

**IR 574/PO 574**

**Ethics and International Relations**

*Spring Semester 2007*

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**Course Objectives:** International relations pose some fundamental ethical questions, such as: Is peace always desirable? Is pre-emptive war justified? Is patriotism always right? Is there any place for human rights in foreign policy? Is terrorism always wrong? Does it make sense to speak of “war crimes”? Do criminal tribunals have any place in international relations? Must civil rights be restricted during security crises or times of war? The course will examine some of the most important answers that can be found in the rapidly expanding literature on applied international ethics. The first part will be devoted to the main academic approaches and discourses. The second part will employ them in seeking to understand selected ethical issues raised by war. The emphasis will be on ideas, thought and language as vehicles for studying world affairs. Considerable attention will also be given to historical context. The purpose is to impart a clear and contextualized understanding of these ideas with the aim of enabling students to employ them in their own thinking and research.

**Office Hours:** Tues 10:45-12:15; Weds 1-3; Thurs 10:45-12:15

**Required Texts:** (available at Barnes & Noble bookstore):

Michael Walzer, Just and Unjust Wars, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. This is a classic: the best book on the subject written since the end of the Viet Nam war.

Joel Rosenthal (ed.), Ethics and International Affairs. This is a collection of essays on various topics of international ethics written from the differing points of view of each contributor.

Robert Jackson, Classical and Modern Thought on International Relations. This study addresses ethical questions of international relations from the angle of political and legal theory. It should help you get inside the mind of the instructor on the subject of the course.

***Note:*** *Students are expected to study the required readings on their own; they will not be discussed in class. The instructor is pleased to discuss them during his office hours.*

**Required Course Readings** are from the **assigned texts only**. Students will be examined on those readings (see below for details). **Note:** the instructor’s lectures will not review required readings; the responsibility for mastering those readings is left entirely with each student.

**Background Readings & Further References:** These readings are supplementary to help students to follow-up on topics of the course. They are not required readings for weekly lectures. Many of them are classics of the literature and some of them are therefore historical rather than contemporary. (Always keep in mind that new books are not necessarily the best books on our subject.) Most of these books are available in the BU library; many are also available at the BC Library and the Tufts Library on inter-library loan. Check the BU library website.

The world wide web has many sites related to our course. The following websites have been useful in my own reading and research on the subject:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm> (Avalon project at Yale Law School)  
<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/dsc/readyref.html> (US Government Document Center)  
<http://news.yahoo.com/yc?tmpl=fc&cid=34&in=world&cat=nato> (NATO)  
<http://www.un.org/documents/index.html> (UN Documents Center)  
[http://www.ukans.edu/carrie/docs/amdocs\\_index.html](http://www.ukans.edu/carrie/docs/amdocs_index.html) (US Historical Documents)  
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/global/globalsbook.html> (Global History Sources)  
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook06.html> (Modern History Sources)  
<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/war/> (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)  
[http://www.google.com/search?hl=en&lr=&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8&q=%22international+ethics%22&as\\_q=International+relations%3A+ethics&btnG=Search%C2%A0within%C2%A0results](http://www.google.com/search?hl=en&lr=&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8&q=%22international+ethics%22&as_q=International+relations%3A+ethics&btnG=Search%C2%A0within%C2%A0results) (Ethics of International Relations)  
<http://www.google.com/search?q=sovereignty&hl=en&lr=&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8&start=30&sa=N>  
 (Sovereignty Websites)  
<http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/status.htm> (1911 Encyclopaedia Britannica)  
<http://www.ucalgary.ca/~lipton/christian1.html> (Christian websites)  
<http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/gthursby/rel/islam.htm> (Muslim or Islamic websites)  
<http://www.google.com/search?hl=en&lr=&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8&num=10&q=related:www.thesaurus.com/> (Dictionaries, thesauri, etc. On line)  
<http://www.osce.org/> (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe)  
<http://ontology.buffalo.edu/smith/courses01/rrtw/Honderich.htm> (Philosophy of Terrorism)  
<http://www.gksoft.com/govt/en/> (governments on the web)

### **Assignments & Marks:**

Class participation: (10%) based on active involvement in seminar discussions.

Two book review essays: (40%) each one 5-7 pages, double spaced (Times New Roman, 12 point font) (20% each). A good book review consists of two related discussions: an accurate presentation of the author's thesis, and the reviewer's assessment of it. Students should check academic journals—such as International Relations Review or Diplomacy and Statecraft (edited by Dr. Erik Goldstein, chair of the BU IR Dept)—for examples of book reviews on international relations. Some of my reviews are published in that journal. Books for review are to be selected only from the background readings of the course syllabus. The reviews must be of an entire book. The textbooks for this course or any other course cannot be reviewed. Deadline: TBA. Note: The penalty for late submission of papers is a half letter grade reduction (e.g. from A to A-).

Final Exam: (50%) Note: the final exam will have questions from both the instructor's lecture comments (25%) and the course required readings (25%).

**Conduct Code:** Students are reminded of their responsibility to know and understand provisions of the CAS Academic Conduct Code.

**Student Attendance & Absence:** Attendance is expected at all class meetings of the course. In case of absence contact instructor by e-mail in advance: [rjackson@bu.edu](mailto:rjackson@bu.edu)

### Topics and Readings

#### PART I: MAIN APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL ETHICS

The point of this first part of the course is to become acquainted with some of the most important approaches to international ethics. The required readings for this part of the course are taken from Joel Rosenthal (ed.), Ethics and International Affairs and R. Jackson, Classical and Modern Thought on International Relations.

Note: some textbook and/or background readings are repeated for more than one course topic.

#### **Week 1: International Relations as an Ethical Subject**

##### **Required Course Readings**

Rosenthal, Preface to the Second Edition, "Introduction: Ethics Through the Cold War and After"

Jackson, Preface, chapters 1, 5 and 6

##### **Background Readings**

T. Nardin and D. Maple, eds. Traditions of International Ethics. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

A. Linklater, Men and Citizens in the Theory of International Relations (2nd ed).

M. Donelan, The Reason of States.

C. Beitz and others (eds.), International Ethics.

M. Wight, International Theory: The Three Traditions.

R. Jackson, The Global Covenant, chs. 1,2 & 3.

Beitz, Charles. Political Theory and International Relations. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Brown, Chris. International Relations Theory: New Normative Approaches. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Frost, Mervyn. Ethics in International Relations: A Constitutive Theory. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Hare, J and C. Joynt, Ethics and International Affairs. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982.

Walzer, M. Thick and Thin: Moral Argument at Home and Abroad.

Michael Donelan, Elements of International Political Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Mapel, David and Terry Nardin, eds. International Society: Diverse Ethical Perspectives. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

## **Week 2: Realism as an Ethical Outlook**

### **Required Course Readings**

Rosenthal: "Speaking Truth to Power", "The Political Ethics of International Relations", "On Moral Equivalency and Cold War History"  
Jackson, chapters 2, 3.

### **Background Readings**

Hobbes, Thomas. Leviathan. Ed., Michael Oakeshott. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949.  
F. Meinecke, Machiavellism (1962).  
R. Neibuhr, Moral Man and Immoral Society.  
H.J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations.  
Aron, Raymond. Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966.  
J. Haslam, No Virtue like Necessity: Realist Thought in International Relations since Machiavelli. New Haven: Yale, 2002.  
S. Hoffmann, Janus and Minerva (1987).  
S. Hoffman and D. Fidler (eds.) (1991). Rousseau on International Relations.  
H. Kissinger, Diplomacy (1994).  
Niebuhr, Reinhold. The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944.  
Joel Rosenthal, Righteous Realists.  
Schwarzenberger, Georg. Power Politics: A Study of International Society. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1951.  
M. J. Smith, Realist Thought From Weber To Kissinger.  
Wolfers, Arnold. Discord and Collaboration.

## **Week 3: Idealism as an Ethical Outlook**

### **Required Course Readings**

Rosenthal: "Basic Moral Values: A Shared Core", "Early Advocates of Lasting World Peace: Utopians or Realists?"

### **Background Readings**

H. Reiss (ed.), Kant's Political Writings.  
W.B. Gallie, Philosophers of Peace and War  
A. Linklater, Men and Citizens in the Theory of International Relations.  
S. Hoffmann, Janus and Minerva (1987).  
C. Beitz, Political Theory and International Relations.  
Dickinson, G. Lowes. The International Anarchy, 1904-1914. New York: The Century Co. 1926.

Angell, Norman. The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power to National Advantage. London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1913.

Stanley Hoffmann, Duties Beyond Borders (1981).

M. Howard, War and the Liberal Conscience.

Zimmern, Alfred. The League of Nations and the Rule of Law, 1918-1935. London: Macmillan, 1936.

#### **Week 4: The Possibilities of Ethical Statecraft**

##### **Required Course Readings**

Rosenthal: "Normative Prudence as a Tradition of Statecraft", "Is Democratic Theory for Export?", "The Ethics of Collective Security", Jackson, chapter 4.

##### **Background Readings**

Isaiah Berlin, "On Political Judgment," *The New York Review of Books*, October 3, 1996.

T. Nardin, Law, Morality and the Relations of States.

A. Linklater, Men and Citizens in the Theory of International Relations.

Hobbes, Thomas. Man and Citizen (De Homine and De Cive), ed by Bernard Gert.

Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1991.

Vincent, R. J. (1974). Non-Intervention and International Order.

Brown, Chris. International Relations Theory: New Normative Approaches. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Alderson, Kai, and Andrew Hurrell (eds.) (1999). Hedley Bull on International Society.

H. Bull, The Anarchical Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York: Macmillan, 1995.

Hedley Bull, Benedict Kingsbury, and Adam Roberts, eds. Hugo Grotius and International Relations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Butterfield, Herbert, and Martin Wight (eds.) Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Politics (1968).

#### **Week 5: Humanitarianism & Human Rights**

##### **Required Course Readings**

Rosenthal: "Post-Cold War Reflections on the Study of International Human Rights", "Human Rights and Asian Values", "Review Essay: the Psychology of Genocide", "Drawing the Line on Opprobrious Violence", Jackson, chapter 7.

##### **Background Readings**

H. Shue, Basic Rights.

R. Falk, Human Rights and State Sovereignty (1981).

D. Forsythe, Human Rights in World Politics (1989).

C. Beitz and others (eds.), International Ethics.

J. Donnelly, International Human Rights.

P. Sieghart, The Lawful Rights of Mankind.

Newson, D. (ed) The Diplomacy of Human Rights (1986).

- P. Williams (ed.), The International Bill of Human Rights (1981).  
 Mayer, Ann. Islam and Human Rights. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999.  
 Vincent, John. Human Rights and International Relations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.  
 T. Meron, Human Rights in International Law (1984).  
 Dunne, Tim and Nicholas J. Wheeler, (1999) Human Rights in Global Politics.

## **Week 6: Humanitarian Intervention**

### **Required Course Readings**

Rosenthal: "Humanitarian Intervention: An Overview of the Ethical Issues", "The Politics of Rescue: Yugoslavia's Wars and the Humanitarian Impulse", "When is it Right to Rescue? A Response", "An Emergency Response System for the International Community," "Holding Humanitarianism Hostage: The Politics of Rescue", Jackson, chapters 6, 8 and 9

### **Background Readings**

- Hedley Bull (ed.), Intervention in World Politics.  
 Stanley Hoffmann, Duties Beyond Borders.  
 J. Mayall (ed) The New Interventionism 1991-1994 (1996).  
 H. Bull, (ed.) Intervention in World Politics (1984).  
 R.J. Vincent, Nonintervention and International Order (1974).  
 L. F. Damrosch and D. J. Scheffer (eds.), Law and Force in the New International Order.  
 Anthony Arend and Robert Beck, International Law and the Use of Force  
 N.S. Rodley (ed.), To Loose the Bands of Wickedness.  
 J. Miller and R.J. Vincent (eds), Order and Violence: Hedley Bull and International Relations (1990).  
 N. Wheeler, Saving Strangers.  
 P. Towle, Enforced Disarmament  
 J. Rawls, The Law of Peoples (1995).  
 D. Chatterjee and D. Sheid, Ethics and Foreign Intervention (2003).  
 R. Jackson, The Global Covenant (2000).

## **PART II: ETHICS & WAR**

The point of this second part of the course is to become acquainted with normative ways of thinking about the most fundamental and the most difficult problem of international relations, namely war. Apart from three exceptions, the required readings for this part of the course are taken from Michael Walzer, Just and Unjust Wars. The three exceptions are: "UK Attorney General's Secret Advice to Prime Minister Tony Blair on the Legality of a war against Iraq", "Aggression and Preemption, Avalon Project"(see week 8) and A. R. Norton, "Drawing the Line on Opprobrious Violence," in Rosenthal, Ethics and International Affairs (see week 10).

Note: some textbook and/or background readings are repeated for more than one course topic.

### **Week 7: The Moral Reality of War: *Jus ad Bellum*, *Jus in Bello*, *Jus post Bellum***

#### **Required Course Readings**

Walzer, chs. 1, 2, 3

#### **Background Readings**

A.J. Coates, The Ethics of War.

J.T. Johnson, Can Modern War be Just?

J.B. Elshtain (ed.), Just War Theory.

Best, G. (1983). Humanity in Warfare.

M. Ceadel, Thinking about Peace and War.

Gallie, W.B. Philosophers of Peace and War (1978).

Fuller, J. The Conduct of War, 1789-1961.

Hinsley, F.H. Power and the Pursuit of Peace. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.

R.L. Holmes, On War and Morality.

Kaldor, M. New and Old Wars. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

O'Brien, W. The Conduct of a Just and Limited War.

Tuck, Richard. The Rights of War and Peace. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Robert Tucker, The Just War.

P. Ramsay, The Just War.

J. Elshtain, Just War Theory.

L. Cahill, Love Your Enemies: Pacifism and Just War Theory (1997).

J. Teichman, The Philosophy of War and Peace (2006).

M. Walzer, Arguing about War (2004).

### **Week 8: *Jus ad Bellum*: Going to War: Aggression, Self-Defense, Pre-emption, Last Resort**

#### **Required Course Readings**

Walzer, chs. 4, 5, 6,

UK Attorney General's Secret Advice to Prime Minister Tony Blair on the Legality of a war against Iraq: <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk\\_politics/vote\\_2005/frontpage/4492439.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/vote_2005/frontpage/4492439.stm)>

Aggression and Preemption, Avalon Project:

<http://search.yale.edu:8765/query.html?qp=+%2Burl%3Awww.yale.edu%2Flawweb%2Favalon&qt=Preemptive+War+and+Aggression>

#### **Background Readings**

H. Bull (ed.), Intervention in World Politics.

A.J. Coates, The Ethics of War.

J.T. Johnson, Can Modern War be Just?

Macquarrie, J. The Concept of Peace.

O. Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, (eds.), Humanitarian Intervention: A Reconceptualization.

S. Korman, The Right of Conquest: The Acquisition of Territory by Force in International Law and Practice (1996).

Howard, Michael (1981). War and the Liberal Conscience.

Robert Tucker, The Just War.

Richard Tuck, The Rights of War and Peace.

Vincent, R.J. Nonintervention and International Order. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.

Wheeler, N. Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

R. Jackson, The Global Covenant (2000).

J. Teichman, The Philosophy of War and Peace (2006).

### **Week 9: *Jus in Bello*: Waging War: Necessity, Restraint, Combatants, Non-Combatants**

#### **Required Course Readings**

Walzer, chs. 8, 9, 10, 16

#### **Background Readings**

G. Best, Humanity in Warfare.

G. Best, War and Law since 1945.

J.T. Johnson, Can Modern War be Just?

I. Clark, Waging War.

A.J. Coates, The Ethics of War, chs. 9, 10, 11

A. Roberts and R. Guelff (eds.) Documents on the Laws of War (1999).

S.L.A. Marshall, Men Against Fire.

M. Greenspan, The Modern Law of Land Warfare.

M.H. Keen, The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages.

R. Jackson, The Global Covenant (2000).

### **Week 10: *Jus in Bello*: Waging War: Irregular War, Terrorism**

#### **Required Course Readings**

Walzer, chs. 10, 11, 12

A. R. Norton, "Drawing the Line on Opprobrious Violence," in Rosenthal, Ethics and International Affairs.

#### **Background Readings**

B.T. Wilkins, Terrorism and Collective Responsibility.

H.M. Zellner (ed), Assassination.

B. Netanyahu (ed.), Terrorism: How the West Can Win.

W. Riech, The Origins of Terrorism.

B.T. Wilkins, Terrorism and Collective Responsibility.

P. Wilkinson, Terrorism and the Liberal State.

### **Week 11: *Jus in Bello*: Some Dilemmas of War: Strategic Bombing, Restrictions on Civil Liberties**

#### **Required Course Readings**

Walzer, chs. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19

#### **Background Readings**

Kissinger, H. Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy.

Levine, A. The Strategic Bombing of Germany.

Longmate, N. The Bombers.

Murnion, P. Catholics and Nuclear War.

Tucker, R. The Law of War and Neutrality at Sea.

M. Cohen, War and Moral Responsibility

### **Week 12: *Jus Post Bellum*: Ending the War & Post-War Issues: Unconditional Surrender, War Crimes Tribunals, Restoring Peace**

#### **Required Course Readings**

Walzer, chs. 7, 18, 19

#### **Background Readings**

A. Marrin, Unconditional Surrender.

J. Carroll, House of War (2006).

A.J. Coates, The Ethics of War.

A. Marrin, Unconditional Surrender

A. Tusa and J. Tusa, The Nuremberg Trials.

M. Marrus, The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials: A Documentary History.

R. Falk, Crimes of War.

T. Taylor, Nuremberg and Vietnam.

B. Broomhall, International Justice and the International Criminal Court

W. Schabas, An Introduction to the International Criminal Court.

### **Week 13. Course Review for Exam**

### **Week 14: Course Review & Office Consultation**