

GVPT 859B/PHIL 688W/PUAF 698J
Pro-seminar in Politics, Philosophy and Public Policy

Tuesdays 12:30-3:15, Tydings 1136

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This is the second semester of the core seminar in the program of the Committee on Politics, Philosophy and Public Policy (CP4). It can be taken independently of the first semester course.

The focus of the course is on controversies that arise when reform cannot be achieved through simple policy choice, but requires consideration of deeper questions of institutional and cultural change, involving matters of normative political theory and constitutional analysis. So, to take an example, the World Bank and other development promoting institutions are now concerned not just with monetary policy (say) of the countries to which they give their support, and also with the level of corruption of their institutions, and with the strength of the rule of law. Promoting “good governance” is now one of the Bank's central goals. The course will survey what is required to approach such a goal seriously in state building and state reform, as well as in institutional reform beyond the state, with the global level as the ultimate point of reference.

The questions we will consider are subject to multiple global debates, often dominated by the contrast between the perspective of the World Economic Forum (“the world seen from Davos”) and the multiple perspectives represented at the World Social Forum (“the world seen from Porto Alegre”, and other hot spots). So we will begin the course by outlining the world as seen from Davos (using mainly World Bank analyses), and the world as seen from the perspective of the global civil society (what is civil society? is there a global one?), identified with the World Social Forum.

From that point we will move on to consider some basic questions of institution making both within the state and beyond. One important debate is between “radical” and “constitutional” understandings of democracy. There are basic constitutional issues to consider (federalism, separation of powers, new forms of complex polity). Beyond the state, we will consider the

institutional and normative issues of global justice and human rights (What does global justice require? How much can be achieved by, say, reforming the UN?), global democracy (Again, what would global democracy mean? What would be the most likely institutional instruments? Is all this too utopian to bother with?), and global care for the environment.

Books ordered

John Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond* (Oxford, 2000)

Dimitrios Karmis and Wayne Norman, eds., *Theories of Federalism* (Palgrave, 2005)

Mary Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War* (Polity, 2005)

Peter Singer, *One World*, 2nd ed. (Yale, 2004)

M. J. C. Vile, *Constitutionalism and the Separation of Powers* (Liberty Fund)

Martin Wolff, *Why Globalization Works* (Yale, 2004)

Course requirements

One short paper (2500-3000 words). Topics will be handed out on March 10; paper will be due on March 31.

One long paper (about 7500 words). The main student research paper will propose and defend some significant institutional reform (1) for a particular state, or (2) for democratic states in general, or for some important class of democratic states, or (3) for global or regional (e.g. EU) institutions.

Paper title, 100 word abstract and a short bibliography will be due on April 7. The papers will be due, in hard copy (one copy for each instructor) on May 19.

Tentative class schedule

Many of the readings below will be distributed to seminar members.

Week 1 (Jan 27): Introduction

Week 2 (Feb 3): The View from Davos: States and Markets (KS)

World Bank, *The State in a Changing World* (World Development Report, 1997), Overview, Chs. 1-4, 6, 7, pp. 1-75, 99-130 [read selectively].

Daniel Kaufman, Aart Kray and Pablo Zoido-Lobaton, "Governance Matters", *Policy Research Working Paper 2196* (World Bank, 1999) [read selectively: how are the six dimensions of good governance defined?]

Martin Wolff, *Why Globalization Works*, Chs. 1-8, pp. 1-134.

Week 3 (Feb 10) The View from Porto Alegre: Global Civil Society and What It Wants (KS)

Mary Kaldor, *Global Civil Society*

John Cavanagh et al, *Alternatives to Economic Globalization*, Ch. 2 ("Ten Principles for Sustainable Societies")

Bamako Appeal at <http://www.monthlyreview.org/mrzine/bamako.html>

Week 4 (Feb 17): Legitimacy and Justice I (CM)

US Declaration of Independence (preferably Jefferson's draft)

Preamble to the US Constitution of 1789, Bill of Rights

John Simmons, "Legitimacy", *Encyclopedia of Ethics*, 2nd ed, pp. 93-6.

Christopher Morris, "State Legitimacy and Social Order", in *Political Legitimization without Morality*, ed. by Jörg Kühnelt (Heidelberg: Springer, 2008), pp. 15-32.

Week 5 (Feb 24): Legitimacy and Justice II (CM)

Alan Ryan, ed., *Justice*, introduction (pp. 1-17), selections from Cicero, Hume, Mill, Rawls, Nozick, Hayek, and Marx (pp. 41-164)

Week 6 (March 3): The Tasks of Government (CM)

Christopher Morris, *An Essay on the Modern State* (Cambridge, 1998), ch. 9.

Joseph Heath, "The Benefits of Cooperation", *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 34 (2006), 313-351.

Week 7 (March 10): States and Beyond (CM)

Christopher Morris, "The Modern State", in *The Handbook on Political Theory*, ed. by Gerald Gaus and Chandran Kukathas (London: Sage Publications, 2004), pp. 195-209.

Martin van Crefeld, *The Rise and Decline of the State*, preface, ch. 6, conclusion

Alexander Wendt, "Why a World State is Inevitable", *European Journal of International*

Relations 9 (2003), 491-542.

SPRING BREAK

Week 8 (March 24): Constitutionalism and Republicanism (CM)

Stephen Elkin, *Reconstructing the Commercial Republic*, Chs. 5-9.

Philip Pettit, *Republicanism*, Chs. 2, 3, and 6.

Jon Elster and Rune Slagstad, eds., *Constitutionalism and Democracy*, Ch. 7.

Week 9 (March 31): Radical Democracy (KS)

Roberto Unger, *Democracy Realized*, pp. 1-52, 261-77.

John Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Introduction, Chs. 1-4.

Week 10 (April 7): Separation of Powers, and the Limits on Government (KS)

M. J. C. Vile, *Constitutionalism and the Separation of Powers*, Chs 1-9, pp. 1-288 and Epilogue, (Chapters 1, 4-8, and the Epilogue are the most important)

Week 11 (April 14): Federalism (KS)

Dimitrios Karmis and Wayne Norman, eds., *Theories of Federalism*, Introduction (pp. 3-21), Sections II-III (pp. 53-188), Section V (pp. 227-320).

Week 12 (April 21): Complex Politics (KS)

Arend Lijphart, "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies", *Journal of Democracy* 15.2 (2004): 96-109.

David Mitran, "A Working Peace System", in Brent Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, eds., *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, 3rd ed. (Rienner, 2003), pp.99-119.

Giandomenico Majone, "Delegation of Regulatory Powers in a Mixed Polity", *European Law Journal* 8 (2002), 319-29.

Stephen Kobrin, "Back to the Future: Neomedievalism and the Postmodern Digital World Economy", *The Journal of International Affairs* (Spring 1998), 361-386.

Week 13 (April 28): Global Environment (KS)

Andrew Dobson, *Green Political Thought*, 3rd ed., Chs 3-4.

William Ophuls and A. Stephen Boyan, *Ecology and the Politics of Scarcity Revisited*, Ch. 8 and Afterword, pp. 281-316

John Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Ch. 6.

Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus, "The Death of Environmentalism", *Grist Magazine*, 13 (2005), available on line.

Week 14 (May 5): Global Democracy (KS)

Robert Dahl, "Can International Organizations Be Democratic? A Skeptic's View", in Ian

Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon, eds., *Democracy's Edges* (Cambridge, 1999), pp.19-36.

Daniele Archibugi, *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens* (2008), Chs. 4-5, pp. 85-149.

John Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Ch. 5.

Anthony McGrew, "Models of Transnational Democracy," Ch. 43 (pp. 500-513) in David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds., *The Global Transformations Reader* (2003).

Week 15 (May 12): Global Justice (CM)

Thomas Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice", *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 33 (2005), 113-47

Charles Beitz, "Cosmopolitanism and Global Justice", *Journal of Ethics* 9 (2005), 11- 27.

Martha Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice*, Ch. 4 ("Mutual Advantage and Global Inequality").

Peter Singer, *One World*, "One Law", "One Community".