

Politics 4463g/9762b: Theories of Global Justice 2012-13 (Winter Term)

Instructors: C. Jones and R. Vernon.

In this seminar course we discuss some of the leading controversies within the topic of global justice, focusing mainly (weeks 1-8) on issues relating to distributive justice, but also giving attention to some issues in retributive justice (weeks 9-13).

Until quite recently, political theorists focused their attention more or less exclusively on relations among co-citizens or co-nationals. In the past few decades, however, and especially in the last ten years, there has been intense interest in issues of justice relating to what happens *between* states – if what happens between co-citizens poses issues of justice or injustice, why should what happens between states not do so? This course approximately reflects the balance of interest, in recent political theory, between issues of *distributive justice* (who should have what?) and issues of *retributive justice* (how should wrongs be redressed?).

There is no text-book for this course. Readings will be placed on 2-hour reserve in the Weldon Library, and a copy of each reading will be available on R. Vernon's door (SSC 4129) for consultation or photocopying.

Evaluation:

A final essay, due on the last day of classes, 70%: unless you get the instructors' agreement, the essay is to be on one of the week's topics, drawing on the assigned readings plus additional readings as appropriate. Additional readings are suggested for each topic below. The essay should be 12-15 pages double-spaced. Late essays are subject to a penalty of 2% per day.

Weekly written responses, 15%. These are to be one page, single-spaced, and should succinctly state what you take to be the main point of each reading, and then state what issue or issues the readings pose for discussion. The object is to ensure that all students arrive at the class with questions, grounded in the readings, that they want to raise. These responses, to be handed in at each class, will be graded on a pass/fail basis. You may miss two weeks without penalty. If you miss more than two weeks, you will receive zero for this component.

General participation in the work of the seminar, 15%. The instructors will value the constructiveness of contributions more than sheer quantity. We hope that all students will contribute to every class, or at least will not fail to contribute to two classes in a row.

Week 1 (Jan. 10). Introduction to the course – no readings.

**Part I: *Distribution across borders***

Week 2 (Jan. 17). **Utilitarianism:**

Peter Singer, *The Life You Can Save*, New York: Random House, 2009, Part 1, "The Argument" 3-41.

Judith Lichtenberg, "Famine, Affluence and Morality" in J. Schaler ed., *Peter Singer Under Fire*, Chicago: Open Court, 2009, 229-58.

*Additional reading:*

On preference for compatriots, see the special issue of *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, vol. 8 (2005), especially the papers by Miller and Bader.

Peter Singer, *One World*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002, chapter 5.

Week 3. (Jan. 24). **Rawls (1):**

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, excerpts from Steven Cahn ed., *Political Philosophy: The Essential Texts*, 2011, 694-709

Charles Beitz, "Justice and International Relations", *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 4 (4) 1975, 360-89.

<http://www.jstor.org.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/stable/pdfplus/2265079.pdf?acceptTC=true>

*Additional reading:*

See next topic.

Week 4 (Jan. 31). **Rawls (2):**

John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Martha Nussbaum, "Women and the *Law of Peoples*", *Politics, Philosophy and Economics* 1 (3) 2002, 283-306.

<http://journals2.scholarsportal.info.proxy2.lib.uwo.ca/tmp/15824965345881193559.pdf>

*Additional reading:*

David Reidy, "A Just Global Economy: In Defense of Rawls", *Journal of Ethics* 11 (2) 2007, 193-236.

<http://www.jstor.org.proxy2.lib.uwo.ca/stable/20728503>

Samuel Freeman, *Rawls*, London: Routledge, 2007, chapter 10.

Week 5. (Feb. 7). **The state and the global economy:**

Thomas Nagel, "The problem of global justice", *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 33 (2) 2005, 113-47.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.proxy2.lib.uwo.ca/store/10.1111/j.1088-4963.2005.00027.x/asset/j.1088-4963.2005.00027.x.pdf?v=1&t=h4mx1nh8&s=1440fc8d4eaa46eafbd2072723098cb51083b6c>

Joshua Cohen and Charles Sabel, "Extra rempublicam nulla justitia?" *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 34 (2) 2006, 147-75.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.proxy2.lib.uwo.ca/store/10.1111/j.1088-4963.2006.00060.x/asset/j.1088-4963.2006.00060.x.pdf?v=1&t=h4mx05nf&s=36704949327ab0ecf5c9dee6f0e7f53549f8c449>

*Additional reading:*

Michael Blake, "Distributive justice, state coercion and autonomy", *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 30 (3), 2001, 257-96.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.proxy2.lib.uwo.ca/store/10.1111/j.1088-4963.2001.00257.x/asset/j.1088-4963.2001.00257.x.pdf?v=1&t=h4mx2xct&s=2d166970e292c6507a3ceb2d186af532fd45ee18>

Simon Caney, "Global distributive justice and the state", *Political Studies* 56, 2008, 487-518.

<http://journals2.scholarsportal.info.proxy2.lib.uwo.ca/tmp/1145263395293863615.pdf>

Week 6. (Feb. 14). **Citizenship across borders:**

Andrew Linklater, "Cosmopolitan Citizenship", and David Miller, "Bounded Citizenship", both in Kimberly Hutchings and Roland Dannreuther eds, *Cosmopolitan Citizenship*, Houndmills: Macmillan, 1999.

*Additional reading:*

Simon Caney, *Justice Beyond Borders*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, chapter 5.

Onora O'Neill, "Justice and Boundaries", in Chris Brown ed., *Political Restructuring in Europe*, London: Routledge, 1994, 69-88.

February 21: Reading week

Week 7. (Feb. 28). **The global harm principle:**

Thomas Pogge, "'Assisting' the global poor", in Deen K. Chatterjee ed., *The Ethics of Assistance*, Cambridge University Press 2004, 260-88.

Mathias Risse, "Do we owe the global poor assistance or rectification", *Ethics and International Affairs* 19 (1) 2005, 9-18.

<http://web.ebscohost.com.proxy2.lib.uwo.ca/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&hid=113&sid=b2a309b6-efe3-4804-a4c4-b5eab8c78744%40sessionmgr112>

*Additional reading:*

Andrew Linklater, "The harm principle and global ethics", *Global Society* 20 (3), 2006, 329-43

<http://web.ebscohost.com.proxy2.lib.uwo.ca/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&hid=113&sid=ec247c98-2074-44ea-8daa-066560587c40%40sessionmgr112>

Richard Miller, *Globalizing Justice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, chapter 3.

Week 8. (March 7). **Immigration Policy.**

David Miller, "Immigration: the case for limits", and Chandran Kukathas, "The case for open immigration" both in Andrew Cohen and Christopher Wellman eds, *Contemporary Debates in Applied Ethics*, Malden MA: Blackwell, 2005. 193-222

*Additional reading:*

Matthias Risse, "On the morality of immigration", *Ethics and International Affairs* 22(1) 2008, 25-33, and the responses in the same journal, vol. 22 (3).

<http://web.ebscohost.com.proxy2.lib.uwo.ca/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&hid=113&sid=b2a309b6-efe3-4804-a4c4-b5eab8c78744%40sessionmgr112>

Ryan Pevnick, "Social Trust and the Ethics of Immigration Policy", *Journal of Political Philosophy* 17 (2): 2009, 146-67

<http://journals2.scholarsportal.info.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/tmp/15659154816646901441.pdf>

Week 9 (March 14). **Can nationalists support duties across borders?**

David Miller, "National responsibility and global justice", *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 11(4) 2008, 383-98.

<http://journals2.scholarsportal.info.proxy2.lib.uwo.ca/tmp/14199636310187516467.pdf>

Gillian Brock, "What do we owe others as a matter of global justice and does national membership matter?", *Ibid.* 433-48.

<http://journals2.scholarsportal.info.proxy2.lib.uwo.ca/tmp/10401065952899086844.pdf>

*Additional reading:*

Chapters by Weinstock and Caney in Daniel Bell and Avner de-Shalit eds., *Forms of Justice*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.

## **Part II: Righting wrongs across borders**

### **Week 10. (March 21). Reparations for colonialism?**

Rhoda Howard-Hassmann, *Reparations to Africa*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008, chapter 3

Kok-Chor Tan, "Colonialism, reparations and global justice", in Jon Miller and Rahul Kumar eds., *Reparations: Interdisciplinary Inquiries*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, 280-306.

#### *Additional reading:*

Jeremy Waldron, "Superseding historic injustice", *Ethics* 103 (1992), 4-28.

Lea Ypi, Robert Goodin and Christian Barry, "Associative duties, global justice, and the colonies", *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 37 (2), 2009, 103-35.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.proxy2.lib.uwo.ca/store/10.1111/j.1088-4963.2009.01152.x/asset/j.1088-4963.2009.01152.x.pdf?v=1&t=h4mwyfu7&s=e5f2500a5d0498c6845f74e82ca8cf975cb37847>

### **Week 11. (March 28). Punishing individuals:**

Hannah Arendt *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, New York: Penguin, 1977, chapter 3 and epilogue.

Tracy Isaacs, *Moral Responsibility in Collective Contexts*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, chapter 4.

#### *Additional reading:*

Isaacs, *Moral Responsibility*, chapters 5, 6.

Larry May, *Crimes Against Humanity*, chapter 7.

### **Week 12. (April 4). Crime against humanity:**

Richard Vernon, *Cosmopolitan Regard*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, chapter 6.

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

#### *Additional reading:*

Larry May, *Crimes Against Humanity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, chapter 5, and Geras's critique in the "Appendix" to the book cited above.

David Luban, "A theory of crimes against humanity", *Yale Journal of International Law* 29 (2004), 85-167.

Week 13. (April 11). **Is collective punishment possible?**

Erin Kelly, "The burdens of collective liability", in Deen Chatterjee and Don Scheid eds., *Ethics and Foreign Intervention*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 118-39.

Avia Pasternak, "The distributive effect of collective punishment", in Tracy Isaacs and Richard Vernon eds., *Accountability for Collective Wrongdoing*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 210-30.

*Additional reading:*

See the other chapters in the Isaacs and Vernon volume cited above.

**(Graduate) Statement of Academic Offences**

Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site:

[http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/scholastic\\_discipline\\_grad.pdf](http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/scholastic_discipline_grad.pdf)

