Global Justice
Senior Values Seminar
Professor Nicholas Tampio
Fordham University
Fall 2022
Class hours: Faber 668, TF 11:30 am – 12:45 pm
Office hours: TF 1-2 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 seminar, this course digs deeply into the philosophical and political issues surrounding global justice. The course stages a conversation about global justice between the following authors: Immanuel Kant, whose essay on perpetual peace continues to shape modern conceptions of cosmopolitanism; Paulina Ochoa-Espejo, who criticizes the desert island model of nation-states and proposes an alternative of the watershed model of politics; Martha Nussbaum, who defends cultural universals for the sake of everyone including historically oppressed people and draws the ire of anthropologists such as Saba Mahmood; Leo Strauss, the neoconservative who distinguishes good and bad tyrannies; Tongdong Bai, who articulates a theory of tian xia that places Confucianism at the center of global debates about global justice; Savarkar, who inspires the BJP to embrace a nationalistic Hindutva in India; and B.R. Ambedkar, who calls for international organizations to intervene in India to solve the caste problem.

Throughout, we test each author’s ideas by how well they help us grasp contemporary issues of global justice, including human rights, pandemic responses, 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.

Student learning objectives

- By the end of the semester, students should be able to successfully:
• Know about Enlightenment, post-Enlightenment, feminist, realist, neoconservative, Indian, and Chinese conceptions of global justice
• Be able to apply theories of global justice to real world problems
• Be confident discussing issues of global justice
• Write a philosophical, empirically-grounded research paper

Texts
Immanuel Kant, Toward Perpetual Peace (Yale) 978-0300110708
Paulina Ochoa Espejo, On Borders: Territories, Legitimacy, and the Rights of Place (Oxford) 9780190074203
Martha Nussbaum, Sex and Social Justice (Oxford) 978-0195112108
Samuel Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations (Simon & Schuster) 9781451628975
Leo Strauss, On Tyranny (Chicago) 978-0226776873
Tongdong Bai, Against Political Equality: The Confucian Case (Princeton) 9780691195995

Course Requirements

(1) A week beforehand the midterm, 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.

(2) The final has the same format as the midterm.

(3-4) Students will write and present a 2000-word page research paper exploring what the author would say about a current international political event or controversy.

(5) By noon on December 13, upload to Blackboard a research page paper comparing and contrasting two of the authors on the syllabus about a matter of global justice. The paper should be 4500 words and include at least 10 academic sources plus a few newspaper articles. The essay should have an introduction that describes a recent development in the world and raises a question; a section that explains how one author answers it; a section on how another author answers it; a conclusion where you share your thoughts; and a bibliography.

(6) Class participation.

Grade Distribution

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<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Weight</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Midterm</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final exam</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Presentation paper</td>
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<td>Presentation</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research paper contrasting 2 authors</td>
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An Enlightenment Conception of Global Justice

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 seminar, we’ll discuss how Kant presents and problematizes a modern conception of global justice.

1. September 2 – “Perpetual Peace,” First Section (pp. 66-71)
2. September 6 – “Perpetual Peace,” Second Section (pp. 72-85)
4. September 13 – “Perpetual Peace,” remainder (pp. 92-109)

Post-Colonial Cosmopolitanisms

Many political thinkers and actors on the left work within an Enlightenment framework of equality, liberty, justice, cosmopolitanism, and so forth. But how is it possible to take these ideals into an era when we have become cognizant of how these ideals were articulated in eras of imperialism and colonialism? In this unit, we consider Paulina Ochoa Espejo’s critique of the desert island model of territorial politics, defense of the watershed model of territorial politics, and her views on border control and sharing ecosystems.

5. September 16 – On Borders, Part I
6. September 20 – On Borders, Part II
7. September 23 – On Borders, Part III
8. September 27 – Student presentations

An Aristotelian Conception of 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.

10. October 4 – Sex and Social Justice, Women and Cultural Universals
11. October 7 – Judging other Cultures; Saba Mahmood *Politics of Piety*, “The Subject of Freedom”
12. October 11 – Student presentations
13. October 14 - Midterm exam

Realist Conceptions of 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.

14. October 18 – Clash of Civilizations, Chapter 1
15. October 21 – Clash of Civilizations, All the passages on Islam
17. October 28 – John Mearsheimer, Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West’s Fault
18. November 1 – Student Presentations
   • Please confirm with me your research paper topic and send me a bibliography of at least 10 sources on the topic.

A Neo-conservative Conception of Global Justice

Leo Strauss’s interpretation of Xenophon's dialogue, Hiero or Tyrannicus, presents a defense of benevolent 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 neconservative political thought and American foreign policy for the George W. Bush administration. In this seminar, we consider the roots and implications of Strauss’s essay.

20. November 8 – On Tyranny, Rest of On Tyranny
21. November 11 – No class. I’m at a conference.
22. November 15 – Student Presentations

A Chinese Conception of Global Justice

Chinese is a rising world power and may soon possess a military capability to challenge America, particularly in Asia. In this unit, we consider how Tongdong Bai envisions China’s role in global politics.

23. November 18 – Tongdong Bai, Against Equality, Chapter 7
   Tongdong Bai, Against Equality, Chapter 8
24. November 22 – Student presentations

An Indian Conception of Global Justice

B.R. Ambedkar was a Dalit who opposed the caste system, put the reservation system in the Indian constitution, criticized Gandhi for holding onto the varna system, had no time for Hindutva, and wanted international organizations to intervene in Indian affairs. Luis Cabrera is a political theorist who draws upon Ambedkar to envision something like a world government.
26. December 2 - BR Ambedkar, Annihilation of Caste
27. December 6 - Luis Cabrera, “Gandhiji, I Have no Homeland”: Cosmopolitan Insights from BR Ambedkar, India’s Anti-Caste Campaigner and Constitutional Architect
28. December 9 - Student presentations

December 13, noon - Upload research paper to Blackboard.

Final exam
Friday, December 16, 2022 1:30 PM