

Georgetown University
Liberal Studies Program
Spring Semester, 2019

VALUES ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Instructor: William A. Douglas

Dr. Douglas has over half a century of combined practical experience and academic teaching/writing in the areas of democratic development and international labor affairs. He has been teaching on ethics and foreign policy in the Liberal Studies Program since 1979. He holds an M.A. in International Relations from SAIS of Johns Hopkins University and a Ph.D. in Politics from Princeton University. In 1960-1970 he was a Senior Fellow at the Center for International Studies at New York University. He was a Fulbright Lecturer in Korea twice, at Yonsei University in 1963 and at Sung Kyun Kwan University in 1980. From 2001 to 2005, and again in 2011-2012, he was the Interim Director of the International Development Program at SAIS. From 2009 to 2011 he was the Fei Yi-ming Visiting Professor of Political Science at the Hopkins-Nanjing Center, in Nanjing, China.

Class Meetings: The first class will be on Wednesday, January 9th, and then on most (but not all) Mondays, through May 6th. Classes meet from 6:30 pm to 9:00 pm,

Course Purpose:

Since the moral issues involved in the Cold War receded, the world has faced new ethical problems involving environmental action, trade policy, economic sanctions, dealing with terrorism, cyberwarfare, refugees, and decisions on when and where to intervene abroad to aid those suffering from atrocities and ethnic conflicts.

Actually, in both periods most of the moral choices have just been variations on themes as old as civilization. This course will stress the processes of "moral reasoning" to decide where a nation's obligations lie when moral principles conflict.

This is a course in "**applied ethics**". We will take the moral principles generally used by writers on international ethics and apply them to currently relevant political, economic, military, and environmental topics. We will briefly contrast various approaches to the role of morality in international affairs: realism vs. idealism, absolutism vs. consequentialism, and natural law vs. positive law. However, this is not a course in the **philosophy** of international ethics. We will not be concerned with how the main writers in the field have derived the approaches they take, that is, we will not be looking into the epistemology of international ethics. Thus we will be more concerned with the writings of Michael Walzer, Stanley Hoffman, and Reinhold Niebuhr than with those of Aristotle, Kant, and John Rawls.

Teaching Methods:

Classes after the first week will each cover all or part of two topics:

- *The discussion of questions on a topic and the readings.* Students will receive the questions in advance.
- *Part of another topic:* The other topic will be covered over two weeks, with the introductory lecture the first week, and the group discussion the following week.

Assignments and Grading:

Course readings, totaling about 90 pages per week will provide a cross-section of writings on ethics and international affairs, including both some influential articles from the past and many contemporary items.

Students will write four concise "debate outlines" on topics of their choice that involve moral problems in foreign policy. Each outline must provide a balanced set of arguments both for and against the chosen debate proposition, **and citations of points from the course readings to support those arguments.**

Grading will be based primarily on the quality of the four debate outlines plus, when awarding letter grades, using as a "tie-breaker" the student's contribution to the seminar-style discussions during the classes.

Required texts:

Joel H. Rosenthal, and Christian Barry, eds., Ethics and International Affairs: A Reader, Georgetown University Press, 3rd edition, 2009.

Mark R. Amstutz, International Ethics: Concepts, Theories, and Cases in Global Politics, Rowman & Littlefield, Publishers, Fifth Edition, 2018.

Class Topics:

- Jan. 9th - Course Introduction
Can States be Moral? (Lecture and Discussion)
- Jan. 14th - **Reconciling Conflicting Values in International Affairs.** (Lecture and discussion)
Does Classic Just-War Theory Apply Today? (Lecture)
- Jan. 21st - NO CLASS
- Jan. 28th - **Does Classic Just-War Theory Apply Today?** (Discussion)
Pre-emptive Attack and Preventive War: When Justified? (Lecture and discussion)
- Feb. 4th - **Transitional Justice** (Lecture and Discussion)
Humanitarian Intervention (Lecture)
(FIRST DEBATE OUTLINE DUE)
- Feb. 11th- **Humanitarian Intervention** (Discussion)
International Migration (Lecture and Discussion)
- Feb. 18th – NO CLASS
- Feb. 25th - **Are Economic Sanctions a Moral Means of Pressure?** (Lecture and Discussion)
Resignation in Protest (Lecture)
- Mar. 4th – NO CLASS
- Mar.11th - **Resignation In Protest** (Discussion)
A Nation's Obligations Regarding Protection of the Global Environment
(Lecture and discussion)
(SECOND DEBATE OUTLINE DUE)
- Mar. 18th - **The Ethics of Post-Cold-War Nuclear Deterrence Strategy**
(Lecture and discussion)
Nuclear Proliferation and Counter-Proliferation (Lecture)
- Mar. 25th - **Nuclear Proliferation and Counter-Proliferation** (Discussion)
What Are the Obligations of the Rich Nations to the Poor Nations?
(Lecture and discussion)
- April 1st - **Is Terrorism Ever Morally Justified?** (Lecture and discussion))
Is Torture Ever Morally Justified? (Lecture)
(THIRD DEBATE OUTLINE DUE)

April 8th - **Is Torture Ever Morally Justified?** (Discussion)

The Ethics of Targeted Killings (Lecture and discussion)

April 15th - **When Are Cyberattacks Morally Justified?** (Lecture and Discussion)

Is the Present Pattern of International Trade Fair To Workers?

(Lecture)

April 22nd – NO CLASS

April 29th - **Is the Present Pattern of International Trade Fair To Workers?**

(Discussion)

Is Covert Political Action Ever Justified? (Lecture and Discussion))

May 6th - **The Morality of Espionage** (Lecture and Discussion)

Are There Any Universal Moral Values? (Lecture)

May 11th (*Saturday*) – **Are There Any Universal Moral Values?** (Discussion)

Course Summary (Lecture and Discussion))

(FOURTH DEBATE OUTLINE DUE)

Ethics, Choice and a Just World Order
Spring Semester, 2018
Reading Assignments

Readings to be done in preparation for discussion in the classes on the following topics (approximately 117 pp. per topic):

Can States Be Moral?

In our Amstutz text: pp. 9-21, 45-62..

David Hendrickson, "In Defense of Realism: A Commentary on *Just and Unjust Wars*", (in our Rosenthal Reader text (**3rd edition**, pp. 3-20 only.).

Stanley Hoffman, "The Political Ethics of International Relations", (in the **2nd edition** of the Rosenthal Reader, 1999.

Alberto Coll, "Normative Prudence As a Tradition of Statecraft", Ethics and International Affairs, 1991.

Niall Ferguson, "The Meaning of Kissinger", Foreign Affairs, Sept./Oct., 2015.

Joseph Donato, "Seeing the World Through the Eyes of Another", Georgetown Security Studies Review, The Forum, April 26, 2017.

Reconciling Conflicting Values In International Affairs

In the Amstutz text: pp.67-69, 82-88, 267-271.

Joseph Nye, "The Difficult Domain of International Politics", pp. 41-50, of "Ethics and American Foreign Policy", in Robert Myers, ed., International Ethics In the Nuclear Age, University Press of America, 1987.

John Mahoney, S.J., "The Challenge of Moral Distinctions" Georgetown, Spring/Summer, 1992.

Robert J. Myers, "Speaking Truth to Power" (in the Rosenthal Reader, **2nd edition**).

Stanley Hoffman, "The Ethics of Foreign Policy Behavior", pp. 28-43 in Hoffman, Duties Beyond Borders.

George Walden, "The Moral Continuum", Chapt. 4 in *The Sovereign and the Bootblack*, St. Martin's Press, 1988.

Does Classic Just-War Theory Apply Today?

In the Amstutz text: pp. 135-146.

National Conference of Catholic Bishops, The Challenge of Peace, May 3, 1983, pp. 20-37.

Robert J. Myers, "Notes on the Just War Theory: Whose Justice, Which Wars?", in E&IA, Vol. 10, 1996.

John Kelsey, "Just War, Jihad, and the Study of Comparative Ethics", E&IA, Fall, 2010.

Daniel Brumstetter and Megan Braun, "From Jus ad Bellum to Jus ad Vim, Ethics and International Affairs, Spring, 2015.

Sara Sirota, "Civilian Casualties and the United States' Dilemma in Syria and Iraq", Georgetown Strategic Studies Review, The Forum, April 3, 2017.

Pre-emptive Attack and Preventive War: When Justified?

In the Amstutz text, pp. 146-155..

The Bush Administration, National Security Strategy of the USA, Sept. 20, 2002, Introduction, and Sections I, III, and V.

Whitley Kaufman, "What's Wrong With Preventive War?", E&IA, 2005, No.3.

Ivo Dalder and James Steinberg, "The Future Of Preemption", The American Interest, Winter, 2005.

Neta Crawford, "The Slippery Slope to Preventive War", in Joel Rosenberg and Christian Barry, editors , course text, Ethics and International Affairs – A Reader, 3rd edition, 2009. (Course text)

Ruth Wedgewood, "Pre-emptive Self-Defense", Saisphere, 2002.

UN High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change, "Collective Security and the Use of Force", Report to the Secretary-General of the UN, December 2, , 2004., pp. 53-58.

Lawrence Friedman "Prevention, Not Preemption", Washington Quarterly, Spring, 2003.

Transitional Justice

In the Amstutz text: Chapt. 6, "The Ethics Of Political Reconciliation", pp. 113-119, 122-124, and also pp. 255-260.

Susan Dwyer, "Reconciliation For Realists", E&IA, Vol. 13, 1999.

Kenneth Rodman, "Why the ICC Should Operate Within Peace Processes", E&IA, Spring 2012.

Kenneth Rodman, "Rough Justice: The ICC in a World of Power Politics:", Ethics and International Affairs, Fall, 2015.

"South African Reconciliation Through Truth and Reparations", in the Amstutz text, pp. 124-129. .

"The Detention of Augusto Pinochet," in the Amstutz text, pp. 260-265..

"Prosecuting Rwanda's Genocide Offenders, in the Amstutz text, pp. 119-122..

David Crocker, "Reckoning With Past Wrongs", in the Rosenthal text.

Humanitarian Intervention

Terry Nardin, "The Moral Basis of Humanitarian Intervention", in the Rosenthal Reader (3rd edition) Course text.

Michael J. Smith, "Humanitarian Intervention: An Overview of the Ethical Issues", **pp. 279-293 only**, in the Rosenthal Reader text (**3rd edition, 2009**). Course text

Oliver Ramsbotham, "Islam, Christianity, and Forcible Humanitarian Intervention" E&IA, Vol. 12, 1988.

In the Amstutz text: pp. 103-112, and Chapt. Nine (pp. 177-199)

Alex J. Bellamy, "The Responsibility To Protect Turns Ten", E&IA, Summer, 2015

International Migration:

Celia Medrano, "Securing Protection for De Facto Refugees: The Case of Central America's Northern Triangle", Ethics and International Affairs, Summer, 2017.

Alexander Betts, "The Normative Terrain of the Global Refugee Regime", Ethics and International Affairs, Winter, 2015.

Randy Rieland, "Coping With the Displaced Millions", Johns Hopkins Magazine, Summer, 2017.

Joseph Carens, "Who Should Get In", in Joel Rosenberg and Christian Barry, editors, Ethics and International Affairs – A Reader, **3rd edition**, 2009. (Course text).

Susan Martin, "The Global Refugee Crisis" Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, Winter/Spring 2016.

The Economist, February 6, 2016, "How to Manage the Migrant Crisis", pp. 9-10; Forming an Orderly Queue", pp. 19-22.

Gregory Brown, "No Advantage? Lessons From Australia's Experiments in Asylum Policy", Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, Winter/Spring 2016.

Are Economic Sanctions a Moral Means of Pressure?

In the Amstutz text, pp. 212-223.

Lori Damrosch, "The Civilian Impact of Economic Sanctions", in Damrosch, ed., Enforcing Restraint, Council on Foreign Relations, 1993, pp. 274-284, 294-307 only.

Joy Gordon, "Smart Sanctions Revisited", E&IA, Fall, 2011.

George Lopez, "In Defense of Smart Sanctions", E&IA, Spring, 2012.

The Economist, "The Pros and Cons of a SWIFT Response", November 22, 2014

Emma Ashford, "Not-So Smart Sanctions", Foreign Affairs, Jan./Feb., 2016.

Edward Fishman, "Even Smarter Sanctions", Foreign Affairs, Nov./Dec., 2017.

Resignation In Protest

E.J. Dionne, "Resigning on Principle", Washington Post, September 17, 1996
p. A-15.

Edward Weisband and Thomas Frank, pp. 26-35, in "Fighting Back By Going Public", Chapter 2 in Resignation In Protest, Grossman Publishers, 1975.

Taylor Branch, "The Man Who Leaked the Pentagon Papers", pp. 246-257, in Charles Peters and Taylor Branch, eds., Blowing the Whistle, Praeger Publishers, 1972.

Daniel Ellsberg, "Snowden Was Right To Run", Washington Post, July 8, 2013, p. 17.

Mary Battiata, "War of the Worlds", Washington Post Magazine, June 30, 1996.

Rahul Sagar, "Against Moral Absolutism" E&IA, Summer, 2015, especially pp. 154-159.

Alan Maimon, "Whistleblower" Washington Post Magazine, March 6, 2016.

A Nation's Obligations Regarding Protection of the Global Environment

Robert E. Goodin, "International Ethics and the Environmental Crisis", in the Rosenthal Reader (2nd edition, 1999).

In the Amstutz text: pp. 248-255..

David Gelernter, "In Rats We Trust", Washington Post, Nov. 17, 1996; and Daniel Schwartz, "A Rabbi's Reply", Washington Post, December 1, 1996.

John Barkdull and Paul G. Harris, "The Land Ethic: A New Philosophy for International Relations", E&IA, Vol. 12, 1998, pp. 159-166 only.

Robyn Eckersley, "Ecological Intervention: Prospects and Limits", in our Rosenthal Reader text (3rd edition).(Course text)

U.S. Global Change Research Program, "Executive Summary", Climate Science Special Report, November 3, 2017.

Bryan Walsh, "Extreme Measures: How To Control the Climate", in Global Warming, Time Books, 2012.

National Geographic, "How To Fix It", November 2015

Brian Deese, "Paris Isn't Burning: Why the Climate Agreement Will Survive Trump", Foreign Affairs, July/August, 2017.

The Ethics of Post-Cold-War Nuclear Deterrence

Amstutz text, pp. 70-74, 80-82.

George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger, and Sam Nunn:
"A World Free of Nuclear Weapons", Wall Street Journal, Jan. 4, 2007
"Toward a Nuclear-Free World", Wall Street Journal, Jan. 15, 2008.

National Conference of Catholic Bishops, The Challenge of Peace, 1983, pp. 44-62.

Barack Obama, Remarks on Nuclear Disarmament, Prague, April 5, 2009.

The Global Zero U.S. Nuclear Strategy Commission Report, May, 2012, "Introduction" pp. 1-5, and "Conclusion", pp. 20-22.

Richard Betts, "The Lost Logic of Deterrence", Foreign Affairs, March/April, 2013.

William Perry, "Why It's Safe to Scrap America's ICBMs", New York Times, September 30, 2016, p. A27.

Keir Lieber and Daryl Press, “Nuclear Weapons in the New Era of Counterforce”, Policy Roundtable 1-4 on U.S. Nuclear Policy, International Security Studies Forum, December 22, 2016.

Fred Kaplan, “Rethinking Nuclear Policy”, Foreign Affairs, Sept./Oct., 2016.

Nuclear Proliferation and Counter-Proliferation

Perkovich, Cirincione, Gottemoeller, Wolfsthal, and Mathews, Part Six, "Abating Demand", in Universal Compliance: A Strategy For Nuclear Security, and “Counterproliferation and Preemption”, pp. 35-42, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, June, 2004.

Steven Lee, "Nuclear Proliferation and Nuclear Entitlement", in E&IA, Vol. 9, 1995, **pp. 105-114 only.**

J.Bryan Hehir, “Nonproliferation: A Global Issue For a Global Ethic”, E&IA, Fall, 2013

George Perkovich, “The Iran Deal’s Building Blocks of a Better Nuclear Order”, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, June 9, 2016.

Scott Sagan, “The Korean Missile Crisis: Why Deterrence Is Still the Best Option”, Foreign Affairs, Nov./Dec. 2017.

What Are the Obligations of the Rich Nations to the Poor Nations?

Thomas Donaldson, "Moral Minimums for Multinationals", in the Rosenthal Reader, **2nd edition.**

Thomas Pogge, “World Poverty and Human Rights”, in the Rosenthal Reader text (**3rd edition.** (Course text)

Amstutz text, pp. 38-44, and Chapt. 12 (pp. 225-242).

The Center For Global Development, “The Commitment To Development Index”, <http://www.cgdev.org/section/initiatives/active/cdi/inside>

Sridhar Venkatapuram, “Global Justice and the Social Determinants of Health”, Ethics and International Affairs, Summer, 2010

Benn Steil, “The International Consequences of Fed Policy”, Foreign Affairs, July-August, 2014.

The Economist, Free Exchange, “The Loch Ness Consensus”, February 15, 2014, p. 68.

Max Bearak and Lazaro Gamio, “What You Should Know About U.S. Foreign Assistance”, Washington Post, October 23, 2016, p. 14.

Ezra Klein and Bill Gates, "Capitalism Did Not Eradicate Smallpox", Washington Post, January 26, 2014, p. G-4.

..
Is Terrorism Ever Morally Justified?

In the Amstutz text: pp. 157-168

..
Audrey Cronin, "ISIS Is Not a Terrorist Group", Foreign Affairs, March/April, 2015.

C.A.J. (Tony) Coady, "Terrorism, Just War, and Supreme Emergency", Ch. 2 in Tony Coady and Michael O'Keefe, eds., Terrorism and Justice: Moral Argument in a Threatened World, Melbourne University Press, 2002.

Aleksandar Pavkovic, "Towards Liberation: Terrorism From a Liberation Theology Perspective", Cha. 6 in Coady and O'Keefe.

Jonathan Lawrence, "The Prophet of Moderation", Foreign Affairs, May/June, 2007, and response by Gideon Litchfield, "Explaining the Terrorists", Foreign Affairs, Sept./Oct., 2007.

Stephen Nathanson, "Is Terrorism Ever Morally Permissible?", Ch. 11 in David Reidy and Mortimer Sellers, eds., Universal Human Rights, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.

Christopher Finlay, "The Perspective of the Rebel", Ethics and International Affairs, Summer, 2017.

Is Torture Ever Morally Justified?

In the Amstutz text: pp. 164-168.

Amnesty International, Torture and Ill-Treatment, December 1, 2001

Alan M. Dershowitz, "The Case For Torturing the Ticking Bomb Terrorist", in Dershowitz, Why Terrorism Works, Yale University Press, 2002.

Jessica Wolfendale, "The Myth of 'Torture Light'", Ethics and International Affairs, Spring, 2009.

Douglas Johnson, et. Al., "The Strategic Costs of Torture", Foreign Affairs, Sept./Oct., 2016.

Valdimir Bukovsky, "Torture's Long Shadow", Washington Post, December 18, 2005, p. E-1.

The Ethics of Targeted Assassination

In the Amstutz text, pp. 168-175.

Daniel Brunstetter and Megan Braun, “The Implications of Drones On the Just War Tradition”, E&IA, Fall, 2011.

Andrew Altman, review of Markus Gunneflo, “Targeted Killing: A Legal and Political History”, Ethics and International Affairs, Spring, 2017.

Don Scheid, review of Kerstin Fisk and Jennifer Ramos, eds., “Preventive Force: Drones, Targeted Killing, and the Transformation of Contemporary Warfare”, Ethics and International Affairs, Summer, 2017

When Are Cyberattacks Morally Justified?

Defense Science Board, Resilient Military Systems and the Advanced Cyber Threat, January, 2013: "Executive Summary", pp. 1-15
"Developing World-Class Cyber Offensive Capabilities", pp. 49-54]

Thomas Rid, “Think Again: Cyberwar”, Foreign Policy, March/April, 2012.

John Arquila, “Rebuttal: Cyberwar Is Already Upon Us”, Foreign Policy March/April, 2012.

Reuters, “Is It Possible To Wage a Just Cyberwar”, The Atlantic, June, 2012,
<http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2012/06/is-it-possible-to-wage-a-just-cyberwar/258106/>

Randall R. Dipert, “The Ethics of Cyberwarfare”, Journal of Military Ethics, Issue 4, 2010.

Knut Dormann, International Committee of the Red Cross, “Applicability of the Additional Protocols To Computer Network Attacks”,
<http://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/applicabilityofihltozna.pdf>

Emily Parker, “Hack Job: How America Invented Cyberwar”, review article, Foreign Affairs, May-June 2017.

Is the Present Pattern of World Trade Fair to Workers?

World Bank, Workers In An Integrating World, World Development Report, 1995, Chapters 7, 8, 9.

Oxfam, Executive Summary, Rigged Rules and Double Standards - Trade, Globalization, and the Fight Against Poverty, Oxfam, Great Britain, 2002.

Daniel W. Drezner, "Bottom Feeders", Foreign Policy, Nov./Dec., 2000.

Jeff Madrick, "Our Misplaced Faith In Free Trade", New York Times,
October 5, 2014, p. 5.

Joseph Stiglitz and Andrew Charlton, "Free Trade, Fair Trade", World Ark, Heifer
International, Mar/April, 2006.

Nazma Akter, "A View From the Sweatshop Floor", World Policy Journal, June, 2013.

William A. Douglas, "FTAs and Offshoring", Challenge, November/December 2017.

William A. Douglas, "The Ethics of Offshoring", Challenge, January-February, 2017.

Fred Hu and Michael Spence, "Why Globalization Stalled, and How to Restart It", Foreign
Affairs, July/August, 2017.

Course Summary:

Alberto Coll, "Some Christian Reminders For Statesmen", Ethics and International Affairs,
Vol. I, 1987.

Hans J. Morgenthau, "International Morality", Chapter 16 in Politics Among Nations,
5th edition revised, 1978.

Alberto Coll, "Normative Prudence As a Tradition of Statecraft", Ethics and International
Affairs, 1991.