



Spring 2015

26:478:514:01:14276

“ETHICS AND GLOBAL AFFAIRS”

Instructor:

Dr. Ariane Chebel d’Appollonia

arianecd@rutgers.edu

SPAA, 111 Washington Street, Suite 334

Meeting time: Wednesday 1:00 to 3:50 PM (CON 454)

Office hours: after class on Wednesday by appointment

Course Overview

How many civilians is it acceptable to kill or injure in order to capture or kill a single terrorist? Why is it acceptable to launch a war against Muammar Gaddafi in Libya in the name of civilian protection but not Bashar al-Assad in Syria? Or in Bosnia but not Rwanda? When is it acceptable to tap the telephones of ordinary citizens in the name of national security? Why should we ask emerging economies not to pollute the earth when it is the foundation of the wealth of the global north? And who gets to decide that incarcerating criminal and terrorist suspects and illegal migrants for years on end in prisons scattered throughout the world without access to the legal system is consistent with the principles of liberal democracy?

In this course, we will examine these as well as other comparable questions. We will look at the foundations of ethics in public policy, and their role in answering some of the most pressing, topical and difficult challenges of this and successive generations. We will attempt to apply these principles by learning about some of the basic literature on ethics in international relations, debating the pros and cons of the various approaches, and their implications for public policies.

For students, the course’s objectives are to establish a solid foundation in the literature on ethics in international affairs, develop greater analytical agility in applying theoretical material to a wide array of recent cases, and expand proficiency in communicating concepts through weekly class participation as well as the presentation.

Course Structure

The first section of the course includes the presentation of the main concepts, followed by an overview of the main issues relating to the effective implementation of human/ civil rights and public morals in global structures of governance. Topics in this section include:

- ▶ The state and international human rights

- ▶ Markets, states, and political equality
- ▶ The moral standing of states in their foreign policy
- ▶ The changing conception of sovereignty and security
- ▶ Justifying humanitarian interventions
- ▶ Problems of legitimacy, efficiency, and consistency
- ▶ Limits to the globalization of ‘good governance’

The second section is devoted to various empirical case studies such as the recent evolution of human rights regimes; genocide and humanitarian intervention; ‘just’ and ‘unjust’ wars; current issues raised by the impact of counter-terrorism policies on civil liberties, immigration policies and human rights; the development and the securitization of humanitarian aid; and non-Western conceptions of human rights and democracy.

The third section seeks to provide a critical evaluation of the complex relationships between ethics, politics, and state sovereignty, as well as the effective role of human rights efforts in contemporary global affairs.

Major Assignments (in-class presentation, paper, readings):

Each student will be requested to make an oral presentation (of about 15 minutes) from the subjects listed below. Students will be asked to present on one of these subjects in a given week.

Each student will also have to write a research paper of about 25 pages (double space), based on the selected oral presentation topic. This paper is due on May 11. Late papers will be penalized.

All the students are expected to come to each class session prepared to discuss the required readings. The recommended readings are listed for the convenience of those who wish to pursue a particular topic in more depth, especially for the purpose of the in-class presentation.

Grading:

Student grades will be based on the oral presentation (30%) and the final research paper (50%). Regular attendance, careful reading, and active participation (based on required readings) are also taken into account (20%).

Part One

1. Introduction – Jan 21

2. Key notions – Jan 28

- Moral principles and moral laws
- International human rights
- Evolution and influence of norms in global affairs

Required readings :

- Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change”, *International Organization*, vol.52, n°4, Autumn 1998, pp. 887-917.

- Michael Walzer, "The Moral Standing of States: A Response to Four Critics", *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, vol. 9, n°3, Spring 1980, pp. 209-229.

Suggested readings :

- Charles R. Beitz, "The Moral Standing of States Revisited", *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.23, n°4, Winter 2009, pp.325-347.
 - Gerald Doppelt, "Walzer's Theory of Morality in International Affairs", *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, vol. 8, n°1, Autumn 1978, pp.3-26.

3. Moral globalism (I) – Feb 4

- Global ethics and global political praxis
 - Human rights as politics
 - Global justice

Required readings :

- Fred Dallmayr, "Cosmopolitanism : Moral and Political" , *Political Theory*, vol. 31, n°3, June 2003, pp. 421-442.
 - Simon Caney, "International Distributive Justice", *Political Studies*, vol. 49, 2001, pp. 974-997.
 - Terry Nardin, "Middle Ground Ethics: Can One Be Politically Realistic Without Being a Political Realist?", *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.25, n°1, March 2011, pp. 7-16.

Suggested readings :

- Jack Donnelly, "Human Rights: A New Standard of Civilization?", *International Affairs*, vol. 74, n°1, January 1998, pp. 1-23.
 - Allen Buchanan and Robert O. Keohane, "The legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions", *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 20, n°4, 2006, pp. 405-437.
 - Michael Ignatieff, "Human Rights as Politics", in Michael Ignatieff et al, *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, Princeton University Press, 2001, pp. 3-50.

4. Moral globalism (II) – Feb 11

- Ethics and global responsibility
 - Human security
 - Global democracy

→Subject for oral presentation: Human rights and state sovereignty

Required readings :

- Campbell Craig, "The Resurgent Idea of World Government", *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 22, n°2, Summer 2008, pp. 133-142.
 - Michael Goodhart, "Human Rights and Global Democracy", *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 22, n°4, Winter 2008, pp. 395-420.

Suggested readings :

- Mary Midgley, "Towards an Ethics of Global responsibility", in Tim Dunne and Nicholas J. Wheeler (eds.), *Human Rights in Global Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 160-174.
 - Richard Falk, *Human Rights Horizon: The Pursuit of Justice in a Globalizing World*, Routledge, 2000, chapter 13 (Morality and Global Security), pp. 217-234

No class on February 18

5. Global political praxis – Feb 25

- International human rights regimes
- Human rights, state actors and NGOs

→Subjects for oral presentation: 1) Regional human rights regimes; 2) Issues of ethical relativism

Required readings :

- Stephen Schlesinger, “Why a League of Democracies Will Not Work”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 23, n°1, Spring 2009, pp. 13-18.
- Ruth Wedgwood, “Democracies, Human Rights, and Collective Action”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 23, n°1, Spring 2009, pp. 27-37.
- Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, Cornell University Press, 2003, Chapter 10 (The Priority of National Action), pp. 173-183.

Suggested readings :

- Yvonne Terlingen, “The Human Rights Council: A New Era in UN Human Rights Work?”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 21, n°2, 2007, pp. 167-178.
- Richard Gowan, “Five Paradoxes of Peace Operations”, *ZIF*, Center for International Peace Operations, 2011, pp. 1-4.
- Roland Pierik and Mijke Houwerzijl, “Western Policies on Child Labor Abroad”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.20, n°2, 2006, pp. 193-218.

6. Human rights and foreign policy – March 4

- Humanitarian interventions
- Humanitarian violence
- Military humanism

→Subjects for oral presentation: 1) US interventions (Somalia, Afghanistan, Libya); 2) Interventions in former Yugoslavia

Required readings :

- Alex J. Bellamy, « Whither the Responsibility to Protect ? Humanitarian Intervention and the 2005 World Summit », *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 20, n°2, 2006, pp. 143-169.
- Patrick Macklem, “Humanitarian Intervention and the Distribution of Sovereignty in International Law”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 22, n°4, Winter 2008, pp. 349-444.
- Richard Miller, “The Ethics of America’s Afghan War”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.25, n°2, June 2011, pp.103-131

Suggested readings :

- David Carleton and Michael Stohl, “The Foreign Policy of Human Rights: Rhetoric and Reality from Jimmy Carter to Ronald Reagan”, *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 7, n°2, May 1985, pp. 205-229.
- Alex Bellamy, “Libya and the Responsibility to Protect: The Exception and the Norm”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.25, n°3, September 2011, pp.263-269

- Darrel Moellendorf, "Jus ex Bello in Afghanistan", *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.25, n°2, June 2011, pp.155-164 (critics of Miller)

7. Dilemmas of universalism – March 11

- Non Western Human Rights
- Cultural relativism and human rights

→Subjects for oral presentation: 1) Islam and Human rights; 2) Human rights in Asia

Required readings :

- Daniel A. Bell, "The East Asian Challenge to Human Rights: Reflections on an East West Dialogue", *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol.18, n°3, 1996, pp. 641-667.
- Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, Cornell University Press, 2003, Chapter 6, pp. 89-106.

Suggested readings :

- Zachary Karabell, "Iran and Human Rights", in David P. Forsythe, *Human Rights and Comparative Foreign Policy*, United Nations university Press, 2000, pp. 206-223.
- Amartya Sen "Human Rights and Asian Values", in Joel Rosenthal (ed.), *Ethics and International Affairs*, Georgetown University Press, 1999, pp. 170-193

No class on March 18

Part Two

8. Ethics and security – March 25

- Terrorism and human rights
- Counterterrorism and civil liberties

→Subjects for oral presentation: 1) The ethics of terrorist violence; 2) Democracy and the lesser evil

Required readings :

- Anthony Lang, "The Politics of Punishing Terrorists", *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.24, n°1, 2010, pp. 3-12.
- Alex J. Bellamy, *Fighting Terror. Ethical Dilemmas*, Zed Books, 2008, Chapter 3 (A just War on Terror?), pp. 50-71.
- Miroslav Nincic and Jennifer Ramos, "Torture in the Public Mind", *International Studies Perspectives*, 12, 2001, pp. 231-249.

Suggested readings :

- Mark R. Amstutz, *International Ethics*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008, Chapter 7 (The Ethics of Torture and Targeted Killing), pp. 142-150
- Michael Ignatieff, *The Lesser Evil. Political Ethics in an Age of Terror*, Princeton University Press, 2004, Chapter 2 (The Ethics of Emergency), pp. 25-53

9. Ethics and Migration – April 1st

- Rights of vulnerable populations
- Border controls and global mobility
- Immigration and global justice

→Subjects for oral presentation: 1) The rights of migrants in the US; 2) Asylum seekers in Europe

Required readings :

- James A. Goldston, “Holes in the Rights Framework: Racial Discrimination, Citizenship and the Rights of Non Citizens”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 20, n°3, 2006, pp. 321-347.
- Jonathan Seglow, “The Ethics of Immigration”, *Political Studies Review*, vol. 3, 2005, pp. 317-334.
- Joseph Carrens, “The rights of Irregular Migrants”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, 2009, pp. 163-186.

Suggested readings :

- Mathias Risse, “On the Morality of Immigration”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 22, n°1, Fall 2008, pp. 25-33.
- Ryan Pevnick, “An Exchange: The Morality of Immigration”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 22, n°3, Fall 2008, pp. 241-259.

10. Ethics, poverty, development – April 8

- Ethics and global economy
- International economic rights
- The ethics of foreign aid
- Development v. ecological rights

→Subjects for oral presentation: 1) The ethics of economic sanctions; 2) Ecological rights and environmental crisis

Required readings :

- Nancy Kokaz, “Poverty and Global Justice”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 21, n°3, 2007, pp. 317-336.
- Christian Barry and Lydia Tomitova, “Fairness in Sovereign Debt”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 21, n°1, 2007, pp. 41-79.

Suggested readings :

- Tim Hayward, “Human Rights Versus Emissions Rights: Climate Justice and the Equitable Distribution of Ecological Space”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.21, n°4, 2007, pp. 431-450.
- Ann Pettifor, “Resolving International Debt Crises Fairly”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 21, n°1, 2007, pp. 321-329.
- Olga Martin-Ortega, “Business and Human Rights in Conflict”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 22, n°3, 2008, pp. 273-283.

11. Practices of Human wrongs – April 15

- Global violations of human rights
- International responses to mass atrocities

→Subjects for oral presentation: 1) The impact of genocides on ethics; 2) The ICC

Required readings :

- Rajan Menon, « Pious Words, Puny Deeds : The ‘International Community’ and Mass Atrocities », *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.23, n°3, Fall 2009, pp. 235-246.
- Kenneth Rodman, “Why the ICC Should Operate Within Peace Process”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.26, n°1, March 2012, pp. 59-71.
- Benjamin Schiff, “The ICC’s Potential for Doing Bad When Pursuing Good”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.26, n°1, March 2012, pp. 73-81.

Suggested readings :

- Richard Falk, *Human Rights Horizon: The Pursuit of Justice in a Globalizing World*, Routledge, 2000, chapter 10 (The Challenge of Genocidal Politics in an Era of Globalization), pp. 173-188.
- Human Rights Watch website (World Report 2014) at www.hrw.org.

12. Human rights and legal issues – April 22

- Reconciliation commissions
- International Criminal Court and other international instruments

→Subjects for oral presentation: 1) Ethics of retributive justice (Rwanda, Liberia, Kosovo); 2) Comparative analysis of political reconciliation (South Africa, Chile)

Required readings :

- Adam Branch, “Uganda’s Civil War and the Politics of ICC Intervention”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 21, n°2, 2007, pp. 179-198.
- Lyn S. Graybill, “South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Ethical and Theological Perspectives”, in Joel Rosenthal (ed.), *Ethics and International Affairs*, Georgetown University Press, 1999, pp. 370-400.

Suggested readings :

- Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu, “Saddam Hussein’s trial Meets the ‘Fairness’ Test”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.20, n°4, 2006, pp. 517-525.
- Miranda Sissons, “And Now from the Green Zone...Reflections on the Iraq Tribunal’s Dujail Trial”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 20, n°4, 2006, pp. 505-515.

Part Three

13. US exceptionalism – April 29

- Exceptionalism and exemptionalism
- Politics and policies of legal isolationism

→Subjects for oral presentation: 1) The Guantanamo controversy; 2) Why Libya and not Syria? Analysis of the Obama’s doctrine of “leading from behind”

Required readings :

- Andrew Moravcsik, “The Paradox of US. Human Rights Policy”, in Michael Ignatieff, *American Exceptionalism and Human Right*, Princeton University Press, 2005, pp. 147-197
- Richard B. Miller, “Justifications of the Iraq War Examined”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 22, n°1, 2007, pp. 43-67.
- Daniel Brunstetter and Megan Braun, “The Implications of Drones on the Just War Tradition”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.25, n°3, September 2011, pp. 387-358.

Suggested readings :

- Joy Gordon, “Accountability and Global Governance: The case of Iraq”, *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol.20, n°1, 2006, pp. 79-98.
- Jennifer K. Elsea and Michael John Garcia, “Enemy Combatant Detainees: Habeas Corpus Challenges in Federal Court”, Congressional Research Service, February 2010, pp. 1-54.

14. European exceptionalism – May 6

- The ethics of the EU
- European “double standards”
- Normative dimension of European foreign policy

→Subjects for oral presentation: 1) The ECHR; 2) Human rights and EU’s foreign policy

Required readings :

- Ian Manners, “The Normative Ethics of the European Union”, *International Affairs*, vol. 84, n°1, 2008, pp. 65-80.
- Lea Ypi, “Sovereignty, Cosmopolitanism, and the Ethics of European Foreign Policy”, *European Journal of Political Theory*, vol. 7, n°3, July 2008, pp. 349-364.

Suggested readings :

- Richard Youngs, “Normative Dynamics and Strategic Interests in the EU’s External Identity”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 42, n°2, June 2004, pp. 415-435.
- FRA (EU Agency for Fundamental Rights), *Annual Report 2010*.