

**Introduction to Political Theory**  
**Dr. Mithilesh Kumar Jha**  
**Department of Humanities and Social Sciences**  
**Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati**

**Lecture – 15**  
**Justice – IV: Feminist conception of Justice; Global Justice**

Hello and welcome friends. This is the concluding lecture on justice. On justice, we have discussed John Rawls theory and its critique. We have tried to see alternative theorization of justice in contemporary political theory. In today's lecture, we will focus on two more such theorizations. One is feminist conception of justice and their critique to the Rawls theory of justice. In the second part of the lecture, we will discuss about global justice, where we will focus on cosmopolitan, particularist approaches and also, Rawls law of peoples. These are some of the things which we will discuss in today's lecture.

We will start our lecture with the feminist conception of justice, where we will discuss, how they provide a criticism to Rawls theory of justice which they believed is somewhat inadequate to understand the injustices prevalent in the family. And, without resolving the issues of injustices in the family, to talk about justice in public and political sphere is somewhat problematic.

Therefore, in the feminist conception of justice, they try to combine justice with the notion of care and to have a society which is just and free from gender discrimination to have a gender just society or a peaceful society. They argue on the need to combine the ethics of care with the notion of justice. So, we will discuss about this in the first part of our lecture. In the second part, we will discuss about global justice through different thinkers.

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**Feminist Conceptions of Justice**

- The feminist theory of justice emphasis on the need for a specific concept of justice that will focus specifically on women's rights and issues of inequality and discrimination or more precisely on a way of reasoning or thinking that is contrary to the normal universal, abstract and objective conception of justice.
- Feminists like Catharine Mackinnon and Joan Tronto are against the sexist and stereotypical way of thinking about women's morality that is seen as limited to care, nurture, love, compassion and peace. Many feminist scholars have criticized the ways that regard rationality and objective impersonal thinking as male ethic of justice and deprive the women from that modes of thinking which is regarded as particularistic and context specific.
- The feminist scholars have also questioned the theory of justice which divide the life between 'private' and 'public' and overlook the injustices that is reproduced in the family, which is seen as part of private sphere and hence outside the purview of justice - which is regarded as matters pertaining to public-political life.

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The feminist theory of justice emphasis on the need for a specific concept of justice which will focus, specifically, on women's rights and issues of inequality and discrimination. More precisely, they emphasis on the way of reasoning or thinking, that is contrary, to what we normally call universal, abstract and objective conceptions of justice.

Basically, a feminist theorist argue that they are looking for a specific concept of justice which will not just talk about a broader, universal, or abstract kind of theory of justice, but deals with the issues pertaining to women, particularly, the issue of injustices based on discrimination, such as gender division discrimination or related violence.

So, while they want to construct a theory that deals with this issue, they also, want to argue about a way of thinking or reasoning, contrary to or in contrast to, what is usually, presented as a universal, abstract and objective conception of justice. Thus, a universal, abstract and objective conception of justice deals with something, which is applicable to everyone without any consideration to particularities or contexts or other kinds of backgrounds. In contrast, to that mode of thinking which has been dominant in political theory especially, when they talk about justice.

Feminist will argue that we need to take into account the needs and requirements of particularities, or particular context, or a community to understand their specific needs to create a society which would be more just. They are not just looking for a theory which

deals with this issue pertaining to women, but they also, want to present a way of thinking or reasoning that is, in contrast to the normal, universal, abstract and objective conception of justice. Feminists like Catherine Mackinnon and Joan Tronto are against the sexist or stereotypical way of thinking about women's morality.

And women's morality is seen as limited to care, nurture, love and compassion. So, in the sexist, stereotypical way of thinking about women and their role and morality, these are reduced merely, to the idea of care, nurture, love, compassion and peace. This universal, abstract, rational, objective thinking and theorization, is therefore, regarded as something, which can be done by the male or main member only. So, the discrimination that is based on the division of the role between men and women is also, very problematic in the feminist conception of justice. Many feminist scholars have criticized the ways that regard rationality and objective impersonal thinking as male ethics of justice.

In usual normal ways of theorization, the rational objective and impersonal thinking is regarded as male ethics of justice and deprive women from this kind of universal, rational or objective impersonal thinking. Because, women are only considered as compassionate beings who cares, loves, and is a nurturer. Therefore, women are considered as incapable of thinking in the objective, impersonal, or in a universal sense.

So, many feminist scholars have criticized the ways that regard rationality and objective or impersonal thinking as male ethics of justice and it deprives the women from such modes of thinking which is regarded as particularistic or context specific. Thus, the feminist scholars have questioned the theory of justice which divides the life between private and public.

One of the problematic for the feminist scholars is the dichotomy between public and private. Most of the debates in political theory revolve around this issue that is, pertaining to the public or political. And, the private sphere is seen as something, different to the public. Many feminists have criticized this dichotomy and regarded many laws or legislation which pertains to public or political life and it also, save the private life. For instance, the laws related to marriage, inheritance, transfer of property is discussed, debated and framed in public life, but saves the private life or vice versa; many things that is about public life. For instance, gender role is also saved in the public

domain as well. Thus, this dichotomy between public and private is criticized and found problematic by many feminist scholars. They also, argued that it overlooked the injustices, reproduced in the family as an institution.

Now, in the mainstream kind of political theorization or in the male dominant theorization of politics which believes in this public and private dichotomy, family is seen as something, which is related to the private sphere. Therefore, the injustices that is reproduced there is not seriously, taken into consideration when they theorize about any notion of justice or liberty. So, the feminist scholars questions this kind of argument which overlooks the injustices that is reproduced or perpetuated in the sphere of family, itself which is largely, seen as a matter pertaining to the personal life.

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- The feminist scholars have also questioned the theory of justice which divide the life between 'private' and 'public' and overlook the injustices that is reproduced in the family, which is seen as part of private sphere and hence outside the purview of justice - which is regarded as matters pertaining to public-political life.

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Many other feminists argued that ethics of care should be made effective on the grounds of providing justice. For providing justice, the notion or ethics of care should be made effective. They are of the opinion that care and justice are complementary in nature. So, we cannot think about justice without the notion of care. Thus, feminist theorists try to bring together care and justice. These two things are not in opposition to each other but they want to project or present a theory of justice which also, includes the notion of care. Thus, the care is not excluded from the notion of justice.

Susan Moller Okin in her book *Justice, Gender and Family*, argues, for the feminist ideal of a gender free society, where discrimination in rights and duties will not occur on the

basis of sex. So, discrimination of gender roles which the society formulates is based on this idea of biological sex and gender is a kind of further extension of such division. Susan Moller Okin, in her work *Justice, Gender and Family* thus, talks about a society which is free from this kind of gender based discrimination and injustices in terms of distribution of rights and duties. So, only a gender free society will ensure and nurture a society which is devoid of sexist discrimination and stereotypical attitudes towards women and their rights.

A society cannot be a free society or just society when half of its population, that means, women, by and large, is subjected to these gender discriminations or injustices. And so much so, that they forget or they do not realize or they do not have the desire to lead an active life in public or in the political sphere. In this kind of biased, stereotypical sexist society, justice cannot fulfill the requirements of every sections of the society particularly; those who are vulnerable like women or other such groups and communities. Therefore, the ethics of care or nurture supplements or in a sense, complements the theory of justice. So, Okin, argued that a gender free society will ensure and nurture a society which is devoid of sexist discrimination and stereotypical attitudes towards women and their rights.

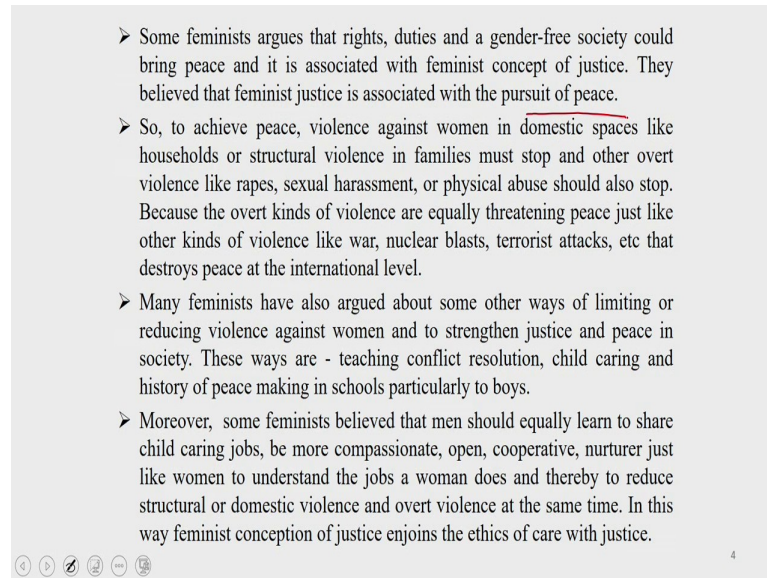
Again, Okin is skeptical, whether welfare or a liberal ideal will be good enough to provide women with justice in the society. She is not certain, whether Rawls original position can deal with the feminist justice. Because, it has not dealt with the family structure and thus, it could not provide a gender just society. So, feminist scholars are skeptical of the Rawlsian theory of justice, precisely, because, it overlooks the fact that family as an institution itself, perpetuate injustices.

And, Rawls, while he is talking about justice, he talks only about justice in the public, or in the political realm and regard family as something, which is the private matter. The noble ideals like sacrifice and other things which overlooks or made injustices particularly, gender injustices invisible in the family.

They have the apprehension about the theory of justice in Rawls which overlooks the existence of injustices in the family. So, Okin, claims that abolition of gender is necessary, to fulfill Rawls objective of political justice in reality. They acknowledge the significance of Rawls theory of justice, where they argued that to realize it, to make it

effective, one needs to abolish the gender based discriminations or injustices prevalent in the society. She also, argued that Rawls theory needs rethinking over the question of division of labour within families.

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- Some feminists argue that rights, duties and a gender-free society could bring peace and it is associated with the feminist concept of justice. They believed that feminist justice is associated with the pursuit of peace.
- So, to achieve peace, violence against women in domestic spaces like households or structural violence in families must stop and other overt violence like rapes, sexual harassment, or physical abuse should also stop. Because the overt kinds of violence are equally threatening to peace just like other kinds of violence like war, nuclear blasts, terrorist attacks, etc that destroy peace at the international level.
- Many feminists have also argued about some other ways of limiting or reducing violence against women and to strengthen justice and peace in society. These ways are - teaching conflict resolution, child caring and history of peace making in schools particularly to boys.
- Moreover, some feminists believed that men should equally learn to share child caring jobs, be more compassionate, open, cooperative, nurturer just like women to understand the jobs a woman does and thereby to reduce structural or domestic violence and overt violence at the same time. In this way feminist conception of justice enjoins the ethics of care with justice.

Some feminists, argue, that rights, duties and a gender free society could bring peace and it is associated with the feminist conception of justice. So, the idea of justice is not merely, about re-distribution of goods and resources, but also, to create a society which will be more equal, free and peaceful. To do that one needs to take into account, a particular or specific requirement of different sections of the society, particularly, those who are vulnerable such as women. They believed that the feminist conception of justice is also, associated with the pursuit of peace.

To achieve peace, violence against women in domestic spaces such as households or structural violence in families must stop and other overt kinds of violence like rapes, sexual harassments or physical abuses should also, to be stopped. Because the overt kinds of violence are equally, threatening to peace just like other kinds of violence such as war, nuclear blasts, or terrorist attacks that destroy peace at the international level. So, the violence against women in both domestic and also, the overt kind of violence in the form of rapes, sexual harassments and physical abuses destroy peace and harmony in the society. To ensure peace, one needs to stop this kind of violence against women.

Many feminists have also, argued about some other ways of limiting or reducing violence against women and to strengthen justice and peace in the society. And these ways are teaching conflict resolution, child caring and history of peace-making in schools, particularly, to the boys. Moreover, some feminists, believed that men should equally, learn to share child caring jobs, be more compassionate, open, cooperative, nurturer just like women, to understand the jobs a women does and thereby, to reduce the structural or domestic violence or overt violence at the same time.

In this way, we find in the feminist theorization of justice, they not only, provide a criticism to Rawls theory of justice which overlooks the injustices in the family, but also, tries to bind the ethics of care to the theory of justice together. So, in the feminist conception of justice, we find a kind of combination of theory of justice with the ethics of care. Together, it helps to create a society which would be more just, free and peaceful. That is all about on this feminist conception of justice.

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**Global Justice**

- The concept of global justice is a contemporary political idea which emphasis on how idea of justice can be visualized and attain globally or in an international arena. This concept is strongly influenced by the John Rawls principles of justice and his work, *The Law of Peoples* (1999) and standpoint of cosmopolitanism in contemporary times.
- Cosmopolitanists like Charles Beitz and Thomas Pogge agreed to the two principles of Rawls, namely principle of equal basic liberties and the difference principle, as we discussed in the previous lecture, it should be used and made applicable globally or in the international space as well.
- However, they believed that the application of these two principles should not be limited to make use of in the nation-state alone as Rawls pointed out. It should have a global significance to it to prevail global justice to all people as per the notion of cosmopolitanism.

Now, we will move on to the idea of global justice. We often, come across this idea of self as part of humanity or something that transcends the boundary of the nation- state which is not something new. So, many of us in India or most of us in India are familiar with the idea of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*. We are Indian, but we also, consider the whole world as one family, too.

The global justice is basically, about creating a society which is not just within its border, but to create or ensure justice for everyone in the world or globe. Therefore, it transcends the limits of justice. So, no longer, then we talk about justice in the fragmented sense of nation-state or any society within a nation-state. The concept of global justice is a contemporary political idea which emphasis on how idea of justice can be visualized and attain globally or internationally.

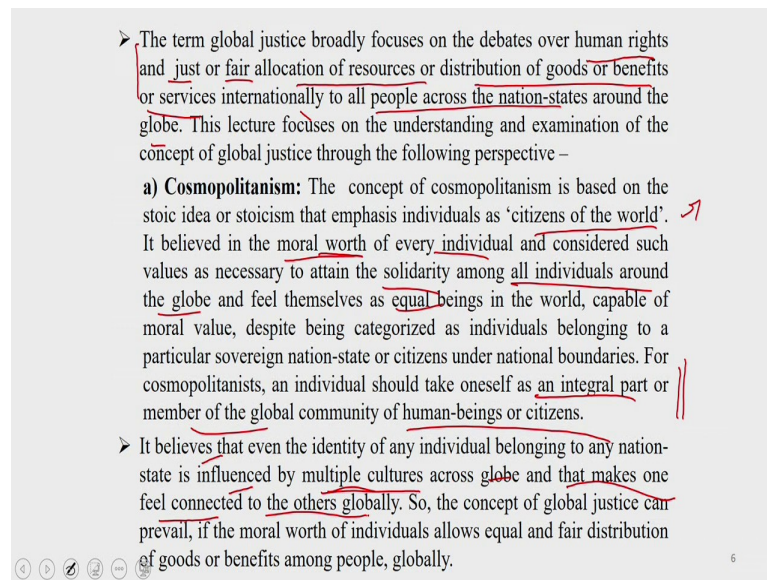
In political theory, the idea of global justice is relatively recent, where the theorization of justice or justice as an ideal is not just limited to a state or a particular nation-state, but we at the international level also, tries to ensure justice everywhere. For example, some of the programmes of international agencies such as United Nations Millennium Developmental Programmes or Sustainable Developmental Programmes, caters to the needs of some of these ideas of ensuring peace or freedom or equality as not something, which is limited to a particular nation, but it should be made available to many people. Of course, the hidden agenda behind this kind of argument makes it problematic, but the idea of global justice in principle or in theory is about extending the political values of justice, freedom or equality beyond the boundary of a nation-state.

So, this concept is strongly, influenced by John Rawls principle of justice and his work the *Laws of People*. In fact, the theory of justice is regarded as a universal theory of justice which is applicable to every nation. And, yet the idea of nation-state is very strong there. And the laws of people especially, and other thinkers like Charles Beitz and Thomas Pogge also, argued about this notion of global justice. Cosmopolitanists like Charles Beitz and Thomas Pogge, agreed to the two principles of Rawls, namely, principles of equal basic liberty, that is, the first principal, if we remember John Rawls theory of justice.

And, the second is called the difference principle. It should be used and made applicable, globally, or in the international space as well. However, they believed that the application of these two principles should not be limited to make use of it in the nation-state alone as Rawls pointed out. It should have a global significance to it, to prevail global justice to all people as per the notion of cosmopolitanism.



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➤ The term global justice broadly focuses on the debates over human rights and just or fair allocation of resources or distribution of goods or benefits or services internationally to all people across the nation-states around the globe. This lecture focuses on the understanding and examination of the concept of global justice through the following perspective –

a) **Cosmopolitanism:** The concept of cosmopolitanism is based on the stoic idea or stoicism that emphasizes individuals as 'citizens of the world'. It believes in the moral worth of every individual and considers such values as necessary to attain the solidarity among all individuals around the globe and feel themselves as equal beings in the world, capable of moral value, despite being categorized as individuals belonging to a particular sovereign nation-state or citizens under national boundaries. For cosmopolitanists, an individual should take oneself as an integral part or member of the global community of human-beings or citizens.

➤ It believes that even the identity of any individual belonging to any nation-state is influenced by multiple cultures across the globe and that makes one feel connected to the others globally. So, the concept of global justice can prevail, if the moral worth of individuals allows equal and fair distribution of goods or benefits among people, globally.

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The term global justice broadly, focus on the debates over human rights and just or fair allocation of resources or distribution of goods or benefits or services, internationally, to all people across the nation-states around the globe. So, that is the primary concern of global justice which talks about human rights or just or fair allocation of resources or distribution of goods or benefits or services internationally, to all people across the nation-states around the globe. In this lecture, we will focus on global justice through the following perspectives, basically, cosmopolitanism and particularist kinds of perspective on global justice. And, then, we will conclude our lecture by discussing about Rawls law of peoples.

For cosmopolitanism, the concept is based on the stoic idea or stoicism that emphasizes individuals as citizens of the world. The ideal is that citizen or the cosmopolitanism believes in individuals as citizens of the world and not of a particular nation-state. It believes in the moral worth of every individual. The moral worth or dignity of each individual is acknowledged or regarded as a value necessary, to attain solidarity among all individuals around the globe. The solidarity, then, must not be confined to the nation-state or within the nation-state. So, this value that the moral worth of every individual matters and individual is the citizen of the world is required to attain solidarity among all individuals around the globe and feel themselves as equal beings in the world. So, nothing, or no one is superior or no one is inferior in the world capable of moral values,

despite being categorized as individuals belonging to a particular sovereign nation-state or citizens under national boundary.

We may live our life in a particular nation-state, but we must develop or have the moral capability, to regard ourselves as the citizens of the world. And to extend our solidarity to every individual in the world, where the life of everyone, every single individual matters and that solidarity will be the basis of that kind of justice which we seek to ensure in the world. For cosmopolitanists, an individual should take oneself as an integral part or member of the global community of human-beings or the citizens.

So, what does it mean to be regarded as a member of the global community or human-beings or the citizens. Some of the challenges that we face in contemporary world, for example, climate change or terrorism or human rights violation in some distant country, we should all take responsibility or contribute in fighting such climate change or in tackling global terrorism or to protecting human rights violation in some distant country. Thus, for that kind of solidarity or involvement requires new ways of looking at or presenting or thinking about self-identity which is not confined to a particular nation-state.

In the 21st century, because of the challenges that we face at the global level, it becomes, essential for us to see ourselves as part of a larger community which is beyond the nation-state. Because those challenges cannot be tackled by a particular nation-state, even if, it is superior, in terms of economic and military resources. It requires global collaboration on climate change or to have a peace agreement or such other global collaboration, which requires the coming together of all the nation-states. The idea that cosmopolitan thinkers or theorists, argues, because of these challenges that we face or the justice which we want to ensure is possible, only when we are equally, concerned about justice in other parts of the world.

In other words, the cosmopolitan individual imagines himself or herself not as a part of citizen of a particular nation-state or a sovereign nation-state, but also, as an integral part or member of the global community of human-beings or citizens. So, the humanity is the biggest community and nothing can replace the worth or the significance of humanity, when it comes to see oneself as part of the larger community which must transcend the boundary of nation-states.

The cosmopolitan argument is about presenting individual as the member of a global citizen. It believes that even the identity of any individual belonging to any state is influenced by multiple cultures across globe and that makes one feel connected to others, globally. So, this imagination or consciousness of oneself being an integral part of the global community is also, the result of these multiple cultures across the globe that makes one, feel connected to others globally.

So, even if, we live in a physical sense or in a particular nation, the culture or the politics and economics of that nation is influenced by the multiple cultures from across the globe. And, thereby, one feels then emotionally, or psychologically, connected to other people in the world as well. The concept of global justice can prevail, if the moral worth of individuals allows equal and fair distribution of goods or benefits among people globally, and not just domestically, within the nation-state.

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- Thomas Pogge though accepted Rawls idea of re-distribution of wealth but he criticized Rawls on the ground that he failed to extend the idea of domestic justice which prevails inside nation-state to bring it in the international space or to make it global.
- He suggested that moral universalism is necessary to make it realize that all individuals or citizens around the globe are subjected to some moral principles or values that demands to make similar types of benefits or goods and burdens available or reachable to all people globally, to sustain a global just world or global justice.
- He pointed out that inequalities that cannot be justified or acceptable within a particular nation-state should not in principle be justified between or among nation-states. So, there is the necessity to find ways or principles, or principled reasons to treat every case of re- distribution of resources or benefits differently across nation-states.

Thomas Pogge, though accepted Rawls idea of re-distribution of wealth, but he criticized Rawls on the ground that he fails to extend the idea of domestic justice which prevails inside nation-state or to bring it in the international space or international arena, to make it global. So, Thomas Pogge's argument is about re-distribution of wealth and resources in the international arena as well. He suggested that moral universalism is necessary, to make it realise that all individuals or citizens around the globe are subjected to some kind of moral principles or values. These moral principles and values demands to make

similar types of benefits or goods, and burdens, available or accessible to all people globally, to sustain a global just world or global justice.

So, global justice demands that the benefits or resources or burdens must be made available or accessible to all people, globally. He pointed out that the inequalities that cannot be justified or acceptable within a particular nation-state should not be in principle justified between or among nation-states. So, this point, we need to discuss carefully, that inequalities cannot be justified or acceptable within a particular nation-state.

Some inequalities or injustices that we do not accept in our domestic, national life, we must not in principle allow such injustices or inequalities to prevail in the global arena as well or among and between different nation-states. So, there is the necessity, to find ways or principles or principle reasons to treat every case of re-distribution of resources or benefits differently, across nation-states.

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**b) Particularism:** The concept of particularism or partialists is another perspective on the idea of global justice. It emphasis on particularists or partialists stand point against the idea of global justice.

- Alasdair MacIntyre is one of the particularist who rejects universalism or universal re-distribution of goods or benefits. He argues that patriotism belongs to exhibit loyalty to one's own nation, or a particular nation-state and love of one's family and friendship. For the particularists, justice is about distribution of goods but those goods are to be enjoyed in a particular social setting within a particular nation-state.
- **Rawls Law of Peoples and Global Justice:** In his work, the *Law of Peoples* (1999), Rawls talks about how to create a well ordered society or how to arrive at laws to which a well ordered society would agree or accept. He is basically referring to the liberal societies of the world. For him, well-ordered peoples are reasonable liberal peoples and 'decent non-liberal peoples'. He only considered using his two principles of basic liberties and 'difference principle' in liberal nation-states alone and not globally across nation-states. Rather he said that different principles needs to be chosen for international level.

In contrast to this cosmopolitan argument about extending the principle of re-distribution of resources as we have discussed in Rawls, in the global arena as well, the particularism or particularists argued against such kind of universal distribution. So, their argument is basically, that another concept on this idea of global justice which emphasis on the particularists and partialists standpoints is against the idea of global justice. MacIntyre is

one of the particularists who rejects universalism or universal re-distribution of goods or benefits.

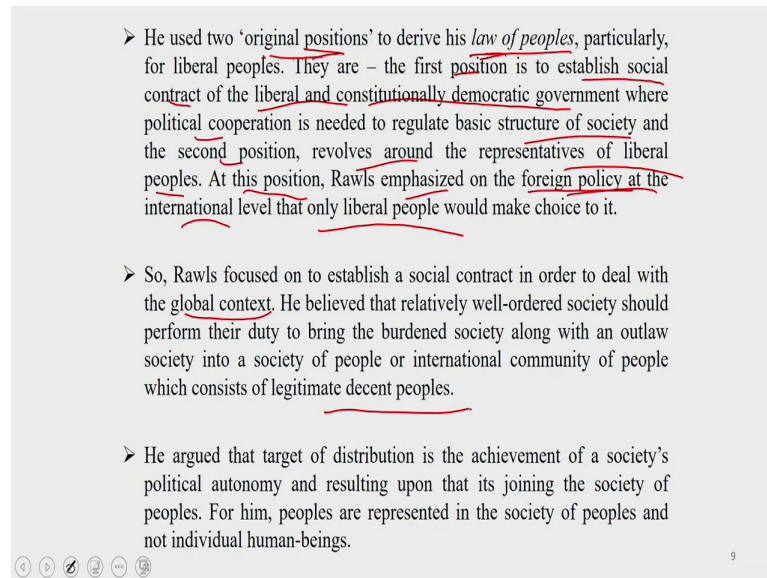
He argues that patriotism belongs to exhibit loyalty to one's own nation or a particular nation-state and love of one's family and friendship. Therefore, to universalize it will not serve the purpose of justice. For the particularists, justice is about distribution of goods, but those goods are to be enjoyed in a particular social setting within a particular nation-state. So, in this argument, we see that they argue against the kind of universal cosmopolitan values which in a way, is based on the idea that those who claim to be universal are ruthless people. And, ruthless people do not share responsibilities or they do not share loyalty to any particular community or society.

Therefore, they enjoy the benefits of re-distribution, but not share the responsibility and loyalty. And so, the particularists to make distribution effective or just, argues against such kind of ruthless or distribution of resources without allocation of responsibility and so on. Now, we will discuss on Rawls *Law of Peoples* and this idea of global justice. In his work, the *Laws of Peoples* which he wrote in 1999, Rawls talks about how to create a well-ordered society. The concern for Rawls in his book was to create a well-ordered society and to arrive at laws to which a well-ordered society would agree or accept.

He is basically, referring to liberal societies of the world and for him, well-ordered peoples are reasonable liberal peoples and decent non-liberal peoples. So, even those who are not liberal and yet decent enough, how they will all come together to form or create a well-ordered society. They will agree, to some laws which would be binding to everyone, even those who are liberal. So, primarily, he is talking about liberal peoples, but also, those who are non-liberal decent peoples as well.

So, he only, considered using his two principles of basic liberties and different principles in liberal nation-states, alone and not globally, across the nation-states. Rather, he said that different principles need to be chosen for international level. Thus, for creating a just order globally, he wanted to have different kinds of principles of justice and not the different principles that he argued in his text on justice.

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- He used two 'original positions' to derive his *law of peoples*, particularly, for liberal peoples. They are – the first position is to establish social contract of the liberal and constitutionally democratic government where political cooperation is needed to regulate basic structure of society and the second position, revolves around the representatives of liberal peoples. At this position, Rawls emphasized on the foreign policy at the international level that only liberal people would make choice to it.
- So, Rawls focused on to establish a social contract in order to deal with the global context. He believed that relatively well-ordered society should perform their duty to bring the burdened society along with an outlaw society into a society of people or international community of people which consists of legitimate decent peoples.
- He argued that target of distribution is the achievement of a society's political autonomy and resulting upon that its joining the society of peoples. For him, peoples are represented in the society of peoples and not individual human-beings.

In this text, he used two original positions to derive his law of peoples, particularly, for liberal peoples. They are- the first position is to establish social contract of the liberal and constitutionally, democratic government, where political cooperation is needed to regulate the basic structure of society. So, that is the first position, which he talks about to established a social contract of the liberal and constitutionally democratic government, where political cooperation is needed to regulate the basic structure of society. And the second position is that which revolves around the representatives of liberal people.

So, to arrive at the laws that would govern the people especially, the liberal people and even those who are non-liberals, but decent people, he talks about two original positions. He talked about only, about one original position, that is, the 'veil of ignorance'. Here, he talks about two original positions in order to derive at the laws of people which would bind them, the liberals or decent people together and to create a society which would be an orderly society. There the first position talks about establishing social contract of the liberal and constitutional democratic government, where the political cooperation is needed to regulate the basic structure of society.

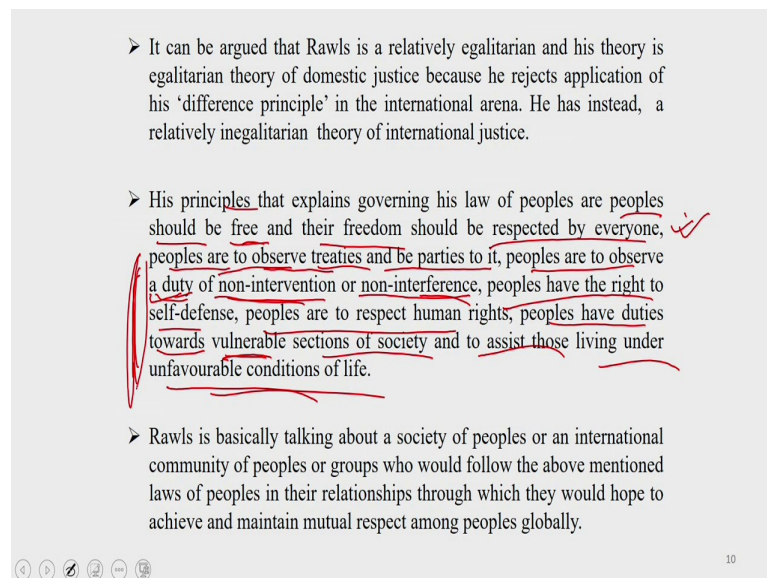
The second position revolves around the representatives of liberal people. At this position, Rawls emphasized on the foreign policy at the international level that only, liberal people would make choice to it. Rawls, focused on to establish a social contract in order to deal with the global context. He believed that a relatively, well- ordered society

should perform their duties to bring the burdened society along with an outlawed society into a society of people or an international community of people which consists of legitimate decent peoples.

He argued that target of distribution is the achievement of society's political autonomy and resulting upon that is joining the society of people. Here, this community or the liberal people have been given the responsibility to bring together those decent people who may not be liberal to create a society which would ensure order or more orderly, society. For him, people are represented in the society of people and not as individual human-beings.

Rawls, in this text is talking about peoples collectivities and not necessary, in the sense of people as individual human-being. Here, his purpose is to create laws which would be binding for those particularly, who are liberals, but we also, help in creating an orderly, society by including those who may be not liberal, but they are decent people. And, to create that kind of a society, he talks about these two kinds of original positions which I have just discussed.

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- It can be argued that Rawls is a relatively egalitarian and his theory is egalitarian theory of domestic justice because he rejects application of his 'difference principle' in the international arena. He has instead, a relatively inegalitarian theory of international justice.
- His principles that explains governing his law of peoples are peoples should be free and their freedom should be respected by everyone, peoples are to observe treaties and be parties to it, peoples are to observe a duty of non-intervention or non-interference, peoples have the right to self-defense, peoples are to respect human rights, peoples have duties towards vulnerable sections of society and to assist those living under unfavourable conditions of life.
- Rawls is basically talking about a society of peoples or an international community of peoples or groups who would follow the above mentioned laws of peoples in their relationships through which they would hope to achieve and maintain mutual respect among peoples globally.

Now, this we have discussed before when we were focusing on Rawls and talked on liberty or liberal egalitarian theory of justice. Unlike Robert Nozick who was about the libertarian theory of justice. So, it can be argued that Rawls is a relatively, egalitarian and his theory is egalitarian theory of domestic justice, because he rejects application of his

difference principle in the international arena. He has instilled a relatively, inegalitarian theory of international justice, where the liberal people have been given significantly, more responsibility, to include those decent people who may not be liberal and yet together they constitute, the global just world order.

His principles that explain governing his law of peoples are peoples should be free. So, these are some of the principles that he talks about that peoples should be free and their freedom should be respected by everyone. The liberals or not liberals, but they should all be free and it must be respected by everyone. So, that is the first principle, then, peoples are to observe treaties and be parties to it. The global treaties or international treaties must be observed and people should be parties to such treaties. Peoples are to observe a duty of non-intervention or non-interference.

So, that is another principle to ensure or another law to ensure global world order, that is, all people must observe this duty of non-intervention or non-interference. People have the right to self-defense, peoples are to respect human rights, peoples have duties towards vulnerable sections of society and to assist those living under unfavourable conditions of life. These are some of the laws through which Rawls is arguing about creating an orderly society or just society at the global level, where the freedom of people should be respected by everyone. And global treaties should be observed and people should be a party to it.

And, the people here, includes not only the liberal people only as discussed. They have given more responsibility, but it also, includes those decent people who may not necessarily, have liberal ideology. So, Rawls, is basically, talking about a society of peoples or an international community of peoples or groups who would follow the above mentioned laws which I have discussed in their relationship through which they would hope to achieve and maintain mutual respect among peoples, globally.


These are some of the laws through which global, just order could be attained or sustained among and between different nation-states which may be sovereign. And yet, they together constitute the global, just order among themselves.



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These are some of the issues on feminist conception of justice and global justice. The themes that I have discussed in today's lecture, you can refer to these books by Bhargava and Ashok Acharya, and also, these other books which I have been referring to. These are some of the books, for today's lecture on feminist conception of justice and the idea of global justice. That is all for today. Thanks for listening.

Thank you all.