

# PS 347 Ethics in International Relations- Fall 2018

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Scott Hall 318

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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 or do matter, then how should and do ethical concerns get 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 play in international affairs. We explore a handful of ethical frameworks, which can serve as launchpads 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). All other assigned readings available on canvas. Please consult the Canvas Page for each week, as there are links and videos as well.

1. Walzer, Michael *Just and Unjust Wars* Basic Books, 1977
2. Mark. R. Amstutz *International Ethics: Concepts, Theories and Cases in Global Politics* Fifth Edition. 2018.
3. [Institute for the Study of Diplomacy Case 297: Intellectual Property Rights, Drug Access and the Doha Round](#). (this is a hyperlink to where you can buy the case)
4. [Institute for the Study of Diplomacy Case 326: Morality, Public Health and the National Interest: The President's Emergency Plans for AIDS relief](#) (this is a hyperlink to where you can buy the case)

*Do you want a course pack? I will make a coursepack available for order at Quartet Copies. You need to call ahead and order it. The coursepack will contain all the readings from scholarly books and articles (\*). Press articles will be available through hyperlink.*

## 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. Finally, I would like each of you to submit a "my hero" example of someone

whose international ethics you admire. I will be drawing on your submissions, asking for presentations at each class.

✦ **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 20, 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 November 10, by 3pm.**

✦ **Take-home exam (40%)** Due at the time of the regularly scheduled final.

## Policies:

**Canvas:** There is a page for each week, which includes links to the coursepack materials, videos and enrichment material. Please consult the Canvas page before you do the readings, think about the questions on the page, and watch the videos in advance.

**Electronic devices (Laptops, tablets and phones) & Notetaking.** Studies suggest that note-taking by hand improves comprehension and recall. For this and other reasons, ours will be a no-laptop device class. When it comes time to consult readings, you can look at the reading on a device. Meanwhile, to aid your notetaking I will make the power-points available before class, posting a Word version on the weekly class page.

### **Late papers and extensions:**

Canvas will date stamp your submission, and close submissions at a pre-specified time. Extensions must be requested in advance of the due date, and they are granted only in exceptional and unforeseeable circumstances.

### **Academic Integrity:**

All assignments in this course are take home. I expect all work to be your own. I use "Turn It In" to evaluate whether the work is your own. Breaches in academic integrity will be pursued.

### **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 before the due date.

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## Part I: International Ethics?

### Week 1: Is There Any Such Thing as Morality in International Affairs? (October 1-3)

*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.7-19

[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: What does one do if ethics or ethical behavior cannot solve the problem in front of you, or in front of your government. If ethical perspectives do not provide a ready solution, is it better to ignore the question of ethics in international affairs? What are the risks and consequences of ignoring ethics?

Amstutz Case 1-1: The Syrian Civil War p 19-22

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## Part II: Traditions of Thought

### **Week 2: Realism and Liberalism: The Dominant Perspectives- How Ethics Does or Does Not Play a Role in International Affairs (October 8-10)**

*Monday: Classical Realism uses morality wisely*

\*Machiavelli *The Prince* p. 56-85

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

\*Niall Ferguson "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" (a reading guide is available on Canvas)

\*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? What is the ethical case for nuclear deterrence. Does the case for nuclear deterrence provide a realist ethics? Considering the ethics of nuclear deterrence, what do you think about North Korea's nuclear weapons program?

Amstutz on "Principled Realism" and the Bush Doctrine p. 69-72. [4<sup>th</sup> edition 60-65]

**Film Screening: Gladiator- Screen on Canvas. If there is interest, I will schedule a screening at the Mitchel Multimedia Lab for Friday evening. Optional Sunday evening October 13 discussion with Professor Alter (Brownies provided)**

### **Week 3: Possibilities for International Ethics Given International Society (October 15-17)**

*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 (on Canvas)

\*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. 23-39 [4<sup>th</sup> edition p. 29-38]

\*[Robert Skidelsky and Vijay Joshi: "One World"? NYRB: March 25, 2004](#)

Migration: Amstutz Individuals and the International Community 29-39

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

Reading question: What would it take to create a more just global society? 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?

Section: "America First" is a realist policy, yet one could justify ameliorating poverty in realist or justice terms. How do Wendt, Bull, Rawls, Singer and Amstutz tell us to do to address global poverty? Does it matter what arguments are used if the end goal is that poverty is addressed? After reviewing the various answers by Wendt, Bull, Rawls and Singer, does Amstutz' discussion of ethical decision-making provide a way forward?

Amstutz on Ethical Decision-making p. 85- 89 [4<sup>th</sup> edition p. 82- 88]

Amstutz Case Study 11.1: Global Poverty p. 197-202 [4<sup>th</sup> edition p. 38-44]

## **Part III: Ethics and International Issues**

### **1) Use of Force**

#### **Week 4: Theory of Ethics and the Use of Force (October 22-24)**

*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 [Reading guide on Canvas]

Amstutz 'Pursuing Justice, the Problem of Unanticipated Consequences' p. 51-55 [4th edition p. 146-155]

\*International law regarding the use of force

*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: consider these 2 wars in Iraq. How were the ethical justifications different? Does this difference matter to you? Do you think it mattered in the aftermaths of the war?

Amstutz p. 119-120 (on Combatting Aggression) [4th edition p. 146-155]

Amstutz: Case 3.2 Regime Change in Iraq p. 51-55 [4th edition p. 150-54]

Amstutz Case 7.2: The 1991 Persian Gulf War p. 124-127 [4th edition p. 142-146]

#### **Weeks 5: Ethics of the Modern War (October 29-31)**

*Monday: Torture and the ticking bomb scenario (TBS)*

Amstutz p. Chapter 8 on the Ethics of Irregular War—For Monday p. 129-138 [4th edition 157-168]

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 Chapter 8 continued: Targeted Killing 138-144 [4th edition 168-175]

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 (November 5-7)

Monday: *Responsibility to Protect?*

Amstutz Chapter 9 p. 153-156, 158-195 including the case on the Libya intervention [4<sup>th</sup> edition p. 177-195]

\*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: *How are different people obligated?*

\*Hoffmann, Stanley *Duties Beyond Borders- "Citizens & the Morality of War"* (p. 85- 94) & *An Ethics of World Order* p. 189-232). *This reading is quite old. Wherever he says "Soviet" think Russia and China.*

\*Reading on Israeli Solders

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

\*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)

Section: *A sliding scale of responsibility*

Discuss what you think the individual responsibility is of

- a voter
- the Congressman who tacitly or explicitly endorses policies that lets Blackwater hire ex military and gives mercenary forces immunity
- A secretary of Defense (Donald Rumsfeld & Robert MacNamara)
- The President of the United States
- John Stewart's argument about whether we should hold leaders like Donald Rumsfeld accountable.

**Use of Force Paper due on Canvas November 10: 1 pm**

## 2) Human Rights

### Week 7: Current Issues in Human Rights (November 12-14)

Monday: *Intro to Human Rights and Should we focus on protecting women in particular?*

Amstutz p. 93—107 [4<sup>th</sup> edition p. 91-109]

(on Canvas only) World Bank's 2012 Report on Gender Equality and Development- Report Overview

\*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 (on Canvas only):

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"

*Wednesday – A moral imperative to protect human rights? A focus on the issue of refugees.*

Guest Lecturer: Galya Ben-Arieh [The readings are in flux, and thus not in the coursepack]

Amstutz p. 34-38 [4<sup>th</sup> edition 236-242, but the case study is different. 4<sup>th</sup> edition focuses on US policy; 5<sup>th</sup> edition on the European refugee crisis]

\*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

\*Heaven Crawley (2017) Ensuring the Respect for rights in the provision of refugee protection and assistance," Summary of an expert meeting held at UNHCR, Geneva  
*Skim proposals for global compacts for refugees and migrants, on Canvas*

*Section discussion: What is the "Responsibility to Solve"?*

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

Melissa Flemming: [Eight Practical Ways to Help Refugees Ideas.Ted.Com](#)

The Guardian: Refugee Crisis: [What you can do to help?](#)

Pope Frances' Appeal: [Every religion must do their part to help](#) *The Guardian* September 6, 2015

### 3) Distributive Justice

#### **Week 8: Distributive Justice (November 19-21)**

*Monday: The problem of distributive injustice- Framing & Structural issues*

Thomas Pogge "Are We Violating the Human Right of the World Poor?" *Yale Human Rights and Development Law Journal* 14(2) p. 1-33

Jeffrey Sachs "The Strategic Significance of Global Inequality" *The Washington Quarterly* 24: 3 p. 187-198

John Rawls *The Law of Peoples* on Distributive Justice among Peoples (§16. p. 113-120)

*Wednesday: Intellectual Property: A moment where decisions are made*

*These 2 case studies investigate the trade off between structural change and a tailored program to address one particular moral challenge. Cases are available for purchase [here](#).*

Institute for the Study of Diplomacy [Case 297: Intellectual Property Rights, Drug Access and the Doha Round.](#)

Institute for the Study of Diplomacy [Case 326: Morality, Public Health and the National Interest: The President's Emergency Plans for AIDS relief](#)

*The Fall term has 9 rather than 10 weeks. The class will be able to choose whether we address Foreign Aid, or criminal justice/the environment. I might adjust readings after we choose.*

## **I AM WAITING FOR YOUR CHOICE TO FINALIZE THE REST OF THE SYLLABUS**

### **Choice A for Week 9: The Ethics of Foreign Aid (November 26-28)**

*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"

Thomas Pogge "Eradicating Systemic Poverty: brief for a global resources dividend"  
*Journal of Human Development* 2(1) 2001: 59-76.

Debt for nature swap case study?

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

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## **Part IV: Justice for the Future?**

### **Choice B for Week 9: International Criminal Justice & The Environment (November 26-28)**

*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.

The morality of green-house emissions:

Oslo Principles on Global Climate Change Obligations

<http://globaljustice.macmillan.yale.edu/news/oslo-principles-global-climate-change-obligations>

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

**Final Exam: Take Home: Due on Canvas at the time of the regularly scheduled exam**