

**Politics 4206g/9762g, Philosophy 9121b
Theories of Global Justice**

Winter Term 2020-21

Instructor: R. Vernon, ravernon@uwo.ca, office hour Monday 12.30-1.30 (Zoom)

Introduction:

In the canonical works of political thought (i.e. Plato to Marx) justice is taken to be a requirement that applies between citizen and citizen and between citizen and state: that is to say, it is taken to be something that comes into play only within the borders of political societies. In terms of the long history of political thought, the emergence of the idea of *global* obligations is very recent – we may date it to the path-breaking work of Peter Singer and Charles Beitz (both of whom we read, in weeks 2, 3 and 4). As one might expect, basic approaches are highly contested, and in the first part of this course we critically review five influential positions: the humanitarian rescue thesis, the “harm principle” approach, liberal cosmopolitanism, statism, and nationalism: in each case we examine the view in light of a critical response. In the second part of the course we move on to discuss six of the issues that have divided global-justice theorists: the nature of imperialism, immigration policy, exploitation, crimes against humanity, collective punishment, and climate justice.

Evaluation:

UNDERGRADUATES:

Major essay (80%), due on last day of classes (April 12). Late penalty 2% per day, but essays cannot be accepted after April 15. The essay should normally be on one of the week’s topics. Each week, two required sources are listed. A third source is also listed as “supplementary,” and your essay must take account of that reading as well as the two required readings. Further readings are discouraged (unless as a source for empirical information that you use as evidence for a point). Expected length 12-15 pages.

Participation, (20%) which means (i) attending every week, (ii) submitting by email, before the class, a question for discussion that reflects both readings and (iii) contributing helpfully to the work of the seminar. Any week in which you fail either to attend or to submit a discussion question will result in the loss of one full percentage point from the participation mark. The discussion questions must reach me by email by 4 p.m. on the day before the class. In class you may be called on to speak to the question that you have submitted.

GRADUATES:

Same as above except that (i) the Major Essay should bring together readings from two (or more) weeks, and (ii) its expected length is 15-20 pages. (iii) Graduate students may be called on at any point to give a 5 minute presentation on the supplementary reading, bringing out what it adds to the discussion of the required readings.

Week 1 (Jan 14): Introduction to the course

Part One: Big theories

Week 2 (Jan 21): Does distance make a difference? Humanitarianism vs Compatriot preference

Peter Singer, *One World*, Yale University Press, chapter 5

David Miller, "Reasonable Preference for Compatriots," *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* (2005), 63-81

Supplementary:

either Scott Wisor, "Against Shallow Ponds," *Journal of Global Ethics* (2011), 19-32 [an IPE perspective], or Garrett Cullity, *The Moral Demands of Affluence*, Oxford University Press, 2004, chapter 8 [a moral philosophy perspective]

Week 3 (Jan 28): Liberal cosmopolitanism I: Who owns natural resources?

[Note: these readings presuppose some basic knowledge of Rawls' theory of justice. If you need some background, a brief extract from *A Theory of Justice* is posted on the OWL site]

Charles Beitz, "Justice and International Relations," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 4 (1975) 360-89, up to page 373 only.

Margaret Moore, "Natural resources, Territorial Right, and Global Distributive Justice," *Political Theory* (2012), 84-107

Supplementary:

Thomas Pogge, "A Global Resource Dividend," in David Crocker and Toby Linden eds., *Ethics of Consumption*, Rowman & Littlefield 1998.

Week 4 (Feb 4) Liberal Cosmopolitanism II: Distributive Justice, local or global?

Beitz, "Justice and International Relations," p. 373 to end

Thomas Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (2005), 114-47

Supplementary:

Laura Valentini, "Coercion and Global Justice," *American Political Science Review* (2011), 205-20

Week 5 (Feb 11): A global harm principle?

Thomas Pogge, "'Assisting' the Global Poor," in D. Chatterjee ed, *The Ethics of Assistance* Cambridge University Press, 2004, 260-88.

Mathias Risse, "Do We Owe the Global Poor Assistance or Rectification?" *Ethics & International Affairs* (2005) 9-18.

Supplementary: Andrew Linklater, "The Harm Principle and Global Ethics," *Global Society* 20 (2006), 329-43.

Reading week

Week 6 (Feb 25): Nationalism

David Miller, *On Nationality*, Oxford University Press 1995, chapter 3

Robert Goodin, "What is so Special about our Fellow-Countrymen?" *Ethics* (1988), 663-86

Supplementary:

Jeff McMahan, "The Limits of National Partiality," in *The Morality of Nationalism*, edited by Robert McKim and Jeff McMahan, Oxford University Press 1997, 107-38.

Part Two: Cases

Week 8 (Mar 4): What's wrong with Colonialism?

Lea Ypi, "What's Wrong With Colonialism?" *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (2013), 158-91.

Margaret Moore, "The Taking of Territory and the Wrongs of Colonialism," *Journal of Political Philosophy* (2019), 87-106.

Supplementary: Christopher Morris, "What's Wrong with Imperialism?" *Social Philosophy and Policy* 23 (2006), 153-66.

Week 9 (Mar 11): Opening and closing borders

David Miller, *Strangers in Our Midst*, Harvard University Press, 2016, chapter 4.

Michael Humer, "Is There a Right to Immigrate?" *Social Theory and Practice* (2010), 429-61.

Supplementary: Joseph Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration*, Oxford University Press 2013, chapter 2.

Week 10 (Mar 18): What (if anything) is wrong with exploitation?

Matt Zwolinski, "Sweatshops, Choice and Exploitation," *Business Ethics Quarterly* (2007), 689-727.

Ruth Sample, *Exploitation*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003, chapter 1.

Supplementary:

Robert Goodin, *Reasons for Welfare*, Princeton University Press, 1998, chapter 5.

Week 11 (Mar 25): Can individuals be held responsible for global crimes?

Richard Vernon, "What is Crime Against Humanity?" *Journal of Political Philosophy* (2002), 231-49

Gwilym David Blunt, *Global Poverty, Injustice, and Resistance*, Cambridge University Press 2020, chapter 3

Supplementary:

Either Norman Geras, *Crimes Against Humanity*, Manchester University Press, 2011, chapter 2 (a conceptual analysis), or, from a legal perspective: Massimo Renzo, "Crimes Against Humanity and the Limits of International Law," *Law and Philosophy* (2012), 443-76.

Week 12 (April 1): Can collectives be held responsible for global crimes?

Avia Pasternak, "The Distributive Effect of Collective Punishment," in Tracy Isaacs and Richard Vernon eds., *Accountability for Collective Wrongdoing*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, 210-30.

Erin Kelly, "The Burdens of Collective Liability," in D.K. Chatterjee and D. Scheid eds., *Ethics and Foreign Intervention*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, 118-39.

Supplementary:

Karl Jaspers, *The Question of German Guilt* [1947]. Eng. trans., New York: Fordham University Press, 2001, 21-75.

Week 13 (April 8): Responsibility for climate justice

Peter Singer, *One World*, chapter 2

Jonathan Pickering and Christian Barry, "On the Concept of Climate Debt," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* (2012), 667-85.

Supplementary:

Simon Caney, "Cosmopolitan Justice, Responsibility, and Global Climate Change," *Leiden Journal of International Law* (2005), 747-75.

April 12: essay due

APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility

"Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

Essay course requirements

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning. Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade:

- the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,
- the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

Security and Confidentiality of Student Work (refer to current *Western Academic Calendar* <http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/>)

"Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, leaving student work unattended in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

Duplication of work

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

Grade adjustments

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

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/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/scholastic_discipline_undergrad.pdf

Submission of Course Requirements

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS MUST BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.

Attendance Regulations for Examinations

EXAMINATIONS/ATTENDANCE (Sen. Min. Feb.4/49, May 23/58, S.94, S.3538, S.3632, S.04-097) A student is entitled to be examined in courses in which registration is maintained, subject to the following limitations: 1) A student may be debarred from writing the final examination for failure to maintain satisfactory academic standing throughout the year. 2) Any student who, in the opinion of the instructor, is absent too frequently from class or laboratory periods in any course will be reported to the Dean of the Faculty offering the course (after due warning has been given). On the recommendation of the Department concerned, and with the permission of the Dean of that Faculty, the student will be debarred from taking the regular examination in the course. The Dean of the Faculty offering the course will communicate that decision to the Dean of the Faculty of registration.

Medical Policy, Late Assignments, etc.

Students registered in Social Science should refer to https://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/procedures/medical_accommodation.html for information on Medical Policy,

Term Tests, Final Examinations, Late Assignments, Short Absences, Extended Absences, Documentation and other Academic Concerns. Non-Social Science students should refer to their home faculty's academic counselling office.

University Policy on Cheating and Academic Misconduct

Plagiarism: Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

Plagiarism Checking: "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>)."

Multiple-choice tests/exams: "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/academic_policies/index.html

PLAGIARISM*

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently.

Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they

will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

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Adopted by the council of the Faculty of Social Science, October, 1970; approved by the Dept. of History

August 13, 1991

Accessibility at Western: Please contact poliscie@uwo.ca if you require any information in plain text format, or if any other accommodation can make the course material and/or physical space accessible to you.

SUPPORT SERVICES

- The Registrar's office can be accessed for Student Support Services at www.registrar.uwo.ca
- Student Support Services (including the services provided by the USC listed here) can be reached at:

<https://westernusc.ca/your-services/>

- Student Development Services can be reached at: <http://sdc.uwo.ca/>
- Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western <https://www.uwo.ca/health/> for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

Procedures for Requesting Academic Consideration

Students who experience an extenuating circumstance (illness, injury, or other extenuating circumstance) sufficiently significant to temporarily render them unable to meet academic requirements may submit a request for academic consideration through the following routes: Submitting a Self-Reported Absence form provided that the conditions for submission are met;

- For medical absences, submitting a Student Medical Certificate (SMC) signed by a licensed medical or mental health practitioner in order to be eligible for Academic Consideration; or
- For non-medical absences, submitting appropriate documentation (e.g., obituary, police report, accident report, court order, etc.) to Academic Counselling in their Faculty of registration in order to be eligible for academic consideration. Students are encouraged to contact their Academic Counselling unit to clarify what documentation is appropriate.

Students seeking academic consideration:

- are advised to consider carefully the implications of postponing tests or midterm exams or delaying handing in work;
- are encouraged to make appropriate decisions based on their specific circumstances, recognizing that minor ailments (upset stomach) or upsets (argument with a friend) are **not** an appropriate basis for a self-reported absence;
- must communicate with their instructors **no later than 24 hours** after the end of the period covered by either the self-reported absence or SMC, or immediately upon their return following a documented absence.

Academic consideration **is not** normally intended for students who require academic accommodation based on an ongoing physical or mental illness (recurring or chronic) or an existing

disability. These students are expected to seek and arrange reasonable accommodations with Student Accessibility Services (SAS) as soon as possible in accordance with the Policy on Academic Accommodation for Students with Disability.

Students who experience high levels of stress related to academic performance (including completing assignments, taking part in presentations, or writing tests or examinations). These students should access support through Student Health and Wellness and Learning Skills Services in order to deal with this stress in a proactive and constructive manner.

Requests for Academic Consideration Using the Self-Reported Absence Form

Students who experience an unexpected illness or injury or an extenuating circumstance (48 hours or less) that is sufficiently severe to temporarily render them unable to meet academic requirements (e.g., attending lectures or labs, writing tests or midterm exams, completing and submitting assignments, participating in presentations) should self-declare using the **online Self-Reported Absence portal**. This option should be used in situations where the student expects to resume academic responsibilities **within 48 hours or less**.

The following conditions are in place for self-reporting of medical or extenuating circumstances: Students will be allowed:

- a maximum of two self-reported absences between September and April;
- a maximum of one self-reported absence between May and August.

Any absences in excess of the number designated above, regardless of duration, will require students to present a Student Medical Certificate (SMC) no later than two business days after the date specified for resuming responsibilities.

- The duration of the excused absence will be for a maximum of 48 hours from the time the Self-Reported Absence form is completed through the online portal, or from 8:30 am the following morning if the form is submitted after 4:30 pm;
- The duration of the excused absence will terminate prior to the end of the 48 hour period should the student undertake significant academic responsibilities (write a test, submit a paper) during that time;
- The duration of an excused absence will terminate at 8:30 am on the day following the last day of classes each semester regardless of how many days of absence have elapsed;
- Self-reported absences **will not be** allowed for scheduled final examinations; for midterm examinations scheduled during the December examination period;
- Self-reporting **may not be** used for assessments (e.g. midterm exams, tests, reports, presentations, or essays) worth more than 30% of any given course.
- students must be in touch with their instructors **no later than 24 hours** after the end of the period covered by the Self-Reported Absence form, to clarify how they will be expected to fulfil the academic expectations they may have missed during the absence.

Request for Academic Consideration for a Medical Absence

Students seeking academic consideration for a medical absence not covered by existing Student Accessibility Services (SAS) accommodation, will be required to provide documentation in person to Academic Counselling in their Faculty of registration in the form of a completed, signed Student Medical Certificate (SMC) where the conditions for a Self-Reported Absence have not been met, including where the student has exceeded the maximum number of permissible Self-Reported Absences.

Request for Academic Consideration for a Non-Medical Absence

Students seeking academic consideration for a non-medical absence will be required to provide appropriate documentation to Academic Counselling in their Faculty of registration where the conditions for a Self-Reported Absence have not been met, including where the student has exceeded the maximum number of permissible Self-Reported Absences.