

## Global Justice

Political Science 4070

Professor Frank Lovett

Fall 2012

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Thursdays

(314) 935-5829

10:00 am – noon

Office Hours: Seigle 282

Lopata House 11

Tuesday, 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 participation in the class discussion is expected, and will count for 20% 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.** A list of paper 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 a third paper, in which case the lowest paper grade 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 5:00 pm, which will count for 30% 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 simply 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 will not always present their ideas in a clear or direct manner. Thus the ideal presentation will improve on the original, aiding our understanding of what we have read.

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

## Schedule of Readings and Assignments

### 1 Introduction

Aug 30 (no assignment)

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

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

Sep 6 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  
◦ Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, part 1, §§ 3–5

*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; interdependent and overlapping interests.

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

Sep 13 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 Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, §§ 1–3 (online)  
◦ Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, part 3, §§ 1–3,  
6; afterword, § 3  
◦ Wenar, “What We Owe to Distant Others,” in Brooks  
Pogge, “Eradicating Systemic Poverty: Brief for a Global Resource  
Dividend,” in Brooks

*Themes:* Contractualist approaches to global justice; the original position argument; the sources of global poverty and inequality; the global institutional order.

Sep 21 **First Paper Due** (at 12:00 noon)

- Sep 27 Miller, D. “Ethics of Nationality,” in Brooks  
 ° Miller, R. “Cosmopolitan Respect and Patriotic Concern”  
 ° Caney, “Cosmopolitan Justice, Responsibility, and Global Climate Change,” in Brooks  
 Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, afterword, § 2
- Themes:* Communitarian approaches to global justice; 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 4 ° 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 11 ° 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 12 **Second Paper Due** (at 12:00 noon)

- Oct 18 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 25 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 exist, the tension between rights of groups to organize themselves and human rights of individuals; the limits to self-determination; cultural relativism.

- Nov 1 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 2 **Third Paper Due** (at 12:00 noon)

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

- Nov 8 Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, selections (online)  
Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, §§ 13–14  
Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chs. 1–2  
◦ 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 15 Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chs. 3, 7–8  
◦ 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 22 No class (Thanksgiving)

- Nov 29 Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chs. 11, 14  
◦ Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 18–19  
◦ McMahan, “The Ethics of Killing In War” (online)

*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 30 **Fourth Paper Due** (at 12:00 noon)

## **5 The Future of Global Justice**

Dec 6 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 5:00 pm)