

Political Science 7499: Global Justice

W 9am-11:45am Autumn Semester 2016 (Class #25237)

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Office Hours: Thursday, 2pm-3pm
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Course Description

Is it possible to achieve global justice? What would such a world look like and what does this tell us about how to live today in our own unjust world? These important questions motivate this political theory course about the possibility of justice between states and among the people of the world. Much contemporary political theory about global justice remains structured by its origin in the challenge Charles Beitz first posed in 1979: is it morally permissible to ensure a fair domestic distribution of wealth while ignoring glaring international inequalities? Answers to this question all came in the wake of the significant shift that John Rawls enacted by arguing that liberalism should be committed to a form of social justice that includes egalitarian redistribution. Consequently, political theory has recently debated whether or not those relatively settled post-Rawlsian convictions about justice should be extended by analogy to the world as a whole or defended as normatively best in their current, bounded form.

However, as critics have pointed out, the ascendance of the Rawlsian consensus within political theory has coincided with its retreat in the actual politics of the global North. The structure of the world economy has changed too, as neoliberalism increasingly began to influence economic policy starting around 1979. This poses important challenges for political theory. Can theories of global justice help us understand neoliberal realities? Which theories, if any, can help to guide action today? To answer this, we will read contemporary views of global justice as well as interdisciplinary work on neoliberalism and key works in the history of international political theory.

Course Policies

Course Requirements

Grades will be based on seminar participation and attendance (20%), a class presentation and discussion that you lead (20%), 2 short writing assignments (20%), and a final paper (40%).

Participation in Class Discussion

This is a graduate seminar so I trust that you know how to be a student. But I also know that, for many of you, political theory is not your primary field and may be one that you are exploring for the first time. And I recognize that reading theory can be challenging. Even if you are accustomed to digesting great quantities of information, reading conceptual and normative arguments requires distinct analytic skills; careful reading on the sentence-level to parse the particulars of a claim needs to be combined with a synthetic view of where that claim fits in a larger argument. And, like any disciplinary field, it can be hard to get oriented as the interesting

questions often presuppose some familiarity with earlier work. This is especially true for international political theory, which often incorporates (but does not always defend) assumptions about domestic politics.

In the context of these challenges, it is especially important for us to regard this seminar as a kind of collective research endeavor – a project that requires working together to understand these texts. That means you must attend every class and be an *active* participant in discussion. Being an active participant has several components and does not just mean talking a lot. First, being prepared to participate means that you need to do the assigned reading, of course, but it also means that *you must bring your copy of the reading and your notes on it to each class*. Trying to read a pdf on your phone is no substitute for a copy that you can actually work with. Second, if a discussion about ideas is to be more than an exchange of monologues, it requires *being an attentive listener and treating your classmates and their contributions respectfully*. This will make it possible for you to contribute by asking them clarifying questions, explaining why you agree or disagree with what they have said, sharing relevant passages, and taking good notes about others' views. Finally, participating actively in class also means *contributing your own comments and questions to the discussion*. Don't be afraid to say something that might be wrong or that you're unsure about; those questions and speculations are often the most productive means of advancing our discussion and our understanding. A good class has people engaged in all these activities without anyone dominating the same form of participation every week.

Unexcused absences from class can be made up by writing a response paper that raises substantive issues with the week's reading; this paper is due within a week of the missed class. Unexcused absences that are not made up will be deducted from your final grade for the course.

Class Presentation

Starting in Week 4, everyone will be responsible for beginning class with a presentation that discusses key arguments from the reading and then leading discussion structured by a set of questions you pose; most weeks will have two presenters, who can divide up the reading and class time.

Writing Assignments

You must write a short paper of 750-900 words reconstructing and evaluating the argument of one or more readings of your choosing before the seminar meets during Week 12. You must also write a short paper (500-750 words) engaging with one paper presented at the Association for Political Theory conference held on campus in October. Finally, you must write a final paper of approximately 6,000 words; I encourage you to develop this final paper out of the short writing assignments. Final papers longer than 8,000 words will not be accepted. A required paper swap where at least one other student in the course reads and responds to a draft of your final paper will be held in class on 11/30. Contributing to the paper swap counts as part of your class participation grade.

Late Work and Absences

I do not accept assignments more than 3 days late. Writing assignments will be penalized 1/3 of a grade for each day they are late (ie, a B+ becomes a B). Extensions and excused absences will be granted in the case of illnesses or personal emergencies.

Academic Misconduct

It is the responsibility of the Committee on Academic Misconduct to investigate or establish procedures for the investigation of all reported cases of student academic misconduct. The term “academic misconduct” includes all forms of student academic misconduct wherever committed; illustrated by, but not limited to, cases of plagiarism and dishonest practices in connection with examinations. Instructors shall report all instances of alleged academic misconduct to the committee (Faculty Rule 3335-5-487). For additional information, see the Code of Student Conduct: http://studentaffairs.osu.edu/resource_csc.asp

Disabilities

The University strives to make all learning experiences as accessible as possible. If you anticipate or experience academic barriers based on your disability (including mental health, chronic or temporary medical conditions), please let me know immediately so that we can privately discuss options. You are also welcome to register with Student Life Disability Services to establish reasonable accommodations. After registration, make arrangements with me as soon as possible to discuss your accommodations so that they may be implemented in a timely fashion. **SLDS contact information:** slds@osu.edu; 614-292-3307; slds.osu.edu; 098 Baker Hall, 113 W. 12th Avenue.

Required Texts

All of the readings for this course will be available as PDFs through Carmen. However, if you are interested in political theory and are able to, I recommend that you purchase the following books (all of which are widely and cheaply available used):

Charles Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations, Revised Edition* (Princeton University Press 1999) ISBN: 0691009155

John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples: with "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited"* (Harvard University Press, 2001) ISBN: 0674005422

Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979* Trans. Graham Burchell (Picador, 2008) ISBN: 0312203411

Reading Schedule

Week 1 Intro and Overview (to be read before our first class meeting)

- 8/24 David Harvey, *Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Introduction and Chapter 1 (pages 1-38)
Jonathan D. Ostry, Prakash Loungani, and Davide Furceri “Neoliberalism: Oversold?”
Finance & Development, Vol. 53, No. 2 (June 2016): 38-41
Michael Blake and Patrick Taylor Smith, Stanford Encyclopedia Entry on “International Distributive Justice” <<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/international-justice/>>
Dani Rodrik, “How Far Will International Economic Integration Go?” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* Volume 14, Number 1 (Winter 2000): Pages 177–186

Week 2 The Possibility of International Justice

- 8/31 Charles Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, Part 1 (pages 12-66)
Francisco de Vitoria, "On the American Indians" in *Political Writings*, pages 231-292
Michel de Montaigne, "Of Cannibals" in *The Complete Essays* Trans. Donald Frame
(Stanford University Press, 1965), pages 150-159

Recommended: Martti Koskenniemi, 'The Lady Doth Protest Too Much' Kosovo, and the Turn to
Ethics in International Law *The Modern Law Review*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (Mar.,
2002), pp. 159-175

Carl Schmitt, "Justification of the Land-Appropriation of a New World: Francisco
de Vitoria" in *Nomos of the Earth* (Telos Press, 2003), pages 101-125
Vitoria, "On the Law of War," pages 293-328
Montaigne, "Of Coaches," pages 685-699

Week 3 The Morality of the Nation-State

- 9/7 Emer de Vattel, selections from *The Law of Nations*
Preliminaries (pages 67-79), Book 1 – §§1-21 (pages 81-89), §§38-54 (96-112),
§§83-94 (pages 131-135), §§97-99 (pages 138-139)
Book 2 - §§1-33 (page 259-279); §§35-39 (page 281-2); §§47-70 (page 287-297);
§§79-92 (page 301-308); §§116-122 (page 319-322); §§152-164 (page 338-343)
Book 3 - §§1-4 (469-471)

John Stuart Mill, "Civilization," *Essays on Politics and Society*, pages 117-148

Mill, "A Few Words on Nonintervention," *Essays* 111-124

Recommended: Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, Part 2 (pages 67-123)

Week 4 Globalizing Social Justice?

- 9/14 John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, §§1-4 (pages 3-19), §11 (pages 52-56), §22 (pages 109-
112) plus final statement of the two principles (page 266)
Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, Part 3 (pages 127-176)
Rawls, *Law of Peoples*, §§1-6 (pages 11-58)

Week 5 The Boundaries of Justice?

- 9/21 Rawls, *Law of Peoples*, §§7-12 (pages 59-88), §§15-16 (105-120)
Thomas Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* Vol. 33,
No. 2 (April 2005): 113-47
Joshua Cohen and Charles Sabel, "Extra Republicam Nulla Justitia?" *Philosophy &
Public Affairs*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Spring, 2006): 147-175
AJ Julius, "Nagel's Atlas" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* Vol. 34, No. 2 (Spring, 2006):
176-192

Recommended: Leif Wenar, "Why Rawls is Not a Cosmopolitan Egalitarian" in *Rawls's Law of
Peoples: A Realistic Utopia?*, ed. R. Martin & D. Reidy (Blackwell, 2006)

Branko Milanovic, *Global Inequality: A New Approach for the Age of Globalization* (2016)

Week 6 Liberal Alternatives

- 9/28 Andrea Sangiovanni, "Global Justice, Reciprocity, and the State" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* Vol. 35 No. 1 (Winter 2007): 3-39
- Arash Abizadeh, "Cooperation, Pervasive Impact, and Coercion: On the Scope (not Site) of Distributive Justice" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* Vol. 35, No 4 (Fall 2007): 318–358
- Miriam Ronzoni, "The Global Order: A Case of Background Injustice? A Practice-Dependent Account" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* Vol. 37 No. 3 (Summer 2009): 229–256

Week 7 Agents of Global Justice

- 10/5 Charles Mills, "Global White Ignorance" in *Routledge International Handbook of Ignorance Studies*, eds. Matthias Gross and Linsey McGoey (2015), 217-227
- Mills, "Race and Global Justice" in *Domination and Global Political Justice: Conceptual, Historical, and Institutional Perspectives* Eds. Barbara Buckinx, Jonathan Trejo-Mathys, and Timothy Waligore (Routledge, 2015): pages 181-206
- Neera Chandhoke "Realising Justice" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (2013), 305–320
- Andrew Robinson and Simon Tormey "Resisting 'global justice': disrupting the colonial 'emancipatory' logic of the West" *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 30 No. 8 (2009): 1395–1409.
- Jennifer C. Rubenstein "The Misuse of Power, Not Bad Representation: Why It Is Beside the Point that No One Elected Oxfam" *Journal of Political Philosophy* Vol. 22, No. 2 (2014), 204–230

Recommended: James Tully, "The Struggle of Indigenous Peoples for and of Freedom" in *Political Theory and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* Eds. Duncan Ivison, Paul Patton, and Will Sanders (2000), pages 36-59

Lindsey Te Ata O Tu MacDonald & Paul Muldoon "Globalisation, neo-liberalism and the struggle for indigenous citizenship" *Australian Journal of Political Science* Vol. 41 No. 2 (2006), 209-223

Week 8 Approaches in Critical Theory

- 10/12 Jurgen Habermas, "The Postnational Constellation and the Future of Democracy" from *The Postnational Constellation*, pages 58-112
- Nancy Fraser, "Abnormal Justice" from *Scales of Justice*, pages 48-75
- Jean Cohen, "Whose Sovereignty? Empire Versus International Law," *Ethics & International Affairs* 18 (2004): 1-24

Week 9 Neoliberal Governmentality

- 10/19 Michel Foucault, Lectures of 9-12 from *Birth of Biopolitics* (pages 215-315)
- Foucault, "Right of Death and Power over Life" *History of Sexuality, Vol 1* (pages 133-159)

Recommended: Bernard Harcourt, *The Illusion of Free Markets* (2012), Chapter 6

Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos* (2015), Chapters 1 and 2

10/20-10/22 Association for Political Theory Conference

Week 10 Neoliberal Freedom

10/26 Friedrich Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, Ch 1 (10-23); Ch 5-6 (56-87), Ch 9 (119-133); Ch 15 (220-239)

Hayek, *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, Ch 2 (35-54) and excerpt from Ch 10 (107-122)

Recommended: Gary Becker, "Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach," *Journal of Political Economy* Vol. 76, No. 2 (1968): 169-217.

Gary Becker, "Human Capital Revisited" in *Human Capital*, 3rd Edition, 11-26

Week 11 The Global Supply Chain

11/2 Iris Marion Young, "Responsibility and Global Labor Justice," *Journal of Political Philosophy* 12 (2004): 365-88.

Tim Bartley, et al. "Apparel and Footwear: Standards for Sweatshops" in *Looking Behind the Label: Global Industries and the Conscientious Consumer*, 146-178

Damani James Partridge "Activist Capitalism and Supply-Chain Citizenship: Producing Ethical Regimes and Ready-to-Wear Clothes" *Current Anthropology* Volume 52, Supplement 3 (April 2011): 97-107

Anna Tsing, "Supply Chains and the Human Condition" *Rethinking Marxism* 21/2 (2009): 148-176

Recommended: Deborah Cowen, *The Deadly Life of Logistics: Mapping Violence in Global Trade* (2014)

Leslie T. Chang, *Factory Girls: From Village to City in a Changing China* (2009)

Week 12 Vulnerability and Politics [last day short paper accepted]

11/9 Judith Butler, "Precarious Life, Grievable Life" and "Survivability, Vulnerability, Affect" from *Frames of War* (pages 1-62)

Peter Singer, "Famine, Affluence, and Morality," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1 (1972): 229- 43.

Alison M. Jaggar "Transnational Cycles of Gendered Vulnerability: A Prologue to a Theory of Global Gender Justice" *Philosophical Topics* Vol. 37, No. 2, (Fall 2009): 33-52.

Recommended: Andrew Kuper, "More Than Charity: Cosmopolitan Alternatives to the 'Singer Solution'" *Ethics & International Affairs* Vol 16 No 2: pages 107-120

Sina Kramer, "Judith Butler's 'New Humanism': A Thing or Not a Thing, and So What?" *philoSOPHIA* Vol. 5, No. 1 (Winter 2015): 25-40.

Week 13 (11/16) No class

Week 14 (11/23) No class [OSU closed for Thanksgiving]

Week 15 (11/30) Workshop and Draft Swap of Final Papers

Week 16 (12/7) Final Paper Due