

PSCI 5602
Ethics in International Relations
Wednesday 11:35-2:25

Professor: Fiona Robinson

Office Hours: Tues 9:30-11:30

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Wed 9:30-11:30

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AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this course is to provide students with the necessary tools to think critically about theories and issues related to international ethics. International ethics is a rapidly expanding field within the discipline of International Relations; this growth has been driven partly by developments in related fields of moral and political philosophy, as well as by the evident moral urgency of many contemporary global problems – including poverty and justice, the ethics of war and conflict, human rights and the environment. This course will address and critique competing theoretical perspectives on international ethics. Armed with this theoretical background, we will examine issues and problems in international ethics, including poverty and global justice, the ethics of war and intervention, environmental ethics, and the ethics of global health and ‘intimate’ labour. By the end of the course you should have a strong grasp of dominant and critical theoretical approaches to international ethics; you should also be able to use these approaches to make sense of explicit and implicit ethical questions related to world politics.

STRUCTURE AND ASSESSMENT

The course is organized as a seminar and meets weekly for three hours. Seminars will normally begin with a brief introduction from the instructor; this will be followed by presentations, general discussion and debate. The final class of the term will be reserved for our ‘mini-conference’ on International Ethics. Students will present their papers in a ‘conference-style’, which will include comments, questions and general discussion.

ASSESSMENT:

Participation (includes attendance, regular seminar participation, and presentation of reading responses):	30%
3 Written Reading Responses (Sept. 19 and 2 other dates)	15%
Research Paper Proposal (due Week 8, Oct 31)	5%
Research Paper Presentation (Nov 28)	10%
Final Research Paper: (due week 12, Nov 28)	40%

Participation: Attendance at weekly seminars is mandatory. Your participation grade will be based on your attendance at these meetings throughout the term, as well as the quality and quantity of your participation in discussions. Students are expected to have completed the required reading before the seminar and to arrive prepared to discuss that week's material. To earn a grade of 15 or higher out of 20, you must have perfect or near perfect attendance, and have made regular, informed contributions to the discussion. If you have to miss a seminar for a legitimate reason, please inform me as soon as possible (preferably before the seminar). All students are required to show respect for the instructor and the other students in the group during presentations and group discussions. **The use of laptops/iPads/smartphones in class will be restricted to consulting electronic versions of readings or occasional consultation of the internet when necessary.**

Reading Responses: Students will submit 3 reading responses. All students will submit their first reading response on September 19 (Week 2). On that date students will choose dates for their other two responses. Reading responses should be one page (single-spaced, 12-point font), and should address ONE of the discussion points listed for the assigned week. Reading responses should NOT summarize the reading(s), but should address the question/issue raised in the discussion points. Students should use only the course readings to write reading responses. Sources should be properly cited and documented. Reading responses should be e-mailed to the instructor -- (Fiona_Robinson@carleton.ca) -- BEFORE class on the due dates (September 19; two other dates to be determined). A hard copy will be submitted to the instructor in class. Students should come to class prepared to present their reading responses to class as a means of leading off discussion.

Research Paper Proposal: All students will submit a research paper proposal. The proposal should be approximately 2-3 pages (12-pt, single-spaced), and should include the following: a) a working title; b) a research question; c) a working argument/thesis; d) a paragraph outlining the direction or the analysis and issues to be addressed; and e) an annotated bibliography (at least 5 sources beyond class readings).

Research Paper Presentation: All students will be required to present their final papers in our class 'mini conference' on International Ethics. Papers will be grouped together into 'panels'; following the presentations, there will be time for comments, questions and discussion. The Presentation will be worth 10% of the final mark. Presentations will be marked on coherence and organization, strength of the main argument, quality of the research and analysis, and the clarity of the verbal delivery.

Final Research Paper: All students will be required to write one substantial research essay (20 – 25 pages). The essay will be on a topic of the student's choice related to the general topic of ethics and international relations. Essay topics may be purely theoretical; however, in most cases, students will choose to address a particular ethical issue or problem in IR. However, all essays must have a clear theoretical framework or 'lens' through which they examine the issue(s) in question. Research essays should be e-mailed

to me by 10am on Wednesday November 28th. During the final class, students will have an opportunity to share the arguments, analyses and conclusions of their essays with the rest of the class. This final presentation will be worth 15% of the final mark.

TEXTBOOKS AND READINGS

Many of the readings for this course are available on-line through the Library's electronic journals. All other readings (in books) have been placed on reserve in the Library.

OTHER INFORMATION

Submission of Written Assignments: Students must submit an electronic version of the reading responses (to be e-mailed to the instructor BEFORE class on the due date) and hard copies of their reading responses and essays. Students who are unable to submit their written assignments on time may deposit them in the Departmental "Drop Box" (a mail slot in the wall) located in the corridor outside of room B640 Loeb. Assignments are retrieved once every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. Assignments submitted after 4:00pm will be date stamped as received the next business day.

Late submissions will be accepted but penalized by one third of a letter grade per day (e.g. from A- to B+) (Friday to Monday will count as one day!) for up to seven calendar days. Written assignments will not be accepted after one week without consultation with the instructor.

Extensions will be granted at the discretion of the course instructor and only for serious and documented medical reasons or for other emergency personal circumstances. Requests for extensions submitted after the due date will not be considered. It is the students' responsibility to manage their time effectively.

Office hours and e-mail: If you wish to discuss any aspect of the course with me, please attend my office hours (posted above). If you cannot make it to my office hours, please see me in class to arrange an alternate meeting time. Please DO NOT e-mail me regarding questions you have concerning the course (unless it is a brief procedural or information-related question requiring a brief answer). Students are strongly encouraged to meet with me during my office hours to discuss their essay topic and progress.

WEEKLY TOPICS AND READINGS

Week 1 **Thinking about Ethics and International Relations Theory:**
Sept 12 **Untangling morality, politics and power**

Duncan Bell, 'Political Realism and the limits of Ethics' in Duncan Bell, ed., *Ethics and World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Richard Price, 'Moral Limit and Possibility in World Politics', *International Organization*, 62(2), 2008: 191-220.

Mervyn Frost (1998) 'A Turn not Taken: Ethics in IR at the Millennium', *Review of International Studies*, 24, Special Issue: 119-132.

David Campbell and Michael Shapiro, 'Introduction: From Ethical Theory to the Ethical Relation' in David Campbell and Michael Shapiro, eds., *Moral Spaces: Rethinking Ethics and World Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Discussion Points:

1. Can realism be 'ethical'?
2. Why has IR theory traditionally been inhospitable to questions of ethics?
3. What is the purpose of ethical analysis of world politics?
4. Is ethical analysis of world politics necessarily 'utopian'?
5. Does ethics stand apart from power and politics, or does it function through them?
6. What is the relationship between ethics and critical theory in IR?

Week 2 Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism
Sept 19

David Miller (2002) 'Cosmopolitanism: A Critique', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 5(3): 80-85.

Thomas Pogge (2002) 'Cosmopolitanism: A Defence', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 5(3): 86-91.

Carol Gould (2010) 'Do Cosmopolitan Ethics and Cosmopolitan Democracy Imply Each Other?', *Questioning Cosmopolitanism: Studies in Global Justice*, Volume 6, Part 2: 153-166. Available on-line at <http://www.springerlink.com/content/t7x724j7q3123234/>

Michael Walzer (1980), 'The Moral Standing of States: A Response to Four Critics', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 9(3): 209-229.

Discussion Points:

1. What is the difference between 'ethical' and 'political' cosmopolitanism?
2. How convincing is the communitarian critique of cosmopolitanism?
3. What are the differences between communitarianism and realism?
4. On what grounds does Walzer advocate non-intervention? Do you find his argument morally defensible?

Week 3 Critical Approaches to Ethics
Sept 26

Kimberly Hutchings, *Global Ethics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010. Chapter 3, 'Alternatives to Ethical Rationalism'.

David Campbell, 'The Deterritorialization of Responsibility: Levinas, Derrida and Ethics after the End of Philosophy' in David Campbell and Michael Shapiro, eds., *Moral Spaces: Rethinking Ethics and World Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Kimberly Hutchings, 'Feminist Ethics and Political Violence', *International Politics*, 44(1): 90-106. (online)

Jabri, Vivienne (2007) 'Solidarity and Spheres of Culture: The Cosmopolitan and the Postcolonial', *Review of International Studies*. 33(4): 715-728.

Discussion Points:

1. How are ethics understood from the perspective of post-structuralism?
2. Why is the concept of 'responsibility' so prevalent in post-structuralist accounts of ethics and politics?
3. What is the relationship between cosmopolitanism and 'the postcolonial'?
4. Can feminists support political violence?
5. Is 'feminist ethics' a coherent ethical perspective?

Week 4 Human Rights and International Law
Oct 3

Christian Reus-Smit, 'Human Rights and the Social Construction of Sovereignty', *Review of International Studies*, 2001, 27, 519-538.

Saladin Meckled-Garcia, 'International Law and the Limits of Global Justice', *Review of International Studies*, 37(5): 2073-2088.

Robert Meister (2002) 'Human Rights and the Politics of Victimhood', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 16(2): 91-108.

Catherine Lu (2002) 'Human Wrongs and the Tragedy of Victimhood', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 16(2): 109-117.

Discussion Points:

1. Are human rights a universal basis for ethics today?
2. Is 'human rights' primarily a legal or a moral concept?
3. Do human rights represent radical transformation or the status quo today?
4. Is international law the best hope we have for moral progress in international politics?

Week 5 Poverty and Global Justice
Oct 10

Alan Patten (2005) 'Should we stop thinking about Poverty in terms of helping the Poor?', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 19(1): 19-27.

Patrick Hayden, 'Superfluous Humanity: An Arendtian Perspective on the Political Evil of Global Poverty', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 35(2), 2007: 279-300.

Naila Kabeer, 'Globalization, Labor Standards, and Women's Rights: Dilemmas of Collective (In)action in an Interdependent World'. *Feminist Economics*, 10(1), 2004, 3-35.

Alison Jaggar, 'Saving Amina': Global Justice for Women and Intercultural Dialogue', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 19(3):55-75, 2004.

Discussion Points:

1. What is the best way of thinking about the problem of world poverty today?
2. Are labour standards harmful or helpful to (women) workers in developing countries?
3. How should we understand and address the problem of 'cultural injustice'? Why is this a gendered issue?

Week 6 Ethics of War
Oct 17

Nicholas Rengger, 'The Ethics of War: The Just War Tradition' in Duncan Bell, ed., *Ethics and World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Patricia Owens, 'The Ethics of War: Critical Alternatives' Duncan Bell, ed., *Ethics and World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

James Der Derian, 'Virtuous War/Virtual Theory', *International Affairs*, 76(4): 771-788.

Neta Crawford, 'Just War Theory and the U.S. Counterterror War', *Perspectives on Politics*, 1(1): 5-25, 2003.

Daniel Brunsletter and Megan Braun (2011), 'The Implications of Drones on the Just War Tradition', *Ethics and International Affairs* 25(3): 337-358.

'Do Drones Undermine Democracy?' *New York Times*, January 21, 2012.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/22/opinion/sunday/do-drones-undermine-democracy.html?pagewanted=all>

<http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/resources/gec/data/00180>

Discussion Points:

1. Compare Rengger's and Owens' discussions on the ethics of war. What are the main differences between traditional and critical approaches to the ethics of war?
2. What does Der Derian mean by 'virtuous war'?
3. Does Just War theory still make sense in the light of the changing nature of warfare?
4. Can there even be a 'just' war?

Week 7 Humanitarian Intervention and Jus Post Bellum
Oct 24

Richard W. Miller (2011), 'The Ethics of America's Afghan War', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 25(2): 103-131.

Fernando Teson (2011), 'Enabling Monsters: A Reply to Professor Miller', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 25(2): 165-182.

Alex Bellamy, 'The Responsibilities of Victory: Jus Post Bellum and the Just War', *Review of International Studies*, 34(4): 604-625.

Joy Gordon (2011), 'Smart Sanctions Revisited', *Ethics and International Affairs* 25(3): 315-335.

<http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/resources/audio/data/000747>

Discussion Points:

1. What are the responsibilities of the 'international community' in foreign conflicts?
2. Think back to Walzer's piece on the moral standing of states. Would his argument apply to a situation like Syria?
3. Much emphasis is placed on the Responsibility to Protect. How important is the Responsibility to Rebuild (Jus Post Bellum)?
4. Are sanctions a better alternative than military intervention?

Week 8 Environmental Ethics
Oct 31 (Paper proposal due today)

Stephen Gardiner (2004) 'The Global Warming Tragedy and the Dangerous Illusion of the Kyoto Protocol', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 18(1): 23-39.

Tim Hayward (2007), 'Human Rights versus Emissions Rights: Climate Justice and the Equitable Distribution of Ecological Space', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 21(4): 431-450.

Sherilyn MacGregor (2004) 'From Care to Citizenship: Calling Ecofeminism back to Politics', *Ethics and the Environment*, 9(1): 56-84.

Vanderheiden, Steve (2011) 'Globalizing Responsibility for Climate Change', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 25(1): 65-84.

<http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/resources/gec/data/00047>

Discussion Points:

1. Should we consider environmental ethics in terms of rights?
2. Evaluate MaGregor's critique of care ethics? Are you convinced?
3. How do we assign responsibility for climate change?

Week 9 Citizenship, Immigration and Borders
Nov 7

Arash Abizadeh, 'Citizenship, Immigration and Boundaries' in Duncan Bell, ed., *Ethics and World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Patti Tamara Lenard and Christine Straehle (2011), 'Temporary Labour Migration, Global Redistribution and Democratic Justice', *Politics, Philosophy and Economics*, 11(2): 206-230.

John Williams (2003), 'Territorial Borders, International Ethics and Geography: Do Good Fences Still Make Good Neighbours?', *Geopolitics*, 8(2): 25-46.

Jacqueline Berman (2003), '(Un)Popular Strangers and Crises (Un)Bounded: Discourses of Sex-trafficking, the European Political Community and the Panicked State of the Modern State', *European Journal of International Relations*, 9(1): 37-86.

Discussion Points:

1. What do the readings this week tell us about the state-centrism of the International Relations?
2. Is the nation-state inherently exclusionary?
3. What kind of a problem is sex-trafficking? How should we understand it ethically and politically?

Week 10 The Ethics of Care and Global Health
Nov 14

David Hunter and Angus J. Dawson (2011) 'Is there a need for global health ethics? For and against', in Solomon Benatar and Gillian Brock, eds., *Global Health and Global Health Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (on reserve).

Thomas Pogge (2005), 'Human Rights and Global Health: A Research Program', *Metaphilosophy*, 36(1/2): 182-209.

J.A. Parks (2010), 'Care Ethics and the Global Practice of Commercial Surrogacy', *Bioethics*, 24(7): 333-340.

Fiona Williams, 'Towards a Transnational Analysis of the Political Economy of Care' in Rianne Mahon and Fiona Robinson, eds., *Feminist Ethics and Social Politics: Towards a Global Political Economy of Care*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011.

Madeline Bunting (2005), 'Importing our Carers adds up to Emotional Imperialism', *The Guardian*, October 24.
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2005/oct/24/globalisation.immigrationasylumandrefugees>

Discussion Points:

1. Is there a need for global health ethics?
2. Should global health be understood from a rights-based perspective?
3. Is the commodification of intimate services (surrogacy, care, sex) morally problematic?
4. What is 'emotional imperialism'?

Week 11 The Ethics of Governance and Resistance
Nov 21

Mary Dowell-Jones and David Kinley, (2011) 'Minding the Gap: Global Finance and Human Rights', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 25(2): 183-210.

Greg Smith, 'Why I am leaving Goldman Sachs', *New York Times*, March 14, 2012.
Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/14/opinion/why-i-am-leaving-goldman-sachs.html?_r=1

Colin Wight (2012) 'Riot: Why Wouldn't You?', *Journal of Critical Globalisation Studies*, Issue 5: 161-166.

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2011), 'The Fight for 'Real Democracy' at the Heart of Occupy Wall Street', *Foreign Affairs*, (11 October).

****We will begin paper presentations this week if necessary****

Discussion Points:

1. Is global finance inherently unethical?
2. How can we explain the Occupy Movements?
3. What do Hardt and Negri mean by 'real democracy'?

Week 12

Nov. 28 (essays due today)

No readings; Mini class conference on International Ethics (Student paper presentations).

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by (*November 9th, 2012 for December examinations and March 8th, 2013 for April examinations*).

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;

- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Grades: Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.