

**University of California, San Diego**  
**Department of Political Science**

**PS 219: Special Topics in Political Theory**  
**Cosmopolitanism**  
**F. Forman-Barzilai**  
**Spring 2003**

SSB 371, office hours W 9-11, [ffb@ucsd.edu](mailto:ffb@ucsd.edu)

This seminar is an historical and conceptual survey of the idea of “world citizenship” and its relation to local and particular affinities and loyalties, such as those to oneself, ones’ friends, family, various groups, and nation. We shall trace these ideas from the Cynics and Stoics through appropriations and critiques in modern political, jurisprudential and commercial thought, and culminate by engaging contemporary works from a variety of perspectives. Throughout, our inquiry will be driven by very contemporary questions about international ethics, about how we might balance special attachments with our concern for all humanity, about the difficulties and possibilities of cross-cultural intelligibility and developing standards of legitimacy and foundations for universal human rights, about the role of local, national, international and transnational institutions and agencies in cultivating more expansive notions of responsibility, the reasons for and against humanitarian intervention, among others.

Each student will be responsible for presenting one or more readings each session. The written assignment will consist of one 15-20 page essay on an issue related to cosmopolitanism. You should submit a one-page proposal by week 6. You are not required to do outside reading. Should your interests carry you further, the recommended readings in the syllabus are intended to guide you. Most are physically on reserve at SSH or available online, as noted. I also own most of them and am happy to lend if unavailable elsewhere. Recommendations are not comprehensive or even representative of the vast perspectives and literatures on the various subjects surveyed in this seminar. They are but a first pass, and you are welcome and encouraged to pursue alternative directions.

**For purchase:**

Charles Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, Princeton.

Chris Brown, Terry Nardin and Nicholas Rengger, eds. *International Relations in Political Thought*, Cambridge. (Below, IRPT)

Albert O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests*, Princeton

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Penguin.

Martha Nussbaum and Joshua Cohen, *For Love of Country?* Beacon Press, 2002 edition

Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War*, Columbia.

All required readings not found in the books above are available on electronic reserves. A few I will provide as handouts, as noted.

## **Schedule**

### **Week I Introduction**

Catherine Lu, "The One and Many Faces of Cosmopolitanism" *Journal of Political Philosophy* 8 (2) 2000  
 Robert Fine and Robin Cohen, "Four Cosmopolitan Moments" in *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context Practice*, eds. Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (Oxford, 2002)

Recommended:

Derek Benjamin Heater, *World Citizenship and Government: Cosmopolitan Ideas in the History of Western Political Thought* (St Martin's, 1996)  
 Catherine Lu, "World Government" Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2006)  
<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/world-government/>

## **HISTORY OF THE IDEA**

### **Week II Cynic/Stoic roots of cosmopolitan thinking**

Selections from:

Diogenes, Hierocles, Plutarch, handout  
 Cicero, *On Duties* I.42-60 (parts of which are found in IRPT, pp. 83-85; the rest on E.R.)  
 Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* IRPT (pp. 86-89)

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Julia Annas, "The Stoics on Other-Concern and Impartiality" in *The Morality of Happiness* (Oxford, 1993)  
 Martha Nussbaum, "The Idea of World Citizenship in Greek and Roman Antiquity" in *Cultivating Humanity: A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education* (Harvard, 1997).  
 Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, VI.ii (pp. 218-37).

Recommended:

J. Peter Euben, "The Polis, Globalization, and the Politics of Place" in *Democracy and Vision: Sheldon Wolin and the vicissitudes of the political*, eds. Aryeh Botwinick and William E. Connolly (Princeton, 2001).  
 Martha C. Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Princeton, 1994)

### **Week III Early modern cosmopolitanism**

Selections from:

Francisco de Vitoria, *On the American Indians*, IRPT (pp. 231-41)  
 Hugo Grotius, *The Law of War and Peace, De Indis*, IRPT (pp. 325-34)  
 Samuel Pufendorf, *On the Duties of Man and Citizen* IRPT (pp.341-48)  
 Samuel Rachel, "On the Law of Nations," IRPT (349-55)  
 Christian Wolff, *The Law of Nations Treated According to a Scientific Method*, IRPT (pp. 356-69)

Emmerich de Vattel, *The Law of Nations or Principles of Natural Law*, IRPT (pp.370-78)

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Richard Tuck, “Hugo Grotius” in *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and The International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford, 1999)

Recommended:

Headley Bull, Benedict Kingsbury, Adam Roberts, eds., *Hugo Grotius and International Relations* (Oxford, 1990)

Christopher A. Ford, “Preaching Propriety to Princes: Grotius, Lipsius and Neo-Stoic International Law,” *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 28 (1996)

Margaret C. Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World*” *The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Penn 2006)

Edward Keene, *Beyond the anarchical society: Grotius, colonialism and order in world politics* (Cambridge, 2002)

Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford, 1999)

#### **Week IV            Hobbes and Hobbesism.**

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, chs. 6, 11, 13, 14, 15 (only pp. 201-2), 17.

Passages from Thomas Hobbes, *On the Citizen*, handout.

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Charles Beitz, “International Relations as a State of Nature” in *Political Theory and International Relations*, pp. 11-66. (entirety highly recommended, as it relates to Week X)

Richard Tuck, “Thomas Hobbes” in *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and The International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford, 1999)

Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War*, entire.

Recommended:

Jonathan Haslam, “Reasons of State” in *No Virtue Like Necessity: Realist Thought in International Relations since Machiavelli* (Yale, 2002)

Anthony McGrew, “Realism vs. Cosmopolitanism: A debate between Barry Buzan and David Held” BBC interview, recorded December 1996.

<http://www.polity.co.uk/global/realism.htm>

David A. Welch, “Morality and ‘the National Interest,’” in *Ethics in International Affairs*, ed. Andrew Valls (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

#### **Week V            Enlightenment and cosmopolitanism I**

David Hume, *Of Commerce, Of Refinement in the Arts, Of the Balance of Trade; Of the Jealousy of Trade; Of the Balance of Power*

Adam Smith, selections from *Wealth of Nations* (IRPT, pp. 410-15); and *Theory of Moral Sentiments* VI.ii (pp. 218-37)

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Albert O. Hirschmann, *The Passions and the Interests*, entire  
 Laurence Dickey, L. (2004) “*Doux-commerce* and humanitarian values: free trade, sociability and universal benevolence in eighteenth-century thinking” in H.W. Blom and L.C. Winkel (eds) *Grotius and the Stoa* (Van Gorcum.2004)\*\*

Recommended:

Fonna Forman-Barzilai, “Adam Smith as Globalization Theorist” *Critical Review* 14, 4 (2002)\*\*

Istvan Hont, *Jealousy of Trade* (Harvard 2006)

Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton 2005), esp. Part I.

## **Week VI      Enlightenment and cosmopolitanism II**

Selections from:

The Abbé de Saint-Pierre, *A Project for Settling an Everlasting Peace in Europe*, IRPT (pp. 394-9)

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *State of War and Perpetual Peace*, IRPT (pp. 416-27)

Immanuel Kant, *Essay on Theory and Practice, Perpetual Peace, The Metaphysical Elements of Right*, IRPT (pp. 428-55)

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Martha Nussbaum, “Kant and Stoic Cosmopolitanism” *Journal of Political Philosophy* 5 (1997).

Recommended:

James Bohman and Matthias Lutz-Bachman, eds., *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant’s Cosmopolitan Ideal* (MIT, 1997).

Stanley Hoffman and David Fidler, eds., *Rousseau on International Relations*. (Clarendon 1991).

Pierre Laberge, “Kant on Justice and the Law of Nations” and Fernando R. Tesón, “Kantian International Liberalism” in *International Society: Diverse Ethical Perspectives*, eds. David Mapel and Terry Nardin (Princeton, 1998).

Thomas Schlereth, *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, Voltaire, 1694-1790* (Notre Dame, 1977).

Allen Wood, “Kant’s Project for Perpetual Peace” in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, eds. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minnesota, 1998)

## **CONTEMPORARY ISSUES**

### **Week VIII      Political and ethical theory: The contours of contemporary debate**

Kwame Anthony Appiah, “Citizens of the World” in *Globalizing Rights* (The Oxford Amnesty Lectures), with a “Response” by Richard Rorty (Oxford 2003).

Martha Nussbaum, ed. *For Love of Country*

Nussbaum, et al, “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism,” *Boston Review*, (October/November) 1994.

William E. Connolly, “Concentric Flows and Cosmopolitan Culture” in *Neuropolitics: Thinking, Culture, Speed* (Minnesota, 2000).

Recommended:

- Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (Norton 2006)
- Seyla Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism: Hospitality, Sovereignty and Democratic Iterations*  
The Berkeley Tanner Lectures (Oxford 2006)
- Toni Erksine, “‘Citizen of Nowhere’ or ‘The Point Where Circles Intersect’? Impartialist and Embedded Cosmopolitanisms” *Conference of the International Studies Association*, March 1998. <http://www.ciaonet.org/conf/ert01/>
- Derek Benjamin Heater, *World Citizenship: Cosmopolitan Thinking and its Opponents* (Continuum 2002)
- David Hollinger, “Not Universalists, Not Pluralists: The New Cosmopolitans Find Their Own Way” in *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context Practice*, eds. Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (Oxford, 2002).
- Barry Clark interviews Martha Nussbaum, ABC radio series “Globally Speaking”  
©ABC <http://www.abc.net.au/global/radio/nussbaum.htm>
- Martha Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (*The Tanner Lectures in Human Values*) (Belknap 2006)
- Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha, Carol A. Breckenridge and Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Cosmopolitanism*, Volume 4, A *Public Culture* miniseries, *Public Culture* 12 (3) 2000  
[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/public\\_culture/toc/pc12.3.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/public_culture/toc/pc12.3.html)

**Week IX**

**Cosmopolitan perspective: a view from nowhere?**

- Michel de Montaigne, “Of Cannibals”
- Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments* I.i.1.1 (pp. 9-26) --- II.ii (pp. 78-91) --- III.3.1-11 (pp. 134-41) — V.ii (pp. 200-11)
- Seyla Benhabib, “‘Nous’ et les ‘Autres’: Is Universalism Ethnocentric?” in *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era* (Princeton, 2002).
- Stanley Fish, “Condemnation Without Absolutes” *New York Times*, Op Ed, October 15, 2001.
- Michael Ignatieff, “Is Nothing Sacred? The Ethics of Television,” in *The Warrior’s Honor* (Owl Books, 1997).
- Andrew Linklater, “Cosmopolitan Harm Conventions” in *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context Practice*, eds. Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (Oxford, 2002).
- Martha Nussbaum, “Women and Cultural Universals” in *Pluralism: The philosophy and politics of diversity*, eds. Maria Baghramian and Attracta Ingram (Routledge, 2000).
- Judith Shklar, “Liberalism of Fear” in *Liberalism and the Moral Life*, ed. Nancy Rosenblum (Harvard, 1989).

Recommended:

- Luc Boltanski, *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics* (Cambridge, 1999).
- Pheng Cheah, “Given Culture: Rethinking Cosmopolitical Freedom in Transnationalism” in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, eds. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minnesota, 1998)
- Fonna Forman-Barzilai, “Smith on ‘connexion’, culture and judgment,” in *New Voices on Adam Smith*, eds. Eric Schliesser and Leonidas Montes (Routledge, 2006).
- John Gray, “Where pluralists and liberals part company” *International Journal of Philosophical Studies*, 1998.
- Kristen Renwick Monroe, *The Heart of Altruism: Perception of a Common Humanity* (Princeton, 1996)

## Week X      **Universal human rights**

Declaration of the Rights of Man

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN Convention Against Torture

Kirsten Hastrup, "The Quest for Universality: An Introduction" in *Human Rights on Common Grounds: The Quest for Universality*, ed. Kirsten Hastrup (Kluwer Law International, 2001).

Michael Ignatieff, "Human Rights as Politics & Idolatry" in *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry* (Princeton, 2001). Delivered as the Tanner Lectures in Princeton April 2000

Anthony G. McGrew, "Human rights in a global age: coming to terms with globalization" in *Human Rights Fifty Years On*, ed. Tony Evans (Manchester, 1998).

Recommended:

David Beetham, "Human Rights as a Model for Cosmopolitan Democracy," in *Re-Imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*, eds. Daniele Archibugi, David Held and Kohler (Polity, 1998)

Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice* (Cornell 2002)

Matthew J. Gibney, ed., *Globalizing Rights (Oxford Amnesty Lectures)* (Oxford 2003).

Kirsten Hastrup, ed. *Human Rights on Common Grounds: The Quest for Universality* (Kluwer Law International, 1999).

Peter Van Ness, ed., *Debating Human Rights: Critical Essays from the United States and Asia* (Routledge, 1999).

## Week XI      **Justice beyond borders**

Simon Caney, "Humanitarian Intervention and State Sovereignty" in *Ethics in International Affairs*, ed. Andrew Valls (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

John Dunn, "The dilemma of humanitarian intervention: the executive power of the Law of Nature, after God" in *The History of Political Theory and other essays* (Cambridge, 1996).

William Galston, "Cosmopolitan Altruism" in *Atruism*, eds. Ellen Frankel Paul, Fred D. Miller and Jeffrey Paul (Cambridge, 1993).

Michael Ignatieff, "The Seductiveness of Moral Disgust" in *The Warrior's Honor* (Owl Books, 1997).

Martha Nussbaum, "Duties of Justice, Duties of Material Aid: Cicero's Problematic Legacy" *Journal of Political Philosophy* 8 (2) 2002.

Onora O'Neill, "Transnational Justice" in *Political Theory Today*, ed. David Held (Stanford, 1991).

Recommended:

Brian Barry, "International Society from a Cosmopolitan Perspective" in *International Society: Diverse Ethical Perspectives*, eds. David Mapel and Terry Nardin (Princeton, 1998).

J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert Keohane, eds., *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge 2003).

Catherine Lu, *Just and Unjust Interventions in World Politics: Public and Private* (Palgrave 2006).

David Miller, "The Limits of Cosmopolitan Justice" in *International Society: Diverse Ethical Perspectives*, eds. David Mapel and Terry Nardin (Princeton, 1998).#

Onora O'Neill, *Faces of Hunger: An essay on poverty, justice and development* (Allen & Unwin, 1986)

Thomas Pogge, *Realizing Rawls* (Cornell 1989)

Thomas Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms* (Polity 2002)

Michael J. Smith, "Humanitarian Intervention: An Overview of the Ethical Issues" in *Ethics and International Affairs: A Reader*, ed. Joel H. Rosenthal (Georgetown, 1999).

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The following are useful collections of recent work on cosmopolitan themes. Many contain recommended readings above. All are on reserve at SSH.

Daniele Archibugi, David Held and Kohler, eds., *Re-Imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy* (Polity, 1998)

Daniele Archibugi, *Debating Cosmopolitics (New Left Review Debates)* (Verso, 2003)

James Bohman and Matthias Lutz-Bachman, eds., *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal* (MIT, 1997).

Gillian Brock and Harry Bridghouse, *The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism* (Cambridge 2006)

David Campbell and Michael J. Shapiro, *Moral Spaces: rethinking ethics and world politics* (Minnesota 2003)

Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins, eds., *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (Minnesota, 1998)

Jonathan Haslam, *No Virtue Like Necessity: Realist Thought in International Relations since Machiavelli* (Yale, 2002)

Kirsten Hastrup, ed., *Human Rights on Common Ground: The Quest for Universality* (Kluwer, 2001)

David Mapel and Terry Nardin, eds., *International Society: Diverse Ethical Perspectives* (Princeton, 1998).

Ellen Frankel Paul, Fred D. Miller and Jeffrey Paul, eds., *Altruism* (Cambridge, 1993).

Joel H. Rosenthal, ed., *Ethics and International Affairs: A Reader* (Georgetown, 1999).

Andrew Valls, ed., *Ethics in International Affairs* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

Peter Van Ness, ed., *Debating Human Rights: Critical Essays from the United States and Asia* (Routledge, 1999)

Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds., *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context Practice* (Oxford, 2002).