

**Political Science 303: Topics in International Politics
Ethics and International Relations**

Fall 2017

Glatfelter Hall, Room 001

Tuesdays and Thursdays: 2:35pm - 3:50pm

Instructor: Michael Newell

Office: Glatfelter Hall Room 318

Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays 1:30 – 2:30

You may drop in for office hours, but, if possible, please try to email ahead with an explanation of what you would like to discuss and when you plan to visit. Additional office hours may be scheduled by appointment if necessary. Please email me if you would like to meet but cannot attend my regularly scheduled hours. However, I am available only on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

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Course Description

Scholars who study political ethics analyze how governments provide justice, liberty, security and equality. International affairs, however, are anarchical, without a single, authoritative government, which has led some of the most influential theories of International Relations to suggest that states should instead pursue their own self-interest and avoid ethical entanglements. To what extent can we have ethical international relations? We will address this question in this course through conversations about warfare and humanitarian intervention, international inequality, closed versus open border migration policies, terrorism and the legitimacy of revolutions, and the moral standing of the state.

Requirements

50 Points: Exams

15 Points: Mid-term exam on October 5th

15 Points: Mid-term exam on November 9th

20 Points: Final Exam on Monday, December 11, 2017 from 1:30pm to 4:30pm

Each exam will be a mixture of short answer and long essay questions. These questions will ask you to explain concepts we discussed in the course, to apply the arguments or ideas of authors we read, or to make an argument of your own about an idea or event we discussed. These exams are open note, and you have the option to use a laptop to write your exams (you will upload them to moodle by the end of the exam period). However, because they are open note, it will be expected that your answers are rich in detail.

20 Points: Papers

10 Points: First paper due September 29th at 5pm via moodle

First paper prompt: Should ethics in international relations follow universal rules or considerations of prudential self-interest?

10 Points: Second paper due November 17th at 5pm via moodle

Second paper prompt: Should the United States commit to a larger military intervention in Syria?

Instructions:

Both papers should be three pages, 1.5 spacing, 12 pt. font, 1" margins, as a MS Word file, and uploaded to moodle before the due date and time. Papers should be approximately 1,200 words.

20 Points: Participation and Attendance

Participation grade breakdown:

Full credit: Attentive throughout class, consistent contributions to discussions, often directly referencing specific arguments or ideas from course readings, engaging with your peers' ideas in a thoughtful and respectful manner.

High partial credit: Attentive throughout class, some contributions to discussions, infrequent or overly general references to the readings, engaging with your peers' ideas in a thoughtful and respectful manner.

Low partial credit: Attentive for most of class, few or no contributions to discussions, little or no references to the readings or recognition of peers' ideas.

Failing participation grade: Absent, or inattentive in class, no contributions to discussion, violations of classroom policies (i.e. technology), disrespectful towards others' ideas, being disruptive.

Attendance:

Each student has three excused absences. Each absence beyond this will result in a two point penalty on your participation grade. Additional excused absences will be given for documented illness—a doctor's note must be provided to the instructor for each absence—and for religious observance requests. You must email me at least one week ahead of time for an excused absence for religious observance. Students with excused absences may be asked to complete in-class work they miss. There are **no excused absences for the final exam.**

10 Points: Film and Book Reviews (Fourth Hour Requirement)

You are expected to watch one film and read one book and write a two page review for each of these (worth 5 points each, 1.5 spacing, 12 pt font, 1" margins, MS word file, uploaded to moodle) that analyzes the content using concepts and ideas from this class. A list of films and books is provided at the end of this syllabus. I will pass around a sign-up sheet in class on September 5th to determine when each of your papers is due.

Grading

“A range” indicates an outstanding performance in which there has been distinguished achievement in all aspects of the course.

A: 93-100

A-: 90-92

“B range” indicates a good performance in which there has been a high level of achievement in some aspects of the course.

B+: 87-89 points

B: 83-86

B-: 80-82

“C range” indicates an adequate performance in which a basic understanding of the subject has been demonstrated.

C+: 77-79 points

C: 73-76

C-: 70-72

“D range” indicates a minimal performance in which despite recognizable deficiencies there is enough to merit credit. D: 60-69

Reading

All readings listed in the course outline portion of this syllabus are to be completed on or before the day of class they are listed under.

Many readings can be found in the course textbook: *International Ethics: Concepts, Theories, and Cases in Global Politics* by Mark Amstutz, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2013, Fourth Edition. This textbook is available for purchase at the College bookstore.

All other readings for this class will be available via the course Moodle site. Any readings not on Moodle can be accessed through the URL provided on this syllabus.

Late Work Policy

Assignments will accrue a 1/3 letter grade penalty (i.e. A to A-) for each day that they are late.

Technology Policy

Use of laptops and tablets is permitted for the purposes of note taking or exam writing only. All other technology is prohibited, and I may ask that laptops and tablets be put away during discussions. Using laptops and tablets for anything other than taking notes will lead to a failing participation grade.

Academic Honesty

Consistent with the Gettysburg College Honor Code, “students must submit work that is the fruit of their own study and labor, acknowledge assistance, words, and ideas they use in their work, and be honest will all members of the community involved in supporting their education” (Honor Code Summary, p. 1). Please be sure to read the Honor Code in its entirety; it is your responsibility to be familiar with and abide by both the rule and spirit of this code.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

Students with learning or physical issues which may affect performance in the course should come and see me as soon as possible. Bring your Individual Educational Accommodation Plan with you and we will discuss what are reasonable accommodations given the structure and content of the course. You must have an IEAP to receive accommodation in this course.

Religious Observances

Gettysburg College is fully committed to diversity, equity, and inclusion. If they choose, all students, faculty, administrators, and support staff have the right to engage in essential practices of their faith while minimizing conflict with work, academic or athletic requirements. Students who wish to observe religious holy days are encouraged to discuss with me in advance. We can make appropriate arrangements so that you may make up missed work. As soon as possible but no later than the end of the drop/add period, each student has the responsibility to inform me about religious observances that are likely to conflict directly with academic, campus, or other required extracurricular activities. Once the Religious Observance Accommodation Form has been submitted, the student and faculty member, coach, or supervisor must converse and agree upon what would constitute a reasonable accommodation (i.e., missing a class, extending an assignment deadline, rescheduling an exam or assignment without penalty, etc.) for holidays (examples could include Good Friday, Yom Kippur, Eid al Adha, etc.).

Course Schedule

Week	Date	Topic	Readings and Assignments
<i>Unit I: Introduction to Ethics</i>			
1	Tue, 8/29	Course Introduction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Syllabus overview 	
	Thu, 8/31	Introduction to Ethics <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are ethics? What does it mean to act ethically? • What does it mean to be morally, legally or prudentially ‘right’? 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Morality and Foreign Policy,” Chapter 1 of <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz (pages 9-22 only)
2	Tue, 9/5	Ethical traditions and decisions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deontology, Utilitarianism, Virtue 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Strategies of Ethical Decision Making,” Chapter 4 of <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz • Jim and the Indians (moodle)
	Thu, 9/7	Morality within anarchic international relations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can morality be protected without hierarchical governance? 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The Melian Dialogue” (moodle) • “The Role of Ethical Traditions,” Chapter 3 of <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz
3	Tue, 9/12	The State <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the moral standing of the state? • Are states necessary for the facilitation of ethical decision-making? • What state structures are better suited to ethical decision-making? 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • William Reno, “Congo: From State Collapse to ‘absolutism,’ to state failure” <i>Third World Quarterly</i>, vol. 27, 2006 (moodle) • Siba Grovogui, “Regimes of Sovereignty: International Morality and the African Condition” <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> 2002 (moodle)
	Thu, 9/14	Cosmopolitanism, Communitarianism or Cultural Relativism? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do we share a moral universe? • Are global values universalist or differentiated by cultural pluralism? 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Ethics and Global Society,” Chapter 2 of <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz (pages 29-38 only) • “Human Rights and Asian Values” by Amartya Sen (moodle) • “Culture is Destiny; A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew” (moodle)

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Unit II: Ethics in Perspectives on International Relations</i></p>			
4	Tue, 9/19	<p>Classical Realism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How should state leaders behave in international relations? 	<p>Readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Excerpts from <i>Leviathan</i> by Thomas Hobbes: chapters XIII, XIV, XV (https://socserv2.socsci.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/hobbes/Leviathan.pdf) Excerpts from <i>The Prince</i> by Machiavelli: chapters XV, XVI, XVII, and XVIII (http://www.constitution.org/mac/prince.pdf)
	Thu, 9/21	<p>Classical Realism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is the protection of their state's self-interest an ethical foreign policy choice for leaders? Examining Donald Trump's speech on Afghanistan strategy (from Aug. 21, 2017) 	<p>Readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Morality and Foreign Policy" by George F. Kennan in <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (https://www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/5139-kennanmoralityandforeignpolicyforeignaffairswinter) Terry Nardin, "Middle Ground Ethics: Can One Be Politically Realistic Without Being a Political Realist?", <i>Ethics & International Affairs</i>, vol.25, n.1, March 2011, pp. 7-16 (moodle)
5	Tue, 9/26	<p>Kantian Liberalism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do liberal, democratic values transcend self-interest? Should international relations be governed by rules or interests? 	<p>Readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Perpetual Peace</i> by Kant (available at https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm) "Why a League of Democracies Will Not Work" by Stephen Schlesinger, <i>Ethics & International Affairs</i>, vol. 23, n. 1, spring 2009, pp. 13-18 (moodle)
	Thu, 9/28	<p>Post-Colonialism and Feminism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Critiquing the state-centric approach to ethical decision-making in international relations 	<p>Readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Robinson, Fiona. "Globalizing Care: Ethics, Feminist Theory and International Relations," <i>Alternatives</i> 22:1 (1997): 113-133 (moodle) Rosa Vasilaki, "Provincialising IR? Deadlocks and Prospects in Post-Western IR Theory" <i>Millennium—Journal of International Studies</i>, vol. 41, 2012 (moodle) <p>Assignments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paper 1 due 9/29 at 5pm (moodle)
	Tue, 10/3	<p>Discussion of Perspectives on International Relations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Should IR focus on states or individuals? 	<p>Readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Suhrke, Astri "Human Security and the Interests of States" <i>Security Dialogue</i> vol. 30, no. 3, 1999 (moodle)
	Thu, 10/5	Mid-Term Exam	

Unit III: Critical Ethical Debates in International Security			
7	Tue, 10/10	Reading Day	
	Thu, 10/12	Jus ad bellum—Just War Theory <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When is the resort to war ethical? 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The Ethics of War” chapter 7 in <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz • Chapter 2 “The Crime of War” from Walzer <i>Just and Unjust Wars</i> (moodle)
8	Tue, 10/17	Jus in bello—ethical constraints within war <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are allowable forms of violence within the context of war? 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Richard Price, “Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines” <i>International Organization</i> 1998 (moodle)
	Thu, 10/19	Jus post bellum—Transitional Justice and Political Reconciliation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How should peace and justice be balanced after conflict? 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The Ethics of Political Reconciliation” chapter 6 in <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz • Bronwyn Anne Leebaw, “The Irreconcilable Goals of Transitional Justice” <i>Human Rights Quarterly</i>, 2008, 25 pp. (moodle)
9	Tue, 10/24	Foreign Intervention <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Should states’ have absolute sovereignty, or should sovereignty be conditional upon states’ treatment of their citizens? 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excerpts from “Notes on Intervention” by John Stuart Mill (moodle) • “The Ethics of Foreign Intervention” chapter 9 in <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz • Sections on mass murder, genocide and Rwanda in <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz (pages 107 – 111) • Sections on economic sanctions in <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz (pages 212 – 223)
	Thu, 10/26	The Responsibility to Protect and the Case of Syria <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Should states have a responsibility (or obligation?) to prevent mass atrocities in other states? 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Derek Averre and Lance Davies, “Russia, Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: the case of Syria” <i>International Affairs</i>, vol. 91, issue 1, 2015, 21 pp. (moodle) • Charles Ziegler, “Contesting the Responsibility to Protect” <i>International Studies Perspectives</i>, 2016, 23 pp. (moodle)

10	Tue, 10/31	Terrorism and Revolution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> When might non-state actors have more legitimacy than their states? Is terrorism an acceptable form of violence? 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Christopher Finlay, “The Perspective of the Rebel: A Gap in the Global Normative Architecture” <i>Ethics and International Affairs</i>, 2017, 22 pp. (moodle) “The Ethics of Irregular War,” chapter 8 in <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz 	
	Thu, 11/2	Counterterrorism and Targeted Killing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How should states respond to non-state violence? Is US drone warfare ethical? 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> David Luban, “The War on Terrorism and the End of Human Rights” <i>Philosophy and Public Policy Quarterly</i> 2002 (moodle) Sarah Kreps and John Kaag, “The Use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles in Contemporary Conflict: A Legal and Ethical Analysis” <i>Polity</i> vol. 44, no. 2, 2012 (moodle) 	
11	Tue, 11/7	Pacifism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Should non-violence be the primary goal of ethical international relations? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Definition of Satyagraha</i> by Gandhi (http://sfr-21.org/sources/satyagraha.html) Oliver Richmond, “Reclaiming Peace in International Relations” <i>Millennium—Journal of International Studies</i> 2008 32 pp. (moodle) 	
	Thu, 11/9	Mid-Term Exam		
<i>Unit IV: Global Rights and Distributive Justice</i>				
12	Tue, 11/14	Human Rights <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do all individuals share universal human rights? 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> “The Ethics of International Human Rights,” Chapter 5 of <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz (pages 91 - 107 only) 	
	Thu, 11/16	Human Rights and Global Justice <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What responsibilities do states have towards their citizens, the citizens of other states, and refugees or stateless persons? 	Readings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sections on global justice in <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz (pages 255 – 265) Alexander Betts, “The Normative Terrain of the Global Refugee Regime” <i>Ethics & International Affairs</i>, 2015, 14 pp. (moodle) Assignments: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Second paper due tomorrow (11/17) at 5pm via moodle 	

13	Tue, 11/21	<p>National Identity and Migration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Should states be more or less accepting of foreign migrants? • What is the moral status of state borders? 	<p>Readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Joseph Carens, “Open Borders”, <i>The Review of Politics</i>, 1987, 23 pp. (moodle) • David Miller, “The Ethical Significance of Nationality” <i>Ethics</i>, 1988, 16 pp. (moodle) • Sections on individuals and global society, regulating migration in <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz (pages 233 – 242) 	
	Thu, 11/23	Thanksgiving Break		
14	Tue, 11/28	<p>Global Distributive Justice—Capitalism and Inequality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does global inequality infer an obligation on rich states to restructure global economics to help the poor? 	<p>Readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gill and Law, “Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital” <i>International Studies Quarterly</i>, vol. 33, 1989, 25 pp. (moodle) • “The Ethics of International Economic Relations,” chapter 10 of <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz (pages 201 - 212 only) 	
	Thu, 11/30	<p>Global Distributive Justice—Foreign Aid and Development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Should there be a global redistribution of wealth? • Does foreign aid help poor states or individuals? 	<p>Readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peter Singer, “Famine, Affluence, and Morality” <i>Philosophy and Public Affairs</i>, 1972, 15pp. (moodle) • Conversation with Dead Aid author Dambisa Moyo, 15 pp. (moodle) • Sections on foreign aid in <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz (pages 225 – 233) 	
15	Tue, 12/5	<p>Environmental Ethics and Climate Change</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the rights of future generations? • What are the rights of the planet? 	<p>Readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sections on global public goods and the environment in <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz (pages 243 – 255) • Bill McKibben, “Reversal of Fortune” <i>Mother Jones</i>, 16 pp. (moodle) 	
	Thu, 12/7	Are International Relations Ethical?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Conclusion,” of <i>International Ethics</i> by Mark Amstutz 	
16	Mon, 12/11	Final Exam: Monday, December 11, 2017 from 1:30pm to 4:30pm		

Film and Book Review List:

You may choose films or books not on this list, but you must get permission at least two weeks prior to your due date

Films:

Eye in the Sky
Crossing Arizona
The Ghosts of Abu Ghraib
The Fog of War
Elizabeth
Snowden
Charlie Wilson's War
Nuremberg
World War Z
Restrepo
Gandhi
The Manchurian Candidate
Denial
Syriana
Fury
The Last King of Scotland
Star Wars—A New Hope
Michael Collins
Saving Private Ryan
Hotel Rwanda
Contagion
Captain Phillips
Argo
Gladiator
The Hurt Locker
Zero Dark Thirty
Apocalypse Now
Black Hawk Down
J. Edgar
Letters from Iwo Jima
Schindler's List
The Sum of all Fears
Munich
The Kingdom
The Terrorist
Patriot Games
Rendition
The Hunger Games
American Sniper
The Interview
Full Metal Jacket
Dr. Strangelove
The Battle of Algiers

Books:

Charles Beitz, *The Idea of Human Rights*
Hedley Bull *The Anarchical Society*
Bob Brecher *Torture and the Ticking Bomb*
Martha C Nussbaum, ed. *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*
Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*
Stanley Hoffmann, *Duties Beyond Borders*
Peter Singer, *One World: The Ethics of Globalization*
John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*
Peter Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*
Weiss and Collins, *Humanitarian Challenges and Intervention*
Holzgrefe and Keohane, *Humanitarian Interventions: Ethical, Legal, and Political Dilemmas*
Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force*
Michael Barnett, *Witness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda*
Susan Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War*
Michael Walzer, *Arguing About War*
Bauer and Bell, *The East Asian Challenge for Human Rights*
Thomas Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms*
David Hallran Lumsdaine, *Moral Vision in International Politics: The Foreign Aid Regime, 1949-1989*
Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*
John Passmore, *Man's Responsibility for Nature: Ecological Problems and Western Traditions*
Seyla Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism*
Goldsmith and Posner, *The Limits of International Law*
J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations*

Books Continued:

Desmond King, *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy*
Susan F. Martin, *A Nation of Immigrants*
Randall Law, *Terrorism: A History*
Matthew Evangelista, *Law, Ethics, and the War on Terror*
Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*
Friedrich Kratochwil, *The Status of Law in World Society: Meditations on the Role and Rule of Law*
Thrall and Cramer, *American Foreign Policy and the Politics of Fear: Threat Inflation Since 9/11*

Andrew Bacevich, *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism*
David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*
Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society*
Cecelia Lynch, *Beyond Appeasement: Interpreting Interwar Peace Movements in World Politics*
Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*
Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*
Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*

Additional Resources:

Academic Journals:

Ethics and International Affairs
Millennium
Review of International Studies
International Affairs
World Politics
International Organization
World Politics
Global Governance
Global Society
International Studies Quarterly
European Journal of International Relations
Alternatives

Websites:

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy
(<https://plato.stanford.edu/>)
Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs: <http://www.cceia.org/>
BBC – The Ethics of War:
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/ethics/war/index.shtml>
Ethics Updates: <http://ethics.acusd.edu/>
Bretton Woods Project:
<http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/>
Ethics Web:
<http://www.ethicsweb.ca/resources/international/>
International Ethics Development Association:
<http://www.development-ethics.org/>
North-South Institute: <http://www.nsi-ins.ca/>
Jubilee Research:
<http://www.jubileeresearch.org/>
Amnesty International: <http://www.amnesty.org/>
International Monetary Fund:
<http://www.imf.org/>
World Bank: <http://www.worldbank.org/>
World Trade Organization: <http://www.wto.org/>
United Nations Development Program:
<http://www.undp.org/>