

Global Justice

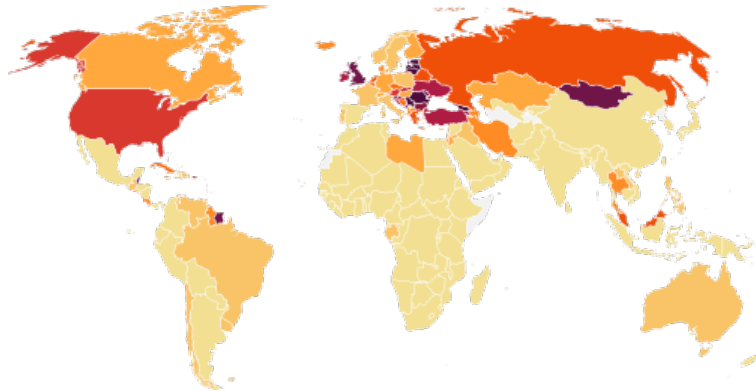
Senior Values Seminar
Professor Nicholas Tampio
Fordham University, POSC
4400

Spring 2022

Class hours: MR 10-11:15 am

Office hours: MR 1-2 pm

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Source: NYT, Tracking the Global Outbreak, Oct. 19, 2021

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. 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 how W.E.B. DuBois, Ines Valdez, and Paulina Ochoa-Espejo rethink transnational institutions to address the continuing legacy of colonialism and imperialism; Martha Nussbaum defends cultural universals for the sake of everyone including historically oppressed people; Leo Strauss distinguishes good and bad tyrannies; Tongdong Bai articulates a theory of *tian xia* that places Confucianism at the center of global debates about global justice; and Savarkar wants India to embrace a nationalistic Hindutva while B.R. Ambedkar wants 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

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

Tongdong Bai, *Against Political Equality: The Confucian Case* (Princeton) 9780691195995

B.R. Ambedkar, *Annihilation of Caste* (Verso) ISBN:9781781688328

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 May 9, send me 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

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

Class Schedule

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. January 20 – "Perpetual Peace," First Section (pp. 66-71)
2. January 24 – "Perpetual Peace," Second Section (pp. 72-85)
3. January 27 – "Perpetual Peace," First Supplement (pp. 85-92)
4. January 31 – "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? W.E.B. DuBois, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Inés Valdez show us how to recast Enlightenment concepts to think about race, borders, and transnational institutions.

5. February 3 – Paulina Ochoa Espejo, [Taking Place Seriously: Territorial Presence and the Rights of Immigrants](#) Journal of Political Philosophy, 24:1 (2016).
6. February 7 – W.E.B. DuBois, "The Souls of White Folk," "Hands of Ethiopia" in [Blackwater](#)
7. February 10 – Inés Valdez, "Du Bois and a Radical Transnationalism Cosmopolitanism" (book chapter on Blackboard); ["It's Not about Race: Good Wars, Bad Wars, and the Origins of Kant's Anti-Colonialism."](#) *American Political Science Review*, 111(4), 819-834.
8. February 14 – 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.

9. February 17 – *Sex and Social Justice*, Introduction
10. February 22 – *Sex and Social Justice*, Women and Cultural Universals
11. February 24 – Judging other Cultures; Saba Mahmood [Politics of Piety](#), "The Subject of Freedom"

12. February 28 – Student presentations

13. March 3 – Midterm exam

Civilizational 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. March 7 – *Clash of Civilizations*, Chapter 1

15. March 10 – *Clash of Civilizations*, All the passages on Islam; Edward Said, “[The Clash of Ignorance](#)”

16. March 21 – Savarkar, [Essentials of Hindutva](#)

17. March 24 – 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 neoconservative 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.

18. March 28 – *On Tyranny*, Xenophon, “Hiero or Tyrannicus,” Introduction

19. March 31 – *On Tyranny*, Rest of *On Tyranny*

20. April 4 – 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.

21. April 7 – Tongdong Bai, *Against Equality*, Chapter 7

22. April 11 – Tongdong Bai, *Against Equality*, Chapter 8

23. April 21 – 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.

24. April 25 – BR Ambedkar, Annihilation of Caste

25. April 28 – Luis Cabrera, [“Gandhiji, I Have no Homeland”: Cosmopolitan Insights from BR Ambedkar, India’s Anti-Caste Campaigner and Constitutional Architect](#)

26. May 2 – Student presentations

May 9 (noon) – Send research paper electronically

Final Exam –