

**Political Science 4896:
Capstone Seminar on Ethics and International Relations**

Instructor: Prof. Mark A. Pollack
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Office Hours: M 11:45 – 12:30 p.m.
M 1:30 – 2:30 p.m.
W 11:45 – 12:30 p.m.

This course offers an introduction to, and in-depth discussion of, ethical issues in international relations. The course is divided into three parts. The first part of the course provides a general introduction to ethical theory, followed by an examination of the major schools of thought regarding the possibility (or impossibility) of ethical conduct in the international arena. The second part of the course focuses on ethical issues concerning the use of force, including the problems of *jus ad bellum* (the justice of war) and *jus in bello* (justice in war), and looks extensively at ethical problems of military intervention in places such as Vietnam, Somalia, Haiti, and the former Yugoslavia, as well as at the question of international terrorism and the “war” against it, and the “pre-emptive” or “preventive” war in Iraq. Third and finally, we turn from military questions to relatively new ethical issues in international relations, including human rights, distributive justice, and environmental protection. The schedule of class meetings is as follows:

- Week 1: Introduction (Jan 28)
- Week 2: Introduction to Ethical Theory (Feb 4)
- Week 3: Political Realism from Thucydides to Today (Feb 11)
- Week 4: Deontology and Liberalism (Feb 11)
- Week 5: *Jus ad bellum*: Aggression and Self-Defense (Feb 18)
- Week 6: *Jus in bello*: The Conduct of War (Feb 25)
- Week 7: Intervention: Principles and Practice (March 3)
- Week 8: International Ethics in an Age of Terror (March 17;
No class March 24, 31 – work on research papers!)
- Week 9: Human Rights and Global Distributive Justice (April 7)
- Week 10: Environmental Ethics and Climate Change (April 14)
- Weeks 11-13: Presentation of Papers and Conclusions (Apr 21, 28, May 5)

Course Requirements. As a capstone seminar, this course is also listed as writing-intensive, meaning that we will place heavy emphasis on reading comprehension, writing, and classroom presentation and discussion. Specific course requirements include:

1. Weekly readings of approximately 100-200 pages per week;
2. Participation in class discussions (20% of the grade);

3. Four short essays (1-2 pages, *double-spaced*) responding to the weekly readings, of which three should be written in the first six weeks of the course (30% of the grade); and
4. A research paper on a topic of the student's choice, to be undertaken in four stages: (a) a preliminary statement of the topic and argument of the paper, and a draft outline of the paper, maximum 1-2 pages (5% of the grade), due March 3rd; (b) a preliminary annotated bibliography of primary and secondary sources used in the research of the paper (5% of the grade), due April 7th; (c) oral presentation of the draft paper in class during weeks 11-13 (approx 10-12 minutes plus question-and-answer session with fellow students, 10% of the grade); and (d) a final draft paper (10-20 pages, 30% of the grade), due on May 12.

Please note that all of the writing assignments will be assessed primarily on the basis of the substantive arguments about ethics and IR, but also on the basis of how clearly and carefully they are written.

Required Reading: The following required books are available in the University Bookstore:

- Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (Penguin edition).
- William Frankena, *Ethics* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1973).
- Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 4th edition, (New York: Basic Books, 2006).
- Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2003).

Unless otherwise indicated, all other required readings are included in a readings packet which will be available for purchase (details to be announced in class) and on reserve at Paley Library. Other good texts on international ethics, which will be used only briefly or not at all in the course but may be useful as starting points for research papers, include:

- Stanley Hoffmann, *Duties Beyond Borders* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1981).
- Terry Nardin and David Mapel, eds., *Traditions of International Ethics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Mark R. Amstutz, *International Ethics* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, second edition, 2005).

Disability policy: Any student who has a need for accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact me privately to discuss the specific situation as soon as possible. Contact Disability Resources and Services at 215-204-1280 or 100 Ritter Annex to coordinate reasonable accommodations for students with documented disabilities.

Academic Conduct

Temple University has adopted standards on academic conduct, and all students in PS 460 are expected to comply fully with those standards, including with reference to the important issue of plagiarism. All students should, in all assignments, fully and unambiguously cite sources from which they are drawing important ideas and/or sizable quotations (for example, more than eight consecutive words or more than 50% of a given sentence or paragraph). Failure to do so constitutes plagiarism, which is a serious act of academic misconduct and will result in a failing grade for the course and notification of the infraction to the Dean of Students. Similarly, cheating during exams, copying written assignments from other students, or providing answers to others during exams are considered acts of academic misconduct. If you are unfamiliar with policies about plagiarism or other types of academic misconduct, you may wish to consult the on-line guide to “Quoting, Paraphrasing, and Acknowledging Sources,” available at the Temple Writing Center (http://www.temple.edu/writingctr/student_resources/student_resources.htm) or if you still have remaining doubts or specific questions, raise them directly with me.

Temple University policy on the freedom to teach and learn:

Freedom to teach and freedom to learn are inseparable facets of academic freedom. The University has adopted a policy on Student and Faculty Academic Rights and Responsibilities (Policy # 03.70.02) which can be accessed through the following link: http://policies.temple.edu/getdoc.asp?policy_no=03.70.02.

SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND READINGS

PART I: THE PROBLEM OF ETHICS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Week 1: Introduction (Jan 28)

Required

Stanley Hoffmann, *Duties Beyond Borders*, Chapter 1.

Recommended

Terry Nardin and David Mapel, eds., *Traditions of International Ethics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Charles R. Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Mark R. Amstutz, *International Ethics* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999).

Peter Singer, *One World: The Ethics of Globalization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

The journal *Ethics and International Affairs*, various issues, for a good overview of the evolution of the field.

Week 2: Introduction to Ethical Theory (Feb 4)

Required

* William K. Frankena, *Ethics*, Chapters 1-3, 6.

Recommended

Michael Palmer, *Moral Problems: A Coursebook* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), esp. chapters 1 (ethics), 2 (utilitarianism) and 3 (Kant and deontology).

Frances V. Harbour, *Thinking About International Ethics: Moral Theory and Cases from American Foreign Policy* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 77-91 and 111-129 (chapters 5 and 7, on consequentialism and deontology, respectively).

Week 3: Political Realism from Thucydides to Today (Feb 11)

Required

* Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (New York: Penguin, 1972), pp. 35-87, 118-164, 212-223, 236-45, and 400-409.

Machiavelli, *The Prince*, chapters 15, 18, and 21.

Arnold Wolfers and Laurence Martin, eds., *The Anglo-American Tradition in Foreign Affairs*, selections from Hobbes, pp. 26-40.

George Kennan, "Morality and Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (Winter 1985/86), pp. 205-18.

Recommended

Amstutz, *International Ethics*, pp. 53-58.

Michael Doyle, "Complex Realism: Thucydides," in *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism and Socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), pp. 49-92.

Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation," in H. Gerth and C.W. Mills, eds., *From Max Weber* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 77-75, 117-128.

Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (New York: Knopf, 1978, fifth edition), pp. 3-15.

Marshall Cohen, "Moral Skepticism and International Relations," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Fall 1984), pp. 299-346.

Michael Joseph Smith, *Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986).

Steven Forde, "Varieties of Realism: Thucydides and Machiavelli," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (1992), pp. 372-393.

Nardin and Mapel, *Traditions of International Ethics*, Chapters 4 and 6 (on classical and modern realism, respectively).

Week 4: Deontology and Liberalism (Feb 11)

Required

Arnold Wolfers and Laurence Martin, eds., *The Anglo-American Tradition in Foreign Affairs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), pp. 41-54, 206-219, and 263-79 [selections from Locke, Mill, and Wilson].

Thomas Donaldson, "Kant's Global Rationalism," in Nardin and Mapel, *Traditions of International Ethics*, pp. 136-157.

* Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, Chapter 1 ("Against Realism"), pp. 3-20.

Recommended

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

Michael Joseph Smith, "Liberalism and International Reform," in Nardin and Mapel, *Traditions of International Ethics*, pp. 201-224.

Anthony Ellis, "Utilitarianism and International Ethics," in Nardin and Mapel, pp. 158-179.

Palmer, *Moral Problems*, Chapter 4: The Theory of Immanuel Kant.

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (New York: Belknap Press, revised edition, 1999)

PART II: THE USE OF FORCE AND THE JUST WAR TRADITION

Week 5: *Jus ad bellum*: Aggression and Self-Defense (Feb 18)

Required

* Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chapters 2-5 and 7.

Beitz, Cohen, Scanlon, and Simmons, eds. *International Ethics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 195-243 (debate between Walzer and Luban).

Recommended

* Hoffmann, *Duties Beyond Borders*, Chapter 2.

Ronald Bainton, *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace* (New York: Abington Press, 1960), pp. 66-135 [excellent summary of Christian Just-War tradition].

Stanley Hoffmann, "The Price of War," *New York Review of Books*, 17 January 1991.

Richard B. Miller, *Casualty and Modern Ethics* (University of Chicago Press, 1996), chapter 2, “Justice, Complicity, and the War Against Iraq.”

Topic: Feminist Perspectives

Jean Bethke Elshstain, “Is There a Feminist Tradition on War and Peace?” in Terry Nardin, ed., *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 214-227.

Sarah Tobias, “Toward a Feminist Ethic of War and Peace,” in Terry Nardin, ed., *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, pp. 228-41.

Week 6: *Jus in bello*: The Conduct of War (Feb 25)

Required

* Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chapters 8, 9, 14, 16, and 17.

Symposium, “Twenty Years of Michael Walzer’s *Just and Unjust Wars*,” *Ethics and International Affairs*, Volume 11 (1997) articles by Michael Smith and Joseph Boyle.

Recommended

Antonio Cassese, *Violence and Law in the Modern Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), chapters 5, 7, and 8.

Marshall Cohen, Terry Nagel and Thomas Scanlon, eds, *War and Moral Responsibility* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 104-58.

J. Glenn Gray, *The Warriors* (New York: Harper & Row), chapter 6.

Joseph S. Nye, *Nuclear Ethics* (New York: Free Press, 1984).

Nina Tannenwald, “The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use,” *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Summer 1999), pp. 433-468.

Topic: The Ethics of Economic Sanctions

Albert C. Pierce, “Just War Principles and Economic Sanctions,” *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 10 (1996), pp. 99-113.

Mark R. Amstutz, *International Ethics*, chapter 7 on economic sanctions, pp. 145-65.

Jay Gordon, "A Peaceful, Silent, Deadly Remedy: The Ethics of Economic Sanctions," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 13 (1999), pp. 123-42.

George A. Lopez, "More Ethical Than Not: Sanctions as Surgical Tools," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 13 (1999), pp. 143-48.

Week 7: Intervention: Principles and Practice (March 3)

Required

* Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, Chapter 6 and "Preface to the Third Edition."

Michael Mandelbaum, "Foreign Policy as Social Work," *Foreign Affairs: Agenda 1996* (New York: Council of Foreign Relations).

Stanley Hoffmann, "In Defense of Mother Teresa: Morality in Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75 (March/April 1996), pp. 172-175.

Kofi Annan, "Two Concepts of Sovereignty," *The Economist*, 18 September 1999.

Gareth Evans and Mohammed Sahnoun, "The Responsibility to Protect," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2002, pp. 99-110.

* Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2003), read chapter 1 plus **at least two** of the following chapters: 8 (Iraq), 9 (Bosnia), 10 (Rwanda), 11 (Srebrenica), and 12 (Kosovo).

Scott Strauss, "Darfur and the Genocide Debate," *Foreign Affairs* (January-February 2005).

Recommended

Michael Smith, "Ethics and Intervention," *Ethics and International Affairs*, Vol. 3 (1989), pp. 1-26.

Michael J. Smith, "Humanitarian Intervention: An Overview of the Ethical Issues," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 12 (1998), pp. 63-79.

Stanley Hoffmann, *The Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997).

Thomas G. Weiss and Jarat Chopra, "Sovereignty under Siege: From Intervention to Humanitarian Space," in Gene M. Lyons and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *Beyond Westphalia? State Sovereignty and International Intervention* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 87-114.

Mark Amstutz, "The Ethics of Intervention," chapter 6 in *International Ethics*, pp. 119-143.

Martha Finnemore, "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention," in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 153-85.

Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism and Socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), Chapter 11 (nonintervention).

Thomas G. Weiss and Cindy Collins, *Humanitarian Challenges and Intervention*, 2nd edition (Boulder, Westview Press, 2000).

Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam: A History* (New York: Penguin, 1991).

Walter La Feber, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America* (New York: Norton, 1984).

Lori Fisler Damrosch, ed., *Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993) [good for early history of Bosnia case, plus Somalia, Cambodia, and early phases of Haiti].

Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs Case Study No. 18: The Problem of Doing Good: Somalia as a Case Study in Humanitarian Intervention.

Walter Clark and Jeffrey Herbst, "Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (March/April 1996), pp. 70-85.

Stanley Hoffmann, "The Debate About Intervention," in Chester Crocker, Fen Hampson, and Pamela Aall, *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2001), pp. 273-84.

Nicholas Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

J.L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, eds., *Humanitarian Interventions: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

John Tirman, "The New Humanitarianism: How Military Intervention Became the Norm," *Boston Review*, December 2003/January 2004, pp. 24-27.

Michael N. Barnett, *Witness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002).

Carl Cavanaugh Hodge, "Casual War: NATO's Intervention in Kosovo," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 14 (2000), pp. 39-54.

Richard Caplan, "Humanitarian Intervention: Which Way Forward?" *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 14 (2000).

Laura Silber and Allan Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation* (New York: Penguin, 1995).

Susan L. Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995).

David Rieff, *Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995).

Chuck Sudetic, *Blood and Vengeance: One Family's Story of the War in Bosnia* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998).

David Rhode, *Endgame: The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica, Europe's Worst Massacre Since World War II* (Boulder: Westview, 1998).

Richard Holbrooke, *To End a War* (New York: Random House, 1998).

Week 8: International Ethics in an Age of Terror (March 17)

Required

On Terrorism

* Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chapter 12.

On Counter-Terrorism

"Roundtable: The New War: What Rules Apply?" *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2002), available on-line at: http://cceia.org/lib_volume16_1.html.

Steven Walt, "Beyond Bin Laden: Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Winter 2001/2002), pp. 56-78.

On Pre-emption and Preventive Strikes

* Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, reread chapter 5 ("Anticipations").

The White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (September 2002), Sections I, III, and V (available on-line at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>).

“Iraq: Were We Wrong?” special issue of *The New Republic*, 28 June 2004, essays by the editors, Leon Wieseltier, John McCain, Kenneth Pollack, and Thomas L. Friedman.

Fernando Tesón, “Ending Tyranny in Iraq,” *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Summer 2005), pp. 1-20.

Terry Nardin, “Humanitarian Imperialism: Response to ‘Ending Tyranny in Iraq’,” *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Summer 2005), pp. 21-26.

Recommended

On Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism

Paul Pillar, *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington: D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2001).

Strobe Talbott and Nayan Chanda, eds., *The Age of Terror: America and the World after September 11* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

Gideon Rose and James F. Hoge, eds., *How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001).

Charles R. Beitz, “Covert Intervention as a Moral Problem,” *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 3 (1989), pp. 45-60.

Gregory F. Treverton, “Imposing a Standard: Covert Action and American Democracy,” *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 3, pp. 27-43.

Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Just War Against Terror: The Burden of American Power in a Violent World* (New York: Basic Books, 2004).

On Preemption, Prevention, and the War in Iraq

Michael Walzer, *Arguing About War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

Allen Buchanan and Robert O. Keohane, “The Preventive Use of Force: A Cosmopolitan Institutional Proposal,” *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Winter 2004).

Steven Lee, “A Moral Critique of the Cosmopolitan Institutional Proposal,” *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Summer 2005).

Allen Buchanan and Robert O. Keohane, "Justifying Preventive Force: Reply to Stephen Lee," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 2.

Fernando Tesón, "Of Tyrants and Empires: Reply to Terry Nardin," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Summer 2005), pp. 27-33.

Stanley Hoffmann, *The Imperial Temptation and the War in Iraq* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).

Ivo H. Daalder and James Lindsay, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2003).

Anthony H. Cordesman, *The Iraq War: Strategy, Tactics, and Military Lessons* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2004).

PART III: ETHICS AND THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Week 9: Human Rights and Global Distributive Justice (April 7)

Required

Stanley Hoffmann, *Duties Beyond Borders*, chapters 3 and 4 [on human rights and global distributive justice, respectively].

Michael Ignatieff, "Is the Human Rights Era Ending?" *The New York Times*. 5 February 2002.

Peter Singer, *One World: The Ethics of Globalization* (New Haven: Yale University Press 2002), Chapter 5: "One Community?" pp. 150-195.

Andrew Kuper, "More than Charity: Cosmopolitan Alternatives to the 'Singer Solution'," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 107-120; and the subsequent debate between Singer and Kuper, pp. 121-128.

Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), pp. 1-4, 20-25, 188-220, and 288-308.

Recommended: Human Rights

David P. Forsyth, *Human Rights in International Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Jack Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, 2nd edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997).

R.J. Vincent, *Human Rights and International Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

David P. Forsythe, *Human Rights in International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Chris Brown, "Universal Human Rights: A Critique," in Tim Dunne and Nicholas J. Wheeler, eds., *Human Rights in Global Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 103-127.

Jack Donnelly, "Human Rights and Asian Values: A Defense of 'Western' Universalism," in Joanne R. Bauer and Daniel A. Bell, *The East Asian Challenge for Human Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 60-87.

Henry Shue, *Basic Rights* (Princeton University Press, 1980), chapters 1, 7.

Recommended: Global Distributive Justice

Peter Singer, "Famine, Affluence, and Morality," in Charles R. Beitz et al, eds., *International Ethics*, (Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 249-61.

Thomas Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms* (London: Polity Press, 2002).

John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

David Hallran Lumsdaine, *Moral Vision in International Politics: The Foreign Aid Regime, 1949-1989* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Ethan B. Kapstein, "Winners and Losers in the Global Economy," *International Organization*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring 2000), pp. 359-384.

Ethan B. Kapstein, "Distributive Justice and International Trade," *Ethics & International Affairs*," Vol. 13 (1999), pp. 175-204.

Barry Eichengreen, "The Global Gamble on Financial Liberalization: Reflections on Capital Mobility, National Autonomy, and Social Justice," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 13 (1999).

Caroline Thomas, "International Financial Institutions and Social and Economic Human Rights: An Exploration," in Tony Evans, *Human Rights Fifty Years on: A Reappraisal* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 161-85.

Steven Weber, "International Organizations and the Pursuit of Justice in the World Economy," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 14 (2000).

Mark W. Zacher, "Globalization, Justice, and International Institutions: A Commentary," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 14 (2000).

Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Anchor Books, 2000).

Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003).

Jagdish Bhagwati, *In Defense of Globalization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Topic: Asylum and Refugees

Gil Loescher, *Beyond Charity: International Cooperation and the Global Refugee Crisis*, Introduction and Chapter 1.

Gil Loescher and John Scanlan, *Calculated Kindness: Refugees and America's Half-Open Door* (Free Press, 1986), introduction.

Week 10: The Ethics of the Global Environment and the Case of Climate Change (April 14)

Required

William Frankena, "Ethics and the Environment," in Kenneth E. Goodpaster and K.M. Sayer, eds., *Ethics and Problems of the 21st Century* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1979).

Peter Singer, *Animal Liberation* (New York: Avon Books, 1975), chapter 1.

Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac* (Ballantyne Books, 1991), pp. 237-264, "The Land Ethic."

Edward Johnson, "Treating the Dirt: Environmental Ethics and Moral Theory," in Tom Regan, ed., *Earthbound* (Temple University Press, 1984), pp. 336-365.

Elizabeth Kolbert, "The Climate of Man – III: What Can Be Done?" *The New Yorker*, May 9, 2005, pp. 52-63.

Peter Singer, *One World: The Ethics of Globalization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), Chapter 2: "One Atmosphere," pp. 14-50.

Recommended

John Passmore, *Man's Responsibility for Nature: Ecological Problems and Western Traditions* (Scribner, 1974), chapters 1 and 2.

John Barkdull and Paul G. Harris, "The Land Ethic: A New Philosophy for International Relations," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol 12 (1998), pp. 159-77.

Henry Shue, "The Unavoidability of Justice," in Andrew Hurrell and Benedict Kingsbury, eds., *The International Politics of the Environment* (Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 373-397.

Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," in Garrett Hardin and John Baden, eds., *Managing the Commons* (Freeman, 1977), pp. 16-30.

Oran Young, "International Environmental Governance," in Oran Young, *International Governance* (Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 12-32.

Thomas C. Schelling, "The Cost of Combatting Global Warming," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1997.

Michael Grubb et al., *The Kyoto Protocol: A Guide and Assessment* (Earthscan Publications, 1999).

David G. Victor, *The Collapse of the Kyoto Protocol and the Struggle to Slow Global Warming* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Thomas C. Schelling, "What Makes Greenhouse Sense?" *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2002.

David G. Victor, *Climate Change: Debating America's Policy Options* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2004), pp. 1-75.

Stephen M. Gardiner, "The Global Warming Tragedy and the Dangerous Illusion of the Kyoto Protocol," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 18, No. 1.

Elizabeth R. Desombre, "Global Warming: More Common Than Tragic," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 18, No. 2.

PART IV: CLASS PRESENTATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Weeks 11-13: Presentation of Papers and Conclusions (April 21, 28, May 5;
individual presentation dates to be assigned during the semester)