

THE ETHICAL DIMENSION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Political Science UN3961 (Section 003)

Fall 2016

[STUDENTS: PLEASE BE AWARE THAT THIS IS A CONDENSED VERSION OF THE SYLLABUS DESIGNED MERELY TO PROVIDE YOU BASIC INFORMATION ABOUT THIS COURSE. A DETAILED VERSION WILL BE DISTRIBUTED DURING THE FIRST CLASS SESSION. WE MEET IN 1219 IAB, WEDNESDAYS, 2:10-4 PM.]

Professor Rajan Menon
Email address: rm2758@columbia.edu

Textbooks to be Purchased (available in paperback at Book Culture)

Duncan Bell, ed., *Ethics and World Politics* (Oxford University Press)
Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* 5th edition (Basic Books, 2014)
Martha Nussbaum, *For Love of Country* (Beacon Press, 2002)

Supplementary Readings

See the “Topics and Schedule” section below. You will be required to read the articles that I assign weekly from the supplementary list following each topic. They will be posted on Courseworks but most can also be obtained through the electronic journals database of Columbia’s library.

A Synopsis of the Course

This course examines the intersection of ethics and world politics. World politics covers considerable ground, ranging from theories of state behavior to war and political economy. Standard courses on international relations consider issues of ethics and morality briefly, if at all. This one, by contrast, confronts them head on—and by drawing on various disciplines: political science, history, law, economics, philosophy and ethics, and religion studies. It is therefore explicitly interdisciplinary in orientation.

At the beginning of each class session, I will provide an introduction to the topic to set the context and to summarize some of the major controversies that we will discuss in that particular session. But this is not a standard lecture course. We will be spending much of our time analyzing and discussing the readings, and each of you is expected to play an active role.

Course Requirements

1) *Completion of Readings*: You must complete all of the required readings assigned for each session; multiple meetings have been allotted for the topics, and I will tell you in advance which readings to cover for a particular class. There are plenty of pages to contend with, so waiting till the night before class to start your reading is a foolish strategy: you will put needless pressure on yourself, will not get as much out of the course as you should, and will probably not do very well in it either.

2) *Preparing Discussions Questions*: You are required to contribute at least one discussion question for each class session. Please write them out. Specify the question and identify the readings that prompted

you to pose it. Be prepared to explain why you believe it merits discussion in class. Don't just dash off something in haste. Prepare your question as if it were a mini essay and address the following points: Why and how is your question important to the issues we are covering that day? Is it relevant to an important point contained in the readings—or something that the readings fail to raise? Does it consider the practical implications of the author's argument? Does it bring to light points that you find difficult, persuasive, or unpersuasive? How will your question promote class discussion?

3) *Attendance and Participation*: Barring exceptional circumstances you must attend all class sessions and arrive on time. I will take your attendance record into account when assigning your grade for class participation. If you miss more than three class sessions without a legitimate, documented excuse you will get a D for participation. Class participation will account for 15 percent of your total grade.

3) *Tests and Research Paper*: These will account for the rest of your grade. You will be required to submit a written proposal and to meet with me to discuss it before starting your paper.

Topics and Schedule

Introduction to the Course

(First class session: September 7, Room 1219, IAB)

I. War: Can It Be Just?

Bell, Ch. 5 and 16; Walzer, pp. 51-85, 109-196, 207-283

Hedley Bull, "Recapturing the Just War for Political Theory," *World Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (July 1979)

James M. Dubik, "Human Rights, Command Responsibility, and Walzer's Just War Theory," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Autumn 1980)

Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Reflections on War and Political Discourse: Realism, Just War and Feminism in a Nuclear Age," *Political Theory*, Vol. 13, 1 (February 1985)

J. Bryan Hehir, "Just War Theory in a Post-Cold War Age," *Journal of Religious Ethics*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Fall 1992)

David Hendrickson, "In Defense of Realism: A Commentary on Just and Unjust Wars," *Ethics and International Affairs* (1997)

Richard Hull, "Deconstructing the Doctrine of Double Effect," *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (June 2000)

Lawrence Masek, "All's Not Fair in War: How Kant's Just War Theory Refutes Realism," *Public Affairs Quarterly* (April 2002)

Jeff McMahan, "The Ethics of Killing in War," *Ethics*, Vol. 114, No. 4 (July 2004)

R.J. Meyers, "Notes on Just War Theory: Whose Justice, Which Wars?" *Ethics and International Affairs* (1996)

David S. Oderberg, "The Doctrine of Double Effect"

Brian Orend, "Kant's Just War Theory," *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (April 1999)

Brian Orend, "Just and Lawful Conduct in War: Reflections on Michael Walzer," *Law and Philosophy*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (January 2001)

Laura Sjoberg, "Why Just War Theory Needs Feminism Now More than Ever," *International Politics*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (January 2008)

Warren Quinn, "Actions, Intentions and Consequences: The Doctrine of the Double Effect," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1989)

Michael Walzer, "The Triumph of Just War Theory—and the dangers of success—International Justice, War Crimes, and the US Record," *Social Research* (2002),
http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2267/is_4_69/ai_97756584/?tag=content;coll

Donald A. Wells, "How Much Can 'The Just War' Justify?" *Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 66, No. 23 (December 1969)

II. Pacifism and Religious Perspectives on War

Bell, Ch. 17

James Childress, "Reinhold Niebuhr's Critique of Pacifism," *Review of Politics*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (October 1974)

Sohail Hashmi, "Interpreting the Islamic Ethics of War and Peace" (book chapter)—PDF

Robert Johansen, "Radical Islam and Non-Violence: a Case Study of Religious Empowerment Among the Pashtuns," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (February 1997)

Robert E. Klitgard, "Gandhi's Non-Violence as a Tactic," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1971)

Lucinda Peach, "An Alternative to Pacifism? Feminism and Just War Theory," *Hypatia*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Spring 1994)

Jan Narveson, "Pacifism: A Philosophical Analysis," *Ethics*, Vol. 75, No. 4 (July 1965)

George Orwell, "Reflections on Gandhi" (1949)—PDF

Keith Pavlischek, "Reinhold Niebuhr, Christian Realism, and Just War Theory: A Critique" (book chapter)

Gene Sharp, "Meanings of Non-Violence: A Typology (Revised)," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 3, No.1 (March 1959)

Michael Walzer, "War and Peace in the Jewish Tradition," in Terry Nardin, ed., *Ethics of War and Peace* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998)

John Howard Yoder, "'What Would You Do If...?'" An Exercise in Situational Ethics," *Journal of Religious Ethics*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Fall 1974)

John Howard Yoder, "How Many Ways Are There to Think Morally About War?" *Journal of Law and Religion*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1994-1995)

III. Terrorism, Preventive War, and Torture: What's Permissible?

Bell, Ch. 19 and 20

Vincent Bufacchi and Jean Maria Arrigo, "Torture, Terrorism, and the State: A Refutation of the Ticking Time Bomb Argument," *Journal of Applied Philosophy* (2006)

David Cole, "What to Do About the Torturers," *New York Review of Books* (January 15, 2009), <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2009/jan/15/what-to-do-about-the-torturers/>

Neta Crawford, "Just War Theory and the US Counter Terror War," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (March 2003)

Neta Crawford, "The Slippery Slope to Preventive War," Vol. 17, No. 1 *Ethics and International Affairs* (2003)

Barry Gewen, "The Gray Zone: Defining Torture," *World Affairs* (May-June 2010), <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/articles/2010-MayJune/full-Gewen-MJ-2010.html>

Stanley Hauerwas, "September 11, 2001: A Pacifist Response," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 101, No. 2 (Spring 2002)

Sam Harris, "In Defense of Torture," *Huffington Post* (October 17 2005), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sam-harris/in-defense-of-torture_b_8993.html

David Hope, "Torture," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (October 2004)

David Luban, "Preventive War," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Summer, 2004)

Steven Lukes, "Liberal Democratic Torture," *British Journal of Political Science* (January 2006)

Sumner Twiss, "Torture, Justification, and Human Rights: Toward an Absolute Proscription," *Human Rights Quarterly* (May 2007)

IV. The Ethics of Drone Warfare

Robert Barnidge, "A Qualified Defense of American Drone Attacks in Northwest Pakistan under International Humanitarian Law," *Boston University International Law Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 409 (May 2012)

Daniel Brunstetter and Megan Braun, "The Implications of Drones on the Just War Tradition," *Ethics and International Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (September 2011)

Daniel Brunstetter, "Can We Wage a Just Drone War?" *The Atlantic*, July 19, 2012, <http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2012/07/can-we-wage-a-just-drone-war/260055/>

Columbia Law School, Human Rights Institute, "The Civilian Impact of Drone Strikes: Unexamined Costs, Unanswered Questions" (2012)—PDF

Columbia Law School, Human Rights Clinic, "Counting Drone Strike Deaths" (2012)—PDF

David Luban, "What Would Augustine Do? The President, Drones, and Just War Theory," *Boston Review*, June 6, 2012, <https://www.bostonreview.net/david-luban-the-president-drones-augustine-just-war-theory>

Scott Shane, “The Moral Case for Drones,” *New York Times*, July 14, 2012, available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/15/sunday-review/the-moral-case-for-drones.html>.

New York Times, September 25, 2012, “Do Drone Attacks Do More Harm Than Good?” <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/09/25/do-drone-attacks-do-more-harm-than-good/> [Be sure to read the pieces by all six contributors.]

Michah Zenko, “Reforming US Drone Strike Policies,” Report No. 65, Council on Foreign Relations (January 2013)—PDF

V. Poverty and Obligation: What is Owed, To Whom, and Why?

Bell, Ch. 6 and 14

Thomas Pogge, “World Poverty and Human Rights,” *Ethics and International Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (2005)

Joshua Cohen, “Philosophy, Social Science, and Global Poverty,” in Alison Jaggar, ed., *Thomas Pogge and His Critics* (Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2010)—PDF [Recommended reading: Pogge’s response, which is in the same PDF file.]

Peter Dale Jamieson, “Duties to the Distant: Aid, Assistance, and Intervention in the Developing World,” *Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 9, Nos. 1&2 (2005)

David Miller, “Against Global Egalitarianism,” *Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 9, Nos. 1&2 (2005)

Jan Narveson, “Feeding the Hungry”—PDF

Jan Narveson, “Is World Poverty a Moral Problem for the Wealthy?” *Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (2004) [A critique of Larry Temkin’s article, listed below.]

Mathias Risse, “Do We Owe the Global Poor Assistance or Rectification?”—PDF

Mathias Risse, “What We Owe the Global Poor,” *Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 9, Nos. 1&2 (2005)

Peter Singer, “Famine, Affluence, and Morality,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Spring 1972)

Larry S. Temkin, “Thinking About the Needy, Justice, and International Organizations,” *Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (2004)

VI. Cosmopolitanism and Global Citizenship

Bell, Chs. 7 and 8 and Nussbaum (entire book)

Richard Arneson, “Do Patriotic Ties Limit Global Justice Duties?” *Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 9, Nos. 1&2 (2005)

Charles Beitz, “Cosmopolitanism and Global Justice,” *Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 9, Nos. 1&2 (2005)

Omar Dahbour, “Three Models of Global Community,” *Journal of Ethics*, 9, Nos. 1&2 (2005)

Pratap Bhanu Mehta, “Cosmopolitanism and the Circle of Reason,” *Political Theory*, Vol. 28, No. 5 (October 2000)

Thomas Nagel, “The Problem of Global Justice,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 33, No. 5 (March

2005)

Thomas Pangle, "Socratic Cosmopolitanism: Cicero's Critique and the Transformation of the Stoic Ideal," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (June 1998)

Jeremy Waldron, "Who is My Neighbor?" *Monist*, Vol. 86, No. 3 (2003)

VII. Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention

Bell, Chs. 13 and 18, Walzer, 86-108.

Charles Beitz, "Human Rights As a Common Concern," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 95 (2001)

Jack Donnelly, "Human Rights and Human Dignity: An Analytical Critique of Non-Western Conceptions of Human Rights," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (June 1982)

David Kennedy, *The Dark Side of Virtue* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), Preface

Eric Posner, "The Case Against Human Rights," *Guardian*, December 4, 2014
<http://www.theguardian.com/news/2014/dec/04/-sp-case-against-human-rights>.

Stephen Hopgood, "The Endtimes of Human Rights," in Doutje Lettinger and Lars van Troost, eds., *Debating the Endtimes of Human Rights* (Amsterdam: Amnesty International, 2014).

Samuel Moyn, *Human Rights and Human History* (London: Verso, 2014), selections TBA.

Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, "The Responsibility to Protect," *Foreign Affairs* 81 (November/December 2002)

Terry Nardin, "The Moral Basis of Humanitarian Intervention," *Ethics and International Affairs*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring 2002)

Rajan Menon, *The Conceit of Humanitarian Intervention* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Rajan Menon, "R2P: It's Fatally Flawed," *American Interest*, Vol. 8, No. 6 (July/August 2013)

Anne Marie Slaughter, "Syrian Intervention is Justifiable and Just," *Washington Post*, June 8, 2012, available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/syrian-intervention-is-justifiable-and-just/2012/06/08/gJQARHGjOV_story.html

Henry Kissinger, "Syrian Intervention Risks Upsetting Global Order," *Washington Post*, June 1, 2012, available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/syrian-intervention-risks-upsetting-global-order/2012/06/01/gJQA9fGr7U_story.html