

Theories of Global Justice

Politics 4206g/9267b/Philosophy 9121b

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Office hour: 10-11.30 Thursday, other times by appointment

A seminar on the most prominent views of global justice in recent political theory and on some major contested issues in that field.

Looking back at the history of political thought it is a truly remarkable fact that in the whole range of canonical writings, from Plato to Rawls, *justice* was taken to be something that ought to apply only to the relations among citizens of a state – not to the relations among citizens of different states. That assumption was not to be seriously challenged until the late 20th century, thanks to the pioneering work of Peter Singer and Charles Beitz (some of whose work we shall read). Since then the field has grown dramatically, and a one-term seminar can only be selective. For the first four weeks, after our initial meeting, we shall discuss four major general views: Singer's humanitarianism, the global "harm principle" approach, statism (the view that justice can apply only within states), and nationalism (the view that justice can apply only within nations). In each case, we read an exponent and a critic of the view. We then move on to discuss seven issue areas in which we can see these general views in collision with one another.

Evaluation:

A major essay, worth 70%, due on April 1 (before midnight!). It is to be on one of our week's topics, drawing on the assigned readings plus the third "supplementary" reading listed. Other readings should not be used except incidentally. If you wish to vary this requirement, for example by writing on a topic that brings two of the weekly topics/readings together, that is entirely acceptable, but clear the idea with me first. 12 pages is suggested as a length for undergraduate essays, 15 pages for graduates. Any form of referencing is acceptable

Minor essay: 15%, due February 7 (before midnight!). This is to be a five-page (double-spaced) essay on one of the topics discussed so far, drawing on all three readings. Briefly outline the issues (2 pages) and defend one position critically (3 pages).

Both essays are subject to a late penalty of 2% per day including weekends.

Participation: 15%. **To be eligible** for this portion of the mark, you must submit an acceptable one-page (single-spaced) report on the main readings each week from Jan 13 to March 31. (If you miss one or two weeks that will be forgiven without question.) The report should briefly summarize the main points in each reading and conclude with a question that you think should be discussed: you may be called on to introduce it to the seminar. The report is to be emailed to me by 4 p.m. on the day before the class. **The mark itself** will be based on the helpfulness of your contributions to seminar discussion. While frequency itself is not a criterion, if you let two weeks go by without contributing your participation mark is likely to be disappointing.

Participation for graduate students: as above, except that your weekly report should be 1.5 pages and should include some consideration of what the third weekly reading might contribute to the topic at hand. You may be given a week's notice to present a 10-minute commentary on what the third reading contributes.

Learning outcomes: I hope that, at the end of the course, students will have a better understanding of the issues discussed than they had before!

Jan 6: Introduction to the course, and an initial discussion of global "vaccine justice" – please read a short paper by E.J. Emanuel et al., "An Ethical Framework for Global Vaccine Justice," *Science* 369/6509 (2020) 1309-12. (No written report needed, just bring questions/comments.)

Jan 13: Does distance make any difference?

Peter Singer, "Famine, Affluence and Morality," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1 (1972) 229-43.
David Miller, "Reasonable Partiality Towards Compatriots," *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 8 (2005) 63-81.

Supplementary: Scott Wisor, "Against Shallow Ponds," *Journal of Global Ethics* 7 (2011) 19-32.

Jan 20: A global harm principle?

Thomas Pogge, "'Assisting' the Global Poor?" in D. Chatterjee ed., *The Ethics of Assistance*, Cambridge University Press 2004, 260-88.
Mathias Risse "Do We Owe the Global Poor Assistance or Rectification?" *Ethics & International Affairs* 19 (2005) 9-18.

Supplementary: Judith Lichtenberg, "Negative Duties, Positive Duties, and the New Harms," *Ethics* 120 (2010) 555-78.

Jan 27: Statism vs. global liberalism

Charles Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, Princeton University Press 1999, 125-69.
Thomas Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 33 (2005) 113-47.

Supplementary: Charles Jones & Richard Vernon, *Patriotism*, Cambridge: Polity, 2018, chapter 4.

Feb 3: Cosmopolitanism vs Nationalism

David Miller, *On Nationality*, Oxford University Press 1995, chapter 3.

Simon Caney, "Cosmopolitanism," in D. Bell ed., *Ethics and World Politics*, Oxford University Press 2010, 146-63.

Supplementary: Jeff McMahan, "The Limits of National Partiality," in *The Morality of Nationalism*, ed. R. McKim and J. McMahan, Oxford University Press 1997, 107-38.

Feb 10: Should borders be open?

Joseph Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration*, Oxford University Press 2013, chapter 11.
David Miller, *Strangers in Our Midst*, Harvard University Press 2016, chapter 4.

Supplementary: Michael Humer, "Is There a Right to Immigrate?" *Social Theory and Practice* 36 (2010) 429-61.

Feb 17: What's wrong with colonialism?

Lea Ypi, "What's wrong with colonialism?" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 41 (2013) 158-91
Margaret Moore, "The Taking of Territory and the Wrongs of Colonialism," *Journal of Political Philosophy* 27 (2019) 87-106.

Supplementary: Laura Valentini, "On the Distinctive Procedural Wrong of Colonialism," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 43 (2015) 321-341.

March 3: Justice and Intervention

Michael Walzer, "The Moral Standing of States," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 9 (1980) 209-29
Kok-Chor Tan, "The Duty to Protect," in T. Nardin and M. Williams eds., *Humanitarian Intervention*, New York University Press 2006, 84-116.

Supplementary: Alex Bellamy, *Just Wars: From Cicero to Iraq*, Polity 2006, chapter 10.

March 10: What is exploitation?

Matt Zwolinski, "Sweatshops, Choice and Exploitation," *Business Ethics Quarterly* 17 (2007) 689-727.
Ruth Sample, *Exploitation*, Rowman & Littlefield 2003, chapter 1.

Supplementary: Robert Goodin, *Reasons for Welfare*, Princeton University Press 1998, chapter 5

March 17: Beyond the Nuremberg crimes?

Richard Vernon, "What is Crime Against Humanity?" *Journal of Political Philosophy* 10 (2002) 231-49.

David Blunt, *Global Poverty, Injustice and Resistance*, Cambridge University Press 2020, chapter 3.

Supplementary: Norman Geras, *Crimes Against Humanity*, Manchester University Press 2011, chapter 2.

March 24: Can whole societies be held accountable?

Avia Pasternak, "The Distributive Effect of Collective Punishment," in T. Isaacs and R. Vernon eds., *Accountability for Collective Wrongdoing*, Cambridge University Press 2011, 210-230.
Erin Kelly, "The Burdens of Collective Liability," in D.K. Chatterjee and D. Scheid eds., *Ethics and Foreign Intervention*, Cambridge University Press 2003, 118-39.

Supplementary: Karl Jaspers, *The Question of German Guilt* [1947], Eng. Trans., Fordham University Press 2001, 21-75.

March 31: What does climate justice require?

Peter Singer, *One World*, Yale University Press 2004, chapter 2.
Simon Caney, "Cosmopolitan Justice, Responsibility, and Global Climate Change," *Leiden Journal of International Law* 18 (2005) 747-75.

Supplementary: James Christensen, *Global Justice*, MacMillan 2020, chapter 8.