

University of Georgia
International Relations 4530, Fall 2009
Globalization and Distributive Justice

Prof. Maurits van der Veen

Class

Tuesday & Thursday, 2-3:15 pm
Location: SLC 267
Office hours: Wed. 2-4pm & by appt.

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Course description

Distributive justice is concerned with the distribution of goods (property, wealth, etc.) among a group of people. Usually, the “group” is taken to be a national society: citizens of a particular nation-state. There have been two important reasons for this focus: 1) redistribution is greatly facilitated by the involvement of powerful institutions such as states, and 2) most people feel a stronger sense of moral responsibility for fellow citizens than they do for far-away foreigners.

Both of these reasons are pragmatic rather than moral or ethical (i.e. relating to justice). In the presence of strong local institutions, it is quite possible to argue for local forms of distributive justice. Conversely, strong global institutions may make world-wide forms of redistribution plausible. Moreover, the fact that people feel a stronger sense of responsibility for those closest to them is not necessarily just. In fact, there have always been those who have argued for the moral importance of thinking about distributive justice in global terms.

Globalization has strengthened their case. Where once it was possible to argue that national societies did not interact much with one another, making it unlikely that inequality and injustice in one country were caused or aggravated by another country, globalization has made such claims increasingly tenuous. At the same time, global institutions have become much stronger in recent decades, making international redistribution more feasible — albeit still quite unpopular.

This course examines the implications — both ethical and pragmatic — of globalization for our ideas about distributive justice. It proceeds in four parts. After assessing the degree to which globalization drives international inequality and poverty, we will spend several weeks grappling with different philosophical approaches to the question of global distributive justice. Next we examine the degree to which globalization has impacted models of national distributive justice (the welfare state). The third part of the course looks at the role played by international economic transactions — trade, aid, investment, etc. — in facilitating or hampering distributive justice. The final section of the course investigates some specific issue areas where questions of distributive justice have grown in salience due to the effects of globalization: environmental justice, reparations, etc.

Course goals & requirements

The goals of the course are: 1) to provide a solid grounding in the major theoretical approaches to (international) distributive justice; 2) to analyze the implications of globalization for national distributive justice; and 3) to study the main issue areas where questions of global distributive come into play.

I expect you to do all the required reading before class, and to arrive prepared to ask and answer questions about the reading. 10 % of your grade is based on class participation, which will be judged in terms of the quality, not the quantity, of your contributions. In addition, there will be five unannounced quizzes given in class. These will serve both to encourage your attendance and to check whether you are doing the reading. The quizzes are worth 2% of your grade each. In addition, there will be two midterm exams, worth 25% of your grade each, and an 8-10 page final paper, worth 30%.

The exams will be identical in set-up, and each will consist of a brief multiple choice section, a short answer section, and an essay question. The paper will be in the form of a policy brief arguing for implementation by the United States government of a specific international distributive justice policy. More information on the paper will be provided later in the semester.

The small print (i.e. things that should be largely obvious but don't always seem to be)

You need to let me know ahead of time if you cannot make a class. After-the-fact excuses for missing class on days that happened to feature a quiz are unlikely to be accepted. The same goes for the midterm exam: do not expect to e-mail me a day later with a flimsy excuse and expect to be able to take a make-up exam without penalty. Similarly, if you need an extension on your paper, and have a good reason, let me know in advance. Unapproved late submissions of the paper will be penalized one third of a grade per day (i.e from A to A-, from A- to B+, etc.).

If you wish to drop the course before the first midterm, you will get a grade of W. Once you've taken the first midterm, you can no longer withdraw without getting a grade of WF.

I take violations of academic honesty very seriously. All academic work must meet the standards contained in "A Culture of Honesty" (www.uga.edu/ovpi/honesty/ah.pdf). All students are responsible to inform themselves about those standards before performing any academic work. If you commit plagiarism and I discover it, I will bring it to the attention of the university's academic honesty office, and I will assign you an F for the course (not just the assignment!). Depending on the seriousness of the offense, I may also push for more severe penalties.

Finally, although it is a handy source for quickly finding information about any topic, wikipedia is not an acceptable source for your research paper. The quality of the information provided is simply insufficiently reliable for the purpose of real research.

Office hours &c

My office hours are Wednesdays, 2-4pm and by appointment. Please do come see me if you have any questions on or problems with the reading material, the writing assignments, or the course in general. If you need to reach me to make an appointment, I am most easily reached by e-mail.

Readings

The following books are available for purchase at the UGA Bookstore, and probably at off-campus bookstores as well. You can also order them from online sources, if you prefer.

Fleischacker, Samuel. 2005. *A Short History of Distributive Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chatterjee, Deen K., ed. 2004. *The Ethics of Assistance: Morality and the Distant Needy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kapstein, Ethan B. 2006. *Economic Justice in an Unfair World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Singer, Peter. 2009. *The Life You Can Save*. New York: Random House.

A number of additional readings are available online through the Electronic Journals feature of the UGA library website. If you do not know how to access these readings electronically or in print, please ask someone (a fellow student, a librarian, or me)!

Calendar

I. Introduction

Tue. Aug. 18 ***Introduction; overview of course***

Singer, Peter. 2009. "America's Shame." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 13, 2009.

Thu. Aug. 20 ***Key concepts: globalization, inequality, distributive justice***

Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye. 2000. "Globalization: What's New, What's Not (And So What)?" *Foreign Policy*, nr. 118, pp. 104-119.

Rizvi, Haider. "Globalization Driving Inequality, UN Warns."

(<http://www.commondreams.org/headlines05/0826-03.htm>)

Fleischacker, pp. 1-17.

Tue. Aug. 25 ***Evidence on globalization, inequality, and poverty***

Aisbett, Emma. 2003. "Globalization, Poverty and Inequality: Are the Criticisms Vague, Vested, or Valid?" Prepared for an NBER Conference.

(http://are.berkeley.edu/~harrison/globalpoverty/aisbett_globalization.pdf)

Bardhan, Pranab. 2005. "Globalization, Inequality, and Poverty: An Overview."

(<http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/macarthur/inequality/papers/BardhanGlobalOverview.pdf>)

Recommended

Lindert, Peter H., and Jeffrey G. Williamson. 2001. "Does Globalization Make the World More Unequal?" National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 8228 (www.nber.org/digest/sep01/w8228.html).

II. Thinking about global distributive justice

Thu. Aug. 27 ***Implications of globalization for justice***

Pogge, Thomas. 2008. "General Introduction" pp. 1-32 in his *World Poverty and Human Rights*. Malden, MA: Polity Press. (electronic reserve)

Risse, Matthias. 2005. "How Does the Global Order Harm the Poor?" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 33(4):349-376.

Haydar, Bashshar. 2005. "Extreme Poverty and Global Responsibility." *Metaphilosophy* 36(1-2):240-253.

Tue. Sep. 1 ***Strong cosmopolitanism***

Singer, pp. 3-80

Recommended

Singer, chapter 2 in Chatterjee.

Thu. Sep. 3 ***Movie: Life and Debt***

Tue. Sep. 8 ***Distributive justice: The history of an idea***

Fleischacker, pp. 17-79.

Thu. Sep. 10 ***Distributive justice: Key approaches***

Fleischacker, pp. 80-134.

Tue. Sep. 15 ***Does distance matter?***

Narveson, Jan. 2003. “We Don’t Owe Them a Thing!” *The Monist*, 86(3):419-433.
Kamm, chapter 4 in Chatterjee.
Lichtenberg, chapter 5 in Chatterjee.

Recommended

Hamblet, Wendy C. 2003. “The Geography of Goodness: Proximity’s Dilemma and the Difficulties of Moral Response to the Distant Sufferer.” *The Monist* 86(3):355-366.

Thu. Sep. 17 ***National borders and international justice 1***

R. Miller, chapter 6 in Chatterjee.
D. Miller, chapter 7 in Chatterjee.

Tue. Sep. 22 ***National borders and international justice 2***

Blake, M. 2001. “Distributive Justice, State Coercion, and Autonomy.” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 30(3):257-296.
Sangiovanni, Andrea. 2007. “Global Justice, Reciprocity, and the State.” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 35(1): 3-39.

Recommended

Kelly, ch. 9 in Chatterjee.
Hoffmann, Stanley. 1981 “Problems of Distributive Justice” pp. 141-188 in his *Duties beyond Borders*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press. (electronic reserve)

Thu. Sep. 24 ***Rawls’ Law of Peoples & Beitz’s response***

Beitz, Charles R. 2000. “Rawls’s Law of Peoples.” *Ethics* 110(4):669-696.
Caney, Simon. 2005. “Global Interdependence and Distributive Justice.” *Review of International Studies* 31:389-399

Recommended

Nussbaum, ch. 8 in Chatterjee.

Tue. Sep. 29 ***Some final considerations***

Waldron, Jeremy. 2003. “Who Is My Neighbor? Humanity and Proximity.” *The Monist*, 86(3):333-354.
Cullity, Garret. 2003. “Asking Too Much.” *The Monist*, 86(3):402-418.
Singer, ch. 9.

Recommended

Singer, ch. 8, 10.

Risse, Matthias. 2005. "Do We Owe the Global Poor Assistance or Rectification?" *Ethics & International Affairs* 19(1):9-18.

Thu. Oct. 1 **Exam 1**

III. Welfare states, globalization, and distributive justice

Tue. Oct.. 6 ***Justifying the welfare state***

Rothstein, Bo. 1998. "The Political and Moral Logic of the Universal Welfare State." Chapter 6 (pp. 144-170) in *Just Institutions Matter: The Moral and Political Logic of the Universal Welfare State*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. (electronic reserve)

Feldman, Stanley, and John Zaller. 1992. "The Political Culture of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses to the Welfare State." *American Journal of Political Science* 36(1): 268-307.

Thu. Oct. 8 ***Welfare states and globalization***

Genschel, Philipp. "Globalization and the Welfare State: A Retrospective." *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(4):613-636.

Midgley, James. 2007. "Perspectives on Globalization, Social Justice and Welfare" *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 34(2):

Tue. Oct. 13 ***Welfare states and immigration in a globalized world***

Boeri, Tito. 2009. "Immigration to the Land of Redistribution." *LSE Europe in Question Discussion Paper Series* nr. 5.

(<http://www2.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/LEQS/LEQSPaper5Boeri5.pdf>)

Kymlicka, Will, and Keith Banting. 2006. "Immigration, Multiculturalism, and the Welfare State." *Ethics & International Affairs* 20(3):281-304.

IV. Global distributive justice in practice

Thu. Oct. 15 ***Background: Dependency & the New International Economic Order***

Caporaso, James A. 1980. "Dependency Theory: Continuities and Discontinuities in Development Studies." *International Organization* 39: 605-628.

Murphy, Craig N. 1983. "What the Third World Wants: An Interpretation of the Development and Meaning of the New International Economic Order Ideology." *International Studies Quarterly* 27(1): 55-76.

Recommended

Kapstein, ch. 1.

Dos Santos, Theotonio. 1970. "The Structure of Dependence" *American Economic Review* 60(2): 231-236.

Tue. Oct. 20 ***Trade and the WTO***

Kapstein, ch. 2

Rodrik, Dani. 2001. "The Global Governance of Trade as if Development Really Mattered." Prepared for UNDP project
(ksghome.harvard.edu/~drodrik/undptrade.pdf)

Moellendorf, Darrel. 2005. "The World Trade Organization and Egalitarian Justice." *Metaphilosophy* 36(1-2): 145-162.

Thu. Oct. 22 ***Foreign aid***

Kapstein, ch. 3

Alesina, Alberto, and David Dollar. 2000. "Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?" *Journal of Economic Growth* 5(1): 33-63.

Radelet, Steven. 2005. "Think Again: U.S. Foreign Aid." *Foreign Policy*.
(http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=2773)

Tue. Oct. 27 ***Debt forgiveness & debt relief***

Easterly, William. 2001. "Debt Relief." *Foreign Policy* Nov./Dec., pp. 20-26.

Busby, Joshua William. 2006. "Bono Made Jesse Helms Cry: Jubilee 2000, Debt Relief, and Moral Action in International Politics" *International Studies Quarterly* 51(2): 247-275.

Pettifor, Ann. 2001. "Global Economic Justice: Human Rights for Debtor Nations." *Journal of Human Development* 2(1): 47-51.

Recommended

Thomas, M.A. 2001. "Getting Debt Relief Right." *Foreign Affairs*, Sept./Oct., 36-45.

Thu. Oct. 29 ***Private foreign aid***

Singer, ch. 6-7

Silk, John. 2004. "Caring at a Distance: Gift Theory, Aid Chains and Social Movements" *Social & Cultural Geography* 5(2): 229-251.

Recommended

Ray, Leonard. 1998. "Why We Give: Testing Economic and Social Psychological Accounts of Altruism." *Polity* 30(3): 383-415.

Tue. Nov. 3 ***Migration and labor***

Kapstein, ch. 4.

Carens, Joseph. 2003. "Who Should Get In? The Ethics of Immigration Decisions," *Ethics and International Affairs*, 17(1): 95-110.

Recommended

Chang, Howard F. 2008. "The Immigration Paradox: Alien Workers and Distributive Justice." *Scholarship at Penn Law*, paper 234.
(http://lsr.nellco.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1239&context=upenn_wps)

Thu. Nov. 5 ***International investment and governance***

Kapstein, ch. 5-6

Birdsall, Nancy. 2003. "Why It Matters Who Runs the IMF and the World Bank." Center for Global Development, Working Paper 22.
(<http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/2768>)

Recommended

Hockett, Robert. 2005. "Three (Potential) Pillars of Transnational Economic Justice: The Bretton Woods Institutions as Guarantors of Global Equal Treatment and Market Completion." *Metaphilosophy* 36(1-2): 93-127.

Tue. Nov. 10 **Exam 2**

V. Special topics

Thu. Nov. 12 ***Natural resources & pollution***

Pogge, Thomas. 2001. "Eradicating Systemic Poverty: Brief for a Global Resources Dividend." *Journal of Human Development* 2(1): 59-77.

Hayward, Tim. 2005. "Thomas Pogge's Global Resources Dividend: A Critique and an Alternative." *Journal of Moral Philosophy* 2(3): 317-332.

Recommended

Hayward, Tim. 2006. "Global Justice and the Distribution of Natural Resources." *Political Studies* 54(2): 349-369.

Tue. Nov. 17 ***Patenting life***

Cahill, Lisa Sowle. 2001. "Genetics, Commodification, and Social Justice in the Globalization Era." *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal* 11(3):221-238.

Warner, Keith Douglass. 2001. "Are Life Patents Ethical? Conflict between Catholic Social Teaching and Agricultural Biotechnology's Patent Regime." *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 14(3): 301-319.

Thu. Nov. 19 ***Medicine***

Pogge, Thomas. 2005. "Human Rights and Global Health: A Research Program."
Metaphilosophy 36(1-2): 182-209.

Mittendorff, Robert. 2001. "Primum Non Nocere: Implications for the Globalization of Biomedical Research Trials," *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, 25(2):239-253.

Harris, Paul, and Siplon, Patricia. 2001. "International Obligation and Human Health: Evolving Policy Responses to HIV/AIDS," *Ethics and International Affairs*, 15(2):29-52.

Nov. 23-27 *Thanksgiving break*

Tue. Dec. 1 ***Reparations and global distributive justice***

Howard-Hassmann, Rhoda E. 2007. "Reparations for the Slave Trade: Rhetoric, Law, History and Political Realities." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 41(3): 427-454. (draft available at: web2.uconn.edu/hri/documents/.../Howard-Hassmann_Slavetrade.pdf)

Tan, Kok-Chor. 2007. "Colonialism, Reparations, and Global Justice." Pp. 280-306 in Jon Miller and Rahul Kumar, eds. *Reparations: Interdisciplinary Inquiries*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. (electronic reserve)

Thu. Dec. 3 ***Wrap-up***

Paper Due!

Reading TBA