

Global Justice

A Senior Values EP 4 Seminar
Professor Nicholas Tampio
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Class hours: Faber 668, MR 4-5:15 pm
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Course Overview

The term global justice is both ancient and a neologism. Globe derives from the Latin *globus*, meaning round mass, or sphere, and has been applied to planet earth since the sixteenth century. Justice, in ancient Greece, originally meant authoritative custom, or the traditional manner of doing things, but early on shifted to that which should be enforced by authorities in the form of law (Latin, *jus*). Global justice, then, means the moral and political laws that apply to all human beings who share the planet. The Greek Stoics and Cynics considered themselves lovers of humanity, or cosmopolitans, and today we increasingly recognize that our fates intertwine across the globe.

As a senior values and *eloquentia perfecta* seminar, this course digs deeply into the philosophical and political issues surrounding global justice. We pursue this project by engaging several profound thinkers of global justice, beginning with Immanuel Kant, whose essay on perpetual peace continues to shape modern conceptions of cosmopolitanism. Then, we consider John Rawls's vision of an overlapping consensus of decent peoples, Martha Nussbaum's defense of cultural universals, Samuel Huntington's diagnosis of a clash of civilizations, Leo Strauss's interpretation of tyranny, Tariq Ramadan's reform of Islamic ethics, and Pema Chödrön's call for practicing peace in times of war. The course thus aims to construct a Socratic dialogue about global justice between profound representatives of diverse schools of thought: Enlightenment liberalism, political liberalism, cosmopolitanism, realism, neoconservatism, Islam, and Buddhism.

Throughout, we test each author's ideas by how well they help us grasp contemporary issues of global justice, including human rights, American foreign policy, international trade agreements, war, nongovernmental organizations, media, and the Olympics. Students are encouraged to form a mental map of the world and the flows across by it by reading the *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, and other international journals and newspapers. The hope is that by weighing contending theories, in the light of world events, we may clarify our own thinking and practice of global justice.

Texts

Immanuel Kant, *Toward Perpetual Peace* (Yale) 978-0300110708
John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (Harvard) 978-0674005426

Martha Nussbaum, *Sex and Social Justice* (Oxford) 978-0195112108
Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations* (Simon & Schuster) 978-0684844411
Leo Strauss, *On Tyranny* (Chicago) 978-0226776873
Tariq Ramadan, *Radical Reform: Islamic Ethics and Liberation* (Oxford) 8-0195331714
Diego von Vacano, *The Color of Citizenship: Race, Modernity and Latin American / Hispanic Political Thought* (Oxford) 9780199368884

Course Requirements

(1) On January 30, students will submit a 5-7 page essay describing Kant's vision of global justice. Be sure to describe the preliminary articles for perpetual peace; the mechanisms for constitutional, international, and cosmopolitan right; and what guarantees perpetual peace.

(2) The midterm covers the visions of global justice advanced by Rawls, and Nussbaum, and Huntington. A week beforehand, I will distribute 6 essay questions, and on the day of the exam we will roll a die to determine 2 questions (on different authors). Well-written essays should incorporate material from the lectures, readings, presentations, and your own thoughts. You may study in groups, but the exam is close-booked. The exam is 1 hour.

(3) The final has the same format as the midterm, and is on Strauss, Ramadan, and von Vacano.

(4, 5) Students have a chance to write and present a research paper on one of the authors we discuss this semester. Early in the semester, I will assign students to a group. On student presentation days, students will turn in to me, and present to the class, a 5-7 page research paper exploring what the author would say about a current international political event or controversy.

Focus on one aspect of the author's thinking and read at least scholarly 4 books or articles on that topic. As a **senior values seminar**, I encourage students to:

- 1) Use this exercise as an opportunity for moral reflection, through thinking with and against the author on whom you are presenting. For example, do you agree with Rawls's claim that democracies should form alliances with "well-ordered hierarchical societies" such as Turkey and Egypt?
- 2) Build bridges between your Fordham academic experience and ethical dilemmas you may face after Fordham. If you are considering a career in finance, consider presenting on a global economic issue such as the rise of Islamic banking or OPEC's oil policy.
- 3) Write a research paper that serves as a capstone experience of your time at Fordham. Cite books and draw upon lessons from many of your Fordham courses. If you took courses on film or India, consider writing on, say, what Martha Nussbaum would think while viewing *Slumdog Millionaire*.

For class presentations, I recommend that you:

- Dress professionally
- Practice your talk beforehand, to yourself or with friends
- Speak from an outline
- Use Powerpoint (Please send me at least 10 minutes before class.)
- Engage the entire classroom
- Solicit questions
- Have fun! This is a chance for you to show who you are.

As an EP seminar, students may revise the paper for up to a one letter grade improvement. The deadline for the revised paper is one week after it is returned by the professor.

(6) Students will write a research paper comparing and contrasting two of the authors on the syllabus about a matter of global justice. Students should write the essay as a potential submission to the Fordham Undergraduate Research Journal. For this reason, the essay should not be longer than 4500 words (approximately 15 pages).

(7) Class participation. Students are expected to come to class on time prepared to discuss the readings.

Grade Distribution

Kant paper	10
Midterm	20
Final exam	30
Presentation paper	10
Presentation	10
Research paper contrasting 2 authors	20
Class participation	10

Class Schedule

I. Kant on Global Justice

What is global justice and how may we attain it? Can people of different moralities and religions agree on basic ethical values or are we doomed to moral and political conflict? Can states form a just and stable international order or is peace just a time to prepare for the next war? Should the U.S. intervene militarily in Pakistan, Iran, or Somalia? The first seminar raises these and related questions and lays out a plan to address them, namely, by engaging in a Socratic dialogue about global justice with seven profound thinkers.

We start with Immanuel Kant's 1795 essay, *Toward Perpetual Peace*. Kant's essay continues to shape contemporary discussions about global justice. On the one hand, its call for republican states, international federations, and principles of universal hospitality opens a vista for liberal cosmopolitanism. On the other, Kant's defense of principalities and

sovereignty is a stumbling block for liberal interventionists. In this section, we'll discuss how Kant presents and problematizes a modern conception of global justice.

1. January 13 - "Perpetual Peace," First Section (pp. 66-71)
2. January 16 - "Perpetual Peace," Second Section (pp. 72-85)
3. January 23 - "Perpetual Peace," First Supplement (pp. 85-92)
4. January 27 - "Perpetual Peace," remainder (pp. 92-109)

II. Rawls on Global Justice

In 1971, John Rawls published perhaps the most important work of liberal political philosophy in the 20th century: *A Theory of Justice*. For over two decades, international relations scholars assumed that Rawls's domestic principles—of civil rights and liberties and basic economic justice—could apply to the globe. *The Law of Peoples*, much like Kant's essay, encouraged and disappointed liberals. Rawls insists that democratic republic live up to their ideals; yet he also thinks that democracies can form alliances with well-ordered hierarchical peoples. In this section, we discuss the Kantian roots of Rawls's conception of global justice as well as its contemporary relevance.

5. January 30 - The Law of Peoples, Introduction, Part I
6. February 3 - The Law of Peoples, Part II
7. February 6 - The Law of Peoples, Parts III and IV
8. February 10 - Student Presentations

III. Nussbaum on Global Justice

Martha Nussbaum presents a capabilities-approach conception of global justice that draws heavily on Aristotle's account of basic human needs. For Nussbaum, there are universal obligations to protect human functioning and its dignity, and Western liberals should fight for these values. In this section, we'll consider how Nussbaum presents her case.

9. February 13 - Sex and Social Justice, Chapter 1
10. February 18 - Sex and Social Justice, Chapter 2
11. February 20 - Sex and Social Justice, Chapter 3
12. February 24 - Student Presentations

13. February 27 - Midterm

IV. Huntington on Global Justice

Samuel Huntington has argued that civilizations necessarily define themselves by their enemies and that "global justice" is just a tense stalemate between civilizations. In this section, we consider the philosophic and historic foundations of Huntington's thesis.

14. March 3 - The Clash of Civilizations, Preface, I

15. March 6 - The Clash of Civilizations, II, III
16. March 10 - The Clash of Civilizations, IV, V
17. March 13 - Student Presentations

V. Strauss on Global Justice

Leo Strauss's interpretation of Xenophon's dialogue, *Hiero or Tyrannicus*, presents a defense of "good" tyranny. Through the influence of Paul Wolfowitz, Strauss's student at the University of Chicago in the 1960's, Strauss's position became enshrined in neoconservative political thought and American foreign policy for the George W. Bush administration. In this section, we consider the roots and implications of Strauss's essay.

18. March 24 - On Tyranny, "Xenophon: Hiero or Tyrannicus"
19. March 27 - On Tyranny, "Leo Strauss: On Tyranny"
20. March 31 - Student Presentations

VI. Ramadan on Global Justice

Tariq Ramadan is perhaps the most famous Islamic author writing in the West today. Ramadan espouses a "Copernican revolution" in Islamic political thought that rejects the jihadist vision of Sayyid Qutb or Abul Ala Maududi. In this section, we consider how Ramadan presents an Islamic vision of global justice that seeks peace between Muslims and secularist societies.

21. April 3 - Radical Reform, Introduction, Chapters 1 and 2
22. April 7 - Radical Reform, Chapters 6, 7, 10
23. April 10 - Radical Reform, Chapter 16, Conclusion
24. April 14 - Student Presentations

VII. von Vacano on Global Justice

How do Latin American thinkers contribute to the politics of mixed-race peoples? How can Latin American thinkers help us think through the politics of immigration? In this section, we consider Diego von Vacano's arguments in *The Color of Citizenship*. In particular, we focus on his account of the Jesuit Bartolome de las Casas.

25. April 24 - *The Color of Citizenship*, Introduction
26. April 28 - *The Color of Citizenship*, Chapter 1
27. May 1 - Student Presentations

May - Final Exam