

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY- LIBERAL STUDIES PROGRAM
Spring Semester, 2008
VALUES ISSUE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
LSHV-380-01

Class Meetings: Tuesdays, 6:30 - 8:30 pm, January 29th - April 29th, 2008. Room ___
(No class on March 6th.)

Instructor: William A. Douglas

Dr. Douglas has over forty-five years of combined practical experience and academic teaching/writing in the areas of democratic development and international labor affairs. He has been teaching courses 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 and a Ph.D. in Politics from Princeton University. From 2001 to 2005 he was the Interim Director of the International Development Program at SAIS of the Johns Hopkins University, and continues with the Program as a Student Advisor.

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, 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.

Disabilities Statement:

If you believe you have a disability, then you should contact the Academic Resource Center (arc@georgetown.edu) for further information. The Center is located in the Leavey Center, Suite 335. The Academic Resource Center is the campus office responsible for reviewing documentation provided by students with disabilities and for determining reasonable accommodations in accordance with the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and University policies.

Teaching Methods:

Most classes will begin with a short introductory lecture by the instructor, and then proceed to group discussion of questions on the topic and the readings. Students will receive the questions in advance.

Assignments and Grading:

Course readings, totaling about 80 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. (Undergraduates are required to write only three short papers). 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 on the quality of the four debate outlines and the student's contribution to the seminar-style discussions during the classes.

Required texts:

Joel H. Rosenthal, ed., Ethics and International Affairs: A Reader, Georgetown University Press, 2nd edition, 1999.

Mark R. Amstutz, International Ethics: Concepts, Theories, and Cases in Global Politics, Rowman & Littlefield, Publishers, second edition, 2005.

(tentative): course packet of articles

Class Topics:

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| Jan. 29th | Can States be Moral? |
| Feb. 5th | Does Classic Just-War Theory Apply Today? |
| Feb. 12 th | Reconciling Conflicting Values in International Affairs. |
| Feb. 19th | Pre-emptive War: When Justified?
(FIRST DEBATE OUTLINE DUE) |
| Feb. 26th | When Is a Nation Obligated to Intervene Abroad to Relieve Suffering? |
| Mar. 4 th | NO CLASS |
| Mar. 11th | Are Economic Sanctions a Moral Means of Pressure? |
| Mar 18th | A Nation's Obligations Regarding Protection of the Global Environment
(SECOND DEBATE OUTLINE DUE) |
| Mar. 25th | What Are the Obligations of the Rich Nations to the Poor Nations? |
| April 1st | The Ethics of Post-Cold-War Nuclear Deterrence |
| April 8th | Dealing With Tyrants - Justice vs. Democracy/Peace.
(THIRD DEBATE OUTLINE DUE) |

- April 15th Are Terrorism and Torture Ever Morally Justified?
- April 22nd Is the Present Pattern of International Trade Fair To Workers?
- April 29th Dealing With Dictatorial Allies
 (FOURTH DEBATE OUTLINE DUE)

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Values Issues in International Affairs

Reading Assignments

Readings to be done in preparation for discussion in the classes on the following topics (approximately 80 pp. per topic):

Can States Be Moral?

Joel Rosenthal, "Introduction: Ethics Through the Cold War and After" (in the Rosenthal Reader).

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

Stanley Hoffman, "The Political Ethics of International Relations" (in the Rosenthal Reader).

Alberto Coll, "Normative Prudence As a Tradition of Statecraft" (in the Rosenthal Reader).

In the Amstutz text: pp. 7-19, 45-50.

Does Classic Just-War Theory Apply Today?

In the Amstutz text: pp. 104-112.

Jeff McMahan, "Just Cause For War", Ethics and International Affairs, 2005, No. 3.

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

John Courtney Murray, "Morality and Modern War", in Kenneth Thompson, ed., Moral Dimensions of American Foreign Policy, Transaction Books, 1994.

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

Reconciling Conflicting Values in International Affairs:

In the Amstutz text: pp. 28-31, 35-44, 221-225.

Joseph Nye, Ethics and Foreign Policy, pp. 1-7, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1985.

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

Alberto Coll, "Some Christian Reminders For Statesmen", Ethics and International Affairs, Vol. 1, 1987.

David C. Hendrickson, "In Defense of Realism: A Commentary on Just and Unjust Wars", pp. 19-29 only, in E&IA, Vol 11, 1997.

Arthur Schlesinger, "National Interests and Moral Absolutes", in Ernest Lefever, ed., Ethics and World Politics: Four Perspectives, School of Advanced International Studies, 1972.

Pre-emptive War: When Justified?

In the Amstutz text, pp. 117-125.

The Washington Quarterly, Spring, 2003., "Is Preemption Necessary?", (with articles by Arend, Heisbourg, and Freedman),

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.

When Is a Nation Obligated To Intervene Abroad to Relieve Suffering?

Michael J. Smith, "Humanitarian Intervention: An Overview of the Ethical Issues", pp. 279-293 only, in the Rosenthal Reader.

Amir Pasic and Thomas Weiss, "Yugoslavia's Wars and the Humanitarian Impulse", in the Rosenthal Reader, pp. 296-307 only.

Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, "The Responsibility to Protect", Foreign Affairs, Nov./Dec., 2002.

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

In the Amstutz text: pp. 137-139, 95-100, 143-149.

Are Economic Sanctions a Moral Means of Pressure?

In the Amstutz text, pp. 174-194.

Joy Gordon, "A Peaceful, Silent, Deadly Remedy: The Ethics of Economic Sanctions", in E&IA, Vol. 13, 1999.

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

Albert Pierce, "Just War Principles and Economic Sanctions", Ethics and International Affairs, Vol. 20, 1996.

A Nation's Obligations Regarding Protection of the Global Environment

Robert E. Goodin, "International Ethics and the Environmental Crisis", in the Rosenthal Reader.

In the Amstutz text: pp. 195-204.

Thomas Friedman, "The Power Of Green", New York Times Magazine, April 15, 2007.

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.

Keith Slack, "Sharing the Riches of the Earth: Democratiuzing Natural Resource-Led Development", Ethics and International Affairs, 2004, No. 1.

Ruth Bell, "What To Do About Climate Change?", Foreign Affairs, May/June, 2006.

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

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

Amstutz text, pp. 208-212.

William Easterly, "Debt Relief", Foreign Policy, November/December, 2001.

Doctors Without Borders, and Alan F. Holmer, "Are Patents on HIV/AIDS Drugs Unfair To Poor Countries?", Issue #11 in John T. Rourke, ed., Taking Sides – Controversial Issues in World Politics, Eleventh edition - expanded, 2005.

Colin Powell, "No Country Left Behind", Foreign Policy, Jan/Feb, 2005.

Jeffrey Sachs, "The Development Challenge", Foreign Affairs, Mar/April, 2005.

Steven Radelet, "A Primer On Foreign Aid", Center For Global Development, Working Paper #92 , July, 2006.

The Ethics of Post-Cold-War Nuclear Deterrence

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

Henry L. Stimson Center, "A Four-Step Program to Nuclear Disarmament", Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, March/April, 1996.

Wolfgang Panofsky, "Nuclear Insecurity", Foreign Affairs, Sept./Oct., 2007.

Gen. Lee Butler, speech to the National Press Club, December 4, 1996.

Bruce Blair, "The Wrong Deterrence", Washington Post, September 19, 2004.

Perkovich, Cirincione, Gottemoeller, Wolfsthal, and Mathews, Part Six, "Abating Demand", in Universal Compliance: A Strategy For Nuclear Security, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, June, 2004.

John Deutsch, "A Nuclear Posture For Today", Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb, 2005.

Dealing With Tyrants - Justice vs. Democracy/Peace:

In the Amstutz text: Chapter 4, "The Ethics of Political Reconciliation".

Lyn S. Graybill, "South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Ethical and Theological Perspectives", in the Rosenthal Reader.

David A. Crocker, "Reckoning With Past Wrongs: A Normative Framework", in Ethics and International Affairs, Vol. 13, 1999.

Juan E. Mendez, "National Reconciliation, Transnational Justice, and the International Criminal Court", E&IA, 2001. No.1)

Are Terrorism and Torture Ever Morally Justified?

In the Amstutz text: pp. 159-173.

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

Augustus R. Norton, "Drawing the Line on Opprobrious Violence" (in the E&IA Reader).

Collection of recent newspaper articles on the morality of torture. (These will be provided by the instructor).

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.

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

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

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.

Kimberly Elliott, "Trading Up: Labor Standards, Development, and CAFTA", CGD Brief, May, 2004.

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

Allan Blinder, "Offshoring: The Next Industrial Revolution?", Foreign Affairs, Mar/April, 2006.

Stuart Eizenstat and Marney Cheek, "Ending the Trade War In Washington", Foreign Affairs, May/June, 2007.

International Labour Organization, "Assessing the Impact and Potential of EPZs in a Global Economy", Chapter 3 in Labour and Social Issues Relating to EPZs, Geneva, 1998.

Dealing With Dictatorial Allies

Thomas Carothers, "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror", Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb., 2003.

Human Rights Watch, "Kyrgyzstan: Human Rights Watch Flays Deteriorating Rights Record", IRINnews.org, September 25, 2002.

Lawrence Kaplan, "Cost Benefits - When To Coddle Bad Regimes", New Republic, October 22, 2001.

Collection of recent newspaper articles on dealing with dictatorial allies. (These will be provided by the instructor).

American Institute for Free Labor Development, U.S. Labor's Single Standard on Dictatorships, 1985, pp. 1-9.

Charles Mohr, "Salvador and Vietnam", New York Times, August 10, 1983.

Georgie Anne Geyer, "U.S. is Captive of its Surrogates", Seattle Times, August 21, 1983.

Jeanne Kirkpatrick, "Dictatorships and Double Standards", Commentary, November, 1979, pp. 5-14.

Howard Wiarda, "Introduction: Dealing With Dictators in Decline", World Affairs, Spring, 1987.

Alexander Cooley, "Base Politics", Foreign Affairs, Nov/Dec, 2005.