

The People's Duty

Can we talk about "the people" as an agent with its own morally important integrity? How should we understand ownership of public property by "the people"? Shmuel Nili develops philosophical answers to both of these questions, arguing that we should see the core project of a liberal legal system – realizing equal rights – as an identity-grounding project of the sovereign people, and thus as essential to the people's integrity. He also suggests that there are proprietary claims that are intertwined in the sovereign people's moral power to create property rights through the legal system. The practical value of these ideas is illustrated through a variety of real-world policy problems, ranging from the domestic and international dimensions of corruption and abuse of power, through transitional justice issues, to the ethnic and religious divides that threaten liberal democracy. This book will appeal to political theorists as well as readers in public policy, area studies, law, and across the social sciences.

SHMUEL NILI is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, and a research fellow at the School of Philosophy at the Australian National University, Canberra. He has published widely in leading journals, including *Ethics*, *The American Political Science Review*, *The Journal of Politics*, and *The American Journal of Political Science*.





The People's Duty

Collective Agency and the Morality of Public Policy

SHMUEL NILI

Northwestern University and the Australian National University





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108480925

DOI: 10.1017/9781108691680

© Shmuel Nili 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Nili, Shmuel, author.

Title: The people's duty: collective agency and the morality of public policy /

Shmuel Nili.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University

Press, 2019. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018061493 | ISBN 9781108480925 (hardback)

Subjects: LCSH: Political participation – Moral and ethical aspects. | Abuse of administrative power. | Political corruption. | Political ethics. | Government property.

Classification: LCC JF799 .N55 2019 | DDC 172/.1-dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018061493

ISBN 978-1-108-48092-5 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



> לאבא משה, שניכש מילים תועות רבות כל כך לאורך הדרך לאמא מיכל, שידעה לאן הדרך תוביל עוד בראשיתה ולשניהם, יחדיו





Contents

Acknowledgments		page viii
	Introduction	1
1	The People's Integrity	20
2	The People's Property	70
3	The People's Integrity, the People's Property, and the Abuse of Political Power	102
4	Their Property, Our Integrity: The Democratic Response to the Problem of Odious Debt	154
5	Policy Priorities for a Divided People: Israel as a Case Study	190
	Conclusion	233
Index		240

vii



Acknowledgments

Academic writing is simultaneously a solitary and a collective endeavor. Since collectivist ideas form the core of this book, it is especially appropriate to start by acknowledging several institutions and individuals who helped to make this work much better than it would have been had I been left to my own devices. I presented different themes out of the book in conferences and colloquia at the Australian National University, the Free University of Berlin, The University of Birmingham, University of Canberra, Griffith University, Harvard University, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Northwestern University, Nuffield College Oxford, Princeton University, Queen's University, University of Toronto, University of Vermont, and Yale University. I am very grateful to the organizers and participants in these events - especially Eric Beerbohm, Luis Cabrera, Simon Caney, Joe Carens, Emilee Chapman, Avner De-Shalit, John Dryzek, David Enoch, Cécile Fabre, Jensen Sass, Will Kymlica, Stefan Gospath, Tori McGeer, Robert Lepenies, David Miller, Tom Parr, Lucia Rafanelli, Shlomi Segall, Duncan Snidal, and Alex Zakaras. I have also benefited greatly from exchanges with Elizabeth Anderson, Chris Armstrong, Samuel Freeman, Jeff Howard, Aaron James, Alex Kirshner, Ron Levy, Avia Pasternak, Bo Rothstein, Jeff Spinner-Haley, Annie Stilz, Kok-Chor Tan, Leif Wenar, and Lea Ypi.

The book's opening chapter updates, revises and extends a discussion of collective integrity I first offered in "Liberal Integrity and Foreign Entanglement," *American Political Science Review* 110.1 (2016): 148–159. A few paragraphs from Chapters 2 and 3 are borrowed from my "Rawlzickian Global Politics," *Journal of Political Philosophy* 21.4 (2013): 473–495, and "The Idea of Public Property," *Ethics* 129 (January 2019): 344–369. I am grateful to the editors and publishers of these journals for permission to reprint parts of those essays here.

I was a graduate student at Notre Dame when I was first trying to work through some of the ideas that would inform this book. Ruth

viii



Acknowledgments

Abbey, Michael Desch, Vitorio Hosle, Dan Philpott, Ernesto Verdeja, Dana Villa, and Michael Zuckert were all kind enough to allow an overly excited student, unfamiliar with the mores of American academia, to inflict too many ideas upon them for too long. After I left South Bend, Michael wryly observed to me that he misses our exchanges, though he now finds that he has more time in his life. The latter part, at least, must have been true as well for Paul Weithman, whose quiet wit, pedagogical patience, analytical acumen, and mentorship were all extraordinary.

Transferring from Notre Dame to complete my PhD at Yale, I was equally fortunate to have extremely supportive faculty advisors across different disciplines. Paulina Ochoa made me feel welcome in the political science department from the very beginning, even while disagreeing - often vehemently - with virtually everything I wanted to say. My dissertation committee members - Ian Shapiro, Thomas Pogge, Seyla Benhabib, and Helene Landemore - were full of insights about many different elements of the project that would eventually yield this book. Insofar as the book engages with various core themes of empirical social science, this is partly due to much appreciated encouragement from Susan Rose-Ackerman, Alan Dafoe, Greg Huber, Niki Marinov, Nuno Monteiro, John Roemer, Frances Rosenbluth, Susan Stokes, and Elisabeth Wood. Many of the book's discussions of moral and legal philosophy have been improved through conversations with Shelly Kagan, Andrew March, Daniel Markovits, Andy Sabl, and Gideon Yaffe.

My fellow students at Yale also offered much social and intellectual inspiration, as did visitors and post-doctoral fellows whom I was lucky to get to know. For their friendship and for numerous helpful conversations, I am deeply grateful to Richard Adams, Consuelo Amat-Matus, Tom Andreassen, Tomasso Bardelli, Danielle Botti, Natasha Chichilnisky-Heal, Stephen Eich, Blake Emerson, Lucas Entel, David Ewert, David Froomkin, Adom Getachew, Henning Hann, Justin Hawkins, Pablo Kalmanovitz, Leora Katz, William Kwok, Paul Linden-Retek, Max Krahe, Markus Labude, Ed Limmer, Matt Lindauer, Tumi Makgetla, Florian Ostmann, Travis Pantin, Erin Pineda, Daniel Putnam, Anurag Sinha, Dan Smith, Jiewuh Song, Gilad Tanay, Becca Traber, Daniel Viehoff, and Becky Wolitz. This wonderful group was accompanied by two unique housemates in New Haven – Matthew Vermaire and James Dunn. Matt and Jamie indulged

ix



Acknowledgments

Х

my philosophical ruminations about integrity and property over many more house meals, ping-pong matches, and game console competitions than these ideas deserved. It did not take long to discover that they are remarkable human beings to just the same extent that they are remarkable philosophers.

I completed this book as a faculty member at Northwestern's department of political science and a research fellow at the Australian National University's school of philosophy. I am indebted to friends and (present and former) colleagues at both institutions for much wisdom and good cheer, including Ana Arjona, Renee Bolinger, Devon Cass, Dylan Clements, Lauren Dickson, Loubna El-Amine, Jim Farr, Jordan Gans-Morse, Al Hayek, Josef Holden, Dan Krcmaric, Seth Lazar, Chad Lee-Stronach, Shang Long Yeo, Steven Nelson, Susan Pennings, Andrew Roberts, Jay Seawright, Hezkie Simmonds, Lachlan Umbers, Steve White, and James Willoughby.

The penultimate version of the manuscript was read with considerable care by three anonymous reviewers for Cambridge. I am grateful to them, and to my editor John Haslam, for extremely productive advice and encouragement. As the manuscript was nearing completion, I discussed some of its main claims with the students in my "global injustice" graduate seminar at Northwestern (Spring 2018). My thanks to all of them for a wonderful set of exchanges. Abby Bruxworth, Lior Erez, Andy Koppelman, and Jim Wilson read through the entire final manuscript and offered many probing comments. The seven consecutive hours that Jim and I spent in a Chicago café, each delving into the details of the other's forthcoming manuscript, come quite close to the nerdy ideal of pure intellectual joy.

Alongside all of these individuals, I owe special thanks to a few more people scattered in different parts of the world. In the midwest, Mary Dietz and Sara Monoson have been especially kind and helpful ever since I joined Northwestern and began learning the ropes of the institution. In Oregon, Burke Hendrix became – quite a while ago – a deeply valued source of informal advice, without having any institutional obligation to offer such advice. Notwithstanding the deep friendship we have formed over the years, Burke could still be relied upon to constructively disagree with almost every thought I have, and to review my work with more critical bite than even the most ferocious anonymous referee. Whether at Princeton, Stanford, or



Acknowledgments

xi

Frankfurt, Ted Lechterman has similarly offered the benefits of his philosophical skill and sensitivity on many more occasions than one could reasonably expect. In Connecticut, Lizzie Krontiris saved my faith in the species in ways that only she knows, and has served as a model of integrity in many more ways than I know how to express.

In Australia, Christian Barry, Geoff Brennan, Jesse Hambly, Philip Pettit, and Nic Southwood have all shown an uncanny ability, not only to express my own philosophical ideas better than I could myself, but also to make Canberra and the ANU feel like more of a home. I am also grateful to Catherine Waldby, the director of ANU's Research School of the Social Sciences, for making multiple stays in Australia possible, and for her firm support during especially demanding periods.

In Brazil, a key inspiration for the themes of this work, Nara Pavao, Tiago Peterlevitz, and Clarissa Gross have taught me about a world very different from anything I knew before. Nara and Tiago, dear friends from different stages of my PhD work, took the time to read different parts of the manuscript, and to make many shrewd observations about the politics of corruption. Clarissa added to their observations many philosophical insights and many unique lessons about Brazilian joy and sorrow.

The final location of my debts is in my native Israel, the subject of the last chapter of this book. My Israeli thanks extend, in part, to Ram Ben Ari, Guy Ben Porat, Alex Bligh, Yossi Dahan, Tamar Hermann, Ilana Kaufman, Yagil Levi, Benny Neuberger, and Rafi Ventura. All of these scholars – some of them among my earliest teachers – prodded me, at different points in time, to pursue my scholarly interests, and without their prodding I am quite confident this book would not exist.

My most important debt, however, is to my family. With unparalleled warmth and all possible forms of intelligence, my sister Einay, and my brothers Uri and Yehonatan, have always encouraged my work in general, and my work on this book in particular. This was not surprising, since they somehow seemed to skip that part of life where the older siblings make things miserable for the youngest one (notwithstanding that ignoble incident, featuring Irish cream presented to my especially gullible eight-year-old self as "cocoa"). More seriously, their children _ my extraordinary nieces nephews Maya, Itamar, Shahar, Yarden, Shaked, Yuval, Avigail, and Uriah – are all the reason one needs to keep dreaming, even against the background of increasingly bleak realities, that our country can



xii

Acknowledgments

someday, somehow, step back from the abyss, and reclaim the universal ideals on which it was founded.

Though it took me a long time to understand this, the final chapter of this book, and much more generally, my determination to study political philosophy, can be traced all the way to that dreadful morning of November 5, 1995, in which I learned that Prime Minister Rabin was assassinated by a fanatic who wanted to end the Israeli–Palestinian peace process. The state of the nation in that moment seemed to me heartbreakingly encapsulated in the state of my parents, Michal and Moshe, who woke me to say what had happened during the night. Much has changed in our country, in its politics, and in our family, ever since that traumatic event. Yet through it all, my parents have always remained not just my most fundamental and loving support, but also the most striking exemplars of sheer humanity that I know. This book is dedicated to them.