DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

International Politics & Human Rights MA, International Politics MA, Global Political Economy MA and Diplomacy & Foreign Policy MA, 2015-2016

IPM117 Global Ethics: Power, Principle and Politics
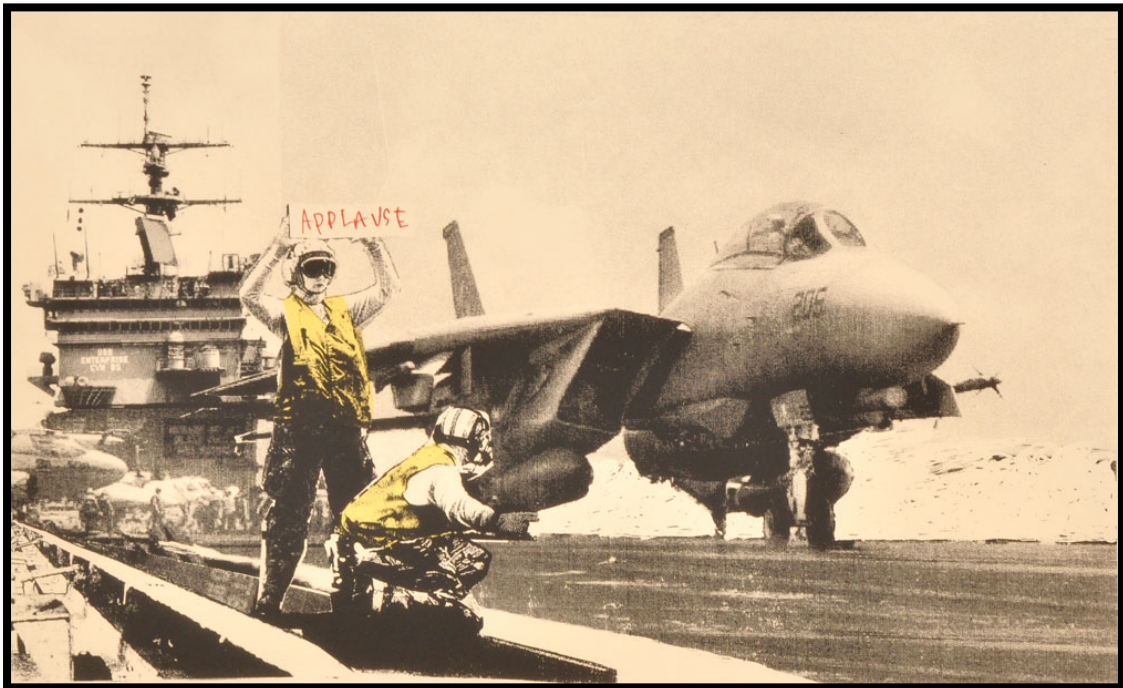
("Applause" by Banksy)

Dr Joe Hoover
Office: D522
Phone: 020 7040 8376
joseph.hoover.1@city.ac.uk
Office Hours: Friday 14.00-16.00
Seminar: Tuesday 10.00-12.00

Introduction

Global Ethics is a core module for the MA International Politics & Human Rights, and an optional module for other MA students, that introduces you to ethical questions in world politics. You will consider questions such as:

- Can war ever be ethical?

- What duties do we have to distant strangers?

- Does every human being have inalienable rights?

- Can it be just that our world is so unequal and so many live in severe poverty?

- Can global institutions like the United Nations or the International Criminal Court achieve global justice?

The module combines practical and the philosophical elements to help you develop a critical understanding of the difficult ethical issues of our contemporary world. You will consider the value of human rights, what it means to live in a world filled with severe violence and devastating poverty, the nature of pervasive global inequalities and what it means to think ethically on a global scale both as an individual and as the member of a national community.

Aims and Objectives

In the module you will consider practices of humanitarian intervention and just warfare, development aid and poverty relief, international criminal trials and human rights activism. These contemporary practices will be put in historical perspective and you will be encouraged to critically reflect on how these ethical practices have been developed and carried out. Finally, the module will help you to make your own judgements and reflect critically on world politics.

Learning Outcomes: Subject knowledge and understanding

On successful completion of this module, a student will be expected to be able to:

- Outline and criticize theories of global ethics;

- Apply philosophical understanding to political events and practical dilemmas;

- Apply your understanding of world politics to philosophical and ethical issues;

- Develop strong analytical reading skills, improve your written and oral presentation ability and learn to think critically about issues that bring together theoretical reflection and practical knowledge

Teaching Methods

The course is taught through a series of 10 two-hour seminars. Main ideas and controversies will be presented in the seminars by both the teacher and through student presentations, and you will have the opportunity to ask questions and develop your thinking in discussion. It is vital that you read deeply and widely for the course in preparation for the seminars, as they will be student led discussions.

You are expected to attend all all the seminars. It is also vital that you attend your assigned seminars, as your classmates will be depending on you to contribute to activities and class discussions.

You will also produce a critical outline in preparation for your assessed essay that will lay out the argument you are making in response to your chosen question. This is not a traditional outline but an outline of the argument you will make, meaning you will have to write it as a series of propositions and conclusions – this outline is intended to stimulate your thinking on the topic of your choice and the actual argument you make in the essay may differ. The outline will be due at the end of the 8th week of the term and feedback will be provided before the end of term.

Assessment

The course will be assessed by one 4000-word essay due at the end of the term.

Deadline for Term 2 Assessed Essay: Monday 25th April 2016

In order to pass the module and acquire the associated credit, you must achieve a module mark of no less than 50%. Compensation is not permitted for failure of this module.

Essay Questions

You will develop your own essay questions with the course convenor and it is *vital that have your question approved before you write your essay.*

Reflective Learning Week (week 6)

Please note that there will be no IPM117 lectures or tutorials this week. There will be department wide activities for students this week. It also provides you an opportunity to catch-up on coursework and to begin thinking about your assessed essay topic.

Course Literature

Everyone is expected to read for each seminar. Try to read the majority of the Essential Reading each week along with a selection of the Further Reading that you find useful or interesting. You do not have to read all pieces listed under each topic but you should read widely – some pieces in detail and some just skimmed – until you feel you have a grasp of the subject. Where a chapter reference for a book is given, it is likely that the rest of the book will also be useful.

General Texts

These texts provide an overview of the material covered on the course and you should consult a selection prior to the start of seminars and in the early weeks. They will also prove useful throughout the term and for exam preparation.

- Duncan Bell (ed.), *Ethics and World Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

- Chris Brown, *Sovereignty, Rights and Justice* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002).

- Molly Cochran, *Normative Theory and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

- Kimberly Hutchings, *International Political Theory* (London: Sage, 1999).

- Kimberly Hutchings, *Global Ethics* (Cambridge: Polity 2010).

- Richard Shapcott, *International Ethics: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity 2010).

Reference Texts

These texts provide background for issues, ideas and thinkers you may not be familiar with; they are intended for reference purposes and are not key texts for the course. They are all available in the library.

- Robert Goodin & Philip Pettit (eds.), *Contemporary Political Philosophy: an anthology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).

- Alasdair MacIntyre, *A Short History of Ethics* (Basingstoke: Routledge, 1998).

- Chris Reus-Smit & Duncan Snidal (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

- Russ Shafer-Landau, *Ethical Theory: an anthology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007).

- *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (http://plato.stanford.edu/) is an excellent resource for background information on thinkers or ideas that may be unfamiliar to you. This online resource is written by academics and features extensive citations and further readings. If you use this resource as a reference in your essays, reference the title of the encyclopedia entry, its author, the encyclopedia itself and the url of the entry.

Journals

The journal literature is very important in this area of international politics, especially *Review of International Studies, Journal of International Political Theory, International Theory, Millennium, Ethics and International Affairs, Journal of Human*

Rights. Less oriented towards mainstream IR, *Human Rights Quarterly* and *Philosophy and Public Affairs* are also important. *Political Theory* and *Contemporary Political Theory* publish cutting-edge work in 'domestic' political theory – much of which is highly relevant to IPT. *Ethics* is the best journal to read to keep up to date with the latest developments in (again mostly non-international) ethical thought.

Office Hours

I will hold regular office hours on Friday from 14.00-16.00. Other times will be possible by appointment. My office is D522 and you can either sign up on the sheet provided outside the office or if you want to set up an alternative time to meet you can email me at joseph.hoover.1@city.ac.uk.

Course Outline

Week 1 26 January 2016	**Lecture:** *What is Global Ethics?* **Tutorial:** Course Introduction and discussion of what ethics means
Week 2 2 February 2016	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *War! What Is It Good For?*
Week 3 9 February 2016	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *Individualism and the Authority of Human Rights*
Week 4 16 February 2016	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *Community, Territory and Exclusions*
Week 5 23 February 2016	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *Liberal Internationalism: Between Order and Violence*
Week 6 1 March 2016	**Reflective Learning Week** **NO LECTURES OR TUTORIALS** **Department-wide Careers Events**
Week 7 8 March 2016	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *Legalism and its Limits: The Politics of International Law*
Week 8 15 March 2016	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *Poverty, Inequality and Hierarchy in the Global Economy*
Week 9 22 March 2016	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *Ethics and Migration*
Week 10 29 March 2016	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *The Promise and Peril of Cosmopolitanism: From Global Governance to Global Democracy*
Week 11 5 April 2016	**Lecture:** *Resistance and Plural Cosmopolitanism*

Reading List

Week 1 – What is Global Ethics?

("Death of Socrates" by Jacques-Louis David)

The study of ethics is concerned with questions of the good, of right and wrong, of what we should and should not do. In the study of world politics ethics has often been seen as both inappropriate to a properly "scientific" method and to the nature of international, rather than domestic, politics. Yet, world politics is suffused with ethics. Actors in world politics use ethical language, they seemingly act for ethical reasons, and the scope of world politics implicates nearly everyone as a participant with potential ethical responsibility. In this session we consider what it means to study world politics in ethical terms, what "ethics" means, and how ethics as a subject orients us towards a consideration of the values that guide world politics and how those values are supported and challenged.

Questions

1. What is "ethics"?

2. In what ways is our contemporary experience global?

3. Why has the study of ethics often been considered separately from the study of world politics?

4. Where do ethical rules come from?

Essential Reading

Kimberly Hutchings, *Global Ethics* (Cambridge: Polity 2010), especially chapter 1-3.

Kimberly Hutchings, *International Political Theory: Rethinking Ethics in a Global Era* (London: Sage, 1999), chapters 1 and 2.

Further Reading

Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), especially Introduction and Chapter 1.

Duncan Bell, *Ethics and World Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), especially chapters 1-4.

Chris Brown, *Sovereignty, Rights and Justice: International Political Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002), especially chapters 1 and 4.

Jonathan Glover, *Humanity: A Moral History of the Twentieth Century* (London: Pimlico, 2001).

Vivienne Jabri, "Feminist Ethics and Hegemonic Global Politics," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Volume 29, Number 3 (June-July 2004): 265-284.

Hans Morgenthau, "The Twilight of International Morality," *Ethics*, Volume 58, Number 2 (January 1948): 79-99.

Onora O'Neill, "Agents of Justice," *Metaphilosophy*, Volume 32, Number 1-2 (January 2001): 180-195.

Richard Rorty, "Justice as Larger Loyalty," *Ethical Perspectives*, Volume 4, Number 2 (1997): 139-151.

Richard Shapcott, *International Ethics: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), especially Chapter 1.

Bernard Williams, *Morality: An Introduction to Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Week 2 – War! What Is It Good For?

("Guernica" by Pablo Picasso)

War is a central ethical concern in world politics because in war the state explicitly sanctions the destruction of human lives. This destruction includes killing, maiming, and imprisoning individuals; it involves destroying homes, work places, houses of worship, and public spaces, putting the social and natural environment at risk; it involves psychic harm to individuals, cultural harm to communities and harms the order that normally prevails in world politics. Despite all the evils of war, however, it is nearly always pursued in the service of some valued end – there is always an ethic of war at work. Given that war as political violence is always also ethical it is important to study the various ways it has been justified and opposed. In addition, we will also look at the potential of ethics to humanise, limit or prevent war.

Questions

1. What ends does war serve?

2. Can war be ethical despite the destruction it causes? Consider this question in the context of particular wars.

3. How can ethics constrain or prevent war?

Essential Reading

Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* (London: Verso, 2009), chapter 5.

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin, 2001), Chapter 1.

David Luban, "Just War and Human Rights," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Volume 9, Number 2 (Winter 1980): 160-181.

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustration* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2006), Chapters 1-4.

Further Reading

Anthony Burke, "Just war or ethical peace? Moral discourses of strategic violence after 9/11," *International Affairs*, Volume 80, Number 2 (2004): 329-353.

A. J. Coates, *The Ethics of War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

Christopher Coker, *Ethics and War in the 21ˢᵗ Century* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).

Chris J. Cuomo, "War Is Not Just an Event: Reflections on the Significance of Everyday Violence," *Hypatia*, Volume 11, Issue 4 (1996): 30-45.

Elizabeth Frazer and Kimberly Hutchings, "On Politics and Violence: Arendt Contra Fanon," *Contemporary Political Theory*, Volume 7, Issue 1 (2008): 90-108.

Kimberly Hutchings, "Feminist Ethics and Political Violence," *International Politics*, Volume 44, Number 1 (2007): 90-106.

Anthony F. Lang, Jr., "The Violence of Rules? Rethinking the 2003 War Against Iraq," *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 3 (September 2007): 257-276.

David Luban, "The Romance of the Nation-State," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Volume 9, Number 4 (Summer 1980): 392-397.

Jeff McMahan, "The Ethics of Killing in War," *Ethics*, Volume 114, Number 4 (July 2004): 693-733.

Bertrand Russell, "The Ethics of War," *International Journal of Ethics*, Volume 25, Number 2 (January 1915): 127-142.

P. W. Singer, "The Ethics of Killer Applications: Why Is It So Hard to Talk About Morality When It Comes to New Military Technology?" *Journal of Military Ethics*, Volume 9, Issue 4 (2010): 299-312.

Fernando R. Tesón, "Ending Tyranny in Iraq," *Ethic & International Affairs*, Volume 19, Number 2 (2005): 1-20.

Michael Walzer, "The Moral Standing of States: A Response to Four Critics," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Volume 9, Number 3 (Spring 1980): 209-229.

Catherine MacKinnon, "Women's September 11ᵗʰ: Rethinking the International Law of Conflict," *Harvard International Law Journal*, Volume 47, Number 1 (2006): 1-32.

Week 3 – Individualism and the Authority of Rights

("Wanderer above the Sea of Fog" by Caspar David Friedrich)

While notions of moral universalism have a long history the tradition of thinking of ethics in terms of the individual is a more recent and distinctive phenomenon that is very significant for thinking about world politics. With the advent of social contract thinking and the liberal rights tradition a different basis for political ethics was found in the moral claims that each individual can make on the state. These developments come to an apogee after the Second World War and the elaboration of an individual human rights regime that was seen as a response both to the dangers of amoral raison

d'état and collectivist ethics based on racial and national identity. This shift involves placing greater authority in the claims of individuals and the power of the law is a central change in our understanding of the world politics.

Questions

1. How does the move to an individualist ethics alter our understanding and approach to world politics? Use concrete examples.

2. Is the nation-state undermined by a focus on individual rights?

3. What sorts of authority is required to protect individual rights beyond the state?

Essential Reading

John Charvet and Elise Kaczynska-Nay, *The Liberal Project and Human Rights: The Theory and Practice of a New World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), especially chapter 3.

Thomas Franck, *The Empowered Self: Law and Society in the Age of Individualism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), chapters 1-4.

Jürgen Habermas, "Human Rights and Popular Sovereignty: The Liberal and Republican Versions," *Ratio Juris*, Volume 7, Number 1 (1994): 1-13.

Further Reading
Seyla Benhabib, "Claiming Rights across Border: International Human Rights and Democratic Sovereignty," *American Political Science Review*, Volume 103, Number 4 (2009): 691-704.

Allen Buchanan, "The Egalitarianism of Human Rights," *Ethics*, Volume 120, Number 4 (2010): 679-710.

Alex Gourevitch, "Are Human Rights Liberal?" *Journal of Human Rights*, Volume 8, Number 4 (2009): 301-322.

Anthony J. Langlois, "Human Rights and Modern Liberalism," *Political Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 3 (2003): 509-523.

Onora O'Neill, "The dark side of human rights," *International Affairs*, Volume 81, Number 2 (2005): 427-439.

Christian Reus-Smit, "Human rights and the social construction of sovereignty," *Review of International Studies*, Volume 27, Issue 4 (2001): 519-538.

Leif Wenar, "The Nature of Rights," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Volume 33, Number 3 (2005): 223-252.

Week 4 – Community, Territory and Exclusion

("Battle at San Domingo" by January Suchodolski)

Self-defence is at the heart of the ethics of war, but this justification presumes a social community beyond the individual to which we belong. Further, certain types of violence and exclusion are only allowable when they are committed against outsiders, strangers, foreigners, or the "other". Since the 18th century the state has been seen as an ethical community that is worthy of defence. The creation of communities, particularly of nation-states, is itself a political act involving violence and exclusion and therefore the ethical value of community is contested and problematic. At the same time that national identity has been associated with exclusion and colonialism, it is also associated with liberation. In this session we will consider why communities have ethical value, why this is problematic and how lines of community are contested.

Questions

1. On what basis can communities have ethical value?

2. How do the exclusions that come with communal identities challenge the idea of community? Respond in terms of migrants, refugees and/or national minorities.

3. Is the nation-state a source of stability and peace or conflict and disorder?

Essential Reading

William E. Connolly, *Identity\Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox* (Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota University Press, 2002), chapter 3 and 7.

Alasdair MacIntyre, "Is Patriotism a Virtue?" in Thomas Pogge and Keith Horton (eds), *Global Ethics: Seminal Essay II* (St. Paul, MN: Paragon Publishing, 2008).

Michael Walzer, "Nation and Universe," in *Thinking Politically* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007): 183-218. (http://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_documents/a-to-z/w/walzer90.pdf)

Further Reading

Toni Erskine, "Qualifying Cosmopolitanism? Solidarity, Criticism, and Michael Walzer's 'View from the Cave'," *International Politics*, Volume 44, Number 1 (2007): 125-149.

Frantz Fanon, "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness," in *Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin, 2001): 119-165.

Ranjoo Seodu Herr, "The Possibility of Nationalist Feminism," *Hypatia*, Volume 18, Number 3 (Autumn 2003): 135-160.

John Keane, "Nations, Nationalism, and the European Citizen," *CSD Perspectives*, Number 2 (Autumn 1993). (http://johnkeane.info/media/pdfs/nations_nationalism_citizens.pdf)

Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Michael Mann, "The Dark Side of Democracy: The Modern Tradition of Ethnic and Political Cleansing," *New Left Review*, Issue 235 (May-June 1999): 18-45.

Robert Meister, "The Dialectic of Race and Place" in *After Evil: A Politics of Human Rights* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2011): 114-143.

David Miller, "In Defence of Nationality," *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, Volume 10, Issue 1 (April 1993): 3-16.

Charles Taylor, "Democratic exclusion (and its remedies?)," in Alain C. Cairns, et al. (eds), *Citizenship, Diversity, and Pluralism: Canadian and Comparative Perspectives* (Canada: McGill-Queens University Press, 1997). (http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2002-02-21-taylor-en.html)

Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of American* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1984).

Michael Walzer, *Thick & Thin: Moral Argument at Home and Abroad* (North Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994).

Week 5 – Global Liberalism Between Order and Violence
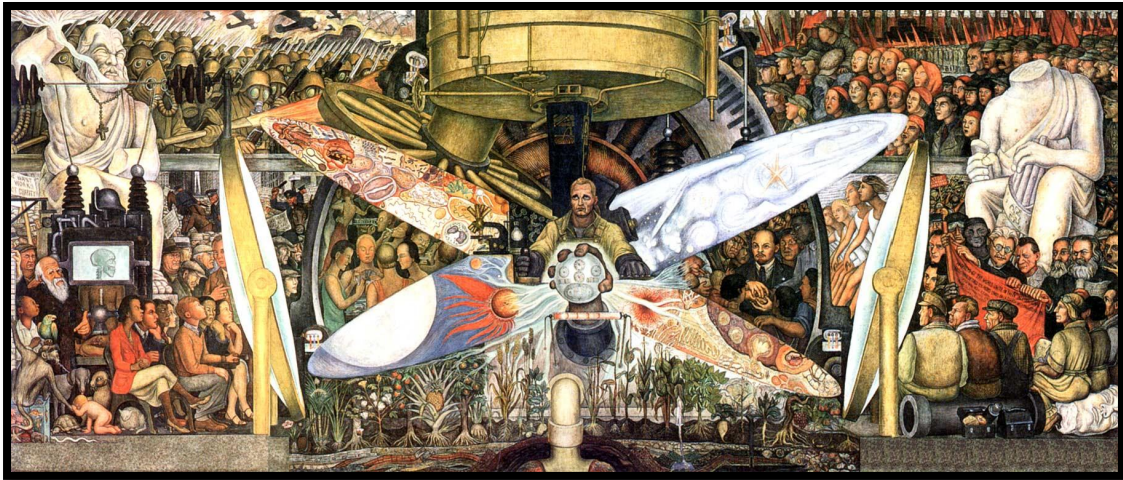
(*"Man, Controller of the Universe" by Diego Rivera*)

Since the end of the Cold War the idea of human rights has become increasingly associated with a hegemonic liberal world order – led by the United States. The moralisation of liberal internationalism is based on ideals of representative government, international law and the use of force in defence of global norms. For many these developments heralded a transformation of world politics, towards greater justice, while for others they heralded a new order of legalised hierarchy and moralised violence. In this session we will explore both the visions of a liberal world order set loose after the Cold War and the opposition to liberal hegemony.

Questions

1. Should liberal states have the authority to intervene in other countries to uphold the liberal order? Consider both military and non-military forms of intervention.

2. Are human rights a global ethical standard or an ideological imposition?

3. Can the liberal order be preserved and redeemed through international law?

Essential Reading

Michael Ignatieff, *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, edited by Amy Gutmann (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), chapter 1: "Human Rights as Politics".

Anne Orford, "Muscular Humanitarianism: Reading the Narratives of the New Interventionism," *European Journal of International Law*, Volume 10, Number 4 (1999): 679-711.

James Pattison, *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Who Should Intervene?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), especially chapter 1.

Further Reading

Costas Douzinas, "Postmodern Just Wars and the New World Order," *Journal of Human Rights*, Volume 5, Number 3 (2006): 355-375.

Jan Hancock, "Woodrow Wilson revisited: Human rights discourse in the foreign policy of the George W. Bush administration," *European Journal of International Relations*, Volume 16, Number 1 (2010): 57-76.

G. John Ikenberry, "The Future of the Liberal World Order: Internationalism After America," *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 90, Issue 3 (2011): 56-68.

Charles Jones, "Human rights and moral cosmopolitanism," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 13, Number 1 (2010): 115-135.

Anthony J. Langlois, "Human Rights and Cosmopolitan Liberalism," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 10, Number 1 (2007): 29-45.

Mahmood Mamdani, "Responsibility to Protect or Right to Punish?" *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, Volume 4, Number 1 (2010): 53-67.

Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Makau Mutua, "Human Rights in Africa: The Limited Promise of Liberalism," *African Studies Review*, Volume 51, Number 1 (2008): 17-39.

Anne Orford, *International Authority and the Responsibility to Protect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), especially Part II.

Fiona Robinson, "After Liberalism in World Politics? Towards an International Political Theory of Care," *Ethic and Social Welfare*, Volume 4, Issue 2 (2010): 130-144.

Gerry Simpson, "Two Liberalism," *European Journal of International Relations*, Volume 12, Number 3 (2001): 537-571.

Fernando Tesón, "The Liberal Case for Humanitarian Intervention," *FSU College of Law, Public Law Research Paper No. 39* (November 2001). (http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=291661)

Week 6 – Reading Week

Events during reading week to be announced.

Week 7 – Legalism and its Limits: The Politics of International Law

("Justice and Divine Vengeance pursuing Crime" by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon)

The rule of law is central to liberal internationalism and for many the advance of international law since World War II represents a fundamental change in international politics. International law, however, is a contested ideal, acting both as a kind of higher moral law above state interest and a technical code intended to coordinate the on-going struggle between equal sovereigns. In this session we consider the power of international law both as a tool of politics and ethics, and how these two faces of the law interact.

Questions

1. How is the law able to tame politics? Use specific examples.

2. Does power inevitably undermine the justice of the law? Again, use examples.

3. Can the legalisation of international politics lead to a more just world?

Essential Reading

Seyla Benhabib, "On the Alleged Conflict between Democracy and International Law," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Volume 19, Issue 1 (2005): 85-100.

Allen Buchanan, *Justice, Legitimacy, and Self-Determination: Moral Foundations for International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), especially chapter 1.

David Kennedy, *Of War and Law* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).

Martti Koskenniemi, "The Politics of International Law," *European Journal of International Law*, Volume 1, Number 1 (1990): 4-32.

Further Reading

David Armstrong, "Evolving conceptions of justice in international law," *Review of International Studies*, Volume 37, Issue 5 (2011): 2121-2136.

Hilary Charlesworth, Christine Chinkin, and Shelley Wright, "Feminist Approaches to International Law," *The American Journal of International Law*, Volume 85, Number 4 (1991): 613-645.

B. S. Chimni, "A Just World Under Law: A View from the South," *American University International Law Review*, Volume 22, Issue 2 (2006-2007): 199-220.

Elizabeth Dauphinee, "War Crimes and the Ruin of Law," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Volume 37, Number 1 (2008): 49-67.

Jack L. Goldsmith and Eric A. Posner, *The Limits of International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Emmanuelle Jouannet, "Universalism and Imperialism: The True-False Paradox of International Law," *The European Journal of International Law*, Volume 18, Number 3 (2007): 379-407.

Jamie Terence Kelly, "The Moral Foundations of International Criminal Law," *Journal of Human Rights*, Volume 9, Number 4 (2010): 502-510.

Hans J. Morgenthau, "Positivism, Functionalism, and International Law," *The American Journal of International Law*, Volume 32, Number 2 (1940): 260-284.

Nicholas Greenwood Onuf, "International Legal Order as an Idea," *The American Journal of International Law*, Volume 73, Number 2 (1979): 244-266.

Geoffrey Robertson, *Crimes Against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice* (London: Penguin, 2006), especially chapters 3-6.

Gerry Simpson, *Law, War and Crime: War Crimes Trial and the Reinvention of International Law* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

Anne-Marie Slaughter, "International Law in a World of Liberal States," *European Journal of International Law* Volume 6, Number 1 (1995): 503-538.

Leslie Vinjamuri, "Deterrence, Democracy, and the Pursuit of International Justice," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Volume 24, Number 2 (2010): 191-211.

Week 8 – Poverty, Inequality and Hierarchy in the Global Economy

("Poverty and Wealth" by William Powell Frith)

We live in a world of extreme wealth inequality and in which large portions of the world live in poverty. While there's little disagreement that the poverty is harmful, there is considerable contestation over whether it is a moral wrong requiring some sort of practical action to alter our contemporary conditions of inequality and deprivation. Anglo-American philosophy has tended to frame questions of global inequality and poverty in terms of what the wealthy owe the poor – assistance and charity, or reform of an unjust system? There are, however, other framings of the issue in terms of legacies of colonialism and ongoing practices of imperialism that frame the global political economy as hierarchical and exploitative.

Questions

1. What kind of ethical responsibilities do we have for poverty and inequality? Who is the relevant "we"?

2. Can poverty and inequality be addressed through aid?

3. Is the persistence and expansion of poverty and inequality an economic or a political problem?

Essential Readings

Alison M. Jaggar, "'Saving Amina': Global Justice for Women and Intercultural Dialogue," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Volume 19, Issue 3 (2005): 55-75.

Thomas Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Volume 33, Number 2 (2005):113–47.

Peter Singer, "Famine, Affluence, and Morality," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Volume 1, Number (1972): 229-243.

Iris Marion Young, "Responsibility and Global Justice: A Social Connection Model," *Social Philosophy and Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 1 (2006): 102-130.

Further Reading

Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Nancy Fraser, "Who Counts? Dilemmas of Justice in a Postwestphalian World," *Antipode*, Volume 41, Supplement (2010): 281-297.

David Hulme, *Global Poverty: How Global Governance is Failing the Poor* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010).

Andrew Hurrell, "Global Inequality and International Institutions," *Metaphilosophy*, Volume 32, Number 1-2 (2001): 34-57.

Ravi Kanbur and Andy Sumner, "Poor Countries or Poor People? Development Assistance and the New Geography of Global Poverty," *Journal of International Development*, Volume 24, Issue 6 (2012): 686-695.

Chandran Kukathas, "The Mirage of Global Justice," *Social Philosophy and Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 1 (2006): 1-28.

Anthony J. Langlois, "Is global justice a mirage?" *European Journal of International Relations*, Volume 17, Number 1 (2010): 145-157.

David Miller, "National responsibility and global justice," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 11, Issue 4 (2008): 383-399.

Richard W. Miller, *Globalizing Justice: The Ethics of Poverty and Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Richard W. Miller, "How Global Inequality Matters," *Journal of Social Philosophy*, Volume 42, Issue 1 (2011): 88-98.

Martha Nussbaum, "Beyond the Social Contract: Capabilities and Global Justice," *Oxford Development Studies*, Volume 32, Number 1 (March 2004): 3-18.

Susan Moller Okin, "Poverty, Well-Being, and Gender: What Counts, Who's Heard?" *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Volume 31, Issue 3 (2003): 280-316.

Jane L. Parpart, "Who is the 'Other'?: A Postmodern Feminist Critique of Women and Development Theory and Practice," *Development and Change*, Volume 24, Issue 3 (1993): 439-464.

Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Global inequality: Bringing politics back in," *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 23, Issue 6 (2002): 1023-1046.

Thomas Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008).

Fiona Robinson, "The Ethics of Care and Women's Work in the Global Economy," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Volume 8, Number 3 (2006): 321-342.

Andy Sumner and Meera Tiwari, "Global Poverty Reduction to 2015 and Beyond," *Global Policy*, Volume 2, Issue 2 (May 2011): 138-151.

Week 9 – Ethics of Migration

("Cain flying before Jehovah's Curse" by Fernand-Anne Piestre Cormon)

Global ethics does not pay enough attention to the migrant, to those human beings moving across borders, for various reasons and with differing degrees of legality. When people move they upset the lines of membership that are presumed to define cultural belonging, as well as rights protection. This is why even very progressive views rarely confront the ethical significance of borders, as opening the question of whether we should be able to move across borders freely is deeply destabilising.

Questions

1. How do we justify borders and the coercion involved in maintaining them?

2. Do some people have more right to a particular place than others? Why?

3. Should we have completely open borders?

Essential Reading

Veit Bader, "The Ethics of Immigration," *Constellations,* Volume 12, Number 3 (2005): 331–361.

Joseph Carens, "An Overview of the Ethics of Immigration," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 17, Issue 5 (2014), 538-559.

Owen Parker and James Brassett, "Contingent Borders, Ambiguous Ethics: Migrants in (International) Political Theory," *International Studies Quarterly,* Volume 49, Number 2 (2005): 233–254.

Further Reading

Gideon Baker, "Right of Entry or Right of Refusal? Hospitality in the Law of Nature and Nation," *Review of International Studies,* Volume 37, Number 3 (2011): 1423-45.

Etienne Balibar, *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Michael Blake, "Immigration, Jurisdiction, and Exclusion," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Volume 41, Number 2 (2013): 103–130.

Joseph Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Catherine Dauvergne, *Making People Illegal: What Globalization Means for Migration and Law* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Mathias Risse, "On the Morality of Immigration," *Ethics & International Affairs,* Volume 22, Number 1 (2008): 25–33.

Jonathan Seglow, "The Ethics of Immigration," *Political Studies Review*, Volume 3 Number 3 (2005), 317–334.

Laura Ypi, "Justice in Migration: A Closed Borders Utopia?" *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 16, Number 4 (2008), 391–418.

Week 10 – From Global Governance to Global Democracy
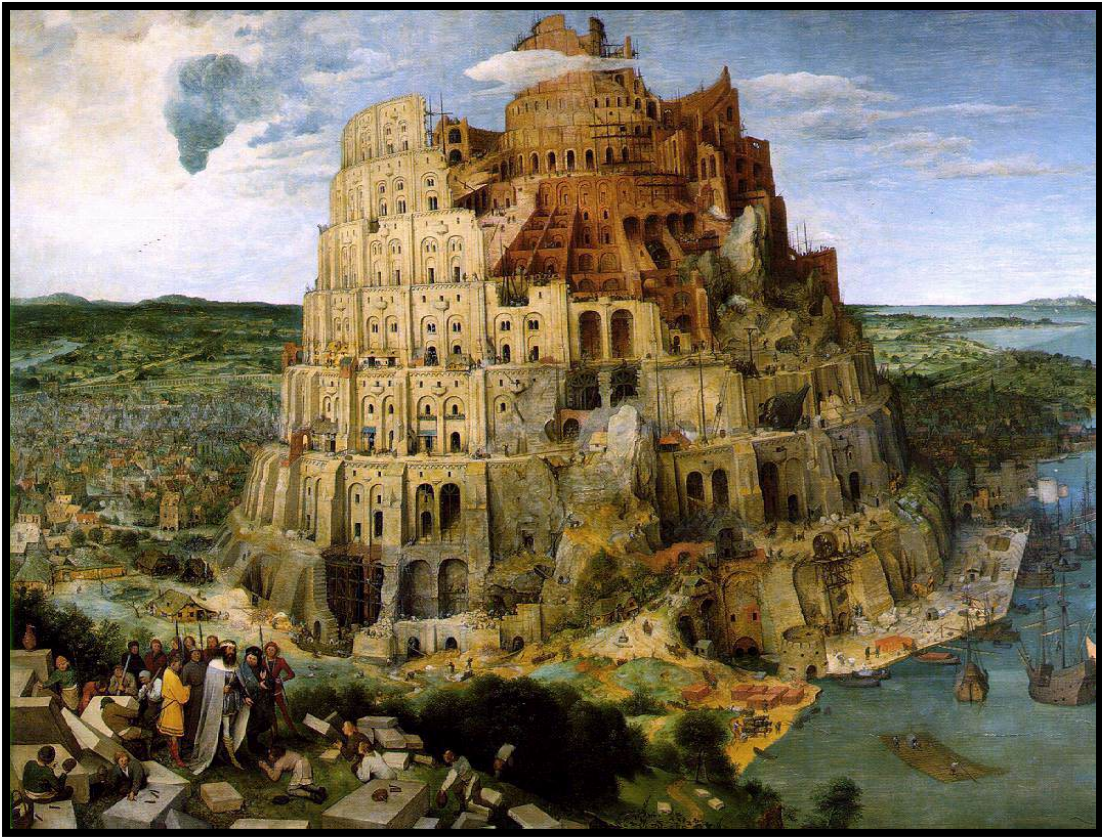
("The Tower of Babel" by Pieter Brueghel the Elder)

As we have seen ethical reflection on world politics leads to a number of different proposals for political change, especially expansions on the state-centric contemporary system. What standards should institutions of global governance be held to? This question has tended to be answered with an appeal to expanding democracy beyond the nation. The move to global democracy, however, generates as many controversies and problems as it solves. Will states give up their sovereignty? Does global democracy promise participation and equality or constraint and hierarchy? What should cosmopolitan institutions look like? In this session we will consider these questions and consider the prospects for global democracy to contribute to a more just world politics.

Questions

1. Is the nation state inadequate to address the ethical dilemmas of contemporary world politics? Give examples.

2. Can global institutions be democratic – in structure and ethos?

3. Is global democracy a new form of imperialism?

Essential Reading

David Held, "Democracy: From City-states to a Cosmopolitan Order?" *Political Studies*, Volume 40, Supplement Issue (1992): 10-39.

Walter Mignolo, "The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis: Border Thinking and Critical Cosmopolitanism," *Public Culture*, Volume 12, Number 3 (2000): 721-748.

Chantal Mouffe, "Chapter 5 – Which World Order: Cosmopolitan or Multipolar?" in *On the Political* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005): 90-118.

Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Emancipatory Cosmopolitanism: Towards an Agenda," *Development and Change*, Volume 37, Issue 6 (2006): 1247-1257.

Further Reading

Daniele Archibugi, "Cosmopolitan Democracy and its Critics: A Review," *European Journal of International Relations*, Volume 10, Number 3 (2004): 437-473.

Garrett Wallace Brown, "Kantian Cosmopolitan Law and the Idea of a Cosmopolitan Constitution," *History of Political Thought*, Volume 27, Number 4 (2006): 661-684.

David Chandler, "Critiquing Liberal Cosmopolitanism? The Limits of the Biopolitical Approach," *International Political Sociology*, Volume 3, Number 1 (2009): 53-70.

Molly Cochran, "A Democratic Critique of Cosmopolitan Democracy: Pragmatism from the Bottom-up," *European Journal of International Relations*, Volume 8, Number 4 (2002): 517-548.

Fred Dallmayr, "Cosmopolitanism: Moral and Political," *Political Theory*, Volume 31, Number 3 (2003): 421-442.

John S. Dryzek, "Global Civil Society: The Progress of Post-Westphalian Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Volume 15 (2012): 101-119.

Robyn Eckersley, "From cosmopolitan nationalism to cosmopolitan democracy," *Review of International Studies*, Volume 33, Issue 4 (2007): 675-692.

Derek Heater, "Does cosmopolitan thinking have a future," *Review of International Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 5 (2000): 179-197.

Kimberly Hutchings, "Feminist Politics and Cosmopolitan Citizenship," in Kimberly Hutchings and Roland Dannreuther (eds), *Cosmopolitan Citizenship* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999): 120-142.

Vivienne Jabri, "Solidarity and spheres of culture: the cosmopolitan and the postcolonial," *Review of International Studies*, Volume 33, Issue 4 (2007): 715-728.

Eduard Jordaan, "Including the excluded: communitarian paths to cosmopolitanism," *Review of International Studies*, Volume 37, Issue 5 (2011): 2365-2385.

Andrew Linklater, "Cosmopolitan Political Communities in International Relations," *International Relations*, Volume 16, Number 1 (2002): 135-150.

Onora O'Neill, "Bounded and cosmopolitan justice," *Review of International Studies*, Volume 26, Number 1 (2000): 45-60.

Alex Prichard, "David Held is an Anarchist. Discuss," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Volume 39, Number 2 (2010): 439-459.

William Smith and James Brassett, "Deliberation and Global Governance: Liberal, Cosmopolitan, and Critical Perspectives," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Volume 22, Issue 1 (2008): 69-92.

Paulina Tambakaki, "Cosmopolitanism or agonism? Alternative visions of world order," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 12, Number 1 (2009): 101-116.

Week 11 – Resistance and Plural Cosmopolitanisms

("Self Portrait Along the Boarder Line Between Mexico and the United States" by Frida Kahlo)

Given concerns raised about universal notions of individualism and liberalism, it can be tempting to return to a nationalist ethics, to resign oneself to particularism. This, however, is not the only response. In this session we consider alternative ways of conceptualising a political cosmopolitanism, emphasising pluralism and difference, while also considering how a universal ethic can be more responsive to difference. Rethinking these traditions requires engaging with difference on multiple levels, including along lines of race, gender and class, and considering the way hierarchy is resisted and order is challenged.

Questions

1. How is pluralism difference from liberal notions of tolerance?

2. Why does a liberal world order inspire resistance? Think about specific grievances or challenges raised.

3. Does a concern for difference undermine notions of order, law and morality?

Essential Reading

Seyla Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), chapter 2.

William E. Connolly, "Speed, Concentric Cultures, and Cosmopolitanism," *Political Theory*, Volume 28, Number 5 (2000): 596-618.

Bonnie Honig, "Another Cosmopolitanism? Law and Politics in the New Europe," in Seyla Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): 102-127.

Rahul Rao, *Third World Protest: Between Home and the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), chapters 4-6.

Further Reading

Kwame Anthony Appiah, *The Ethics of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), especially chapter 6.

Anthony Burke, "Recovering Humanity from Man: Hannah Arendt's Troubled Cosmopolitanism," *International Politics*, Volume 45, Number 4 (2008): 514-521.

Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2004), especially chapter 5.

William E. Connolly, *Ethos of Pluralization* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), chapter 2.

Simon Critchley, *Infinitely Demanding: Ethics of Commitment, Politics of Resistance* (London: Verso, 2007).

Faisal Devji, "Morality in the Shadow of Politics," *Modern Intellectual History*, Volume 7, Number 2 (2010): 373-390.

Clara Fischer, "Consciousness and Conscience: Feminism, Pragmatism, and the Potential for Radical Change," *Studies in Social Justice*, Volume 4, Issue 1 (2010): 67-85.

Mark Goodale, "Reclaiming modernity: Indigenous cosmopolitanism and the coming of the second revolution in Bolivia," *American Ethnologist*, Volume 33, Number 4 (2006): 634-649.

Sara Rushing, "Preparing for politics: Judith Butler's ethical dispositions," *Contemporary Political Theory*, Volume 9, Number 3 (2010): 284-303.

Robbie Shilliam, "Decolonising the Grounds of Ethical Inquiry: A Dialogue between Kant, Foucault and Glissant," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Volume 39, Number 3 (May 2011): 649-665.