

Ethics and Foreign Policy

Jay Winik
School of Public Affairs
University of Maryland
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Course Description

Groaning within: without A net is spread,
Gripping the towers about. Man strikes man dead;
And inarticulately Like beasts in dread,
Mother and Infant cry, And blood runs red.
Running, they rob, they fly.
-- Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes*

"War is an Act of force...which theoretically can have no limits."
--Karl Von Clauswitz, *On War*

"War is cruelty and you cannot refine it."
--General Sherman to General Hood

Fiat justica ruat coelum
--"do justice even if the heavens fall"

Ethics in foreign policy is both a timely matter of inquiry and an enduring concern stretching back to the earliest days of civilization. On one hand, the history of the international arena reveals a world of unremitting conflict, violence and warfare. Yet, concepts of justice in war and rules of international behavior have always, to varying degrees, guided the actions of diplomats, warriors, and nation-states. In the emerging and evolving post-Cold War arena, is particularly important to understand and apply ethical precepts to the world stage.

This course will provide students with a historical backdrop, analytic tools, and a theoretical framework for understanding and applying the issues of morality and ethics to national security decisions and behavior, past and present. Topics covered will range from timeless ethical considerations in international affairs and the conduct of foreign policy (e.g., the debate over a "just war"), to the application of a moral vocabulary to contemporary issues, including those now confronting top policy makers (e.g., whether to intervene in Bosnia; what are the international community's obligations toward the starving in Somalia; what are the parameters of action toward North Korea).

The course itself is divided into three unequal parts: the first section assesses morality and the international system; the second, ethics and weapons of mass destruction; and the third, the moral obligations and responsibilities of individuals in the national security arena. The approach will be comprehensive, integrating theory, history, and contemporary case studies. Theoretical readings will be supplemented by readings from other disciplines, including literature and history.

The seminar will meet on Thursday from 1:45-4:15 in Room 1109, School of Public Affairs, Van Munching Hall.

Course Reading

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*
Joseph P. Nye, Jr., *Nuclear Ethics*
Stanley Hoffman, *Duties Beyond Borders*
Charles R. Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*
Elie Wiesel, *Night*
Michael Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience*
Malham W. Wakin, ed., *War, Morality, and the Military Profession*

(Books available in the Maryland Book Exchange; they are also on reserve at McKeldin)

Other Assigned and Suggested Readings :

(on reserve; portions to be read)

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society* Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* Walter Laqueur and Yonah Alexander, *The Terrorism Reader: A Historical Anthology* John Hersey, *Hiroshima* Philip Caputo, *A Rumor of War* Elizabeth Becker, *When The War Was Over* David Hirst, *The Gun and The Olive Branch*

Additional Recommended. but not required. readings :

Robert J. Meyers, ed., *International Ethics in the Nuclear Age*
Michael Joseph Smith, *Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger*
Roland H. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace* (important overview)
John Burton, *Dear Survivors... (after the bomb falls...)*
Sir Neil Cameron, et al., *What Hope in an Armed World*
Hans J. Morganthau, *Politics in the Twentieth Century*
William K. Frankena, *Ethics* (a brief survey of the field)
Kenneth Thompson, *Moral Dimensions of American Foreign Policy* (well written overview)
Robert E. Osgood and Robert W. Tucker, *Force, Order and Justice* (broad discussion, still relevant)
Ralph B. Potter, *War and Moral Discourse*
James T. Johnson, *Can Modern War Be Just?* (written by an expert; still topical)
Leon Wieseltier, *Nuclear war. Nuclear Peace* (articulate, lively)
Jonathan Schell, *The Abolition* (eloquent and much debated case about the nuclear abolitionists)
Freeman Dyson, *Weapons and Hope* (idiosyncratic yet interesting)
Paul Ramsey, *The Just War* (a powerful classic)
David Hillenbach, *Nuclear Ethics: A Christian Moral Argument*
National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response*, May 3, 1983 (and important document from the 1980s)
Ernest W. Lefever and Stephen Hunt, eds., *The Apocalyptic Premise* (A good cross-section of varying views excerpted)
Geoffrey Goodwin, ed., *Ethics and Nuclear Deterrence*

Course Requirements

Each of you will be required either to complete a major critical paper of 15-25 pages on a topic raised in course discussion and the readings, or to take home a final open book examination. Students will also be asked to prepare a short position paper and a short memorandum for classroom presentation and discussion (2-5 pages each). Because we will rely on a good deal of classroom discussion, it is important that you keep current with the assigned reading. For the same reason, your attendance is also critically important. In addition to the required readings, I have included recommended readings for those of you who wish to pursue a topic in greater depth. Should any of you wish to get a more extensive bibliography,

please feel free to consult with me.

You will be graded on a combination of class participation, the analytic paper you write or the final exam, the class presentations/position papers that you are assigned, and class effort. Grading will be discussed in the introductory class.

For SPA MPA and MPM students. Undergraduates, Foreign Policy Fellows, and MBA students will be allowed to take this course by permission.

Course Schedule

Readings with (R) are recommended

1. January 20 INTRODUCTION: WHY ETHICS? THE NEED FOR A MORAL VOCABULARY.
OVERVIEW

Section I: National Security and National Interest: Morality and the International State System

2. January 27 *Realism and Moral Vocabulary: An Enduring Tension?*

Walzer, chs. 1-3 (3-47)

Hoffman, ch 1 (1-43)

Howard, ch. 1

Marshall Cohen, "Moral Skepticism and International Relations, *Philosophy and Public Affairs* , Fall 1984, 298-345(handout)

Hans J. Morganthau, "The Mainsprings of American Foreign Policy," *In Defense of the National Interest* , 3-4, 13-39

Woodrow Wilson, Speeches, D in Arnold Wolfers and Lawrence Martin, eds. *The Anglo-American Tradition in Foreign Affairs*

Baiton, chs. 1 and 2 (R)

Beitz, 3-63 (R)

Thucydides, ~Melian Dialogue,- in *Peloponnesian War* (Penguin Edition), 400-408 (R)

3. February 3 *Intervention: Theory, Principles, and Cases: Cut One*

Walzer chs. 4-6 (51-108)

Hoffman, ch 2 (45-93)

Howard, ch. 2

Elie Wiesel, *Night*

or

Elizabeth Becker, *When The War Was Over* , chs. 5 and 6 (175-271).

John McCloy World War II letter (handout)

4. February 10 *Cut-Two: The New International Order: Dashed Hopes and Missed Opportunities*

Beitz 67-115

Bull, ch. 4 and 5 (77-126)

Howard, chs. 3, 4, 5

Stephen J. Solarz, "When to Intervene," *Foreign Policy*, Summer 1986, pp. 20-39

Other Recommended Readings from *Foreign Affairs* , and *Foreign Policy* , including:

Dusko Doder, "Yugoslavia: New War, Old Hatreds," *Foreign Policy* , Summer, 1993

and Cvijeto Job, Yugoslavia's Ethnic Furies, *Foreign Policy* , Fall 1993, 52-74

Policy Exercise: Cambodia, Bosnia, North Korea

5. February 17 *Human Rights: The Moral Imperative?*

Hoffman, 95-140

Czeslaw Milosz, *The Captive Mind* (read chs. 1 and 4: "The Pill of Murti-Bing" and "Alpha, the Moralist")

J. Bryan Hehir, "The United States and Human Rights: Policy for the 1990s in Light of the Past," 233-255, in Kenneth Oye, Robert Lieber and David Rothchild, eds., *Eagle in a New World*

David Luban, "The Romance of the Nation State" (238-242) and "Just War and Human Rights," (195-216) in Charles Beitz et al., *International Ethics*

Brad Roberts, "Human Rights and International Security," *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 1990, 65-75

Albert Einstein, "Humanism in Praise of Peace," 135-139, in Irving Louis Horowitz ed., *War and Peace in Contemporary*

Social and Philosophical Theory

Bilahari Kausikan, "Asia's Different Standard," and Aryeh Neier, "Asia's Unacceptable Standard," in *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1993, 24-51

Nicholas D. Kristof, "The Rise of China," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1993, 59-74 (R)

Student Discussion: China and MFN: What Should US Policy Be, and what are the Ethical Imperatives?

6. February 24 *Duties To Share?*

Hoffman ch. 4 (141-186)

Beitz 125-176

Howard, ch. 6

Robert Tucker, *The Inequality of Nations*, 3-71

Robert Keohane, "Empathy and International Regimes," in *Beyond Interest*, 227-236 (handout)

Richard Gardner, "The Comeback of Liberal Internationalism," *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 1980

Wm. Roger Louis, ed., *Imperialism* (sections)

Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Theories of Imperialism* (R)

James C. Clad and Roger Stone, "New Mission for Foreign Aid," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1993, 196-205 (R)

7. March 3 In the Grey Zone of Passion and Conflict: Terrorism, *Guerrilla War. Reprisals and Blockades*

Walzer, chs. 10-14 (160-232)

Walter Laqueur, *Guerrilla* (selected sections)

Handouts on: Entebbe; Iraq; Haiti

Wakin, ch. 26

David Hirst, *The Gun and The Olive Branch*, ch. 9

Adm. Stansfield Turner, *Terrorism and Democracy* (R)

Section II: Ethics, Nuclear Deterrence, and Weapons of Mass Destruction

8. March 10 "Thank God for The Atom Bomb?"

Walzer, 263-268 (reread 21-47)

John Hersey, *Hiroshima*

Adam Meyerson, "Atoms for Peace," *Policy Review* (Summer 1985)

Kai Erickson, "Of Accidental Judgments and Casual Slaughters," *The Nation* (August 3/10, 1985), 80-85

Rufus E. Miles, Jr., "Hiroshima: The Strange Myth of Half a Million Lives Saved," *International Security*, 121-140

Excerpts from President Harry Truman (handout)

(Paper topics due)

Spring Break

9. March 24 OPEN CLASS

10. March 31 *The Moral Dilemma of Nuclear Deterrence in the Cold War*

Walzer, chs. 7-9 (109-159) and 17 (269-283)

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Nuclear Ethics*

Robert Tucker, "The Nuclear Debate" *Foreign Affairs* (Fall 1984) 1-32

Wieseltier (R)

"The Challenge of Peace" (R)

Howard, *War and the Liberal Conscience* reread chs. 1 and 2(R)

10. April 7 What Now -- and the Special Problem of New Nuclears and other Weapons of Mass Destruction

Handouts

Class by guest speaker

Section III: Individuals in the System: Questions of Responsibility and Justice

11. April 14 *Institutional Roles and Individual Responsibility*

Walzer, ch. 11 (176-196); ch 18. 287-303

Wakin, chs. 17, 18, 21

Choice of one of the following:

Caputo, *A Rumor of War*

or

The Seventh Day: Soldiers Talk About the Six Day War

Michael Howard, *War in European History*, ch. 2 and 3 (R)

Michael Walzer, *Obligations: Essays on Disobedience, War, and Citizenship* (part 2) (R)

Handouts: Sherman's Evacuation of Atlanta, from W.T. Sherman, *Memoirs* (R)

General Johnston's Memoirs, from Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations* (R)

12. April 21 *Banality or Criminality?*

Walzer, ch. 19, (304-327)

Wakin, chs. 9, 10, 13, 19, 22

Theodore Moran, "The Case for War Crimes Trials in Yugoslavia," *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993, 122-135

Michael Walzer, "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 62-82 (handout)

Judgment of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg: The Charter Provisions, in Adam Roberts and Richard Guelff, eds., *Documents on the Laws of War* (R)

Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (sections)

13. April 28 *Theory at its Limits? The Doctrine of Supreme Emergence*

Walzer chs. 14, 15, and 16 (225-268)

Presentation/Discussion

14. May 5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Final exam handed out this week (You have a week)

Paper due final day of exams.