Global Justice

A Senior Values EP 4 Seminar  
Professor Nicholas Tampio  
Fordham University, POSC 4454  
Fall 2015  
Class hours: Faber 668, TF 11:30-12:45  
Office hours: Faber 665, T 4-5 and by appointment  
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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, Carol Gould’s account of interactive democracy, Samuel Huntington’s diagnosis of a clash of civilizations, Leo Strauss’s interpretation of tyranny, Sayyd Qutb’s account of social justice in Islam, and Pema Chödrön’s Buddhist account of how to make peace in a time 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, neoconservativism, Islamic political thought, and Hispanic political thought.

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  
Course Requirements

(1) On September 18, students will submit a 6-8 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; what guarantees perpetual peace; and the role of publicity in changing politics.

(2) The midterm covers the visions of global justice advanced by Kant, Rawls, and Nussbaum. 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 Huntington, Strauss, Qutb, and Chödrön.

(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) On the last day of class, turn in a research page 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

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<tr>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Weight</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kant paper</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Midterm</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final exam</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>Presentation paper</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research paper contrasting 2 authors</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Class participation</td>
<td>10</td>
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Class Schedule

1. 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? 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.
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.

7. September 25 – *The Law of Peoples*, Parts III and IV
8. September 29 – Student Presentations

III. Gould on Global Justice

How can we confront the problems of diminished democracy, pervasive economic inequality, and persistent global poverty? Is it possible to fulfill the dual aims of deepening democratic participation and achieving economic justice, not only locally but also globally? Carol C. Gould proposes an integrative and interactive approach to the core values of democracy, justice, and human rights, looking beyond traditional politics to the social conditions that would enable us to realize these aims. Her innovative philosophical framework sheds new light on social movements across borders, the prospects for empathy and solidarity with distant others, and the problem of gender inequalities in diverse cultures, and also considers new ways in which democratic deliberation can be enhanced by online networking and extended to the institutions of global governance. (from Cambridge website)

9. October 2 – *Interactive Democracy*, Chapter 1
10. October 6 – *Interactive Democracy*, Chapter 5, 8
11. October 9 – Student Presentations

12. October 13 – Midterm

13. October 16 – Carol Could will visit! *Interactive Democracy*, Chapter 9

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.

13. October 20 – *The Clash of Civilizations*, Preface, I
15. October 27 – Guest speaker: Anders Berg-Sørensen, University of Copenhagen, “Enlightenment Contested: European Public Discourses on Religion and Politics”
16. October 30 – 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.

17. November 3 – On *Tyranny*, 1-65
19. November 10 – Student Presentations

VI. Qutb on Global Justice

Sayyid Qutb is the ideological father of Islamism, the notion that Islam is a self-contained political ideology. His followers include Usama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahari, the founders of al-Qaeda.

23. November 24 – Student Presentations

VII. Chödrön on Global Justice

Pema Chödrön provides a Buddhist vision of global justice, based on each person releasing the shenpa that leads to conflict.

25. December 4 – *Practicing Peace in Times of War*, Chapters 4-6
26. December 8 – Student Presentations

Final: Tuesday, December 15, 1:30 pm