

## Global Justice

Political Science 4070

Professor Frank Lovett  
TA: Jeff Ziegler

Spring 2018  
Mondays  
2:30 – 5:30 pm  
Seigle 111

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Office Hours: Seigle 282  
Mondays and Wednesdays  
1:00 – 2:00 pm

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 do we owe to the distantly needy? Do we have special obligations to our compatriots? Do political borders have moral or ethical 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, so regular attendance and active participation in class discussion is expected, and will count for 35% of your overall grade.
2. **Readings.** The course schedule below indicates the readings required for each class meeting; these readings average 75–100 pages each week. The “further readings” are optional, but will be of interest to those who wish to explore particular topics in greater depth.
3. **Eight response memos.** Scenarios will be posted each week related to the themes in the readings. Over the course of the semester, you must submit eight short response memos addressing the scenarios of your choice. The response memos will count for 10% of your overall grade.
4. **Two papers, 4–6 pages each.** Paper topics will be handed out four times during 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 will be dropped. Papers will count for 40% of your overall grade.
5. **Final exam.** There will be a final take-home exam due on May 2nd at 12:00 noon, which will count for 15% 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 submit eight memos, 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.

### Grading and Expectations

*Response memos* should be no more than one page (200 words or less). The scenarios posted each week will pose hypothetical dilemmas, and your job will be to take a position and defend it. Response memos are due by 12:00 midnight on the Sunday before class, and will be submitted online through Blackboard. Our suggestion is that you *look at the scenarios first* and reflect on whether you have an initial intuition as to the right answer; then do the readings, see how they affect your opinion, and finally write your memo. Response memos will be graded on the clarity of the position taken and the appropriateness of the considerations offered in defense of that position. Agreement or disagreement with any of the authors we read will not affect your grade.

*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 class. Papers will be graded on the interest, clarity, and quality of their argument. I am happy to discuss papers during office hours, though time may not permit me to read full drafts. The TA may also be available to discuss paper ideas and read drafts.

The *final exam* will be distributed on Monday, April 30th, at 12:00 noon. It will consist of some combination of identifications and short essays, with strict word limits on answer lengths. Completed exams must be emailed to me before Wednesday, May 3rd, at 12:00 noon. *Late exams will not be accepted!* In contrast to the papers, the purpose of the exam is narrowly to test your knowledge and command of the material we have read and discussed in class. Original arguments of your own are not required.

*Note on Academic Integrity:* Ethical behavior is an essential component of learning and scholarship. Students are expected to understand and adhere to Washington University's academic integrity policy ([wustl.edu/policies/undergraduate-academic-integrity](http://wustl.edu/policies/undergraduate-academic-integrity)). Students who violate this policy will be referred to the Academic Integrity Policy Committee. Penalties for violating the policy will be determined by the committee, and can include failure of the assignment, failure of the course, suspension or expulsion from the University. If you have any doubts about what constitutes a violation of the policy, or any other issue related to academic integrity, please ask your instructors.

### Inclusive Learning Environment Statement

The best learning environment is one in which all members feel respected while being productively challenged. Washington University is dedicated to fostering an inclusive

atmosphere, in which all participants can contribute, explore, and challenge their own ideas as well as those of others. Every participant has an active responsibility to foster a climate of intellectual stimulation, openness, and respect for diverse perspectives, questions, personal backgrounds, abilities, and experiences, although instructors bear primary responsibility for its maintenance.

Resources are available to those who perceive any learning environment as lacking inclusivity, as defined in the preceding paragraph. If possible, we encourage students to speak directly with their instructors about any suggestions or concerns they may have regarding a particular situation. Alternatively, students may bring concerns to another trusted advisor or administrator (such as an academic advisor, mentor, department chair, or dean). All classroom participants – including faculty, staff, and students – who observe a bias incident affecting a student may also file a report (whether personally or anonymously) utilizing the online Bias Report and Support System.

### 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, are available online through ARES (the course password is 'Global'), and on the course Blackboard site. Please let me know if you have trouble finding any of the readings.

### Schedule of Readings and Assignments

#### **1 Introduction**

Jan 22 (no assignment)

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

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

Jan 29     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)  
Mearsheimer, “Don’t Arm Ukraine” (online)

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

Further reading: Machiavelli, *The Prince*, chs. 14–19; Carr, *Twenty Years’ Crisis*, ch. 4; Rachels and Rachels, *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*, ch. 2; Nardin and Mapel, *Traditions of International Ethics*, ch. 4.

Feb 5 Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, chs. 1–2 (online)  
Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, part 1, §§ 3–5  
Cruz, “Trump Should Withdraw” (online)

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

Further reading: Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, intro and chs. 6–8; Jervis, “Cooperation under the Security Dilemma;” Pogge, “Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty” (in Brooks).

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

Feb 12 Singer, “Famine, Affluence, and Morality,” in Brooks  
Unger, *Living High and Letting Die*, chs. 1, 6 (online)  
Murphy, “The Demands of Beneficence” (online)  
Kristof, “The Most Important Thing” (online)

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

Further reading: Goodin, “What is so Special about our Fellow Countrymen?” (in Brooks); Williams, “A Critique of Utilitarianism;” Hardin, “Lifeboat Ethics;” Kagan, “Does Consequentialism Demand too Much?”

Feb 16 **First Paper Due** (at 12:00 noon)

Feb 19 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  
Rogers, “Are there Economic Policy Choices?” (online)

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

Further reading: Pogge, “Moral Universalism and Global Economic Justice” (in Brooks); Wenar, “What We Owe to Distant Others” (in Brooks); Kukathas, “The Mirage of Global Justice;” Miller, *National Responsibility and Global Justice*, chs. 1–3, 9.

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

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

- Feb 26 Walzer, *Spheres of Justice*, ch. 2 (online)  
Carens, “Aliens and Citizens” (online)  
Wellman, “Immigration and Freedom of Association” (online)  
Clemens, “A World Without Borders” (online)

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

Further reading: Scheffler, “Families, Nations, and Strangers;” Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration*, chs. 1, 9–12; Miller, “Immigration: The Case for Limits;” Abizadeh, “Democratic Theory and Border Coercion;” Macedo, “The Moral Dilemma of US Immigration Policy.”

- Mar 5 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.

Further reading: Young, “Responsibility and Global Justice;” Freeman, “The Law of Peoples, Social Cooperation, Human Rights, and Distributive Justice;” Sangiovanni, “Global Justice, Reciprocity, and the State;” Ronzoni, “The Global Order: A Case of Background Injustice?”

- Mar 9 **Second Paper Due** (at 12:00 noon)

- Mar 12 No class (spring break)

- Mar 19 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?

Further reading: Walzer, “The Moral Standing of States;” Blake, “Distributive Justice, State Coercion, and Autonomy;” Julius, “Nagel’s Atlas;” Cohen and Sabel, “Extra Republicam Nulla Justitia?”

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

Mar 26 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  
Kinzer, “End Human Rights Imperialism Now” (online)

*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.

Further reading: Shue, *Basic Rights*, chs. 1–2; Ignatieff, *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, chs. 1–2; Cohen, “Minimalism about Human Rights;” Beitz, “Human Rights as a Common Concern” (in Brooks).

Apr 2 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 Secession,” in Brooks  
Cohen, “Obama’s Syrian Nightmare” (online)

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

Further reading: Altman and Wellman, “From Humanitarian Intervention to Assassination;” Caney, “Humanitarian Intervention and State Sovereignty.”

Apr 6 **Third Paper Due** (at 12:00 noon)

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

Apr 9 Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, selections (online)  
Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chs. 1–2, 4–5, 15  
Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, §§ 13–14  
[pacifism piece]

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

Further reading: Luban, “Just War and Human Rights,” May, *War Crimes and Just War*, chs. 2–4; Shaw, “Utilitarianism and Recourse to War.”

- Apr 16 Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chs. 3, 8–9, 12, 16  
Coady, “Terrorism, Morality, and Supreme Emergency” (online)  
Shane, “The Moral Case for Drones” (online)

*Themes:* Justice in the conduct of war; the doctrine of double effect; noncombatant immunity; the principles of distinction and independence; terrorism; the supreme emergency exception.

Further reading: Brandt, “Utilitarianism and the Rules of War;” Nagel, “War and Massacre” (in Brooks); May, *War Crimes and Just War*, chs. 8–10; Rodin, “Terrorism without Intention” (in Brooks).

- Apr 23 Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chs. 7, 11, 14, 18–19  
McMahan, “The Ethics of Killing In War” (online)  
Krasner, “A World Court That Could Backfire” (online)

*Themes:* The justice of continuing a war; guerrilla warfare; demands of unconditional surrender; responsibility for war and for conduct in war; the prosecution of war crimes.

Further reading: McMahan, *Killing in War*, chs. 1–4; May, *War Crimes and Just War*, chs. 11–13; Orend, “Justice After War?”

- Apr 27 **Fourth Paper Due** (at 12:00 noon)

- May 2 **Final Exam Due** (at 12:00 noon)