the thesis that our duties of justice are inherently range-limited and that it is justified to be partial towards 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 who 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: The Priority of Compatriots: Two Arguments for National Partiality
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)
- David Miller, “Reasonable Partiality Towards Compatriots,” *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 8 (2005), 63-81 – suggested.

Week 2: Arguments against Partiality

Readings:

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

Week 3: Cosmopolitanism – the Relational Approach

Readings:

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 (unpublished manuscript, 2004)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

Week 4: Cosmopolitanism – the Non-Relational Approach

Readings:

- Beitz, “Cosmopolitan Ideals and National Sentiment,” *The Journal of Philosophy* 80: 591-600 (1983)
- Peter Singer, “Famine, Affluence, and Morality,” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 1 (1972), 229-243.
- Liam B. Murphy, “Institutions and the Demands of Justice,” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 27 (1999), (excerpts: 271-275) – suggested.
- 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) – suggested.

Week 5: Rawls’ *Law of Peoples* and Its Critics

Reading:

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

Week 6: Midterm exam

Week 7: 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 8: Responses to Blake and Nagel

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.
- Arash Abizadeh, “Cooperation, Pervasive Impact, and Coercion,” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 35 (4), 318-358—suggested.

Week 9: Transnational Democracy: The “All Affected Interests” Principle

Readings:

- Robert Goodin: “Enfranchising All Affected Interests, and Its Alternatives,” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 35 (2007 January).

Week 10: Transnational Democracy and Its Critics

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 11: Cont.

Readings:

- Thomas Christiano, “Democratic Legitimacy and International Institutions” (unpublished lecture, 2008)
- Philip Pettit, “Democracy, National and International,” *The Monist* 89:2 (2006), 301-324.

Week 12: Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty

- Pogge, “Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty,” *Ethics* (1992): 48-75
- Simon Caney, “Cosmopolitan Justice and Institutional Design,” *Social Theory and Practice* 32:4 (October 2006)
- Lea L. Ypi, “Statist Cosmopolitanism,” *Journal of Political Philosophy* 16 (2008), 48-71 – suggested.