

PS 347 Ethics in International Relations- Summer 2011

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Office Hours: By appointment

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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. The first third of the course examines theoretical perspectives on role of ethics in international affairs. I will then let you choose the topics for the remainder of the course.

I have adapted a lecture course for summer tutorial style, taught in the style of Oxford University.

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. Hoffmann, Stanley. *Duties Beyond Borders*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1981.
3. Course Packet (all readings denoted with a *) available as scanned documents on blackboard.

Course Assignments

✚ **Attendance, Participation, daily papers: (50%).** By 10 am each morning, please post on blackboard your 3-4 page paper about the reading, and please read each others papers. See the daily assignments for guidance. I will ask (in advance) for one of you to prepare a set of questions to discuss. I will ask the assigned person to begin by leading the discussion. This way we are sure to cover issues that matter to you. I will also have a set of issues to discuss. Please complete 7 of these papers over the course.

✚ **Gladiator Assignment (20%)** 4-6 pages, reviewing the film from a realist and liberal perspective (assignment on line)

✚ **Paper on a topic of your choosing (30%)** We will pick this together, and design the project. My preference would be to have an empirical and an ethical dimension, but I'm persuadable on this choice. The paper should be 5-8 pages.

Policy Academic Integrity:

All assignments in this course are take home. I expect all written work to be your own, but you are welcome to discuss ideas with members of the class.

Part I: International Ethics?

Week 1: Realist perspectives on ethics in international affairs (June 21-23)

Tuesday Is There Any Such Thing as Morality in International Affairs?

Paper:

Option 1: 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?

Option 2: 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? Explain your choice, assessing if ethical perspectives shape the choice at all.

Max Boot “Sparing Civilians, Buildings and Even the Enemy” from New York Times
March 30, 2003

http://www.cfr.org/publication/5766/sparing_civilians_buildings_and_even_the_enemy.html?breadcrumb=%2Fbios%2F5641%2Fmax_boot%3Fpage%3D13

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

If your last begins with W, you are Athens

Otherwise, you are Melos

Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War, The Melian Dialogue* p. 400-409

<http://www.wellesley.edu/ClassicalStudies/CLCV102/Thucydides--MelianDialogue.html>

Thursday: Realist Perspectives: Machiavelli, Morgenthau and their incarnates today

Paper topics: Reading question: Realist theory of ethics suggests that states following their self interest is the most ethical policy. Explain the realist position and then assess if this is real ethics or merely self-interested dressed up as being ethical?

* Machiavelli *The Prince* p. 56-85

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

*Hans Morgenthau “*Moral Blindness of Scientific Man*”

*Ruth W. Grant “Machiavelli and the Case for Hypocrisy” in *Hypocrisy and Integrity*
Chicago: University of Chicago Press(2007)

*Niall Ferguson “Power” *Foreign Policy* January/February 2003 p. 18-22

Week 2: Liberal & Sociological Perspectives: International ethics will be what enlightened people decide it should be (June 28-30)

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

Paper topic: Assess the validity of the following claim: “The reality of a democratic peace means that Kant’s dream of a perpetual peace among republics is actually possible. Promoting democracy is therefore an ethical foreign policy.”

*Immanuel Kant “Perpetual Peace”

*Charles Lipson *Reliable Partners: How Democracies Have Made a Separate Peace* p. 1-16, 21-30

* Mathew Krain and Marissa Edson Meyers “Democracy and Civil War: A Note on the Democratic Peace Proposition.” *International Interactions* 23 (1997)

Mansfield, Edward D.; Snyder, Jack (2002). "Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength, and War". *International Organization* 56 (2): 297–337. Read 297-309; and the conclusion.

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

Paper topic: How does the fact that states are the key actors in IR shape international society?

*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.

Hoffmann, Stanley. *Duties Beyond Borders*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1981. “Ethics and International Affairs” p. 1-44

Over the weekend, please screen the film Gladiator. The paper for Tuesday is on line- the Gladiator Summer Assignment

Part II: Applied Examples

Week 3: An Ethical Framework to think about the use of Force (July 5-7)

Tuesday: Jus ad Bellum- What Types of Wars are Just in Ethics and under International Law?

Paper topic: The Gladiator Assignment on the web

Walzer, Michael *Just and Unjust Wars* p. 21-124

Thursday: Jus in Bellum- Moral Conduct in War and the Nature of Necessity 1, 2, 3 & 4

Paper topic:

Topic 1: Is Walzer offering us a practicable framework for making ethical decisions about using force?

Topic 2: How can Walzer's justify his Supreme Emergency position (#4)? Summarize his position and then assess the argument.

Walzer, Michael *Just and Unjust Wars* p. 127-159, 239-263, 323-327

Hoffmann, Stanley. *Duties Beyond Borders*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1981. "Ethics and International Affairs" p. 45-95

A la carte:

Week 4: An obligation to help where you can?

Tuesday: The Ethics of humanitarian intervention

Paper topic: The Kosovo War was clearly illegal in that it was not authorized by the United Nations. Some claim that it was illegal but ethically required. Assess this claim.

*Wheeler, Nicolas (2000) *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* Oxford: Oxford University Press p. 242-285.

Barnett, Michael (2011) *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*" Introduction, 1-48, 212-239.

Thursday: R2P: What does a moral perspective on the responsibility to protect really entail?

Paper topic: Do you agree with Powers and Barnett that the US & UN had a moral responsibility to act with respect to Rwanda?

"Bystanders to Genocide" by Samantha Powers, *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 2001
<http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/2001/09/power.htm#>

*Barnett, Michael N. 2002. *Eyewitness to a genocide : the United Nations and Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. "The Hunt for Moral Responsibility"

*Michael Doyle "Ethics, Law and the Responsibility to Protect" Recent manuscript from the author.

Screen the Fog of War over the weekend

Week 5: Individual Assessments of Ethical Responsibility

Tuesday: The morality of people in power: What does ethics require of people in power? Two self-assessments

Robert McNamara's *The Fog of War* (a film to apologize for McNamara's actions in Vietnam)

*Guy Lawson's review of *Shake Hands with the Devil* New York Review of Books May 26, 2005.

*Romeo Dallaire's *Shake Hands with the Devil. Introduction, To Go or Stay*: If you want to skim begin of chapter to get the context, that is fine. Start closer read at p. 289, Conclusion

Thursday: Individual Choices and the Use of Force –Torture to Prevent Terrorism

Paper topic: What are the ethics of applying Walzer's notion of Supreme Emergency to the "ticking bomb" scenario. This would mean that we make torture illegal, expect the law to be violated in a 'supreme emergency' and then prosecute those who violate the law.

*"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 (fix copy)

*Brian Orend *The Morality of War* chapter 5 on Supreme Emergencies

For a website with the official memos regarding the torture debate in the US, see:

http://www.nytimes.com/ref/international/24MEMO-GUIDE.html?_r=1&oref=slogin

Week 6: Distributive Justice & Legal Justice

Tuesday: 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)

Stanley Hoffmann "Duties Beyond Borders" Chapter on Distributive Justice

*Debating Global Poverty Relief - Peter Singer v. Andrew Reprinted from *Ethics & International Affairs* 16, no. 2. 2002

*Sachs, Jeffrey "The Strategic Significance of Global Inequality" *The Washington Quarterly* • 24:3 pp. 187–198. (2001)

Thursday: The Ethics of International Law: The tension between law and justice

Franck, Thomas M. (1995). *Fairness in international law and institutions*, Oxford ; New York: Clarendon Press. Chapter 1: An Analytical Framework

Goldsmith, Jack L., and Eric A. Posner (2005). *The limits of International law*, Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press. Introduction

Bork, Robert. 1989/90. "The Limits of "International Law"." *The National Interest* Winter: 3-10.

Vinjamuri, Leslie "Deterrence, Democracy and the Pursuit of International Justice" *Ethics & International Affairs*, 24, no. 2 (2010), pp. 191–211.

Mendeloff, David "Truth-Seeking, Truth-Telling, and Postconflict Peacebuilding: Curb the Enthusiasm?" *International Studies Review* (2004) 6, 355–380