

PS 347 Ethics in International Relations- Fall 2015

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Course Description:

What role do and should ethical considerations play in international relations? Answering this question empirically and normatively raises more challenges than you may think. Is there an inevitable tension between acting ethically and acting in one's self-interest? Is it utopian to think about ethical factors playing a role in international affairs? If ethics should matter, then how should ethical concerns be factored in to state and individual decision-making? Are there universal moral standards that governments should respect? Is there an "international society" to whom leaders should be accountable? What should our individual responsibility be in ensuring ethical political relations at the international level, as political leaders, members of businesses, and as individual citizens?

This course is designed to challenge you to make decisions about the role ethics should play in international affairs. We explore a handful of ethical frameworks, which can serve as launch pads for thinking about the role of ethics in international affairs. Ultimately (and beyond the course itself) the goal is to have you create for yourself a moral code of conduct to guide you as citizen of a powerful state, as a tacit supporter of war in some circumstances, and as a human living in a flawed world.

Reading Texts (available at the bookstore, but the books are readily available used on line)

1. Walzer, Michael *Just and Unjust Wars* Basic Books, 1977
2. Mark. R. Amstutz *International Ethics: Concepts, Theories and Cases in Global Politics* Fourth Edition (this is my first year using the book. I do not know how previous editions vary)

Course Assignments

Canvas is an integral part of this course. There is a Page for each week of class. This syllabus provides an overview, but the weekly Page represents the official assignment:

- ✚ **Attendance and Participation in Discussions: (10%).** Discussions will draw on the readings, and you are expected to have done the readings before class and section. You are also expected to screen the class films. Three or more unexcused absences will lead you to fail your attendance grade.
- ✚ **Film Review (15%)** The purpose of this assignment is to have you work with the different theoretical perspectives we have covered in the beginning of class. You will be asked to write 2-3 page reviews the film *Gladiator*, one from a realist and one from a liberal perspective. **Due on Canvas October 11, by 3pm.**
- ✚ **Paper on Ethics and the Use of Force: (35%)** Weeks 4-6 cover different issues related to the use of force. A central framework for this part of the class is Walzer's *Just and Unjust Wars*. This paper will be 6-8 pages assessing ethical concerns related to the US' use of force since 2000. There is flexibility in the assignment. I will post a document with further information on the assignment. **Due on Canvas October 25, by 3pm.**

✚ **Take-home exam (40%) Due December 7, 9 am.**

Policy on electronic devices (Laptops, tablets and phones). This will be a no-laptop device class. When it comes time to consult readings, you can look at the reading on a device. But note-taking should be by hand.

Policy on late papers and extensions:

Canvas will date stamp your submission, and close submissions at a pre-specified time. There will be a penalty of 1/3 grade for late papers. The penalty increases 1/3 of a grade every 24-hour increment that a paper is late. Extensions must be requested in advance of the due date, and they are granted only in exceptional and unforeseeable circumstances.

Policy Academic Integrity:

All assignments in this course are take home. I expect all work to be your own. I use “Turn It In” to test that the work is your own. Breaches in academic integrity will be severely punished.

On Reading Week and the Final Exam:

During reading week, I will hold a class during which I will answer your questions about the final exam. You may turn in the final exam to your TA before the due date.

Part I: International Ethics?

Week 1: Is There Any Such Thing as Morality in International Affairs? (September 21-25)

Monday: Introduction to Course and Logistics

[Why our children don't think there are moral facts](#), Justin McBrayer, NYT March 1, 2015

Amstutz- Morality v. Ethics, personal v. political ethics p.10-13

[ISIS enshrines a theology of rape](#), Rukmini Callimachi, New York Times August 13, 2014

[Rape in the Bible](#) at Evilbible.com

Wednesday: Morality in a Savage International State of Nature

The reading is short, but it needs to be done carefully. Please complete the worksheet that corresponds to your role in the Melian Dialogue (available under *Assignments* on Blackboard).

Last Name A-L, you are Athens

Last Name M-Z, you are Melos

[Thucydides History of the Peloponnesian War, The Melian Dialogue](#)

Hans Morgenthau “*Moral Blindness of Scientific Man*”

Reading question: Do you agree that ethics have no real role in political life—that the powerful do what they want and dress it up in ethical language? If you were a citizen of Melos, would you have wanted to fight or to concede to a battle that was hopeless from the outset?

Section: Is it better to ignore the question of ethics in international affairs?

Amstutz Case 1-1: Nato Intervention in Kosovo p 22-28

Part II: Traditions of Thought

Week 2: Realism and Liberalism: The Dominant Perspectives- How Ethics Plays a Role in International Affairs (September 28-October 2)

Monday: Classical Realism uses morality wisely

Machiavelli *The Prince* p. 56-85

Hans Morgenthau *Politics Among Nations* p. 563-65, 584-94

Niall Fergus "Power" *Foreign Policy* January/February 2003 p. 18-22

Reading question: Realist theory of ethics suggests that states following their self interest is the most ethical policy. Is this "real ethics"?

Wednesday: Liberalism believes in human rationality, cosmopolitan values, and political institutions to allow these values to shape policy

Immanuel Kant "Perpetual Peace"

Charles Lipson *Reliable Partners: How Democracies Have Made a Separate Peace* p. 1-16

Reading question: The democratic peace is real, though the reason for it may be disputed. Given this reality, do you think Kant's dream of a perpetual peace among republics is a realistic objective?

Section: Do modern day realists bridge these two perspectives?

Amstutz on "Principled Realism" and the Bush Doctrine p. 60-65

Week 3: Possibilities for International Ethics Given International Society (October 5-9)

Film Screening: Gladiator- Screen on Canvas.

Optional Sunday evening discussion with Professor Alter (Brownies provided)

Monday: If International Morality is What States Can Agree To- What Can States Agree to?

Hedley Bull *The Anarchical Society* p. 3-23 (skip discussion of Wright & Pufendorf on pgs 11-13), 46-76

Wendt, Alexander "Anarchy is what states make of it." *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2. (Spring, 1992), pp. 391-425. [Read annotated version posted on Canvas]

Reading question: What are Bull and Wendt's arguments? How does the fact that states are the key actors in IR shape international society?

Wednesday: Endeavoring Morality by Changing How States Understand International Politics

Amstutz Chapter 2: Ethics and Global Society p. 29-38

Robert Skidelsky and Vijay Joshi: "One World"? *NYRB*: March 25, 2004

Small group discussions: How, according to Rawls, can we create an ethic of global justice? Do you think this can ever work in practice? Does everyone need to agree to one Rawlsian vision of justice?

What is Singer's approach to achieving global justice?

Reading question: Was Bull too pessimistic? Is it possible to create a more just global society?

Section: How do Wendt, Bull, Rawls, Singer and Amstutz tell us to do to address global poverty?
Amstutz Case Study 2.1: Global Poverty p. 38-44
Amstutz on Ethical Decision-making p. 82- 88

After reviewing the various answers by Wendt, Bull, Rawls and Singer, does Amstutz' discussion of ethical decision-making provide a way forward?

Film Review Assignment due October 11: Submit on Canvas by 3pm.

Part III: Ethics and International Issues

1) Use of Force

Week 4: Theory of Ethics and the Use of Force (October 12-16)

Monday: Jus ad Bellum- What Types of Wars are Just in Ethics and under International Law?
Walzer, Michael *Just and Unjust Wars* p. 21-124

Wednesday: Jus in Bellum- Moral Conduct in War and the Nature of Necessity 1, 2, 3 & 4
Walzer, Michael *Just and Unjust Wars* p. 127-159, 239-263, 323-327

Film: The Fog of War: Eleven lessons from the life of Robert S. McNamara

Section: Applying these ideas

Amstutz: Case 7.1 Ethics of the Persian Gulf War p. 142-146

Weeks 5: Ethics of the Modern War (October 19-23)

Monday: Preemptive v. Preventative War + Torture and the ticking bomb scenario (TBS)
Amstutz p. 146-155

Walzer, Michael *Just and Unjust Wars*- Preface to the 4th edition plus p.196-206

"Interrogating Detainees" Excerpts from official US documents in Gutman and Thompson
Ethics and Politics: Cases and comments (2006) p. 60-71

Luban, David "Liberalism, Torture and the Ticking Bomb" in Greenberg, Karen J. Ed *The Torture Debate in America* p. 35-57, 68-74

Yuval Ginbar *Why Not Torture Terrorists?* The effects of legalizing torture p 150-156

Wednesday: Targeted Killing

Amstutz 168-174

Walzer, Michael *Just and Unjust Wars*- p.176-196

Power, Matthew "Confessions of a Drone Warrior" *GQ* March 2013.

Section: How far should we go to prevent war?

Neta Crawford "The Slippery Slope to Preventive War" in Rosenthal and Barry *Ethics and International Affairs, a Reader*.

Film: The Unknown Known

Week 6: Ethics of Foreign Intervention in the Modern Age (October 26-30)

Monday: Responsibility to Protect?

Amstutz p. 177-195 including the case on the Libya intervention

Michael Doyle "International Ethics and the Responsibility to Protect" *International Studies Review* (2011) 13, 72-84.

Alex Bellamy "Responsibility to Protect or Trojan Horse: The Crisis in Dafur and Humanitarian Intervention After Iraq" in Rosenthal and Barry *Ethics and International Affairs, a Reader*.

Wednesday: Individual Responsibility & supreme emergencies and their aftermath

Walzer, Michael *Just and Unjust Wars*- 296-303, 304-325

Graeme Wood "What Isis Really Wants" *The Atlantic*, March, 2015

Jennifer Hyndman *Managing displacement: refugees and the politics of humanitarianism* (University of Minnesota Press, 2000). Chapter 1: "Scripting Humanitarianism"

Section: You break it, you fix it. What is the US' responsibility given the post-9/11 wars?

Neta Crawford *Accountability for Killing: Moral Responsibility for Collateral Damage in America's Post 9-11 Wars*. Excerpts on "How they Die" covering Iraq & Yemen, plus chapter conclusion (p. 135-158)

Use of Force Paper due October 25

2) Human Rights

Week 7: Current Issues in Human Rights (November 2-6)

Monday: A moral imperative to protect human rights? A focus on the issue of refugees

Amstutz p. 91-109, p. 236-242

Crisis Migrants: Susan Martin, Sanjula Weerasinghe and Abbie Taylor "Setting the Scene" in *Humanitarian Crises and Migration: causes, consequences and responses* (Routledge: 2014) p. 3-27

UNHRC Special responsibility? Amy Slaughter and Jeff Crisp "A surrogate state? The role of the UNHCR in protracted refugee situations" Chapter 7 in in Gil Loescher, James Milner, Edward Newman and Gary Troeller *Protected refugee situations: Political, human rights and security implications* (United Nations Press, 2008)

Nicolas Seely ["The Last Refugee Camp"](#) *Foreign Policy* October 20, 2013.

Wednesday – Should we focus on protecting women in particular?

Lila Abu-Lughod, “Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving?” *Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others*, *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (September 2002): 783-790.
Charli Carpenter (2003). “Women and Children First’: Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991-95,” *International Organization*, 57(4): 661-94

Recommended:

Valerie M. Hudson, Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott, and Chad F. Emmett. 2008/09. “The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States.” *International Security* 33(3): 7-26 only.
Alison M. Jagger “Saving Amina” *Global Justice for Women and Intercultural Dialogue*”

Section discussion: What is the “Responsibility to Solve”?

Sexual Violence: Vickie Langohr, “[New President, Old Pattern of Sexual Violence in Egypt](#),” *Middle East Report* (July 7, 2014)
Refugees: Alexander T Aleinikoff and Stephen Poellot’s “The Responsibility to Solve: The International Community and Protracted Refugee Situations” *Virginia Journal of International Law* 54(2) 2014 p. 195-222

Plus discussion of what individuals and institutions should do to help refugees:

Amnesty International: [Four Things You can Do to Help Refugees](#)
The Guardian: Refugee Crisis: [What you can do to help?](#)
Pope Frances’ Appeal: [Every religion must do their part to help](#)

3) Distributive Justice

Week 8: Distributive Justice (November 9-13)

Monday: The problem of distributive injustice

Doyle, Michael and Furia, Peter “International Distribution” in *The Ways of War and Peace*, p. 421-452
Bull, Hedley *The Anarchical Society “Order v. Justice”* (p.77-98)
Jeffrey Sachs “The Strategic Significance of Global Inequality” *The Washington Quarterly* 24: 3 p. 187-198

Wednesday: Macro issues related to distributive justice

Amstuz p. 201-212
Mark Blyth “Introduction” “A Primer on Austerity, Debt and Morality Plays” from *Austerity: History of a Dangerous Idea* (Oxford University Press, 2013)
Anond Gopal “What Austerity Looks Like in Greece” *The New Yorker* March 31, 2015.

Extras:

Mark Blyth “[Pain in Athens: Why Greece Isn’t to Blame](#)” in *Foreign Affairs* July 7, 2015.

Week 9: The Ethics of Foreign Aid (November 16-20)

Monday: Is there a moral imperative to help those less fortunate?

Garrett Hardin “[Lifeboat Ethics](#)”
Dale Jamieson *The Journal of Ethics* Current Debates in Global Justice vol 1 (1/2)(2005), pp. 151-170

Debating Global Poverty Relief - Peter Singer v. Andrew Kuper *Ethics in International Affairs* vol. 16 no. 1 (2001)

Wednesday: Can we fix the modern approach to foreign aid?

Amstutz p. 227-233

Leif Wenar "Accountability in International Developmental Aid"

Section: The Peter Singer Approach—what do you think of it?

Part IV: Justice for the Future?

Week 10: International Criminal Justice & The Environment (November 23-25)

Monday: A Peace v. Justice trade off? Justice for whom?

Amstutz p. 255-260

Erik Patterson *Ending Wars Well: Order, Justice and Conciliation in Contemporary Post-Conflict* (Yale: 2012) Chapters 4 & 5

Wednesday: Environmental Justice and debate

We will have a debate among two sides on a contemporary topic of interest to the class. You will be assigned a side to take. We will prepare some brief and basic readings to help you and your group prepare arguments.

Why the US carries a moral obligation

Amstutz 248-255

Dale Jamieson "Adaptation, Mitigation and Justice" in Walter Sinnott-Armstrong and Richard Howarth eds *Perspectives on Climate Change: Science, Economics, Politics, Ethics* (Elsevier, 2005): 217-248

Pope Francis Statement "On Care of our Common Home" 31-43.

Questioning US obligations

Eric Posner & Cass Sunstein "Climate Change Justice" *Georgetown Law Review* (96) (2007-2008): 1565-1612.

Steven Gardiner "The Global Warming Tragedy and the Dangerous Illusion of the Kyoto Protocol" *Ethics & International Affairs*, Volume 18.1 (Winter 2004): 23-39.