McMaster University Political Science 4JJ3 Cosmopolitanism

Winter Term 2015 Wednesday, 8:30 AM – 11:20 AM CNH – 207

Instructor:

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Office Hours:

Wednesday, 11:30 AM – 12:30 PM

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An artistic rendering of Political Pangea with modern borders.

Source: http://capitan-mas-ideas.blogspot.com.br/2012/08/pangea-politica.html

POL SCI 4JJ3E - Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism, as an idea according to which we can organize political life, takes its popular origin from Diogenes the Cynic's famous pronouncement that he was a "kosmopolites," or a "citizen of the world." Diogenes would surely have had Aristotle's contrary definition of citizenship, that one can only be a citizen of a particular political community participating in the art of ruling and also being ruled, in mind. This latter definition of course leads to the questions of the just regime and the good society that have been the traditional focus of attention in the history of political thought. That is, answers to the question, "What is the best political order?" necessarily exclude thinking about the world outside our city's walls or the borders of our commonwealth. Yet, the very word cosmopolitan is derived in part from the word kosmos which means "order," putting us in mind of a political order and the possibility of a political life beyond the polis. Is it possible to speak of Cosmopolitanism and Cosmopolitics while avoiding on the one hand a "colourless vagueness" and on the other "fierce self-idolatry and nation worship"? This course will be structured around this basic polarity between the universal and the particular, and how these two poles influence how we understand cosmopolitanism and what it means to be cosmopolitan. Our task is navigating the strait between this Scylla and Charybdis throughout the term. We will begin with two very basic pictures of world order in the post-Cold War era, move on to classical and enlightenment conceptions of cosmopolitanism, and turn our attention in the second half of the course to modern theories and practices of cosmopolitanism.

Learning Objectives

By the end of this course, students will be able to:

- Demonstrate familiarity with the theory and practice of world citizenship
- Demonstrate a knowledge of the historical development of key concepts of Cosmopolitanism
- Apply knowledge from the course to contemporary and real-world events and issues
- Identify a problem, develop a research question to investigate this problem, and then apply their knowledge to answer this question
- Communicate their ideas clearly in speaking and writing, and facilitate discussion
- Provide/Receive oral and written feedback to/from their peers

Books to Purchase

- 1. Immanuel Kant, Political Writings, H.S. Reiss, Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991
- 2. John Rawls, The Law of Peoples (w/ "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited") Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- **3.** James Ingram, Radical Cosmopolitics: The Ethics and Politics of Democratic Universalism. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013
- **4.** Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, Trans. George Schwab, 2nd. Ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

n.b. These books have been ordered and are available at the Bookstore, but they are easily acquired by many methods.

The other readings for this course are either accessible from the McMaster Library website, or on the course **Avenue to Learn** page. This course will make frequent use of Avenue To Learn, so be sure to check in often.

Course Format:

Participation: 15% Reflections: 20% Presentation: 15% Discussant: 5%

Paper Proposal: 10% (due Wednesday, February 11, 2015)

Major Paper: 35% (due Friday, April 10, 2015)

Participation (15%): Students are expected to come to class having read, considered, and reflected on the week's required readings. As this is a seminar course, regular attendance, preparation, and participation is required of all students; failure to do so will be reflected in the participation grade. Energetic and engaging participation both in class and online in the course forums is welcome and expected.

Reflections (20% = 10 x 2% each): Use these reflections as an opportunity to engage with some aspect of the week's readings that you find exciting, controversial, problematic, confounding, opaque, or simply grabs your interest. These should be a double-spaced page in length and should be submitted to the appropriate week and topic forum on the Avenue page no later than 8:00 PM on Monday before our class meets, and will be graded pass/fail. Students are expected to post $\overline{\text{TEN}}$ reflections during the term. The weeks are entirely of your choosing (with one exception), but do yourself a favour and start early.

• ONE of your ten reflections must be submitted during the week on which you present.

Presentation (15%): Each student will be required to prepare **ONE** seminar presentation of approximately 15 minutes in length. Presentations will take place at the beginning of class, and while they should be based on the week's material they should not summarize or synthesize the readings. Work from the assumption that everyone is prepared to discuss the material, and you are providing us with our first public critique of it. You must also discuss <u>one</u> piece of material that is *not* on the required for the week (please email me when you've decided what reading you've chosen, from the supplemental recommended list or not). *Familiarizing* yourself with some of the recommended readings (or additional secondary literature) is useful and *will be rewarded*. Presentations are meant to encourage questions for group discussion, highlight important questions and concepts raised by the authors, and generally awaken the curiosity of your colleagues. Presenters are <u>required</u> to post a reflection for the week during which they present.

Discussant's Role (5%): Each student will also act as a discussant for your colleagues' reflections for one week, and you will also facilitate seminar discussion for this week. As a discussant, you will prepare commentary and critical, constructive, challenging responses to the posted reflections. A successful Discussant will be thoughtful and challenging, critical and compassionate. This is an opportunity to engage and receive feedback from your peers, so make the most of it.

Research Proposal (10%): The research proposal should be approximately 3-4 pages long, and is due on Wednesday, February 11. The proposal is intended to let you get an early start on the research for your main paper, and afford you the opportunity to refine or develop your argument while completing the main assignment for the course. At this stage you should have:

- 1) a clearly defined topic and research question
- 2) a plan for how you are going to try an answer this research question, what your general research plan and approach will be in the paper
- 3) a preliminary bibliography. You should be able, at this point, to discuss your sources, especially with regards to how these sources will help you answer / address your research question, or even how specific authors have contributed to the framework of your paper (consult the requirements for sources in the final paper).

Keep the main theme of the course in mind as you frame your question, but feel free to be creative. Cosmopolitanism is anything but a narrow. This essay should engage course material as well as academic and scholarly resources discovered as a result of your independent efforts. This should include scholarly articles, essays, and books. You may also include other writing and media of appropriate quality and relevance for this type of academic research. These latter sources can be a worthwhile supplement to—but not a substitute for—more orthodox material. This assignment will be submitted to the Dropbox on the course Avenue page.

Major Paper (35%): For your main assignment, you are to submit an essay of approximately 15 pages long that develops—in a coherent and comprehensive way—the research project you proposed. It is possible that in the course of your research your topic might change, or require adjustment. If so, be sure to speak with the instructor before embarking on such a re-imagining of your work. (Creativity is always welcome; let caution also be your friend). This assignment will be submitted to the Dropbox on the course Avenue page.

At least FIVE of the works you cite must come from the list of required or recommended readings.

Late Marks: In honour of Aristotle—Tutor to Alexander the Great, arguably the world's first cosmopolitan ruler—and his assertion that justice is treating like cases alike, late marks of 4% per day will be deducted from all essay assignments received after the due date, without sufficient justification or documentation accounting for their truancy. Late papers will be read and evaluated but might contain less written feedback and fewer constructive comments. (Your online reflections are the sole exception to this rule, which will **not** be accepted late).

Note on Spelling and Grammar. While your spelling and grammar may be corrected or commented upon for the sake of future learning, minor technical missteps will not be marked directly. However, the clear articulation of sophisticated ideas requires careful and precise language. Thus, careful and deliberate writing is crucial to the composition of an excellent paper. A very good writing resource is William Strunk & E.B. White's famous (and short) *The Elements of Style* (4th Ed.). You might also consult the Online Writing Lab at Purdue University: https://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/

SEMINAR TOPICS

1. January 7, 2015 - Introductions

n.b. You are not required to have read these before our first meeting, but should do so at your leisure during the term.

Francis Fukuyama, "The end of history?" The National Interest, Summer 1989

• http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations"

• http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/48950/samuel-p-huntington/the-clash-of-civilizations

R.B.J. Walker, "Polis, Cosmopolis, Politics" in *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political.* Vol.28 No.2 (2003), pp.267-286. (20pp)

William Connolly, "Speed, Concentric Cultures, Cosmopolitanism" in *Political Theory*, Vol.28 No.5 (2000), pp.596-618. (23pp)

James Ingram, Radical Cosmopolitics, Chapter 1 "Universalism in History," pp.23-62 (40pp.)

2. January 14, 2015 - Cosmopolitanism: Ancient and Modern

Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War,

- Speeches of the Corinthians and Athenians in Sparta, Book I, ¶68-¶78
- The Peloponnesian War, Speech of Diodotus defending the city of Mytilene, Book III, ¶41-¶49

Immanuel Kant, Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch, in Political Writings, pp.93-130 (38pp.)

Jeremy Waldron, "What is Cosmopolitan?" in Journal of Political Philosophy, Vol.8 No.2, pp. 227-243 (17pp.)

Recommended:

Catherine Lu, "The One and Many faces of Cosmopolitanism" in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Vol.8 No.2, pp.244-267 (24pp.)

Cicero, De Officiis, Book III §§IV – VI

Online Library of Liberty: http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/542#lf0041-01_label_173

3. January 21, 2015 - The Education of the Human Race

Aristotle

- *Politics*, Book 3, Chapter 4 [1276b15 1277b32]
- Rhetoric, Book 1, Chapter 8, "Topics about Constitutions useful in deliberative Rhetoric"

Immanuel Kant, "What Is Enlightenment?" in Political Writings, pp.54-60 (7pp.).

Moses Mendelssohn, "On the Question: What is Enlightenment?", in What is Enlightenment: Eighteenth-Century

Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions, trans. James Schmidt pp.53-57 (5pp.)

• http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/1164650

Michel Foucault, "What is Enlightenment?", in The Foucault Reader, Paul Rabinow, Ed., pp.32-50 (19pp)

• http://foucault.info/documents/whatisenlightenment/foucault.whatisenlightenment.en.html

Recommended:

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, The Education of the Human Race (~13pp)

• http://www.bartleby.com/32/401.html

Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, Book 5, Chapters 7 & 10.

4. January 28, 2015 - Liberal Cosmopolitanism

John Rawls, The Law of Peoples, Part I & Part II, pp.3-88 (86pp.)

5. February 4, 2015 - Radical Cosmopolitanism

James Ingram, Radical Cosmopolitics, Chapter 3 "Cosmopolitanism in Politics: Realizing the Universal," pp.117-165 (41pp + notes).

Immanuel Kant, Idea for a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Purpose, in Political Writings, pp.41-53 (13pp).

Immanuel Kant, *The Metaphysics of Morals* (Introduction, §§43-49) pp.132-143. (10pp.)

Immanuel Kant, "Theory and Practice: Part III, on the relationship of theory to practice in international right" in *Political Writings*, pp.87-92. (6pp)

6. February 11, 2015 - The Public Sphere or The Cosmopolitan Imagination **RESEARCH PROPOSAL DUE by 11:59 PM**

Seyla Benhabib, Another Cosmopolitanism, pp. 45-74 (30pp)

Jürgen Habermas, "Religion in the Public Sphere" in European Journal of Philosophy, Vol.14 No.1 (2006), pp.1-25 (25pp.)

Charles Taylor, "Western Secularity" in Rethinking Secularism, Calhoun, Juergensmeyer & van Twerpen, Eds. pp. 31-53 (23pp)

John Winthrop, A Model of Christian Charity

• http://www.winthropsociety.com/doc_charity.php

Recommended:

John Rawls, The Law of Peoples, "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited", pp.131-180. (50pp.)

READING WEEK - FEBRUARY 16 - 21, 2015 - NO CLASSES

7. February 25, 2015 - "The Order of Human Things"

Carl Schmitt, The Concept of the Political. 2Nd Ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007 pp.19-79 (60pp).

 n.b. If you're able, reading any of the vast array of secondary literature on Schmitt is beneficial, though at times quite challenging. The most beneficial but most challenging is Strauss's review in our edition.

Chantal Mouffe, "Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism?" in *Social Research*, Vol.66 No.10 (1999), pp.745-758. (14pp)

Recommended:

Giuseppe Mazzini, "Nationality and Cosmopolitanism" pp.57-62. (5pp)

8. March 4, 2015 - Patriotism, or "Practical Particularism"

Martha Nussbaum, For Love of Country, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," pp.3-17 (15pp)

Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Cosmopolitan Patriots" in For Love of Country, pp.21-29. (10pp)

James Ingram, Radical Cosmopolitics, Chapter 4, "Rethinking Ethical Cosmopolitanism: From Universalism to Universalization", pp.147-183. (37pp)

Rabindranath Tagore, Nationalism, 'Nationalism in the West," (~16pp)

9. March 11, 2015 – Cosmopolitan Norms

Hanna Arendt, Origins of Totalitarianism, "Chapter Nine: The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man," pp.267-302. (35pp)

Etienne Balibar, "Man and Citizen: Who's Who?" in *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, Vol.2 N.2 (1994), pp.99-114. (16pp)

James Ingram, Radical Cosmopolitics, Chapter 6, "Cosmopolitics in Practice: The Politics of Human Rights," pp. 264-301. (38pp + notes).

10. March 18, 2015 - Hospitality / who is 'Everybody'?

Jacques Derrida, On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness, New York: Routledge, 2001, pp.3-24. (22pp.)

Ryzsard Kapuscinski, *The Other*, "The Viennese Lectures" pp.13-49. (37pp.)

Wendy Brown, "Wounded Attachments" in Political Theory, Vol.21 No.3 (1993), 390-410. (21pp.)

Recommended:

Bonnie Honig, "Ruth, the Model Emigreé: Mourning the symbolic politics of Immigration" in *Political Theory*, Vol.25 No.1 (1997), 112-136. (25pp).

11. March 25, 2015 - Cosmopolitics and The Market

William Connolly, "The 'New Materialism' and the Fragility of Things" in *Millennium*, Vol.41 No.3 (2013), 399-412 (13pp).

Geoffrey Brennan & Philip Pettit. The Economy of Esteem: An Essay on Civil and Political Society, pp.15-33. (19pp)

John Hobson, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp.1-26. (26pp.)

12. April 1, 2015 - Cosmopolitanism and the City

MOVIE: This is Hamilton... After the Steel Rush, followed by Q & A with the filmmakers

Warren Magnusson, The Politics of Urbanism, "Seeing like a state, seeing like a city" pp.119-32 (24pp)

Warren Magnusson, "Social Movements and the Global City" in *Millennium*, Vol. 23 No.3 (1994), pp.621-645 (25pp).

13. April 8, 2015 - Conclusions / Research Roundtables

James Ingram, Radical Cosmopolitics, "Conclusion", pp.263-272. (10pp)

Sheldon Pollock, et al. "Cosmopolitanisms" in *Public Cultre*, Vol.12 No.3 (2000), pp.577-89. (13pp.)

Richard Rorty, "Justice as a Larger Loyalty" in Ethical Perspectives, Vol.4 No.2 (1997), pp.139-147. (9pp.)

FINAL RESEARCH PAPER TO SUBMITTED BY 11:59 PM, April 10th, 2015, TO A2L DROPBOX

Nota Bene: There is a long and ever-evolving list of recommended and supplemental reading posted to the course Avenue page, for your interest. There is also a list of useful books on course reserve at Mills.

ACADEMIC DISHONESTY

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity.

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: "Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty"), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university.

It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various kinds of academic dishonesty please refer to the Academic Integrity Policy, specifically Appendix 3, located at http://www.mcmaster.ca/senate/academic/ac_integrity.htm

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

- 1. Plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- 2. Improper collaboration in group work.
- 3. Copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

Course Modification Statement:

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check their McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

Email Forwarding in MUGSI:

http://www.mcmaster.ca/uts/support/email/emailforward.html

*Forwarding will take effect 24-hours after students complete the process at the above link

Students with Disabilities:

Students who require academic accommodation must contact Student Accessibility Services (SAS) to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. Academic accommodations must be arranged for each term of study. Student Accessibility Services can be contacted by phone 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or e-mail sas@mcmaster.ca. For further information, consult McMaster University's Policy for Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities.

Statement on Electronic Resources:

In this course we will be using Avenue ToLearn. Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of this course, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in this course will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

Statement on Turnitin.com

In this course we will be using a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal plagiarism. Students will be expected to submit their work electronically to Turnitin.com and in hard copy so that it can be checked for academic dishonesty. Students who do not wish to submit their work to Turnitin.com must still submit a copy to the instructor. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to Turnitin.com. All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld (e.g., on-line search, etc.). To see the Turnitin.com Policy, please go to www.mcmaster.ca/acaemicintegrity