Cosmopolitanism and Nations

Advanced research seminar

LMU Munich, Department of Philosophy Munich Centre for Ethics

Summer term 2019 Mondays, 2-4pm, M210 (MKE)

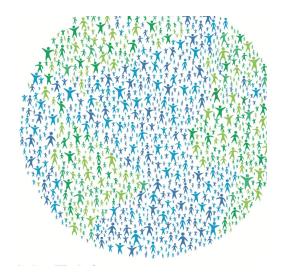
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Course description

In the age of globalisation and in the face of cosmopolitan ideals, the status, the role and the legitimacy of the nation states is subject to multiple challenges. Is the global order of nation states and the existing inter- and supranational institutions fit to realise the cosmopolitan ideals? This research seminar attempts to address the complexities related to the role of states in an increasingly interconnected world by reading classic and recent current contributions to the debates about cosmopolitanism and nations. Concretely, we will engage with the following questions:

- What is the moral and political significance of nation states and their borders?
- Do national belonging and patriotism play any justifiable role today? When and under which conditions does nationalism turn into chauvinism?
- Which forms of patriotism can possible advance, and which forms of patriotism are a threat to peace, democracy, and justice? Is state sovereignty always "incompatible with the interests of humanity" (Harold Laski, 1925)?
- How should nations co-exist? Should they ultimately form a voluntary, institutionalised international federation? Should nation states be replaced by a world state?
- Are nation states fit for addressing global issues such as adaptation to environmental transformations like a climate change, and the fight against global inequalities and poverty?

Readings for this course include articles, book chapters, blog posts magazine articles from a variety of disciplinary perspectives and theoretical traditions. We will go back to classical philosophical sources such as Marx and Mazzini (with the help of contemporary scholars) and read current philosophical contributions (e.g. Brock, Nussbaum, Ronzoni, Ypi) but draw also on debates from other disciplines, such as moral psychology (Haidt), political economy (Milanovic) and intellectual history (Purdy). The readings are available through LSF.

To prepare for the seminar, students are invited to consult the entries "Cosmopolitanism", "Global justice", "Nationalism" and "Patriotism" in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Students will benefit from also having read the chapter by Richard Bellamy (on LSF, please see below) before the first session.

Class expectations and environment

Students are required to read the texts in advance (esp. core readings, to participate as required, to treat others with respect, and to complete all the assignments. The course is an opportunity to discuss and assess ideas in an open and mutually respectful environment. Each participant bears responsibility for creating and maintaining the respectful class environment.

All materials for the course will be made available on LSF; please ensure to check LSF regularly.

All students are expected to practice academic honesty. Academic dishonesty, which includes plagiarizing, will lead to grade penalization and may lead to disciplinary action.

Learning aims

By the end of this course participants will be familiar with the debate about the role of nations in a globalised world and be able to form and defend their views on the questions discussed in class; participants will have practiced to present, develop and defend arguments both orally and in writing. Ideally, they will be capable to critically engage with public debates and pursue further research on these topics.

Assignments & Grading

An oral presentation of one of the readings.

Either four essays (around 2.000 words each) or one term paper (around 7.500 words). Submission dates for the essays: 11 June, 8 July, 12 August, 16 September 2019. Submission date of term paper for peer-review: 2 September. Final submission date for revised term paper: 16 September 2019.

There is a penalty for late submissions.

A guide for academic writing is available as a reading for session five on 27 May.

Assessment criteria for written assignments

We will grade the assignments according to the following criteria.

1. Structure and organisation

- Is the assignment well organised?
- Does it have a clear introductory paragraph, thesis statement, and concluding paragraph?
- Are there clear transitions between paragraphs and sections of the assignment?

2. Exposition and interpretation

- Do you give a clear and charitable interpretation of the view(s) under consideration?
- Do you make clear the underlying assumptions of the view(s) as well as their implications?

- Do you support your interpretations with relevant citations from the text?
- 3. Argument and critical evaluation
 - Do you provide good arguments for the claims you make? Is it obvious what they are?
 - When critiquing a view, do you consider possible responses to that critique?
 - Do you show that you have thought independently about the problem in question?

4. Writing style

- Is your prose style clear and easy to understand?
- Do you avoid awkward and confusing sentence structures?

Course overview at a glance

29 April 2019	_Introduction, overview, requirements
6 May 2019	_Towards a world state?
13 May 2019	_Historical perspectives I. Marx on nations
20 May 2019	_Sovereignty and global justice
27 May 2019	_Academic writing, abstract discussion, research questions
3 June 2019	The progressive dilemmas and political psychology
10 June 2019	_ No class
17 June 2019	Historical perspectives II. A cosmopolitanism of nations?
24 June 2019	Patriotism vs. nationalism?
1 July 2019	_Migration and the wage of citizenship
8 July 2019	_ Divergence, convergence, brain drain
15 July 2019	Cosmopolitanism and nations in the Anthropocene
22 July 2019	_ Recap and closing session

Reading list

Part I: Introduction

1. Cosmopolitanism and nations

29 April 2019

Side reading:

(01) Richard Bellamy (2019): Cosmopolitism and statism: Global interdependence and national self-determination. In: Richard Bellamy: *A Republican Europe of States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 27-52.

Part II: The philosophical debate: historical and contemporary sources

2. Towards a world state?

6 May 2019

Main reading:

(02) Catherine Lu (2018): "Cosmopolitan Justice, Democracy, and the World State". In: Luis Cabrera: *Institutional Cosmopolitanism*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 232–252.

Side reading:

(02.1) Luis Cabrera (2004): "Democratic Distance". In: Luis Cabrera: *Political Theory of Global Justice. A Cosmopolitan Case for the World State*. London/New York: Routledge, 90–104.

3. Historical perspectives I. Marx on nations

13 May 2019

Main reading:

(03 a) Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels (1848): "Bourgeois and proletarians". Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Any edition.

(03 b) Karl Marx (1848): Speech on the question of free trade, January 9, 1848 (Bruxelles). Any edition.

Side readings:

(03.1) Kevin Anderson (2010): "Ireland: Nationalism, Class, and the Labour Movement". In Kevin Anderson: *Marx at the margins*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 115–153.

4. Sovereignty and global justice

20 May 2019

Main reading:

(04) Miriam Ronzoni (2012). Two conceptions of state sovereignty and their implications for global institutional design. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 15(5): 573-591.

Side readings:

(04.1) Lea Ypi (2008): Statist Cosmopolitanism. Journal of Political Philosophy 16(1): 48-71. (04.2) Lea Ypi (2010): Justice and morality beyond naïve cosmopolitanism. Ethics & Global Politics 3(3): 171-192.

(04.3) Luke Ulaş (2015): Transforming (but not transcending) the state system? On statist cosmopolitanism. Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy 20(6): 657-676.

(04.4) Laura Valentini (2013): Cosmopolitan Justice and Rightful Enforceability. In: Gillian Brock (ed.): Cosmopolitanism vs. Non-Cosmopolitanism?

5. Intermezzo. Philosophical essay writing

27 May 2019

Reading:

(05) MKE Guidelines to Academic Writing

6. The progressive dilemmas and political psychology

3 June 2019

Main readings:

(06 a) Will Kymlicka (2015). Solidarity in diverse societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism. *Comparative Migration Studies* 3:17

DOI:10.1186/s40878-015-0017-4

(06 b) Haidt J. When and why nationalism beats globalism. *The American Interest* 12, published on July 10, 2016.

Side readings:

(06.1) David Miller (2013): "Social justice in multicultural societies" In: David Miller: *Justice for Earthlings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 70-92.

(06.2) Jonathan Haidt (2013): *The righteous mind: why good people are divided by politics and religion*. London: Penguin 2013.

7. Historical perspectives II. A cosmopolitanism of nations?

17 June 2019

Main reading:

(07) Giuseppe Mazzini [2009]: "Three essays on cosmopolitan ideas and national sentiments". In Stefano Recchia, Nadia Urbinati (eds.): *A cosmopolitanism of nations, Giuseppe Mazzini's writing on democracy, nation building, and international relations.* Princeton University Press, 53-65.

Side readings:

(07.1) Frank-Walter Steinmeier (2019): Deutsch und frei. *Die Zeit Online*, published on March 13, 2019. Online at:

www.zeit.de/2019/12/demokratie-nationalismus-tradition-gedenktage-geschichtsunterricht (07.2) Stefano Recchia, Nadia Urbinati (2009): "Introduction: Giuseppe Mazzini's international political thought. In: Stefano Recchia, Nadia Urbinati (eds.): *A cosmopolitanism of nations, Giuseppe Mazzini's writing on democracy, nation building, and international relations*. Princeton University Press,1-30.

8. Patriotism vs. nationalism?

24 June 2019

Main reading:

(08) Martha Nussbaum 2008. Toward a globally sensitive patriotism? *Daedalus* 137(3): 78-93.

Side readings:

(08.1) Martha Nussbaum (1986): "Patriotism and cosmopolitanism". In: Martha Nussbaum (ed.) For love of a country? Boston: Beacon Press, 3-20.

(08.2) K. Appiah: Cosmopolitan patriots. Critical Inquiry 23(3): 617-639.

Part III: Policy & emerging issues

9. Migration and the wage of citizenship

1 July 2019

Main reading:

(09) Joseph Carens. (1987): Aliens and citizens: the case for open-border. *The Review of Politics* 49(2): 251-273.

Side readings:

(09.1) Branko Milanovic (2015): Income inequalities and citizenship: quantifying the link. *Vox*, published on May 06, 2015. Online at:

voxeu.org/article/income-inequality-and-citizenship

(09.2) Michael Blake (2013): Immigration, Jurisdiction, and Exclusion. *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 41(2): 103-130.

10. Divergence, convergence, brain drain

8 July 2019

Main reading:

(10) Gillian Brock (2016). Debating Brain Drain: An Overview. *Moral Philosophy and Politics* 3(1): 7–20.

Side readings:

(10.1) Gillian Brock, Michael Blake (2015): *Debating brain drain*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

(10.2) Richard Baldwin (2018): A Long view of globalisation in short. *Voxeu*, published on November 23, 2018. Online at: voxeu.org/content/long-view-globalisation-short-part-1-5.

11. Cosmopolitanism and nations in the Anthropocene

15 July 2019

Core reading:

(11) Bruno Latour (2015): "Telling Friends from Foes in the Time of the Anthropocene". In: Clive Hamilton, Christophe Bonneuil, François Gemenne (eds.). *The Anthropocene and the Global Environmental Crisis: Rethinking modernity in a new epoch*. London/New York: Routledge.

Side readings:

(11.1) Jedediah Purdy (2018): The world we have built. *Dissent magazine*, published on July 3, 2018. Online at: www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/world-we-built-sovereign -nature-infrastructure-leviathan

(11.2) Bruno Latour (2018): *Down to earth: Politics in the new Climatic Regime*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Part III: Conclusions

12. Recap and closing session

22 July 2019

(no new readings)