School of Social Sciences
CITY UNIVERSITY LONDON

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

**International Politics & Human Rights MA,
International Politics MA, Global Political Economy
MA and Diplomacy & Foreign Policy MA, 2013-2014**

IPM028 Global Ethics: Power, Principle and Politics

Dr Joe Hoover
Office: D522
Phone: 020 7040 8376
joseph.hoover.1@city.ac.uk
Office Hours: TBD
Lectures: TBD
Seminars: TBD

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 lectures and 10 seminars. Main ideas and controversies will be presented in the lectures and you will have the opportunity to ask questions and develop your thinking in the discussion-based seminars. 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 the lectures and all the seminars. It is also vital that you attend your assigned seminars, as your classmates will be depending on you to contribute to presentations and class discussions.

During the term you will give a short presentation and produce a critical outline on the topic for your assessed essay.

The presentation will be given in class and you will present with a partner, though feedback will be given separately. In the class presentation you will be asked to respond to a set question by applying a theoretical perspective to a real-world event. Schedules for presentation will be worked out in the first seminar.

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: <u>TBD</u>

In order to pass the module and acquire the associated credit, you must achieve a module mark of no less than 40%. 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 IPM028 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. Do note that the Essential Reading contains a number of shorter practical readings, please attend to these as well as the longer academic ones. 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. Presenters should try to read all of the Essential Reading, and much of the Further Reading. Where a chapter reference for a book is given, it is likely that the rest of the book will also be useful – don't feel you have to stop at the end of the chapter if you're gripped by the argument!

The following General texts will be quite useful and the library and bookshop have been asked to stock them. Students are encouraged to buy one or two and to co-ordinate purchasing so that they have access to a range of them.

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

TBD

Course Outline

Week 1 27 – 31 January 2014	**Lecture:** *What is Global Ethics?* **Tutorial:** Course Introduction and discussion of what ethics means
Week 2 3 – 7 February 2014	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *War! What Is It Good For?*
Week 3 10 – 14 February 2014	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *Community, Territory and Exclusion*
Week 4 17 – 21 February 2014	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *Individualism and the Authority of Human Rights*
Week 5 24 – 28 February 2014	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *Global Liberalism Between Order and Violence*
Week 6 3 – 7 March 2014	**Reflective Learning Week** **NO LECTURES OR TUTORIALS** **Department-wide Careers Events**
Week 7 10 – 14 March 2014	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *Resistance and Plural Cosmopolitanisms*
Week 8 17 – 21 March 2014	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *Poverty, Inequality and Hierarchy in the Global Economy*
Week 9 24 – 28 March 2014	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *Legalism and its Limits: The Politics of International Law*
Week 10 31 March – 4 April 2014	**Lecture and Tutorial:** *From Global Governance to Global Democracy*
Week 11 7 – 11 April 2014	**Lecture:** *Ethics and Uncertainty: Justice as Critical Intelligence* **Tutorial:** Module Review Session

Reading List

Week 1 – What is Global Ethics?

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

3. How does ethics matter to the study of world politics?

Essential Reading

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

Ernesto "Che" Guevara, "At the Afro-Asian Conference in Algeria," *Second Economic Seminar of Afro-Asian Solidarity* (24 February 1965).
http://www.marxists.org/archive/guevara/1965/02/24.htm

Joe Hoover, "Egypt and the Failure of Realism," *Journal of Critical Globalisation Studies*, Issue 4 (2011): 127-137.

Catharine MacKinnon, "Are Women Human?" in *Are Women Human? And Other International Dialogues* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007): 41-44.
http://www.nostatusquo.com/ACLU/mackinnon/mackin1.html

Haile Selassie, "Appeal to the League of Nations" (June 1936).
https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/selassie.htm

Haile Selassie, "Address to the United Nations" (6 October 1963).
http://www.nazret.com/history/him_un.php

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

Further Reading

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).

Kimberly Hutchings, *Global Ethics* (Cambridge: Polity 2010), especially chapter 1-2.

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

Thomas Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Volume 33, Number 2 (2005): 113-147.

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?

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 Readings

Tony Blair, "Doctrine of the International Community" (23 April 2009). (http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/international/jan-june99/blair_doctrine4-23.html)

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

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

Jürgen Habermas, "Bestiality and Humanity: A War on the Border between Legality and Morality," *Constellations*, Volume 6, Issue 3 (September 1999): 263-272.

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

Martin Luther King, Jr., "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence" (4 April 1967). (http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article2564.htm)

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "An unnecessary war," *Foreign Policy*, Jan/Feb 2003. (https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/bush/walt.htm)

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

Anthony F. Lang, Jr., "Conflicting Rules: Global Constitutionalism and the Kosovo Intervention," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, Volume 3, Number 2 (June 2009): 185-204.

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 – Community, Territory and Exclusion

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 Readings

William E. Connolly, "Tocqueville, Territory and Violence," *Theory, Culture, Society*, Volume 11, Number 1 (1994): 19-40.

Patrice Lumumba, "Speech at the Ceremony of the Proclamation of the Congo's Independence," (30 June 1960).
(http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/lumumba/1960/06/independence.htm)

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

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.

Ed Miliband, "Englishness Speech" (7 June 2012).
(http://www.politics.co.uk/comment-analysis/2012/06/07/ed-miliband-s-englishness-speech-in-full)

Michael Walzer, "Nation and Universe," in *Thinking Politically* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007): 183-218.

Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet," (Cleveland Ohio, 3 April 1964).
(http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/speeches/malcolm_x_ballot.html)

Further Readings

Zygmunt Bauman, "Migration and identities in the globalized world," *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, Volume 37, Number 4 (2011): 425-435.

Lawrie Balfour, "*Darkwater's* Democratic Vision," *Political Theory*, Volume 38, Number 4 (2010): 537-563.

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

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.

Deniz Kandiyoti, "Identity and its Discontents: Women and the Nation," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Volume 20, Number 3 (1991): 429-443.

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.

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

Owen Parker and James Brassett, "Contingent Borders, Ambiguous Ethics: Migrants in (International) Political Theory," *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 49, Issue 2 (2005): 233-253.
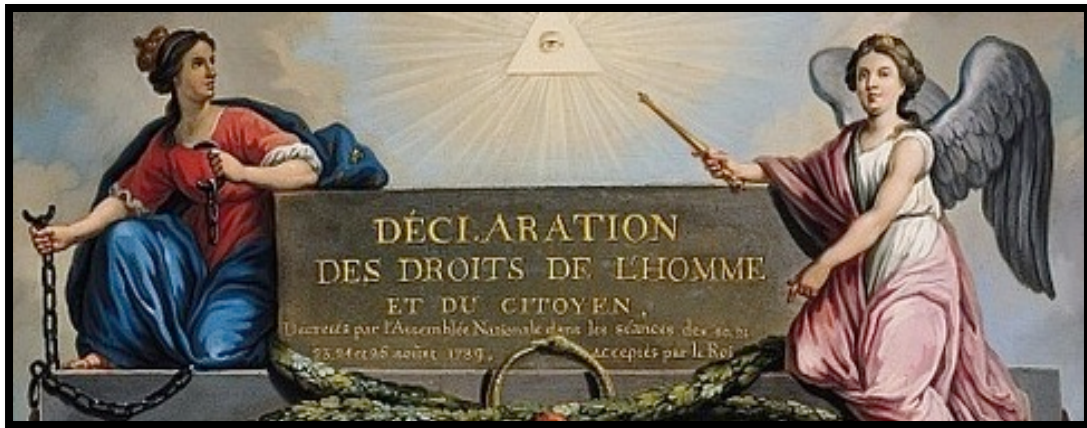
Charles Taylor, "Democratic exclusion (and its remedies?)," in Alain C. Cairns, et al. (eds), *Citizenship, Diversity, and Pluralism: Canadian and Comparative Perspectives* (Canada: McGill-Queens University Press, 1997). (http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2002-02-21-taylor-en.html)

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

Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defence of Pluralism and Equality* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1983).

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

Week 4 – Individualism and the Authority of Rights

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 Readings

George W. Bush, "Remarks to the U.N." (12 September 2002, New York, NY). (http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/09.12.02.html)

René Cassin, "The Charter of Human Rights," *Nobel Lecture* (11 December 1968). (http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1968/cassin-lecture.html)

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), especially chapter 8.

Emma Goldman, "The Individual, Society and the State," (Chicago, IL: Free Society Forum, 1940). (http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/goldman/works/1940/individual.htm)

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

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

Niamh Reilly, "Cosmopolitan Feminism and Human Rights," *Hypatia*, Volume 22, Number 4 (Fall 2007): 180-198.

Further Readings

Charles R. Beitz, "Social and Cosmopolitan Liberalism," *International Affairs*, Volume 75, Issue 3 (July 1999): 515-529.

Charles R. Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

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.

David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), especially chapters 3 and 4.

Joe Hoover, "Rereading the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Plurality and Contestation, Not Consensus," *Journal of Human Rights*, Volume 12, Issue 2 (2013): 217-241.

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 Modern Liberalism," *Political Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 3 (2003): 509-523.

Andrew Linklater, "Cosmopolitan Citizenship," *Citizenship Studies*, Volume 2, Number (1998): 23-41.

Marta Nussbaum, "Kant and Stoic Cosmopolitanism," *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 5, Number 1 (1997): 1-25.

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

Anthony Pagden, "Human Rights, Natural Rights, and Europe's Imperial Legacy," *Political Theory*, Volume 31, Number 2 (2003): 171-199.

V. Spike Peterson, "Whose Rights? A Critique of the "Givens" in Human Rights Discourse," *Alternatives*, Volume 15, Number 3 (1990): 303-344.
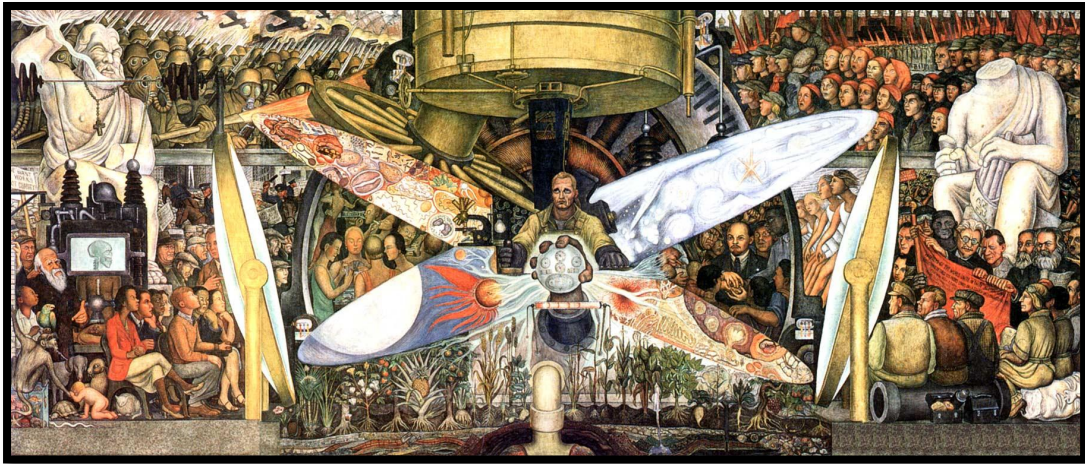
Christian Reus-Smit, "Human rights and the social construction of sovereignty," *Review of International Studies*, Volume 27, Issue 4 (2001): 519-538.

Fiona Robinson, "The Limits of a rights-based approach to international ethics," in Tony Evans (ed), *Human Rights Fifty Years On: A Reappraisal* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

Sonia Tascón and Jim Ife, "Human Rights and Critical Whiteness: Whose Humanity?" *The International Journal of Human Rights,* Volume 12, Number 3 (2008): 307-327.

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

Week 5 – Global Liberalism Between Order and Violence

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 resistance 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 Readings

Anthony Anghie, "The evolution of international law: Colonial and postcolonial realities," *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 27, Issue 5 (2006): 739-753.

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

Michael Ignatieff, *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, edited by Amy Gutmann (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), especially "Human Rights as Politics". (http://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_documents/a-to-z/i/Ignatieff_01.pdf)

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

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

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, "A Voice for Freedom!" *Nobel Lecture* (10 December 2011, Oslo). (http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2011/johnson_sirleaf-lecture_en.html)

Marcus Garvey, "The Principles of the Universal Negro Improvement Association," (25 November 1922, New York, NY). (http://www.blackpast.org/?q=1922-marcus-garvey-principles-universal-negro-improvement-association)

Woodrow Wilson, "The Fourteen Points," (8 January 1918). (http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/wilson-points.htm)

Further Readings

Wendy Brown, "'The Most We Can Hope For …': Human Rights and the Politics of Fatalism," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Volume 103, Number 2/3 (Spring/Summer 2004): 451-463.

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.

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

Siba N. Grovogui, "To the Orphaned, Dispossessed, and Illegitimate Children: Human Rights Beyond Republican and Liberal Tradition," *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, Volume 18, Issue 1 (Winter 2011): 41-63.

Jürgen Habermas, "The Constitutionalization of International Law and the Legitimation Problems of a Constitution for World Society," *Constellations*, Volume 15, Number 4 (2008): 444-455.

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.

Stephen Hopgood, "Reading the Small Print in Global Civil Society: The Inexorable Hegemony of the Liberal Self," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Volume 29, Number 1 (2000): 1-25.

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

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 – Resistance and Plural Cosmopolitanisms

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 Readings

Brooke Ackerly and Katy Attanasi, "Global Feminisms: Theory and Ethics for Studying Gendered Injustice," *New Political Science*, Volume 31, Number 4 (2009): 543-555.

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.

Los Angeles California Action Network, "People's Declaration on the Human Right to Housing," (2010). (http://lahumanrighttohousing.blogspot.co.uk/p/peoples-declaration-on-human-right-to.html)

Brother Filippo Mondini, "Politics Beyond the State," (18 June 2008).
(http://antieviction.org.za/2008/06/18/politics-beyond-the-state/)

Rahul Rao, "Postcolonial Cosmopolitanism: Making Place for Nationalism," in Jyotirmaya Tripathy and Sudarsan Padmanabhan (eds), *The Democratic Predicament: Cultural Diversity in Europe and India* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013): 165-187.

Zapatista Army of National Liberation, "6th Declaration of the Selva Lacandona," *EZLN communiqué* (1 July 2005).
(http://www.anarkismo.net/newswire.php?story_id=805)

Further Readings

Brooke Ackerly, *Universal Human Rights in a World of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Gideon Baker, "The 'Double Law' of Hospitality: Rethinking Cosmopolitan Ethics in Humanitarian Intervention," *International Relations*, Volume 24, Number 1 (2010): 87-103.

Upendra Baxi, "Voices of Suffering and the Future of Human Rights," *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems*, Volume 8, Number 2 (1998): 125-169.

Seyla Benhabib, *Dignity in Adversity: Human Rights in Troubled Times* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011).

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.

Richard Devetak, "Between Kant and Pufendorf: humanitarian intervention, statist anti-cosmopolitanism and critical international theory," *Review of International Studies*, Volume 33, Special Issue (2007): 151-174.

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

Mark Goodale and Sally Engle Merry, *The Practice of Human Rights: Tracking Law Between the Global and the Local* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Bonnie Honig, "The Time of Rights: Emergency Thoughts in an Emergency Setting," in David Campbell and Morton Schoolman (eds), *The New Pluralism: William Connolly and the Contemporary Global Condition* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008): 85-120.

Joe Hoover and Marta Iñiguez de Heredia, "Philosophers, Activists, and Radicals: A Story of Human Rights and Other Scandals," *Human Rights Review*, Volume 12, Issue 2 (2011): 191-220.

Joe Hoover, "Towards a Politics for Human Rights: Ambiguous Humanity and Democratizing Rights," *Philosophy & Social Criticism* (forthcoming 2014).

Makau Mutua, "Critical Race Theory and International Law: The View of an Insider-Outsider," *Villanova Law Review*, Volume 45, Issue 5 (2000): 841-853.

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

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.

Rosemary E. Shinko, "Ethics after Liberalism: Why (Autonomous) Bodies Matter," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Volume 38, Number 3 (May 2010): 723-745.

Nick Vaughan-Williams, "Beyond a Cosmopolitan Ideal: the Politics of Singularity," *International Politics*, Volume 44, Number 1 (2007): 107-124.

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

We live in a world of extreme wealth inequality and in which large portions of the world live in condition of poverty. While there's little disagreement that the poverty is moral wrong, there is considerable contestation over what sort of practical action conditions of inequality and deprivation demand. 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 on-going practices of imperialism that frame the global political economy as hierarchical and exploitative. Also, the notion that there are rich and powerful states that exploit poor and weak states, even when this condition is objected to, ignores economic dynamics within states, especially those that disadvantage women, and reiterates an international hierarchy of North versus South that is increasingly problematic.

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

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.

Nelson Mandela, "Poverty Speech" *BBC News* (3 February 2005). (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4232603.stm)

Dambisa Moyo, "Why Foreign Aid is Hurting Africa," *Wall Street Journal* (21 March 2009). (http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123758895999200083.html#articleTabs%3Darticle)

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

Thomas Pogge, "Priorities of Global Justice," *Metaphilosophy*, Volume 32, Issue 1-2 (2001): 6-24.

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

Joseph Stiglitz, "So-called free trade talks should be in the public, not corporate interest," *The Guardian* (5 July 2013). (http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/economics-blog/2013/jul/05/free-trade-talks-public-corporate-interest)

Robert Hunter Wade, "Is Globalization Reducing Poverty and Inequality?" *World Development*, Volume 32, Number 4 (2004): 567-589.

Further Readings

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.

Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 8, Number 2 (1971): 81-117.

Gil Gott, "Critical Race Globalism?: Global Political Economy, and the Intersections of Race, Nation, and Class," *University of California Davis Law Review*, Volume 33, Issue 4 (1999-2000): 1503-1518.

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.

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.

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).

Thomas Pogge, *Politics as Usual: What Lies Behind the Pro-Poor Rhetoric* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010).

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.

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

Week 9 – Legalism and its Limits: The Politics of International Law

Notions of national sovereignty and individual rights make appeals to the law. 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. We will also consider the development of international criminal law in contrast to the inefficacy of international law to address other injustices.

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 Readings

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

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.

Walter Cronkite, "Unite Nations, national sovereignty and the future of the world," *Norman Cousins Global Governance Award* (19 October 1999). (http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/United_Nations/Chronkite_UN.html)

Thomas Franck, "The Power of Legitimacy and the Legitimacy of Power: International Law in an Age of Power Disequilibrium," *The American Journal of International Law*, Volume 100, Number 1 (2006): 88-106.

Robert H. Jackson, "Opening Statement before the International Military Tribunal," (21 November 1945, Nuremberg, Germany). (http://www.roberthjackson.org/the-man/speeches-articles/speeches/speeches-by-robert-h-jackson/opening-statement-before-the-international-military-tribunal/)

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

Nusreta Sivac, "Nusreta Sivac's Voice," *Voices* (23 April 2009). (http://www.un.org/en/durbanreview2009/pdf/Nusreta%20Sivac.pdf)

Further Readings

Antony Anghie and B. S. Chimni, "Third World Approaches to International Law and Individual Responsibility in Internal Conflicts," *Chinese Journal of International Law*, Volume 2, Number 1 (2003): 77-103.

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

Hillary Charlesworth and Christine Chinkin, *The Boundaries of International Law: A Feminist Analysis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

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 Kelsen, "Collective and Individual Responsibility in International Law with Particular Regard to the Punishment of War Crimes," *California Law Review*, Volume 31, Issue 5 (1943): 530-571.

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

David S. Koller, "The Faith of the International Criminal Lawyer," *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics*, Volume 40, Number 4 (2007): 1019-1069.

Sanford Levinson, "Responsibility for Crimes of War," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Volume 2, Number 3 (1973): 244-273.

Saladin Meckled-Garcia, "International law and the limits of global justice," *Review of International Studies*, Volume 37, Issue 5 (2011): 2073-2088.

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.

Elisa Orrù and Miriam Ronzoni, "Which supranational sovereignty? Criminal and socioeconomic justice compared," *Review of International Studies*, Volume 37, Issue 5 (2011): 2089-2106.

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 10 – From Global Governance to Global Democracy

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 amore 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 Readings

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

David Held, "Restructuring Global Governance: Cosmopolitanism, Democracy and the Global Order," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Volume 37, Number 3 (2009): 535-547.

Nikandre Kopcke, "Anti-immigrant sentiment: time to talk about gender?" *Open Democracy* (17 June 2013). (http://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/nikandre-kopcke/anti-immigrant-sentiment-time-to-talk-about-gender)

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.

Occupy London, "United for Global Democracy," *Statement Adopted by Occupy London General Assembly* (15 October 2011, London). (http://occupylondon.org.uk/about/statements/global-democracy-statement)

George Orwell, "Wells, Hitler and the World State," *Horizon* (August 1941). (http://orwell.ru/library/reviews/wells/english/e_whws)

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

Further Readings

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

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.

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

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.

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.

Mikkel Thorup, "Cosmopolitanism: Sovereignty denied or sovereignty restated?" *International Politics*, Volume 47, Number 6 (2010): 659-679.

Week 11 – Ethics and Uncertainty

In considering the place of ethics in world politics we have seen the way in which the idea of the good or the right is often associated with authority and order, as ethics are presumed to provide us with a guide to acting. Along the way, however, the complicity of ethics in exploitation, hierarchy and power has been revealed as well. In this final session we will consider how ethics are presumed to provide escape from the uncertainty of political struggle, but in fact do not. If we see ethics as always also political, how does this change are understanding of what it means to be good or do right? How does it change our sense of responsibility in world politics?

Questions

1. How do our ethics embody and express relationships of power? Try to think of concrete examples.

2. If ethics fail to provide authoritative guide to our actions, can we differentiate between ethics and politics?

3. Is the fact that ethics can only hope to inform rather than dictate our choices a limitation or an opening?

Essential Readings

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

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

John Dewey, "The Ethics of Democracy," in Debra Morris and Ian Shapiro (eds), *John Dewey: The Political Writings* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 1993): 59-65.

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

Further Readings

William E. Connolly, *The Augustinian Imperative: A Reflection on the Politics of Morality* (London: Sage, 1993), Chapter 5.

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

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

Kimberly Hutchings, "A Place of Greater Safety? Securing Judgement in International Ethics," in Amanda Russell Beattie and Kate Schick (eds), *The Vulnerable Subject: Beyond Rationalism in International Relations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013).

Peter T. Manicas, "John Dewey and the problem of justice," *The Journal of Value Inquiry*, Volume 15, Number 4 (1981): 279-291.

Andrea Sangiovanni, "Justice and the Priority of Politics to Morality," *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 16, Number 2 (2008): 137-164.

Mathias Thaler, "Political judgment beyond paralysis and heroism," *European Journal of Political Theory*, Volume 10, Number 2 (2011): 225-253.