

**Shmuel (Shmulik) Nili**Address: 312B Scott Hall, 601 University Place, Evanston, IL, 60208 E-mail: [shmuel.nili@northwestern.edu](mailto:shmuel.nili@northwestern.edu)**Academic appointments**

Sep. 2021 – present: Associate Professor (with tenure), Department of Political Science, Northwestern University

\* Sep. 2023-present: Courtesy appointment as Associate Professor of Philosophy

Sep. 2017-August 2021: Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University

May 2016 – Sep. 2021 – Fixed Term Research Fellowship, School of Philosophy, Australian National University

**Education**

Fall 2012-Spring 2016 PhD, Department of Political Science, Yale University (university distinction)

Subfields: Political Theory, International Relations, Comparative Politics

Dissertation title: “A theory of global injustice”

2009-2012 M.A, Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame (PhD program)

Subfields: Political Theory, International Relations

2005-2008 M.A, Israel's Open University's Democracy Studies Program (with highest honors)

2001-2005 B.A, Political Science and International Relations, Department of Sociology, Political Science and Communication, Israel's Open University (with honors)

**Publications****Books**

5. *Democracy's sword: crisis, coercion, and costs across borders* (under review, Oxford University Press)

This manuscript aims to expand normative thinking on the global crisis of democracy, by examining under-studied ways in which the fragility of supposedly “established” democracies affects how they ought to treat outsiders. I use this lens to interrogate a range of moral dilemmas, ranging from the ethics of immigration, through sanctions targeting foreign autocracies, to democratic war. Among the policy questions tackled in this manuscript: can it be permissible to launch a military operation that will harm innocents abroad in order to stave off a dangerous demagogue who might win an upcoming election at home? If a democratic government commits grave wrongs beyond its borders, how do these wrongs affect its general claim to authority over its own citizens at home? Conversely, if a democratic government commits serious wrongs at home, how do these wrongs affect its moral standing to wield coercion abroad in democracy's name?

4. *Beyond the law's reach? Powerful criminals, foreign entanglement, and justice in the shadow of violence* (in press, Oxford University Press, [Forthcoming 2024])

This book argues that fundamental assumptions in contemporary political philosophy need to be rethought in the face of pervasive political violence. At an applied level, the book develops this broad claim by delving into a series of specific controversies, all revolving around affluent democracies' policy responses to the threat of pervasive violence abroad. Examples include the ethics of giving refuge to beleaguered autocrats to avert civil war in their country; the ethics of prosecuting foreign officials who have colluded with drug cartels; and the admission of oligarchs who acquired their riches by distorting their country's rule of law. At a more theoretical level, the book aims to show that the moral principles needed to adjudicate these particular controversies can illuminate broader issues in normative political theory. These range from the philosophy of criminal punishment, through the relationship between the law's letter and its spirit, to the general plausibility of certain moral theories (and meta-theories) as public policy guides.

3. *Philosophizing the indefensible: Strategic Political Theory* (Oxford University Press, October 2023)

This book asks what distinctive contributions political philosophers might make when reflecting on obvious moral failures in public policy. I defend a particular kind of contribution: I argue that political philosophers can and should craft “strategic” arguments for public policy reforms, showing how morally urgent reforms can be grounded, for the sake of discussion, even in problematic premises associated with their opponents. I begin by developing the general contours of this approach, situating it within a broader conception of political philosophy's social responsibilities. I then apply strategic theorizing to a set of diverse policy issues. These range from the abortion debate and financial regulation in the United States, through controversies surrounding the participation of Arab parties in Israel's political process, to global issues, such as commercial ties with oil-rich dictatorships, and the bearing of such ties on global climate change.

2. *Integrity, personal and political* (Oxford University Press, 2020)

This book pursues two main aims. First, taking on entrenched forms of philosophical skepticism concerning integrity's moral significance, I argue that a democratic polity not only has its own morally important integrity, but has integrity that is easier to defend in comparison to the integrity of an

individual person. Second, I explore multiple ways in which ideas regarding personal and political integrity relate to one another, and derive practical implications for both individual and collective conduct, bearing on a variety of contested ethical issues in public life. These issues range from tragic foreign policy choices, through the dangers that media demagogues lacking integrity pose to the integrity of liberal democracy, to highly controversial public monuments, commemorating political figures whose integrity is intensely disputed.

\* Reviewed in [Perspectives on Politics](#) (September 2021), [Review of Politics](#) (July 2022)

\* *Ethics* symposium proposal (in progress): committed contributors – Linda Eggert; David Enoch; Ted Lechterman; Jiewuh Song; Zofia Stemplowska

1. [The people's duty: collective agency and the morality of public policy](#) (Cambridge University Press, 2019)

This book takes up two questions revolving around the sovereign people in a liberal democracy as a collective agent. First, can we talk about "the people" as an agent with its own morally important integrity? Second, how should we understand ownership of public property by "the people"? After developing philosophical answers to both questions, I illustrate their practical value in thinking through a variety of real-world problems, ranging from the domestic and international dimensions of corruption, through transitional justice issues, to ethnic and religious divides threatening liberal democracy.

\* Subject of a [symposium](#) in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* (Vol. 24, Issue 4, 2021), featuring Elizabeth Ellis, Jeff Spinner-Halev, Alexander Kirshner, Robert Sparling, and James Wilson

\* Reviewed in [Perspectives on Politics](#) (June 2020)

**Peer-reviewed journal articles (published/forthcoming)**

27. "Hidden redemption and the duty to play the villain: a political exploration," [Journal of Politics](#) (forthcoming 2024)

26. "Waving the banner of democracy": democratic sanctions and three hypocrisy puzzles," [Social Philosophy & Policy](#) (forthcoming Dec. 2023)

25. "Getting away with it? Kleptocracy, atrocities, and the morality of autocratic exile," [International Theory](#) 15 (2023): 291-322

24. "Political leaders and the morality of political honors," [Ethics](#) 130 (2020): 415-445

23. "The idea of public property," [Ethics](#) 129 (2019): 344-369

22. "Global poverty, global sacrifices, and natural resource reforms," [International Theory](#) 11 (2019): 48-80

21. "Integrity, personal and political," [The Journal of Politics](#) 80 (2018): 428-441

20. "Injustice abroad, authority at home? Democracy, systemic effects, and global wrongs," [American Journal of Political Science](#) 62 (2018): 72-83

19. "The moving global Everest: a new challenge to global ideal theory as a necessary compass," [European Journal of Political Theory](#) 17 (2018): 87-108

18. "Democratic theory, the boundary problem, and global reform," [The Review of Politics](#) 79 (2017): 99-123

17. "Liberal integrity and foreign entanglement," [American Political Science Review](#) 110 (2016): 148-159

16. "Customary trade and the complications of consent," [Journal of Applied Philosophy](#) 34 (2017): 315-330

15. "Liberal global justice and social science," [Review of International Studies](#) 42 (2016): 136-15

14. Dangerous Health? Nietzsche's physiological discourse between Nuremberg and Jerusalem," [History of Political Thought](#) 37 (2016): 728-760

13. "Rethinking economic 'sanctions'," [International Studies Review](#) 18 (2016): 635-654

12. Environmental reform, negative duties, and petrocrats: a strategic green energy argument," [Journal of Politics](#) 77 (2015): 914-927

11. "Between domestic and global justice," [Journal of Moral Philosophy](#) 12 (2015): 55-81

10. "Global taxation, global reform, and collective action," [Moral Philosophy and Politics](#) 1 (2014): 83-103

9. "Rawlsian global politics," [Journal of Political Philosophy](#) 21 (2013): 473-495

8. "Rigorist cosmopolitanism: a Kantian alternative to Pogge," [Politics, Philosophy & Economics](#) 12 (2013): 260-287

7. "Who's afraid of a world state?" [Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy](#) 16 (2013): 1-23

6. "Democratic disengagement: towards Rousseauian global reform," [International Theory](#) 3 (2011): 355-389

5. "Our problem of global justice," [Social Theory and Practice](#) 37 (2011): 629-653

4. "Conceptualizing the curse: Two views on our responsibility for the resource curse," [Ethics & Global Politics](#) 4 (2011): 103-124

3. "Humanitarian disintervention," [Journal of Global Ethics](#) 7 (2011): 33-46

2. "A Poggean passport for fairness? Why Rawls' *Theory of Justice* did not become global," [Ethics & Global Politics](#) 3 (2010): 277-301

1. "The rules of the game – nationalism, globalization and football in Spain: Barça and Bilbao in a comparative perspective," [Global Society](#) 23 (2009): 243-268

**Peer-reviewed journal articles: commissioned**

- “Global justice and global realities,” *Journal of International Political Theory* 12 (2016): 200-216 (symposium featuring Jonathan Floyd, Aaron James, Terry MacDonald, David Miller, Mathias Risse, Matt Sleat, and Avia Pasternak)

**Journal articles: reviewed in-house**

- “Sanctions and democracy,” *International Interactions* 41 (2015): 765-778 (with Niki Marinov) (commissioned)

**Book reviews**

- Review of Lea Ypi, *Global Justice & Avant-Garde Political Agency*, *Review of Politics* 75 (2013): 301-303
- Review of Alison Jaggar (ed.), *Thomas Pogge and his Critics*, *Journal of Moral Philosophy* 10 (2013): 105-108.

**Fellowships, grants & awards**

- Open Fellowship, School of Philosophy, Research School of the Social Sciences, Australian National University (2016-2021) (a thirty-six months research fellowship divided over five years so as to align with my Northwestern position)
- Kaplan Humanities Research Fellowship (Sep. 2018-June 2019), Northwestern
- Nuffield Prize Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Nuffield College, Oxford (2016-2019) (declined)
- Fellow, Global Justice Program, Yale (Spring 2012-Spring 2016)
- Zahm Research Award, The Graduate School, Notre Dame (2011-2012)
- Graduate Student Research Award, Institute for the Study of the Liberal Arts, Notre Dame (2011)
- Summer Research Grants, Department of Political Science, Notre Dame (2010, 2011)
- Graduate Initiative Grants, Nanovic Institute for European Studies, Notre Dame (2009-2012)
- Research Grant, Rooney Center for the Study of American Democracy, Notre Dame (2010)
- President's Grant, Outstanding Achievements in Masters Studies, Israel's Open University (2007, 2008)
- Dean's Award for Outstanding Achievements in Bachelor Studies, Israel's Open University (2005)
- Gifted Pupils Grant, 50% B.A tuition funding, Israeli Ministry of Education (2001-2004)

**Special distinctions**

- Invited valedictorian – Israel's Open University graduation ceremony (2009)
- Youngest Israeli social-sciences student to have completed mandatory military service and an M.A (2008)
- Special Letter in Acknowledgment of Academic Excellence for Combining High School and B.A Studies – General Director, Israeli Ministry of Education (2006)
- Youngest Israeli Political Science graduate (2005)

**Policy engagement/public interviews**

- Invited participant in emergency closed panel on Israel's political and constitutional crisis, Reichman University, Israel, (Feb. 2023), featuring, inter alia, Israel's former Deputy Attorney General, former Head of the Civil Service, former Director of the Ministry of Justice).
- Interview on the ethics of sanctioning Russian oligarchs (Nov. 2022) - Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project/ISStories (in Russian) - <https://istories.media/stories/2022/11/01/ya-protiv-voini-no/>
- Lecture at the Nobel Peace Institute, invited by a member of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee, on the moral considerations that should guide the awarding of the Nobel (June 2016)

**Conferences, lectures, presentations (selected)**

- “Hidden redemption and the duty to play the villain: a political exploration” (Oxford, March 2023)
- “Beyond the law's reach” (University of Oregon, Nov. 2022; LSE, March 2023; Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, March 2023; Essex, March 2023; IE Madrid, March 2023)
- “Philosophizing the Indefensible” (American University in Paris, March 2023)
- “Getting away with it: kleptocracy, mass atrocities, and exile” (U Illinois - Urbana-Champaign - Oct. 2021; Chicago Center on Democracy, University of Chicago - Nov. 2021; Reichman University [IDC], Herzliya, Israel, Dec. 2021)
- “Strategic political theorizing” (FU Berlin theory colloquium, Jan. 2020; University College London, Jan. 2020; Warwick political theory colloquium, Jan. 2020; Flensburg philosophy colloquium, Jan. 2020)
- “The people's duty” – special book panel discussion (Israel's Open University, Ra'anana, Jan. 2020)
- “Show them the money?” (Bayreuth political theory speaker series, Jan. 2020)

- “Dictatorship and the helplessness of morality” (Ohio State, February 2019; University of Chicago, January 2019; Justitia Amplificata Frankfurt, December 2018; Notre Dame, November 2018)
- “Integrity, individual and collective” (Hebrew University, January 2019; Stanford University, November 2018; Duke University, October 2018; University of Adelaide, September 2018; University of Victoria, Wellington, July 2018)
- “Political leaders and the morality of political honors” (Ottawa political theory network inaugural lecture, September 2016; University of Otago, July 2018)
- “The people’s property” (ANU, March 2018)
- “Too big to fail, too innocent to jail? A strategic response to corporate crime” (Northwestern, September 2017)
- “Organizing integrity” (Philosophy dept. colloquium, ANU, December 2016)
- “A global perspective on democratic political obligation” (American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Philadelphia, September 2016)
- “Integrity, personal and political” (FU Berlin, June 2016; University of Vermont, September 2016; University of Toronto, September 2016; Queen’s University, September 2016)
- “Justice and integrity” (Nuffield College, Oxford, July 2016)
- “The moral integrity of liberal democracy” (Northwestern University, November 2015; Oxford University, November 2015)
- “Making senior bankers personally liable for illicit financial flows: a normative policy proposal,” lecture at University College London, December 2014 [reviewed [here](#)]
- “National ownership with cosmopolitan intent”; “The global game and global justice: on soccer and natural resource trade ”; (1<sup>st</sup> Austrian Conference on International Resource Politics, Vienna, December 2014)
- “Tainted trade and the complications of consent,” (Global Justice and Global South Conference, Birmingham, UK, Nov. 2014)
- “Liberal integrity and foreign entanglement” (Princeton Political Theory Graduate Conference, April 2015; Political Theory Workshop, Yale, September 2014; Political Philosophy Forum, Hebrew University, December 2013)
- “Between domestic and global justice,” Harvard Political Theory Conference, October 2012
- “Towards a procedural theory of global illegitimacy,” American Political Science Association Conference 2012 (with Hans Christian Siller) (canceled due to Hurricane Irene)
- “Towards a theory of external legitimacy,” Midwest Political Science Conference, Chicago, April 2012
- “Who’s afraid of a global Leviathan,” presented with Faisal Baluch at the Midwest Political Science Conference, Chicago, April, 2012 (presented by Faisal Baluch at the Southern Political Science Association annual conference, New Orleans, January 2012)
- “Publishing as a graduate student,” invited panel discussion, Notre Dame, March 2012
- “Should we talk about it? Active versus deliberative universalism,” Northeastern Political Science association meeting, Philadelphia, November 2011; Goethe University, Frankfurt, December 2010
- “The house that Jack couldn’t build: why Rawls’ Theory of Justice did not become global,” the International Society for Justice Research, Banff, Alberta, Canada, August 2010

### **Northwestern teaching experience**

- “Moral issues in foreign policy,” Spring 2023
- “Integrity and the political of corruption,” Fall 2019, Spring 2022; Spring 2023
- “Methods in analytical political theory,” Fall 2019 (graduate seminar)
- “Democratic theory: contemporary issues,” (upper-level undergraduate seminar including graduate students), Fall 2018
- “Introduction to political theory,” Spring 2018, Fall 2018, Spring 2022
- “Global injustice” (graduate seminar), Spring 2018

### **Professional service**

- External reviewer: *Oxford University Press; American Political Science Review; American Journal of Political Science; Journal of Politics; Economics & Philosophy; Journal of Political Philosophy; Philosophical Quarterly; Journal of Moral Philosophy; Politics, Philosophy & Economics; Political Studies; Review of Politics; European Journal of Political Theory; Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy; International Theory; Ethics & Global Politics*
- Founder and convener, Global Theory Workshop, Northwestern (January 2018-present)
- Convener, Moral Social and Political Theory Workshop, Australian National University (2017)
- PhD admissions committee member (political science), Northwestern (Fall 2017, Fall 2019, Fall 2021, Fall 2023)
- Moral and Political Philosophy Junior search (Northwestern Philosophy Department) – external committee member (Fall 2022)

**Volunteer work**

- Strategic Consultant for "Animal-Protection Guard," an association working to prevent animal abuse (2008)
- Students' Representative, Israel's Open University Disciplinary Committee (2008)

**List of references**

- David Enoch, Professor of Law and Philosophy, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Professor of the Philosophy of Law, the University of Oxford  
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- Philip Pettit, L. S. Rockefeller University Professor of Human Values, Princeton University, and Distinguished Professor of Philosophy, Australian National University; Email: [ppettit@princeton.edu](mailto:ppettit@princeton.edu); phone: 6092584759
- Ian Shapiro, Sterling Professor of Political Science, Yale University  
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