



Graduate Seminar in Ethics and Public Policy 2005-2006

GLOBAL JUSTICE

Toon Vandavelde & Philippe Van Parijs

A new initiative

As a prelude to closer collaboration in this area between the KuLeuven and the UCL, a graduate seminar in “Ethics and Public Policy” will be run jointly this year by Toon Vandavelde (KuLeuven, Hoger Instituut voor Wijsbegeerte) and Philippe Van Parijs (UCL, Chaire Hoover d'éthique économique et sociale).

At the KuLeuven, students can register for it as one of their seminars in the Mphil in Philosophy, and at the UCL as the séminaire de troisième cycle “Philosophie sociale et politique” (ISP 3134) in the DEA and doctoral programmes in philosophy.

Time and place

The seminar will consist in a total of 30 hours, spread over the whole academic year on Fridays from 11am to 1pm and from 2pm to 4pm.

The first semester (18 hours) will be devoted to a integrated sequence of presentations (programme below). The second semester (12 hours) will consist of presentations by students and a general conclusion (programme to be determined later).

The seminar will take place alternatively in Leuven (HIW, 2 Kard. Mercierplein) and in Louvain-la-Neuve (Salle Vives, Dupriez D305, 3 Place Montesquieu). Funding will be available to cover travelling expenses.

Evaluation

The evaluation will be based on these oral presentations and participation in the class, and on a written essay of about 20 pages on a relevant topic to be handed in by the end of May. A brief outline of the essay (1 page) needs to be submitted by the end of December.

Web site

The seminar will have a web site from which the updated programme and some of the readings will be downloadable. It will be accessible on the Toledo web site for Kuleuven students, as well as on <http://www.etes.ucl.ac.be/>.

Theme

Few themes in moral and political philosophy have been the subject of more intense discussions in recent years as the question of how justice is to be conceived at the global level. The aim of the seminar is to explore and discuss this literature with the hope of providing an answer to the following two questions:

1. **Should global justice be conceived as social justice writ large**, in the sense that the principles of justice we accept on a national scale should be extended to mankind as a whole (Beitz, Pogge, etc.) **or should global justice be conceived as inter-national justice**, in a sense that requires developing principles for the just interaction between nations fundamentally different from those defining inter-individual justice within nations (Rawls, Nagel, etc.)?.
2. Whether we adopt the first or second answer to the first question, **how should the principles of global justice be specified** so that they can guide national and supranational policy in such areas as migration, international trade, development aid or the global environment ?

Programme of the first semester

Friday September 23: Prologue (Salle du Conseil, Leclercq 93, Place Montesquieu 1, LLN):
2-2.15pm: Brief presentation of the purpose and method of the seminar
2.15-4pm: Lecture by Pranab BARDHAN, professor at the department of economics, University of California Berkeley.

Friday October 14 (Salle Vives, Dupriez D305, LLN):
Does worldwide inequality grow and is it unjust?
11am-1pm: André DECOSTER on the empirical controversies around worldwide poverty and inequality
2-4pm: Toon VANDEVELDE on Rawls's theory of global justice

Friday November 4 (HIW, 2 Kard. Mercierplein, Leuven):
The debate about Rawls' *Law of Peoples*
11am-1pm: Philippe VAN PARIJS on Beitz's and Pogge's critiques of Rawls
2-4pm: Toon VANDEVELDE on Nagel's 2005 restatement of the central issue

Friday November 18 (Salle Vives, Dupriez D305, LLN):
Four conceptions of global distributive justice
11am-1pm: John ALEXANDER (KuLeuven) on global justice according to Sen and Nussbaum
2-4pm: Philippe VAN PARIJS on global justice according to John Roemer and *Real Freedom for All*

Friday December 9 (HIW, 2 Kard. Mercierplein, Leuven):
Global justice and cultural diversity
11am-1pm: Philippe VAN PARIJS on three interpretations of global linguistic justice
2-4pm: Comments on Van Parijs' conception of Linguistic Justice by Helder DE SCHUTTER (KULEuven) and David ROBICHAUD (Université de Montréal & UCL).

Readings

NB: Readings marked by an asterisk are compulsory.

General background

- * Vandevelde, Toon. "Wat zijn we vreemdelingen verschuldigd? Internationale rechtvaardigheid in tijden van globalisering", in Verschraegen, Gert, Tinnevelt Ronald, (red.), *Internationale Rechtvaardigheid – Over Politieken ethiek in een mondiaal tijdperk*, Pelckmans, Kapellen, 2005, p. 21-36 (English version will be available).
 - * Van Parijs, Philippe. "Global Distributive Justice" (first draft), commissioned for the 2nd edition of *The Blackwell's Companion to Political Philosophy* (R. Goodin, P. Pettit & T. Pogge eds.), Oxford & New York: Blackwell. (Should be available by the end of the 1st semester.)
- Caney, Simon. *Justice Beyond Borders: A Global Political Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Moellendorf, Darrel. *Cosmopolitan Justice*. Boulder (Co): Westview, 2002.
- Pogge, Thomas. *World Poverty and Human Rights*. Cambridge : Polity Press, 2002.
- Pogge, Thomas ed., Global Justice (2001), special issue of *Metaphilosophy* 32 (1/2), 2001.
- Tan, Kok-Chor. *Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism and Patriotism*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Prologue: Globalization and the World's Poor

- Bardhan Pranab. (2004), The Impact of Globalization on the Poor, in: Collins S. and Graham C. (eds.), Brookings Trade Forum 2004, Brookings Institution, preliminary version available at <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/macarthur/inequality/papers/#Bardhan>.
- Bardhan Pranab. (2005), Globalization, Inequality, and Poverty: An Overview, mimeo, available at <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/macarthur/inequality/papers/#Bardhan>.

Session 1: Does worldwide inequality grow and is it unjust?

- * Aisbett E. (2005), Why are the critics so convinced that globalization is bad for the poor?, NBER Working Paper 11066, available at <http://www.nber.org/papers/w11066>.
 - Capéau Bart and Decoster André (2004), The rise or fall of world inequality. A spurious controversy?, Wider Discussion Paper DPS 2004/2, Helsinki, available at <http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/dps/dps2004/dp2004-002.pdf>.
 - Chen S. and Ravallion M. (2004), How have the world's poorest fared since the early 1980s?, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3341, Washington, available at <http://www.wds.worldbank.org>.
 - Milanovic B. (2002), True world income distribution, 1988 and 1993: first calculation based on household surveys alone, *Economic Journal*, 112, 51-92.
- * Rawls, John. "The Law of Peoples", in *On Human Rights* (Stephen Shute & Susan Hurley eds.), New York: Basic Books, 1993, 41-82; reprinted in Rawls, John, *Collected Papers*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999, 529-64.
- Rawls, John. *The Law of Peoples*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1999.

Session 2. The Debate about Rawls' Law of Peoples

- * Beitz, Charles. "Rawls's Law of Peoples", in *Ethics* 110(4), July 2000, 669-96.
- Barry, Brian. "Dirty Work in the Original Position. Comment on Thomas Pogge, 'An Egalitarian Law of Peoples'", Paper presented at the conference "The ethics of nationalism", The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, April 1994..
- Pogge, Thomas. "An Egalitarian Law of Peoples", in *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 23, 1994, 195-224.

Buchanan, Allen. Rawls's Law of Peoples: Rules for a Vanished Westphalian World", in *Ethics* 110(4), July 2000, 697-721.

* Nagel, Thomas. "The Problem of Global Justice", *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 33(2), 2005, 113 – 147.

Rawls, John and Van Parijs, Philippe. "Three Letters on *The Law of Peoples* and the European Union", in *Autour de Rawls*, special issue of *Revue de philosophie économique* 8, 2003, 7-20.

Session 3. Four conceptions of global distributive justice

* Sen, Amartya. "Justice across Borders," in *Global Justice and Traditional Politics* (P. deFreid & C. Cronin, eds.). Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002.

Sen, Amartya, "Elements of a Theory of Human Rights", *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 32, 2004.

Nussbaum, Martha. *Frontiers of Justice. Disability, Nationality, Species Membership*, 2005, ch.. 4-5.

* Van Parijs, Philippe. "Citizenship exploitation, unequal exchange and the breakdown of popular sovereignty", in *Free Movement* (B. Barry & R. Goodin eds.), Hemel-Hemstead: Harvester, 1992, 155-65. (Also in P. Van Parijs, *Marxism Recycled*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 140-52.)

Roemer, John E. 1983. "Unequal exchange, labor migration and international capital flows: a theoretical synthesis", in *Marxism, Central Planning and the Soviet Economy. Essays in honor of Alexander Erlich* (P. Desai ed.), Cambridge (Mass.): M.I.T. Press, 34-60.

Roemer, John E. 1983. "Unequal exchange, labor migration and international capital flows: a theoretical synthesis", in *Marxism, Central Planning and the Soviet Economy. Essays in honor of Alexander Erlich* (Padma Desai ed.), Cambridge (Mass.): M.I.T. Press, 34-60.

Roemer, John E. 1998. *Equality of Opportunity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Roemer, John E. 2005. "The Global Welfare Economics of Immigration", Yale University, Working Paper, 25p.

Van Parijs, Philippe. *Real Freedom for All*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, section 6.8.

Session 4. Global justice and cultural diversity

* Van Parijs, Philippe. *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World*, first draft, ch.2-4.

Human Development Report 2004. *Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World*, New York: UNDP, 2004, 285p., esp. introduction and chapter 1.

Supplementary references on the factual background

Ahmad S. (2003), Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) for International Comparison of Poverty: Sources and Methods, World Bank, Washington, available at <http://web.worldbank.org>.

Berry A., Bourguignon F., and Morrison C. (1983), Changes in the world distribution of income between 1950 and 1977, *Economic Journal*, 93(37), 331-350.

Bhalla S. S. (2002), Imagine there's no country. Poverty, inequality and growth in the era of globalization, Washington, DC, Institute for International Economics.

Bourguignon F. and Morrisson C. (2002), Inequality Among World Citizens: 1820-1992, *The American Economic Review*, 92(4), 727-744.

Chen S. and Ravallion M. (2001), How did the world's poorest fare in the 1990s?, *Review of Income and Wealth*, 47(3), 283-300.

- Deaton A. (2001), Counting the world's poor: problems and possible solutions, *World Bank Research Observer*, 16(2), 125-147.
- Deaton A. (2002), Is world poverty falling?, *Finance and Development*, 39(2). Deaton A. (2005), Measuring poverty in a growing world (or measuring growth in a poor world), *Review of Economic Statistics*, Vol 87(1), 1-19.
- Decoster A. (2005), Ongelijkheid en armoede op wereldvlak: wat meten we? wat weten we?, in: Raymakers B. and Van Riel G. , (eds.), *Hoe dichtbij is de toekomst? Lessen voor de eenentwintigste eeuw*, Leuven, Universitaire Pers Leuven
- Dollar D. and Kraay A. (2001), Growth is good for the poor, *World Bank Working Paper*, Washington, available at <http://web.worldbank.org>.
- Dollar D. (2004), Globalization, poverty and inequality since 1980, *World Bank*, Washington, available at <http://web.worldbank.org>.
- Dowrick S. and Akmal M. (2005), Contradictory trends in global income inequality: a tale of two biases, *Review of Income and Wealth*, 51(2), 201-229.
- Fischer S. (2003), Globalization and its challenges, *American Economic Review*, 93(2), 1-30.
- Galbraith J.K., Krytynskaia L., and Wang Q. (2004), The Experience of Rising Inequality in Russia and China during the Transition, *European Journal of Comparative Economics*, 1(1), 87106.
- Milanovic B. (2002), The Ricardian vice: Why Sala-i-Martin's calculations of world income inequality cannot be right, *World Bank*, Washington.-, available at <http://ideas.repec.org>.
- Milanovic B. (2005), *Worlds apart: measuring international and global inequality*, Princeton University Press.
- Milanovic B. and Yitzhaki S. (2002), Decomposing world income distribution: does the world have a middle class?, *Review of Income and Wealth*, 48(2), 155-178.
- Neumayer E. (2003), Beyond income: convergence in living standards, big time, *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics*, 14(3), 275-296 .
- Pritchett L. (1997), Divergence, Big Time, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 11(3), 3-17.
- Rao D. S. P. (2003), PPPs for the Measurement of Global and Regional Poverty: Issues and Options, *World Bank*, Washington, available at <http://web.worldbank.org>.
- Ravaillon M. (2003), Inequality convergence, *Economic Letters*, 80(3), 351-356.
- Ravaillon M., Datt G., and van der Walle D. (1991), Quantifying absolute poverty in the developing world, *Review of Income and Wealth*, 37(4), 345-361.
- Ravallion M. (2001), Growth, Inequality and Poverty: Looking Beyond Averages, *World Development*, 29(11), 1803-1815.
- Ravallion M. (2003), The debate on globalization, poverty and inequality: why measurement matters, *International Affairs*, 79(4), 739-754.
- Ravallion M. (2004), Globalization and inequality, in: Collins S. and Graham C. *Brookings Trade Forum 2004*, Brookings Institution.
- Reddy S. G. and Pogge T. W. (2003), How Not to count the poor, *Barnard College*, New York, available at <http://www.columbia.edu/~sr793/count.pdf>.
- Sala-i-Martin X. (2002), The Disturbing 'Rise' of Global Income Inequality, *NBER Working Paper 8904*, Cambridge MA, available at <http://papers.nber.org/papers/w8904.pdf>.
- Sutcliffe B. (2004), World inequality and globalization, *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 20(1), 15-37.
- Wade R.H. (2004), Is Globalization Reducing Poverty and Inequality?, *World Development*, 32(4), 567-589.