

## Global Justice

Political Science 4070

Professor Frank Lovett

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Wednesdays

(314) 935-5829

2:00 – 4:00 pm

Office Hours: Seigle 282

Seigle 205

Tuesdays, 9:30 – 11:30 am

This course examines contemporary debates and controversies regarding global justice. Seminar discussions will be arranged around significant issues in the current literature, for example: What (if anything) do we owe to the distantly needy? Do we have special obligations to our compatriots? Do political borders have normative significance? And so on. This course will be of interest not only to political theorists and philosophers, but also students in other fields concerned with social justice or international relations generally.

### Course Requirements

Both undergraduate and graduate students may take this course, and the requirements are different for each. The undergraduate requirements are as follows:

1. **Attendance and participation.** This is a seminar class, so regular attendance and active participation in the class discussion is expected, and will count for 30% of your overall grade.
2. **Class presentation.** Each student is required to deliver one in-class presentation on one of the readings listed in the schedule of readings below; topics will be assigned in the first or second class. This presentation will count for 10% of your overall grade. Guidelines for the presentations are given below.
3. **Readings.** All the readings listed below are required. The reading load averages about 75–100 pages per week, adjusted somewhat for difficulty.
4. **Two papers, 4–6 pages each.** Lists of topics will be handed out four times over the course of the semester. You must write at least two papers, *one of which must be from the first two sets of paper topics*. You may choose to write three papers, in which case the lowest grade of the three will be dropped. Papers will count for 40% of your overall grade. Late papers will be marked down two points per day until turned in; extensions will be considered only if requested at least 24 hours in advance. Guidelines for the papers are given below.
5. **Final exam.** There will be a final take-home exam due on December 13th at 12:00 noon, which will count for 20% of your overall grade. Makeup exams will not be offered, barring demonstrable emergencies.

Graduate students enrolled in this course are expected to regularly attend and participate in class discussion, to make one in-class presentation, and to write either two shorter papers of 10+ pages each, or one longer seminar paper of 20+ pages. Graduate students will not take the final exam.

### Course Materials

For this class you will need the following books, which should be available for purchase at the Campus Bookstore:

Thom Brooks, *Global Justice Reader* (Blackwell)  
Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations* (Princeton)  
Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (Harvard)  
Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (Basic Books)

Many additional readings, however, will be made available online through ARES (the course password is 'Global'). Please let me know if you have trouble finding any of the readings.

### Guidelines for Presentations and Papers

- I. **Presentations** should be no longer than 15 minutes. After giving a warning at around ten minutes, I will cut presentations off at the maximum allotted time, regardless of whether they are complete.

*Your presentation should not summarize the material*, since everyone will have read it already. Rather, your aim should be to explain the author's most significant arguments, together with your own views as to the strengths and weakness of those arguments. Alas, the authors we read do not always present their ideas clearly or directly! The ideal presentation will thus both improve our understanding of what we have read, and pose a questions or puzzles for class discussion.

The readings available as presentation topics are indicated with a ° symbol in the schedule below. Your presentation may reference other readings that week (or from previous weeks), but your main responsibility is to present the specific piece to which you have been assigned.

- II. **Papers** should be 4–6 pages in length (about 1,200–2,000 words). Text should be double-spaced, with no more than 1.25-inch left and right margins, 1-inch top and bottom margins. Please number your pages. Papers longer than seven pages may have points deducted from their grade.

The aim of your paper should be *to present an argument of your own*, not to summarize or review materials we have read or discussed in seminar. Papers will be graded on the interest, clarity, and quality of their argument. I am happy to discuss papers during office hours, though time might not permit me to read drafts. The TA may also be available to discuss paper idea and read drafts.

## Schedule of Readings and Assignments

### 1 Introduction

Aug 28 (no assignment)

### 2 What Is Global Justice (If Anything)?

#### 2.1 *The skeptical challenge to global justice*

Sep 4 Thucydides, “The Melian Dialogue” (online)  
Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 13: 1–14, 14: 1–5, 15: 36–41 (online)  
Kennan, *American Diplomacy*, ch. 6 (online)  
Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, part 1, intro  
and § 1–2  
◦ Cohen, “Moral Skepticism and International Relations” (online)

*Themes:* Is there any such thing as global justice? Varieties of skepticism; human nature realism (the will to power); the assurance problem; reason of state; relativism.

Sep 11 ◦ Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, chs. 1–2  
(online)  
◦ Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, part 1, §§ 3–5

*Themes:* Is there any such thing as global justice? continued. Structural versus classical realism; interdependence and overlapping interests; the global institutional order.

#### 2.2 *If there is global justice, what obligations does it impose?*

Sep 18 Singer, “Famine, Affluence, and Morality,” in Brooks  
◦ Unger, *Living High and Letting Die*, chs. 1, 6 (online)  
◦ Murphy, “The Demands of Beneficence” (online)

*Themes:* Utilitarian approaches to global justice; pragmatic, over-demanding, and special duties objections to utilitarianism; rule versus act utilitarianism.

Sep 20 **First Paper Due** (at 12:00 noon)

Sep 25 Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, §§ 1–3 (online)  
◦ Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, part 3, §§ 1–3,  
6; afterword, § 3  
◦ Miller, “Ethics of Nationality,” in Brooks

*Themes:* Contractualist and communitarian approaches to global justice; the original position argument; patriotic bias; individual versus collective responsibility.

### 3 What Significance to Borders have for Global Justice?

#### 3.1 Who are the subjects of global justice?

- Oct 2      ° Walzer, *Spheres of Justice*, ch. 2 (online)  
            ° Carens, “Aliens and Citizens” (online)  
            ° Wellman, “Immigration and Freedom of Association” (online)

*Themes:* Tension between rights of association and freedom of movement; rights of refugees. Who are the subjects of global justice – communities or individuals?

- Oct 9      ° Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, part 3, §§ 4–5  
            Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, intro, §§ 2–5, 15–16  
            Pogge, “Rawls on International Justice” (online)

*Themes:* Who are the subjects of global justice? continued; Rawls’s law of peoples and its critics; the extent of global interaction, and its significance.

- Oct 11     **Second Paper Due** (at 12:00 noon)

- Oct 16     Vattel, *The Law of Nations*, preface (online)  
            ° Barry, “Statism and Nationalism: A Cosmopolitan Critique” (online)  
            ° Nagel, “The Problem of Global Justice,” in Brooks

*Themes:* Who are the subjects of global justice? continued; statism and cosmopolitanism. Should there be a state system?

#### 3.2 Self-determination & Human Rights, Succession & Intervention

- Oct 23     Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in Brooks  
            Margalit & Raz, “National Self-Determination,” in Brooks  
            ° Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, part 2, §§ 3–5  
            ° Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, §§ 7–12, 17

*Themes:* Supposing boundaries are fixed, the tension between rights of groups to organize themselves and human rights of individuals; the limits to self-determination; cultural relativism.

- Oct 30 Mill, “A Few Words on Non-Intervention,” in Brooks  
 ° Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, ch. 6  
 ° Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, part 2, §§ 1–2, 6; afterword, § 2  
 ° Buchanan, “Theories of Succession,” in Brooks

*Themes:* Suppose we recognize limits on the autonomy of states: what remedies are there when those limits are transgressed? Succession and intervention as possible remedies.

Nov 1 **Third Paper Due** (at 12:00 noon)

#### 4 Can there be Justice between States at War?

- Nov 6 Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, selections (online)  
 Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chs. 1–2  
 ° Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, §§ 13–14  
 ° Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chs. 4–5, 15

*Themes:* The traditional framework for just war theory, and its basis; aggression and anticipation; neutrality; when does justice permit resorting to war?

- Nov 13 Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chs. 3, 8–9, 7  
 ° Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chs. 12, 16  
 ° Coady, “Terrorism, Morality, and Supreme Emergency” (online)

*Themes:* Justice in the conduct of war; the doctrine of double effect; noncombatant immunity; demands of unconditional surrender; terrorism; the supreme emergency exception.

- Nov 20 Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chs. 11, 14  
 ° McMahan, “The Ethics of Killing In War” (online)  
 ° Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 18–19

*Themes:* The justice of continuing a war; the principles of distinction and independence; responsibility for war and conduct in war; the prosecution of war crimes.

Nov 22 **Fourth Paper Due** (at 12:00 noon)

Nov 27 No class (Thanksgiving)

## 5 The Future of Global Justice

- Dec 4     Kant, “Perpetual Peace,” in Brooks  
            Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, § 18  
            Held, “The Transformation of Political Community” (online)  
            Dahl, “Can International Institutions Be Democratic?” (online)  
            ° Bohman, “The Democratic Minimum” (online)

*Themes:* How are the prospects for global justice connected to democracy (if at all)? Is transnational democracy feasible or desirable?

- Dec 13     **Final Exam Due** (at 12:00 noon)