WF

CARLETON UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF LAW

COURSE OUTLINE

LAWS 4105 A - GLOBAL JUSTICE THEORY

PREREQUISITES: Fourth-year Honours standing and one of LAWS 2105, PHIL 2103, PSACI

3307

TERM: Fall 2011

Day & Time: Fridays 11:35 – 2:25

Room: Please check with Carleton Central for current room location

INSTRUCTOR: Dr. Amy Bartholomew

CONTACT

Office: D581 LA (Loeb)
Office Hours: Mondays 3:00 to 4:30

Email: <u>Amy_Bartholomew@carleton.ca</u>

Telephone: 520-2600 x. 3696

Please use my email address, above, to contact me rather than webct or

telephone messages, when possible.

GLOBAL JUSTICE THEORY

The fourth year seminar in global justice theory will focus in the fall term 2011 on challenges to and the promises of international law and 'global governance' in the aftermath of the post Cold War era and 'humanitarian' intervention, on the one hand, and the 'global war on terror', on the other.

Some of the questions we will consider include: What is and what should be the role of international law today? Are human rights threatened by both humanitarian intervention and the 'war on terror'? Should states always obey international law? Why are supporters of human rights and global justice often so attached to international law? Is international law constraining state violence or is it spreading it today?

Is there a meaningful distinction to be made between international law and the international rule of law? How might we reconceptualize and reform or contest international law and global governance? What role do or should struggles in 'global civil society' play in relation to international law and global justice?

READINGS

Almost all of the required readings are available either electronically through Macodrum (these are indicated as "online" in the syllabus) or on the web (I have provided most necessary URLs). In several cases where they are not available in these ways **you will be responsible for finding the reading**. The only texts that fall into this latter category are by Anne Orford and Jürgen Habermas, see below.

If you wish to purchase books, I suggest the following, both of which we will use:

Orford, Anne. 2011. *International Authority and the Responsibility to Protect*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Not yet available in MacOdrum. (read for week 4)

Habermas, Jürgen. 2006. *The Divided West*, ed. and trans. Ciaran Cronin. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. An important book for current debates over international law by one of the leading philosophers of the 20th and 21st centuries. One copy on reserve in Macodrum. Some copies available for purchase at Octopus Books (3d Avenue just west of Bank St.). (Read for weeks 6, 9, and 11)

You might also consider purchasing:

Falk, Richard. 2009. *Achieving Human Rights*. New York: Routledge. An important political and legal discussion of international law and human rights today. If you are uninitiated in international law, this is an especially helpful book. Falk is one of the leading international law scholars who is now the UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights in the Palestinian Occupied Territories.

Bartholomew, Amy, ed. 2006. Empire's Law: The American Imperial Project and The 'War to Remake the World'. London: Pluto Press.

Where to buy? Use your own judgment but consider supporting a local bookstore. I recommend Octopus Books on 3d Avenue in the Glebe.

EVALUATION

Evaluation will be based on the following combination of seminar participation and written work.

1. A participation mark of 20% based on discussion leadership and weekly participation. The participation mark is a *composite mark*, evaluating your performance over the entire term and with respect both to discussion leadership and weekly participation in seminar. You are expected to participate on the basis of having read and reflected seriously on the literature and issues each week. Please come to seminar with a question, an objection, or an issue you would like to discuss and be prepared to discuss it with the seminar. Our discussion will focus on the literature; making sense of and evaluating the claims the literature makes. I encourage you to write short (1-2 page) summaries (not outlines) of the literature each week. If you do so and hand them in during the seminar for which they were written I will take that favorably into account in evaluating your participation performance. (It will also help you prepare for the final exam and to feel more prepared to participate in discussion each week).

Please read the **memo on discussion leadership** posted on Web CT for important information on what I expect of you as a discussion leader.

2. 3 short essays over the course of the term 4 to 5 (max) pages (double-spaced) **20%**. The short essays may generally be written for any of the weeks 2 through 10. You man *not* write on week 11. Also, you may *not* write a short essay for a seminar when you are a discussion leader. There is one exception to this rule: Everyone *must* write a short essay for week 9 even if you lead the discussion that week. The short essay is <u>due in the class for which it is submitted</u>. No late essays will be accepted. You may submit your essay via email prior to class if (and only if) you will miss class that day.

The short essays should critically *evaluate* some aspect of the literature for the relevant week and raise at least *one question* for discussion in class. Your evaluation may be tentative but you must go beyond mere description or summary of the literature. The paper and question(s) should be conceptual in nature, not merely empirical. The short essays will be marked on the basis of **demonstrated understanding of the main themes in** *all* **of the literature for that week,** the thoughtfulness of the issue(s) chosen for consideration, the evaluation provided and the question posed. While short essays need not be as formal as a research essay or the final exam, writing style, grammar etc. will count and proper citations are absolutely necessary.

Please provide a title page for your essay that includes your name, student number, date, course number and an indication of which essay (first, second, third etc) is being submitted. Please number your pages.

I will return your marked essays in class within two weeks of their submission. If you are not in seminar that day, I will leave your essay in the main Law Dept office for you to pick up.

3. Take home examination or research essay 60%. Due December 13 before 4pm

The take home examination will be distributed in the 12th class meeting. It is due on December 13 before 4pm. Late exams will result in failure in the course in the absence of a medical excuse that I judge to be adequate. You may submit your exam as an email attachment so long as: (1) you get it to me before 4pm on the due date, and (2) **you** take the responsibility for any technological failures. In other words, late exam answers will not be accepted.

The take home examination will pose a question and ask you to integrate and assess the literature we have read and discussed this term. You will not be required to do outside research for the examination. But, you will be expected to have mastered a wide swath of the literature and to have refined your analysis over the course of the term. The exam answer should be approximately 3750 words (about 15 pp double spaced). It may be no longer than 4500 words (about 18 pp double spaced).

You may choose to do a research essay instead of the take home examination. However, you need to clear the subject with me by October 28 if you choose this option. The research essay must draw on an area of research related to the course and either have a conceptual/theoretical and empirical importance in relation to the 'global war on terror' or 'humanitarian intervention' and international law or be a primarily theoretical/conceptual inquiry. You will be required to do research beyond the readings in the course. The essay must be original to this course. The research essay should be about 4500 words (about 18 pp. double spaced) and no more than 5500 words (about 22 pages double-spaced) not including notes. It is due December 10 before 4pm. Late essays will result in failure in the course in the absence of a medical excuse that I judge to be adequate.

EXPECTATIONS OF THE SEMINAR: This is a fourth year seminar. As a seminar, there will be virtually no lecture component. I view it as a 'reading seminar' the focus of which is on the texts as well as the issues each week. Therefore, you should bring your readings with you. The success of the seminar is dependent on you, each student, as well as upon me. I will attempt to guide the discussion where I think it needs guidance. I will also set the context for debates, where necessary. And, I will debate with you and sometimes (be prepared) suggest you need to rethink matters. But, this seminar is a *completely collective project* for which we are all responsible and it should be embraced as such by each of you. This means you are expected to come to at least nearly every seminar and to be well-prepared to contribute to the discussion of the literature and issues in each one.

You absolutely must read everything, closely, for the seminar, before the seminar. The success of a seminar depends on informed, lively and critical student participation. Regular attendance in seminar is necessary, <u>but not sufficient</u>, to constitute participation. The participation mark evaluates student discussion leadership, weekly participation in discussions and any other exercises, including short written summaries (1-2 pages) of the weekly readings. Summaries will be treated as voluntary unless I judge that seminar participants are not engaging with the literature seriously or consistently. If that is the case, they will become mandatory. The foundation for participation is close study of the readings before the class in which they are assigned. This requires more than skimming a text. It requires of most scholars at least one careful reading, a written summary of the material, a set of questions or criticisms, and a review before class.

GENERAL RULES

Failure to complete *any* aspect of the requirements may result in failure in the course with one exception. You may fail to submit one short essay (except week 9 which is mandatory) if you are prepared to accept the loss of that mark in the computation of your final mark.

Plagiarism will not be tolerated. Please refer to the Departmental Course-Related Policy and Procedure Statement (http://www.carleton.ca/law/policy.htm). Plagiarism means passing off as one's own ideas or product

the work of another, without giving credit to the source. My position is that students who plagiarize should be expelled from university and I will work toward that end should I find you have plagiarized.

"Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean."

NOTE ON ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATIONS:

Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must contact a coordinator at the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities to complete the necessary Letters of Accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet and discuss your needs with me in order to make the necessary arrangements as early in the term as possible, but no later than two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first test requiring accommodations. For further information, please see:

<u>http://www2.carleton.ca/pmc/students/accommodations</u>. For Religious and Pregnancy accommodations, please contact Equity Services, x. 5622 or their website: <u>www.carleton.ca/equity</u>

COURSE SCHEDULE

Week 1. Introduction

September 9

I. The 'Global War on Terror' and 'Humanitarian Intervention'

Week 2. The 'Global War on Terror,' Torture and Legality September 16

Waldron, Jeremy. 2005. "Torture and Positive Law: Jurisprudence for the White House." Columbia Law Review 105: 1681-1750. Online

"Human Rights Watch: Obama Broke Law Not Prosecuting Bush and Cheney" http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=7088 Listen on line.

Supplementary:

- Waldron, Jeremy. 2010. *Torture, Terror and Trade-Offs: Philosophy for the White House*. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Bartholomew, Amy. 2011. "Defending Legality in the Age of Empire's Law." In *Legality and Legitimacy in International Order* edited by Richard Falk, Ramesh Thakur and Vesselin Popolvski. Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.
- Sanders, Rebecca. 2011. "(Im)plausible Legality: The Rationalisation of Human Rights Abuses in the American 'Global War on Terror." *International Journal of Human Rights* 15, no.4, 605-626.
- Luban, David. 2005. "Liberalism and the Unpleasant Question of Torture." *Virginia Law Review* 91:1425-1461.
- Lewis, Anthony. 2004. "Making Torture Legal." New York Review of Books LI: 4
- Koh, Harold H. 2005. "A World Without Torture." *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law* 43:641-661.
- Sussman, David. 2005. "What's Wrong with Torture?" *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 33 2008. Special Issue on Torture. *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 6
- Frankenberg, Gunther. 2008. "Torture and Taboo: An Essay Comparing Paradigms of Organized Cruelty. *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 56: 403-

Week 3. The 'Global War on Terror' cont'd September 23

Willis, Susan. 2006. "Guantanamo's Symbolic Economy." *New Left Review* 39:123-131. Online Dunne, Tim. 2007. "'The Rules of the Game are Changing' Fundamental Human Rights in Crisis after 9/11." *International Politics* 44, no. 2: 269-286. online

Supplementary:

- Listen to interview with Glenn Greenwald, "2009 in Perspective: Glenn Greenwald on The Five Wars the US is Fighting in Muslim Countries." Democracy Now, 31 December 2009. Available at: http://www.democracynow.org/2009/12/31/glenn
- Sanders, Rebecca. 2011. "(Im)plausible Legality: The Rationalisation of Human Rights Abuses in the American 'Global War on Terror." *International Journal of Human Rights* 15, no.4, 605-626. Online
- Fitzpatrick, Joan. 2003. "Speaking Law to Power: The War Against Terrorism and Human Rights." *European Journal of International Law* 14: 241-264.
- McCulluch, Jude and Sharon Pickering. 2009. "Pre-Crime and Counter-Terrorism." *British Journal of Criminology* 49:628-645.
- International Commission of Jurists, *Assessing Damage, Urging Action*. 2009 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/16_02_09_ejp_report.pdf
- Jamieson, Ruth and Kieran McEvoy. 2005. "State Crime by Proxy and Juridical Othering." British Journal of Criminology 45: 504-527.
- Jayasuriya, Kanishka. 2005. *Reconstituting the Global Liberal Order*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-37. Available as an 'e-book' on the MacOdrum Library website.
- Bhuta, Nehal. 2003. "A Global State of Exception? The United States and World Order." Constellations 10:371-391. online
- Gunther, Klaus. 2005. "World Citizens: 'Between Freedom and Security.' *Constellations* 12: 379-391.
- Cole, David. 2006. "Are We Safer?" *New York Review of Books* 53: www.nybooks.com/articles/18752
- Gregory, Derek 2006. "The Black Flag: Guantanamo Bay and the Space of Exception." *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography* 88: 405-427.

Week 4. 'Humanitarian' Intervention September 30

- Habermas, Jürgen. 1999. "Bestiality and Humanity: A War on the Border between Legality and Morality." Constellations 6, no.3: 263-272. Online
- Orford, Anne. 2011. *International Authority and the Responsibility to Protect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 164-212.

Supplementary:

- Mamdani, Mahmood. 2009. "Introduction," "Globalizing Darfur," The Politics of the Movement to Save Darfur," and "Conclusion: Responsibility to Protect or Right to Punish?" *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics, and the War on Terror*. New York: Pantheon, pp. 3-74, and 271-300.
- Fine, Robert. 2006. "Cosmopolitanism and Violence: Difficulties of Judgment." *British Journal of Sociology* 57: 49-467.
- Orford, Anne. 1999. "Muscular Humanitarianism: Reading the Narratives of the New Interventionism." *European Journal of International Law* 10: 679-771.
- Kurasawa, Fuyuki. 2006. "The Uses and Abuses of Humanitarian Intervention in the Wake of Empire."" Pp. 297-312 in *Empire's Law: The American Imperial Project and the 'War to Remake the World'*, edited by Amy Bartholomew. London: Pluto.

- Anderson, Perry. 2005. "Arms and Rights: Rawls, Habermas and Bobbio in an Age of War." *New Left Review* 31: 5-40
- Bartholomew, Amy, and Jennifer Breakspear. 2003. "Human Rights as Swords of Empire." In *The New Imperial Challenge (The Socialist Register 2002)*, eds. Leo Panitch and Colin Leys, pp. 125-45. London: Merlin Press.
- Zizek, Slavoj. 2005. "Against Human Rights." New Left Review 34: 115-131.
- Zizek, Slavoj. 1999. "Against the Double Blackmail." New Left Review I/234: 76-82.
- Zolo, Danilo 2002. *Invoking Humanity: War, Law and Global Order*. London & New York: Continuum.
- Seymour, Richard. 2007. "In the Name of Decency: The Pro War Left." *International Socialism* 113:http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php4?id=275&issue=113

Friday October 7: No undergraduate classes held at Carleton

Week 5. 'Humanitarian' Intervention and Internal Resistance, Libya October 14

- Megret, Frederic. (2009). "Not 'Lambs to the Slaughter': A Program for Resistance to 'Genocidal Slaughter'". (March 22). Available online at SSRN: http://ssrn.com/abstract=1366866.
- Orford, Anne. 2011. "What Kind of Law is This?" March 29. *London Review of Books* blog. http://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2011/03/29/anne-orford/what-kind-of-law-is-this/
- Cole, Juan. 2011. Informed Comment Blog "An Open Letter to the Left on Libya," March 27

 http://www.juancole.com/2011/03/an-open-letter-to-the-left-on-libya.html and
 "Top Ten Mistakes in the Libya War", June 19

 http://www.juancole.com/2011/06/top-ten-mistakes-in-the-libya-war.html
- Falk, Richard. 2011 Blog. "Can Humanitarian Intervention ever be Humanitarian?" August 4. Focus on Falk's comments on Libya and UNEPF.

 http://richardfalk.wordpress.com/2011/08/04/can-humanitarian-intervention-ever-be-humanitarian/#comments

Supplementary:

Achcar, Gilbert 2011 "NATO 'Conspiracy' Against the Libyan Revolution," http://amandlapublishers.co.za/special-features/middle-east/643-nato-conspiracy-against-the-libyan-revolution-by-gilbert-achcar?tmpl=component&print=1&page=

Phyliss Bennis on Libyan Intervention and International Law at

http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=7190

Debate on Libya: Cole at Democracy Now!

http://www.juancole.com/2011/03/debate-on-libya-cole-at-democracy-now.html

II. Is International Law Constraining or Empowering Empire Today?

Week 6. Constraining: The Post-Sept 11 Legalist Reaction in the Face of the American Imperial Project October 21

- Cohen, Jean L. 2006. "Sovereign Equality v. Imperial Right: The Battle over the 'New World Order." *Constellations* 13, no.4: 485-505. online
- Habermas, Jürgen. 2003. "Interpreting the Fall of a Monument". *Constellations* 10, no.3: 364-370. Online. Also in *The Divided West* and in *Empire's Law*.
- Habermas, Jürgen (interview with Eduardo Mendieta). 2004. "America and the World: A Conversation with Jürgen Habermas." Available at: Logos 3.3:np. http://www.logosjournal.com/habermas_america.htm

Also in The Divided West as "An Interview on War and Peace."

Obama, Barak. 10 December 2009 "Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech."

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/12/10/obama-nobel-peace-prize-a_n_386837.html (If you have trouble with that link, there are many places on the web you can find the speech.)

You can also listen to the speech, here:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rMaTIEKIuRI&feature=related

Supplementary:

- Mayer, Jane. 2009. "The Hard Cases: Will Obama Institute a New Kind of Preventive Detention for Terrorist Suspects?"

 http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/?050214fa_fact6_23_February
- Krisch, Nico. 2005. "International Law in Times of Hegemony: Unequal Power and the Shaping of the International Legal Order." *European Journal of International Law* 16: 369-408.
- Krisch, Nico. 2003. "More Equal than the Rest? Hierarchy, Equality and US Predominance in International Law". In *United States Hegemony and the Foundations of International Law*, ed. M Byers, G Nolte
- International Commission of Jurists 2009. Assessing Damage, Urging Action: Report of the Eminent Jurists Panel on Terrorism, Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights, International Commission of Jurists, Geneva.

Week 7. Empowering: The role of the Security Council in spreading the 'war on terror' October 28

- Scheppele, Kim Lane 2008. "The Empire's New Laws: The International State of Emergency after 9/11." Unpublished paper available on web ct. Forthcoming as Kim Lane Scheppele, "The Empire's New Laws: Terrorism and the New Security Empire after 9/11," in George Steinmetz (ed.), Sociology and Empire. Published in French as "Le Droit de la Sécurité International: Le Terrorisme et l'Empire Sécuritaire de l'Après-11 Septembre 2001." (International Security Law: Terrorism and the Security Empire after September 11) in 173 Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales 28-43 (2008).
- Cohen, Jean L. 2008. "A Global State of Emergency or the Further Constitutionalization of International Law: A Pluralist Approach." *Constellations* 15, no.4: 456-484. online

[Remember to cut final pp on reform]

Supplementary:

- Jayasuriya, Kanishka. 2008. "Struggle over Legality in the Midnight Hour: Governing the International State of Emergency." Pp. 360-384 in Victor V. Ramraj ed., *Emergency and the Limits of Legality. Cambridge*, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Whitaker, Beth E. 2007. "Exporting the Patriot Act? Democracy and the 'War on Terror' in the Third World". *Third World Quarterly* 28:1017-1032.
- Keller, Helen and Andreas Fischer. 2009. "The UN Anti-Terror Sanctions Regime Under Pressure." *Human Rights Law Review* 9: 257-266.
- Flynn, EJ. 2007. "The Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee and Human Rights." *Human Rights Law Review* 7.

III. Squaring the Circle via an International Rule of Law, International Constitutionalism and Democratic Juridification, and Global Civil Society?

Week 8. Rule of International Law and Legitimacy November 4

Nardin, Terry. 2008. "Theorising the International Rule of Law." *Review of International Studies* 34: 385-401; read entire article, but just skim pp 387-394. online

Kuum, Mattias. 2004. "The Legitimacy of International Law: A Constitutionalist Analysis." European Journal of International Law 15: 907-931. online

Supplementary:

Waldron, Jeremy. 2011 European Journal of International Law

Bohman, James. 2009. "Living Without Freedom: Cosmopolitanism at Home and the Rule of Law." *Political Theory* 37: 539-561

Nardin, Terry. 2000. "International Pluralism and the Rule of Law." *Review of International Studies* 26: 95-110.

Buchanan, Allen and R. Powell. 2008. "Survey Article: Constitutional Democracy and the Rule of International Law: Are They Compatible?" *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 16: 326-349.

Koskenniemi, Martti. 2001. *The Gentle Civilizer of Nations: The Rise and Fall of International Law 1870-1969*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Week 9. Habermas on International Constitutionalization and a Chain of Democratic Legitimacy November 11 (Note: mandatory short essay)

Habermas, Jürgen. 2007. "Does the Constitutionalization of International Law Still Have a Chance?" Pp. 113-193 in *The Divided West*, On Reserve

Habermas, Jürgen. 2008. "The Constitutionalization of International Law and the Legitimation Problems of a Constitution For World Society." *Constellations* 15, no. 4: 444-455. online

Supplementary:

Scheuerman, William E. 2008. "All Power to the (Stateless?) General Assembly!" *Constellations* 15, no. 4: 485-492.

Lafont, Christina. 2008. "Alternative Visions of a New Global Order? What Should Cosmopolitans Hope For?" *Ethics and Global Politics* 1: 41-60.

Week 10. Responses to Habermas's Proposal(s) November 18

Scheuerman, William E. 2008. "All Power to the (Stateless?) General Assembly!" *Constellations* 15, no. 4: 485-492. online

Lafont, Christina. 2008. "Alternative Visions of a New Global Order? What Should Cosmopolitans Hope For?" *Ethics and Global Politics* 1: 41-60. online

Supplementary:

Scheuerman, William E. 2008. "Global Governance without Global Government? Habermas on Postnational Democracy." *Political Theory* 36, no.1: 133-151.

Week 11. International Reform and Global Civil Society November 25 (note: no essay permitted)

- Falk, Richard, Strauss, Andrew. 2000. "On the Creation of a Global Peoples Assembly: Legitimacy and the Power of Popular Sovereignty." *Stanford Journal of International Law* 36: 191-219. online
- Habermas, Jürgen. 2008. "The Constitutionalization of International Law and the Legitimation Problems of a Constitution For World Society." *Constellations* 15, no. 4: 444-455. (Revisited) online

Supplementary:

- Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. 2006. "Beyond Neoliberal Governance: The World Social Forum as Subaltern Cosmopolitan Politics and Legality." On line at: http://www.ces.uc.pt/bss/documentos/chapter2.pdf
- Falk, Richard. 2009. "Toward Global Democracy." In Falk, Richard. *Achieving Human Rights*. New York: Routledge. (pc)
- Buchanan, Allen and R.O. Keohane. 2006. "The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions." Ethics and International Affairs
- Patomaki, H. "Rethinking Global Parliament: Beyond the Indeterminacy of International Law." *Widener Law Review* 13: 375-394.

Week 12. Wrap Up, Make Up, Reflections Exam Distributed December 2

Exam and research essays due Tuesday, December 13 by 4pm.