

# Global Justice

Senior Values Seminar, POSC  
4400

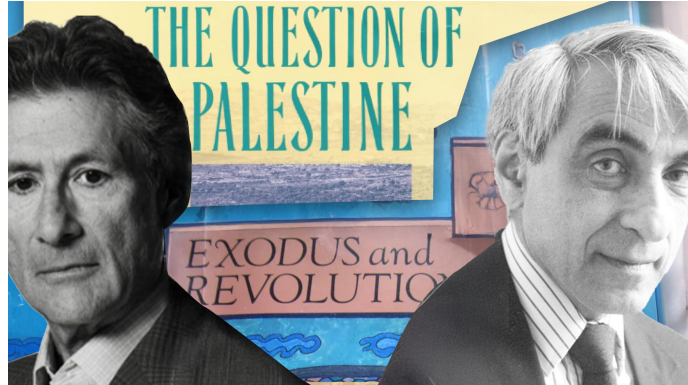
Professor Nicholas Tampio  
Fordham University

Spring 2026

Class hours: Faber 668, TF 1:00-  
2:15 pm

Office hours: Faber 678, 11:30 am-  
12:30 pm, Faber Hall 665

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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 great thinkers from competing camps. First, we start on the left side of the political spectrum with Immanuel Kant, whose essay on perpetual peace continues to shape modern conceptions of cosmopolitanism; W.E.B. DuBois who wants the Dark World (or global south) to unite to fight racism and imperialism; and 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. Then, we turn to the right side of the political spectrum and engage in a Socratic dialogue with Friedrich Hayek, the visionary of global free trade organizations, and Yoram Hazony, a theoretician of National Conservatism. We will dedicate one unit of the class to enter a debate between Michael Walzer and Edward Said, a Zionist and a Palestinian, about the Israel question. Finally, we consider Tongdong Bai's Confucian vision of civilized states collaborating on global issues and stopping the threats posed by barbarian states.

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:

- Understand Enlightenment, post-Enlightenment, feminist, neoliberal, national conservative, and Chinese conceptions of global justice
- Apply theories of global justice to real world problems
- Confidently share your views about global justice or current events
- Respectfully listen to people with whom you disagree
- Write a philosophical, empirically grounded research paper

## Texts

Immanuel Kant, *Toward Perpetual Peace* (Yale) 9780300110708

W. E. B. Du Bois, *International Thought* (Cambridge) 9781108798778

Martha Nussbaum, *Sex and Social Justice* (Oxford) 9780195112108

Yoram Hazony, *The Virtue of Nationalism* (Hachette) 9781541645370

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. The paper should cite a few newspaper articles and primary and secondary sources for the author. Please [sign up here](#).

(5) By noon on May 5, upload to Blackboard a 4500-word research page paper comparing two theoretical perspectives on a subject of global justice. See template at the end of the syllabus. Students must meet with the professor at least once during the semester to discuss the research paper.

This is a No-AI course. Students need to learn how to think and research on their own while in college. AI is a tool, but it also lets an algorithm assemble other people's words for you. I see more dangers than benefits for college students using AI.

(6) Class participation. In this seminar, we will practice **civil discourse**. I see this as encompassing two sets of principles. First, you should confidently explain what you think and feel. In this course, I have hopefully assigned one author whose vision of global justice you find compelling. The class will be better if you share your own views and make a case

for whatever side you endorse. If you are a conservative or a liberal, say what you think confidently and with reasoned arguments.

Second, you should respectfully listen to students with whom you disagree. In *On Liberty*, John Stuart Mill argued that we become more thoughtful and passionate about our position if we dialogue with people with whom we disagree. Do not be mad at people who challenge you intellectually in the class; appreciate them for making your arguments stronger.

Please note. I do not agree with all the authors on the syllabus. They disagree with each other on key points, so it is impossible to agree with all of them. But I do think that college political theory classes should help students enter the most important debates of the day.

In *On Liberty*, Mill said: “he who knows only his own side of the case, knows little of that.” That is one of the guiding principles of the seminar. You need to learn about other sides of the case for whatever position you take on an issue.

The class participation grade will be weighted equally on speaking and listening. I encourage to make at least two comments a class, one of which is a response to a fellow student.

### **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 13 – “Perpetual Peace,” First Section (pp. 66-71)
2. January 16 – No class. I will be at the Southern Political Science Association
3. January 20 – “Perpetual Peace,” Second Section (pp. 72-85)
4. January 23 – “Perpetual Peace,” First Supplement
5. January 27 – “Perpetual Peace,” Appendixes (pp. 85-109)

6. January 30 – Student presentations on Kant

### **Post-Colonial Cosmopolitanisms**

Many political thinkers and actors on the left work within an Enlightenment framework of equality, liberty, justice, and cosmopolitanism. 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 W.E.B. Du Bois’s concept of “the dark races of mankind,” his critique of Western imperialism, and his call for pan-African unity.

7. February 3 – “The Present Outlook for the Dark Races of Mankind,”

8. February 6 – The African Roots of War,” “Black Africa Tomorrow”

9. February 10 – Student presentations on DuBois

### **Transhumanist Visions of Global Order**

Jeff Bezos. Elon Musk. Bill Gates. All these figures, I would say, are transhumanists who want to reengineer human biology, replace democracy with expert-rule, and colonize other planets or the moon. The purpose of this reading is to give us an overview of transhumanism, primarily in case students want to research papers on things like space exploration, generative artificial intelligence, or cybersecurity.

10. February 13 – Duncan Bell and Apolline Taillandier, “Cosmos-Politanism: Transhumanist Visions of Global Order from the First World War to the Digital Age.” *Perspectives on Politics*, 23, no.3, September 2025:1071-1088.

### **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.

11. February 20 – *Sex and Social Justice*, Introduction

12. February 24 – *Sex and Social Justice*, Women and Cultural Universals

13. February 27 – Judging other Cultures; Saba Mahmood *Politics of Piety*, Chapter 5, “Agency, Gender, Embodiment”

14. March 3 – Student presentations on Nussbaum or Mahmood

15. March 6 – Midterm exam

### **Mont Pèlerin Conceptions of Global Justice**

After World War II, a group of European philosophers, historians, and economists met in the Swiss village of Mont Pèlerin to chart a future for Europe and the rest of the world. To its defenders, the Mont Pèlerin Society envisioned a global order that protected peace by transforming religious or ethnic passions into commercial interests. To its detractors, the MPS created and justified an international order that enabled the rich to exploit the poor. This unit will read work by and about the founder of the MPS: Friedrich Hayek.

16. March 17 – Friedrich Hayek, “The Use of Knowledge in Society”
17. March 20 – Friedrich Hayek, “The Economic Conditions of Interstate Federalism,”  
Jessica Whyte, “[How Neoliberalism Embraced Human Rights](#),” *Jacobin* (2021);  
Gareth Bloor, “[Was Hayek a One-Worlder?](#),” *Law and Liberty* (2019)
18. March 24 – Student presentations on Hayek

### **Nationalist Visions of Global Justice**

There is a divide in the Republican Party between those who favor free trade, open borders, and liberal social values, and those who favor tariffs, immigration controls, and traditional family values. This unit presents the leading theorist of the National Conservatism movement, Yoram Hazony. The first class will discuss Hazony’s critique of Kant, Woodrow Wilson, Von Mises, and European Union. The second will discuss his advocacy of the Hebrew Bible, Herder, Trump, and Israel.

19. March 27 – Yoram Hazony, *The Virtue of Nationalism*, Chapter 6. “Liberalism as Imperialism,” Chapter 21. “Immanuel Kant and the Anti-Nationalist Paradigm,” Chapter 22. “Two Lessons of Auschwitz,” Alberto Mingardi, “[Review of The Virtue of Nationalism](#),” *Cato Journal* (2018)
20. March 31 – Yoram Hazony, *The Virtue of Nationalism*, Preface; Introduction: “A Return to Nationalism,” Chapter 7. “Nationalist Alternatives to Liberalism,” Chapter 20. “The Shaming Campaigns against Israel”
21. April 7 – Student presentations on Hazony

### **The Michael Walzer-Edward Said Debate about Israel-Palestine**

Michael Walzer is a prominent liberal Zionist who used to teach at Princeton University, and Edward Said taught at Columbia University and was one of the most powerful Palestinian advocates. In this unit, we identify the strongest arguments each of them makes for their respective positions.

The article that prompted this unit is Nader Andrawos, “[The Long Shadow of the Debate Between Edward Said and Michael Walzer](#),” *New Lines Magazine* (2025).

23. April 10 – Michael Walzer’s Defense of Zionism

Michael Walzer, “What Kind of a State is a Jewish State?”

Read a few articles by Walzer about Israel or Zionism in Fathom Journal

24. April 14 - Edward Said's Critique of Zionism

Read Chapter II of *The Question of Palestine*

### **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.

25. April 17 - Tongdong Bai, *Against Equality*, Chapters 7

26. April 21 - Tongdong Bai, *Against Equality*, Chapter 8

27. April 24 - No class. I'll be at the New England Political Science Association conference.

28. April 28 - Student presentations on Tongdong Bai

Final exam - online.

Wednesday, May 6, 2026	1:30 PM	3:30 PM
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May 5, noon - Upload research paper to Blackboard.

## Template for final research paper

A catchy title and informative subtitle. E.g.: *The Problems with Pirates: How Realists and Cosmopolitans would deal with Somali Pirates in the Gulf of Aden*

I. Introduction (roughly 500 words)

- a. Hook. Find a recent news story that raises a legitimately hard question. Ideally, you'll raise a question that you have not yet answered to your satisfaction and want to think about harder.
- b. Map. Explain how the paper will address the question.

II. How the first perspective would address the question. Use catchy and informative subheadings. Each section can begin with a hook and a map (even in one paragraph). (roughly 1500 words)

III. How the second perspective would address the question. (roughly 1500 words)

IV. How would you answer the question. This is your chance to bring in more sources, perspectives, considerations. Make an argument rather than just share an opinion. (roughly 1000 words)

General advice:

- Cite 10 academic sources
- Cite 5 newspaper articles
- Take ideas from academic articles about how to structure the paper. How many paragraphs is the introduction? How does the author cite sources? What does the author do in the conclusion? Etc. Look at journals such as *Comparative Political Theory*, *Constellations*, or *Philosophy and Global Affairs* for ideas about how to write the paper.
- Use recent sources. If you consider a Kantian perspective, read recent articles on Kantian political theory and not just *Towards Perpetual Peace*.
- It's crucial to ask the right question. I'm happy to meet in person or communicate by email over formulating the right question.