

Philosophy 202 Core Course in Ethics
Richard Arneson Fall, 2015

Topic: Global Justice.

Course meets on Tuesdays 4-7 in HSS 7077 (Philosophy Department seminar room)

Course requirements: Attendance and participation at all seminar meetings, some seminar presentations (analyzing a key argument or claim in a reading and leading its discussion), and a term paper (about 15-20 pages in length) on some topic central to course themes. Regular auditors of the class are welcome, and will be asked to contribute seminar presentations.

Readings: Most readings will be made electronically available at a course website. (As a backup, I can send interested persons copies of weekly course readings by email attachment.) One book has been ordered and is available at the Bookstore: Mathias Risse, *On Global Justice* (2012).

This course surveys some basic issues of global justice. Most of the writing surveyed has been written in the past 15 years. During this time, many philosophical works on global justice have appeared, and the field is in an interestingly unsettled, perhaps chaotic state. Our aim will be to examine some current controversies and assess the current state of debate.

The course does not presuppose any prior background knowledge of moral or political philosophy. Course authors for the most part seek to address an audience of general readers not specialists. If you do the reading for each week, you will be prepared to participate in seminar discussion.

The actions of individual persons can be assessed as just or unjust. So can institutions. We can regard "justice" as picking out moral obligations that are especially stringent and that take priority over other obligations and moral aspirations with which they might compete. Principles of justice identify overriding obligations. This usage leaves it entirely open what the content of such principles might be.

So global justice principles will be fundamental moral principles that tell us what are our moral obligations to people all over the Earth and that assess the moral acceptability of institutions and practices that affect people all over the Earth. (This formulation might sound parochial. What about beings from other planets? What about nonhuman animals? Answer: The topic is parochial. We can't talk about everything at once.) Global justice norms are norms of justice with wide spatial scope and also wide temporal scope (what we owe to future persons, and our duties to create future persons).

Interest by philosophers in global justice issues in recent years has been heightened by the disparate phenomena of "globalization." Also, since World War II, international relations have featured and fostered a new discourse of "human rights," which invites scrutiny and analysis.

The current world order consists of sovereign nation states, some small and weak, some big powers. There are a few stateless regions. One central issue for global justice is whether each of us has duties to the state in which we live or to the national community in which we are born that take priority over any duties we might have to people everywhere. On this issue, statist emphasize our duties to our own state and our own compatriots. Extreme cosmopolitans hold that at the level of fundamental principle, states, nations, and other social groups lack normative significance; we owe the same consideration, concern, and respect to insiders and outsiders. Both views come in left-wing and right-wing forms, and in a wide variety of versions. A truism about our world today is that some nations are very prosperous, some very poor, and the economic prospects of individuals around the world vary enormously. What does global justice

theory have to say about global poverty and global economic inequality? In Matthias Risse's terminology, current responders to this question are divided into "relationalist" and "nonrelationalist" camps. Risse: "Relationalists think principles of justice hold only among persons who stand in some essentially practice-mediated relation to each other. Nonrelationalists think such principles may apply among those who stand in no such relation." Obviously, there will be mixed views to consider. Risse further divides relationalists into "globalists," who think that significant practice-mediated relations triggering principles of justice hold among people all over the globe and "statists" who "think the relevant relation holds only among individuals who share membership in a state."

These disputes shape responses to issues involving immigration, emigration, duties to refugees, secession, and other issues involving national borders. We look at some of these issues.

Familiar moral philosophy debates resurface, perhaps reconfigured, in global justice discussions. Utilitarians see the fundamental moral duty as being beneficence, bringing about good outcomes, and when discussing global justice tend to focus on the duties of those possessing greater resources to help those in need. Their opponents emphasize moral requirements to avoid wrongfully causing harm to others in ways that violate their rights, and the question becomes what are the implications of such requirements for interaction across the globe. Thomas Pogge answers this question with a particular twist.

Just war theory is a relatively well developed and articulated branch of global justice theory. Just war theory seeks to answer such questions as under what conditions is it morally acceptable for one nation, or group of people, to make war on another, and what ways of waging war are morally acceptable. In recent years just war theory has been a thriving enterprise. This course touches only on a small piece of this intellectual terrain—the issue of humanitarian intervention. We ask, under what conditions, if any, is it morally permissible, or morally required, for one state to intervene militarily in the internal affairs of another, in order to benefit its members.

Even if we could agree about global justice moral principles, their implications for choice of action and policy depend on the empirical facts, especially facts about what causes what. The social science literature relevant to global justice issues is huge, burgeoning, and contentious. We will try to clarify the interaction of moral and empirical disagreement in global justice controversies.

We may take a quick look at the complex issues of climate change justice. Who should do what, to inhibit global warming and to mitigate its harmful effects? Climate change raises questions about what we owe to future generations, and also issues of population ethics—how do we determine what is morally required and morally permissible when our actions will affect the number and identity of future persons.

The list of topics below is provisional. I am open to suggestions from you. Notice also that there is a substantial reading for the first week's seminar meeting.

SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND READINGS

(The "further readings" in small print are recommended not required—recommended especially for anyone who might be thinking of exploring the topic as a possible essay topic.)

Week 1. Tuesday, September 29.

Introduction: skepticism about global justice and about cosmopolitanism.

Week 1 Continued.

Reading: Thomas Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice." David Miller, "Cosmopolitanism" and "Global Egalitarianism" (chapters 2 & 3 of his *National Responsibility and Global Justice*).

Further reading: Joshua Cohen and Charles Sabel, "Extra Rempublicum Nulla Justitia?", and A. J. Julius, "Nagel's Atlas," both essays in *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 34 (2007).

Week 2. Tuesday, October 6.

Cosmopolitanism and national partiality.

Reading: Samuel Scheffler, "Conceptions of Cosmopolitanism" and "Relationships and Responsibility" (both in his *Boundaries and Allegiances*). Thomas Hurka, "The Justification of National Partiality," in Robert McKim and Jeff McMahan, eds., *The Morality of Nationalism* (Oxford University Press, 1997). Reading: David Miller, *Citizenship and National Identity* (Polity Press), chapters 2 & 3; also Niko Kolodny, "Which Relationships Justify Partiality: General Considerations and Problem Cases."

Further reading: Richard Arneson, "Extreme Cosmopolitanisms Defended" and "Is Patriotism Immoral?"

Week 3. Tuesday, October 13.

John Rawls on global justice and global tolerance.

Reading: John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*.

Reading: Martha Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice* (2006), chapters 4 and 5.

Reading: David Reidy: "Cosmopolitanism: Liberal and Otherwise," in Gillian Brock, ed., *Cosmopolitanism versus Non-Cosmopolitanism: Critiques, Reconceptualizations* (2013).

Further reading: Samuel Freeman, *Rawls*, chapter 10, "The Law of Peoples."

Further reading: Samuel Scheffler: "Cosmopolitanism, Justice, and Institutions," in his *Equality and Tradition* (2010).

Further reading: Charles Beitz, "Rawls's Law of Peoples" and Allen Buchanan, "Rawls's Law of Peoples: Rules for a Vanished Westphalian World," both essays in *Ethics* 110 (2000); Simon Caney, "Cosmopolitanism and the Law of Peoples," *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 10 (2002).

Further reading: Leif Wenar, "Why Rawls Is Not a Cosmopolitan Egalitarian," in Rex Martin and David Reidy, eds., *Rawls's Law of Peoples: A Realistic Utopia?* (2006).

Further reading: Kok-Chor Tan, "Liberal Toleration in Rawls's Law of Peoples," *Ethics* 108 (1998)

Week 4. Tuesday, October 20.

The significance of coercion.

Reading: Michael Blake, "Distributive Justice, State Coercion, and Autonomy," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 30 (2002); Mathias Risse, *On Global Justice*, chapters 1-3. Also Richard Miller, "Cosmopolitan Respect and Patriotic Concern," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 27 (1998).

Andrea Sangiovanni, "The Irrelevance of Coercion, Imposition, and Framing to Distributive Justice," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (2012).

Further reading: Arash Abizadeh, "Cooperation, Pervasive Impact, and Coercion: On the Scope (not Site) of Distributive Justice," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 35 (Fall, 2007).

Further reading: Martha Nussbaum, "Capabilities across Boundaries," chapter 5 in her *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (Harvard University Press, 2006).

Further reading: Mathias Risse, "Global Justice," in David Estlund, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Political Philosophy*.

Week 5. Tuesday, October 27.

Cooperation and obligations of reciprocity as grounds of national partiality.

Reading: Andrea Sangiovanni, "Global Justice, Reciprocity, and the State," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 35 (2007). Simon Caney, "Humanity, Associations, and Global Justice: In Defence of Humanity-Centered Cosmopolitan Egalitarianism," *The Monist* (2011).

Week 6. Tuesday, November 3.

Robust global egalitarianism.

Reading: Simon Caney, *Justice beyond Borders: A Global Political Theory*; also Mathias Risse, *On Global Justice*, chapter 4.

Further reading: Jon Mandle and Simon Caney, exchange on cosmopolitanism in Thomas Christiano and John Christman, eds., *Contemporary Debates in Political Philosophy* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

Week 6 continued.

Further reading: Richard W. Miller, *Globalizing Justice: The Ethics of Poverty and Power* (Oxford University Press, 2010), chapters 1 & 2.

Kok-Chor Tan, *Justice, Institutions, and Luck: The Site, Ground, and Scope of Equality* (2011).

Andrea Sangiovanni, "On the Relation between Moral and Distributive Equality," in Gillian Brock, ed., *Cosmopolitanism versus Non-Cosmopolitanism*.

Further reading: Andrew Altman and Christopher Wellman, chapter 6 in their *A Liberal Theory of International Justice* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

Week 7. Tuesday, November 10.

National Borders. Immigration.

Reading: Joseph Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration* (2013), chapters 11 & 12; Christopher Wellman, "Immigration and Freedom of Association," *Ethics* (2008); and Michael Blake, "Immigration, Jurisdiction, and Exclusion" *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (2013)

Further reading: Mathias Risse, *On Global Justice*, chapter 8.

Further reading: Christopher Wellman and Philip Cole, *Debating the Ethics of Immigration: Is There a Right to Exclude?* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

Further reading: Gillian Brock and Michael Blake, *Debating Brain Drain: May Governments Restrict Emigration* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

Further reading: Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice*, chapter on "Membership."

Week 8. Tuesday, November 17.

National Borders. Secession. Reading: Andrew Altman and Christopher Wellman, chapters 2 & 3 of their *A Liberal Theory of International Justice*. Also Allen Buchanan, chapter 8 of his *Justice, Legitimacy, and Self-Determination: Moral Foundations for International Law*.

Further reading: Allen Buchanan, "Theories of Secession," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 26 (1997).

Week 9. Tuesday, November 24.

Beneficence versus not violating human rights as the ground of global justice.

Reading: Peter Singer, "Famine, Affluence, and Morality," Richard Miller, "Beneficence, Duty and Distance," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (2004); Thomas Pogge, "Are We Violating the Human Rights of the World's Poor?"; David Miller, *National responsibility and Global Justice* (2007), chapters 5 and 9. Also Thomas Pogge, "'Assisting' the Global Poor," in Deen Chatterjee, ed., *The Ethics of Assistance: Morality and the Distant Needy* (Cambridge University Press, 2004). Also Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights*, chapters 4 & 5 (Polity Press, 2008).

Further reading: Mathias Risse, "How Does the Global Order Harm the Poor?", *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 33 (2005).

Further reading: David Miller, "Responsibilities to the World's Poor," chapter 9 in his *National Responsibility and Global Justice* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

Further reading: Andrew Altman and Christopher Wellman, chapter 6 in their *A Liberal Theory of International Justice* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

Allison Jaggar, ed., *Pogge and His Critics* (Polity, 2010), essays by Joshua Cohen, Kpk-Chor Tan, and Leif Wenar.

Week 10. Tuesday, December 1

Climate Change.

Reading: Luc Bovens, "A Lockean Defense of Grandfathering Emissions Rights," in Denis G. Arnold, ed., *The Ethics of Global Climate Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Reading: Peter Railton, "Locke, Stock, and Peril: Natural Property Rights, Pollution, and Risk," Reprinted in Railton, collection of his essays. First published in Mary Gibson, ed., in *To Breathe Freely* (1985).

Reading: Robert Nozick, "Locke's Theory of Acquisition" and "The Proviso" sections of chapter 7 of his *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (Basic Books, 1974).

Reading: John Broome: *Climate Matters: Ethics in a Warming World*.

Reading: Mathias Risse, chapter 10 of his *On Global Justice*.

Week 10 continued.

Reading: Simon Caney, "Cosmopolitan Justice, Responsibility, and Global Climate Change," *Leiden Journal of International Law* 18 (2005); also Caney, "Climate Change, Energy Rights, and Equality," in Denis G. Arnold, ed., *The Ethics of Global Climate Change*

Reading: Walter Sinnott-Armstrong, "It's Not My fault: Global Warming and Individual Moral Obligations," in Stephen M. Gardiner, Simon Caney, Dale Jamieson, and Henry Shue (eds.), *Climate Ethics: Essential Readings* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

Further reading: Richard W. Miller, "Global Harm and Global Equity: The Case of Greenhouse Justice," in Miller, *Globalizing Justice: The Ethics of Poverty and Power*.

Further reading: Eric Posner and David Weisbach, *Climate Change Justice* (Princeton University Press, 20

Further reading: David Miller, chapters 3-5 of his *National Responsibility and Global Justice* (Oxford University Press, 2007).

Further possible topics (which might be substituted for some of the topics above):

Fairness in global trade.

Reading: Aaron James, *Fairness in Practice: A Social Contract for a Global Economy*; also Mathias Risse and Gabriel Wollner, Critical Notice of James"; also Mathias Risse, chapter 14 of his *On Global Justice*.

Humanitarian intervention.

Reading: Michael Walzer, chapter on intervention in *Just & Unjust Wars* (Basic Books).

Reading: Andrew Altman and Christopher Wellman, chapter 5, on intervention, in their *A Liberal Theory of International Justice* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

Reading: Jeff McMahan, "Humanitarian Intervention, Consent, and Proportionality," in Festschrift volume for Jonathan Glover (Oxford University Press).

Exploitation.

Reading: Nicholas Vrousalis, "Exploitation, Vulnerability, and Social Domination," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (2013); Alan Wertheimer, *Exploitation* (1996), chapters 7-9; John Roemer, "Should Marxists Be Interested in Exploitation?," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (1985); Allen Wood, "Exploitation," *Social Philosophy and Policy* (1995).

Further reading: Joel Feinberg, *Harmless Wrongdoing*; Matt Zwolinski and Alan Wertheimer, "Exploitation" entry in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (on-line)*; Richard Arneson, "Exploitation and Outcome," *Philosophy, Politics, and Economics* (2015); Robert Goodin, *Protecting the Vulnerable*.