

GRADUATE FACULTY, NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH  
Fall term 2009

*Regina Kreide*

**Justice and Power in World Society**

**GSOC 6135 - Class Room D911**

*Office hour: Thu 5 pm (before class) in Room 921 (or D921)  
6 East 16<sup>th</sup> Street, 9<sup>th</sup> Fl*

Theories of justice have for a long time assumed the sovereign nation state as the relevant frame for considerations of justice. Many pressing problems of justice fall outside the existing borders of states and those who raise claims to justice do not coincide with established citizenries. Moreover, international law and some non-state actors have become hegemonic powers in world society and that seem to prevent the realization of a just global order.

All these phenomena mirror some theoretical questions: What are the appropriate contexts of justice in a world society? What power conceptions adequately describe hegemonic international relations today? And how should the relevant grounds and institutions of justice be framed?

The main focus will be on contemporary approaches to these questions. Readings will include: Ulrich Beck, Hauke Brunkhorst, Jean Cohen, Antonio Gramsci, Jürgen Habermas, Alison Jaggar, Michael Hardt/Antonio Negri, David Miller, Chandra T. Mohanty, Chantal Mouffe, Niklas Luhmann, Amartya Sen, Thomas Pogge, Henry Shue, Peter Singer, Gunther Teubner.

**Teaching Method:** Discussion

**Evaluation:** Final Paper

**1. Sep 3**

**Introduction - Contested concepts: justice and power**

Brooks, Thomas (2008): Introduction, in: Brooks, Th. (ed.): *The Global Justice Reader*, London, xii-xxii (text in reader).

Bittner, Rüdiger (2001): Morality and World Hunger, in: Pogge, Th. (ed.): *Global Justice*, Oxford, 24-31 (text in reader).

Pogge, Thomas (2001): Priorities of Global Justice, in: Pogge, Th. (ed.): *Global Justice*, Oxford, 6-23 (text in reader).

Thomas E. Wartenberg (1990), *The Forms of Power: From Domination to Transformation*, Philadelphia, 9-31.

Scott, John (2001): *Power*, London, Ch. 1 (text in reader).

*Recommended Readings*

Held, David/McGrew (2003) (eds.): *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*, Oxford.

Caney, Simon (2005): *Justice Beyond Borders*, Oxford, Ch. 3+4 (text in reader).

Blake, Michael: International justice, in: *Stanford Encyclopedia*,

<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/international-justice/>

Green, Leslie (1998): Power, in: *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Vol. 7, London.

Allen, Amy (1998): Rethinking Power, in: *Hypatia*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 21-40.

Hindess, Barry (1996): *Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault*, Oxford.  
Haugaard, Mark (2000) (ed.): *Power: A Reader*, Manchester.

**Sep 10**  
**No session**

**2. Sep 17**

### **I. JUSTICE AND WORLD SOCIETY**

#### **Global Risk Society**

Beck, Ulrich (2009): Critical Theory of World Risk Society: A Cosmopolitan Vision, in: *Constellations*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 3-21 (text in reader).  
Beck, Ulrich (2007): Beyond Class and Nation: Reframing Social Inequalities in a Globalizing World, in: *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 58, No 4, Dec, 679-705 (text in reader).  
Atkinson, Will (2007): Beyond False Oppositions: A Reply to Beck, in: *The British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 58, No. 4, Dec, 707-715 (text in reader).  
Beck, Ulrich/Grande, Edgar (2007): Europe's Way Out of Crisis, in: *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 67-85 (text in reader).

#### Recommended Readings

Beck, Ulrich (2006): *The Hobbouse Memorial Lecture: Living in the World Risk Society*, February, LSE (text in reader).  
Scott, John (2002): Power, London, Ch. 1 (in reader).  
Adam, Barbara/Beck, Ulrich et al. (2000) (eds.): *The Risk Society and Beyond: Critical Issues for Social Theory*, London.  
Calhoun, Craig: Cosmopolitanism and Hegemony, in: Brunkhorst, Hauke (ed.): *Demokratie in der Weltgesellschaft*, Baden Baden, 2009, 17-34 (text in reader).  
Mythen, Gabe (2004): *Ulrich Beck - A Critical Introduction of the Risk Society*, London.

**3. Sep 24**

#### **Empire and Resistance**

Negri, Antonio/Hardt, Michael (2000): *Empire*, Cambridge/Mass, 1-66, 183-218, 393-412 (text in reader).

#### Recommended Readings

Laclau, Ernesto (2004): Can Immanence Explain Social Struggles?, in: Passavant, P.A. /Dean, J. (eds.): *Empire's New Clothes: Reading Hardt and Negri*, New York, 21-30.  
Žižek, Slavoj (2001): Have Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri Rewritten the Communist Manifesto for the Twenty-First Century?, in: *Rethinking Marxism*, 13,3-4, 81-88.  
Mouffe, Chantal (2005): *On the Political*. London.

**4. Oct 1**

#### **Modern System Theory**

Luhmann, Niklas: Society and its Law, in: Luhmann, N.: *Law as a Social System*, ed. by F. Kastner, R. Nobles, D. Schiff, and R. Ziegert, transl. by Klaus K. Ziegert, Oxford, 464-490 (text in reader).  
Teubner, Gunther (2006): The Anonymous Matrix: Human Rights Violations by "Private" Transnational Actors, in: *Modern Law Review*, 69, 2006, 327-346 (download full text at: [http://www.jura.uni-frankfurt.de/ifawz1/teubner/dokumente/GlobalJustice\\_eng\\_Granada.pdf](http://www.jura.uni-frankfurt.de/ifawz1/teubner/dokumente/GlobalJustice_eng_Granada.pdf), text in reader).

#### Recommended Readings

Nobles, Richard/Schiff, David: Introduction, in: Nobles/Schiff (eds.): in: Luhmann, N: *Law as a Social System*, ed. by F. Kastner, R. Nobles, D. Schiff, and R. Ziegert, transl. by Klaus K. Ziegert, Oxford, 1-52.

Albert, Mathias (2004): On the Modern Systems Theory of Society and IR: Contracts and Disjunctures Between Different Kinds of Theorizing, in: Albert, Mathias/Hilkermeier, Lena (eds.): *Observing International Relations: Niklas Luhmann and World Politics*, London, 13-29.

Diez, Thomas (2004): Politics, Modern Systems Theory and the Critical Purpose of International Relations Theory, in: Albert, Mathias/Hilkermeier, Lena (eds.): *Observing International Relations: Niklas Luhmann and World Politics*, London, 30-43.

King, Michael/Thornhill, Chris (2005): *Niklas Luhmann's Theory of Politics and Law*, Hampshire.

## **II.THEORIES OF GLOBAL JUSTICE**

### **5. Oct 8**

#### **Obligations to Assist the Distant Poor**

Singer, Peter (1972), Famine, Affluence, and Morality, in: *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 1, 3, S. 229–243 (text in reader).

Singer, Peter (2004): Outsiders: Our Obligations to those Beyond Our Borders, in: Chatterjee, Deen K. (ed.): *The Ethics of Assistance: Morality and the Distant Needy*, Cambridge, 11-32 (text in reader).

Kuper, Andrew (2005): Global Poverty Relief: More than Charity, in: Kupers, A. (ed.): *Global Responsibility. Who must Deliver on Human Rights*, 155-172 (text in reader).

Singer, Peter (2005): Poverty, Facts, and Political Philosophies: A Debate with Andrew Kuper, in: Kuper, Andrew (Hsg.): *Global Responsibility. Who must Deliver on Human Rights*, 173-184 (text in reader).

#### Recommended Reading

Singer, Peter (2003), *One World*, New Haven/London.

Unger, Peter (2006), *Living High and Letting Die. Our Illusion of Innocence*. New York.

Krantz, Susan (2002): *Refuting Peter Singer's Ethical Theory: The Importance of Human Dignity*, Westport.

Kamm, F. M. (2004): The New Problem of Distance in Morality, in: Chatterjee, D.K. (ed.): *The Ethics of Assistance: Morality and the Distant Needy*, Cambridge, 59-74.

### **6. Oct 15**

#### **Institutional Cosmopolitanism**

Pogge, Thomas (2004): 'Assisting' the Global Poor, in: Chatterjee, D. K. (ed.): *The Ethics of Assistance: Morality and the Distant Needy*, Cambridge, 260-288 (text in reader).

Jaggar, Alison (2005): 'Saving Amina': Global Justice for Women und Intercultural Dialogue, in: Follesdal, A. /Pogge, Th. (2005) (eds.): *Real World Justice. Grounds, Principles, Human Rights and Social Institutions*, Dordrecht, 37-64 (text in reader).

#### Recommended readings

Pogge, Thomas (2001): Eradicating Systemic Poverty: Brief for a Global Resources Dividend, in: The Journal of Human Development, Vol. 2, No. 1, 59-77 (reprinted in: Global Justice, ed. by Pogge, 2008, in reader).

Fuller, Lisa L. (2005): Poverty Relief, Global Institutions, and the Problem of Compliance, in: The Journal of Moral Philosophy, Vol. 2, No. 3, 285-297 (in reader).

Beitz, Charles (1983): Cosmopolitan Ideals and National Sentiment, in: *Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 80, No. 10, October, 591-600 (reprinted in: Global Ethics, ed. by Thomas Pogge 2008).

Barry, Brian (2008): Humanity and Justice in Global Perspective, originally in: *Nomos XXIV*, Pennock, J.R./ Chapman, J.W. (eds.), 1982 New York (reprinted in: *Global Justice Seminal Essays*, ed. by Thomas Pogge and Darrel Moellendorf, 2008, St. Paul)

Miller, David (2007): Responsibility to the Global Poor, in: Miller, D.: *National Responsibility and Global Justice*, Oxford, 231-262.

**7. Oct 22**

**Global Justice and Human Rights**

Shue, Henry (1996): *Basic Rights* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), Princeton University Press, Ch. 1, 2, and the new afterword (text in reader).

Sen, Amartya (2004): Elements of a Theory of Human Rights, *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 32 No.4, 315-57 (text in reader).

*Recommended Readings*

Beitz, Charles (2001): Human Rights as Common Concern, in: *The American Political Science Review*, Vol 95, No. 2, 269-282 (in reader).

Wenar, Leif (2005): The Nature of Rights, *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 2005, Vol.33, No.3, 223-52.

Pogge, Thomas (2008): *World Poverty and Human Rights*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2008, Cambridge, Ch. 2.

Mandle, John (2006): *Global Justice*, 2006, Cambridge, Ch. 4 and 5, 44-77.

Griffin, James (2008): *On Human Rights*, Oxford, 2008.

**III. CRITICISM ON JUSTICE IN WORLD SOCIETY**

**8. Oct 29**

**Justice and Hegemony**

Gramsci, Antonio: *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, New York, 114-120, 175-185, 257-266 (text in reader).

Cox, Robert (1996): Gramsci, Hegemony, and International Relations: An Essay in Method, in: Cox, R. W. with Sinclair, T.: *Approaches to World Order*, Cambridge, 124-143 (text in reader).

Keohane, Robert O. (1984/2007): Hegemony in the World Political Economy, in: Art, R. J./Jervis, R. (2007) (eds.): *International Politics*, New York/San Francisco, 283-295 (originally in: Keohane R. 1984, *After Hegemony*, Princeton, text in reader).

Recommended Readings

Jones, Steve: *Antonio Gramsci*, London/New York 2006.

Bocock, Robert (1986): *Hegemony*, Tavistock Press (with a synopsis of Laclau and Mouffe, 1985).

Mouffe, Chantal (1979) (eds.): *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, (with an introduction by Mouffe and an essay by Nberto Bobbio), London.

Sassoon, Showstack A. (2000): *Gramsci and Contemporary Politics: Beyond Pessimism of the Intellect* (Routledge Innovations in Political Theory, 4), London.

Urbinati, Nadia (1998): The Souths of Antonio Gramsci and the Concept of Hegemony, in: Schneider, J. (ed.): *Italy's 'Southern Question': Orientalism in One Country*, Oxford.

Laclau, Ernesto/Mouffe, Chantal (1985/2001): *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, London.

**9. Nov 5**

**Politics and Adversaries**

Mouffe, Chantal (2000): Introduction: The Democratic Paradox; Democracy, Power, and 'the Political'; For an Agonistic Model of Democracy; Conclusion: The Ethics of Democracy; all in: Mouffe, Ch.: *The Democratic Paradox*, London, 1-16, 17-35, 80-107, 129-140 (text in reader).

Recommended Readings

Mouffe, Chantal (2006): *The Return of the Political*, London.

Dyzenhaus, David (1998) (ed.): *Law as Politics: Carl Schmitt's Critique of Liberalism*, Duke University Press.  
Torfing, Jacob (2009): *New Theories of Discourse: Laclau, Mouffe and Žižek*, London.  
Butler, Judith/Laclau, Ernesto/Žižek, Slavoj (2000): *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left*, London.  
Smith, Anna (1998): *Laclau and Mouffe: The Radical Democratic Imaginary*. London.  
Mouffe, Chantal (ed.): *Deconstruction and Pragmatism* (with contributions of Simon Critchley, Jacques Derrida, Ernesto Laclau&Richard Rorty), London.

## 10. Nov 12

### Postcolonial Criticism on Global Justice

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade (2003 [1986]): Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse, in: Mohanty, Ch. T.: *Feminism without Borders. Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham&London, 17-43 (text in reader).  
Mohanty, Chandra Talpade (2003): 'Under Western Eyes' - Revisited Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles, in: Mohanty, Ch. T.: *Feminism without Borders. Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham&London, 221-253 (text in reader).

#### Recommended Readings

Carby, Hazel (1982): White Woman Listen! Black Feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood, in: Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (Eds.): *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain*, London, 212-235.  
Sassen, Saskia (1988): Toward a Feminist Analytics of the Global Economy, in: Sassen, S.: *Globalization and its Discontents. Essay on the new Mobility of People and Money*, New York, 81-110.  
Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (1996): More on Power/Knowledge, in: Landry, D./ MacLean, G. (ed.), *The Spivak Reader*, New York, 141-174.  
Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (2004): Righting Wrongs, in: *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 523-581.  
Dhawan, Nikita (2007): *Can the Subaltern Speak German? And Other Risky Questions. Migrant Hybridism versus Subalternity*, <http://translate.eipcp.net/strands/03/dhawan-strands01en>.  
Gandhi, Leela (1998): *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*, New York.

## 11. Nov 19

### National Responsibility

Miller, David (2007): *National Responsibility and Global Justice*, Oxford, Ch. 3 (text in reader).  
Scheffler, Samuel (2001): *Boundaries and Allegiances*, Oxford, Ch. 3, 4 (text in reader).

#### Recommended Readings

Miller, David (1988): The Ethical Significance of Nationality, *Ethics*, Vol. 98 No.4, 647-662.  
Miller, David (2004): Holding Nations Responsible, *Ethics*, Vol. 114: 240-268.  
Cohen, Jean L. (2008): Rethinking Human Rights, Democracy, and Sovereignty in the Age of Globalization, in: ***Political Theory*, Vol. 36, Aug, 578 - 606.**  
Pogge, Thomas (2008): Moral Universalism and David Miller's Contextualism, in: *World Poverty and Human Rights*, 2008 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), Cambridge.

## Nov 26

### Thanks Giving – no session

## IV. GLOBAL JUSTICE AND POWER RELOADED

### 12. Dec 3

#### **Solidarity in World Society**

Brunkhorst, Hauke (2005): Solidarity. *From Civic Friendship to a Global Legal Community* (Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought, transl. by J. Flynn), Cambridge, Ch. I.1, I.2, I.3 and III.2 (text in reader).

Special Section (2005): *Hauke Brunkhorst's Solidarity: From Civic Friendship to a Global Legal Community*; Introduction by Jeffrey Flynn, with contributions of Dominique Leydet, James Bohman, Max Pensky. *Reply to Critics* from H. Brunkhorst, in: *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, Vol. 7, 795–838 (text in reader).

#### Recommended Readings

Brunkhorst, Hauke (1996): Critical Theory and Empirical Research, in: Rasmussen, David M. (ed.): *The Handbook of Critical Theory*, Oxford, 78-118.

Brunkhorst, Hauke (2008): Taking Democracy Seriously: Europe after the Failure of its Constitution, in: E.O.Eriksen/Joerges, Ch. (eds.): *Law, Democracy and Solidarity in a Post-national Union: The Unsettled Political Order of Europe*, London, 213-229.

Brunkhorst, Hauke (2002): Globalising Democracy Without a State: Weak Public, Strong Public, Global Constitutionalism, in: *Millennium – Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 3, 675-690.

### 13. Dec 10

#### **Constitutionalism**

Habermas, Jürgen (2008): A Political Constitution for the Pluralist World Society, in: Habermas, J. : *Between Naturalism and Religion*, London, 312-352 (text in reader).

Cohen, Jean (2008): A Global State of Emergency or the Further Constitutionalization of International Law: A Pluralist Approach, in: *Constellations*, Vol. 15, 4, 456-484 (text in reader).

#### Recommended Readings

Scheuerman, William E. : All Power to the (State-less?) General Assembly!, in: *Constellations*, Vol. 15, 4, 485-492; Brunkhorst, Hauke (2008): State and Constitution – A Reply to Scheuerman, in: *Constellations* vol. 15, 4, 493-501.

Brunkhorst, Hauke (2006): How Much Democracy Does Global Constitutionalism Need?, in: Ronald Tinneveld/ Gert Verschraegen (eds.): *Between Cosmopolitan Ideals and State Sovereignty. Studies in Global Justice*, New York, 182-196.

Scheuerman, William (2008): *Frankfurt School Perspectives on Globalization, Democracy, and the Law* (Routledge Studies in Social and Political Thought), London.

Rehg, William (1996): Habermas's Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy: An Overview of the Argument, in: Rasmussen, David M. (ed.): *The Handbook of Critical Theory*, Oxford, 166-199.

Bohman, James (1996): Critical Theory and Democracy, in: Rasmussen, David M. (ed.): *The Handbook of Critical Theory*, Oxford, 190-219.

### 14. Dec 17

#### **Conclusion - A new global order?**

The final paper (20-30 pages) has to be submitted as a hardcopy in the office of the instructor and by e-mail by Friday, December 18, 2009, 14pm.

